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THE LIGHT OF THE WEST.

THE LIGHT OF THE WEST;

OR,

A HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

Protestant Church in Ireland,

FROM THE SECOND TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY A GRADUATE OF CAMBRIDGE.



LONDON: WILLIAM MACINTOSH,

24, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1869.

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PREFACE.

THE History of the Irish Branch of our National Protestant Church, full as it is of graphic incident, identified as it is with the Reformation in England, not to say in Europe; reaching back into primitive, if not apostolic, times; rich in the lives of scholars, saints and missionaries; has not, till recently, occupied its due place in our popular literature. But the course of events has now concentrated upon it the minds of all thoughtful men, who, for the most part, have long foreseen the inevitable approach of the present crisis; and their interest intensifies as the time draws near, which will decide the fate of the Irish Church, and, with it, of Church Establishments in general.

The facts to be narrated in the present volume possess no interest but that of their truth. The sources whence they are derived are indicated from time to time at the foot of the page, though the references there found are far from expressing the whole amount of the Author's obligation to them. For the opinions which will be found in the ensuing pages he is alone responsible; though he believes them to be shared by no small portion of his fellow-countrymen. Such as they are, he commends them to the judgment of his readers.

The repetition of facts so familiar would be an impertinence, but that the most glaring misstatements, the fruits of defective reading or superficial thought, circulated from the

platform and the press, and too hastily believed by the public, who have but little time to investigate them, have become the basis of ruinous, not to say of dishonest, legislation, which has been forced on the nation, not as in previous legislative changes, by the weight of patient thought and fair argument, but by dint of constantly predicting their own success with the eager haste of those who, afraid of the result to which honest conviction would lead them, are determined to carry the imperious will of a political party, which in England, at least, amounts, scarcely if at all, to a majority of its constituency. Should their success be achieved, it will be due partly to the influence of a religious sect which, in defiance of its solemn engagements, is grasping after political supremacy; and partly to the ambition of a portion of the press, which seeks to control rather than to be controlled, as it ever ought to be, by public opinion.

Thus, we are told that Romanism was the primitive and only religion of Ireland, till the mis-named Reformation gave birth to an upstart rival which, usurping the functions and plundering the revenues of the Church of the people, has been for three hundred years a curse to the country; that its rejection has proved it to be a failure and an absurdity, and that, if it be disestablished and also disendowed of its ill-gotten wealth, the voice of sedition will be hushed, and Ireland, relieved of a vast incubus, will become loyal and prosperous. In prospect of such a triumph, exultant Romanism, in the person of its apostle in England, already exclaims that the royal supremacy is perishing, and that the sovereignty of Pius IX. is reascending the throne of these realms.

The author hopes to show the utter falsehood of this theory; and if he can identify the Protestant, with the Primitive, Church in Ireland, Romanism being an alien and intruder, he will have proved inferentially its inalienable right, not only to all its acquisitions of property at and since the Reformation, but to all its possessions before and since the Conquest; its continuity, in its primitive, corrupt and reformed phases, being unbroken. If Romanists desire to reclaim all that was granted in mediæval times by Romanists, distinctly for Romish purposes, justice will concede the claim and exact from lay impropiators the secularised possessions which passed away from the monasteries in the 16th century, and from which the Church has derived no benefit.

The Protestant Church may have been to some extent a failure, but only so far as the selfishness of English government as well as former spoliations similar to, but on a far smaller scale than, the measure of 1869, have made it so. She has however of late done much to roll away the reproach; and were her disabilities removed by a reversal of past legislation, she would be able, as she is undoubtedly willing, to execute her mission.

For example: England has impoverished the clergy of Ireland by alienating most of their revenues. Let her restore the lay tithes, and out of the funds thus accruing build churches, sub-divide unwieldy benefices and, increasing the body of clergy provide them with sufficient incomes. Let her henceforth give only Irish pastors to Irish parishes; let her cultivate the vernacular tongue, founding Irish professorships in Trinity College, and encouraging the supply

of Irish Bibles, Prayer and School-books. Let the Bishops require at least one service to be in Irish in every parish church, and provide vernacular schools with the Irish Bible and Lesson Books for every parish.

When the Church is thus equipped for her missionary career, let the fearless administration of the law secure safety of life and limb to her pastors and teachers by resolutely dealing with altar curses and priestly incitements to violence as misdemeanours, and thus, with the Divine blessing, the hearts, even of the "wild Irish," will be won to the truths which reach them in the well-loved accents "which," as they say, "the devil cannot learn."

On the other hand, let the State lose its religious aspect by severance from the Church, and she will lose the veneration of the people, and endanger the Union by violating its main condition; and, if to this wrong be added that of disendowment, Fenianism will lift its voice with prouder defiance and cry, "Ireland for the Irish," and carry the sanctioned principle of spoliation from the Church to the landed property; while the Protestant laity, alienated from a government which ignores their rights, throwing the intelligence and capital of Ireland, already in their hands, into the scale of Repeal, and combining these with the present numerical force of the Repealers, may be only too successful in severing the Legislative Union, and by affording a precedent, ere long to be followed by English Romanists and Liberationists, may bring back on England and her Church the Revolution of 1640, and the days of Oliver Cromwell.

April 8, 1869.

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HISTORY OF THE IRISH CHURCH.



INTRODUCTION.

In an age like the present, when the incessant whirl and excitement of passing events, and the rapid developments of society throw the events of the past so far into arrear, any subject of history might at first seem to demand an apology for its intrusion ; but that side by side with the spirit of progress has grown the spirit of investigation, investing not only history, but chronology, ethnology, archæology, and geology, the sciences of the past, with an interest till recently unknown.

Indeed, the human mind, too expansive to be satisfied with the present, is driven by a similar instinct to dive into the far future, as well as to explore the far past. But history has this peculiarity, that it is ever in requisition. Such is the connection between the past and the present in the ever-recurring cycles of human events, that the politician or the legislator, whether for present emergencies or future contingencies, is

continually obliged to recur to the past for instruction. He must seek for precedents to guide his decisions ; he must search for adequate causes to account for existing phenomena ; he must look for circumstances parallel to his own in order to shape his course by the experience of his predecessors.

With such motives for its pursuit, the study of the past, in any case, ceases to be dry. Still less is it so to the christian mind anxious to trace the hand of God in the events of time ; and, least of all so, where its special field connects itself with the difficulties of the age we live in, and tends to suggest solutions for many of the problems which occupy our legislators in Church and State.

It is with the belief that such is the case with respect to Ireland, our sister country, that we propose to give a familiar sketch of its ecclesiastical history, in the hope that besides its immediate purpose it may invite the attention of our rising youth to a field of enquiry generally regarded with too little interest because too little known.

We shall attempt to show the purity in scriptural doctrine and practice of Ireland's earliest christianity. We shall show how the pellucid stream is gradually fouled by the rush of turbid waters flowing from the seven Italian hills, by whose overwhelming volume its original purity is lost till its re-appearance in the sixteenth century, after which it maintains its continuousness and its distinctive character, though sometimes reduced to the dimensions of a silvery thread of light on the dark face of the landscape. We shall also observe that from time to time it is rendered turbid by inundations from the Italian waters, which flow through the same territory with the parent stream, but which incessantly strive to burst the barriers which the wise legislation of our forefathers had erected to confine them.

Ireland has long been one of the chief perplexities in the legislation of Great Britain, baffling the wisdom and disappointing the hopes of its rulers, as the last sixty, or even thirty years, amply testify. We need only mention as instances, the rebellion of 1798, the successive and successful agitations for Roman Catholic Emancipation, for Repeal of the Union, and for the endowment of Maynooth, her sympathy with the revolutionary fever of 1848, and with the aggression of 1850, the obstructive policy of her representatives in Parliament, the disloyal satisfaction often fostered by her priesthood at all which might seem disastrous to England. These facts, not to speak of famine, fever, depopulation, and the more recent but less successful agitation for a republican government, on the one hand, or, on the other, of the increased and friendly intercourse between the countries which has marked the last few years; all tend to prove and justify the prominence assumed by the affairs of Ireland in the history of the British empire.

If it be asked, Why has Ireland so long perplexed our legislators? Why has a blight rested on the agriculture, the commerce, the intellectual and social aspects of a country whose capabilities might render it one of the most valuable and prosperous appendages of the British crown; and on the habits and character of a people who might, but for some sinister influence, be counted among its most devoted subjects? Why does gross darkness overspread a region once known as the light of the West? To such questions various replies may be given, for to such results various causes may have contributed; but among these we venture to think its prevalent religion is the chief. For that involves a doctrinal system gradually developed through a course of ages, whose tendency is subversive of the essentials not only of salvation, but of national well-being; a

disloyal transfer of temporal, no less than spiritual, allegiance from the rightful sovereign to a foreigner, and an ecclesiastical tyranny which starves the soul by denying the bread of heaven given by inspiration for its sustenance, enslaves and stunts the intellect by binding it in the fetters of ignorance; deadens the sense of responsibility by offering a vicarious performance of personal duties, and too often either withers the energies of its victim into listless indifference to his duties in this world and the next, or so insults the common sense of more thoughtful minds that they recoil from its absurdities and contradictions into utter scepticism. This we believe to have been the blighting influence which has marred the happiness, vitiated the character, fettered the mind, and checked the progress of the Irish nation, and through which for a season it has surrendered itself to a strong delusion and believed a lie. Surely our statesmen have been strangely at fault, who, acting merely on principles of statecraft, have sought (how vainly let recent history declare) to conciliate and support a system so disastrous in its effects, and as most interpreters of Scripture believe, doomed to ultimate perdition.

It has been urged that the different characteristics of Celtic and Teutonic races account for the social contrast between the two sides of St. George's Channel, more truly than the difference in their religions, and that antipathy of race forms a wider breach than contrariety of creed. But facts tend to disprove this. Saxon England and Celtic France, no longer "natural enemies," have shaken hands across the straits of Dover; and if the latter, in contrast to Celtic Ireland, is the great country of an united, a self-reliant, and a prosperous community; it is because she repudiates, while the other succumbs to, the overweening tyranny of the priesthood. The same contrast, and for the

same reason, is seen between Ireland and Belgium, because the latter cherishes its liberties, and is jealous of priestly power; and if a similar contrast is visible between Roman Catholic and Protestant cantons in Switzerland, or between emancipated Lombardy, and till recently priest-ridden Naples, the evil influence is found to be one not of race but of creed.

It would be easy to enlarge on this subject. We will now only remark that a comparison of the present with the past shows how invariable from age to age has been the subtle but aggressive policy of the church which calls itself infallible, and how impolitic the spirit of compromise in our treatment of it.

The Church of Rome has ever been intrusive wherever it has gained a footing. Even its earliest bishops, presuming on their connection with the metropolis of the world, attempted to lord it over God's heritage. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, A.D. 250, was only one of many who at various times rebuked and resisted them. But at length as days of persecution passed away and emperors became nursing fathers of the church, the metropolitan bishop waxed greater and greater, like the rapid vegetation of the tropics under the direct rays of imperial sunshine, till his overshadowing branches darkened the whole face of christendom. The victims of heathen cruelty, emerging from the catacombs into daylight because no longer compelled to celebrate their worship in subterranean dens or at the midnight hour, began to raise christian temples even in the eternal city amid the ruins of expiring paganism as "material guarantees" of the church's rising prosperity, and the emperor seemed to say to the bishop—"According to thy word shall my people be ruled, and only in the throne will I be greater than thou."

Ere long the ground was cleared by the rise of Constantinople for the unhindered luxuriant growth of the episcopal tree, soon after which as the empire crumbled to pieces, "that which letteth" was taken out of the way, and the "little horn" appeared "whose mouth speaketh great things, and whose look is more stout than his fellows." The "beast" arose "out of the sea" of Gothic barbarism which followed the dismemberment of the empire; the "antichrist," as still understood by most biblical commentators, developed himself, grasping stealthily and gradually first at spiritual, then at temporal power, till in the eleventh century, and in the person of Hildebrand, all effectual resistance was overcome, the coveted supremacy, civil and ecclesiastical, was attained, "all kings (fell) down before him and all nations (did) him reverence."

These assumptions lent a peculiar character to the missionary schemes of mediæval times. "Booted apostles," as Mosheim aptly terms them, went forth into the unreclaimed parts of Europe and subsequently into the newly-discovered countries of America with a few ecclesiastics in their train, who, although before the Inquisition they abstained from compulsion, confining their efforts to the exhibition of a crucifix, the teaching of a few ill-understood formulæ and the indiscriminate baptism of such as could repeat them, yet backed by the prestige of military display and the victorious arms of the invaders, made, like the Chartist a few years ago, "a peaceful demonstration" of physical force not unpersuasive to the simple children of the forest, whose comprehension was marvellously assisted and their convictions hastened by the flash of the sword point. Of such expeditions the twofold object was to win for the sovereigns of Europe territories which they should hold in vassalage to the successors of a poor Galilean fisherman, and thus to

enlarge the boundaries of the church, that is, of papal supremacy.

In later times the Jesuit order, occupying the post of disturber-general of the peace of kingdoms, has still sought the same object; but adapting itself to the change of times, has used, and for a season successfully, craftier methods. Their emissaries taught a heathenised christianity in India, Nubia, Abyssinia, China, Japan, and elsewhere. They gradually merged the missionary character in that of politicians, interfering with the respective governments and rendering all the powers of the State subservient to their will (like the ivy plant clinging to the oak, usurping and consuming its vital force) till at length overacting their part, their policy recoiling on themselves, procured their expulsion from those who suffered by their intrigues.

In Europe, insinuating their way into courts and councils, families, schools, and universities, they sought to regain by still more refined methods the spiritual influence and civil power, asserted, accumulated and vigorously wielded by earlier Popes, but lost at the Reformation. If, as in India, in England, in Ireland, an earlier christianity preoccupied the soil, ignoring the claims of St. Peter, they sought by falsehood, flattery, intimidation, or if they dared, by *force*, to bring it into the "Unity of the Church." Ignoring in their turn its previous history, having sole possession, in those days of manuscript, of all earlier records, they suppressed or distorted all adverse facts, coolly took the credit of having founded the newly-discovered churches, and branding the victims of their persecution on the page of history as contumacious heretics, crushed every effort made for the recovery of their independence. In short, the general career of the Church of Rome has been successively

marked by *insinuation, encroachment, assumption, intrusion, usurpation, oppression, and corruption*. In some cases this has happily been followed by *reformation*. The light of Scripture points to its final *extinction*.

This process we shall see to be exemplified in Ireland, on the annals of whose Church we now enter.

BOOK I.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DANISH INVASION.



CHAPTER I.

The Dawn of Christianity.

THE Roman Catholic version of the history on which we are entering, is that Ireland continued in pagan darkness until Celestine, bishop of Rome, sent St. Patrick in the fifth century to evangelize it; and that having done this, the zealous missionary established over the infant Church the supremacy of the pontiff under whose benignant sway it was permitted to remain and prosper till the so-called Reformation forced on an unwilling people the religion of a minority, which has continued ever since its national establishment to plunder of its rightful possessions the ancient Church on whose ruins it has risen.

It is therefore the duty of the Protestant historian to examine these pretensions, together with the evidence alleged in their support, to vindicate the independence as well as the doctrinal purity of the Primitive Irish Church; and with this end in view, to trace with some probability what *was* its origin as the best means of shewing what it was *not*. This must be our first object. We will then endeavour to trace the earliest associations of the Church of Rome

with Irish history, and what has been its influence on that people in subsequent ages, first before the Reformation, and secondly from that date down to our own times.

The Church of Ireland is now generally thought to have been an offshoot from one of the churches in the East which were planted by apostolic hands, transplanted to the soil of the West. Moore in his *History of Ireland*, (vol. i.) treats at great length on its connection with the East, and partial colonization from thence in times long anterior to Christianity. From a very remote antiquity, the Phœnicians, a remnant of the ancient Canaanites, and no less truly a doomed race although allowed, like the posterity of Cain, to monopolise the wealth, the arts, the civilization, and commerce of the world before their final disappearance, jealously shrouded in secrecy their navigation of the sea, their knowledge of distant coasts, and their intercourse with foreign nations. The prophecies of Isaiah and Ezekiel contain most vivid descriptions of the metropolis of that people, her extensive commerce, her enterprising merchant princes. The colony of Carthage was an important advance westwards from Tyre; and as the daughter-city grew into a powerful state, the mistress of the ocean, formidable even to Rome itself, it was comparatively easy from such vantage ground to pass between the pillars of Hercules in order to explore the broad waters of the Atlantic. Accordingly ere long they turned the corners of the Mediterranean, and sailing northward, colonized the coast of Spain; for we learn from Scripture and from other sources that Tarshish, (by some identified with Tartessus, an ancient Spanish port, by others with Cadiz) was replenished by "merchants of Zidon that pass over the sea." (Isaiah xxiii. 1, 2.)

Having reached thus far, there remained no great distance from Iberia to Hibernia, for the interval between Cape

Ortegal and Cape Clear is not more than a hundred and fifty leagues, two-thirds of which could easily be accomplished within sight of land; no great distance to skilful and adventurous navigators whose original metropolis was Tyre "inhabited by seafaring men, the renowned city which was strong in the sea." (Ezek. xxvi. 17.) These enterprising Phœnician Spaniards were not long without a motive for sailing thus much farther north, for hearing the fame of the Cassiterides or Isles of Tin, as the British Isles were called in allusion to the Cornish mines, they were quickly carried thither by so short and easy a route, and are supposed to have monopolised a profitable trade in the mineral treasures of our islands unknown to the world at large, the existence and locality of which they concealed with jealous caution for ages, lest the prize, if discovered, should induce others to follow their track and to share their monopoly. Possibly the "Fortunate Islands," the "Hesperides," or the "Islands of the West" in the Greek poets, may allude to these isles, as dimly seen through the veil of mystery spun by Phœnician cupidity.

The track here suggested implies that, our islands being approached from the west, Ireland was first seen and therefore first known, as presenting its broad front to the Atlantic; while its eastern side (and still more, the remoter shores of Albion, yet further eastward) were, with the exception of the Cornish coast, comparatively unexplored.*

Such traditions reach back to the days of Homer, and indeed it is stated that the Phœnicians visited the western extremity of Britain more than 1000 years B.C.; but the Massilian Greeks, a colony from Asia Minor, were the first who, following in the wake of earlier navigators, by their own investigations brought these islands to the light of day, under the names of Albion and *Ierne*; an Athenian poet of

* Moore, Hist. Irel., vol. i.

the sixth century B.C. attributing the latter Celtic title to Ireland in a poem on the Argonautic Expedition. Long ages afterwards (though it is impossible to define the exact period) the Celtic nation, probably displacing and extinguishing a still older race, which under various names has left its traces in every part of the ancient world, was itself displaced by the Belgæ or Fir-Bolgs (said to be descended from an earlier tribe called Nemedians), another branch of the Celts and the chief progenitors of the English nation; who, passing into Ireland on its eastern side by the way of Gaul and Britain, drove the Spanish Celts to take refuge in the western counties; just as the Saxons, invading England from the east, drove the Britons into the fastnesses of Wales. The Roman eagles subsequently descended on Britain from the east; but never reaching westwards to Ireland, the latter remained all but unknown to her historians, altogether unsubdued by her arms, and therefore still open on its western side to that intercourse with borderers on the Mediterranean and the inhabitants of Asia, from which Britain was not more shut out by her new masters than by her own comparative barbarism.

This theory explains the popular bardic tradition of a Milesian colony (so called from the leadership of Milesius and his eight sons), proceeding from the far East by way of Egypt to Spain, and thence (according to a prophecy which fixed their destination to a remote island in the western main) sailing to Hibernia, landing at Bantry at a period fixed by some at 1300, by others at 800, but probably at about 1100 B.C., and settling in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow.

With respect to its earliest religion, Ireland was known even in the remotest times as the "Sacred Isle of the West." The geographical poem of Avienus narrates a voyage of discovery made by Himilco, a Carthaginian, which was

referred by some writers to so early a date as 1000 B.C., but certainly before the reign of Alexander the Great; in which passing between the pillars of Hercules, past the rock of Gibraltar, and turning northwards, he came in due time, after sailing by the coast of Spain to the *Cestrumnides* or Scilly Isles, which were said to be two days' sail from the larger island inhabited by the *Hiberni*. It is added that it was even then, and from ancient times preceding had been, called the "Sacred Island," an expression which implies a kind of sacerdotal character. A geographer quoted by Strabo mentions an island near Britain, where sacrifices were offered to Ceres and Proserpine in the same manner as the Sabine mysteries were celebrated in Samothrace by Phœnicians to deities which presided over navigation, mariners staying there as they passed on to distant seas to pray for a prosperous voyage.

Many circumstances tend to shew that the primitive religion of Ireland was derived from the East. Its traditions, monuments, local names (such as *Baalmena* or *Ballymena*, compared with *Baal Meon*) and usages, bear a semi-oriental stamp. Its sacred groves, its circles of great stones erected round a central altar, its cairns, cromlechs, and places devoted to the immolation of children in sacrifice, together with the homage paid to *Bel* or *Baal*, or to the sun under that name, and to the water of sacred wells, were symptoms of Celtic or Phœnician worship shared with Britain, Spain, and Gaul, but also finding their counterparts in the East. The worship of fire, traceable throughout the country in its antiquarian remains, and even assuming a Christian form in the legend of *St. Bridget's* inextinguishable flame, shews that its religion included a Persian element. Pliny has traced the strong resemblance between the Druid and the Persian mysteries, and the term *Druidism* correctly desig-

nates the religion of Ireland. The festival of Lla Baaltinè or Baal-fire was held on the first of May, and on the feast of Samhain, which was celebrated in autumn. The firstborn of every creature was sacrificed to the idol *Crom Cruach*, whose worship was introduced in the reign of Tigernach the Annalist.

Among the many theories maintained by antiquarians respecting the origin and use of the *round* towers, so remarkable and peculiar a feature of Irish scenery, one is that they were fire-temples; which, if true, would confirm the idea of a Persian origin. This, however, is but conjecture, though not wanting in probability; and confirmed by the discovery of two similar erections at Bhagulpore in India, which were evidently intended for that purpose.

We have already suggested that religion and civilization may have advanced eastward from the Atlantic seaboard of the British Isles. If so, Britain must have gained its druidical system from the sister island; but the druid priests of the Celtic race were so similar to the magi of Persia and Egypt, while many of their religious customs were so eminently oriental, as to lead to the conclusion that Ireland must have received from Asia the religion which she transmitted. The same filial relationship of the west towards the east is again implied in the names of *Galatia* in Asia Minor, *Gallia*, peopled by a Celtic race in the west of Europe; *Wales* (French, *Galle*), the refuge of our Celtic forefathers on the western side of England; and the *Gaelic*, another Celtic race, in the western highlands of Scotland, whose language is so near akin to the *Erse* spoken on the other side of the Channel, that the Gaelic Scriptures can at this day be understood by a native Irish congregation. Tradition says that a tribe of Galati emigrated in remote times from Asia Minor into Europe, and fixed their own names on the land of their adoption. It may also be remarked that

Galati and Galli are equivalent terms, the former being the Greek and the latter the Roman appellation of the same people.

Indeed, extending our theory, we are strongly tempted to conjecture from certain features of resemblance which pervade the monuments of prehistoric times found in Britain, in Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, and even in India, not to speak of those found in Mexico and Central America, that the Celts, Tuscans, Pelasgi, and others, are but different names for, or different subdivisions of the same primitive race, spreading in opposite directions from a common cradle of mankind in some Asiatic locality which ethnological considerations may easily identify with the region where the Mosaic records teach us to look for the repeopling of the earth after the deluge.

The whole western coast of Europe is inhabited by tribes whose affinity of language proves a common origin in times far remote, though each of their several dialects has been superseded and discouraged in favour of those spoken by an invading and more recent population. The Irish alphabet, which is known to have been used long anterior to the time of Patrick, contained a pure Celtic element quite distinct from the Latin tongue which was grafted on it, while its structure, its guttural sounds and the number of its letters, point equally to its oriental origin and that of the people to whom it belonged.

This supposition is not necessarily inconsistent with the statements of Bede, whose description of the country renders it probable that it presented higher attractions to voyagers from distant regions than its neighbour Albion, for he says that "for wholesomeness and serenity of climate (it) far surpasses Britain, for the snow scarcely ever lies there above three days. No man ever makes hay in the summer for the

winter's provision, or builds stables for his beasts of burden. No reptiles are found there. Almost all things in the island are good against poison. We have known that when some persons have been bitten by serpents, the scrapings of leaves of books that were brought out of Ireland being put into water and given them to drink, have immediately expelled the spreading poison. The island abounds in milk and honey, nor is there any want of vines, fish or fowl; and it is remarkable for deer and goats." Tacitus says that "the approaches to the country and its ports are better known (than Britain) through commercial intercourse and merchantmen." Such testimonies well agree with all we know of the capabilities of the "Emerald Isle" everywhere intersected with rivers and streams, and abounding therefore with grass lands. Bede proceeds to say that it is properly the country of the Scots who came over from Armorica (Brittany), conquering first the south, then spreading northwards, and subsequently refusing to afford a settlement to a colony of Picts from Scythia, who thereupon crossed the Irish sea and landed on the northern shore of Albion. This is rendered probable by the connection in later times between the Gallic and Irish churches, though it may refer to a later colony of Celts than those already mentioned. The name, Scotland, is well known to have originated from a body of Irish Celts, who bearing the name of Scots, landed in the third century of our era on the Caledonian coast and founded the kingdom of Dalriada, so called from Renda their leader.

This new place of settlement was for some time called Scotia Minor, to distinguish it from the mother country, Scotia Major. "From the consent of antiquity the name *Scots* belonged to the Irish alone till the eleventh century,

though in the fifth century it included only a portion of the Irish people."*

This appellation may in the first instance have been applied to the inhabitants of Ireland as dwelling in the land of darkness (*της σκοτίας*), possibly because the clouds and fogs overspreading a land whose natural features of mountain, lake, and river, would give rise to abundant evaporation, must have formed a strange contrast to the bright sunny sky, familiar to the eyes of Grecian writers. Or again, the name may be a corruption of *Scythians* (*Σκυθαι*) in allusion to their Scythian origin as stated by the native bards. The same traditionary haze envelopes this subject which has surrounded the early records of most other countries. From the eleventh century the growth of the colony caused the name of Scotia to extend to the whole country of which at first they only occupied part of the western coast.

Whatever weight may be attached to these coincidences and traditions, it is at least certain that Ireland was in pagan, no less than christian, times, known as the Sacred Isle of the West; and as it was indebted to Asia for its commerce, its colonists, its civilization—whatever that may have amounted to—and its pagan worship, it is not unreasonable to think that it received its christianity from the same source and along the same beaten track; or rather, that the providence of God had marked out that beaten track, overruling the ambition of men who knew Him not, nor were conscious of the divine purpose which controlled them, to bind together the nations of the known world into one wide empire, whereby they should become civilized and maintain a mutual intercourse, that thus a highway might be formed

* Pinkerton on History of Scotland, as quoted by Murray, dean of Ardagh. Hist. Ch. Irel., p. 14.

whereon the messengers of the gospel of peace might carry their glad tidings to the nations of the earth.

On further enquiry we find such to have been the case. We cannot fix with certainty the precise date when the gospel first reached the shores of Ireland, but it can scarcely have been later than A.D. 140.* Some writers, relying on the statement of Eusebius, that it was carried by apostles to the British Isles, have supposed that it was preached by James, the Less to the Irish. Archbishop Ussher has collected authorities on this point.

Thus Vincent de Beauvais says : " By the will of God, James being driven to the shores of Hibernia, preached boldly the word of God." But Ussher thinks he may have mistaken *Hiberia* or Spain, for *Hibernia*, which St. James is also said to have visited, and where he is regarded as the patron saint under the name of St. James of Compostella, in which place a shrine is dedicated to him. However this may be, the introduction of christianity into Ireland cannot have been much later than the date above mentioned.

In the second century it contained not only a christian, but even a missionary church, for in the reign of Con of the Hundred Battles at the latter end of that century, it sent forth as a preacher into Italy, St. Cathaldus, who afterwards became bishop of Tarentum.† Irenæus makes mention of Celtic churches existing about the year 100 ; but about A.D. 200 Tertullian wrote ("Adv. Judæos") that those parts of the British Isles which were unapproached by the Romans were yet subject to Christ. This statement must have included Ireland ; for besides the mention of isles in the

* The same obscurity envelopes this question as regards Ireland which we find in respect to other parts of Christendom, not excluding Rome itself.

† O'Halloran. See Murray, Ireland and her Church.

plural number, it was certainly far truer of Hibernians in the west, than of painted barbarians in the north.

In the third century, Cormac, an Irish prince and legislator, was converted, and died a christian. In the fourth, several churches were planted or colleges founded, as at Beglire, in Leinster, where Heber instructed both native Irish and foreigners (Ussher). St. Albe, a native bishop, after preaching throughout the country founded a school at Emly; and several cotemporary Irish ecclesiastics, such as Dermot and Liberias, at the same period visited various parts of Europe.* In A.D. 303 the country afforded a refuge to the British clergy from the persecution of Diocletian. About A.D. 369, Celestius, of Irish birth, who afterwards became a leader of the Pelagians, wrote three letters to his parents, which are still extant, and prove them to have been christians, living in a christian community; and that education, including at least the art of writing, as well as a knowledge of the gospel, must at that time have made great progress in Ireland, although he was by sixty-two years the predecessor of St. Patrick. It is matter of dispute whether Pelagius (or Morgan, as he is sometimes called) of whose heresy Celestius was a follower, was Irish or Welsh; whether his monastery was at Banchor near Carrickfergus, or at Bangor near Caernarvon. Thomas Moore† who adopts the former supposition, and Thierry the historian of the Norman Conquest, who prefers the latter, must settle the question as they best may; but whether for good or for evil, Celestius is the undisputed property of the Irish, and his value in evidence of their early christianity is simply this, that a church must have previously existed before a departure from it could occur, and that such

* All these, notwithstanding Dr. Lanigan's attempts to prove the contrary, precede the mission of St. Patrick.

† Moore, *Hist. Irel.*, i, 206. Thierry, *Norm. Conq.*, vol. i., p. 38.

departure preceded his own time, coupled with the fact that his parents were christians. A little later Chrysostom speaks of many persons *in the British Isles* as familiar with Scripture.

Many ecclesiastical practices prevailed in Ireland which were more akin to those of the Greek than to those of the Roman church. Among these were, *the time for celebrating Easter*, (to be noticed in connection with the Quartodeciman controversy); the order of *chorepiscopi*, or *village bishops*, so unlike the lordly prelates of the western church that none can wonder at the efforts of Rome to abolish them; the adoption of the *eighth day* as the period, and of the *Epiphany* with Easter and Whitsuntide as seasons, for baptism; *infant communion*; the *Wednesday fast*; the *tonsure*. In all these respects the Irish agreed with the Eastern, but differed from the Western, churches. The same may be said of their abstinence from blood. Their liturgy also, called "*Cursus Doctrinæ*," was derived from Alexandria.

This evidence is the more unexceptionable on account of the channel through which it reaches us. O'Halloran, a Romanist historian of Ireland, quoted by Murray, dean of Ardagh,* writes as follows, "I strongly suspect that by Asiatic or African missionaries, or through them by Spanish ones, were our ancestors instructed in christianity, because they rigidly adhered to their customs as to tonsure and the time of Easter. Certain it is that Patrick found an hierarchy established in Ireland." Hume, certainly an unprejudiced witness, affirms that the Irish never at that period acknowledged any subjection to the see of Rome. Grose, the author of a work on ecclesiastical antiquities, states that Polycarp, a martyr and bishop of Smyrna in the second century, sent missions to spread the gospel in the western

* Ireland and her Church, p. 18.

and northern parts of Europe, and that by their efforts it was introduced into France. Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, martyred A.D. 179, derived his orders from Asia, and Irenæus from him. A fraternal intercourse subsisted between the churches in Asia and that of Vienne in Gaul, as we know from their extant correspondence which took place during a time of persecution; and in the fifth century it was by two French bishops, Martin of Tours and Germanus of Auxerre, that Patrick was ordained.

We have thus obtained a distinct source for the origin and the orders of the Irish church, and in entering on the fifth century we not only do so without any allusion to its dependence on or connection with Rome, but we find Cathaldus, an Irishman, actually proceeding from his native land in the second century to take the bishopric of Tarentum on the Italian shores.*

It is yet more important to observe that in this its early dawn, the primitive christianity of Ireland was uncontaminated with the peculiar doctrines of Rome, as may be inferred from the works of Sedulius, an Irish missionary to continental Europe and Asia, the author of a commentary on the Pauline epistles, remarkable for the clearness and conciseness of its style, a sound and well-skilled theologian and an opponent of Pelagius. He testifies to the need and sufficiency of divine grace, and the pardon and justification of the sinner through faith. Indeed, to quote again from O'Halloran, it appears that at that period "a most uncompromising enmity existed in the minds of the Irish people against everything connected with Rome."† This is a counterpart, perhaps an offshoot of the rivalry which subsequently ripened into the schism between the East and the West, and, if so, a confirmation of the oriental origin of

* Murray, p. 6. † Ib. p. 10. Moore, vol. i., p. 210.

Hibernian christianity, and a disproof that the country could then be wholly pagan; for the rivalry was such as could only exist between church and church; nor had Rome as yet sufficient influence at this distant outpost to break down the strong fortress of heathenism among a people so peculiarly jealous of her interference.

At length we reach the year A.D. 431. The empire of the West was falling into decay; and while her extremities were cold and powerless under the icy grasp of death, her legions, once the terror of the world, the vital essence of her constitution, had been called home to the heart, or in other words, were summoned to defend the metropolis from invasion and for a short time longer to protract her feeble existence.

The Church, whose progress and pretensions the State had hitherto held in check, grasping after universal supremacy, and scandalised at the existence of a christian community on the confines of the world, and of which she was not the head, sent thither her first emissary Palladius, the account of whom in Prosper's Chronicle (A.D. 431), apparently quoted by Bede, is that he was ordained by Pope Celestine, and sent as first or chief bishop (*primus episcopus*) to the Scots, that is, to the Irish, believing in Christ. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says he was sent to the Scots to *confirm* their faith. He was not therefore a missionary to heathen tribes, but a messenger from one christian church to another, either to strengthen those who were already believers in Christ (to adopt the most charitable view), or more probably, to expostulate with the eccentric community of "non-conformists," as a wandering star, for refusing to move with other luminaries in the prescribed orbit round the central sun at Rome.

We must suppose the latter to have been the true object of Palladius, both from its accordance with the general

policy of the papal church in all ages and all countries to which she has access, whether Britain and its primitive church in the sixth century, the Malabar coast with its Syrian church in the sixteenth, or the christian islanders of the Pacific in the nineteenth, and from the total failure of his mission, though Romish writers, constrained to admit the fact, ascribe it to other causes, one suggesting that it was not "given them" to recognize him, another that the Irish were too "barbarous," and a third imputing it to obstinacy. It is true that a christian teacher may be repulsed from a mere bigoted attachment to heathen customs, yet a messenger from a neighbouring church to a christian community would surely have been welcomed as a brother, like, Timothy, Epaphras, and others of apostolic times, unless he came to advance unwarranted claims to submission or to impose a yoke which neither they nor their fathers had been accustomed to bear. In such a case any delegate was likely to be rejected as intruding on an independent church, and such we find to have been the case both then and on like occasions for centuries afterwards.

For instance, when some members of the Augustinian mission to England sought to gain the submission of the Irish bishops to the Italian pontiff, they met with a courteous but firm refusal, and complained that they found the Irish no better disposed to them than the English, Daganus, one of the Irish bishops, even refusing to eat under the same roof with them. When Gregory I. attempted to domineer over the Irish church in the controversy about the nature of Christ the bishops peremptorily resisted him, Columbanus bluntly telling his Holiness, "It is your fault if we have deviated from the true faith." Baronius, the

• Norman Conquest, vol. i.

Romish annalist, complains that they added the further *crime* of receding from the church of Rome to join the schismatics under the idea that they were contending for the true catholic faith. Thierry* says that "the successors of St. Augustine extended their ambitious pretensions over the priests of Erin, surnamed the Isle of Saints." But this merit of holiness without complete subjection to the pope of the Romish church was as nothing in the eyes of the members of that church who had established their spiritual dominion over the portion of Britain conquered by the Anglo-Saxons. They sent messages full of acerbity and pride to the inhabitants of Erin.

To return to Palladius. After a few weeks' stay in the country, during which he built three chapels in the rude and rapid architecture of the time, he took his departure, leaving behind him ample occasion for the subsequent proverb that "not to Palladius, but to Patrick, God did grant the conversion of Ireland." In the year following he perished by shipwreck at Fordun, on the coast of Scotland, whither a storm had driven him.

* Norman Conquest, vol. i.

CHAPTER II.

St. Patrick and the Early Church.

It is now time to turn our attention to the life and labours of Patrick, the narrative of which would have been incomplete without some previous sketch of the age in which he lived and of those which preceded it. Should we find that his mission was welcomed and eminently successful, commencing as it did within one short year after the failure of his predecessor, we shall shrewdly suspect that he came from a different quarter or on a different errand, and that the reasons given by Romish writers, such as Nennius, Probus and Joachim or Joceline, for the expulsion of Palladius, namely, the judicial blindness, perversity and barbarism of the natives, were mere evasions of the real fact that he was regarded as an intruder on the liberties of an independent church.

Moore* giving of course the Romish version of the christianizing of his native land, says, that "by the influence of one humble but zealous missionary (meaning of course St. Patrick) *and with but little previous preparation of the soil by other hands*, christianity burst forth at the first ray of apostolic light, and with the sudden ripeness of a northern summer at once covered the whole land." Doubtless the attempt to reconcile the facts of the case with his religious predilections and his national vanity and to record the rapidity of spiritual vegetation without admitting the

* History of Ireland, vol. i.

long-continued spiritual husbandry which must have gone before, was a task of no small difficulty.

The mission of Palladius being professedly to "the Scots believing in Christ," he accounts for by saying that the christians being few in number and without a hierarchy "saw in him their first bishop." But, in his anxiety to claim an Irish origin for so celebrated a heresiarch as Pelagius and his colleague Celestius, he pictures the primitive church as so entirely Pelagian that it needed reconversion; which fact being understood by the envoys sent to inquire into the state of the British church, and "the attention of Rome being directed at this time to the state of christianity among the Irish, most probably by the reports on that subject received from British missionaries, "it was resolved by the pontiff Celestine to send a bishop to that country." Palladius accordingly was sent, and after his failure, the same writer remarks that "the peculiar circumstances which fitted St. Patrick to take part in such a mission induced St. German to send him to Rome with recommendations to the holy father."

It was natural that Rome should claim so successful a missionary without being too scrupulous as to the evidence on which she did so. But in fact she overreached herself, and not to speak of anachronisms and contradictions, has so encumbered the life of the Saint with extravagant miracles, even from his infancy, such as creating a river, producing fire from ice, raising his nurse from the dead, casting out a devil from an heifer, changing water into honey, that some writers, Dr. Ledwich for example, have been tempted to doubt if such a person ever existed. Actual documents, however, can be produced amply sufficient to prove at least his existence, though they throw a strong suspicion on his coming from Rome.*

* See Lanigan, O'Connor, Milner, and Dr. Phelan.

This antiquarian trash is gathered out of sundry legendary lives of him, no fewer than sixty of which are said to have been written, but of which seven remain collected in a volume by one Colgan, a priest of the time of Charles I. It commences with the "Hymn of Fiech," a cotemporary of the saint and bishop of Sletly in Leinster, which was written certainly not later, in the opinion of O'Connor, a most learned antiquarian, than the year A.D. 540. The next five memoirs, written by various authors, increase in length; and the seventh, the longest of all, is by Joceline, a Welsh monk cœval with Henry II. Most of them are contradictory in details, yet they agree in heaping up all the worthless stories in circulation, whether true or false, in relation to the Saint.

Though these trumpety documents have come down to our time, the best even of Romish writers are ashamed of them. Thus Tillemont says, "We prefer contenting ourselves with his 'Confessions' which is believed to be his own (work), and is truly worthy of him. We shall not find in it so large a number of facts, but I believe there will be enough of them to support the extreme veneration which Ireland has for him, and more effectually perhaps than this great collection of miracles, improbable enough, to say no more of them." Bolland says generally of the lives of Irish saints that "they have been patched together by most fabulous authors, and are none of them more ancient than the twelfth century."

The Chronicle of Prosper was published twenty-three years after Patrick's arrival in Ireland, and Bede lived two centuries later. Both were predisposed to magnify the spiritual achievements of the Popes, and therefore both record the brief, though unsuccessful runaway mission of Palladius and his formation of a "Teach na Roman" or "Church of the Romans," but they agree to omit all

mention of Patrick. A truly significant omission! It was too soon to connect his name with a church whose claims neither he nor his converts would acknowledge, and yet humiliating to speak of a success in which that church had no part, and which stood out in contrast to its previous failure. Platina in his "Lives of the Popes" makes the same strange omission. What can be the reason of it? but that Patrick's embassy in the year after the ignominious retirement of his predecessor was more successful and more cordially welcomed, only because it did not originate from the same quarter and that it was either unknown to cotemporary chronicles there, or else the time had not yet arrived when a fictitious account of him could be safely palmed upon the world. Romanists who have felt the force of this omission, have invented various hypotheses to account for it, but they are *only* hypotheses and nothing more.

For an authentic biography we must turn to Irish writers, and especially to his own extant "Confessions," which are found to be as ominously silent about Rome as early writers in the interest of the latter are silent about him.

His original name was Succuth. He was born about the year 372, or according to some authorities 387, and as far as can be ascertained, on the coast of Armorica, that is, somewhere near Boulogne. Ussher and O'Connor assign the honour of his nativity to Aleluid, the Rock of Clyde, near Dunbarton (Dun-Britain) in North Britain, once a seat of Irish kings. According to the "Confessions" his birth place is called Bonavem Tabernia, which Moore and others identify with Boulogne, though his primitive name seems rather to belong to a Scottish than a Gallic birth-place. The former prefers A.D. 387 as the date of his birth. Be this as it may, he was the son of Christian parents, his father

Calpurnius, being a deacon, and his grandfather Potitus, a priest.

His youth adds one more to the many examples which shew that those who are destined to succeed in any great and arduous sphere of public usefulness most frequently arrive at it through the training school of adversity. In his sixteenth year he was kidnapped by an Irish pirate prince, Niall of the Nine Hostages, by whom he was sold to a pagan named Milcho, living in that part of the country which is situated near Sliev-Mis in the county of Antrim. Milcho employed him in the lowly occupation of feeding kine and herding cattle, one of the last which a young man of such mental powers as he was afterwards proved to possess would have preferred, but yet shewing as in the case of Joseph, the divine wisdom which ordains for those who are to accomplish any great work or to fill any high position, not always that direct initiation which human foresight would have supposed essential, but that more circuitous, yet not less effectual, kind of discipline which consists in the victory over self, and which braces and invigorates the whole man mentally and morally to endure hardship, to grudge no toil, to shrink from no difficulty, in fulfilment of the mission to which they are called.

The mention of Irish pirates infesting the coast of France and kidnapping men to sell for slaves, introduces us to a new state of things in Ireland. Under the dissolving hand of time, the picture of a sacred island, the home of civilization, of commerce, of literature, of religion in remote pagan times, and subsequently a cradle of primitive christianity whose missionaries traversed the wilds of northern Europe has melted away; and we are presented with another picture of a stormy sea, a scene where the restless turmoil of contend-

ing tribes recalls Milton's description of the realm of chaos,

"Where hot, cold, moist, and dry, four champions fierce,
Here strive for mastery, and to battle bring
Their embryon atoms."

A change has passed over the scene akin to those geological catastrophes in which an ocean has suddenly submerged a continent, the waves rolling over what once had been fertile fields and populous cities, while what had been seen as Alpine summits rearing their snowy crests to the sky, appear as island rocks, such as those of Polynesia dotting the surface of the waters, and forming the sole remnants of the past. In other words, what Moore describes as "a community of fierce and proud tribes for ever warring among themselves, and wholly secluded from all the rest of the world, was the fruit of what Bede records as a later invasion of Hibernia from the coast of Europe, consisting of alien Celtic, or possibly of Teutonic, tribes, sweeping like a flood over the face of the country as the Goths overran and barbarised the Roman empire, or as the Saxons invaded the home of ancient druidism, retaining but few customs to remind themselves of the civilization which they had destroyed, the new comers and the old inhabitants living in perpetual conflict, while the one encroaches on his neighbour to secure a home, and the other resists the intrusion, the invaders, like their Danish successors, indulging in sea roving habits and in raids on neighbouring coasts, and there capturing slaves who shall fulfil the agricultural and pastoral labors, which their own nomadic life by land and sea has taught them to disdain.

The above-named Hy Niall, having already subjugated four provinces in Ireland and four in Scotland in the beginning of the fifth century, seized with the passion for conquest or plunder, invaded Britain; but being opposed by

Stilicho, whose military genius at that time protracted for a few years longer the feeble empire of the West,* the invader proceeded to ravage the north-west coast of Gaul, the youthful Patrick being, as we have seen, a part of the spoil resulting from the foray, but destined, in the hands of Him who can turn human counsels into foolishness, to be the captor of multitudes on that alien soil in holier and more lasting bonds.

At the house of his master, Patrick endured many hardships, sharing this fate, as he declares, in common with thousands of others who had gone astray from God. But trouble ariseth not from the ground, nor doth affliction spring from the dust. In this time of severe discipline, while tending his sheep as they rambled among the mountains and forests of Antrim, he was learning in the school of experience that divine truth which till now he had known but in theory; and as in many a similar case, his religious knowledge was vitalized, parental intercession was fulfilled, and "after many days" the result promised to parental training was accomplished. The seed of eternal life being sown in his heart, affliction was sent like rain from heaven to fertilize it. In the "Confessions" he says, "Then it was that the Lord brought me to a sense of the unbelief of my heart that I might even at a late season call my sins to remembrance, and turn with all my heart to my Lord, who regarded my low estate, and taking pity on my youth and ignorance, watched over me before I knew Him, or had sense to discern between good and evil, and counselled me and comforted me as a father doth a son. Frequently in the day I used to have recourse to prayer, and the love of God was thus growing stronger and stronger. I used to remain in the woods too, and on the mountain, and would

* See Gibbon, Hist. Decl. and Fall of Rom. Emp.

rise for prayer before daylight, and in the midst of snow, ice, and rain, and felt no injury from it, for my spirit was fervent within me."

Such are the materials which constitute the prosperous missionary, and little did the heathen master dream, that that God whom as yet he knew not, the God "who moves in a mysterious way," had turned that bondage which he imposed on his purchased slave into a pathway for attaining the glorious liberty destined for a citizen of heaven. Little did he know the thoughts which burned in the breast of the young swine feeder, or that the land of exile with its attendant hardships was to be the crucible for refining the precious metal whence a vessel of mercy should be formed, and that that vessel, returning good for evil, kindness for cruelty, should in process of time contain a draught from the water of life which he should himself drink to his soul's health.

A messenger of truth thus prepared for his work, we may well believe would not amuse a heathen audience with expositions of sacramental grace or apostolical succession: the font and the baptising priest were not in his estimation the chief instruments of conversion, as in the earlier Indian missions, where emissaries of Rome, such as Xavier, De Nobili, and their followers, have left so few monuments to after times of their success except the Inquisition at Goa; nor would he treat his catechumens with puzzles in Scripture arithmetic as an Anglican bishop of later times has condescended to do among the tribes of Eastern Africa.

On the contrary, Patrick being armed with weapons of warfare not carnal, embraced the profession of a soldier of Christ, and preaching in all their simplicity and all their power the doctrines of the cross, pulled down the strongholds of heathenism in parts till then inaccessible to the light of the Gospel, thus justly earning the title of the

Apostle of Ireland. The providence of God had cast his lot in a land of pagan darkness, and we can well believe how his spirit, endued with the new-born ardour of a christian convert, must have been stirred within him when he saw the people wholly given to idolatry.

A period of at least four years, or according to some writers, as many as six or seven, elapsed ere he regained his liberty. According to one account, the desire of escaping from bondage arose in his heart. A voice in his dreams told him that he was soon to go to his own country, and that a ship was ready to convey him." Accordingly in the seventh year of his slavery *he took himself to flight*, and making his way to the south-western coast, was there received on board a merchant vessel which landed him after three days spent at sea, on the coast of Gaul. "Another account states that as there existed a law in the country identical with the institution of Moses that a servant should be released after his seventh year of servitude, he was permitted to return to his native country. This latter version is at least consistent with our supposition as to the eastern origin of the people and the religion of Ireland. On his arrival he spent a year in the house to which he had so long been a stranger, where we may well conceive the joy of the parents, not only at the recovery of the son "who had been lost and was found," but at the discovery that through those years of adversity "not joyous but grievous," "the peaceable fruits of righteousness" long waited for, were at length beginning to shew themselves in him who was exercised thereby; that the dark day in which the hand of lawless violence had blighted the affections of their bereaved house, formed the mysterious agency whereby their prayers should be granted and their fondest hopes fulfilled. About five or six

subsequent years he passed in the monastery or college of St. Martin at Tours, pursuing his neglected education.

While there he was possessed by an intense desire to be employed as a missionary to the land of his previous exile. He had learned to forgive as he had been forgiven, and when the love of the Saviour had awakened in his breast the missionary's zeal to return thither with the glad tidings of salvation, the opportunities he had had of studying the language and habits of the people, indicated that he was likely to be an appropriate instrument of so good a work. Among other causes which strengthened, and to a vivid imagination may even have originated, a desire to engage in it, he mentions a vision in which a person as if from Ireland, not unlike the man of Macedonia who summoned the Gentile apostle to pass over into Greece, appeared to him with a letter which entreated him to go there as an evangelist, accompanied by voices as though issuing from a wood, which said—“We entreat thee, holy youth, to come and worship among us.” But his familiarity with Scripture will lead us to believe that he gained from thence his chief call to the work and motives for perseverance in it. Of any Roman mission he breathes not a word. Of the arguments, entreaties, and tears, used by parents and friends to dissuade him from the project, he says—“I incurred displeasure from some of my seniors, but under the guidance of God I in no wise consented or gave in unto them.” “He paid every tear with tears back again. But he cast all their wishes behind him.”*

Richly stored in the words and truths of Scripture, he diligently prepared himself while in France for the work of an evangelist under the superintendence† for several years

* Lines on departure of Reginald Heber for India. Life of Heber.

† Murray, Ireland and her Church, p. 27.

of Martin bishop of Tours, and Germanus of Auxerre, both ecclesiastics of some celebrity, the former of whom ordained him as deacon, the latter as priest. We cannot accurately fix the dates of this part of his life. He was thirty years old at the time of his vision, which if he were born in A.D. 372, must have been in the year 402; or adopting the later date for his nativity, A.D. 417, the seventh year after returning from the seven years' captivity.

We are not told the length of time devoted to study, and therefore the year of his ordination is uncertain, but after that event he sojourned for some time with the canons of the Lateran church, on quitting whom he passed an interval, according to one account, of nine years at Lérins, an island in the Tuscan Sea, where was a celebrated institution, half monastic, half collegiate, the name of which has become familiar in connection with the oft-quoted maxim ("Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus credendum est") of one of its members commonly known as Vincent of Lérins. This famous rule we may observe by the way, has not only been of little practical use in the decision of controversies, but has even led to much positive error, for while the truth received always, everywhere and by all, which should terminate all dispute, has never been embodied in any tangible shape, or in any uninspired formula, this golden rule has been made a plea for admitting the insufficiency of Scripture as the sole rule of faith, and the convenient peg on which to hang the innumerable traditions of a church which calls herself infallible.

A very ancient authority, the Hymn of Fiech, was once thought to have described St. Patrick's passage across the *Alps* to the south of *Latium*, but the true reading is now known to be Albion and Letha, *i.e.* Armorica. The passage translated by Declan is as follows:—

“ He traversed the whole of Albion,
He crossed the sea—it was a happy voyage;
He took up his abode with German
Far away to the south of Letha (Armorica)

that is, that Patrick proceeding from Ireland, after his captivity, landing on the western coast of Britain traversed it from west to east, probably to Dover, whence crossing to the French coast he passed into Brittany, and having studied there with Germanus for some time, afterwards accompanied him to Lérins.

From thence he went to “Aralanensis,” doubtless equivalent to Lérins, which with its sister isle, St. Margaret’s, is opposite to Cannes, and near enough to the East to foster Levantine ecclesiastical ideas. From Lérins it would have been easy for him to sail to Rome, but there is no trace of such a voyage even where we might naturally have expected it. He may possibly there have gained the oriental philosophic view of party questions, and thence may have learnt to make his way among the Irish by the manly avowal that he was no second Palladius come to preach up conformity with Rome. Fiech in confirmation of the above, states that he abode among the isles of the Tuscan Sea, studying with German and then returned to Erin. He significantly omits all mention of Italy, as does also the Cottonian MS. leaving no authority for his visit to, or mission from, Rome except the contemptible legends we have already mentioned.

At length we come down to the year A.D. 429, at which time Patrick, dating from A.D. 372 or 387, would have reached the mature age of possibly fifty-seven, but at least of forty-two years, when he joined a mission undertaken by Germanus and Lupus into Britain to check the progress of Pelagianism there. The long delay ere his missionary life commenced, reminds us by its length and the obscurity

which envelopes it, of a similar interval ere the entrance of the Jewish legislator on his divinely-appointed work at the age of fourscore, not less than forty years having been previously spent in retirement ; of the years spent by the future ruler of Egypt in bondage and imprisonment ere the exaltation to which he was destined ; and of another long lapse of years between the conversion and the commencing labours of the Gentile apostle, so long a training in each case, and the maturity of judgment and experience thus gained, being wisely ordered to prepare a more effective instrument for a deeper and a more enduring work.

He is said to have preached with some success in Britain, and it has been thought from Patrick's fondness for Glastonbury, that Germanus first met with him there, that there his education began, and that from thence sprang his early missions in Wales, where his memory is still preserved in the names of many of the churches.* But far from adopting that country as the scene of his future ministry, he became only the more anxious as his knowledge increased and his gifts developed, to evangelise the Scots of Ireland, whose near neighbourhood probably quickened the determination to enter on his labours on his own adopted field. He accordingly prepared to proceed thither, having first obtained his consecration as bishop at Eborica, a town on the north-west coast of Gaul, according to the plan then usually pursued, and of late, whether wisely or not, revived, of appointing the first missionary to any

* The christian community found by Palladius in the south of Ireland was so conveniently situated with respect to Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, or South Wales, as to have probably maintained a correspondence with Glastonbury, which even to the days of Dunstan was an object of Irish veneration. See Wordsworth's Lect. on Irish Church, and Soame's Latin Christianity.

new sphere of labour as bishop of a diocese yet to be reclaimed from heathenism ("in partibus infidelium,") to use a later phrase. By whom it was administered seems uncertain. If Romish writers could cite with sufficient proof that it took place at Rome, even were it certain that he was ever there, or at the hands of the supreme pontiff, doubtless they would do so; but O'Connor, although an Irish Romanist, allows it to be not improbable that the same hands may have consecrated him from whom he had received ordination. His words are "Bishops Germanus and Lupus nurtured him in sacred literature, and ordained him and made him the chief bishop of their school among the British and Irish." Ussher believed that he held his commission from Rome, but later investigation renders it almost certain that this was not the case, and that he never even saw the metropolis of christendom.

Though he had been informed of the expulsion of Palladius, he nevertheless proceeded to Ireland, fearing no similar repulse, because he well knew that in his case no similar reason existed for it. He landed in the year A.D. 432, on the coast of Leinster, on the shore of Dublin Bay, or as it is described, "the celebrated port of the territory of the Evolini," probably the "portus Eblanorum of Ptolemy," but being refused, not by christians, but by the heathen inhabitants, both there and elsewhere in Leinster, he sailed northwards as some with much probability believe, after long and laborious wanderings* to the scene of his former captivity, landing at a port near Strangford in East Ulster, where he gained as his first convert, a master herdsman, or, as some state, a native prince, named *Dicho*, with his family and a troop of armed followers assembled to repel the supposed invader of the soil, the venerable appearance of whom

* Murray, p. 28.

served as an effective weapon to disarm *hostility*, and secured for him protection and *hospitality*.

Then was given to him a building known afterwards as *Sabbul*, or "Patrick's barn," in which to celebrate divine *worship*. This edifice, we may venture in due episcopal *form* to designate Ireland's first cathedral, and to conjecture that it might have borne comparison in point of dignity and architecture with some of the simple erections of unadorned stone or timber promoted to cathedral rank by some of our modern colonial bishops. It did not probably boast of much stone tracery or painted glass, or

"Oriel window richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light,"

Yet was it destined for the ingathering of a more noble harvest than it had hitherto contained. The city which he founded at this place, then called *Denein Sailrach*, but which was subsequently called *Armagh*, became his favourite retreat; and as in the case of *Canterbury*, the locality of the first christian mission, though only a second-rate provincial town, became the principal see, the ecclesiastical capital of the kingdom.

It is conjectured that years must have elapsed marked by long laborious wanderings and various vicissitudes between the first meeting for worship in *Dicho's* humble barn when it was placed at *Patrick's* disposal, and the completion of the city where he fixed his see, with its monastery, cathedral, and schools. *Ussher*, allowing an interval of thirteen years, dates the foundation at *Armagh*, A.D. 445, at which time the saint must have attained the venerable age of seventy-three. In this place, or at *Sabbul*, he passed the remainder of his days.

In the year after his landing, having in vain appealed to

the heart of his old master, who at first continued inveterately attached to heathenism, he ventured to celebrate Easter, and to preach at Tarah, near the mouth of the Boyne, where the national council was wont to assemble in presence of Leogaire, the presiding monarch, who, if he were not actually a convert to christianity, at least gave free permission for the promulgation of the new faith ; although when first the paschal fire was kindled by the resolute missionary on the very eve of a national festival to be celebrated on the morrow, the heathen monarch and the druid priests were alike exasperated at the profanity. But Patrick's stirring eloquence prevailed over the prejudices of Leogaire, and of the chief poet. Emboldened by their conversion, he presented himself at the Taltine games, and having there secured many adherents to the new faith, he ventured to destroy the druid idol Crom Cruach on the Plain of Slaughter in Leitrim.

We learn, with more regret than surprise, that after the impression of the missionary's address had passed away Leogaire relapsed into paganism. The violence of the tornado had swept fiercely down the mountain side, washing away the surface soil, only to render more palpable the hardness of the granite rock beneath, which though stricken by human eloquence, the divine hammer had not yet broken in pieces.

He afterwards visited Connaught, into whose wilds, as stated in the " Confessions " no missionaries had as yet penetrated from the east and south. From thence he visited Leinster, and the christians of Munster in the south-west, the heralds of light from the east having there planted the primitive church, not far from the coast on which they landed without being able to penetrate into the interior, and probably not knowing the northern coast from whence those

parts could have been without difficulty reached. In passing through the latter province he came to Cashel, the residence of the kings of Munster, where the conversion of the Prince Angus was followed, as in the case of our own Ethelbert, by the adherence of the tribe which owned his authority. The missionary thus became identified with the little christian community whose existence had been tolerated already there. He founded the archiepiscopal see of Emly for the province, and consecrated four bishops there, namely, Ailbe, afterwards fondly styled "another Patrick," Declan, Kieran and Ibar. He did, not, however, seek Papal confirmation for them, nor does it appear that he ever maintained any correspondence with Rome, as Augustine so frequently did with Gregory. Even a Roman Catholic writer, says Todd ("Church of St. Patrick") has acknowledged that "our episcopal clergy never applied to that see for bulls of ratification, provisions or exemptions." "Till Henry II.," says Phelan ("Policy of Church of Rome in Ireland") the Irish prelates were held subservient by the native chiefs, the more distasteful when viewed in contrast with the different position of the Danish bishops under Roman patronage, nor could the inferior clergy enforce their tithes as in other countries. Hence, as we shall see by-and-bye, they were at a later period but too ready to alienate themselves from their people by the selfish welcome they gave to invaders who came under the shadow of the papal grant, without inquiring into the right on which such grant could rest." This continued to be the case till the Reformation, when the native chieftains became zealous papists out of hatred to a heresy which they conceived to have sprung from England.

It thus appears that at the time of Patrick's death he had organised the christians of two provinces, that is,

of Munster and Ulster, as represented by the archiepiscopates of Emly and Armagh ; and, as we have noticed how successful were the ministrations which he pursued in Meath, Connaught and Leinster, we may conceive it highly probable that he did the same in the other mission-fields, after the **example of the Apostle to the Gentiles**, who, wherever he preached, **planted a church, leaving there a presiding elder who should have the power of ordaining others also.** If we may hazard a conjecture, the church which Patrick found existing in Munster was gathered from an elder race of its inhabitants, the prince and the converts who followed in his train belonged to an invading race who had subsequently settled there. If this be correct, we cannot but contrast his policy in uniting christians of differing or alien tribes with the disuniting course pursued by Augustine, who, instead of combining British christians and Saxon converts into loving brotherhood, offended the former who retired into their remote fortresses and were lost to history, leaving an undivided, uncontested field for the occupancy of the latter. Augustine would, doubtless, have gladly combined the two elements, but he sought to effect it under the supremacy of Peter, and failed. Patrick came under different auspices, had no such ulterior object to promote, and therefore, though he had to deal with men no less sturdily independent than British christians, he had no difficulty in effecting the combination. It is not unlikely that he intended Armagh, over which he himself presided in person, to be what it subsequently became, the metropolitanical see, a common centre of all the provincial churches whose union at length constituted the "Church of Ireland." Let us bear in mind in the course of these pages what we mean by this expression, and if we find in the course of the following centuries two hostile religious communities located on the soil, let us care-

fully distinguish between the veritable, the primitive, and, thank God, the still-existing "Church of Ireland" and the alien foreign element subsequently thrusting itself on the soil, still lingering there and claiming the rights and privileges of the true church.

The visitation of distant provinces having at length terminated in the consolidation of an Irish church, Patrick, retracing his steps, returned northwards, being preserved in safety from the many snares laid to assassinate him by the persecuting druids, whose idolatrous creed he so triumphantly controverted. He then fixed his dwelling in Armagh, of which he had just founded the see; and there, or in its immediate neighbourhood, he spent the rest of his days till his death in the year A.D. 492, at the ripe age of 120 or 105 years, according to the date assumed for his birth. If we accept Moore's statement that he died A.D. 465, his age might be only 78. He was succeeded in the primacy by Benignus, a young noble who had become his disciple, and was ordained by him some years before at the time of the first Easter celebration at Tarah. From that time they had been most intimate friends.

In judging of the character and labours of St. Patrick from the "Confessions" addressed to the people of his adopted country, written in his latter days after the successful result of his evangelistic labours; we are struck with the consistency apparent between his character and the facts of his life, no less than with the simplicity and truthfulness with which he records the goodness of God to him, and the motives which had influenced and supported him. We are thus prepared to believe that the earnest labours and the holy life of so eminent a saint would in no small measure receive the divine blessing. If we would know to whose strength he appealed, and what name alone he "determined

to know," as an evangelist, we may learn it from the following well-known words forming part of a hymn composed by him just before the Easter meeting at Temur or Tarah.

"Christ be with me, Christ before me, Christ after me, Christ in me, Christ over me, Christ at my right hand, Christ at my left, Christ at this side, Christ at that side, Christ at my back, Christ in the heart of each person to whom I speak, Christ in the mouth of each person who speaks to me, Christ in each eye that sees me, Christ in each ear that hears me." And again, "Salvation is the Lord's, salvation is Christ's, may thy salvation, O Lord, be always with me." There is every reason to believe in the genuineness of this remarkable hymn, which, though its wording may be more that of a charm or incantation than a prayer, in the scriptural sense of the word, and savours somewhat of the germ of superstition, at least betokens a heart steadfastly relying only on Christ for help and salvation. Had the Virgin Mary then been an object of adoration in the Irish church, this formula would doubtless have contained a prayer addressed to her.

We have said that Patrick was not the first to introduce christianity into Ireland, but neither do we pretend that it had taken root there before his arrival. We only maintain that he found it already planted on the soil, just as it is at this day in some heathen countries, where, at certain stations isolated from each other by the forest growth of heathenism indigenous to the locality, a small space is cleared and a root or seed of better vegetation is planted, which is striking deeper into the soil, and becoming every year more naturalized till it well covers the vacant spaces and, sustained by its own superabundant vitality, begins to throw out feelers which encroach and press outwards on the surrounding jungle, till its growth was checked by later invasions from Belgium or

Germany, which having infused a fresh vitality into that jungle, the latter in its turn began to encroach on the clearings, and threatened, but for some fresh intervention, to smother the infant seed of christianity.

Such, but somewhat too monastic and too little parochial in form, must have been the little christian communities, distinct from, perhaps scarcely known to, each other, the hardy products of earlier, perhaps of apostolic, but at least probably, of oriental, missions which he would find planted here and there amid the wilds of Irish paganism, so that we wonder not if some of his controversies and most of his perils arose from druid priests. Could a parochial arrangement have been adopted, they would doubtless have more rapidly evangelised the land. But we must be cautious how we blame those infant missions, whose circumstances compelled them for a time, like our own, to adopt a defensive, rather than an aggressive, policy. Between these distant points he aimed to establish such a connexion as would organise them into one church, and thus by the united action and closer intercourse established, and the stronger impulse of spiritual life and therefore of expansive power communicated to each point, the cultivated portion of the land spread and coalesced till the heathen wilderness disappeared for a season. It was, however, only cut down as yet, not wholly eradicated, and the old roots retained enough of vitality to send forth a second growth, which, as we shall see, once more turned a garden into a wilderness, the new vegetation losing the name, but retaining the nature, of the aboriginal growth.

In this respect Patrick must bear the blame, though, of course, commended for it by Roman Catholic writers, of grafting a christian on the stock of a heathen ritual, or, let us say, of adopting a policy which would now be called *broad* and comprehensive, by sanctioning or tolerating some

semblances of paganism in order to avoid offending the prejudices of those whom he sought to conciliate for their good. A similar policy in the present day would, but for the unyielding firmness of the late Bishop Wilson of Calcutta, even with the sanction of the saintly and devoted Heber, have permitted *caste* to mingle with and degrade the christianity of India in order to secure its more rapid extension. Thus, as stated in substance by Moore, "Days devoted from old times to pagan festivals were now transferred to the service of the christian cause. The feast of Samhin, coinciding in point of time, continued to be celebrated under the name of Easter. The fires with which the pagan Irish had welcomed the summer solstice continued to burn in honour of St. John. Their sacred well became the baptismal font. The druidical stone on the high places bore rudely graved upon it the name of the Redeemer. The sacred grove was consecrated to christian use. Christian churches were built beside the old pillar temples. The order of druidesses became "the Nuns of St. Bridget."* The course of Romanism over the world abounds in examples of this kind, but pure religion never flourished by means of such unholy alliances, as assuredly it never sanctioned them, and for the sake of its purity the really *right* course would have eventually proved more expedient than the system of compromise actually followed.

Cotemporary with the foundation of the see of Armagh a synod is supposed to have been held there, at which the Canons of St. Patrick were ordained by him in conjunction

* Moore, Hist. Irel., vol. i., pp. 204, 205. On this policy Moore places the seal of his approbation, declaring that "Christianity did not disdain" thus to win its way, by making "the outward forms of past error the vehicle through which new and vital truths were conveyed."

with two other eminent men, Auxilius and Isseninus. Of these the sixth makes mention of "priests' wives," a fact to be remembered in connexion with the "monastic" system as sanctioned by him. These canons are still in existence and bear evident marks of a high antiquity, one of them for example forbidding the heathen practice of augury by consulting the entrails of birds.

Nennius, writing in A.D. 858, says that Patrick founded 365 churches and ordained a like number of bishops, as well as 3000 presbyters; but besides the suspicion which attaches to astronomical and round numbers in such matters, the ninth century was notoriously the age of fable. This is probably therefore an exaggeration, though the number of bishops was doubtless far larger than after the usurpation of the twelfth century, which rendered it important to suppress, by a reduction in their number, a too palpable evidence of the eastern origin of the church. We may observe, too, that the foundation of churches and monasteries, however much smaller their real than their assigned number, implies the commencement of church property. It was an inevitable result of a successful mission that royal and noble converts should prove their sincerity by the gift of land on which to erect churches and to provide for the maintenance of those who officiated or worshipped in them, so as to give the infant community a *locus standi*. It was on one of these grants of land that Ireland's first church at Armagh was built, and its ecclesiastical establishment sprang into existence. The right conferred in such cases was necessarily of the same kind as the right possessed, and thus invested church property with the same permanence of tenure and the same absolute power of disposal or transmission as secular property, on one sole condition, that it should be applied to the religious instruction of the people. Of course the secularization of

such property in after times must be akin to, if not identical with, spoliation. Such ecclesiastical possessions were largely increased up to the times of Henry II. The title deeds of this property have in some cases been preserved. Thus, "All that they had acquired of land, of territories, of churches, and of all special oblations, they offered to holy Patrick (Saint Patrick) for ever;" and again, "That portion of land which thou didst desire I now give thee *as fully as I have it*, and dwell thou there. And this is the city which is now named Ardd-machæ" (Armagh).—Quoted by Lanigan from the book of Armagh (see Bousfield's lecture at Winchester on Irish Church). It will be seen from the words in italics that the right of Patrick and of the church to this gift was precisely the same as that of the royal donor, and, if the latter, supposing the grant to have been made, could only have been deprived of his possession by the violence of a foreign invader or the ravages of a hostile tribe, the deprivation of her acquired property inflicted at any subsequent time on the church, though by a more civilised or parliamentary process, would be a transaction only to be classed with an act of barbarian plunder.

Before we bid farewell to Patrick, it is worth while to inquire into the doctrines which he taught. He lived in an age when the church of Christ had lost some of its pristine purity, yet we gather from the Confessions that on Justification he was of one mind with Luther, although this is rather implied than expressed, and taught rather experimentally than controversially. Indeed where there was as yet no heresy, controversy was needless.

With respect to doctrines peculiar to Romanism the surest eloquence is his silence, for errors later than his day could not pass under his censure. Non-allusion, therefore, proves non-existence. That he placed no reliance on the voice of

tradition, or of the *church*, appears from the absence of all allusion to it in the Confession, in the letter to Coroticus, and in the minor works which have come down to us, no less than from his great reverence to the Holy Scripture, his deep acquaintance and frequent expositions of it. He is silent on the doctrine of *human merit*, disdaining all human claim to the divine favour, while of himself he speaks in the deepest self-abasement. He knew nothing of *clerical celibacy*, discountenanced as it was by the example of his own father and grandfather, no less than by a canon then existing which required the wife of a clergyman to appear always veiled.* His ignorance of *purgatory* appears from a tract on the "Three Habitations" of the soul, viz.:—heaven, earth, and hell. Any kindred belief in the efficacy of *prayers for the dead* or of *invocation to the saints* is not to be inferred from the canon on "oblation for the dead," for this was the name applied to the customary offerings on behalf of the martyrs, whose day of death was called their birthday into the life eternal. There is not a word in his writings about the Virgin Mary. We cannot collect from his works the *supremacy, ex officio, of the bishop of Rome* over the universal church. The recommendation, in a canon of uncertain authority, to refer doubtful questions to the "apostolic chair of Peter" ("Si quæ quæstiones in hâc insulâ oriantur, ad Sedem Apostolicam relevantur") supposing it were genuine, though this is denied by King (Primacy of Armagh), may well consist with due respect to the capital of christendom, but proves no more. The antagonism of a native church against the aggression of a foreign prelate was not to be

* In fact, women were not excluded from Irish monasteries. "Mulierum administrationem et societatem non abnuebant." (Author of *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, quoted by Bp. Wordsworth.)

expected in his works, because in his own experience the aggression had not yet begun to exist. The failure of Palladius acted as an unpalatable but wholesome lesson to let Ireland alone, which was not forgotten or disregarded during Patrick's lifetime.

CHAPTER III.

From the Death of Patrick to the Invasion of the Danes.

THE period of St. Patrick's life and labours included the brightest days of Ireland's early church. Henceforth we must be prepared to see the shades of night gathering round it in common with the rest of christendom ; for the influences which from time to time, like the "wind that bloweth where it listeth," have affected the church, sometimes for good, as at Pentecost and at the Reformation ; at others for evil, tending as in the dark ages to superstitious credulity, or as in the present day to rationalism, are like the ocean wave, or as a tainted atmosphere, all-pervading, leaving no clime unvisited, no obscure corner of society uninfluenced no community of professing christians unaffected. In this sense, if any one section of the church suffer, all the other sections are liable to suffer with it.

Wonderful as was the change effected in the minds and hearts of the people wherever the new religion took root, the secular history of the country presents frequent scenes of civil war and bloodshed, of provincial kings dethroned, of devastation by foreign invaders. Among the latter figured the Picts and Scots, so troublesome at the same period to Britain, where they advanced southwards to occupy ground forsaken by the receding wave of the imperial Roman legions. A letter of Patrick is still extant addressed to a British prince, Coroticus, professedly a christian, yet none the less a pirate, who about A.D. 350 landing on the coast of Munster with an armed band, plundered a large

district, where, only the day before, the missionary had baptised a goodly number of converts. He complains that his first letter, requesting the restoration of booty had been disregarded, and as "bishop established in Ireland," he excommunicates the robbers. These strangers, like the barbarous invaders of the Roman world, who were transformed into the Arian persecutors of the Catholic Church of Christ, became in like manner the ready victims of a corrupted christianity, changing only their name but retaining the spirit of their former heathenism.

For a brief period, indeed, Ireland resisted the inroads of darkness, and as a beacon which casts its rays for many a league across the dark waste of waters, she still shone as the light of the West, sending her scholars and missionaries over Europe, barbarised and papalized as it was now becoming, and her lamp shone all the brighter in contrast to the surrounding gloom. At length the "dark ages" reached even so favoured a country, and like the fatal fumes of carbon, extinguished the life and light of the native church. The enemy of truth and freedom, proving too mighty for her, prevailed for a season, till One mightier than he interposed with the dawning light of the Reformation.

The invasions of Danes and Normans, the lawless times which followed the one—when the bishop and all the students were expelled from Armagh which was four times pillaged by the Danes in twenty-three years, and the destructive policy initiated by the other—when the Normans hunted up every vestige of Irish literature in order to exterminate it, deprive us of much which is illustrative of the past; yet Irish manuscripts existing in the University libraries of Dublin and Oxford, in the royal libraries of Paris and Copenhagen, in Spain, in the Vatican, and in a few private collections, all tend to prove the literary eminence to which the native Irish

laid claim in early times, but which has been lost sight of through the banishment of the colloquial tongue.

The history of the church for two or three centuries after the death of Patrick is that of a river almost swallowed up and lost in the sands of the desert, barely retaining its continuity like a silver thread, that it may expand hereafter into a broad river of living water, or even, let us hope (for it is expanding still), into a mighty lake, by means of which that desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. Benighted as she has long been, she shall yet be filled with the light of the knowledge of the glory of the Lord as the waters cover the sea. May the time soon arrive when she shall once more shine as the "light of the West."

Her annals in those times consist chiefly of the lives of her saints, intermixed indeed with the fables of monkish chroniclers who had no better amusement than to invent them; yet such, that a thread of truth is discernable through the labyrinth sufficient to show that God had not left himself without a few witnesses, even in the remotest of regions and the dreariest of times, who were faithful amid the faithless.

The first eminent name after Patrick's is that of *Columba*, the apostle of the Scottish highlands, called, in order to distinguish him from others who bore that name, *Columbkil*, or *Columba, the church builder*, from the number of edifices which he raised for divine worship.* His original name was

* "Kill" is equivalent to "Cell" or "Church," and the synonym points out the close connection between the church and the monastery. In days and places where christianity was defensive rather than aggressive, few converts were sought or obtained round the monastic walls. Consequently, a "parish" or "parish church" for the population around was unknown. A church was only required for the customary devotion of the christian fraternity, and therefore was naturally attached to the conventual buildings.

Crimthan, but was exchanged to that of the "Dove" in token of his peaceful and dovelike disposition. He is chiefly known from his connection with the *Culdees*, a term derived either from *Ceil De*, "servants of God," *Cultores Dei*, "worshippers of God," both of which they were by profession, or *Coul Dhu*, the black cowl which they wore. They were an order of monks said to have been established by Athanasius, the well-known bishop of Alexandria, in the fourth century. This, again, is suggestive of the Eastern origin of the Irish church. They are said to have been in Ireland a century before St. Patrick, and partly perhaps for that reason, partly from steadily adhering to their own religion and to the Grecian liturgy and tonsure, they have never been in good odour with Romish writers who lose no opportunity of disparaging them.

The revival of their order in Ireland was due to Columba, whose name is as familiar to the native Irish and held in as much veneration as that of Patrick himself. In the words of an early biographer, "he arose in the island of saints a new star which excelled all others as the sun excels all the lesser stars of heaven." He was paternally descended from the great king Niall of the Hostages, the leader of the pirate band, who had captured the youthful Patrick a century before on the coast of Gaul, the founder of a dynasty and of a clan but too celebrated in after times. His father was Phelim, son of Fergus, who was grandson of the great Niall, king of Ireland. The mother of Phelim was the daughter of a chief of the Scots of Argyleshire.* He was born in the year 522, during the reign of Murchertach or Murtagh, near Letterkenny in the county of Donegal. The piety manifested in his early youth induced his parents, according to the growing fashion of the time, to educate him for the clerical office.

* Murray, Ireland and her Church, p. 53.

He was placed successively under the care of the priest of Kilmacrenan, in county Donegal, with whom he once spent Christmas, at the house of Brugacius, bishop of Rathenaigh, with whom he used to recite the psalms in alternate verses; of Cruivechan, (a presbyter of St. Finian, and founder at Maghabile, on the banks of the Boyne, county Down, of one of the most famous of those monastic seminaries which had sprung up since Patrick's days all over Ireland); of Finian of Clonard, one of Patrick's seminaries; and of Germanus. The lives of him written by Cummin and Adamnan and his namesake Jonas, whose name in Hebrew signifies "a dove," with several other similar biographies, are disfigured by a vast amount of fable, yet they sufficiently prove that he merited his saintly appellation.

He is said to have been ordained in 534 at the age of twelve years, after which he immediately commenced the extension of monasticism, a system, be it observed, which however mistaken it may now seem, as hiding under a bushel the light intended to shine upon a dark world, is not in those days to be judged of by its later and baser developments. It was a necessity of times when the mountain tops of an earlier civilization became solitary islets in an ocean waste of supervening barbarism.*

In 546 he founded his Culdee establishment at Dowè

* It is to be observed that Columba never advanced beyond the order of priesthood. Lanigan relates that soon after the foundation of Durrrough monastery, he was ordained priest in Meath, and was thence recommended to St. Etchen, bishop of Clonfadin, as bishop. The latter coming in from the plough to welcome him, by a mistake reordained him priest. Columba, believing this a token of the divine will, declined, though offered, consecration. Bede says, "That island (Iona) has for its ruler an abbot, who is a priest; according to the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a priest and monk."

Calgach, Durrough, or *Derry*, and another at Dairmach, or the Field of Oaks, in Meath; soon after which he became one of that band of devoted missionaries sent forth from Ireland into the dark places of Central and Northern Europe. His brilliant talents, powerful eloquence, and burning zeal, together with the feuds among native princes, which obstructed his efforts at home, combined to urge him into a wider field of usefulness; and at the same time recalling to mind that he had once originated a war without a just cause,* he imposed on himself by way of penance a voluntary exile from his native land, and accompanied by twelve companions, he undertook a mission to Scotland, his choice of that field of labour being determined partly by compassion for the heathen darkness of the Picts, partly by his desire to evangelise the Irish colony settled on the Scottish coast, and partly, we may believe, from the facility likely to be afforded to his benevolent labours by his relative Conal, king of the Albanian Scots. He set out with his twelve companions in 565.

His first step, as in most successful missions, was to gain the ear of the chief, which, as he had hoped, was easily effected, and on *his* conversion or adhesion to the new faith, that of the people followed, nominally at least as a matter of course, first in the northern part of the kingdom and

* The facts of the case were these: Columba, when visiting Finian of Moville, saw a copy of the Scriptures, of which he secretly made a copy. Finian claiming possession of the MS., the dispute was referred to Diermit (Dermot?), monarch of Ireland, who decided in favour of Finian. Columba, in revenge, excited his kindred, the Hy Nialls against the king, who defeated him at Cuilidremne, near Sligo, in 551. His Irish brethren, disapproving of this step, prescribed as a penance, in the words of Lasrean (Lazarus?) of Devenish, "that he should spend the rest of his life as an exile." He accordingly went to Scotland and thence to Iona.

afterwards in the western isles. In consequence of this success, Conal granted him the island of Hy or Iona, one of the Hebrides, on which, after the expulsion of a Druid colony established there, he founded a church and monastery, which, according to Bishop Nicholson, he occupied with a fraternity of Culdees, whom he introduced into Scotland for the first time. From this parent stock sprang a hundred monasteries subject to the rule of Columbus, which gave the locality the name of I or Hy-Columb-kill or "the Island of Columba of the Churches." It was esteemed so sacred as to be chosen for the burial place of the Scottish kings.

Bede describes the monks as "practising works of charity and piety such as they could learn from the prophetic, evangelical and apostolical writings, a well known descriptive epithet for the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, the first including the entire Old Testament, the other two the Gospels and Epistles respectively. No slight encomium this from such a quarter, no unimportant testimony permitted to escape from so devoted an admirer of all that was Roman, and from the monkish guardians of his writings, that this Hibernian brotherhood neither were deprived of the light of life as later Romanists have been, nor did they exalt human traditions to an equality with it.

After living to witness the foundation of several monasteries in Ireland and in Britain, the offspring of those at Durrrough, Dearmagh, and Iona, Columba had acquired such influence from the weight of his character, that he was appealed to as umpire in a dispute of some importance which had arisen between the kings of Ireland and Scotland. He declined the thankless task; but he did successfully interfere about the year 574, to avert from the ancient order of Bards the extinction which then threatened them.

After two years spent in visiting the institutions which he had founded in Scotland, Ireland, and the Hebrides, he returned to his beloved retreat at Iona, where he passed his remaining days in transcribing the Scriptures (a copy of the gospels in his handwriting was preserved at Kells, down to the days of Ussher) and in training efficient candidates for the ministry. While in North Britain he is said to have opened a friendly intercourse between the Irish and the Anglo-Saxon christians.

At length on the 9th of June, A.D., 597, he expired at the age of 75. An interesting picture of the death scene has come down from his biographer, Adamnan.* The last day of his earthly existence had arrived, and it was the Sabbath. The venerable man proceeded to an adjoining granary to bless it, and having uttered a thanksgiving for the store of corn found there as a provision for the year after his removal, he imparted to his attendant a secret which the latter promised on his knees to keep. "To-day," he says, "is verily a sabbath for me, for it is the last of this toilsome life, and at the approaching hour of midnight I shall be going the way of my fathers, for the Lord Jesus Christ vouchsafes to invite me, and when this midnight comes I shall go at his bidding to be with him." At these words his companion weeping bitterly, the saint sought to comfort him. Then ascending the hill which overhung the monastery, with hands uplifted he pronounced a blessing over it in terms expressive of its future greatness, after which, descending to his chamber, he continued writing the Psalter, till coming to Psalm xxxiv., he said, "Here I must stop; what comes after let Baithen write, referring to one who was his cousin, friend, and successor at Iona, having been one of the twelve who first accompanied him thither.

* Quoted by Moore—Hist. Irel. i., pp. 250-1.

Going thence to the vesper service, he returned to his room, resting on his couch, where he had the bare flag for his straw, and for his pillow a stone." He enjoyed a short repose before his happy end drew near; but as the midnight approached, he hastened before the rest into the church alone, and sunk on his knees in prayer, in which attitude he was presently found in a dying state. His faithful Dermot laid his head on his own bosom, but the saint though speechless, raised his hand to bless the assembled brethren, and thus peacefully departed.

From all that is known of him it appears that though not wholly free from the growing superstition of the times, he was one of the most exalted saints in the Irish calendar, eminent for holiness and heavenliness of mind, devout and prayerful, mortified and self-denying, dead to the world and devoted to the service of his Lord and Master, though busy in the affairs of active life. He was laborious, enterprising, and successful in his undertakings, influential with men of rank, and condescending to men of low degree. Shortly after his time St. Kieran founded the monastery of Clonmacnois, famous for its nine churches.

The year of Columba's death was the next after the expedition of Augustine to England in order to evangelize the Saxons; but that like other Roman missionary enterprises of the same period, was undertaken more to extend the papal domination than to bring heathens to the faith of Christ. Hence when British and Irish christianity crossed its path, the respective churches, instead of rejoicing in each other as newly-found brethren and making united efforts to spread the Redeemer's kingdom, wasted strength in mutual strife. The aggressive spirit of the strangers was too palpable not to be noticed and strenuously resisted; and the contest, which in Ireland had commenced early in the ministry

of Columba, being vigorously maintained by the Culdees, continued to mark the two following centuries in both islands, the missionaries from the continent zealously urging uniformity with the Roman ritual, the bishops of native churches persisting in nonconformity, and claiming the right to observe their own rules, which they insisted were as truly apostolic as those of their opponents.

It would be foreign to our purpose to continue the narrative of these divisions in England, except as they are connected with Northumbria whose history is mixed up with that of the Irish church. This kingdom reaching from the Humber to the Tweed, was converted to christianity through the preaching of Paulinus, a Roman missionary, in the year A.D. 627, at the court of king Edwin, whose queen was the daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent. On Edwin's death five years later, the kingdom lapsed to paganism and two apostate monarchs successively occupied the throne. But these were succeeded by Oswald, a christian convert educated among the Irish Scots, who, being anxious to rekindle the light of the gospel in his dominions, naturally turned towards the quarter whence the light had shone into his own soul, and sought a Culdee bishop from Iona to succeed Paulinus on the resignation of the latter. In the words of Bede, "When king Oswald had asked a bishop of the Scots to administer the word of faith to him and his nation, there was first sent unto him (a) man of more austere disposition, who, meeting with no success and being disregarded by the English people, returned home.

But Oswald was not disheartened. Being no admirer of Roman innovations and influenced by the memories of his youth and an Irish education, he still preferred a bishop from Iona to one from Rome. He therefore made a second

request, in answer to which the brethren there sent him one of their number named AIDAN.

From this time the Irish establishments sent forth a succession of men who witnessed against the corruptions of the Roman hierarchy; or in the words of Bede, "From this time the Scots of Ireland poured daily into Britain to preach the truths of the gospel," and, to the distaste of Romish writers, mainly contributed, as Ussher shews, to her evangelization. Among these Iona, in consequence of Columba's extreme care in selecting and instructing his followers, well maintained its sacred character as a focus of spiritual light, untarnished till the invasion of the Danes.

Aidan is allowed by Bede to have been a man of the "greatest modesty, piety, and moderation, *although* he kept Easter according to the custom of the country," in preference to that of Western Christendom! Aidan professed zeal for God, but such grievous nonconformity alas! proved that it was not according to knowledge. In fact the Roman party having inserted the thin end of the wedge in England, steadily nurtured the growth of their power till it gained supremacy by superseding every practice whose variance from their own reminded the English of their former independence, a process afterwards to be repeated in Ireland with the like success.

The isle of Lindisfarne, thenceforward called Holy Island, opposite to the coast of Northumberland near Berwick, was assigned to Aidan as his see, chiefly because of the Culdee preference for island bishoprics, but partly also to mark the independence of the British church on Gregory who had decreed that York should be the metropolis of the Northumbrian branch of the Saxon church.* Lindisfarne retained its episcopal succession for a time, till at length papal influ-

* Murray & Co.

ence prevailed and transferred it to York in the person of the imperious Wilfrid. Aidan, in the exercise of his ministry, preferred his native Irish tongue to the Anglo-Saxon which he understood but imperfectly; and Oswald who had acquired the former during his minority passed on the Hibernian shore, was able to translate Aidan's sermons to his fellow auditors. Fuller, with his usual quaintness following Bede, remarks—"When Aidan came first into England he was not perfect in the language of our country, wherefore King Oswald, the Royal Interpreter, a better Irishman as bred among them than Aidan was an Englishman, interpreted unto the people what the other preached unto them. Thus these two made together a perfect preacher; and although some may say sermons thus at a second hand must lose much of their life and lustre, yet the same spirit working in both, the ordinance proved effectual to the saving of many souls."

Aidan was eminently prospered in his labours, the whole kingdom of Northumbria being recovered from paganism. On his death his immediate successor was Finan, also from Iona, a man, says Bede, "of rough nature, but successful in his ministerial labours, for he baptized the kings of the East and Middle Angles, and consecrated St. Chad a bishop of the former. Indeed, it must be confessed that the Culdees, though unrecognised at the metropolis of christendom, were the chief evangelisers of the north of England.

Finan trod in the steps of his predecessor, firmly opposing innovations, especially that respecting the celebration of Easter* which was even then causing no small dissension.

* Patrick's theory of Easter is thought to have differed from that held in the British Isles, for Cumman, an Irishman, writing to Segienus, an abbot of Iona, says, "I have found cycles contrary to that which you hold, first that which St. Patrick our pope brought

The high respect entertained for the personal character of these two prelates secured some degree of order while they lived, but on Finan's death the dispute broke out in all its virulence. He was succeeded by Colman, also from Iona, who being likewise a stout opponent to innovations on primitive usage, pleaded at the council of Whitby against Wilfrid, an ambitious man, who was induced by the attractive splendour of the Roman ritual to be its defender.

True to the oriental associations and the independence of the church which had educated him, and of that over which he presided, he pleaded St. John's authority in the paschal controversy, while Wilfrid maintained that of St. Peter. The good king Oswald (for apart from the miracles so credulously attributed to him by Bede, enough remains to warrant that title) was slain in battle with the pagans of Mercia, A.D. 642, his successor being his brother Oswy in Bernicia and a relative named Oswin in Deira. By the death of the latter, Oswy ere long ruled over all Northumbria, and (after the conquest of Penda) over Mercia, which, in consequence

and makes, in which it is kept by the moon from the fourteenth to the twenty-first regularly, and the equinox from the twelfth before the Calends of April." This Cumman is thought to have been a monk in Columba's monastery at Durrrough. On becoming a convert to the Roman supremacy, he detailed his views to five Irish bishops, who were evidently prepared for a similar conversion. They had nearly succeeded when, says Cumman, annoyed at the interruption, "a whited wall got up and pleaded the tradition of the elders." The synod however determined to send a mission of inquiry to the "head of cities," and certain persons accordingly were sent to Rome, not so much, to judge from the above expression, as being the seat of the church, but rather as the metropolis of Europe and of civilisation. The fact that Patrick's followers did not follow his Easter rule shows that he treated it as an open question.—*Quoted by Rev. H. Bousfield, Lecture at Winchester, on Irish Church.*

of Oswy's profession of the new faith gave its own adherence to it. He probably had no sincere convictions, and though at first preferring the christianity of Iona, its village bishops, and its oriental celebration of Easter, he was tampered with at the council of Whitby, held under the presidency of Hulda, the mother abbess of the religious house at that place, by the Augustinian or Roman party, who were under the protection of the queen Lanfrid, a princess from Kent, where they still had their head quarters. From such a vantage ground they easily gained over the king, who sarcastically decided in their favour, in order that he might not, as he said with a smile, offend the apostle who held the keys of heaven, lest he should one day be refused admission there.*

The native bishops hereupon retired unconvinced and unwilling to yield. Their leader Colman, rather than submit to a decision which would fasten on the neck of his church the yoke of bondage to a foreign see, resigned his bishopric and, accompanied by the Irish Culdees and thirty English monks from Lindisfarne, returned in a body to Iona and ultimately to Ireland. After his departure, Oswy, probably himself indifferent, but like a puppet, acting as his ghostly advisers pulled the strings, carried out the decision of the council by expelling all the Culdees from his kingdom, and replacing them with Benedictines. The Picts under their king Naitan soon afterwards conformed to the continental rule.

After founding the monastery of *Magio* or *Mayo* as a refuge for the English monks who did not heartily fraternize with their companions, Colman spent the rest of his days in an island known by the name of *Inis-bo-fin*, or the *White Cow*. Iona meanwhile maintained its independence for a long time, notwithstanding the annoyances

* Murray, pp. 64-5.

offered by Oswy's successor, till at length Adamnan, the last Culdean abbot, succumbed through the influence of Egbert, an English priest, and in the year 717 the Pictish king, expelled the whole fraternity from the island.* The Britons in North Wales held out till A.D. 809.

Cressy, a Romanist, esteems the result of this movement as a great success, because, as he is pleased to phrase it, "the monks of Hy and their dependencies were converted to the unity of the Catholic church."† That the triumph was not unmixed we learn from the fact that the native clergy of the north of Ireland proceeded to Iona and demolished Kellach's monastery, erected on the island and, till the year 1203, regarded as a rival community, set up in the face of the protesting bishops of Ulster, to strengthen the Romish party there and to introduce the Italian rule. The group of Culdee monasteries in Iona unanimously electing the abbot of Derry as their president, then resumed their old customs as an Irish establishment.

It is worth noticing that the Culdee priests were married, and that at a later period at St. Andrew's they used the Gallican and not the Roman ritual book—a fact from which we may infer that the former did not include the *mass*. Their establishments long continued in Ireland, no power, civil or ecclesiastical, being able to eradicate them though a few yielded to external pressure, and from and after the year 1327 consented to be consecrated as bishops. Ussher mentions them as existing even in the days of Charles I. in Ulster, and especially in Armagh. They gradually lost their privileges, but in 1625 retained considerable property, consisting of sundry townlands and parishes, since transferred to the foundation of Trinity College, Dublin. They

* Bede, Ecc. Hist. Murray, pp. 65-6.

† Murray, p. 67.

were therefore the representatives of the primitive Irish church through the whole period of Roman domination.

Among the eminent names of this period must not be omitted that of St. Brigitta or Brigid, who in the fifth century introduced into Ireland the system of nunneries, which was already known on the continent, and under the excitement of her example quickly spread through the country. It has been conjectured by Moore* and others to be merely the christianised form of an order of druidesses. Be that as it may, she must be regarded as the parent of the institution with its results, whether for good or evil. The coincidence in this as in other cases between spurious christianity and heathenism, whether designed or not, is not fortuitous, but the invariable feature of all human systems of religion, which inevitably fall in with the tendencies of corrupt human nature, and thus easily win the acceptance only due to higher credentials or more intrinsic worth. In some cases such coincidence has been designed as a measure of worldly policy, judiciously adopted, as it was urged, in order to avoid the needless alarm of ancient prejudices. "*Kildare*," "*the Cell of Oaks*," or "*Oaken Church*," an old druid site, became the head-quarters of St. Brigid, the town so called growing up round the establishment in consequence of the resort thither of pilgrims and mendicants. In due time it became the see of a bishop whose peculiar charge was to watch over the churches and communities belonging to her institution. This group of female religious houses forcibly reminds anyone acquainted with Belgium with similar establishments called the "*Beguinages*," found at Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, Bruges, and most of the old Flemish cities, where an enclosing wall surrounds a group of dwellings, numbered and ranged in streets, like a town within a town, where each

† Moore, pp. 256-7.

house accommodates a sub-matron and three female companions, all being governed by a matron-in-chief. In the midst is a chapel where the whole community assemble for worship, and adjoining it the residence of the officiating priest. In Ghent the Beguinage includes nearly 150 such dwellings.

Kildare was also celebrated as the seat of the sacred fire said to have been miraculously kindled and kept alive for more than six hundred years. It was also the scene of St. Brigid's latter years till the close of her earthly career, A.D. 525, at the age of seventy-four.

Our sketch of the Irish church at this period would be incomplete unless we noticed its literature and its missionary efforts, both of which occupied so prominent a position in its early annals. Indeed the learned men who appeared in various parts of Europe after the Danish invasion were a fair sample of the materials to be found in Ireland previous to that event. Bede mentions several men who resorted thither in the seventh century to study the Scriptures, such as Alfred the Northumbrian, Willebrord the apostle of Friesland, and Alcuin.* Mosheim speaks of its ecclesiastics as travelling among the Batavian, Belgic, and German nations with the pious intention of propagating the knowledge of the truth." He says, "the Hibernians were lovers of learning, travelling the most distant lands with a view to improve and communicate their knowledge, discharging the functions of doctors in France, Germany, and Italy; the first teachers of scholastic theology in Europe."†

It may seem strange that Ireland should have been so eminently a centre of learning, christian zeal and missionary labours among surrounding nations, the university, as it were, of christendom, whence teachers were sought and

* Bede, Ecc. Hist.

† Mosheim, Ecc. Hist.

welcomed in every part of Europe; while the land of their birth was the victim of barbarising pirate invasions, of internecine war between petty chiefs, and as in Patrick's early youth, could even boast of native pirates who ravaged and plundered the coast of Gaul. But it must be borne in mind how easily the two elements could coexist on the same soil. Secluded within their walls, the inmates of a monastic seminary, the representatives and the remnant of an earlier, or as in Patrick's case, of a foreign civilization,—the mammoth and mastodon fossils of a bygone era, the island rock-summits of a submerged continent—could pursue the calm current of devotion or study, little conscious of, little interrupted by, the tumult which raged without, like Archimedes working problems amid the falling ruins of the besieged city of Syracuse. On the other hand, those outside the sacred precincts, often representing later invasions of barbarous tribes, could follow their career of strife, little aware of, little caring for, the religion or learning of those within. In short, the two communities belonged to two different worlds, as distinct from each other as the earth from the planet Jupiter. Yet it is not improbable that after a time the spoilers without, becoming cognizant and envious of the treasures to be found within, at length, like the Danes of a later period, laid sacrilegious hands on their possessors. This fact would stimulate, and partly account for, the dispersion over Europe of scholars and teachers, who expelled from their native soil, sought abroad that quiet retreat and that sphere of unmolested usefulness which were no longer to be found at home.

In searching, therefore, for her eminent men, we may expect to find many of them far removed from their native soil, and if we look for them on the continent of Europe we shall not be disappointed. Indeed the classical student well knows that the British Isles are not the only example of insular

communities spreading their name, their power, their presence, and influence, their civilization and religion far from their narrow sea-girt bounds outward to the remotest regions of the earth, and onward to the remotest periods of time. The philosopher will see in the island-influence spreading over wide continental surfaces the mastery of mind over matter, the advantage of unity, most cohesive, yet most elastic when most compressed, in contrast to a wide extent of territory whose coherency varies inversely as its magnitude. The christian mind will feel the wonder-working hand of a sovereign God more plainly evident in the disproportion between small means and a large result.

Let us then, before passing on to later events, briefly glance at the names of several Irishmen who became eminent on the continent, and accompany them to the scene of their labours. The first is *Fridolin*, called the "Traveller," who after slaking his thirst for mission work in the villages of his native land, crossed the water on a visit to Hilary of Poitiers, and in consequence of a dream, passed thence to evangelise the Black Forest, whose denizens were descended from the ancient Alemanni. He founded the monastery of Seckingen on an island in the Upper Rhine between Basle and Schaffhausen, granted him by Clovis, to which, after founding another among the Glarni, he returned to die in the year 538.

But a name more widely known is that of Columbanus, (not to be confounded with Columba,) the apostle of the Suevi, the Boii, and the German Franks. He was born in the middle of the sixth century, forty years later than his namesake, of a noble family in Leinster, and while pursuing his studies at Iona, and at Bangor on the Ulster coast in county Down, an institution which his name caused to be celebrated throughout Europe, he felt a desire to benefit the

pagan world.* His thoughts first turned towards France where Roman civilization and christianity had all but disappeared before barbarian invaders from the north-east of Europe. Regarding as of little value the christian profession of Clovis and his successors, he began his career about A.D. 590 by an attempt to restore the lost churches of Gaul, and after preaching there for some time, during which he lived as an ascetic in strictest solitude, he built his earliest settlement at the foot of the Alps among the forests of Burgundy, first in the shape of twelve cabins for himself and twelve companions who, as in the case of his namesake, subsequently joined him, but soon afterwards in the more stately form of the monastery of Luxeuil, near the Vosges, in Franche Comté, whose Roman name Lexovium indicates an older civilization still lingering there, and which being filled to overflowing by the crowds which his fame attracted, was followed by another named "*Fontaines*," or "the Fountains."

After twenty years, his residence at Luxeuil was abruptly terminated by Thierry or Theodoric of Burgundy, and his grandmother Brunehaut whose immoralities he reprov'd.† Although backed by the influence of noble and wealthy adherents, yet, refusing to obey an order to retire from thence, he was forcibly removed and shipped for Ireland, or, as legends say, enabled to pay an intended visit to the tomb of

* He first placed himself under the instruction of Sinell, at Cluaininis, at Lough Erne, and went thence to Iona and Bangor, where he remained for some years under St. Cangall. It was probably there that he wrote an exposition of the Psalms and some Latin poems.

† Another obstacle to his missionary success in France was his adherence to the Irish and British mode of keeping Easter, which was offensive to the Gallican church. On this subject he wrote to Gregory, and, among other authorities, pleaded the practice of Jerome in his favour, and that of Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea.

his friend St. Martin; but the vessel being wrecked at Nantes, he proceeded to visit the courts of Theodebert and Clothaire, by whom he was received with marked distinction, and after sojourning in various parts of France and Germany, on the banks of the Rhine and in Switzerland, and instructing the Slavonic tribes on the Danube not without success, a vision is alleged to have deterred him from proceeding further to the east, and turned his steps towards Lombardy, whose king Agilulph and queen Theodelinda received him with flattering attention, and ere long joined the church. In this case the gospel was brought from the far west to Italy with a success not granted to the first emissary from Italy to the far west. By royal permission Columbanus founded an institution for the education of missionaries on the model of that at Bangor, at Bobbio in a retired part of the Appennines near the Trebbia, not unlike those now existing at Basle and St. Chrischona for the education of missionaries. There he resided till his death A.D. 616, after forty-two years of evangelizing labours. His coffin, chalice, and staff, are *said* to be preserved there, and his name is perpetuated in the town of San Columbano in Lodi.

His route to Switzerland lay up the Rhine as far as Limmat and thence to Tuggen, on the most distant part of the lake of Zurich, whose people, "wholly given to idolatry" and refusing to quit their idols, the evangelists, provoked beyond the bounds of prudence and propriety, burnt their temple and were expelled the country. Thence traversing the desolating path of Attila, after partaking the hospitalities of a priest named Willmar, at the castle of Arbon, near the lake of Constance, he preached with acceptance at Bregenz to a tribe of Alemanni, in a ruined church then used as an idol temple, formed a settlement there and taught the arts of civilization. Driven thence after three years of labour as

already related, when he crossed the Alps into Italy, he left his companion Gallus or St. Gall disabled by illness at Willemar's hut, and Sigebert at St. Gothard who evangelized Grisons, among whom he founded the abbey of Dissentis. Meanwhile the missionary school of Bobbio became the nucleus of a wide-spreading monastic order in which the pure doctrine and simple practice of the Hiberno-oriental christians grew up beside, and in contrast with, the budding Romanism of the Benedictine system which was then spreading over Europe from its head quarters at Monte Casino. But the succeeding presidents not being so uncompromising as himself, his institutions gradually merged into conformity with the rule of the Italian Benedict.

Being of a manly independent character, he sturdily opposed the pretensions of Rome. A letter to Boniface IV., said to be written by desire of Agilulph, shows his competence to sweeten the most unyielding firmness with words of courtesy, gilding before administering the pill. After apologising that "such a mere clown should venture to address so great a dignitary endued with most polished manners, a man of no manners writing to the most eloquent, the lowliest to the highest," he proceeds to reproach in strong terms his predecessor Virgilius, after which he continues, "That thou mayest not be deprived of apostolic honor, preserve apostolic faith. Therefore I entreat thee, O pope, that thou mayest cleanse the chair of St. Peter from all error if any have gained admission; if not, that its purity may be known of all; for one must grieve and mourn if in the apostolic see the catholic faith be not maintained." Bold language this from an humble Irish priest to the primate of the West!*

* Moore, (*Hist. Irel.*, i., 204-5), perplexed doubtless at so early an instance of anti-papalism, ingeniously suggests a doubt of his ortho-

We must not linger over the names of ST. GALL, the apostle of Switzerland, the disciple and friend of Columbanus, who at his death bequeathed him his own pastoral staff, though he would not quit the mountain home to which he felt himself destined, and where his name is enshrined in the monastery of St. Gall, built on the site of his cell in the Canton of the same name; of his fellow disciple DEICOLA (*Dichuil*) who, under the patronage of Clothaire II. founded an establishment at Luthera; of SIGEBERT, another companion of Columbanus and a pastor on Mount St. Gothard; of KILIAN, who preached successfully at Wurtzburg, and as his first convert baptised Gosbert, duke of Thuringia, but was martyred three years afterwards; of FIACRE, to whose celebrated hermitage Anne of Austria made a pilgrimage on foot in 1641; of FURSA, who built a monastery at Lagney, on the banks of the Marne; of WILLEBRORD, born A.D. 658, "to whom fertile Britain gave birth and whom learned Ireland instructed in sacred studies," who being anxious, after twenty years of religious life, to improve himself by travelling, and attracted by the scholastic learning of Ireland, retired to study there, as Alcuin, his biographer relates, and died A.D. 740, archbishop of Utrecht; of CLAUDIUS SCOTUS (A.D. 815) whom Ussher calls "a famous divine, counted one of the founders of the University of Paris," whose opinions as gathered from his commentaries on St. Matthew and the Pauline epistles contrast with modern Romanism, as proved by his Commentary on the

doxy, by connecting him with the heretical "Three Chapters," condemned at the council held in A.D. 553; and adds, that the protest addressed to the individual pope was compatible with reverence to the papacy. This theory is hardly reconcilable with the general attitude of the Irish towards the Roman see. For life of Columbanus, see Murray, pp. 73-8; Moore, i., 259-267.

Galatians now in the British Museum; of CLEMENT and another Irishman, who in the days of Charlemagne were heads of colleges in France and Italy respectively; of MAILDULF, to whom the Saxon Aldhelm owed his skill in Latin composition; of VIRGILIUS, *Feargall*, or *Farrel*, who with other Irishmen undertook a mission to Germany (A.D. 746), under the auspices of Pepin, father of Charlemagne, but was denounced in the metropolis of christendom (the forerunner of Galileo) by Boniface, bishop of Metz, for maintaining that the world is round! of DUNGAL, who taught philosophy in a French monastery; of CATALDUS, from the school of Lismore who settled at Tarentum; of ADAMNAN, abbot of Hy, biographer of COLUMBA, but who had not sufficient firmness to resist, like his predecessors, the encroachments of Rome; of ÆNGUS or ANGUS, who in the ninth century wrote in Irish a poetical history of the descendants of Abraham; or even of JOHANNES-SCOTUS, whose name ERIGENA or ERINBORN, no less than his mental qualities and extant writings mark him as a genuine Irishman. Besides translating Greek treatises, visiting Greece and learning Arabic and Chaldee, Scotus was chiefly celebrated for certain speculations found in his writings, and for unflinching opposition to the dogma of the Real Presence, or Transubstantiation, then first questioned, say its defenders; then first adopted, says the voice of history. In this he was the predecessor of Bertram, or Ratramnus, and with Berenger, abbot of Corvey in Westphalia, joint-antagonist to the treatise of Paschasius Radbert on the Lord's Supper in A.D. 851. The sacramental treatise of Scotus was written by command of Charles the Bald, but has perished by the hand of time. Even Leo IX. who burned it in 1050 and expunged its author from the list of Romish worthies has not succeeded by so immortalizing a process in rescuing it from oblivion.

Towards the end of the eleventh century or early in the twelfth, Marianus Scotus, an Irishman, educated at Fulda, afterwards a monk at Ratisbon, and preceptor to Nicholas Breakspear, wrote or translated some valuable works, among others a Chronicle from the Birth of Christ down to A.D. 1083. He was counted the most learned man of his day. Cotemporary with him were Tigernach the Annalist, abbot of Clonmacnois, an excellent classic, and Duncan, an Irish bishop, who compiled and presented to the monastery of St. Remigius, a commentary on a work of "Marianus de Capellâ," written in the fifth century on grammar, rhetoric, logic, music and astronomy. Mosheim ascribes the origin of scholastic theology to Irishmen in the eighth century. He says, "That the Hibernians who are called Scots in this century were lovers of learning and distinguished themselves in those times of ignorance by the culture of the sciences beyond all other European nations, travelling through the most distant lands to improve and communicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have been long acquainted; but that those Hibernians were the first teachers of the scholastic theology in Europe, and so early as the eighth century, illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy, appears from the testimony of Benedict, abbot of Armaine.* This, it must be confessed, is but a doubtful compliment, for though it implies the literary eminence of the "Light of the West," the scholastic philosophy "darkening counsel by words without knowledge" did much to develope the errors of Romanism, and to mark the era of its prevalence as the "Dark Ages."

Before proceeding further, we will glance at the prominent features of the Irish church during the period we are reviewing.

We have seen the determined resistance repeatedly offered

* Mosh. Cent. viii., p. ii., c. iii.

by the early christians,—we will venture to call them the primitive PROTESTANTS of Ireland,—to the innovations and assumptions of foreign missionaries. It appears on every page of their history, but most remarkably in the Easter question. Without entering into the minutiae of this celebrated controversy, the first documentary notice of which occurs in a letter from Lawrence, Augustine's successor, to the Irish bishops, A.D. 609, suffice it to say, in order to account for the vehemence displayed on both sides, that two different practices divided the Eastern and Western churches. The latter, provided that it should always fall on a Sunday, the first after the paschal full moon, in order to connect the facts of the Resurrection on the first day of the week, and the Crucifixion on the preceding Friday (leaving the two days' interval intact) as the completion of the victory over death and the grave; whereas, by the Eastern rule that Easter should always be on the third day after the passover, held on the *fourteenth* day of the paschal moon (a festival which the Western church cared not to perpetuate), the Quartodecimans (hence so-called), could celebrate the resurrection on any day of the week, and sever it by various intervals from that of our Lord's death.

The Irish and British churches, while maintaining the Eastern principle, conceded so far as that it should always fall on Sunday; but differences in calculating lunar cycles, that of Dionysius, framed in A.D. 525, according to the Alexandrian rule, being adopted in the sixth century in continental Europe, but in Britain and Ireland not till later, caused variations of a week or even a month in the time of celebration. Thus the Roman limit of Easter being from the fifteenth to the twenty-first day of the moon; the Irish was from the fourteenth to the twentieth. Hence, if the passover were on a Sunday, the former counted that

day as Palm Sunday, the latter as Easter day. Again, the Romans adopting the Dionysian or correct lunar cycle, and the Irish one of eighty-four years, the paschal moon and the Easter day of the one might be a month later than those of the other, or combining both elements of variation, the interval might be five weeks, the feast of the resurrection in one case answering to the early part of Lent in the other.

It was sometimes a practical inconvenience where members of the same family occasionally acted on opposite views of the question, one side of a house celebrating a joyous festival while the other was keeping Passion week. This once happened in the royal family of Northumbria; the king celebrating the Irish festival, while the queen, who was from Kent, kept time with Rome.

Yet so secondary a matter would not have been so warmly agitated, had it not, like our own surplice question, been conceived to involve, and really involved, a vital principle, the retention of the previous practice being the badge of independence and distinctiveness from a hierarchy which would fain lord it over God's heritage. We could scarcely otherwise believe how great a conflagration so small a spark could kindle; but controversies of the *genus* "*vestiarian*," whether in the seventh, sixteenth, or nineteenth century, show that "rags of popery," or heresy, however intrinsically worthless, are dangerous because of their symbolism.

Thus also was the Easter question viewed by the innovating party, who regarded its concession as homage rendered to the pontiff, and such homage as requisite to salvation. Thus Aldhelm exclaims, "If the keys of the kingdom of heaven were conferred by Christ, who that despises the principal statutes of his church can enter with joy through the gates

of the heavenly paradise? Who that refuses to adopt the rule of the paschal festival, can by any possibility think but that he is bound hereafter by the light chains that can never be loosed, instead of being mercifully pardoned." "But if any one should plead his reception of all Scripture doctrines," he proceeds, "I must exert myself to break down and dash to pieces the bulwark of this excuse, leveling it to the ground with the engine of apostolic reprimand, for St. James saith that "Faith without works is dead."

This dispute was of long standing, as was the assumption of authority by the Western church and its resistance by the Eastern. In the second century Polycarp of Smyrna sought a conference with Anicetus of Rome, in which it was discussed without success, but without a breach of charity. About a generation later Victor of Rome commanded Polycrates of Ephesus and the Asiatic bishops, to conform to the rule of the metropolitan city; but the latter declining to obey, Victor excommunicated them. Being checked by the timely expostulations of Irenæus, he proceeded no further; and thus matters stood till the Council of Nice (A.D. 325) decreed the abolition of the eastern practice. The British and Irish churches did not care to acknowledge a council at which they had not been represented; and, therefore, when Pope Honorius wrote to their bishops, exhorting them to conformity with the universal practice which a synod was held to enforce, they sent a civil message to the Roman court, but evaded the decree. They again, as we have seen, contended for their independence, though unsuccessfully, at the synod of Whitby in A.D. 664.

On the same principle, the assertion of independence, must we account for the tonsure controversy, the Roman monks leaving a circular rim of hair on the crown of the head, while the Irish monks stood up for the favourite fashion

of the Greeks, to wear a crescent from ear to ear, the hair behind the head being allowed to grow.

An examination of the doctrines and practices of the Irish church down to the year A.D. 1150, would amply show how widely both diverged from those of papal christendom. *Celibacy* was not universal in Ireland till the twelfth century, that is, till the church had lost the power of self-government; for Bernard of Clairvaux, on this ground denounces the Irish clergy as a wicked and adulterous generation, and condemns their custom of making bishops of bishops' sons. He also accuses them of rejecting *auricular confession*, and *priestly absolution*, confessing to God alone as alone having the power to forgive. They refused to pay tenths and first fruits, rejected the Roman marriage rites, *the invocation of saints and angels*, and *transubstantiation*, and administered the communion in both kinds. They condemned the *use of images* as superstitious and idolatrous, and knew not even the name of *purgatory*.

To these facts their enemies bear witness, stigmatising them as schismatics and bad christians, who disregarded lawful authority. Such names applied to them in the bull of Adrian IV. constitute their best praise, and confirm the statement of their long maintained independence.

Of their remarkable reverence for the sacred Scriptures and their eminent scholarship, the evidence is interwoven with the ecclesiastical annals of Europe. We have already seen it exemplified in Patrick, Columba,* and the

* Moore, (i. 252) quoting from the Annals of the Four Masters, for the year 1006, mentions a copy of the Four Gospels, said to be written in Columba's own handwriting, preserved in the Kells monastery, richly bound and ornamented. It is supposed to be a copy preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, on whose margin is a MS. notes of date 1677 by "Liber autem hic scriptus est manu ipsius B. Columbæ."

later monks of Iona. Dr. Lanigan mentions a vessel reaching Cork in the days of St. Senan, with fifty passengers from the continent, whose object probably was "to improve themselves in the study of the Scriptures." Bede states that Bishop Agilbert, a Frenchman, A.D. 650, spent no small time in Ireland for the sake of reading the Scriptures. Referring to a plague which visited Ireland, A.D. 564, he remarks that, "there were in that country at the time we speak of many of the nobility, and of the middle classes too, who had left their native island, either for the purpose of studying the word of God, or else to observe a stricter rule." He speaks also of Alfred, king of Northumbria, in 685, as a man most learned in the Scriptures, living as a sojourner in the country of the Scots (*i.e.* Ireland) and there imbibing heavenly wisdom with all his heart's attention.

The reader will not be misled by our mention of monks and monasteries, and the monastic life of Irish saints, to mistake the latter for the monastic life of Europe in the corrupt mediæval form unmasked at the Reformation, or that of Egyptian anchorites in earlier times. The unsettled state of a country the prey of foreign invaders, divided into petty sovereignties whose pagan and semi-barbarous rulers were almost incessantly at war, rendered seclusion within monastic walls a necessity to a christian community, postponing their more pervasive and beneficial influence over the land till quieter times should arrive, and a parochial system could become a possibility.

That the country was then what it had been for ages, a scene of barbarian turmoil, even the believer in the earlier civilization, can hardly doubt; for besides that conflicts must perpetually arise among the successive invaders who originally occupied the soil, the very constitution of Celtic (not to speak of Teutonic) tribes, who may

have formed the civilizing element among barbarian immigrants from other quarters, was the co-existence of petty tribes and chiefs under a presiding chief, whose power to control or arbitrate was oftener nominal than real. This feature is discernible in the thirty-one contemporary kings of Canaan, in the numerous Homeric sovereigns of ancient Greece, in the various British, Scottish, Saxon and Anglican clans, and, may we add, in the modern Bedouins of Arabia, who still retain the habits of primitive times. The intestine feuds thus generated were specially fostered in Ireland by the perpetual subdivision of power and property (primogeniture being ignored or unknown) and by questions of precedence arising out of the tribute due from inferior and superior chiefs. The localities, then, which witnessed the early progress of monasticism must have been more like constellations of stars on a dark sky than an uniform surface of light. The monasteries thus were a compound of the asylum from turmoil and outrage in unsettled times, the school, and the missionary college, whose members were the skilled expositors of Scripture to the students who resorted thither. They were therefore no more to be confounded with mediæval institutions, than are the schools at Harrow, Eton, and Winchester, or the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge of our own day. But we must not overlook their unfavourable side. The stability of this secluded church was tested when the locality where it had taken root was plunged in the furnace of a two-fold affliction—intestine war and foreign invasion, and while tribulation doubtless purged the dross from its genuine members, yet collectively declension was the result of the atmosphere it breathed.

BOOK II.

THE DARK AGES:

FROM THE INVASION OF THE DANES UNTIL THE REFORMATION.

CHAPTER I.

From the Invasion of the Danes to the Commencement of the English Sovereignty and the Papal Supremacy.

IRELAND at the close of the eighth century was a pentarchy composed of Leinster, Munster, Ulster, Connaught, and Meath, the petty disputes of whose petty rulers overspread the island with perpetual broils. One of them being invested with precedency, like the Saxon Bretwalda, (Britain-wielder) might have been a centre of union and a preserver of peace, but being all too near equality for either to submit readily to another, the precedency was nominal, while mutual encroachment, war, and bloodshed were but too real. Thus they remained for more than two hundred years after the arrival of the northern pirates, who, taking advantage of their feebleness and disunion, seized on the eastern coast, driving them over the Shannon to the west, till Brian Boru arose, the ancestor of the present O'Brien family, the Irish "King Alfred" succeeding in the sovereignty to Malachy the Great, who had been the vanquisher of the Danes, and a worthy representative of the Hy Niall race, but who, by a

fall as great as had been his elevation, was compelled to abdicate in favour of his rival. Boru remodelled the laws, endeavoured to restore religion and learning, united the jarring factions, under his standard, through the power of his master-mind, and in the year A.D. 1014, the eighty-eighth of his age, he fought and routed the Danes at Clontarf, which has ever since retained its rank among the great battle fields of history.

The fallen Malachy generously supporting the efforts of Brian, the Danes were checked for a time, and might have been expelled from the soil had Brian, who was soon afterwards slain, been succeeded by men who were equally able to hold their countrymen in cohesion. But these northern invaders, like other invaders, being instruments of divine providence, progressed like waves of the advancing tide over their destined course, as irresistible as those of the German Ocean when they approached Canute upon the British shore. Their assigned destiny was to mingle with the races of Southern Europe, imparting their own strength of character to each, and therefore encountering, with some brilliant exceptions, nought but disunion and feebleness,—wherever they landed they met with no effectual resistance. They successfully accomplished their mission, which, though seemingly disastrous, has, like other providential events, been beneficial to later times.

About the close of the eighth century “the populous north” began to “pour from her frozen loins” the pirate hordes which, founding settlements in the sunny south (so inviting in its contrast to the desolation of an hyperborean home) along the shores of France and Italy, left not unvisited the British Islands, and landing on the Irish coast with the same invading fury as in England, equally succeeded in gaining a footing on its soil which they retained

from their first invasion, A.D. 795, in the reign of Ædan, in the course of which they set fire to the monastery of Iona, down to their defeat by Brian Boru, thus adding another ingredient of strife to those already existing.

They were composed of two elements: *Normans* (not to be confounded with the adventurers of the Pale who arrived from England some three hundred and fifty years later, but "men from the North," properly called *Northmen*; and *Ostmen* or *Eastmen*, each being named from the directions in which lay their original homes; for the former came from Scandinavia, that is, from Norway and Denmark, and in the Irish annals are described as *Galls* or strangers, Gentiles, Lake-dwellers, and Pirates; the latter came from the northern coast of Germany. A Norman fleet landing in Ireland was routed A.D. 812, but Turgesius, son of the Norwegian king, three years later landed and ravaged the northern coast with his fleets and armies. Aided by successive reinforcements and by the treacherous alliance of several native chiefs, the too sure result of internal feuds and civil strife, he continued this process for the next thirty years, forming several settlements on the coasts. He stormed the city of Dublin, and thereupon claimed the sovereignty. He was followed by three new invaders, Anlaf, Sitric, and Ivar, three brothers of the Norwegian royal family, who, landing in A.D. 853 seized on the coast of Leinster, formed fresh settlements and exacted tribute. A fierce struggle continued till the eleventh century, the unity and determination of the invaders triumphing over the resistance of a disunited people, when the invasion of a more powerful neighbour at length fused the jarring elements.

During this dreary period, comprising three centuries of darkness, religion naturally declined; for, while a flood of barbarism overspread the land, the older population were

preoccupied, to its utter neglect, partly with domestic feuds which, unchecked even by the presence of the foreigner, proved no small source of weakness, and partly with defensive measures against the pressing danger; yet, accustomed for so long a time to the presence and profession of the christian faith, they had hitherto respected the sanctuaries whither its teachers and followers had taken refuge. But the foreigners were not so scrupulous. Inflamed with zeal for their hereditary paganism, and bitterly hating a religion on principle repugnant to it, they proclaimed war to the knife. Church property was especially marked for plunder, and primitive christianity being all but submerged, Ireland was once more a heathen land, though a small remnant as usual escaped even in the worst perils, against whom, in their hiding-places, though suffering the loss of all things, the gates of hell should not finally prevail. Like paganised Saxon England it must be re-conquered by the soldiers of the cross.

The religious houses were sacked and burned with their literary treasures, for Turgesius destroyed all churches, monasteries, colleges, libraries, and ancient records, as a preliminary to the institution of Odin, Thor, and Seater-worship. Iona, Armagh, Banchor, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Clonmacnois, and other places containing religious houses, suffered severely, for the stores of provisions were exhausted by the soldiery quartered there, and the church lands distributed among the Danish nobles, plundered, or secularized; it is indifferent which word is used where both are synonymous. The scholars, spoiled of their retreats, no longer valued or safe on their native soil, forsook their homes to seek patronage and protection at foreign courts, the learning for which Ireland had been famed ceased to

distinguish it, and the dark ages settled there in all their density.

The cruelty of the Danes may be traced partly to a custom prevalent till A.D. 799, that ecclesiastics were sometimes also secular princes, and accompanied the Irish kings to the battle-field,* and partly to a bitter animosity towards christianity produced by some injudicious champions, who, disregarding the strong attachment to a common paganism which bound the tribes of northern Europe, had persecuted the Northmen. Charlemagne's persecution had also driven the Saxons, after thirty years of vain resistance, to take refuge with the Danes, who received them as fellow-sufferers.

The death of Turgesius soon after a check received from Malachy in A.D. 848 produced but a temporary lull, for as we have seen, the Danes, with the reinforcements led by Anlaf and his brothers, secured and colonised Dublin, Limerick, and Wexford. But the power of the native princes, though reduced, was not yet destroyed.

In the tenth century, under the sovereignty of Flan, christianity revived and its ruined edifices were restored; but his reign was a period of strife, for Cormac, king of Munster and bishop of Cashel, who founded the cathedral there, and composed a book entitled the "Royal Psalter," made war, at the instigation of Flaherty, a turbulent abbot, against the king of Leinster, with the aid of Flan, and in the midst of it lost his life. His successor in the see was called from the cloister to the throne, which he ably filled, though he could not resist the outrages of the Danes.

Here was a golden opportunity not to be lost, in which Rome might hope to gain the pre-eminence for which she had so long and vainly struggled. Ireland being paganised as

* Moore, ii., p. 17.

Britain had been in Saxon occupation must be rechristianised. The Danes must be evangelised, and Rome would undertake a task, success in which was so much weight thrown into her own scale. In dealing with heathens, she would have the advantage, no small one, of breaking fresh ground, and thus, finding no prejudices or practices of an older christianity to overcome, if the christian faith were received at all, it would be such as their missionaries should picture it. It was embraced about the year A.D. 948 by the Danes of Dublin, who founded, as is said, the abbey of St. Mary's; but the change of religion, only amounting to a change of name, did little to cure their rapacity. Indeed the intrusive spirit of the foreign, as opposed to the native, church added fuel to the animosity of those who spoiled the abbeys of Kells, Lough Rea, Slane, Down, Armagh and Clonard.

The scheme succeeded, and thus was formed alongside the remnant who stood out for their independence a growing party who accepted the doctrines and practices imported from Rome, which naturally were adopted and promoted by her converts with the same readiness which their brethren in northern Europe had usually shewn on their first contact with christian teachers. The new comers had not to overcome an ardent attachment to ancient customs, while even the primitive christians were more indifferent as they lost the pious fervour of an earlier age, for besides the deterioration consequent on unquiet times, they could not but share in the spiritual declension which was overshadowing all christendom.*

“The mystery of iniquity” was already at work as in

* The parallel is remarkable between the barbarian invaders of Ireland and of Rome, each embracing christianity but in a spurious form,—the one Roman, the other Arian.

apostolic days, ever since which the rampant spirit of judaism and that of false philosophy had unceasingly sought to corrupt the purity of the faith. In virtue of the latter, the church, torn by disputes on the most abstruse points which can exercise the human faculties, vainly sought to comprehend what was unrevealed to finite man, as exemplified in the controversies of the schoolmen. From the former grew up the sacramental system, so dear to our modern ritualists, who fondly appeal to the golden fourth century as the era of the church's perfect development, though in reality that of an instealing apostacy, whose twilight shade was the precursor of mediæval darkness, whose exaltation of the sacraments and the administering priesthood blossomed at length into perfect Romanism.

The same tendencies ever produce the same effects, for ritualism cannot supersede spiritual religion, or the church receive the pre-eminence which belongs to her divine head, without departing from the standard of piety and sound doctrine. Such then being the state of the general church, the Irish branch of it, even apart from other causes, could not but deteriorate. Indeed the piety of Patrick himself may have been somewhat tinctured by the superstition of the times, and as christendom down to the sixteenth century sank into deeper night, his successors would hardly pass unscathed. The Easter and tonsure controversies, still caused disturbance; while the importance attached to them, though felt to involve doctrinal questions of higher import, yet insensibly taught people to regard the due celebration of its festivals and the observance of its ritual as more essential than resistance to the dangerous dogmas of those whose assumptions they disowned.

Three other causes prepared the way for the aggression of Romanism.

The *first* was the *monastic system*. Much, as we have seen, may be said for and against it. Retirement was a necessity for the church in an unsettled country, and the earlier, unlike the later, monastic life, was devoted to the study of Scripture, the pursuit of learning, the instruction of youth, and the improvement of the soil; yet the celibacy which was grafted on it fostered the evil passions of human nature, for which a secluded life gave but too much opportunity, besides that while men who knew no domestic ties were the subservient tools of a power which was grasping after universal dominion.

The *second* cause was the *withholding of the Scriptures* (dear to the hearts, familiar to the lips of those who founded the native church) from the common people, a practice which first arose from the indolence consequent on religious declension, which being itself indifferent to the oracles of truth, leaves them locked up in languages no longer used, while living tongues are allowed to drift on unprovided with the sacred treasure. Not till much later was it an avowed principle to withdraw them from the alleged abuse of the laity, whose incompetence would wrest them to their own destruction. This principle was more strenuously insisted on as the church, diverging farther from the standard of truth, shrank more sensitively from its light; and often as the fact is denied, it is still the notorious policy of the Roman church, as is proved by the well-known fact that the Irish Board of Education, in order to secure the attendance of its children at their schools, decline to enforce the reading of the Bible in them.

The *third* cause was the *relation between the invaders of Ireland and of Britain*. The Irish Danes being from the same stock of Scandinavian pirates as the English Danes and Normans, and their brethren on the French and Italian

coasts, must needs assume the same religious appellation ; and having like them received their first notions of christianity from Roman emissaries, found in the example of their English brethren additional inducement to identify their own bishops with the church of their new teachers, and therefore sent them to England that their appointment might be sanctioned by the archbishops of Canterbury, two of whom, Lanfranc and Anselm, especially the latter, were indefatigable promoters of papal supremacy. The concurrence of the native clergy and people is partly accounted for by the helplessness of men who are at the mercy of invading conquerors, and partly by the well-known literary eminence of those two primates, which while they lived overruled the repugnance which would otherwise have been felt at Canterbury consecrations, and the intimate connection thence arising between the Irish and English churches.

The three principal Danish sees were those of Dublin, Waterford and Limerick, the diocese being in each case bounded by the city walls. The first Cantuarian of whom we have any certain knowledge was *Donogh*, or *Donatus I.*, sent to Lanfranc for consecration as first bishop of Dublin by Silitzic a Danish king, who began to reign at Dublin A.D. 1038 over the small territory remaining to the Danes after Boru's great victory in 1014. On the death of Donogh, Lanfranc consecrated *Patrick* to succeed him, commending him to the monarchs Gothric and Tirlogh the Ostman ; and in 1085, *Donogh II.* He was followed by *Samuel*, a monk of St. Albans, chosen by the king of Meath and the Dublin clergy, and consecrated by Anselm. Soon after *Malchus* was consecrated at Canterbury for the see of Waterford. Ralph, the successor of Anselm, consecrated one Gregory to Dublin, Henry I. of England in his writ of authority testifying to the concurrence of the Irish king and the

Dublin clergy in his election, though the latter affirmed to the archbishop that the Irish bishops were indignant at such deference shewn to a foreign ecclesiastic. Gille or Gilbert of Limerick entered into a more immediate legatine relationship with the holy see, to whose ritual he was so attached that with the aid of Anselm, his friend and correspondent, he sought its adoption in his own diocese.*

The English primates, intent upon enlarging the papal dominion, made unremitting efforts to include Ireland in the same ecclesiastical orbit in which they moved, and wrote flattering letters to "Gothric the Glorious," and "Tirlogh the Magnificent," the reigning kings, lamenting their want of canonical order, and enjoining them to enforce it with their influence and authority, at the same time offering suggestions to correct certain customs, cautiously indeed, yet so as to establish a precedent for future interference.

They thus gradually prejudiced the Irish clergy against their own religion; and by putting them out of conceit with the simplicity and alleged irregularity of their own ritual, and inviting conformity to the ecclesiastical practice of Europe, predisposed them to innovation, whilst fear of the authority claimed by the English primates and respect for their literary eminence induced concessions in order to avoid a doubtful contest. Hence Gilbert, bishop of the Danish settlement in Limerick, was admitted to the office of legate. He was a foreigner, as appears by his name, but not a Cantuarian, except as a friend and correspondent of Anselm.

As a personal friend of Anselm he would naturally further the wish of the latter, that Ireland should become subservient to the pontiff, while as a foreigner he would not

* Murray, pp. 92—94. Moore, ii., 155.

sympathise in the repugnance of the Irish to such subservience. Being a scholar he wrote a plain account of the Roman ritual and discipline for the benefit of the nonconforming clergy, in which, echoing the language of his friend, he complained that the land was led astray by schismatical orders. This was followed by an address to the laity explaining the papal headship of the church.

At his instigation Anselm invited the Irish clergy to refer their disputes about episcopal authority or any other matter to himself, claiming in fact, though not in words, a virtual authority over them. Meanwhile the civil rulers had not been flattered in vain; for, as we have seen, Tirlogh was induced through Anselm's intervention to seek papal sanction for Donogh his nominee in the see of Dublin, and his successor Murtogh in 1129 sent Malchus or Malachy, nominated by Celsus, archbishop of Armagh, as his successor, for consecration at Canterbury.

Murtogh's subserviency to English dictation was not disinterested, for he thus hoped for the sympathy and aid of the English monarch to settle his own domestic difficulties. Accordingly he was induced by Anselm to call two councils in Meath, at the first of which, held in a grove on the banks of Lough Neagh A.D. 1090, counted sacred by the druids, there met two archbishops, fifty bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand of inferior clerical order; while at the latter, at Tiodhaongusa or Aongussgrove in the plain of Magh Breassail A.D. 1111 under Gilbert's presidency, the first attempt was made to reduce the large number of country sees, twelve being assigned to the north and twelve to the south.*

The native clergy maintained a long and determined resistance to these encroachments, for even thirty years later

* Murray, pp. 36—40.

there still remained thirty-four bishoprics. Celsus especially stood out against the cruel injunction which would have separated him from his wife and children; yet he was persuaded to nominate as his successor his vicar "Saint" Malachy, as he is known in history, whose zealous efforts to assimilate the church of Ireland to that of Rome probably earned his canonization.

Some further notice may here be given of one who shared so largely in the work of subjugating his country to a foreign ecclesiastic. In the life of him by his friend Bernard he is of course highly lauded as a man of piety and zeal, which doubtless he was for the time in which he lived. The indications of his early piety Bernard attributes to the instructions of a pious mother. Ordained before the usual age, when called by Celsus to be his vicar, he promptly set about church "reform," "banishing barbarian rites, abolishing old superstitions, establishing in all churches the apostolical constitutions, the decrees of the holy fathers, *especially the customs of the holy church of Rome* (such as) chanting and singing at canonical hours, besides *the salutary practice of confession* (and) the sacrament of confirmation." Thus speaks the abbot of Clairvaux, who probably means by "old superstitions" the primitive customs and distasteful independence of a church still free from foreign domination. Malachy had succumbed to the influence and the diplomacy of the English primate and thus had been attracted from the simple rites to which he had been accustomed, to prefer a more gorgeous ritual even at the expense of his country's liberties.

In order that all his proceedings should be accurately correct, he sought instruction from Malchus, bishop of Lismore, whose monastic life at Winchester well qualified him to give it. During his visit to Lismore, Cormac king

of Munster, then recently dethroned, found refuge under the same hospitable roof, and embracing the religious life became intimate with Malachy, who soon after his return reluctantly accepted the bishopric of Connor from his patron Celsus.

It was not an inviting field of labour, if Bernard may be believed, who describes its inhabitants as "beasts," "profligate in morals, ungodly in life, barbarians as to their laws, filthy in their lives." But when he calls them "stiffnecked against discipline, paying no tithes nor going to confession," we may suspect the gravamen of the accusation to have been the reluctance to yield the privilege of self-government to a foreigner. Malachy undauntedly entered on the task of reducing "wolves into sheep" by admonitions, exhortations, threats, tears, prayers and "the patient endurance of injuries." Such was his success, says the enthusiastic biographer, that "the barbarian laws were abolished, those of Rome introduced." The fact which he adds that "the people crowd to church," proves that the "romanizers" or "high church" party of that day, consisting chiefly, as we may believe, of Danes by birth or descent, preferred a gilded ceremonial to primitive and "puritan" simplicity, but does not prove the defection of the whole native Irish from the old paths.

Celsus, soon afterwards falling sick, nominated his vicar, as we have seen, to succeed him, and in the presence of witnesses, solemnly enjoined the two kings of Munster and the native princes, *by the authority of St. Patrick* (even Bernard does not venture to say, *of the pope*, whose sanction was not yet recognised) to see his dying wish accomplished. On his accession Malachy solicited the pall of investment from Innocent II., which the latter, courteously but judiciously, declined to grant, rightly judging from symptoms of resist-

ance among the clergy that they were not yet ripe for such a measure.

Thus was broken through the scandalous custom, as Bernard deems it, "whereby a wicked and adulterous generation had permitted married and unordained men (that is, not validly ordained by the successor of St. Peter) to hold the sacred see of Armagh, and for eight generations before Celsus villainously to transmit it to their sons, whence had arisen a sort of paganism bearing the name of christianity, and such disregard of order that almost every church must have a bishop of its own." It is an immense relief to find that the saintly thunders from the cloisters of Clairvaux had no more flagrant immoralities to denounce.

Malachy did not get peaceable possession of his new dignity, for Maurice, one of the "hereditary" party seized and for five years retained it, partly aided by the secular arm, partly through the "nolo episcopari" modesty of his opponent, who till the death of Maurice resisted the entreaties of Malchus and Gilbert, that he would insist on his rights. On that event a second "usurper" appeared in the person of one of the O'Neils of Ulster, but the conspiracy failing, he was put to flight and compelled to acquiesce in the triumph of Malachy, the rightful occupant of the see, or the intruder into it, according to the point of view in which the rival claimants are considered.

One of his first measures during his three years' occupancy at Armagh was to introduce the Cistercians into Ireland, by whose presence and influence Rome advanced with such rapid strides that she soon ventured on the final step, so long meditated, so long prepared for, of springing into the seat of Irish supremacy which for ages she had intensely coveted.

In 1137 Malachy resigned the primatial see, either weary

of a pre-eminence so hardly won and insecurely held, or deeming the reformation of Armagh accomplished, or else wishing to throw the reappointment into papal hands. He conferred it, with the consent of his clergy, on an unworthy person named Gelasius, who probably was willing to accept the pall from Rome, and retired to the humbler diocese of Down, where he proceeded to set its affairs in order, especially aiming to promote celibacy. He then resolved on a journey to Rome, hoping not only to obtain palls for Armagh and the new see of Cashel, but by a personal application to secure the pontifical sanction and counsel for the career in which he had embarked. Though foreign interference was sufficiently distasteful to his brethren, they veiled their objections under the guise of reluctance to endure so long a separation and of alarm at the perils of his journey.

He nevertheless set out, undeterred by remonstrances, and was received with flattering attentions by Innocent, who discerning the promising characteristics of his visitor, invested him with the legatine authority which Gilbert on account of age had resigned; but being too wary further to commit himself till the country was prepared for it, he required him to call a council of bishops, clergy and *nobles*, (judiciously including the lay element in a church council), that the palls being granted to their unanimous desire might be more solemnly received and more highly prized.

Malachy visited his friend Bernard, both going and returning, leaving some of his companions and afterwards sending others in succession to learn the rules of Clairvaux as the model for similar institutions in Ireland. Arrived at home, he vigorously commenced the work of reconstruction; but no progress had been made about the palls when in 1145, a monk of Clairvaux being raised to the

popedom, under the title of Eugenius III. Malachy hoped to obtain the coveted privilege ; but two more years passed before a further step was taken when, in 1148, he determined to meet his holiness who was then visiting Clairvaux. To gain his object, he first summoned a council at Holmpatrick, which was attended by fifteen bishops, two hundred priests and many inferior clergy. After three days devoted to other business, on the fourth, after some opposition, they appointed him as the bearer of the petition for the coveted badge.

Being detained on his way through England, he reached Clairvaux too late to see the pope, whom he would fain have followed into Italy, but for an illness which proved fatal. He expired in the presence of his friend Bernard.

At length, in 1152, Eugenius despatched Cardinal Paparo bearing four palls, as legate to Ireland, with orders to remodel its hierarchy. A council was immediately called at Kells over which Malachy would have presided had he lived, but in his room Paparo appointed Christian, bishop of Lismore, a pupil of Bernard and one who was prepared to carry out his views.

One of the first measures which Paparo brought before the council was, to get rid of an ancient grievance by reducing the number of the suffragan bishops, *chorepiscopi*, so obnoxious on account of their large numbers and small dioceses ; while from their small individual influence, but great numerical power as an adverse majority, they were so dangerous to the intrusionists, and so reproachfully unlike the model to which they were to be assimilated.

Of three hundred existing sees it was decreed—

1. That four be constituted archbishoprics, namely, *Armagh*, the ancient seat of the primacy ; *Dublin*, the me-

tropolitan city; *Cashel* in the south and *Tuam* in the west, which had recently been created episcopal sees.

2. That twenty-eight bishoprics be retained, their boundaries being readjusted.

3. That on the death of each village-bishop, the vacant see become a rural deanery. This decree was very soon exemplified in the erection of five rural deaneries out of the diocese of Meath.

To each archbishop Paparo gave a *pallium*, the acceptance of which was an admission on the part of the wearer that he derived episcopal authority from the successor of St. Peter as its sole sovereign dispenser.

The contest then waged throughout Europe between the ecclesiastical and civil powers, in the persons respectively of the Pope and the German, or as he was called, the Roman, Emperor (for since the time of Charlemagne, the ruler of Germany was the acknowledged representative of the western Emperor), turned on the right of episcopal investiture claimed by both parties. Its concession therefore in Ireland was a point of no small importance to the former, besides that the new bishops, being subservient to the source from whence they received office and emolument, were more likely to carry out contemplated changes and to favour ulterior measures.

But greater events were at hand. The time had all but arrived for the crowning usurpation. Two years after the council of Kells, Henry II. succeeded Stephen on the English throne, and Breakspear, an Englishman, under the name of Adrian IV. occupied the chair of St. Peter. The views of both concurred in the Roman invasion of Ireland and the establishment of the papal supremacy there.*

* Murray, pp. 95—102.

CHAPTER II.

English Invasion of Ireland, and Establishment of Papal Supremacy.

THE ecclesiastical had always leaned on the civil power, till having reduced it to willing subserviency through the potency of her spiritual weapons, and the terrors of the invisible world at her disposal, the church could trust it as a safe and subservient ally. Hence the fact that she never laid a heretic in a dungeon, tortured, racked or burnt him till, like her predecessor in Judea, who condemned our Lord to death, and delivered him to the civil governor, "with loud voices requiring he should be crucified," she passed her sentence of destruction to the body for the benefit of the soul, and handing her victim over to the secular arm, entreated that her dear son or daughter might be tenderly and mercifully dealt with.

On this principle, Adrian, anxious to complete the subjugation of Ireland, and to reap a fuller harvest of Peter's pence, determined to utilize the ambition and superstition of Henry II., his fellow-countryman, and committed to him the task of effecting its conquest; for after Henry's resolute spirit had been humbled in the struggle with Becket, and under the penitential discipline which the false charge of compassing his death laid upon him, he might be a serviceable tool of the church, and the more so if both interests were made to coincide by the splendid bribe of temporal sovereignty held out to the king's acceptance. Nor was Adrian less necessary to Henry than the

latter was to him ; for if the king's aid was essential to fulfil the schemes of the ecclesiastic, equally so was the pontifical sanction to satisfy the royal conscience, as though without Elijah's blessing Ahab could not enjoy the spoils of Naboth's vineyard.

The first move was made by the king. Ireland had already felt the power of England, having been invaded and laid waste by her armies at various times, from the days of Egfrid of Northumberland, who in A.D. 684, had landed there. But England had gained no permanent footing, for she was too much occupied with her own domestic troubles, and with the task of repelling the Scottish and German invaders of her own soil. But now that she was becoming consolidated under Norman rule, Henry conceived the project of adding Ireland to his already extended possessions by completing its subjugation. To commend his cause to the judgment of christendom, and to win adherents to it, he sought Adrian's sanction, adroitly representing that he sought the acquisition, not on his own account, but in behalf of the church of Christ; that it would be a glorious achievement were the barbarous Irish received into its bosom, instructed in the mysteries of the orthodox faith, and willing to yield themselves to the rule of the King of kings, every household, in token of subjection, paying the voluntary tribute of a penny towards maintaining the dignity of St. Peter's chair.

Adrian was shrewd enough to form a just estimate of such plausible representations, yet various reasons moved him to accord the desired permission. As an Englishman he approved of a step which added to the greatness of his country ; as pontiff he desired to extend the dominion of the papacy ; and, lastly, the monk, John of Salisbury, intimate both with the king and the pope, says, " It was at *my request*

that he granted and gave Ireland to the illustrious king Henry of England. He sent over with me likewise a gold ring set with an emerald of the choicest description as a symbol of investiture for carrying to the prince the right of governing Ireland."

A bull was therefore issued empowering Henry to take possession of the "Emerald Isle," and to confer it on either of his four sons, on the warrant of a supposed grant from Constantine, as head of the empire, dated A.D. 325, which placed at the disposal of the holy see all the islands in christendom. This document has been proved by Ussher, and allowed even by Romanists, to be a forgery.

It may be worth while to cite in substance the remarkable production in which the successor of the fisherman, the "servus servorum Dei," the dragon that "spake as a lamb," bestowed the sovereignty of Ireland on the English king. It is to this effect :

"Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, health and apostolical benediction. Full laudably and profitably hath your majesty conceived the desire of obtaining a glorious renown on earth and eternal happiness in heaven by engaging, like a true catholic prince, to enlarge the borders of the church, to explain the christian faith to a rude, uncivilised people, to root out vice from the vineyard of the Lord, and as a means thereto, to seek the advice and countenance of the apostolic see. With such means your success will, with the help of the Lord, be abundant."

"There can be no doubt, as indeed your majesty allows, that Ireland, and all other islands on which Christ the Sun of Righteousness hath shined, are the patrimony of St. Peter and the Roman see. Therefore we are the more solicitous and bounden to provide them with right instruction."

“You have declared unto us, most dear son in Christ, your wish to enter Ireland, to bring the people in subjection to right laws, and banish from them the seeds of vice, and to pay St. Peter one penny a year for each house to preserve the privileges of the church.”

“Regarding therefore with favour so praiseworthy a design, it is our will and pleasure, according to your petition, for the extension of the bounds of the church, the restraining of vice, the improvement of morals, and the growth of virtue and religion, that you enter the island to act for the honour of God, and the welfare of the country, the people receiving you honourably as their lord, but securing the rights of the church, and paying to St. Peter one penny a year for every house.”*

“If then you have resolved to execute your design, study to reform the manners of the people, and whether by yourself or others, see that the church be honoured, the christian faith planted, and all that pertains to the honour of God and the salvation of souls so ordered that you may attain a full reward in heaven, no less than a high renown on earth.”

Fortified with this goodly document which was dated as early as A.D. 1155, Henry was in no haste to eat his pear before it was ripe. Indeed he was too busy with other matters to do so then, and thus the bull was not publicly read or acted on till fourteen years later, though he is supposed to have made known its purport to certain Irish bishops who were friendly to his cause. It was first read at the Synod of Cashel, A.D. 1172.

Ireland was divided, as we have said, into five provincial sovereignties, which after the battle of Clontarf and the death of Brian Boru, had lost his uniting influence, and thus had returned to their normal state of strife and civil war waged

* This tax had evidently never been paid before.

by rival claimants for superiority. He left two sons to divide or dispute for the succession, but the murder of one brother left Connaught and Leinster at the disposal of the other till Tirlogh, a son of the murdered man, dispossessed him, and after a reign of twenty-two years (1064—1086) left three sons. One died, and one survivor, banishing his brother Dermot, reigned alone, but after some years resigned Munster to Dermot, the North being ruled by one of the Hy Nialls or O'Neils. On the latter's death, O'Connor, king of Connaught, was the successful claimant to the throne, till he was superseded by Connor O'Brian, who became king of Munster, A.D. 1120. O'Connor's cause being espoused by the church, he was enabled, after many vicissitudes, to grasp the supremacy; in gratitude for which he bequeathed his valuable effects to the church at his death. He was buried in the abbey of Clonmacnois, and succeeded by his son Roderic O'Connor, who is usually reckoned the last king of Ireland, that is, the last who exercised supremacy.

Dermot McMurrugh, or McMurchad, cotemporary king of Leinster, whose giant size and strength were equalled by his tyrannic violence, having in 1153 beguiled the affections of the wife of Tiernan O'Rourke, the neighbouring prince of Breffray, whose territories he also invaded, on her elopement with him, drew on himself the indignation of a people who held the marriage bond as peculiarly sacred, and thereby revived an old feud, which had already broken out between the clans as early as the year 1140. Roderic, in virtue of his office as well as for friendship's sake towards his clansman, undertook, as his predecessor also had done, to avenge the cause of the injured and exiled husband.*

The confederacy, which public sympathy for his wrongs assembled under Roderic's banner, on his accession was so

* See Moore, *Hist. Irel.*, vol. ii. . Bp. Mant, *Hist. Ch. of Irel.*, vol. i.

strong that Dermot, unable to resist it, was at last, after a hopeless struggle of many years' duration, expelled the kingdom by the chiefs and the people whom the tyrant's insolence had already provoked almost beyond endurance. He embarked privately for England from his temporary refuge in the monastery of Ferns which he himself had founded; and to set might against right, implored the help of Henry II., who was then in Aquitaine, for the recovery of his crown, promising in return to become his vassal.

Henry's thoughts and time had been of late too much engaged in his contest with Becket to leave him much leisure for the invasion of Ireland, and his mother discouraged the project; but the darling scheme of his ambition only slumbered, soon to awake like a giant refreshed. He had long cast a covetous eye across the Channel; the bull had long been in his possession, lying dormant under a heap of perplexities; but here was a golden opportunity to win the sister island, as India was won at a later day, by mingling in the quarrels of its native rulers. He therefore gladly received the offered fealty of the royal suppliant, and though unable to undertake the enterprise in person, pledged himself that Norman aid should reinstate the unprincipled libertine. He therefore addressed a proclamation to his liege and loving subjects, English, Norman, Welsh, and Scotch, granting them his license and favour for the restoration of Dermot, who, on the strength of this document, was empowered to collect adherents to his cause.

His call was soon responded to. He hastened to Bristol; but though he met with a cold reception there, he lighted upon some fitting instruments for his purpose in another quarter. On the opposite shores of Cardigan and Wexford, Wales and Ireland approached so nearly that a friendly intercourse had long existed between them. Accordingly,

in May, 1169, Robert Fitzstephen, governor of Cardigan Castle, and Maurice Fitzgerald, both Normans, and sons of Nesta, mistress of Henry I., with one Henry Mountmorris, and a company not amounting to four hundred men, landed in two detachments near Wexford, as previously agreed on with Dermot, to whose application they readily responded, backed as it was by the king's recommendation; and being joined by Dermot and a body of his cavalry, assembled at Ferns, whither he had proceeded privately to prepare the way for the expedition, marched up the country to the town of Wexford, inhabited chiefly by Dano-Irish. It was taken after some resistance; and Fitzstephen, accepting it as the reward of his services, built the first Norman castle in Ireland on an adjoining rock. A territory known as the barony of Forth was bestowed on Mountmorris.

In the next year two successive bodies of Norman adventurers crossed the Channel, one commanded by Raymond le Gros, the other by a man whose name is better known, viz., Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, earl of Pembroke. These took possession of Waterford. Dermot had hoped to effect his purpose with the first band of auxiliaries from Wales, and, by dispensing with further aid, to escape from some inconvenient engagements; but the attempt was premature. He was defeated, driven to the woods, and forced to resign his claim to Leinster, to give security for his peaceable intentions, and to accept a small territory subject to the monarch of Ireland. But Strongbow's reinforcement turned the scale. Dermot, having secured Wexford, had retired to Ferns to celebrate there his gleam of good fortune. He then invaded and overran Ossory; but falling back upon Ferns, was invested there by Roderic. The latter, losing courage when he saw the strength of the fastness, and the resolution of the Welsh garrison, condescended

to treat with the foe, from whom he accepted an insincere agreement to do homage for Leinster on condition of dismissing the strangers. Dermot, whose courage rose as that of his adversary shrank, proceeded with a small force to chastise the citizens of Dublin who had risen against his oppression; and then, in violation of his engagement, passed on to Munster, to aid its king who had cast off his allegiance to Roderic. On Strongbow's arrival he was easily reinstated, and Roderic succumbed to the foreigner. In return for so effectual an interposition Dermot pledged to the invaders the succession to the throne of Leinster, and to their chief the hand of his daughter Eva. But scarcely had the sacred rite been solemnized when news arrived that Dublin had revolted, with Haculf its Danish governor, from its new liege lord. Strongbow marched thither in hot haste, and spurning the deputation of clergy, headed by archbishop Laurence O'Toole, who came to plead for mercy, gave up the city, which was captured by a sudden assault, to plunder and slaughter.

Other successes followed, not unmingled with reverses, yet sufficing to display the energy of the adventurers, to extend their fame, and to strike terror into the surrounding population. The native church, alarmed at these calamities, convened a synod at Armagh, which, viewing them as a punishment on the nation for its traffic in English children at the Bristol slave-market, decreed their liberation and the cessation of the trade.

A few months later the death of Dermot, who, without a sign of penitence, fell a victim, as was said, to a loathsome disease (the result probably, of a profligate life), elevated Strongbow to the throne of Leinster. Jealous of his too powerful noble, Henry summoned him to England. The latter ventured to disobey, but dispatched a submissive

letter to the king, to whom he tendered all his conquests. Meanwhile the people resisted a succession to the throne which was contrary to their own laws, and the influence of the military bishop O'Toole, true to his Hibernian name and patriot instincts, assembling 30,000 men who were determined to expel the foreigners, Strongbow and his party were reduced to extremities. He therefore crossed over to England, met Henry in Gloucestershire who was at the head of an expedition for Ireland, and made his peace with him. He was allowed to retain the territory he had acquired except the line of coast, including Dublin and the other seaports, which were ceded to the king. The latter, accompanied by Strongbow, his associates, and 4,500 men, sailed from Milford Haven, landed at Waterford, and was received with great pomp and loud professions of loyalty from the clergy. Roger Hoveden, after enumerating the four archbishops and twenty-nine bishops, says, "All these received Henry, king of England, and his heirs for their kings and lords for ever, which they also confirmed with their written instruments."* At a synod then held at Waterford they gave their full assent to the bulls of Adrian and his successor Alexander.

A conduct so little according with the sturdy opposition of earlier times to papal pretensions first arose, it must be remembered, in the Danish settlement, probably from Danish or Norman prelates introduced by Anselm there and in most of the Irish dioceses, who not sharing, could not represent, the genuine feeling of the country.

The people incapable of combination in the midst of never-ending tribal feuds, which even during Strongbow's short absence had broken out afresh, though they did not concur with the acts of the king and the clergy, offered no serious resistance; so that the king had little to do but to march

* Murray, pp. 106-9. Moore, ii., ch. xxvi., xxviii.

through the country to Lismore, Cashel, Limerick, Cork, and Tipperary, back to Waterford, and thence to Dublin where he held a court, taking nominal possession of the territory as he passed along, shewing himself to the people as their sovereign, and accepting the homage of neighbouring kings and princes tendered on the royal summons. Roderic O'Connor alone of the Irish princes refused to do homage, for his own position was parallel to that claimed by the English king. In fact the subordinate kings were no parties in the strife, their duty being simply to obey the successful claimant of supremacy. Roderic, though single-handed, maintained a hopeless contest for three years, closing with a treaty of peace which was arranged with Henry at Windsor.

The latter having thus at last availed himself of the papal grant, was not unmindful of his patron's interests; and the Irish church being slow to follow in the wake of its rulers, in relinquishing its ancient observances, he determined, in order to promote the honor of God, as he alleged, and in fulfilment of his obligations to the Roman court, to summon a council at Cashel, the ecclesiastical metropolis of the south, where English influence was the strongest. The bishops and clergy were to assemble, in order to concert measures for the reform of the church, or rather to effect changes which had long been desired at Rome, but which for want of a convenient instrument had never yet been accomplished, and by conforming the Irish to the English church, to abolish those proofs of primitive independence which were so grating to those who sought universal supremacy. In Ulster,* though it included the ecclesiastical metropolis, no such council could be safely held. It had

* Already beginning, by its sturdy resistance to innovation, to earn the name of "Protestant" Ulster.

long been the head quarters of the native clans; it was even then a centre of opposition to English priestly intrusion, and soon became a focus of insurrection against the English rule. It is asserted by some writers that Roderic assembled there a rival council to that of Cashel.

The Council of Cashel was held under the presidency of Christian, bishop of Lismore, who succeeded Malachy as papal legate. This office was not new, for, not to speak of Gilbert, it had been held by Molinus, archbishop of Ferns, in the seventh century, though its existence no more implied an acknowledgment of fealty to the pontiff than would the presence of an ambassador from one sovereign at the court of another imply civil subjection. Nicholas, Henry's chaplain, and Ralph, dean of Llandaff, attended on the part of the king.

The professed object of the council, we have said, was to reform the abuses of the church, and to restore its discipline. The real object was to allege such charges against it as might justify Adrian's grant to Henry. The papal grant was read aloud, as also the confirmatory letter of Alexander III., addressed to his "dearly beloved son, the noble king of England" in the following terms:—

"We, well pondering and considering the grant and privilege for and concerning the land of Ireland to us appertaining, and lately given by our predecessor Adrian, do in like manner ratify and confirm the same on condition 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."

The enactments of this council, according to its historian Giraldus Cambrensis were, First, against marriages within degrees forbidden by the church. Next, for the public baptism and catechising of children in the persons of their sponsors at the church doors; for the payment of tithes to

the parochial clergy in cattle, corn, and other produce; for the exemption of church property from payments to the State; for the exemption of the clergy from sharing in fines incurred by lay relatives for homicide; for the equitable division of the property of dying persons between surviving relatives, deducting debts, wages, and funeral expenses; and that "all offices of divine service in all parts of Ireland be regulated according to the observances of the Church of England."

This synod is conspicuous as having first rendered the payment of tithes compulsory throughout Ireland. It thus replaced the *voluntary offerings* till then customary, which must ever have been an uncertain source of maintenance, and which from that time in great measure ceased; and the produce of land belonging to the church then came into the possession of the bishops who for the most part still retain them. It was a beneficial exchange from the voluntary system, and formed for nearly four centuries the acknowledged permanent legal provision for the clergy, sanctioned by the concurrence of the heads of church and state as represented at Cashel. Tithes became the property of the church then established in its corporate capacity, and have remained its property down to modern times, as has been the case in England. The church and state a second time concurred in this arrangement at the Reformation, on the theory that the church after its reformation is the same body as before it was reformed, and nothing short of such concurrence can lawfully reverse it.

The synod likewise secured uniformity of divine services in all parishes. There also was first recognised the supremacy of the pope as administered by a legate. Moreover it was instrumental in correcting some irregularities in the administration of baptism, and in the law of marriage, if, as was asserted in the preamble of the marriage act, polygamy and

marriage with sisters had till then been prevalent practices. In 1175 Fitzaldhelm and the prior of Wallingford held another synod, commissioned by Henry, at which the bull of Adrian and the brief of Alexander were again read and confirmed.

At a council (not a *parliament*, for no such institution then existed even in England), held soon afterwards at Lismore, Henry adopted the title, "Lord of Ireland," and the laws of England were accepted for the government of his English subjects resident there. But this does not prove that as yet the mass of the people outside the council chamber, ever clinging to primitive institutions, kept pace with the innovations of the bishops and clergy, except a few who had English connections. Before the new masonry could assume a front of ivy and moss-grown antiquity to attract a nation's love and veneration, summer suns must shine and wintry winds must blow on it, time must fling its grey mantle over the freshness of the work, and a new generation must arise and be educated who had not witnessed the first imposition of the yoke of bondage. Nor would so large a part even of the clergy, at least of those who could boast a pure Hibernian descent without Danish intermixture, have submitted to it, but that in those times of invasion and plunder by northern pirates, the acquisition of tithes, as a fixed, in lieu of a more uncertain, provision, even though secured through foreign intervention, was a bribe which some were unable to resist, even at the risk of translating the story of Hengist and Horsa into Irish, and finding masters where they sought allies.

CHAPTER III.

From the Reign of Henry II. till the Reformation,
A.D. 1172—1534.*

THUS an alien church was formed on the Roman model then existing in England, though for a time there remained along aside of it another, whose clergy and laity by retaining their ancient practices protested in the name of the Irish people against the aggression of the Anglo-Roman establishment, and the synods of 1172 and 1175 which gave it birth.

The successful invasion of the Normans, with the subjugation and reconstitution of the church, introduce us to a new period of history. During the lapse of more than three centuries and a-half which it comprises, the mis-rule and oppression of Ireland are not due to the mere fact of English domination, or at least they result more from the weakness than the will of the Government. Indeed, they were far less than they had been under native princes. A few English barons with their armed retainers crossed the Channel, and entering the country somewhat after the fashion of Columbus, Cortez or Pizarro in the New World, as adventurers, became its conquerors and possessors, the homage claimed for their sovereign conferring rather the name than the reality of power upon the "Lord of Ireland."

Three parties then occupied the soil. First, the "Irishry," the "Irish enemy," or the "wild Irish," hostile names

* The history of this period will be found in detail in Bp. Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland*, vol. i.

unwisely given by self-serving conquerors which helped to verify themselves.* Secondly, the "liege subjects" of Henry, or the English settlers, who were nominally members of the Romish church, but objected to papal interference; and, thirdly, the Roman hierarchy and its adherents. The first party was of course hostile to both the others. As far as any religion survived those stormy times, they clung for a season to their primitive faith and worship, though some few foreign customs naturalised among them prepared the way for a more thorough transition. The other two parties agreeing in nothing but the spoliation of the first, quarrelled over the plunder; the long struggle between the ecclesiastical and the royal power, then rife throughout Europe, and renewed wherever they found themselves face to face, having now found one more battle-field upon Hibernian soil. But the serpent's guile was more fatal than the lion's tooth, the intrigues of the Roman church inflicting more lasting evils than the edge of the Norman sword.

Rome did not forget her bargain with Henry for the "extension" of her dominions. The indigenous church retaining its vitality, the two communions native and foreign long dwelt side by side viewing each other askance, till at length the Norman sapling seizing on the soil, striking its roots and spreading its branches, the venerable tree which had overshadowed the land for ages, withered under the cold usurping shade of its younger rival transplanted from the south.

The bishops rapidly fell under Henry's influence for a time, either won over to his interests, or appointed to vacant sees by him; but, when once at their posts, they

* A papal bull, as late as 1484, complains of the "wild Highland men," who "harassed" those of the then "Church of England," whose customs differed from their own. Murray, p. 113.

failed not in their efforts to "extend the church," as Adrian had expressed it, that is to enlarge its wealth and territory. Among them, O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, who had already signalised himself as a military hero, and as one of Roderic's ambassadors in England, was once more conspicuous. Though he had been induced to profess attachment to the king he appeared in opposition to his authority at the Lateran council to assert the privileges of the newly-planted church and its nominal head, and claimed from the pope a large grant of land near Dublin as the property of that see. The claim was resisted by Henry, and he was compelled to end his days in exile; but his successors Comyn and de Loundre enforcing it by interdicts and anathemas, the civil power was obliged to yield. O'Toole died in Normandy A.D. 1180.

Shortly after Strongbow's death in 1176, the king and the pope employed Vivian, a papal legate, to undermine the national independence. He convoked a council of bishops and abbots at Dublin to whom he set forth the rights of the "Lord of Ireland" as founded on the papal bull, and threatening excommunication to any who should disregard them. The concurrence of the clergy in this enslavement of the people was doubtless confirmed by the acquisition of the tithe endowments.

In proof of the encroachments of the church may be cited the increase of monasteries, no fewer than three hundred and eighty-two, or according to one writer five hundred and sixty-five being founded in Ireland between the Conquest and the Reformation. They were mostly of the Augustinian, Benedictine, Cistercian, Carmelite, Dominican and Franciscan orders, and therefore assimilated to the other affiliated institutions of those orders, that is to the mediæval or debased form of monastic life existing in the

sixteenth century, as contrasted with the scholastic form which it presented in primitive times. Among them were those of Mellifont near Drogheda, All Hallows, St. Thomas, Kilmainham Priory and Grace Dieu.

We have seen that the war of investitures was waged in Ireland in common with the rest of Western Christendom, and that at the council of Kells in 1152 Cardinal Paparo had conferred the pall on each of its four archbishops. No further step was taken in this direction for sometime afterwards, Henry appointing Augustine an Irishman to the see of Waterford. He was consecrated at Cashel.

But while men slept the tares sown by the enemy sprang up. In 1203, soon after the lordship of Ireland had passed from Henry's strong grasp into the feebler hands of John, who had entered on his office in 1185 at the age of twelve years, under special papal sanction, three claimants arose for the vacant see of Armagh: Rochford, bishop of Meath, Ralph le Petit, archdeacon of Meath, and one Humphrey de Tickhull. The new king had no sooner elected one of them than a fourth appeared as papal nominee, in the person of Eugene M'Gillevider, a man of Irish extraction and popular manners. At first John forbade him to be acknowledged, but at length was bribed to confirm the appointment. This fact is noteworthy as the first clear instance of the pope's disposal of the see of Armagh, none such having occurred since the introduction of the palls, though they became very frequent from this time, for the ambition of the church was incessantly awake, while John and his court slept the sleep of reckless dissipation, and while no opportunity was lost of reaping advantage from the civil power, no apparent wrong committed by the latter escaped without investigation, complaint, or when possible, condign punishment, as in the case of Hamon de Valois

dismissed from the deputyship for plundering the church.*

In A.D. 1217 in a vacancy at Armagh, the chapter elected, but Henry III. who had not long mounted the throne and was unwilling to forego his prerogatives, refused to confirm their choice of their own archdeacon Netherville, because they had met without his license. Similar cases subsequently occurred, and in many of them the pope would interfere, nullifying a canonical election or displacing the king's nominee, dispensing however only the spiritual functions, while the temporalities remained at the disposal of the crown, though sometimes he would grasp even at these.

Thus three parties were interested in a new bishop, the king, the pope, and the chapter. The latter had only a nominal stake in the matter, for the *congé d'élire* itself was but a form, abolished in Ireland by Elizabeth; but the main contest between the other two was a serious inconvenience to the church. A resolute monarch, such as Edward I., could maintain his rights, but a feeble ruler succumbed, as did Henry III., when required to restore the temporalities of Armagh to Abraham O'Connellan, a nominee of Alexander IV.

To counteract these encroachments Irish bishops sought English consecration, and before the ratification of their titles were required to renounce all claims prejudicial to the crown. To save a journey thither, the renunciation was allowed to take place by proxy, and the consecration by royal mandate. Thus in A.D. 1282, Richard of Northampton, bishop of Tuam, was consecrated at Dublin. In 1306 Edward I. refused the temporalities of Armagh till the pope's nominee complied with this requirement. Sometimes, on the other hand, the pontiff tediously examined

* Mant, History of the Church of Ireland, vol. i.

the bishop's election, constraining him to resign and be re-appointed. Thus William de Birmingham appointed in 1289 to Tuam, resigned, and was reappointed by the pope. At other times, as in 1229, 1240, 1270, he demanded and obtained large pecuniary grants, which could only be raised by oppressive taxation. The page of Irish history bears melancholy witness to the deterioration of the church during this period, which constituted for her, as for the rest of Europe, "the dark ages." Her schools of learning had passed away, and with them the literary reputation of the Isle of Saints. The earliest of them, that of Armagh, could boast of a high antiquity. Though small in its commencement it had been the home of all the scholars who went forth from Ireland in the remotest times, and received an increased endowment from the last of the Irish kings; but from that time no other seminary arose of any importance till Elizabeth, in A.D., 1591, founded Dublin University. The clergy had sunk to the lowest depth of intellectual and even moral debasement. In proof of the latter we can only allude to the tales of injury and outrage which have been handed down to us. The aggressive spirit which has ever characterised the papacy descended from the pontiffs to the Irish episcopate.

Thus Henry de Loundre, archbishop of Dublin, in 1223, and Albert of Cologne, archbishop of Armagh (1240 to 1247) so provoked the king and the people by drawing temporal causes into church courts as to necessitate the prohibition of such a practice under severe penalties. In 1277 and 1297, Nicholas, bishop of Down, was indicted by Edward I., for claiming to ransom convicted felons, and for violently interfering with the king's right of choosing an abbot in his cathedral city. In 1285, Molissa of Armagh appropriated the revenues of the see of Dromore,

for which he was fined in the Irish Court of King's Bench. In 1291 he headed an extensive confederacy of clergy sworn to mutual defence in all causes ecclesiastical or secular, and to the reimbursement of individual losses incurred through fines in the secular courts. In 1346 an Archbishop of Cashel opposed the levy of a subsidy granted to Edward III., depriving the clergy, and excommunicating the laity who paid it.

The same period was marked by unseemly contests for precedency among the bishops. Those of Dublin and Armagh almost incessantly struggled for the primacy, and for the right to carry the cross erect in processions through each other's provinces. Thus in 1311, John Leek of Dublin, king's almoner, forbade Walker Jorse of Armagh to produce that symbol in the province of Dublin. This contest declined by Jorse, was revived by his brother Robert, who succeeding him within two years, carried the cross erect through Dublin till, meeting a hostile party, it was beaten down, and himself expelled from the province. These contests were frequently renewed from 1429—66, and after a long pause, repeated by the primate Cromer, in 1533.

Often they proceeded to open violence. Thus in 1210, the bishops of Waterford and Lismore, claiming certain lands each for his own see, the former plotted the capture of the other, besieged him in his cathedral during divine service, seized and disrobed him as he left the church, and threw him manacled into a dungeon, whence creeping half starved, he was again seized and nearly murdered. Many such enormities might be related, such as an assault on the Archbishop of Cashel by his suffragan of Waterford, in 1353, because the latter had burnt two Irishmen for heresy without his licence; the forcible seizure by the Bishop of Limerick in 1369, from the hands of his superior

of Cashel, of the citation which summoned him to answer for violating the privileges of a monastery, the bishop excommunicating his adherents, and pursuing him as he fled from the city; the murder, even so late as 1525, of a bishop of Leighlin by an archdeacon whom he had rebuked for his crimes.

The terrible weapon of excommunication was often used during these troubled times, sometimes the lesser, which only excluded from church ordinances; sometimes the greater, accompanied by bell, book, and candle, which professed to exclude its victims from all hope of salvation. It was launched either against individuals, or against an entire province in the form of an interdict. As instances of the former, Kelly, bishop of Cashel, in 1346, excommunicated the tenants of three suffragans; and thirty years later, Peter of Limerick excommunicated all who attended divine service at the Grey Friary in that city. As instances of the latter, Comyn, archbishop of Dublin, in the thirteenth century laid his whole diocese under an interdict in revenge for certain injuries inflicted on him by the English governor; and in 1220 his successor, de Loundre, nicknamed "Scorch-villian," did the same thing in order to vindicate certain extortions of his clergy, resisted by the citizens of Dublin.

The celibacy of the clergy, not compulsory till the twelfth century, produced its usual fruits, as appears from the fact that a hundred and forty priests were at one time convicted before the pontiff of scandalous conduct, that breaches of the seventh commandment were not counted dishonourable, and that the illegitimate children of priests used to boast of their relationship.

In 1310, a clerk (a "cleric") was indicted for breaking open an alms chest in Trinity College and plundering its

contents. In 1307, another at Newtown was convicted of stabbing and wounding a canon. In both cases the reverend culprits were shielded from legal penalty by their profession. In 1390, a royal commissioner, on arriving at the abbey of Dunbrady to investigate certain charges against its inmates, was seized by the abbot and monks, and the king's letters were destroyed.

During this period the fires of persecution were lighted. The first victim was *Adam Duff* (or *Niger*, the Latin equivalent of it), burned to death about 1326 as an infidel or heretic. About the same time Lady Alice Kettle and two others stigmatised as accomplices were condemned to the same fate for "witchcraft and heresy." The charge of "infidelity" or "witchcraft" was added to the real *gravamen* of "heresy," or, dissent from Romanistic doctrine, just as "sedition," as well as "blasphemy" were attributed to our Lord, and unnatural crimes to the early christians, whose only real offence was dissent from paganism. Lady Kettle's fate is not certainly known, though one of her associates was burned at Kilkenny. About 1353 some victims were burned by order of the Bishop of Waterford for "alleged contumely offered to the Virgin Mary."

Many cases of cruel oppression towards the native chiefs by their Norman masters were winked at by the clergy, and vain to the sufferers was their hope of redress; for the Irish had unhappily, though not unnaturally, stipulated with Henry II. for the use of their own laws, not foreseeing that the best institutions, when the power of self-government is lost, may favour the oppressor, while the laws of the superior power, if repudiated, cannot shelter the oppressed. When this proved to be the case repeated applications were made for the benefit of English law; and the government, which would willingly have protected the applicants, and might

really have made the country prosperous had it not been priest-ridden, issued repeated injunctions in their behalf, which priestly interference rendered nugatory.

There is a singular proof of this in a widow's petition (A.D. 1266) to the following effect: "Margaret de Blunde of Cashel petitions the king's grace that she may have her inheritance which she recovered before the king's judges against the Bishop of Cashel. Item, for the imprisonment of her grandfather and grandmother whom he starved in prison because they sought redress for the death of their son who had been killed by the bishop. Item, for the death of her six brothers and sisters starved by the said bishop because he held their inheritance when he killed their father. He has also built an abbey in the city of Cashel, which he fills with robbers, who murder the English and lay waste the country, and when the king's council examine into such offences he excommunicates them. Item, the said Margaret has five times crossed the Irish Sea, wherefore she prays permission to take possession of her inheritance. This bishop has also caused the death of several other Englishmen besides her father, and she hath obtained many writs of the king, but in vain, so great is the bishop's influence and bribery."*

The *ignorance* of the priesthood in those days can cause no surprise. The schools of learning so celebrated in former days had passed away, except that of Armagh, which, though it retained its existence and reputation, was insufficient to supply the wants of the country; nor were they likely to be revived, for Norman influence was never very

* Murray, pp. 138-9. Such were the blessings secured by the gentle influence of a church whose redeeming excellence is often asserted to have been, that she protected her subjects from civil oppression.

favourable to learning. It boasted indeed of a few exceptions in England, such as Lanfranc, Anselm, and others of the schoolmen. In Ireland, Maurice O'Regan, king Dermot's ambassador to Strongbow, wrote in Irish a history of the Anglo-Norman invasion, which was translated into French, and from thence, in 1757, into English. In the next century Godfrey of Waterford was celebrated as a linguist, and Thomas Hibernicus, early in the fourteenth, was a fellow of the Sorbonne and a voluminous writer. A little later Richard Fitzjoseph, of Dundalk, dean of Lichfield and afterwards archbishop of Armagh, was the Wyclif of his country, translating the New Testament into Irish. He was so determined an opponent of the friars that at his death in 1360 it was asserted, though without sufficient proof, that they had poisoned him. Had his autobiography been preserved it would have been a valuable exponent of his views. The following translation from the original Latin is an extract from it: "Jesus, most amiable, who hast said, 'I am the way, and the truth, and the life, a way without deviation, truth without a cloud, and life without end; Thou the way hast shown me, Thou the truth hast taught me, and Thou the life hast promised me.'" A copy of his New Testament, which he concealed in the wall of his church, was found during some repairs of the edifice in 1530. Such exceptional instances, refreshing from their very rarity, are nevertheless insufficient to remove the stigma which the ignorance of the mediæval clergy has left on the church and the age to which they belonged. A race of men who could thank God they had never learned to read, and some of whose bishops could only subscribe their mark, could scarcely sustain the reputation for scholarship of a country whose seats of learning they had rendered desolate. Some students from Armagh, about 1350, went to Oxford to study divinity,

but soon returned because a Bible was not to be found there!

Sundry efforts were made to found an university; but the spirit of the age being unfavourable, and funds wanting, its institution was reserved for an era soon to be ushered in by the revival of letters, when society would re-awaken from the long sleep of the Middle Ages.

The monastic system spread long after the monasteries had ceased to be schools of learning and refuges from barbarism, for it is the usual course of evil to gain plausibility by attaching itself to the useful or the good, whose vitality it undermines while assuming its name and reputation; or rather, the tendency of all human institutions in a fallen world is that the purest stream, gradually corrupted by the soil through which it flows, spreads corruption with its own progress. Even in the seventh century 1100 religious houses, soon increased to 1400, were supposed to include half the population.* At their dissolution, 382, besides the ancient foundations, were converted to parish churches. These comprehended various orders, chiefly the Augustinian, for the pope required those which dated from the time of Ireland's independence to adopt the rules of that order. Two hundred and eighty-five complied. The rest were distributed among the canons of St. Victor, the Premonstratensians, the Knights Hospitallers, the Benedictines, the Cistercians, and the Begging Friars,—namely, the Franciscan, or Grey Friars, subdivided into Conventual, who relaxed, and Observantine, who enforced, the rules of their order; the Dominican, Black, or Predicant (Preaching) Friars, the Carmelite, or White Friars, and the Austin (Augustinian), or Crutched (Cross-marked) Friars, with some minor orders.

* There may be some exaggeration in this statement, but their rapid increase is undeniable.

The monks differed from the friars in being restricted to their own precincts. Though nominally poor, they were corporately rich. The friars, whose preaching duties led them more abroad, also grew wealthy, notwithstanding the vow of poverty. Ussher says of them that "such kind of beggars intrude, not like other poor folks humbly craving alms, but without shame introducing themselves into courts and houses without any invitation, they eat and drink whatever they find, and carry away with them in an extorting manner."

The early monastic life had degenerated; and even while its better features were not yet wholly lost, it was mingled with evil, both in the *principle* that the superabundant righteousness of a human being could avail meritoriously to his fellow-sinners, and in the hideous corruption of *practice* which grew up within the walls, till the mass of society was saturated with it; for where a natural law was extensively violated as in the imposition of celibacy, human nature was sure to claim "the wild justice of revenge," and bursting the unnatural bond, to rush into the most enormous profligacy.

Examples of the former kind abound. Thus, in 1178, Fitz Andelm gave certain lands to the abbey of St. Thomas in Dublin for the soul's health of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, the king's father, of his mother the empress, and all his ancestors, of the king himself, and of his sons. In A.D. 1200 he gave a piece of land to the same, "in pure and perpetual alms" for the health of his soul and of his father and mother. Nor may we forget other resultant evils, such as the confusion between the claims of the Creator and of his creatures. Thus an abbey was placed under the "invocation," that is, the protection or patronage of the Holy Trinity or the Holy Ghost, another under the joint tutelage of the Holy Ghost and St. Catherine, as the church at Callaghan, or of St. Catherine alone, as the priory of Aghnin, of the

Virgin, as at Navan, Killagh and elsewhere, or of the Holy Cross, as at Tralee and Sligo. Of the superstition fostered by monasticism every history of Ireland bears witness, and equally so the experience of every traveller there, even to the present day, especially if he is conversant with the peasantry. A single instance may be given from a countless multitude of the strange follies they were capable of believing. St. Nesson is said to have founded a monastery in A.D. 570 on an island called "Ireland's Eye," but in memory of the saint, "St. Nesson's Isle." In the midst of his prayers and fastings, relates Alan an archbishop of Dublin before the Reformation, an evil spirit in the form of a black man appeared to him, but took to flight on seeing the holy water brush, and being pursued a mile over the sea on foot by the saint, sank into the earth at his bidding at Pack's Rock near Howth, where an image in stone commemorated the fact. It is added that in the ardour of pursuit, the saint dropped his book of the gospel into the sea, and that it was afterwards found by some sailors uninjured, but that it miraculously punished all who swore falsely on it.

In the life of St. Brigid found in the authorised service book of the Romish church, it is stated that in her childhood she devoted herself to perpetual virginity as the spouse of Christ, and fearing temptation to break her vow, she prayed that her incomparable beauty might be changed into deformity. Her prayer was granted, but after she had taken the vow irrecoverably, her beauty was miraculously restored. Miracles attended her earthly ministry and, even after its termination, bore witness to her sanctity!

When the worship of God had passed into an unknown tongue, we wonder not at the popular *ignorance* which would accept such legends; at the *reverence shown to sacramental elements* carried in solemn pomp along the streets

amid the gaze of multitudes, as at Roscommon in 1156, under the auspices of the monarch Tirlogh; at *the canonization of saints*, such as Malachy and Laurence O'Toole selected for the honor on account of the services they had rendered to the church of the conquerors; at *the veneration paid to them and even to their reliques*, as to the bones of O'Toole at Trinity church, Dublin; the transfer of St. Malachy's in 1194, fifty years after his death from Clairvaux to the Cistercian abbey of Mellifont, and of those alleged to be Richard Fitzralph's in 1360 from Avignon to Dundalk; at *the multitude and variety of these reliques*, such as the mitre, crosier and vestments of St. Cormac at Thurles, the mitre of Ailbè at Emly, the bells of St. Senan, St. Nenn and St. Evin, the pastoral staves of St. Furehu in Brigoun, and of St. Muran in Fahan, and pieces of the true cross miraculously preserved and endowed with miraculous virtue; at *image worship* as displayed in the numerous stone crosses and images in all parts of the land, such as those in the niches of St. Patrick's, Dublin; those of Patrick, Brigid, Dominick, Columba and St. Francis in Dublin, Cork, Down and Clonmacnois; those of our Saviour and of the Virgin in Dublin, Youghal, Kilcorban and elsewhere, some working miracles, others as at Glendalough, conferring sanctity on their localities, others carved with various legends, as the cross of Clonmacnois: at *pilgrimages*, as from Dublin to Rome and to the Isle of Monaicha, where it was said that none could die, to Patrick's penitential bed at Misoen, to the seven churches at Glendalough, to the tomb of St. Ivor at Begery, to the Virgin's image in the Abbey of Trim which was able to restore lost limbs, to holy wells in all directions, too numerous to specify,—all undertaken to expiate sins or obtain indulgences; at *penances* undergone to mortify sin in St.

Patrick's purgatory, on Lough Dearg, Donegal, on the mountain of Slievè Donard, county Down, in Glendalough; Inniscaltra or elsewhere: at various *indulgences*, papal or episcopal, granted between 1399 and 1418 to pilgrims who should visit the monastery of Sligo, the friaries of Drogheda or Galway, the abbeys of Newan and Portumna, or to those whose subsidies aided the propagation of the faith or the Crusades: at the *dramatizing* of scriptural and other narratives, such as the Passion of our Lord in all its details on College Green in 1506, the life of St. Laurence, the stories of Adam and Eve, of Crispin and Crispianus, of *Bacchus!* of Joseph and Mary, of *Vulcan and Ceres!* of Cain and Abel, of Abraham, Isaac, Pharaoh and the Eastern Magi, the characters being all personified by puppets worked by machinery; at the *assumption of monastic orders by nobles*, as by Dermot O'Brien, prince of Thomond in 1513, to be a passport into heaven: at *chapels or altars* built or endowed for the performance of private masses for the dead, such as St. Ann's chapel in St. Peter's church Drogheda, the church of Mellifont, fourteen altars to our Saviour, to the Virgin and to various saints in the church at Galway; at the exaltation of *saint's days* to the utter neglect of the Lord's day, as shown in the fact that while Henry VIII. was proclaimed king of Ireland on a Sunday in 1541, tournaments being held on the next following, five persons were in 1566 executed for desecrating the day of our lady's nativity! at the general *illiteracy* of priests and laity, such that even so late as 1546 many men of high rank could not write their names; at the consequent *decline of morality*, contempt for religion and the prevalence of barbarian outrage, such as that of M'Adam, an unbaptised marauder who, in 1407, destroyed forty churches and was afterwards slain in that of Carrickfergus, and other such scenes enacted by men

who professed christianity; at *wafer worship*, *half-communion* and a *liturgy in Latin*. Such a declension as we have now attempted to sketch, as compared with the picture presented by the Isle of Saints resulted naturally from that departure from scriptural purity which had marked its closer connection with Rome, and which it shared with the whole of western christendom.

Such was the Irish church in those days. Its clergy were

“ The sons
Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.”

for in truth drunkenness must be included among their vices. Nor did the land meet with better treatment from Herod than from Caiaphas. The lawless oppression of the Norman barons, who, from a strip of land acquired on the eastern coast, grasped at the whole country, was intolerable, and was rendered still more so by the statute of Kilkenny, passed in 1367, which forbade intermarriage between the two races.* The spirit of Norman policy was, in the first place to assume the inferiority of the Irish, and then to treat them as aliens, suppressing their language, ignoring their rights, appropriating their lands, bestowing churches on foreigners, and levying subsidies without mercy. Even so early as A.D. 1250, such was the disregard of law and equity by the ruling powers, so complete the disuse of laws passed and charters granted in the reign of John, so determined the resolution of the barons to know no right but that of “*sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas*,” that Henry III. could not govern by English law without asking their *permission*. The Irish bishops and clergy retaliated by a

* This unwise statute also forbade commercial dealings with the native Irish, and the bestowal on them of church patronage, with other enactments conceived in the same hostile spirit.

synodal decree that no one of English birth should be admitted to a canonicate in any of their churches; but the pontiff nullified it at the king's desire.

This twofold tyranny was not borne without symptoms of resistance. Besides the decree just mentioned, the Irish memorialised Pope John XXII. against English tyranny in the spoliation of their lands and the violation of their liberties; but the only reply was the extortion of a fresh subsidy. They sought also to repel force by force; for as early as the thirteenth century began the state of chronic rebellion against the English rule, which led to successive outbreaks by chieftains, who, though graced with English titles, and conciliated by the government, found a ready excuse to indulge their native restlessness in insurrectionary movements which required all the tact and energy then available to subdue. In the reign of Edward II., when he was recommencing hostilities with Scotland, they refused his appeal for their support; and not only sympathising with the Scottish cause, but counting on the aid of those who, groaned under oppression like their own, invited Robert Bruce, as a Milesian by descent, to come from Scotland to co-operate with them. As he could not come in person, they accepted as their champion his brother Edward, whom he sent instead. The latter landed at Larne, on the coast of Antrim, with 6,000 men, and the Irish flocked to his standard. The English lords were paralysed by the rapidity of his movements, and divided as they were, were in no condition to withstand him.

Edward Bruce gained some advantages, being for a season strengthened by the opportune arrival of his brother Robert the year after his landing, and by the enthusiasm which arose out of the recent victory of Bannockburn. After capturing Carrickfergus, and other places, he was

proclaimed King of Ireland, crowned at Dundalk, and for three years maintained his position ; but Robert having, in May, 1317, abandoned the enterprise as hopeless, Edward was defeated and slain at Dundalk in 1318. The brutal victors having found his body among the slain, exhibited the divided quarters over the country, and sent the head to Edward, who rewarded the donor, John Bermingham, with the earldom of Louth.*

The policy of the government savoured more of retaliation and insult than prevention ; and by irritating, fostered the evils it was intended to repress. During the administration of James, earl of Ormonde, "mere Irishmen were declared ineligible to any office in towns under English rule, and incapable of ordination or preferment in the church. In 1361, Lionel, duke of Clarence, as head of the government, forbade the "old English," that is, the Anglo-Irish of the Pale, to join his army, or approach his camp. But defeat and disaster taught him to recant. The "old English," bluntly summoned to his standard, forgave the insult, obeyed the call, and gave success to his arms. Yet in 1367 the "Statute of Kilkenny" denounced fostering with the natives as treason, and forbade the use of the Irish name, language, dress, or customs, under heavy penalties to all of English descent. Such invidious distinctions awakening animosity, a revolt was rekindled two years later, though it was soon quelled. In 1394 Richard II. in person landed an army at Waterford, the presence of which, coupled with his own popular manners, induced many of the chieftains to tender their submission. He earnestly sought to reform abuses, but death cut short his beneficial schemes.

In the two next reigns by means of strong military

* Murray, pp. 151—6 ; Moore, iii. 51—68.

measures the native tribes were held in check; but the feebleness of the Pale, necessitated a suspension of the Kilkenny statute. Yet in 1417 the petition was granted that no Irishman should be presented to a living; and four years later an archbishop of Cashel was impeached on one charge among others, that *he did not love the English*.

In the reign of Henry VII. another attempt was made to shake off the English yoke. All the Irish bishops but four received Lambert Simnel, a tradesman's son in Dublin, with extravagant joy as a pretender to the English throne. This youth had been trained by an Oxford priest to personate Edward, earl of Warwick, son of the late Duke of Clarence, professing to have escaped from the Tower, where Henry had detained him. As such he was presented to the deputy, the Earl of Kildare. Had the scheme succeeded, the rebel Kildare, and the Romish bishops would, doubtless, have found him a convenient tool in exchange for Henry's resolute will. Simnel persisted in his story, though refuted by the production of the true Earl of Warwick, till on venturing to cross the Channel with an Irish force, and to attack the royal troops at Stoke-upon-Trent, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and judiciously handed over to the public contempt by receiving the appointments successively of scullion in the royal kitchen, and of falconer to the king,—no great degradation for one who proved to be a baker's son. Meanwhile, during the period of his short-lived pretension the Irish church, through its bishops, adopted him as the symbol of national independence, which they had not yet ceased to assert, the Bishop of Meath, boldly from the pulpit enforcing the impostor's claim, and causing him, amid the acclamations of the populace, to be crowned in the church of St. Mary-les-Dames.*

* Murray, p. 175.

BOOK III.

FROM THE REFORMATION TILL THE PRESENT TIME.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF HENRY VIII., A.D. 1509—1547.

Commencement of the Reformation.

IT is time to turn from the dark and troubled times we have hastily reviewed to the era when the light of the Reformation dawned.

The religious movement which, commencing in Germany early in the sixteenth century in the very teeth of the mightiest potentates, had asserted its political rights and was rapidly pervading the public mind of Europe, was some years before it made any progress in the British islands. Of all men living Henry VIII. seemed the most unlikely to promote it. Not only was he attached to the church of Rome by conviction, by early association, and by education (for, during the life of Prince Arthur, he was intended to occupy the see of Canterbury),* but so indignant was he at the novelties broached by Luther that he entered the lists against him, and by a book written to confute the new heresy, had earned and accepted the title of "Defender of the Faith" from the very pontiff whose authority he would ere long repudiate. To the very close of life he persecuted

* See Froude, *Hist. Eng.*, vol. i.

those who questioned its dogmas ; and when he entered on his career as a reformer it must be owned, notwithstanding a recent historical attempt to defend his reputation, that his chief motives were, the desire to contract a second marriage with the object of his passion, the indulgence of a despotic will by shaking off the papal supremacy, and the creation of a fund for extravagance to waste by the plunder of those nests of sensuality, indolence, ignorance, and hoarded wealth—the monasteries. Yet this is not the first instance in which divine power has been signalled by the seeming unfitness of the instrument used for the work accomplished. To blacken Henry's character and motives has been a favorite theme of Roman Catholics, not to speak of some modern protestant writers who can demonize or canonize in order to serve a purpose; but it is an irrelevant task, for be their allegation ever so true, the need of reformation and the blessings secured by it are none the less.

It is worth remarking that here, as well as elsewhere, the Reformation had its precursors. The resurrection of Germany from ecclesiastical thralldom was preceded by the war of investitures, in which the civil power claimed temporal supremacy, and therefore a veto in church appointments. In England the encroachments of the papacy were impatiently and reluctantly submitted to, and parried by frequent legislative acts which gave legal form to popular discontent. On the Continent the civil rulers demanded a council in which the church should reform itself. Long was the appeal evaded, and when the councils of Constance and of Trent were successively assembled she sought to render them inoperative. Abroad, precursory reforms of doctrine and practice arose from time to time, but were suppressed in Bohemia, France, Italy, and Spain; two of their apostles, Huss and Jerome, suffering martyrdom. In England also similar movements were

initiated by Grossteste, Wyclif, and the Lollards, but were also suppressed and their authors persecuted and martyred, because the hour of victory had not yet come; but it was inevitably drawing near, for, even before the question of the royal divorce and the elevation of Cranmer laid the spark to the train, the feelings of the youthful Henry and the debates in parliament were drifting on towards the independence of the church.*

One of the motives which we have imputed to the king so obviously impressed itself from the first on the Irish Reformation, as to form, in the shape which it immediately assumed, an explanatory link between the anti-Lutheran bulwarks erected by the "Defender" of Romanism, and the operations by which he levelled them to the ground. It was from the first a contest for supremacy, or in the words of Bishop Mant,† an "assertion of the sovereign's right to the undivided dominion over all his subjects, as well ecclesiastical as civil."

Human selfishness can take the form of ambition or of sensuality, and the one may even call the other into exercise. When, to gratify personal feeling by a divorce and second marriage, he determined to cast off papal tyranny—the sole remaining obstacle to his will—a despotic nature soon awoke to the consciousness of a higher elevation to be reached by adding spiritual to temporal rule. The fires of ambition being fed by the sympathy of subjects with a monarch who inaugurated in his own policy the resistance to foreign aggression such as had been maintained by the worthiest of her ancient kings, those fires long survived their immediate cause. In its results Ireland could not but participate, for

* See Le Bas, *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i.

† Mant, *Hist. Ch. of Irel.*, vol. i.

it was unseemly that the royal claims, conceded in England, should be refused there, or the peril ignored through which they had passed in the Geraldine insurrection. The two countries therefore must unite in asserting the kingly power as "ordained of God" supreme over church and state, and in renouncing the despotic rule of a foreigner whose greed incessantly drained them of their wealth. Hence the king, with the hearty consent of parliament, at once grafted his ecclesiastical supremacy in Ireland on his civil authority just restored there.

The English settlers—"The Pale" as they were now called—in the four counties bordering on St. George's Channel were becoming gradually identified with their adopted country. It was the land of their birth. By royal gift, and thence by inheritance, they owned the soil; and their connection with the native chiefs being drawn closer by intermarriages, when civil offices were subsequently occupied by men of English birth, we cannot wonder that the Anglo-Irish felt aggrieved, and that the chasm widened between the English by birth and the English by blood, the latter "*ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*" leaning to the native princes and writhing under Anglican rule. Among these one of the most powerful families was that of the Geraldts, earls of Kildare. They had frequently filled the office of lord deputy, and growing too powerful in the sunshine of royal favour, they were objects of jealous suspicion to English placeholders, and promoters of rebellion among the Anglo- and native Irish. Hence the invitation to Edward Bruce; hence the attempts in the persons of Simnel and Warbeck in the previous reign, to place Ireland under the rule of the Yorkists, who had large possessions there, and one of whom had secured an affectionate recollection by the people of the time when he was their governor. The Earl of Kildare who

took part in these two movements was pardoned by Henry VII., who wisely sought to soothe animosity for the sake of peace, for having sanctioned the proclamation of Simnel as "Edward VI." and his coronation in the cathedral of Christchurch. The king sent for him to England, and on the intelligence of Warbeck's pretended claim had temporarily dismissed him from office; but returning shortly afterwards, he accompanied the deputy, Sir Edward Poynings, who, after punishing Warbeck's adherents in Ulster, returned to recover a castle which had been seized by the earl's brother. In 1494 he called a parliament which passed the celebrated statute known as "Poynings' Statute" which forbade any Irish parliament to entertain measures not first approved by the king; and re-enacted the suspended statute of Kilkenny, save the clause against the Irish language. Kildare was attainted with several of his kin and sent to England on a charge of setting fire to Cashel cathedral. The king was amused with his comic excuse that "he thought the archbishop was in it," and hearing the remark that "all Ireland could not govern this man," judiciously replied in the same vein of humour, "Then he is fittest to govern Ireland," and restored him in 1496 to his previous position. He continued to the end of his days faithful to the English throne, and sought by a kind of penitential activity against the native chiefs to atone for his past misdeeds.

On his death in 1513, Henry VIII. appointed as lord deputy his son Gerald the new earl. The latter soon afterwards incurred suspicion, which though proved to be groundless led to his displacement and summons to England, where he married Lady Elizabeth Grey, a relative of the king. He was restored in 1524, but was repeatedly afterwards subjected to the same process through the agency of the deputies, the Earl of Surrey and Sir William Skeffington, *i.e.* suspected,

accused—perhaps not without foundation—(for such treatment would easily provoke disloyalty), went to England, or was cited there, to clear himself, was acquitted for want of proof, and restored to his government, again to presume on the royal favour, with an Irishman's easy forgetfulness of the past, and by self-will to incur fresh hostility.

On the last of these occasions in 1534 he was summoned to London, and having imprudently laid himself open to accusation, was committed to the Tower, leaving a son, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, not more than twenty-one years old as vice-deputy, who being impetuous from his age and hereditary tendencies, and receiving a false report of his father's execution, appeared before the council with a band of armed followers, delivered up the sword of state and broke out into a rebellion, the news of which caused his father's death in prison. He solemnly renounced his allegiance, besieged the city of Dublin, murdered Allen, the archbishop, (for which he was excommunicated,) and being joined by several native princes, he determined to dispense with Spanish succour, for which he had intended to apply, and to lead the insurrection himself. After a year and-a-half of hostility to the government, he was subdued, captured, and notwithstanding hopes of pardon held out to him, was executed at Tyburn, with five of his uncles who had voluntarily surrendered themselves. Tranquillity being restored, the king proceeded to re-establish his authority. The title of "king" was boldly substituted for the more timid and dubious appellation of "lord," as borne by his predecessors, which had been adopted in deference to the supposed higher authority of the pontiff, and in acknowledgment that they owed their right to rule solely to Adrian's grant. The new title was a challenge to the native chiefs to renounce the dream of hereditary sovereignty, and a plain intimation that

the English king erect on his own unaided right would no longer lean upon a papal staff. Indeed, as it was known that the rebel chief had counted upon aid from Rome, of whose connivance with him proof was not wanting, it was not unnatural that the renunciation of her supremacy just effected in England should be applied to Ireland. The regal title was sanctioned by a parliament assembled on the 13th of June, and acted beneficially both on the chiefs and the people.

The Geraldines, profiting by the wholesome severities shewn to their chiefs, joyfully hailed these changes and rallied round the king. Desmond in 1540 solemnly engaged "utterly to deny and forsake the usurped primacy and authority of the bishops of Rome, to resist and suppress the same, and all who should maintain it." Thus did O'Neill O'Dunne, O'Connor, O'Rourke, McDonnell, O'Brien, and the great lords from all the remotest regions, followed by their inferiors, including the fiercest and most independent of them, with remarkable unanimity hasten to pledge themselves that they would "acknowledge the king's majesty as their natural and liege lord, to honor, obey and serve him and his successors against all creatures in the universe, as supreme heads immediately under Christ of the church on earth, to serve and obey his deputy in Ireland, and as far as lieth in their power to annihilate the usurped authority of the bishops of Rome, to expel his partizans, to bring justice to all who betake themselves to him for promotion, and to support all who shall be appointed by the king or other lawful patrons to church benefices."*

But a counter-agency was at work. Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, as primate and chancellor, aided by personal influence, wielded no small share of power over his suffra-

* Murray, pp. 189—191.

gans and clergy, whom he induced to maintain the pope's supremacy. Meanwhile the disorganization caused by various factions, the popular dislike to the rule of an English prince, and the predisposition to appeal to other powers for its repulsion, the distance from the seat of government, the want of education and even of the wish for it, (such was the change wrought by a church calling its head Christ's Vicar on a land once the home of learning and the centre of now extinguished light) the blind subjection to an illiterate clergy, the prescriptive sanction won by four centuries' possession for St. Peter's successor who had conferred the right to rule, as it was argued, on one who now sought to supersede him : all these causes co-operated with the obstructive zeal of a primate who forgot that the English sovereign's position in Ireland was due as much to the endurance, to the concessions, to the sworn loyalty of native princes who had, as to the grant of an ecclesiastic who had not, the right to confer it.

A vacancy in the see of Dublin, however, in July 1534, enabled the king to counterbalance opposition by the choice of a successor whose character and abilities qualified him to carry out the royal wishes. **GEORGE BROWNE**, formerly provincial of the English Augustinians, in whose establishment at Holywell he had been educated, was a zealous reformer and a man of sound judgment, integrity, piety, and unbending firmness. Though obstructed by the sapping and mining of Cromer and the deputy, he heartily co-operated with Henry's work of reformation, of which he was, among the clergy, the pioneer and mainstay.*

In a correspondence with Secretary Cromwell, to whom he detailed the difficulties with which the adherents of the

* Moore accuses him of a domineering spirit and the love of pomp, but does not prove the charge; iii., 209.

papacy beset him, he offered many valuable suggestions in aid of their common purpose, and in return acted under Cromwell's sanction in the dissolution of monasteries, the correction of abuses, and the abolition of popish usages. His attachment to the cause of reformation, his familiarity with Luther's writings, his cheerfulness and benevolence, his straightforward honesty and inflexibility, the sermons in which he directed the prayers of his auditors to Christ and not to the saints, all pointed him out to Henry, after much deliberation, for the vacancy, which had already lasted for eight months. His consecration was according to the existing ritual, except that he received the pallium by royal mandate from the legitimate authorities in his own country, viz., Cranmer, Shaxton, and what is more remarkable, Fisher, bishop of Rochester.

According to Dr. Ledwich, the growth of Lollardism and heresy "had for some time previous to this period been such as to call for the adoption by Henry VII. in application to Ireland of a statute of Henry V.* for their repression," and we need not be surprised if the same early twilight which had sufficed to make the existing "darkness visible" to the Lollards, Beghards, Hussites, and followers of Savonarola in England, Germany, Bohemia, Italy, and elsewhere, should also have dawned on Ireland, revealing the corruption then prevailing, and awakening the desire, itself the earnest and pledge, of a speedy sunrise. Yet these foreshadowings must not be confounded with Browne's actual commencement of the Reformation.

He had no easy task. His first measure was to join a commission, of which Cromwell was the presiding genius, for transferring the allegiance of the Irish church to the king ;

* De Heretico Comburendo. This was the statute which brought William Sautre, the first English martyr, to the stake.

but the inadequacy of the commission to cope with the impracticable materials presented to it induced him to recommend Cromwell to "call a parliament in this nation to pass the supremacy by act." A parliament accordingly was summoned for the spring of 1537. "Poyning's Act," which forbade a parliament to meet till the governor in council had stated the business requiring it and the king had licensed its convocation, was immediately repealed. It was declared that all enactments should be valid if they were for the king's honour and the welfare of the realm. Various acts were passed. One enacted that "the king, his heirs, and successors should be the supreme head on earth of the church of Ireland," with power to reform all abuses, and this notwithstanding a bull received, circulated, and enforced by Cromer, whose adherents vowed obedience to the apostolic see, which declared void all acts contrary to its provisions and excommunicated all who admitted any power superior to "mother church." This act was entitled "Of the Supreme Head." Another transferred appeals in spiritual causes to the crown, forbidding under severe penalties recourse to Rome. The obstructions it encountered from the diocesan proctors and their supporters was so factious as to require the special interference of the English legislature; but the able speeches of Browne and Justice Brabazon, its mover and seconder, were triumphant. Other acts assigned to the king, in Ireland as well as England, all first-fruits and a twentieth per annum "of all spiritual promotions."* All payments to Rome, including Peter-pence, were forbidden, and royal commissioners were appointed to grant dispensations such as till then had emanated from the English primate in behalf of the pope. Another act, based on a

* An unfortunate precedent to the long career of spoliation which have subsequently crippled the Irish Church.

more mistaken policy, in order to encourage the English order, habit, and language, enjoined the bestowal of patronage only on those who could speak English, and that where from necessity it was accepted by one who was unable to do so, he must at once proceed to acquire the language, preach in it, and found a parochial school for English instruction.

Thus far the reformer was allowed to go; but as usual, where popular prejudices and a strong party upholding them are opposed, these acts were more easily passed than executed. Indeed, during this reign little was gained beyond the transfer of the supremacy, and the doubtful advantage of English instead of Latin public services; for Henry was not prepared to accept the doctrines of the reformers, or to abolish any superstitions which involved no personal questions. Hence the readiness with which, while monuments of idolatry were disappearing throughout the diocese as they were disappearing in England under his authority, his mind, never really freed from Romish dogmas and probably wrought upon by the artifices of some secret enemy, became poisoned against the primate, as appears from a letter of vague but sharp rebuke addressed to him, accompanied with a threat of deposition. Another was addressed to Staples, bishop of Meath, an equally zealous reformer. Browne, however, wrote a reply, humbly but frankly vindicating himself, which probably was successful, as no further result is known of the accusation.

Meanwhile the commission which he had joined was vigorously at work, bringing to light and endeavouring to extinguish clerical abuses; but as he complained to Cromwell, the calumnies believed against him encouraged the culprits to disregard its injunctions. He was, however, warmly seconded by Lord James Butler, son of Lord Ossory, treasurer and admiral of the kingdom, of which he was one

of the most loyal among the nobles. This nobleman earnestly pleaded with the king for the religious teaching of his grievously-neglected Irish subjects, most of whom, so far from sympathising with the anti-reforming cabal, would gladly welcome any change which would rescue them from priestly oppressors and plunderers, and restore to them the religious freedom of ages past, the tradition of which was the glory of the Isle of Saints. Had this plea been listened to, Ireland would have been tranquillised; for the charge of "restlessness," or, in the primate's words, "that the natives have been craving foreign princes to assist and rule them," had not probably resulted from the same instigation as the later disturbances, but rather from the hope that as England had fastened on them the Roman yoke, some other power might liberate them.

The bull of excommunication already mentioned soon arrived, with a letter from the Bishop of Metz to the chief of the O'Neills, inciting him to rebel in the interest of the papal church. The latter took the field with a considerable force which ravaged the country, but was ultimately defeated by the deputy.

Browne meanwhile accomplished his purpose of breaking up and destroying the monuments of superstition in his diocese, replacing them with copies of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments decently framed—undeterred by the non-concurrence of the deputy, who secretly favoured image-worship. Other forward steps were also taken, such as the diligent preaching of the gospel with pointed reference to that "monster the Bishop of Rome, and his adherents, the crafty blood-suckers, the Observants," by whom "the blood of Christ is clean blotted out of all men's hearts." "He also enjoined in the "Form of the Beads, or Common Prayer, that the name of the pope, whose usur-

pation was "extinct and ceased for ever, as of no strength, value, or effect in the church of England and Ireland," should be defaced from all the primers and other books, and that prayer be offered for Prince Edward, for the king's issue, "for all them that preach the Word of God purely and sincerely," and a "Paternoster and Ave for souls that be departed out of this world in the faith of our Saviour Jesus Christ." This was not submitted to without resistance, as appears from the history of a prebendary of St. Patrick's, named Humphrey, who, having with more than twenty others, set at nought the king's supremacy, was imprisoned for contumacy, though liberated by the deputy.

In the winter of 1538-9, the lord chancellor and the archbishop made a tour through Carlow, Wexford, Waterford, and Tipperary, and were uniformly well received. The latter preached at each place on the errors of Rome, and received from clergy and laity oaths of fealty to the king, notwithstanding the counterplotting of the viceroy, who went so far as to depose bishops appointed by the metropolitan and sanctioned by royal authority.

Cotemporary with these proceedings was the dissolution of monasteries. In 1528 forty lesser houses had been dissolved. In 1536 parliament granted three hundred and seventy, with their revenues to the king.* In the next year eight abbeys were suppressed; and, in the following year, in the report of a commission for their total suppression, the deputy pleaded for the retention of six, but in vain. Accordingly many of the superiors voluntarily surrendered their houses on the promise of a life pension. In 1539, twenty-four of

* Be it observed that these strictly Roman Catholic possessions enriched not the Reformed Church, but the king and the laity. If Romanists can now claim compensation, they must seek it from the lay inheritors of the spoil.

a higher class were thus suppressed, among which the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, Dublin, were transformed into the dean and chapter of Christchurch. When surrender was not voluntary, compulsion was used; but the dissolution was not yet entire, for some houses condemned by Henry were still occupied by religious fraternities, even at the accession of James I. These willingly surrendered to the commission appointed by the king, including their revenues and effects, the latter being first sold, and all debts discharged.

In the same year Browne joined a new commission to search out and destroy reliques. According to the returns of the commissioners the seizures were valued at about £2,300, equivalent in the present day to more than £40,000, without reckoning the images of wood and stone which were broken and destroyed. The plea urged for the king's private use of these funds was the expense, then recently incurred, in putting down the Desmond insurrection.

In 1542 a vicarage was erected in every parish which had possessed a monastery—a provision, though inadequate, for the interruption caused in its religious service.* In the same year Henry's assumption of the legal title was inaugurated with great solemnity and rejoicing; and with the pardon and release of criminals not guilty of heinous crimes. The people thus learned that the subjection of the "*lord of Ireland*" to the Roman see had passed away, and it was hoped that they would regard their *king* with some such reverence as that with which the Russian peasant regards the Czar.

An immediate change now took place in the management of episcopal appointments, the bishops no longer depending

* It was moreover a recognition of a parochial system inasmuch as it threw open the private chapel-service of the monastery to the population of the district.

for their temporalities on the papal mandate, but being nominated immediately by the king, to whom they, at the same time, as was the case at Emly, took the oath of allegiance. A vacancy occurring that year at Elphin, Henry sent a *congé d'elire* to its dean and chapter, and on their refusal for three years to accept his nominee, he in 1545 directed the archbishop of Tuam to consecrate him. In some cases the pope created rival bishops; but these acts were nullified by the king, except in one case, that of Clonfert, where a bull enabled Rowland Burke to expel Mangle, the royal presentee, the deputy by forbearing to prosecute, as he was bound to do, giving impunity to other intruders; but ultimately the bull was cancelled, Burke and the others swearing fealty to the king. Kilmore, lying in an unsettled locality, retained its papal bishop till 1585.

In the same year the deputy checked the practice, too prevalent among the clergy, of obtaining from the English privy council licenses of non-residence, and an act was passed enjoining the prelates of Dublin and Meath, and other favourers of the Reformation, to instruct their clergy that they should "renounce all papistical doctrine, and set forth the true word of God." The Irish law was also assimilated to that of England for promoting the continency of the priesthood.

On the death of Cromer, the opponent of the reformers, it might have been thought that Browne, Staples, or at least a *protestant* bishop would be raised to the primacy; but whether on Cromwell's fall Henry had abandoned the protestant cause, as his English policy latterly indicated, or from some other unexplained motive, Dowdall, the new primate, was of a totally different character. He had been Cromer's official, and now owed his promotion to the new deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger. Browne is not recorded as assisting

at his consecration, his substitute being "Thady" his "suffragan." It is not clear who this man was; but the custom of appointing suffragans, chosen by the king, was not uncommon. They were probably identical with the ancient "*chorepiscopi*."

Dowdall was a learned and zealous advocate of the papacy, but his acceptance of office from the king while seeking, though fruitlessly, a papal nomination, convicts him of instability, if not of insincerity. He had little opportunity of openly opposing the Reformation during Henry's life. One of the king's last acts was to appoint a commission for the resignation of St. Patrick's cathedral in Dublin into his hands, which after some opposition was effected in the very month of his death.*

The establishment of the royal supremacy during his reign, though the only change made with his hearty concurrence, at least cleared the way for further operations; but beyond this Browne's exertions were discouraged, both by Dowdall's appointment and by the want of adequate means for the religious education of the people, such as the monastic revenues could easily have provided. Still the objects of idolatry had nearly all been removed, and the form of common prayer simplified, while his earnest and faithful preaching in various parts of the kingdom could not but tell on the multitudes who thronged to hear him.

We repeat a remark formerly made respecting the property of the church. The tithes conferred on the clergy in 1172 were a legal provision for those who were responsible for the religious instruction of the people in their respective parishes. The Reformation did not introduce a new church into Ireland, but remodelled the old one; and the same order of men existed with the same recognition by the

* Mant, Hist. Ch. Irel., vol. i.

State, and with the same responsibilities after that event as before it. The title, therefore, of the reformed clergy to this legal provision was in no way affected ; but Henry and his parliament, who did not always scrupulously follow the rules of equity, committed an act of flagrant injustice in the secularization of a large portion of ecclesiastical property. Half of the tithes, which in 1534 were held by the monastic bodies together with their lands, were bestowed on laymen, besides the tithes, in whole or in part, of nearly seven hundred parishes, and nearly fifteen hundred glebes. It might be true that wealth appropriated by the monasteries, such as they then were, was perverted from its original purpose ; but equity would have demanded that that original purpose should be acted upon. Had this been done, had church property been entrusted to commissioners who should devote it and economise, it with strict integrity and wise regulations, to carry out the purpose of an established church by providing for the religious instruction of the people and the subsistence of a resident clergy, the church of Ireland would not have lain in the crippled dilapidated condition in which it has since been pictured under successive reigns, nor would the question be so plausibly urged at the present day, What is the use of the Irish Protestant Establishment ?*

* It is here obvious to remark that the bulk of the possessions which were acquired by the church during the three or four centuries in which it was nominally in subjection to the Pope, and in order to carry out Roman Catholic purposes, thus passed into lay hands. If therefore, the Romanist could in the present day claim the restitution of property belonging justly to his church, he must make his application to the laity, if the representative of the spoliators can be found, but not to the Established Church. The claim made to *her* possessions derived from a prior right, can only be compared to the supposed case of a colony of gipsies who, after squatting for a generation or two on a common, and assuming the name of the lord of the manor, Howard, Stanley, or Percy, should on the ground of locality and identity of name, assume to be the lawful owners of the estate, and turn out the ancient possessors from their property.

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF EDWARD VI., A.D. 1547—1553.

Progress of the Reformation.

FEW events of importance occurred during this reign. Politically the country was quiet, if we except the occasional feuds of the Leinster sept. At one time Shane (or John) and Matthew O'Neill sought aid from France to throw off the English yoke, actually offering the sovereignty of their country to the French king, who must have been too occupied or too prudent to listen to them, as the offer led to no result. Gerald, eldest son of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, who on his father's death had been conveyed by his guardians to France, from thence to Rome, and placed under the care of his relative Cardinal Pole and the Duke of Tuscany, returned home at Henry's death and was restored to nearly all his estates.

The Reformation proceeded but slowly, few efforts being made to advance it in this short reign; for though Dowdall, the opponent of innovation, was compelled by the government, to his no small mortification, to yield the primacy to Browne, who remained at Dublin, yet he had so well compacted the episcopal phalanx, that Staples of Meath was the only man on the bench whose co-operation the latter was able to secure.

The popish prelates exerted a mighty counter-influence at home and abroad, while that of their opponents, whatever might be their personal zeal, must have been limited to their respective dioceses or provinces. Great was the need of more clerical advocacy for the furtherance of pure religion, but it was gradually supplied through the judicious disposal of

royal patronage: though this was not the case at first, for even in 1550 one Arthur Macgenis was nominated by the pope and confirmed by the king as bishop of Dromore; but in the same year Thomas Lancaster, a protestant, became bishop of Kildare by direct royal commission. No later example occurred of papal nomination, though Lancaster's example was quickly followed in six other cases. Cashel, vacated in 1551, was for some unknown reason still vacant when Edward died.

In the fourth year of Edward the new English liturgy replacing the mass was received in Ireland, not only unopposed by the people but, as Moore represents it, with indifference. This result would have been less likely had their own vernacular tongue been adopted rather than that of their Saxon conquerors. Many bishops neglected to use it, disregarding a royal proclamation unsanctioned by law, and unsustained by any military force in the hands of the ever-changing lord-lieutenants.

That the Bible in English had been brought into Ireland during the preceding reign is plain from the language of the order respecting the liturgy, the only document extant on the subject. The liturgy is described as "translated into English," which can only mean that many of its prayers, though modified, were adopted from the Latin breviary, which had derived them from a source still more ancient.

This order was dated February 6, 1551. On March 1 the deputy, summoning the bishops and clergy, notified to them his majesty's pleasure that the English service book be used in Ireland, as it already was in England. Dowdall promptly seizing this first occasion for impugning his authority objected that "every illiterate fellow might read mass," and to the deputy's just remark that the charge of illiteracy justly belonged to the priesthood, he as usual for

want of a better answer muttered a threat about the "clergy's curse."

The deputy stated that he could afford to defy this curse, having already, as he contended, the blessing of the true church; whereon Dowdall and all his co-prelates, except Staples, rose up, and carrying with them their offended dignity, marched away from an assembly which could endure such astounding heresy. He then delivered the order to the archbishop of Dublin who, with a few more moderate prelates, acceding to it, issued a proclamation to enforce it. Browne introduced it on Easter-day into Christchurch cathedral with a sermon on Psalm cxix. 11, in which, after impugning Latin services and image-worship, he denounced, almost in the spirit of prophecy, the Protean policy of the Jesuit body.

Soon afterwards St. Leger was recalled to England, possibly for his want of zeal towards the Reformation. His successor, Sir James Crofts, was instructed,—1. To promote the use of the English tongue in public worship, but to translate the service into Irish where it was needed. 2. To guard against the sale of church goods. This latter precaution was intended to check a growing habit of peculation. The charge to translate the service into Irish where needed was a necessary supplement to the use of English prayers if priests and people were to understand each other. It would have been well for the church had this order been rigorously executed.

On the arrival of Sir James Crofts, appeared the new liturgy, the first book ever printed in Dublin, though it is asserted that the art of printing had been introduced into Ireland about the end of the fifteenth century by one Maurice O'Fihely, called Maurice Hibernicus, a native of Cork, afterwards archbishop of Tuam, who was the author

of a dictionary of the Bible and other works. He died in 1513. Crofts being a zealous protestant, his first step was to send a courteous invitation to the refractory Dowdall and the other prelates, to attend a conference, in which he hoped to reconcile them to the new order of things. The former sullenly accepted it, but as he refused to yield, nothing was gained except the suspension of the long dispute between the sees of Dublin and Armagh for precedency by the transfer of the primacy to Browne. Dowdall of course was highly offended, but whether his retirement and exile were voluntary or not, the see was considered vacant, and England was called on to furnish Reformers to fill the see of Armagh and that of Ossory, which was also vacant. Cranmer proposed one Turner for the former, but he not unreasonably refusing the offer on the ground that he knew nothing of Irish, and that the people of Armagh did not understand English, Hugh Goodacre was at Cranmer's instance elected to Armagh, and John Bale by the king's own choice to Ossory.* The former, an incumbent in the diocese of Winchester, was highly commended by the Lady Elizabeth, whose chaplain he was. Bale, educated first at a Carmelite monastery and then at Jesus College, Cambridge, was converted through the instrumentality of an English nobleman and had been twice imprisoned under Henry VIII. for preaching against Romanism, but was set free by Cromwell, on whose death he fled to Germany, where he lived for eight years, but returning on Edward's accession, he first became chaplain to Poynt, bishop of Winchester, shortly before he removed to Ossory.

His consecration was opposed by the disaffected clergy, because he refused the formulary till then in use, preferring

* He was rector of Bishopstoke, Hants, and vicar of Swaffham, Norfolk. He was fifty-eight years old at the time of his promotion. Life prefixed to works of Bale. Parker, Soc. Edn.

the new service appended to Edward's second prayer-book in 1552. But he stood his ground in this matter, and immediately afterwards in another, viz. the use of ordinary white bread instead of the wafer in the Lord's Supper. Had he not been disabled, like most of the protestant clergy, by not knowing Irish, from addressing or winning the people, he would have advanced the Reformation by his ardent zeal and active opposition to existing errors and practices. But from this fatal defect he gained but slight hold on a population who, through the too successful education imposed on them by their spiritual teachers, or rather the want of any education, had forgotten, if they had ever known, the purer home-spun religion of their forefathers. He was welcomed in Dublin by the Reformers, and as he expresses it, earnestly exhorted the people to repentance for sin, and required them to give credit to the gospel of salvation;" though he adds, "helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number." "Where I sought to destroy the idolatries, there followed angers, slanders, conspiracies;" besides which they were offended at the plainness with which he denounced their immoralities, and at the rigour with which he enforced the use of the English Prayer-book. His chief obstacle in so doing was what he impetuously calls Browne's "lewd example," who simply used the first and least altered liturgy of Edward because he had not yet received officially the more advanced second book.

But the period of repose and of evangelistic labour was too soon cut short, the deaths of Hugh Goodacre and the youthful king and the accession of Mary all occurring within six months. Meanwhile, though not much had been done for religion by the English government, a good foundation for the future was laid, especially within the Pale, by the improvement in the episcopate and the use of a purer liturgy.

CHAPTER III.

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY, A.D. 1553—1558.

Check to the Reformation.

IF the accession of Mary were less disastrous to her Irish subjects than in England, the difference is not due to herself. The truth is that the sister island had not claimed her notice by joining the adherents of Lady Jane Grey, and she was so occupied with the suppression of the English Reformation, with the French war, and the Spanish marriage, together with other anxieties, as to have little leisure to think of Ireland till the latter part of her unhappy reign. The mass of the people also, thanks to the priesthood, knew little of scriptural doctrines, though eager to escape from priestly tyranny, and the martyr spirit not having been roused by appeals through the native tongue, lay dormant, so that the persecuting fire had little to feed on. Her emissaries, moreover, knowing better than herself the fiery temper of the Celtic race, and the risk that if once roused, like the angry elephant, it might use a giant strength to trample and crush the persecutor, proceeded so cautiously, that she might have earned a better reputation from the moderation of her Irish policy than from her merciless bigotry towards English heretics. But her reputation was not to be thus rescued from infamy. As though ambitious to secure an evil name, and to undo the officious efforts made in after times to disguise it, she devoted her first leisure towards the restoration of the Irish church to its old régime.

The reforming movement was checked; the laws passed in its favour were repealed; the alienated church property was restored to its old possessors; the prelates deprived in the previous reign were restored; Browne, Staples, and four other protestant bishops were suspended; and a commission for the punishment of heresy, on the Smithfield model, being drawn up, would have been speedily executed, but that what man would call a happy accident—the details of which are recorded by Ussher—delayed its transmission, and before the error could be remedied the queen had expired, leaving behind her a character of almost unexampled bigotry and cruelty.

She was proclaimed at Dublin, and in the principal towns of Ireland, with the utmost solemnity as Queen and “Supreme Head of the Church,” and soon afterwards a general permission, though without compulsion, was issued to the people to attend mass. “Accordingly, on August 1,” says Bale (whose diocese was probably a fair specimen of the others) “the clergy of Kilkenny blasphemously resumed again the whole papism or heap of superstitions of the bishop of Rome.” Be it observed that this permission, issued to her subjects generally, was accepted *by the clergy*; but we are not told how it was regarded by the people, or how far they availed themselves of it. They had of course been educated in Romanism; but even if any lingering traditions taught them to sympathise in the efforts made to secure their religious freedom, their clerical masters knew how to repress them.

St. Leger was restored to the viceroyalty, and in the next March, Dowdall to the see of the primacy of Armagh, vacated by Goodwin’s death. In April a commission was appointed to restore celibacy and the mass-book. This was the pretext for the deprivation of the six protestant bishops,

Browne, Staples, Casey of Limerick, Lancaster of Kildare, Travers of Leighlin, and Bale, all married men. Browne, Staples, Lancaster, and Travers, died shortly afterwards; but Casey lived to be restored by Elizabeth, as did also Bale, who, after many perils, escaped to Basle, but on his return from the continent would only accept a prebend at Canterbury.

The six new Romanist bishops, on their consecration, professed on oath to receive their temporalities solely from the sovereign of the two kingdoms. Dublin was vacant till February 1555, when Hugh Curwen, dean of Hereford and queen's chaplain, was appointed to the see (receiving consecration in the Romish form) and immediately afterwards to the chancellorship of Ireland. He had long been known as a zealous papist, from sermons preached when he was Henry the Eighth's chaplain, though his conscience was not inconveniently stringent. He at once proceeded to undo the good work of his predecessor, though his excellent opening sermon, preached in his own cathedral, won for him golden opinions. The other new bishops were Irishmen, as was also Roland Baron, previously appointed to Cashel, such a choice, doubtless, being meant to win them popularity.

Dowdall, determined to lose no time, held successive synods in 1554, 1555, and 1556, at Drogheda, to enforce the customs of his church, and exhibited its imposing ceremonial on all public occasions. Thus, when the chancellor and Sir Henry Sydney were sworn as lords justices, with the service of the mass, he duly censured and sprinkled them with holy water; and after a rebellion in Thomond, he caused the freeholders to swear on the sacrament allegiance to the Queen, and to the Earl of Surrey, who in the previous year had succeeded St. Leger as deputy.

Sussex, in proof of freedom from heretical taint, took the

oath of office on a mass-book, and went in state to St. Patrick's cathedral. He was required to use all "good means possible to advance the catholic faith, and the honour of the see apostolic," even if the aid of the secular arm were needed to repress heresy. The acts of parliament passed in consequence of these instructions had the bad pre-eminence of first enacting in Ireland the laws against Lollardism. About the same time a bull from Paul IV. offered forgiveness to those who had swerved from the unity of the church. Curwen reverently received and read it before parliament, which under the presidency of the Earl of Sussex abrogated all recent laws against the Roman see. The act then passed declared the civil ruler incapable of being head of the church, authorised papal bulls, and restored the jurisdiction of the holy see; another act revived the former statutes for the punishment of heretics; and a third renounced the receipt of first fruits and other perquisites hitherto paid to the crown. The property alienated from the see of Dublin, as was alleged, was directed to be restored, and a commission of enquiry was appointed to investigate the injury of church property in that diocese, that is, the removal of idolatrous reliques then recently effected.

The reign of Philip and Mary was not otherwise signalised in Ireland than by the papal sanction of its elevation to a kingdom by a bull in answer to their joint petition, by the restoration to Gerald earl of Kildare of his forfeited estates, and by the names, as still retained, of Queen's county and King's county, given respectively to the districts of Leix and Offaly, together with Maryborough and Philips-town, the capital of the one, and the citadel of the other.

CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, A.D. 1558—1603. .

SECT. 1. *Establishment of the Reformation.*—SECT. 2. *The Irish Rebellion. Its Popish Origin. Its Suppression.*

WITH the accession of Elizabeth to the English throne a new era opens on the church in the sister kingdom, its dawning bright with hope, but too soon, alas! to be overcast by sinister influences.

Six months after her accession the new queen resumed the work of reformation in Ireland, proceeding in a cautious conciliatory manner which, while it testifies to the soundness of her judgment, has exposed her to the Puritan accusation of insincerely temporising with the Roman hierarchy.

The mass was abolished, superstitious reliques banished from the churches, and the use of English in the public prayers restored; the same Earl of Sussex, who had recently swept away the rising edifice of a reformed church, was proceeding with all due gravity to reverse his own measures, laying the foundation and raising the scaffolding for its re-erection. The preference of the First, to the Second Prayer-book of Edward, and the omission of some offensive expressions, proved her wish to avoid the risk of causing undue irritation; and however we may doubt the wisdom or propriety of aiming to amalgamate the two churches by the use of a common creed or ritual, the very fact of her having at first adopted such a policy exonerates her from the charge of afterwards employing needless severity.

If the Act of Uniformity bears traces of a will hereditarily despotic, proving that supremacy rather than doctrinal purity was uppermost in her thoughts; if the tolerant spirit of our age would pronounce it unwisely stringent, where less of severity and more of concession on minor points would have better served the cause of truth; yet the severity of simply requiring uniformity in priestly habits and liturgical forms was a merciful exchange from the more hideous severity which, laying profane hands on the secret springs of thought, had aimed to enforce identity of creed under penalties of torture, imprisonment, and death.

The supple viceroy being content to act under a new régime, was continued in office and, after a short visit to England, he restored the suspended service in English, much to the annoyance of some zealous maintainers of the *status quo*; but the instructions which he brought back and rigidly obeyed expressly required him to "set up the worship of God as it is in England." An attempt to arrest his proceedings by the appearance of a bleeding image to testify the Saviour's grief at the growth of heresy, was quashed by the discovery of the cheat, produced a telling sermon from Archbishop Browne on the strong delusion under which men believe a lie, and quickened the zeal of Surrey to restore the English liturgy and the royal supremacy, as well as to repeal the statutes against heresy and the other acts of Philip and Mary. Ecclesiastics were required to take the supremacy oath to the queen, and forbidden by successive penalties, issuing in those of high treason, from maintaining obedience to foreign authority.

The Act of Uniformity enjoined the use of Edward's First Prayer-book on pain of deprivation to those who refused compliance, and the attendance and orderly behaviour of all

persons at their parish church on Sundays. The bishops were to provide a copy of the prayer-book in every church, and to see that the act was duly executed. Bishops, clergy, and people, readily joined in so solemn and edifying a service, though with a singular permission, that Latin might be used where no reader of English could be procured, the use of Irish being strangely assumed to be impracticable, on account of popular ignorance, although earlier in the century Daniel O'Fihely, whose brother was archbishop of Tuam, and who wrote the national annals down to his own time, testifies to the number of Irishmen, mentioning many by name, who studied at Oxford, and afterwards rose to eminence.

The prejudices of a people long used to the sound of Latin being thus left undisturbed, both priests and people would, doubtless, be more readily compliant; but common sense would have found a better escape from difficulties of language by facilitating the provision of books and instruction in Irish.

Two other acts were passed, one restoring first-fruits to the crown, the other investing the queen with the absolute right of conferring bishoprics without the formality of a *congé d'élire*. This right exists in full force to the present day in Ireland.

The recent changes occasioned so much difference among the nobility and commons of Ireland, whom the popish clergy also studiously strove to embitter against the queen, that it was found expedient to dissolve parliament after a month's session, while the deputy, who crossed over to England for instructions, soon returned to convene the clergy, with a view to establish protestantism in every diocese. All reliques were removed from Christchurch; and a large Bible, placed in the choir of each cathedral, was surrounded with eager listeners, whose thirst being still

unsatisfied, they purchased in the years 1559-60 seven thousand small bibles.

In August, 1558, Dowdall expired, and after more than four years' vacancy, Adam Loftus, the younger son of an old Yorkshire family, was nominated to Armagh, and four months later was consecrated. Before he had left Cambridge, the queen, struck with his oratory and graceful manners, promised him early promotion. Accordingly he became first her chaplain, and then successively chaplain to the viceroy, dean of St. Patrick's, and archbishop of Armagh. On his subsequent translation to Dublin, he consecrated his successor Lancaster at Armagh.

In 1563 every prelate was required to declare his allegiance at his consecration. In the next year a prohibition was issued against the meeting of Romish priests in Dublin, and a tax imposed on absentees from church on Sundays. In 1565 Sir Henry Sidney became viceroy, and the next year appeared "the Book of the Articles" to secure "unity of doctrine to be holden and taught of all parsons, vicars, and curates," each of whom must read it when entering on his cure, and subsequently twice a year with a public declaration of assent thereto. These Articles, twelve in number, assert the main points of belief, such as the Trinity, the sufficiency of Holy Scripture to salvation, the definition of "the Church," the prohibition from the ministry of those who are not lawfully called to it, the Queen's ecclesiastical supremacy instead of the Pope's, a sanction of the Common Prayer-book, the abolition of popish forms in the two sacraments, of private masses, of communion in one kind only, of reliques and the condemnation of feigned miracles.

The supremacy oath caused the expulsion of the only two bishops deprived by Elizabeth, namely, Leverous of Kildare, and Walsh of Meath, succeeded respectively by Alexander

Craike and Hugh Brady. The former had held and retained the deanery of St. Patrick's; to the personal excellence of the latter the queen bore high testimony. Leverous afterwards kept a school near London. Walsh was exiled. Thus while the temporal lords mostly held and transmitted their old principles, nearly all the spiritual peers quietly submitted to the new order of things, and even appropriated to themselves church property,—an abuse which the lord-lieutenant, though instructed to do so, was unable to prevent.

Other sees were also shorn of their temporalities through the lawless state of the kingdom. The northern provinces suffered so greatly from an outbreak of Shan O'Neill, that Loftus procured his own translation to Dublin from the primatial see, remarking that he would prefer less of reverence and honor to be in quietness and security. He found the temporalities of the new see so reduced in value, that the queen granted him a dispensation to hold other preferment in conjunction with it.

She usually appointed bishops by letters patent, selecting Englishmen for the more important sees, and Irishmen for the rest. Of her fifty-two appointments, sixteen were of the former, twenty-eight of the latter class, and eight of doubtful nationality.* These, the legitimate heads of the church, must be distinguished from intruders appointed by the pope, who being chosen mainly to obstruct her policy, were ever on the side of disorder and disloyalty, and as they bore the titles, without the legal status, of the lawful hierarchy, were known as "titular bishops."

The bishops had hitherto retained the disposal of the cathedral patronage, but had so abused it by appointing unfit persons and even laymen, that it was taken from them and transferred to the deputy on behalf of the crown, with a

* The Anglicising process was not yet fully developed.

proviso that a knowledge of English should be a *sinè quâ non* to any cathedral promotion. We shall see that this transfer was not needless when we consider the amount of immorality which pervaded the kingdom. To stem the tide, the deputy prescribed "that religion and knowledge of the Scriptures should be propagated and encouraged." This injunction was probably the cause which led to the subsequent erection of free schools in every diocesan town, the masters being of English birth, to be selected by the respective bishops, the provision for their salaries, fixed by the deputy in council, being divided between the bishops and their clergy. This measure, it was hoped, would civilize the people, while the schoolmasters, when taught sound doctrine and conversant with both languages, would be efficient teachers of religion. The act for this purpose was passed A.D. 1570. Another for the repair of parish churches, proposed about the same time, was not passed.

A measure was about that time adopted by two Irishmen who had studied together at Cambridge, John Kearney and Nicholas Walsh, the latter and principal of whom was in 1577 bishop of Ossory, which promised greatly to benefit the church and people. These men were the first to introduce Irish types, which were provided at the queen's expense in hope that God in mercy would raise up some to translate the New Testament into the mother tongue. They obtained leave to print the church prayers and to fix upon a church in the chief town of each diocese where they should be read and followed by a sermon in Irish. They also in 1573 commenced a translation of the New Testament from the original Greek, Kearney's first work having been an Irish catechism and primer. In this they were assisted by Nicholas Donellan, and completed by William O'Donnell and Murtagh, the titular king of Connaught, at the instance of the deputy and privy council.

It was printed and published in 1603. In 1608 O'Donnell translated the prayer-book from English into Irish, and printed it. A year later he became archbishop of Tuam. By the use of such means many persons were converted from the errors of Romanism. Unhappily Walsh was murdered in 1585. Had the government heartily co-operated with him, the effect of his labours might not have been confined to individuals, but have leavened the whole population.

The greater the progress of the Reformation, the greater were the counteracting efforts of the opposing party, the more lawless chiefs fomenting disorders at home, two titular bishops soliciting aid from the pope and the Spanish king, while a bull excommunicating the queen was followed by another from Gregory XIII. depriving her of all right and title to Ireland, and exonerating her subjects there from their allegiance.

The first attempt to form a protestant colony in Ireland was in the county Down. It failed in consequence of its leader being murdered. But failure is often the precursor of success, for its accidental cause is eliminated, experience is bought for future effort, and a principle established which in due season will bear fruit. In the next reign the colonization of the north led to far different results. In 1573 Hugh Allen, one of the first band of colonists, became the second Reformed bishop of Down and Connor.

When Sir Henry Sidney became deputy for the sixth time, he at once applied himself to improve the condition of Church and State. He wrote a touching letter to the queen as "the only sovereign salve-giver to her sore and sick realm." In it he describes the church as "foul, deformed and cruelly crushed." Of the parish churches he finds nearly one-half impropriated without resident parson, served by "sorry curates few of whom can speak English, the rest

being Irish priests or *rogues*," having little Latin and less learning or civility. "Most of the edifices are dilapidated and the bishoprics spoiled," "partly by the prelates themselves, partly by the potentates their noisome neighbours." He recommends her majesty first to secure competent ministers, and to that end not to fear the cost (which will ultimately repay itself) of procuring some Irish speaking clergy from English or Scotch universities for the remote places, and secondly for the Pale to provide a competent income as the means of ensuring competent men. The letter produced a royal commission within the same year for redressing the grievances so graphically portrayed.

The scarcity of churches to which he alludes in a land once abounding in them is easily accounted for by the desolation caused by the revolutionary times through which it had passed and was even then passing. Thus in the rebellion of Shan O'Neill the cathedral and town of Armagh were "utterly destroyed lest the English should lodge therein." Ten years later the town of Athenry suffered the same fate for the same reason. Such were specimens of the spirit generally shewn by the rebels towards protestant churches, and even apart from religious animosity, they could scarcely have escaped the outrages which inevitably must befall towns and villages when marauding bands passed through them, besides that in such unsettled times bishops and people would be alike negligent to enforce or obey existing laws for arresting the natural progress of decay.

The remedy was not easy to find, and Sidney's appeal produced but little immediate fruit. The scarcity of curates naturally resulted from the penury of the country and the absence of any institution to prepare candidates for orders. For repairing ruined churches two other deputies laboured, but with little effect.

SECTION 2.—*The Rebellion in Ireland, and its Suppression.*

The subjects of Elizabeth both in England and Ireland appreciated her moderation, and for some years accepted the new order of things in the same spirit in which it was carried out. Its peaceable reception in England must have prepared the Irish clergy for what they had to expect, and predisposed them in their own turn quietly and deliberately to follow the example. Be this as it may, we have the unwilling admission of Romish writers, Berington, Leland and Phelan, in proof of the fact. Moore* says "In the present instance it was among the spiritual lords of parliament that this ready compliance with the new change of creed was most glaringly shewn. For, out of the nineteen prelates who sat in the Irish House of Peers, there were only two, Welsh of Meath and Leverous of Kildare, who so far consulted the dictates of conscience and consistency as to refuse the oath of supremacy, and thereby forfeit their respective sees. Thus obsequiously all the new changes in Church and State were acquiesced in by most of the ecclesiastical authorities."

A Romanist may easily stigmatize the facility with which a people could attend protestant or popish worship, use the mass or the liturgy, oscillate between opposite creeds while faithfully reflecting that of the reigning sovereign, as a "shameless pliancy of principle;" and in such a case as that of Gardiner of Winchester, the phraseology may be just; but

* Hist. Irel., vol. iv., pp. 20, 21. He remarks (p. 22) that while the Pale only was Protestant, the whole of Ireland was "Catholic." In 1172, the Pale only was Romish, while Ireland was primitive and Protestant. Which was the genuine religion of the land? Surely the old Protestant. He says, too, that many of the temporal lords clung to the old creed. Yet most of them swore to Henry VIII. their adherence to the older creed restored.

it must be remembered that such pliancy is the natural offspring of that training whose main feature is *faith in the church*, and of that church which loves to call the "dark ages," "ages of faith." The creed therefore of its professed followers is not strictly their own, for that which properly is a man's *self*, including his understanding, his judgment, his reasoning powers, his investigations, his convictions, has had no part in a creed imposed on him from without and requiring only an unintelligent assent. Consequently it has no hold on his affections. Moreover the indolent habit thus induced of committing the soul to the priest, as it commits the body to the physician,* discharging responsibilities by proxy, predisposes the mind to the reception of the first object presented to it, and renders it as easy to change a creed as a coat. The teaching of the Reformation appealing to our noblest faculties, our deepest feelings, our highest interests, the creed is no longer, like the coat, an extraneous thing, but like the skin, patent indeed on the surface of our profession, yet as much identified with the inner self as the latter is with the nervous system of the body, so that he who touches it seems to touch the apple of the eye.

Hence protestants, like the early christians, have ever been ready to contend or suffer for the faith, as we find exemplified by the Marian martyrs, the German Lutherans, the Huguenots, the Scottish Covenanters, and, with all their defects and extravagances, the English Puritans. Indeed the term "odium theologicum" is invented to express the tenacity with which men defend their faith and resent interference with it; whereas the Romish church has been notoriously unable to kindle a like enthusiasm in its own cause, except with the aid of other motives.

For example, the fervour of the Crusades was roused by

* See Whateley's Cautions on the Times.

an appeal to superstition which cared less for the Mahometan's creed than for his possession of the holy sepulchre. In other cases the appeal has been to ambition or avarice; to the fear of losing wealth or territory; to the hostility of races, as of Celt and Saxon; to the spirit of chivalry, as in the adoration of the Virgin; or to a fear of the priesthood as an order standing between the supreme God and simple men. Yet with all these weapons in its hands the Romish church has not been able to kindle enthusiasm in behalf of its peculiar dogmas. She has refused or neglected to sow the seed of sound religious principles and therefore has failed to reap the fruit.

But while assent was thus easily gained to the doctrines and practices of the Reformation and the enforcement of legal penalties was thus rendered unnecessary, it is to be regretted that national sympathy was not enlisted through the medium of the native tongue. The "wild Irish" continued to be treated as a people who must be held in subjection because they could not be civilised. They were excluded still from all preferment, and their language as far as possible discouraged. One curious reason for the latter step was that "the strange character of the language was inconvenient to print." The English liturgy was therefore ordered to be used, as if the exchange of one unknown tongue for another were a boon, the new one, moreover, being what the old one was not, the language of their foreign masters. It was natural then that an Irish parliament, though mostly servile imitators of English enactments, should in this instance petition for the retention of Latin where English was not understood. The petition was granted, and the influence of the priesthood thereby prolonged.

Through this mistaken policy the people were easily induced to fall in with the new measures adopted by the

Roman church. Whether it was that milder measures had been tried in vain, that the pontiff, stunned by the blow which England had levelled against his prestige, could not sooner recover himself, or that the final thunders which would annihilate heresy required the eleven first years of Elizabeth's reign to forge, certain it is that not till A.D. 1569 did Paul IV. excommunicate her as an irreclaimable heretic. Whatever the contempt with which a strong-minded queen, still stronger in the loyalty of her subjects, could afford to regard the thunderbolt, it excited no small commotion when it was first launched on the surface of Europe, whose nationalities, not having discovered as yet that such weapons from the Vatican are but a *brutum fulmen*, "looked that she should have swollen or fallen down dead," and whose ambitious princes, watching like the eagle from on high, and counting the possessions of the excommunicate as lawful booty, seized the golden opportunity to form a league in order to fall on the prey, waiving for the present the question whether France or Spain, to each of whom the formal grant was made, should banquet on the lion's share.

The pope was now prepared to favour any attempt which might be made to dislodge the queen or the reformed church from the soil of Ireland. Thus Gregory XIII., two years after the second excommunication, formed a league with Philip II. of Spain, (the author of the medal "*Strages Ugonotorum*" in 1572, and the patron of the Inquisition, being a *nobile par fratrum* for so holy an alliance,) to further an Irish rebellion, which, as we shall see, had been joined by an adventurer named Stukeley and by James Fitzmaurice, the head of the Geraldines, in order to give effect to Gregory's bull. The latter had from the time of its issue vainly canvassed the continent for help, till Gregory himself granted him a supply of arms, money, and three ships, which, with a hundred

adventurers headed by San Giuseppe an Italian, proceeded to Ireland.

The Earl of Desmond announced to the deputy, Sir William Pelham that, with the sanction of the pope and the Spanish king, he and his brethren had formed an alliance in defence of the catholic faith, and coolly invited the deputy to join him. This modest request being declined, seven hundred Spaniards and Italians, landing in Kerry and building a fort which the deputy besieged, refused his summons to surrender, alleging that they held it for the pope and the king of Spain.

Into the general history of Jesuit plots, the offspring of Gregory's anathema, we need not enter farther than their connection with Ireland renders it necessary. Suffice it to say, that the anti-reformation tactics in reference to the British islands embracing a secular and a spiritual object, the subversion of the queen from her throne and of the people from the reformed faith, both were pursued through the agency of a society which almost at the birth of the Reformation sprang up to counteract it and to regain and secure to Rome its old predominance. It was named the "Society of Jesus," or, in popular phrase, the "Order of Jesuits."

This unscrupulous fraternity first intrigued with Elizabeth's subjects, to withdraw their affections and their allegiance from her, to abolish her sovereignty, to take away her life, and then, with the Roman Catholic powers of Europe, to league them together for the delivery of her realms from the curse of heretical rule. Of these Ireland was too important a part and contained too inflammable materials to be left out of calculation. Accordingly, while Jesuit agents were busy in England, two others were doing the same work in the sister country. Their names were Allen and

Saunders ; the former, an Irish priest, being titular bishop of Killaloe, while the latter, a friar, was papal legate. These men used their pens to vilify the queen as an excommunicated heretic, obedience to whom was a crime, rebellion against whom a virtue to be rewarded with plenary indulgence; for such was the promise held out by Gregory, whose bull, though subsequent to those of his three predecessors which it confirmed, was the first which expressly absolved Ireland from its allegiance.*. Five years later another was printed in similar terms. In an address to a band of Irish rebels he also said, " We exhort each and all of you that you will, according to your power, aid the piety and valour of this noble general (their leader) and fear not a woman, who being long since bound with a chain of anathema and growing more and more vile every day, has departed from the Lord and the Lord from her ; and that you may do this with the more alacrity we grant every one of you who, confessing his sins with contrition, shall follow the said general or forward his design by counsel, arms, provisions, or other means, a *plenary indulgence from all their sins.*" This was a privilege which had been formerly granted to the crusaders, and a heretic queen being classed with Turks and infidels, the same recompense was assigned to the victors over one as over the other, enemies of God and his church.

The first explosion of the mine which had long been in preparation, had occurred some years before in the attempt of Shan O'Neill, the representative of the Hy Nialls, the descendant of a long line of princes who had reigned in Ulster, to revive a dormant claim to sovereignty. Notwith-

* "In the bull of Pope Pius V. (1570) depriving Elizabeth of all right to the English crown, and absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, no mention was made of Ireland. But his successor, Gregory XIII., supplied the omission." Moore iv., p. 80.

standing the flagrant immorality of his life, his influence was none the less among those whose own standard of morality was far from high. The passions of his fellow-countrymen, excitable as his own, though they had long smouldered and seemed well-nigh extinguished, were soon rekindled; and though the people had subsided into comparative acquiescence in English rule, and had once even petitioned for the protection of English law, yet the bait of being governed by a native ruler being too tempting to resist, they flocked to the standard of "The O'Neill."

This very name and style was treason emblazoned on the banner which bore it, carrying defiance to the established government; and formidable might the insurrection have become, but for the tact shown in the treatment of the fiery chieftain, first by the viceroy, who after a not very honorable but unsuccessful attempt to assassinate him, stood sponsor for his infant child, and then by the queen, who invited him to her court, supplied the money for which he petitioned with an amusing combination of a simplicity truly Hibernian, assurance, and transparent hypocrisy, to maintain his rank there, and disarmed hostility by showing him that graceful courtesy in which she was so well versed.*

This chieftain's insurrection being thus judiciously suppressed and, notwithstanding the sympathy and aid of foreign powers, his own duplicity, and the partial success gained by his bold and rapid movements, being finally extinguished by his death in 1567, the patient industry of Jesuit agitators was at length rewarded by another disturbance. The chronic hostility of the Geraldine faction—in other words, of the English by descent against the English by birth—having slept since the days of Henry VIII., was now aroused in the south by the Earl of Desmond, who raised there the

* See Moore, iv., ch. xlix. Froude's Queen Elizabeth.

cry of battle, and proclaimed war to the knife. This followed naturally from a papal allocution which urged the people to "throw off from them the yoke of the English, who were alike their enemies and the enemies of God." Moore defends this as being a retaliation of Elizabeth's aid rendered to *rebels in France and the Netherlands*, meaning the persecuted protestants who had armed in defence of their liberties, and had suffered from the barbarities of Alva, the treacheries of Farnese and the Medicis, and the St. Bartholomew massacre.* Such defence we need not characterise.

Desmond was proclaimed a traitor on the evidence of some treasonable papers found in Allen's possession. After some trivial and brief successes, followed by a defeat in battle at Kilmallock, and several almost miraculous escapes, he prolonged the contest for nearly two years; but his followers gradually fell away, except Saunders, leaving him an outcast and a wanderer on the face of the land, till the Spaniards being besieged, and on their surrender slain to a man, he was reduced to lurk in the woods and bogs, living on casual plunder, till at last he was beheaded by an officer, who, stimulated by a reward offered for his head, and accompanied by two men whose cattle his followers had lifted, tracked him to his hiding place, a miserable hut in the vale of Glenakilty, and by his execution ended his adventure. He was buried in the chapel of Killanamagh, county Kerry.

Among the plentiful crop of disturbances sprung from the same hotbed, we may reckon those already referred to stirred up in the west by Stukeley, whose buccaneering exploits sound like romance, and by James Fitzmaurice, brother of the Earl of Desmond, and an ardent champion of the papacy. The former piqued at Elizabeth's cold recep-

* Moore, iv., 80.

tion of his scheme for exploring Florida, betook himself to Gregory, attracted doubtless by his bull, and being invested, in proof of pontifical welcome, with a string of Irish titles, as if to show that his Holiness had not conceded his claim to the temporal sovereignty of Ireland, he sought aid from foreign courts, and having obtained it landed at Smerwick, county Kerry. Fitzmaurice, going in pretence of pilgrimage, to Holy Cross, in Tipperary, a focus of sedition, and seizing a horse by the way to hasten his progress, went on from thence to Smerwick, where Stukeley awaited him, but was soon afterwards engaged in a skirmish with the owner of the stolen horse, who was his cousin, followed by a hand-to-hand combat, in which each fell by the sword of the other. Stukeley, too inconstant to persevere in any enterprise, transferred himself to a Portuguese expedition, in which he perished.

But the network of intrigue was industriously spread over the whole south of Europe. To show this more clearly it may be well to compare the dates of some of the leading events in European history. The German Reformation commenced in A.D. 1517, the English about 1534, and their progress is marked up to about 1570. Now let us mark the counter movements. The martyrdom of Savonarola in 1519 extinguished the first dawn of light in Italy; the Jesuit order was founded by Loyola in 1540; Alva's persecutions in the Netherlands took place about 1560—70; the suppression of the Spanish Reformation was completed by the Autos da Fè of 1563; the papal bulls against Elizabeth date from 1569—1581; the plots against her life fostered by Mary Queen of Scots were subsequent to 1569; the persecution of the Huguenots lasting for several years culminated in the St. Bartholomew massacre, 1572, commemorated by a papal medal; the popish movements in

Ferrara and Navarre, bear nearly the same date; the long military preparations of Philip II. emerged from their shroud of secrecy into the Armada of 1588; the Irish disturbances extended from 1578—80. We might add as kindred circumstances the constrained perversion to Romanism of Henry IV. of France, about A.D. 1600; the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, the Laudian movement in the English church, from 1630—40; the Irish massacre of 1641; the Thirty Years' War; the persecutions in Piedmont; the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which belong to the next century. On comparing these series of events, we cannot but see that the various threads were held by one master-hand, were prompted by one persistent design, were in fact branches of a gigantic system of operations, jointly worked and converging to one end—the extinction of protestantism—with a force which would have been irresistible but for the interference of Him who had declared that the gates of hell should never prevail against His church.

Among the willing instruments of this combination were the Jesuits, Saunders and Allen. The former being papal legate, and the latter holding episcopal rank solely by papal gift, both were of course in the interest of, and correspondence with, the pontiff. It is not even denied that they sought the separation of Ireland from England, and that the continental powers were not indifferent to this object. Moore admits that at this period “the leading catholic powers became alive to the obvious importance of enlisting Irish alliance in the formidable league which had long been gathering against the power and creed of England.” *

When O'Neill applied for aid to Charles IX. of France, the want of power and not of will was the obstacle to his intervention. Fitzmaurice and the Earl of Desmond applied

* Moore, iv., 66.

to Spain, and the titular archbishop of Cashel was the bearer of their petition to the Escorial. The Spanish government by no means averse to descend upon a coast so conveniently near, listened favourably, fitted out an invading fleet and gave him an introduction to Gregory, proceeding with which to Rome, he fell in with our acquaintances, Saunders and Allen. Through their exertions the small naval force already mentioned was entrusted to him, with a banner consecrated by the pontiff, and was landed at Smerwick.

We next find these worthy ministers of peace busy in the insurgent camp near Limerick, and reviving Desmond's drooping courage by pointing to the sacred banner, blessing the spot where the expedition had landed, and ensuring its success. But Saunders shared the fate of the rebellion he had so industriously promoted, perishing amid its expiring embers, a solitary, neglected fugitive, deprived of the honours of martyrdom, his very corpse undiscovered, till like Jezebel's it, had been torn by dogs.

A few years later the Earl of Tyrone excited another rebellion, and Spain at once granted the aid he sought. Here again we light on a Jesuit named Archer on the stage of history; as though that fraternity were resolved that Ireland should not enjoy an interval of peace, and that they would have a share in the infliction of all its miseries. Archer busily fomented religious controversies, and provoked Lord Ormonde to say of him that he was a traitor who, under the pretext of religion, drew Her Majesty's subjects into insurrection, a speech for which Ormonde was seized by a young chieftain named O'Moore, the Roderic or "Rory" O'Moore, whose fame is conspicuous in the traditions of his country. He was retained prisoner till a ransom of £3,000 was paid for his release, as if to show that in lawless times truth could not be spoken with impunity.

These intrigues led to other results more indirect yet no less hurtful than insurrection: such as, the quartering of English soldiers in the disturbed districts, the seeds of violence sown on both sides, and a mutual irritation not unusual on such occasions, which not the most systematic military discipline availed wholly to repress.

But the principles of civil and religious liberty were not then well understood, nor the happy art of governing a kingdom by them. The chains of mediæval despotism whose links had required centuries to forge were not to be cast off in a day, especially under the arbitrary rule of Henry VIII's daughter. Hence the Reformation assumed a despotic garb, and was imposed as Romanism had been imposed on the "wild Irish," as on a subject-people who must at any cost be held under Saxon sway, who could be allowed no will of their own, and whose convictions or preferences it was not worth while to consult.

Thus an act of Henry VIII. had prescribed the use of the English order, habit and *language* by the Irish Reformed Church—a restriction which, by making it requisite in most cases for Englishmen to officiate, and consequently to hold livings and bishoprics, ignored the right of natives to preferment on their own soil, and placed the offices and emoluments of the church in the hands of strangers.

This regulation was stringently enforced by Elizabeth, though Englishmen could hardly be found sufficient to fill the vacant benefices; for an unintelligible service was regarded as a lesser evil than the vernacular instructions of a native teacher. Hence the ill-success of a liturgy, read in a dialect which a subject-people cared not to learn, and which if learned was of little use to them, soon occasioned those who longed for the old *régime* to petition, not unsuccessfully, for

leave to dispense with the newer unknown tongue by returning to the ancient Latin.*

The effect it was easy to foresee. If a child, in early years, has received a kind, judicious and careful training, his affections are secured, and he has learnt even when out of leading strings to lean on parental counsel and to follow parental example; but, if instead of this, he has gnashed his teeth during the period of childhood in bitterness under the iron yoke of despotism, the victim of a father's injustice, oppression and harsh brutality, and the shrewd though silent observer of a father's errors, he will show but little reverence when he is older; rather will he seize the earliest opportunity to assert his independence, and frame his opinions and conduct as far as possible from those of a parent who has forfeited his affection and respect.

What might have been the beneficial effect had experience then taught our country how to manage her colonial children, had she treated Ireland as of late years she has treated India, Canada, or Australia, unselfishly promoting its prosperity, consulting when possible popular feelings, and not overstraining the reins of government, we cannot know. It might have continued to this day loyal to Great Britain, its filial love responding to maternal tenderness, and have been spared three centuries of oppression, misery, and discord. Apart from foreign and priestly influence, the Reformation would have found a kindly soil for its growth, in the recol-

* Yet the instructions of Edward VI. to Crofts in 1551 were, "To propagate the worship of God in the English tongue, *and the Service to be translated into Irish*;" and Lord Bacon subsequently enjoined on Secretary Cecil, "the taking care in the new college of the versions of the Bible and Catechisms and other books of instruction into the Irish language." And the provision of an Irish-speaking clergy was repeatedly enforced by Sir H. Sidney. See *Mason's Life of Bedell*, pp. 105-109.

lections of primitive times, and its cordial acceptance would have been a permanent blessing to the country.

Far different, alas! was the reality. The new doctrines and ritual, like the new assumption of royal supremacy, were received by the people with quiet indifference; for being neither explained nor understood, and making no appeal to their affections, they awakened no interest in their reception or zeal in their defence. From such a religion, imposed as it was by a conquering ruler, it was easy to alienate them. No wonder, therefore, that after a lapse of thirty years from a period when priest and layman, peer and peasant, had quietly submitted to the English ritual and the spiritual headship of the English sovereign, the same people, after a successful course of Jesuit intrigue passed over to the church of Rome, and that the country has been ever since divided between two hostile creeds, adopted respectively by its native and foreign inhabitants.

It is true that Elizabeth sought to counteract the sinister influence at work by reversing the policy of her predecessors when its evil results were seen. She caused some Irish types, as we have seen, to be prepared as a step towards the translation of the New Testament, should a competent translator be found, and ordered the prayers to be printed and read, and a sermon to be preached in the native tongue in each cathedral town. Six years later Sir Henry Sidney advised the Queen to look out pious men capable of complying with this requisition, whereby "thousands would be gained to Christ;" and to supply the scarcity of preachers he suggested that she should found a Protestant university. This was done fifteen years afterwards.*

In 1584 the deputy, Sir J. Perrot, in accordance with his instructions, forbade the occupant of any office, clerical or

* Mason's *Life of Bedell*, pp. 106-7. Murray, pp. 219, 226.

lay, to be absent longer than two months. He endeavoured to repair the miseries of the country, and to encourage the bishops, though with little success, to effect the repair of the churches. He displaced an usurping bishop of Kilmore in favour of Garvey, dean of Christchurch, who three years later succeeded Archbishop Long at Armagh. He was born at Kilkenny though educated at Oxford, and was the only Irishman whom Elizabeth raised to the primacy. While dean he had also been a privy councillor. As such, the Queen highly esteemed him and called him "her ancientest councillor" in that kingdom. On his translation, Kilmore continued vacant for fourteen years.

Perrot also sought, perhaps at Sidney's suggestion, to convert St. Patrick's cathedral into an university, of which the revenue would arise from the leases of impropriations in each diocese; but so strong was the opposition of Loftus who was an interested party in some of them, and who would also have lost much of his patronage, that not only was the project quashed, though backed by royal authority, but Perrot himself was impeached and removed from Ireland.

Yet it was not wholly lost, for Loftus, to escape the stigma of preferring private interest to the education of the people, was thereby stimulated to obtain leave from the Dublin Corporation for her majesty in fulfilment of her wish to found in that city a nursery of learning from the fund which her father had reserved for the purpose from monastic property. Within a week Henry Ussher, then archdeacon of Dublin, gained the Queen's license for the foundation. She appointed the "College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity" to be founded in Dublin, granting the Abbey of All Hallows for its maintenance,* inviting bequests

* The precinct of this Abbey in Hoggin-green had been granted by the mayor and citizens of Dublin as the site of the new University. Mason's Bedell, 103.

from her subjects and defining its constitution. The proceeds of her appeal were probably small, for too many rich men, then as well as now, were prone to evade the excuse of charity with the plea of poverty. Ten days afterwards (March 13, 1591-2), the first stone was laid, and on the 9th of the following January, the first students entered. Cecil, Lord Burleigh, was its first chancellor, Loftus its first provost, and James Ussher one of its first scholars.

But these remedial measures were too late. The dragon's teeth were sown. The alienation existed which the Jesuits had fomented, and the inevitable result has been that the religious dissensions of two hostile sections of the community have afflicted the land for three hundred years.

Another cause of defection from the Reformed Church was the condition of its temporalities. The Roman church in Ireland had possessed numerous wealthy monastic institutions and other endowments, some being of Danish foundation, and others the gifts of early English settlers, the former being mostly contiguous to, as if to eclipse, the native establishments where learning and piety had once taken refuge and shone resplendently amid the new flood of barbarism. These all shared in the general dissolution which took place under the administration of Cromwell and Archbishop Browne.

Had their revenues been reserved, as justice demanded, to endow universities for a native protestant clergy, and to secure to the benefices an adequate income, there would have been no want of competent pastors by whose inevitable influence, the affections of the people would have been easily transferred through them to the church which they represented. But the necessities of an extravagant monarch were urgent, and the claimants on his bounty no less so. The treasures amassed by his father's thrift were gone. The

national generosity was exhausted by the frequent levy of "benefactions." The boundless wealth of the monasteries was a convenient resource, and thus the king's rapacity was the immediate cause of investigations which brought these dens of iniquity, such as they then were, to the light of day, and led to their well-merited dissolution.

The founder's intentions required that everything professedly dedicated to the service of God should at least be retained for a religious use, and that the proceeds of church property should aid the spread of a purer faith, *i.e.* that the harvest reaped from the monasteries should be stored in the granary of the Reformed Church. Instead of this the government conferred the spoils of the regular clergy on English or Irish landowners, and ere long the parochial clergy suffered the same fate.

The livings were in consequence so impoverished that men of education and refinement, competent to pastoral duty, who would have adorned the church and conciliated the people, were not willing to accept them. In short, natives were ineligible to preferment, and the preferments ineligible to competent Englishmen, who found them not, as fabled by some modern politicians, enormously rich but miserably poor. Those who were induced to accept them had little power to compete with agitators who sought, and to a great extent gained, the position themselves had lost, and who have now for three centuries shared with the friends of the Reformation much of the obedience slavishly rendered, though little of the affections, of the masses.

Another effect of secularising church property was seen in the general dilapidation of churches and parsonages in every part of Ireland. To illustrate this let us refer to Sir Henry Sidney. "As for religion there was but small appearance of it, the churches uncovered, and the clergy scattered, and

scarce the being of a God known to these ignorant and barbarous people." "Your majesty may believe it that upon the face of the earth where Christ is professed, there is not a church in so miserable a case, the misery whereof consisteth in these three particulars, the ruin of the temples themselves, the want of good ministers to serve in them when they shall be re-edified, and competent living for the ministers being well chosen."*

Truly has that church much to answer for whose mediæval intrusion, intercepting the rays from the Sun of righteousness, so disastrously eclipsed the "Light of the West" that from that day to the present a pall of "darkness has covered the land, and gross darkness the people." Yet so far from repenting of her wrong, she still dares to claim a property in the soil where to the uninformed she pretends to be indigenous; and persisting in aggression, resists the modern agencies which would dispel that darkness, and denounces the church which protests against her as interfering with her asserted rights.

Spenser, author of the "Faery Queen," accompanied the deputy in 1580 as his secretary. In 1585 he obtained a grant of land in county Cork, where he resided till his death in 1596 or 1598. During that interval he composed a "View of the state of Ireland," a subject with which in so long a residence he must have been familiar. He says, "Whatever disorders you see in the church of England ye may find in Ireland, and many more, gross sinners, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergyman." "All Irish priests which now enjoy church livings are in a manner mere laymen and follow all kinds of husbandry and other worldly affairs, they neither read scripture nor preach nor

* Letter to Queen Elizabeth, 1575.

administer the communion. The clergy there (except the grave fathers which are in high places about the state and some few others lately planted in their new college) are generally bad, licentious and disordered." Of the bishops he says, "Some of them whose dioceses are remote do not at all bestow the benefices which are in their own donation upon any, but keep them in their own hands, and set their own servants and horse boys to gather the tithes and fruits of them." Of the people he says, "They be all papists by their profession, but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed, that not one in a hundred knoweth any ground of religion, but can perhaps say his Pater Noster and Ave Maria."

This lamentable state of things he ascribes to the distracted state of the realm, for "instruction in religion needeth quiet times, and it is ill time to preach among swords." He recommends that religion "be not impressed with sharp penalties, but that ministers of their own country be sent first among them, who by their meek pretensions and gentle lives may draw them to the doctrine of their salvation." He cites a statute that "any Englishman of good conversation should be nominated to a vacant living before any Irishman," but complains that "there were not sufficient English sent over; the most part of such as came over of themselves are either unlearned or men of bad note, for which they have forsaken England, or the bishop being Irish rejects him, or if he be good he carries a hard hand over him so that he soon wearies of his poor living. The benefices are so mean here and of so small profit that they will not yield any competent maintenance for any honest minister to live upon."

In confirmation of this last point, as Sidney informed Elizabeth, Hugh Brady, the zealous bishop of Meath ascer-

tained that "out of 224 parish churches in his diocese, the incomes of 125 were in the hands of lay tenants under the crown; and that while the buildings were left without repairs, the souls of the people were grievously neglected, there being for the present no resident rector, but a sorry curate appointed to serve them. Of the curates only eighteen were able to speak English, and the rest, men of ill reputation, had very little Latin and less learning and civility." Fifty-two parishes out of the 224 were somewhat better managed. Sidney adds, "If such be the state of the church in the best peopled diocese, and best governed country of this your realm, easy it is for your majesty to conjecture in what case the rest is."*

As to church edifices, Spenser remarks, even of those which had been repaired, that they were so "unhandsomely patched and thatched, that men do even shun the places for the uncleanness thereof;" and that there were no efficient churchwardens to secure their preservation. He pertinently asks how, even though a royal commission sought to remedy the scarcity of curates, such poor livings can maintain them, unless two or three be joined together. His suggestion, so far as acted on, could only make the want of pastoral care the more palpable by *thin-spreading* his labours over a wider field.

That the intention to secure a competent clergy by preferring those who spoke English, failed from the want of character or learning in too many of them, Strype testifies as follows: "The curate of Cripplegate having been before the archbishop's chaplain was asked by him some questions, and among the rest, what was the meaning of the word '*function*' which hard word he could not tell what to make of!" In fact, men of worth and learning, besides being

* Sidney, Letter to Queen Elizabeth.

counteracted by foreign emissaries, were deterred from seeking Irish preferment by the supposed unfitness of Irish bishops to appreciate them, by the poverty of the benefices, and by the peril and discomfort of living in the midst of a disaffected people. For the amelioration of this state of things, Sir Francis Bacon recommends to Cecil, not only religious toleration as a political necessity, "in order to take off the fierceness and eagerness of the humour of Rome;" but that hand-in-hand with this course, "some good preachers, vehement, and zealous persuaders, but not scholastical," be paid by government to reside in the chief towns, that the college in Dublin be replenished, and that versions of the Bible and of instruction books be provided in Irish. Pity that the English government was not wise enough to act on these good counsels! Such then is a picture, and a dark one it is, of Ireland and its religious state in Elizabeth's days, and little immediate hope was there of improvement. The Puritan troubles in England, the settlement of the English Reformation, the papal bulls and the consequent conspiracies, the affairs of Scotland and of the Low Countries and the machinations of Spain, abundantly occupied her thoughts, and though Ireland, in the latter part of her reign, was forced on her attention by the rebellions of "Red" Hugh, son of Shan O'Neill, and the Earl of Tyrone, by the failure of the Earl of Essex, and by the more successful measures of Lord Mountjoy, to quell them; the efforts required for its subjugation diverted her from the interests of the church there, and from any effectual amelioration of its condition as so pathetically described by Sidney, except, as we have seen, by the foundation, too long delayed, of the university to cultivate the native tongue; and of that she did not live long enough to see the fruit.

In 1603 this institution received a gift of £1,800 from

the officers of the English army for the enlargement of its library. This sum was expended by Dr. Challoner and Mr. Ussher, in conference with Sir Thomas Bodley, whose name is still attached to the magnificent library which he erected at Oxford.

Resuming the thread of history, we find Henry Ussher, an Irishman, succeeding Garvey in the primacy. His diligent pursuit of study in Cambridge, Oxford, and Paris, had gained him some reputation, though he is well-nigh eclipsed by his more illustrious nephew and successor James Ussher, who displayed both in childhood and at college strong religious principle and great intellectual powers. Besides philosophy, history, chronology, Hebrew, and the classics, he carefully studied the Scriptures and the Romish controversy. At the early age of nineteen, he entered the lists with the Jesuit Stapleton, and silenced him. In 1600 he was one of the members of the university chosen to preach before the heads of the government on Sunday afternoons, on which occasions he was the able champion of the protestant doctrines.

In 1601 news reached the indefatigable Earl of Mountjoy, while in Kilkenny, that a second Spanish force of three thousand men had landed at Kinsale, supported by six vessels bearing ordnance and ammunition, and had garrisoned a fort at Rincorn. He recaptured the fort, and with timely reinforcements of men and ships from England, although harassed by Tyrone and O'Donnell who, joining their forces to those of the Spaniards, sought to intercept his supplies, he routed the combined forces at Kinsale, suffering the Spaniards to return home; and pursuing Tyrone to the north, compelled him to surrender unconditionally and sue for pardon.

The overthrow of this invasion, whose success would have

roused the Irish papists to deeds of slaughter, led to the more stringent enforcement, by means of the Court of High-Commission, first established in 1593, of that part of the Uniformity Act which enjoined attendance at the parish churches, to which the papists, dispirited by defeat, quietly submitted; and for their benefit controversial sermons were preached on each Sunday throughout the metropolis and the other principal towns. Indeed they showed so little reluctance to attend these services, that on occasions of unavoidable absence, they usually sent an excuse to the churchwardens. To the youthful James Ussher, then recently ordained before the legal age, was assigned the church of St. Catherine in Dublin for this purpose.

The hopes of peace thus excited were too soon extinguished. The queen had always treated her Roman Catholic subjects with forbearance so long as they did not compel her to severer measures. Her ministers enjoined a lenient policy, and Mountjoy, who succeeded Essex as viceroy in A.D. 1600, carrying out their instructions, the Act of Uniformity, notwithstanding the facilities afforded by the Court of High Commission, ceased to be enforced; the papists, by the counsel of their priests, ceased in consequence to attend the reformed worship; popery resumed its previous sway over the unenlightened; and the spirit of James Ussher was, in 1601, stirred with remarkable, and, as some thought at the time, with supernatural, sagacity, to foretel disastrous consequences as likely to follow such mistaken lenity *within forty years*—a prediction but too literally fulfilled in the rebellion of 1641.

In the year 1603 died Queen Elizabeth, whose long reign forms a singular contrast in the feebleness of its religious influence on Ireland, with the prodigious stride made by England in ecclesiastical and temporal prosperity during the

same period. With the royal supremacy had been established a sound and scriptural form of public worship; a few eminent men had been raised to the episcopal bench; but the native Irish and the chiefs by whom they were instigated, for want of wise measures of conciliation, had been suffered to continue the enemies of social order; while the Romish party, making skilful use of the discordant elements, were strenuous and persevering opponents of the queen's government. Hence the wants of the church were so inadequately supplied, that beneficial influence was unable, even had it initiated a wiser policy, to penetrate to the remote parts of the land.

CHAPTER V.

REIGN OF JAMES I., A.D. 1603—1625.

*Colonization of Ulster with Puritans and Presbyterians—
Disputed Titles.—Turbulence of Romanists.—First Irish
Parliament and Convocation.—State of the Church.—
Calvinistic Articles.*

ELIZABETH was succeeded by James the First of England and the Sixth of Scotland on the throne of Great Britain and Ireland. The latter country, but just freed from a rebellion whose embers were yet smouldering for a future outburst, and overrun by Romish emissaries, was but a desolate inheritance, and James was not the man to master the impediments to its social or spiritual well-being. His reign will exhibit the two rivals,—the old usurping Church, and the new, yet still older, reformed Church; the one clinging to forms and dogmas of mediæval invention, the other, while adopting for its basis the primitive doctrines of Scripture, and assuming the Anglican standards and organization for its modern dress, becoming more distinctly developed. These two systems grew more separate from, and hostile towards, each other, as each assumed its own intrusive or legitimate position; yet notwithstanding such elements of discord, this period witnessed more than one instance of useful legislation; while some of its events have still left a beneficial impress on the country, from whence may be dated its material progress from a state of semi-barbarism.

The Romanists, hailing with joy the accession of a new monarch and a new dynasty, of Irish extraction, as was

said, nay even of the royal line, and therefore by the law of Ireland the rightful claimant of its throne, were more than ever intent on restoring the pontifical rule. In this they were encouraged, notwithstanding the submission of the chiefs and the depression and diminution in number of the natives, by the consciousness that the work of agitation and intrigue would call down no such stern repressive measures from the feebler hand which now held the sceptre as those which had taught them that Elizabeth would not be trifled with. Besides this they had a persuasion that James had been secretly brought up in the religion of his mother. He would naturally lean, they argued, to the faith in which she lived and died, and equally recoil from that of men whom he would consider as her murderess. At least, he who had dealt so gently with turbulent Romanists in Scotland and had lavished favours on Cardinal Beaton, was not predisposed, they thought, to treat them with severity.

James seemed really intent to benefit his Irish subjects, to civilize them, and to substitute for the strife of clans and parties the reign of peace and order. Yet whatever his leanings otherwise might be, one who insisted on the divine right of kings was not likely to forego his own claim to ecclesiastical supremacy; but he sought to realize it by combining the reality of power with kingcraft. Hence his temporizing policy, and his use of words which, however naturally interpreted by the wishes of those who heard them, sounded like concession, yet conceded nothing.

Tyrone had been crushed by the energy and military force of Mountjoy, but at the cost of much bloodshed and desolation, so that the rebel earl found the people sore in spirit and ready for fresh conspiracies; the more so because a query recently submitted to the Spanish universities whether an Irish papist might serve a protestant king had

received a negative answer; first, because the pope having sanctioned the late rebellion it was as meritorious to fight against heretics as Turks; and, secondly, because to aid the English cause was mortal sin.

The irritation was first shewn in Cork when the accession of James was first about to be proclaimed there. The mayor and aldermen having first hesitated and then openly resisted the proclamation, next sought to restore their religion by military force. They carried the cross in procession, and forced all persons to reverence it; they ejected protestant ministers from churches, reconsecrating the latter, and replacing the texts on the walls with pictures; they swore to live and die for the old religion, attempted to regain the monasteries, disarmed protestants, threatened to murder the bishop, attacking his palace, and came to the resolution of summoning other towns to join them. Similar acts of violence were enacted at Waterford, Limerick, Clonmel, Wexford, and Kilkenny.

To quell the rising the deputy made a progress through Munster. On his arrival at the city of Waterford he received an announcement through a young friar in full canonicals, that the citizens would obey no prince who persecuted the "catholic" faith. They did not however adhere to their resolution, but opened their gates to him, and thereby induced Cashel and other cities to do the same.

James, partly to soothe the popular excitement and partly to pave the way for the meeting of an Irish parliament, proclaimed in the third year of his reign that "all the inhabitants of this kingdom without difference or distinction are taken into his majesty's gracious protection;" and a statute was passed (Jacobi i., c. v.) to abolish all distinctions between English and Irish in order that "they may grow into one nation whereby there may be an utter oblivion of all former

differences and discord between them." When Tyrone and Tyrconnel fled in haste from Ireland, fearing from the vigour with which a southern rebellion was suppressed that their own conspiracy had transpired at court, the king to quiet the popular mind declared that these nobles had no persecution to fear from him on the score of religion, but that it was only for joining the king's foreign enemies that they were outlawed and their property confiscated.

These soothing and judicious words confirmed the hopes of the Romanists, already predisposed to think that the king either favoured or feared them. Hence their withdrawal from the parish churches, which the "church-papists" as they were called, had up to 1604 more or less attended, and the success with which Jesuits and others set themselves to stir up animosity against the English, and prevailed on the native inhabitants to follow their example. The city of Waterford was the first to take this step, and was followed by several of the corporate towns. The deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, summoned the principal citizens, sixteen in number, to the castle, with the hope of persuading them to compliance with the statute; but not succeeding, nine of them were censured, of whom six were fined £100 each, and the other three £50 each. All these were imprisoned, and the next week the remaining seven were censured, of whom all but one who conformed paid fines which were expended in church repairs or charity.

Meanwhile the priests, sanctioned by a papal bull, continued to defy the law, deciding causes already settled in the king's courts, compelling obedience to such decisions, forbidding attendance on protestant services, seizing some churches, building others for themselves, erecting or repairing monasteries, and announcing the king as a member of

their community.* A counter proclamation was issued requiring malcontents either to conform or quit the kingdom under penalty of death, but Tyrone and others having petitioned his majesty for toleration, the law was so faintly administered that it served but little purpose except to cause annoyance and irritation to those affected by it.

Sir Arthur Chichester visited three counties, viz., Monaghan, Fermanagh and Cavan, the most unsettled part of Ulster. He and the deputation which accompanied him lodged for two nights at Mellifont Abbey, which had been granted to the ancestors of Sir Garnet Moore, one of their number. Finding no similar accommodation the next night, they lodged in the fields. Thence passing through the wilds of the north, they reached Monaghan where, after full inquiry into the civil affairs of the locality, they investigated the affairs of the church, overruling the objections of the bishops to lay interference. They learned, says Sir John Davis, one of the visitors, that "the churches are utterly waste, that the king is patron of all, and that their incumbents are popish priests instituted by bishops authorised from Rome, yet many of them like other old priests of Queen Mary's time in England ready to yield to conformity." Further proceedings were stayed, nominally till the arrival of Mountgomery, bishop of Clogher, Raphoe and Derry, who though instituted two years before had not as yet entered on his charge; but in reality no steps were taken respecting him, except that in 1610 he was induced to sur-

* Thus a second time was the mild policy of an opening reign tempted to stern severity by the impatience and spirit of aggression shown by the Romish party. Experience might have warned them against the dangerous persistence in such a course, but probably they counted that the deeds of a feebler monarch would not prove equal to his words.

render the two latter sees, the former being enriched by the king's munificence.

From thence the visitors, encamping one night on the ruins of Clunes Abbey, and on the next night opposite to the island of Devenish, reached Fermanagh to hold a similar inquisition there. At Cavan, they found that most of the "parsonages" (rectories) being appropriated to two abbeys in the English pale, were now in lay hands. The vicarages were so poor that two united could scarcely maintain a minister, many producing not more than forty shillings, or translated into modern value, the magnificent sum of thirty-two pounds a-year. The churches were in ruins, the clergy in rags.

Sir John Davis augured most hopefully from this visitation, though it is doubtful if his hopes were realized. This subject will recur. Meanwhile he acted on the sound principle of teaching the "wild" Irish in their own language, by appointing Draher "parson of Trym," a native pastor, to the diocese of Kilmore. There were other single instances in which this principle had been acted on, but not as a general rule. It was also recognised by James in his allusion to Trinity College, Dublin, as a foundation principally for natives, and in his direction that preference should be given to them in bestowing livings which had become vacant among the "mere Irish."

In the same year the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, (James having conferred the latter earldom on Roderic O'Donnell, brother of "Red" Hugh) and some others, having renewed negotiations with Spain, formed a conspiracy, relying on assistance from thence, akin to the Gunpowder Plot in England, to surprise Dublin Castle, to murder the deputy and council and to set up a Popish government; but it was providentially discovered, by means of an anonymous letter of information written by

the Earl of Howth, in time to prevent its execution. Five conspirators were executed, and the rest outlawed. To their excuse, that they had been persecuted for religion's sake, James shrewdly replied that this was impossible, since they had not shown that they had any. Yet religion, such as it was, was one chief cause of the disturbances of that time, for they were sanctioned by the pope and fomented by the priests. One rebel destroyed two thousand "heretical" books at Kilmore, and nearly all the Protestants in Derry were slaughtered. Three months later the two earls withdrew to France, and Tyrone from thence retired to Rome where he died in 1616. The murder of his only son in Brussels a few years later brought this branch of the Hy Nialls to extinction.

With growing boldness the Romish party re-established the mass in divers places, and as we have seen, even seized on some of the Protestant churches for its celebration. One more step remained and, at length that also was taken. There were already one or two titular bishops; but as it was now correctly inferred that James would never surrender the ecclesiastical supremacy, a complete hierarchy was constituted, including archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, deans and parish priests, to be voluntarily supported by those who accepted them, in default of the revenues which were happily secured to the lawful clergy. In 1621 there were titular archbishops to each of the four provinces, the other sees being governed not by bishops, but by vicars-general and the parish being supplied with priests educated in Spain, at Louvain and elsewhere.

Thus Ireland for the first time witnessed two organized rival hierarchies; the one, lawfully derived from St. Patrick—and thence from a primitive Eastern church, though it had sometimes been unlawfully administered by a

foreigner—which after many vicissitudes, sometimes falling into hostile hands, and sometimes even losing itself in the darkness of the middle ages, had emerged intact from obscurity, returning to its primitive faith and ready to thrive under the headships and nursing care of English monarchs; the other, an intrusion of Romish malcontents, nursed by Jesuits and pregnant with the seeds, too soon and too sure to germinate, of misery and disorder.

We need not dwell on the parallel between the aggressions in Ireland of 1614 and in England of 1850; the one or two solitary bishops “in partibus infidelium” (as we are charitably designated), in each case dwelling side by side with those of a reformed church, but in each replaced by a full-blown hierarchy, intruded by a foreigner whose usurpation every loyal subject repudiated. May the latter event not entail such disasters on England as its predecessor entailed on the sister island. We hope better things for a land so signally favoured as our own, if we be but faithful to our trust.

James finding, as Cox observes,* “that he had to do with a people that never missed anything for want of asking, but were apt to take the ell if he gave the inch,” became more reserved in his concessions. He gradually undeceived them by stringent laws whose penalties he enforced, requiring conformity to the new usages and attendance on the reformed worship. The rebel nobles were outlawed, their estates confiscated and given to protestant colonists. Their fortified places were taken and garrisoned by Mountjoy; the acts of supremacy and uniformity were re-imposed, and the corresponding oaths administered to all Roman Catholic lawyers and justices of the peace; anti-recusant laws were reinforced; citizens of Dublin were excluded from all offices

* Quoted by Moore, vol. iv.

till they had conformed, and all Romish priests were required by proclamation to quit the country under pain of death. A petition for legal toleration instead of mere connivance in their worship happening to be presented on the very day of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, the leading petitioners were imprisoned on suspicion of complicity. Lastly, a convocation was assembled at Dublin under the influence of James Ussher, then only a young clergyman, which agreed on a set of articles coinciding in the main with those of the English Church, though having nine additional Calvinistic articles which had been formerly drawn up by Whitgift.

But the two principal events of this reign in Ireland were, the colonization of Ulster with a population of British protestants, chiefly of Scottish presbyterians, which has left its religious impress on the province even to the present day, and the assembling of an Irish parliament.

The first of these measures followed on the close of the rebellion in 1608, when some sedition-mongers, on whom leniency had been wasted, were outlawed and their property forfeited. It proved that though James, assisted by Chichester, afterwards Lord Belfast, put down insurrection with a strong arm, his real policy was one of peace; and though, like many other great measures which have been better estimated by posterity than by contemporaneous writers, it passed through the ordeal of discouragement, its ultimate effect has been, that Ulster is the most prosperous part of Ireland. In the dark days which have overshadowed the land, it has risen unscathed comparatively from the wreck and ruin which have followed the hurricane of plague, pestilence, famine, or disturbance as it has swept across the other provinces. Yet it must not be concealed that by forming a colony so entirely composed of foreigners, instead of using a foreign nucleus as a means of forming a training school of industry

for the native Irish, the new element has tended to the substitution of the English and Scottish for the Irish interest, and so to perpetuate the mistaken policy of ignoring that cultivation of the native race which might have made Ireland a happy and a prosperous country. The maxim "Ireland for the Irish" might have been beneficially transferred from the region of cold selfish indifference, to that of a wise and enlightened christian policy. Nevertheless, the colonization of Ulster has on the whole been a good measure, and we must accept it like all human things, thankful for whatever good it has effected, and forgiving, while lamenting, its imperfections.

The experiment of transferring mismanaged and "encumbered" estates into other hands has been repeated in our own time, though differently brought about; and has been equally successful in awakening the dormant spirit of enterprise at a period when debt and embarrassment like iron fetters cramped the vital energies of the country and forbade their beneficial development; while the quickened circulation of capital has restored comparative health to the body politic, by striking at the root of the feverish excitement which a previous stagnation had induced.

Similar attempts had been made in the days of Elizabeth, but on a small scale and with little success. The Scots had for some years shown a disposition to cross over the narrow channel, a distance of only 13 miles, which separated them from the opposite coast. In 1564 a body of them landed, but was defeated by a native chief. In 1572 Sir Thomas Smith, a scholar and a statesman, sent a body of colonists, but these being too few, were likewise overpowered by the followers of O'Neill, who resented interference with their property.* This failure, like the recent agitation of

* Moore, vol. iii.

the land question in New Zealand, shows that despotic power cannot establish a right, and that its unrestrained exercise must lead to disaster. No colony can prosper unless a fair compensation or an agreement mutually satisfactory be made between the new settlers and the original occupants of the soil, in which the feelings no less than the just claims of the latter shall be respected; except where from special circumstances the one party has justly acquired, and the other has justly forfeited the claim.

The next attempt of the kind was that of Devereux, earl of Essex who, with the queen's consent, undertook to plant two thousand settlers, partly as tenants, partly as soldiers, in the district of Clanebay, in Ulster, the queen and Essex each undertaking to find a thousand adventurers, and agreeing to divide the expenses and the profits of the scheme. Its possible success we can scarcely estimate, for whatever that might have been, the plan was discouraged by jealousy of the power which it would throw into the hands of Essex. He set out however in 1573, borrowing on mortgage the necessary finances; but though he proclaimed friendship to the Irish and enmity only to the Scots, the former rallied at the war-cry of their chiefs, the Earl of Dungannon, Lynoch, McPhelim, and Con O'Donnell, and by constant skirmishing wore out his strength. Some of his professed followers too, according to secret instructions, privately thwarting him, and the queen objecting to his location of the settlers, they were still further disorganised, and deserted on various pretexts, till at length the whole scheme was abandoned.

The enterprise of James, to which these abortive attempts were prefatory, was far more hopeful in its origin. The factious nobles, O'Neill, Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, lord of Inishowen, being in 1608 convicted of crimes of which they were notoriously guilty, namely,

treason and rebellion, at the hands of a royal commission, richly deserved the sentence by which themselves were outlawed and their lands forfeited to the crown. James thus gained a right, wanting in the other cases, to 511,465 Irish, equivalent to 818,344 English, statute acres of land, comprising the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, in the province of Ulster.

The opportunity was too good to lose. The amount of land, the nature of the title, the fact that the hereditary chieftains, who had hitherto been opposed to colonizing schemes, were fettered, and the quietness of the country when the rebels were gone, were, even in the eyes of a Roman Catholic writer, unwonted elements of success.

The details were well conceived. The land was divided into three portions, separable into allotments respectively of 2000, 1500, and 1000 acres. The first class were intended for English servitors and rich adventurers, the second for Irish servitors, and the third for natives of the province. On each of the former the grantee was required to build a fortified house, to locate forty-eight able-bodied labourers, English or Scotch, to farm 600 acres himself, to assign to four farmers 120 acres each, and to six leaseholders 120 acres each, eight husbandmen's or artificers' families occupying the rest. Similar subdivisions were made of the smaller allotments.

The owners were required to reside, unless they could guarantee the character of their agents, and to pay a small quit rent to the crown. It should be marked, as proving the disinterestedness of James, not sorry at other times to devise expedients for raising money, that instead of making large acquisitions of land an important source of revenue, he was satisfied with six-and-eightpence from British holders,

whose more beneficial occupancy he encouraged by a lower fee, or from Irishmen of thirteen-and-fourpence, per sixty acres.

Nor was the interest of religion overlooked; for as each allotment formed a parish, and the allottees were mostly of the reformed faith, a protestant colony was at once formed; and hence two provinces, reformed and unreformed, could thus be compared through the lapse of time as to the tendencies of their respective creeds. It is true that such an argument is only presumptive; yet if it be true of creeds as it is of men, that "by their fruits ye shall know them," the comparison is as much in favour of the protestant faith there as in Switzerland and elsewhere.

The tithes were given to the new parochial clergy, and the glebe lands, with other property alienated and appropriated by the rebel lords, were restored to the sees which they had plundered, or devoted to the endowment of Dublin university and of free schools in the chief towns. A church was also secured to each parish—no unimportant provision, as the parish churches were mostly decayed or destroyed and the pastoral work had been scandalously neglected by unsuitable incumbents of livings, which were sequestered or held *in commendam*, and were often injured by their ignorance or immorality. Carte says in his life of Ormonde, "For years together divine service has not been used in any parish church throughout Ulster except in some principal towns. Indeed the need of the reforms just effected will appear from the following passage of the same author:

"He found the estate of the bishoprics much entangled, and altogether unprofitable to the bishops, partly by the challenge which the late temporal Irish lords made to the church's patrimony within their counties; hereby to discourage all men of worth and learning through want of maintenance to undertake the care of those places, and to

continue the people in ignorance and barbarism the more easily to lead them into their own measures ; and partly by the claims of patentees, who under cover of abbey and escheated lands, passed by patent many of the church lands, not excepting even the sites of cathedral churches, and the places of residence of bishops, deans, and canons, to the great prejudice and decay of religion, and the frustrating his religious intent for the good government and reformation of those parts."

To remedy these abuses and to induce religious conformity, all alienated church lands from which the bishops had formerly derived an income were ordered to be restored, compositions were to be made with patentees for cathedral sites, episcopal houses, and church lands never intended to be conveyed to them, the tithes, as well as impropriations taken by bishops from the inferior clergy were to be restored, and a glebe of sixty, ninety, or one hundred and twenty acres near the church to be assigned to each parish.

One more regulation meant to give permanency to the new colony may claim a passing notice. The former attempts to colonise had failed through the resistance of those who lived upon the soil ; James, therefore, thought it wise, though the instigators were no longer present, to have an armed force ready for emergencies. He therefore created the new hereditary order of baronets to provide a fund for the maintenance of such a force, stipulating that each recipient of the title should pay into the exchequer a fixed sum sufficient to maintain thirty soldiers in Ulster for three years in defence of the colonists.

The new proprietors were drawn from various quarters. The London corporation adopting the scheme with lively interest, and embarking in it the sum of £20,000, accepted grants amounting to 335,680 English acres in county Derry,

thenceforth to be known by the compound name of Londonderry, and undertook to build the cities of Londonderry and Coleraine, the agreement being that "they should not suffer any labourer who would not take the oath of supremacy to dwell upon their lands." The former city was completed in 1617. Most of the English settlers were puritan citizens of London.

But the sovereign's native land was also represented, and thus the Scottish elements of shrewd calculation and patient perseverance were added to the capital and enterprising spirit of England. Notwithstanding, therefore, former rough usage, a considerable body of Scotchmen, fleeing from the Laudian persecution, went over, carrying with them presbyterianism, which with its monthly prayer-meetings and quarterly communions, and all its tendencies for good and for evil, its strong antagonism to popery on the one hand and to the Established Church on the other, not forgetting its extensive lapse subsequently into Arianism, speedily took root in the soil, and its adherents threatened to outnumber those of the establishment.

The settlement of Scots was distasteful both to the old inhabitants and to the English colonists. By a statute of Philip and Mary this had been illegal, but on its repeal in 1614 they flocked into Ulster, many of them, accompanied with their ministers, forming presbyterian congregations. Such an element of divisions the friend of episcopacy will lament, as it probably impeded the cause of protestantism in that province.

The new colony had started hopefully with every element of prosperity, but its early days were overcast, and its religious aspect narrowly escaped from failure to success. The secular spirit in many of the grantees overbore their interest in the cause of religion; and as too often has happened in

the commercial history of our own land, the fever of selfish speculation, prompting to the pursuit of private gain, tempted them to forget their responsibility for the spiritual culture of the people, and to neglect those measures to advance religion which they had engaged to carry forward step by step with the improvement of the land; so that those to whom they should have been protectors were in danger, as was the case in England fifty years ago, while merchants and speculators were busily amassing riches, of sinking into superstition, or drifting into heathenism.

Meantime the utmost vigilance was required in the north, as well as elsewhere, to keep down the old spirit of insubordination in the Romanists. In 1610 the proclamation of 1605 against all foreign emissaries such as jesuits, friars, and titular bishops was renewed but feebly executed, as also the order to tender the supremacy oath to all justices of the peace.

Another peril of the Ulster colony was, that some of the estates were unfortunately granted to Irish tenants, having been reserved, as an act of justice, for the unoffending vassals of outlaws. At first sight they would, doubtless, seem for a time preferable to Englishmen or Scotchmen; and could Irishmen have occupied a lower position in which they could be trained up in loyalty and self-restraint, to occupy at a later period their own rightful position, it would, doubtless, have been a step both of justice and good policy. A genuine thoroughbred Irishman's easy impulsive nature and sanguine temperament seldom calculates; he will undertake any thing, however enormously beyond his powers, without staying to reflect on his want of fitness or resources; and, scarcely comprehending the word *perseverance*, on the first blush of difficulty, he will as quickly relinquish it. His levity excludes regret and disappointment, and learning nothing

from the past, he will as readily embrace a new scheme as far beyond his grasp as the first, and repeat the same career of mismanagement. Thirty years ago or more, for example, he would take a farm, agreeing to pay a middle man three or four times the fair rental, and when a year's neglect of the land, which therefore yielded scarcely a subsistence, had left him not only as penniless as before, but in debt, he would enter into another reckless bargain, trusting to a happy accident or to his own ingenuity to extricate him from the ever tangling meshes of debt and difficulty. Hence James found the Irish tenants content with fewer advantages or a smaller profit, willing to pay a higher rent, or to receive lower wages, and ready to bear any burdens imposed on them. They were the bane of the colony, and in its early days well-nigh ruined it. But the sturdy exotic survived its perils, rooted itself in the new soil, and prevailing over the wild native growth in the space cleared for it, took deep root and filled the land. The hills are now covered with it, and its boughs are like the goodly cedar. The English, and still more the Scotch, gaining predominance, their descendants are still a thriving population, exhibiting in their populous towns which are the centres of Irish manufactures, in the spirit of enterprise, in the growth of industry, capital and social comfort, a contrast to the inertia and destitution of the other provinces. These fruits of a scriptural religion, placed beside a false superstition, lead us not only to regret that a similar attempt to colonize territories inherited from rebel chiefs in the south could not be equally successful; but also to rejoice that England, after the example of its queen, is now beginning to cross St. George's Channel both for business and for pleasure, and gradually to spread a beneficent influence over the length and breadth of the sister island. Even Moore, a Romanist,

is constrained to quote with approval from Hume, who says, that "To consider James in the most advantageous light, we must take a view of him as the legislator of Ireland." Moore remarks, "The experience of ages bears the most honorable testimony to this design, and Ireland must gratefully acknowledge that here were the first foundations laid of its affluence and security." The boon conferred would have been still greater, had Ireland been benefited for the sake of the Irish; and instead of a new race superseding the older and rising on its ruins, had carefully educated them through the medium of their own tongue, and gradually woven them in with the new scheme, till a new character, a new vitality with a pure religion had been grafted on the native stock; in short, had the policy followed, as the means of regenerating the land, instead of being like that of some modern colony, where new settlers flourish and the aborigines fly to the bush, been like that of some successful modern missions where efficient native agency is prepared to continue work begun by European hands, the foreign agency retiring into the background when its parental task is accomplished, though ready to offer friendly and maternal counsel when desired.

The king's success tempted him to try a similar experiment in Leinster and Munster, but here his wisdom was not so conspicuous. It was one thing to trample out a disturbance by expelling its ringleaders from their forfeited rights and replacing them by subjects whose loyalty his bounty should recompense and confirm; it was another to revive a question involved in confusion ever since the Norman conquest, to stir up latent strife by calling a commission to enquire into the titles by which estates were held, and to displace the possessors on the ground of a supposed invalidity. It was as if we were now to dispossess the descendants of

Norman nobles because the Conqueror had unjustly alienated their lands from the Saxon owners, or as if the queen were to expel the Duke of Bedford from Woburn and parcel out his domains to a colony of Yorkshiremen because his ancestor had alienated it from the church.

Nevertheless the scheme took partial effect. The king laid hands on 401,500 acres of land in Munster and Leinster, dispossessing the owners, removing many of them in entire clans to distant counties, and substituting English or sometimes new native settlers. The change in itself would have been beneficial, but the dragon's teeth were sown. There had been so many grants, resumptions, and confiscations, that few could feel their property secure under so crucial a test. Even the oldest titles were unsafe under English law. Many persons were ruined, more were harassed. In Leinster alone 82,000 acres were forfeited to the crown, and apportioned to English settlers. Needy and unprincipled "discoverers" of flaws in titles roamed the country. The expelled proprietors still claimed the right of ownership which they transmitted to their descendants with a vindictive memory of the grudge and a craving for revenge—the seed of future revolution.

The other favourite project of James to ameliorate Ireland, to restore order, to render its government by means of subsidies self-supporting, was the revival of the Irish parliament after a discontinuance for twenty-seven years, and its extension beyond the Pale so to represent the whole country. The abolition of the distinctions of race, which had been announced in the third year of his reign, had prepared the way for this further step of combining discordant elements under the wing of a common representation which should unite English, Scotch, and Irish, Protestant and Romanist. Though in appearance merely a political movement it was

so closely connected with religious interests that it cannot fairly be left unnoticed in the history of the church.

The new parliament was summoned by Sir Arthur Chichester. Its assembling immediately kindled the elements of strife. A share in the right of representation was of course accorded to Romanists, and was of course by them abused to the purposes of faction. The Jesuits were in full activity; the native population, being without any positive convictions or will of its own and therefore the tool of any dominant party, these agents employed as the raw material of agitation, but a neutralizing element had been formed by the plantation of Ulster and the formation of seventeen new counties. Forty smaller towns and boroughs were also incorporated in order to add weight to the orderly part of the population. Most of these, but especially protestantised Ulster, being under the king's influence, and owing to him their political existence, were sure to furnish a protestant quota to the 232 representatives of which the house was to consist. The Romish party, however, though numbering only 107, adopting the usual tactics of a minority, accused them of bribery and kindred sins, forgetting that their own familiarity with such practices left them in no position to cast the first stone.

From the first issue of the summons they employed every engine of intimidation to secure a majority. The lords of the Pale, like the Jews of old who excluded the Gentiles from their own covenant blessings, indignant that the privilege of representation should be extended to "the Irishry" and to strangers, formed a determined opposition, scattering their agents through the land, kindling a wildfire blaze of excitement, and memorialising the king in a threatening letter to relax the laws against recusants, and to concede their claim to prescribe the legislation of the new assembly.

No notice being taken of this absurd document, a deputation waited on his majesty, complaining that their legislative voice would be drowned in that of the newly-elected boroughs, which they alleged were unfairly incorporated and occupied by upstarts. They received an unceremonious answer, which was neither unnecessary nor undeserved. Their written remonstrance was severely but truly characterized as emanating from a few rash and insolent men. In reference to the number of new boroughs James remarked, "What is it to you whether I make many or few? What if I had made forty noblemen and four hundred boroughs? The more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer." The obnoxious extension being thus inevitable they left no stone unturned to secure a majority in the forthcoming session, canvassing the freeholders of better rank, while the priests employed the spiritual machinery, in the use of which practice had made them adepts, forging thunders of excommunication to intimidate the lower orders, forming societies not unlike the Catholic Association, the Ribbonmen of 1828, and the priestly electioneering agents of 1869, scattering promises and threats, blessings and curses, inventing prophecies of the speedy destruction of heresy, announcing their cause as the cause of God, and attendance on protestant worship to hear "the devil's word" or voting for protestant members, the devil's servants, as a mortal sin; and lastly, calling home their brethren from the Continent, exhorting them to forsake their calling, spiritual or secular, in order to join in the agitation.

In country places, cities and old corporations, the as yet uninvaded haunts of Romanism, as in early days similar places had been of expiring paganism, the adherents of the old faith held a commanding influence over a people unused to think for themselves, and of course returned their own

representatives ; while among the lately enfranchised boroughs and throughout the Ulster colony protestantism reigned supreme and governed the elections. The Romanists relying on the measures they had stooped to use, were confident of a majority, and grievously disappointed therefore to find their toil and ingenuity rewarded with only 101 members out of the 232, their opponents, though six were absent, numbering 125.

There was also an upper house of fifty members, one-half of whom being bishops of the Established Church who had displaced the order of mitred abbots, were of course *ex officio* opponents of the papal party ; while many of the lay half, being friends of the administration, relieved from the intimidating presence of Tyrone and the other discontented lords, secured a protestant majority in the upper house.

The first business of the lower house, the election of a speaker, was the first trial of strength. The competitors were, on the government side, Sir John Davis, Irish attorney-general, and on the opposition, Sir John Everard, a recusant, who had formerly been a justice of the King's Bench. A previous question having been raised whether some of the boroughs were not illegally constituted, and therefore their representatives disqualified from voting, the altercation was cut short by a suggestion from the Master of the Ordnance, that according to the usual practice, the ayes, Sir John Davis and his supporters, should retire to an ante-room. This they unguardedly did ; and the minority, tutored by the priests who were then pouring into Dublin from all quarters to control their representatives, and emboldened by the presence of armed retainers who had accompanied them thither, elected their own speaker, and placed Everard in the chair, to the no small astonishment of the absentees on their return.

The latter vehemently, but vainly, demanded that he should vacate it; and indignant at the trick played them, placed Davies on his lap, on which ensued a scene of indescribable tumult, which must have ended in bloodshed but for the precaution that the members had been required to leave their swords outside the doors. Davies was however, elected, and the recusants retired. He signalled the occasion by an excellent address to the deputy on the state of the country and the church, with a congratulation that all the spiritual lords, twenty-five of whom were present, acknowledged the king as their patron.

Such was the turbulent temper of the parliament, and so stormy did it promise to continue, that Chichester, mistrusting the adequacy of the military force at his disposal to restore peace in case of disturbance, prorogued the House before any measures were passed. A commission was then appointed to try the legality of the elections; and it was conceded that members returned for boroughs incorporated after the issue of the writs should not sit during the whole of the next session. In thus yielding where justice demanded it, while he upheld his position as head and protector of the church, the king conciliated the people, who were prepared for conciliation so long as the generation who had witnessed the miseries of lawless despotism survived, and could estimate the advantage of obeying a monarch who had no wish to oppress them, and under whose rule their commerce and revenues were increasing. An act of amnesty was passed by royal edict, and a subsidy of 2*s.* 8*d.* in the pound on personal property, and 4*s.* on real estates was granted to the king.

When parliament met again, the refractory spirit of the opposition had all but subsided before the numerical and practical strength of the protestants who, by some small

but gratifying concessions, secured their consent to measures in accordance with the king's policy. A liberal subsidy was again granted, and an act of attainder was almost unanimously passed against Tyrone and all the malcontents, except the titular archbishop of Tuam, the parliament thus for the time repudiating the theory of rebellion, and testifying their acceptance of the lawful sovereign. The privilege of English law was also extended to the native Irish, as being equally loyal with the rest of His Majesty's subjects. The old statutes which treated them as aliens and enemies were repealed. But a wise distinction excluded those who adhered to Romanism from county magistracies, from practice at the bar and from other civil offices. A *wise* distinction, we repeat, for disaffection had been too lately suppressed for its smouldering embers to be as yet extinct; and it was obviously inexpedient to trust with administrative power men who in theory at least must prefer the pope's supremacy to that of the king. It were well had this fact been duly weighed in 1829, before legislative, and afterwards executive, powers were conferred on men whose sympathies must needs have been more Italian than English. The strict levy of fines for non-attendance at church, at the rate of one shilling for each absence, to be paid to the Crown, though it then added immense sums to the revenue, besides enormous fees to the collectors, was not a measure which public opinion could now sanction; nor was the sudden proclamation (the last noteworthy event in this reign) that all the Romish clergy, regular and secular, should quit the kingdom within forty days, in accordance with our modern legislation; but we must not hastily condemn those who passed these measures without bearing in mind the great provocation they had already given, the subsequent rebellion of 1641, of which some premonitory symptoms were possibly

already detected, and the fact that the Reformation was too recent to have allowed time for the true principles of toleration to be as yet understood.

Before quitting this reign we may notice the first recorded *diocesan* enquiry into the affairs of the church in compliance with a royal injunction. The return for Ferns and Leighlin, dated 1612, which has been preserved, is probably a fair specimen of many such documents of the time. The bishop states that according to the royal wish he has forbore to excommunicate, holding familiar conference with opponents, and appealing to Scripture; that many of the poor have expressed to him their dislike of popery and its intolerance, but that the gentry obstinately adhere to it. Certain recusants he has vainly tried to conciliate, for they have declared their determination to live and die in their own religion. He states that he holds an annual visitation in each diocese, investigating all ecclesiastical offences, and tendering the oath of allegiance to every person of importance.

Twenty-six of the old priesthood still harboured in his diocese. The title "Sir," by which he designates them, implying, says Fuller, "that they were in orders, but not in degrees." One having commenced a mass-house, he makes humble suit that it may be hindered, and that the door of another may be nailed up. Church building was progressing although, Ferns cathedral having been burnt, it would be too expensive to rebuild it, and besides it would be better moved to Wexford, which was more populous. Two diocesan schools were maintained by himself and his clergy, the masters engaging to teach nothing unsanctioned by the king. But the priests anathematised all who attended them, besides denying the validity of protestant baptism, though this was contrary to their usual theory which, repudiating

heretical orders, but admitting lay baptism, counts *all* baptised persons as already her own children, in virtue of that sacrament, though administered by those whom she counts as laymen.

The value of the see of Ferns he rated at £100 6s. 8d. a-year. It had been reduced from nearly £500 by the diminution of its property. Leighlin was scarcely more than £24 a-year, its mountain soil being unproductive. The annual value of the livings in Ferns, reduced by the rebellion, ranged from £80 to £40. Most of the incumbents resided; some were "preaching," some "reading," ministers. One was aged only twenty years. Seven out of twenty-seven were of Irish birth and knew Irish and English. In Leighlin, twenty-five out of forty-five livings were worth *nil*. Two rectories were held by two scholars, aged respectively 16 and 17 years. He sought to rear an educated clergy and to provide curates' stipends from impropriations.

In 1613 Sir Christopher Hatton succeeded Henry Ussher in the primacy. He graduated at Cambridge and had lately been made bishop of Derry. He was learned and munificent. He repaired an old palace at Armagh, founded a new one for the see of Drogheda, added 300 acres of land to its property, restored the cathedral which had been injured by O'Neill, and repaired many of the ruined churches of the diocese. On his first public entry into St. Patrick's cathedral, the recusant nobility, though joining the procession, remained outside during service, rejoining it afterwards.

At the meeting of parliament in 1615 the convocation assembled for the first time since 1562. As in England, its authority and indeed its existence depended on the civil assembly, as the shadow follows the substance. Till that time the Irish church was identified, and maintained a

perfect unity and uniformity with, that of England ; their liturgies and ceremonies, articles and constitutions were alike, and most of the Irish clergy were of English origin.

But at length the clergy, ambitious to manifest their independence, determined to frame articles of their own, incorporating with them Whitgift's Calvinistic articles, known as those of Lambeth, because agreed on there, though afterwards suppressed by Elizabeth and withdrawn by the Primate. These, it was hoped, would conciliate the Scotch colonists, and therefore though rejected at the Hampton Court Conference, were adopted. They were divided into nineteen chapters and a hundred and four sections. Some of them were so diffuse as to be more like homilies. Their doctrinal views were those of Augustine. They identified the pope with the "man of sin." They asserted the morality of the christian sabbath, and enjoined a strict, and as Heylin characterised it, a Judaic, observance of it. They generally affirmed the leading doctrines of the English church, but in addition pronounced on certain speculative matters not usually included in such documents. Among the contested points the adoption of the Lambeth articles gave great offence to the anti-puritans. They were however quietly shelved, and subsequently, by tacit consent, expunged, although they had been signed by the heads both of Church and State, and a synodal decree had been annexed, that any minister who should publicly teach anything contrary to them should be silenced and deprived.

A regal visitation of the province of Dublin this year tells the usual tale of rectories inappropriate, of ministers too few in number, of farmers refusing to pay them a stipend, of the people leaning to Romanism, of children trained to superstition, many of them going abroad to return as priests or Jesuits, and to exercise a pernicious influence in the State, of

preachers who had been sent from England leading dissolute lives. In the next year the government suppressed an insolent popish pamphlet in which his majesty was compared to Julian the Apostate and Caligula. In the present day this strong language might remain unnoticed, like the "Tablet" newspaper, unless some other journal would condescend to return railing for railing, and thereby be consigned to deserved oblivion; but besides that the provocation was great and the materials inflammable on which the spark might fall, the Reformation had not as yet developed the principles of civil liberty, and therefore as in France at this day, the press was not made free. Other symptoms also shewed that the restlessness of the Celt and the activity of the Jesuit were again inciting the community to fresh disturbances. It was therefore determined to banish the monks, who swarmed on the soil, to compel all magistrates to take the oath of supremacy before entering on office, and to seize on the liberties, rent rolls and revenues of Waterford, which was especially obnoxious.*

The death of Montgomery, bishop of Clogher and Meath, introduced James Ussher to the latter see, in consequence of the king's high esteem for him. The satisfaction which the deputy, Viscount Grandison, expressed at the appointment must have been enhanced by Ussher's subsequent zeal for the religious reformation of Ireland, and especially for the conversion of the numerous Romanists in his diocese. To attract them to his public ministry he preached to them in the Sessions House, with much success, assailing

* Those who burnt our Protestant martyrs have ventured to call these defensive-measures persecutions. What term will they apply to the same measures when adopted by most of the Roman Catholic governments of Europe, Spain having in 1868 furnished the latest example?

their preference of monkish legends to the Scripture, and shewing that their superstitions and false doctrines, though received from their forefathers, were innovations on their own primitive religion.

Another royal commission of enquiry in 1622 called forth much interesting information in the diocesan reports of the province of Armagh. The diocese of Armagh contained sixty-three benefices, eighteen non-resident incumbents, only twenty habitable parsonage houses, fifty-one churches in good repair, twenty-three nearly built or building, with eighteen in ruins, and thirty-three impropriate curacies, one of which had a resident curate, the rest being served occasionally or not at all. The annual values of the livings ranged from £120 to £2 or £3, the average being about £40, and of the impropriate curacies from £5 to *five shillings*! the incomes of eight being *nothing*.

The other six diocesan reports tell of similar spiritual destitution and various consequent abuses. Most of them record the union of livings on account of their poverty, though unfit to be united by reason of their immense extent. In one case the duties of a church are unperformed because the curate is locked out by the impropiator! In another the incumbent's brother is licensed to serve the cure, though a layman. Sometimes the officiating minister is the parish clerk. Priests often take the charge of parishes from Romish prelates in opposition to the clergy, and not only perform mass, but rude and illiterate as they are, sway the majority of the people. For a fee they will divorce married couples and marry the respective parties to other persons, the law being powerless to arrest them. Yet the picture has its brighter shades. In most of the sees a few churches are rebuilding, a few curates, though Bedell is as yet unknown, read the

Irish service, having qualified themselves without assistance, and one living in Derry is held by a converted priest.

Two instances occurred this year of increasing insolence from the papists. At Kilkenny a priest with forty followers entered a protestant church and commenced mass, requiring the officiating minister to depart till it was ended; and the friars of Multifernam, recently dislodged, made collections towards building another abbey for their reception. These facts gave Ussher occasion to remark in a sermon preached at the swearing in of Lord Falkland, the deputy, on the text, "He beareth not the sword in vain," that such proceedings ought to be restrained. The papists, misrepresenting him, gave out that he breathed forth slaughter against them, and Primate Hamilton, partly believing their calumny, wrote as a peacemaker affectionately exhorting him to retract.

In the next November certain malcontents having refused the oath of supremacy before entering public offices were cited before the Star Chamber. The judges explained the penalties, Ussher enforcing the oath and the duty of submission to lawful authority, and several recusants avoided the sentence of *præmunire* by timely submission. Another proclamation, two months later, enjoined the Romish clergy to quit the kingdom within forty days, and in the following April the king empowered the primate to license *in perpetuo* the celebration of marriages at uncanonical times and places. On Hamilton's death, whose excellence may be inferred from his letter just mentioned, the king, who had already testified his esteem for Ussher, and had at that very time employed him to write on the antiquities of the British churches, conferred the primacy on him. It was one of the last official acts of James, who died March 17 in that year.

CHAPTER VI.

REIGN OF CHARLES I., A.D. 1625—1649.

SECT. I. (A.D. 1625—1641.)—*Popish Recusants.—Church Reform.—Vigorous Policy of Strafford.—Suppression of Calvinistic Articles.*

CHARLES I. succeeded not only to the dominions but to the despotic theories of his father respecting the divine right of kings, but united them with a strength of character and will in which his father was deficient. With councillors such as Wentworth in affairs of State, and Laud in those of the Church, he was not likely to forego his supremacy over the church in Ireland. His apparent wish was to consolidate the government, to promote the union and well-being of the nation, and to carry on the good work begun by his father. This we gather from the Act (Car. I. sec. x, xi,) which says that "for the abolition of distinctions and differences between his majesty's said dutiful subjects of the said realm of Ireland, and for the perpetual settling of peace and tranquillity among them," various invidious distinctions then existing between the English and Irish should be repealed.*

Meanwhile the Romish party, though for the present

* A tone of insult had pervaded the conduct and legislation of Great Britain towards Ireland ever since the Conquest. It was not so much due to English kings or their ministers, as to the preponderance of the church element in their government, which objected to the English resistance to foreign encroachment. This tone accounts for the old hostility of Ireland to England and the English. A wise government would aim at its removal. See Mason's *Bedell*, pp. 7—11.

quiet, had not ceased to exist, nor was it the less dangerous, inasmuch as it was plotting in secret and biding its time. As a strong minority it could be turbulent and obstructive, as the same party has been in later times. This power was the greater for two reasons, first, that the king's necessities, arising from his father's debts, had led to a bargain with the Romanists to procure from parliament a remission of penal enactments against them in return for a pecuniary contribution, and secondly, because soon after Charles's accession, a bull of Urban VIII. forbade them to take the "pernicious" oath of allegiance, already denounced by his predecessor Paul IV., to one who sought to wrest the sceptre, it was said, from the rightful head of the church. In such circumstances the new primate found his position no sinecure, for while evils already noticed still existed after all attempts to mitigate them, the spirit of invasion on his rights which animated every member of the Romish party, lay or clerical, was increasing, while the growing influence of that party proved that a crisis was at hand. But he resolutely pursued his work, multiplying visitations, admonishing, enjoining, and by example enforcing the use of the reformed liturgy, with diligent preaching and catechising.*

It was proposed to conciliate the malcontents by permitting the priests to solemnize marriages and baptisms and dispensing with their oath of supremacy; but the primate inviting the bishops to a conference, twelve of the latter signed a protest denouncing the toleration of papists as sinful, and declaring that if exercised for the sake of pecuniary advantage it amounted to a sale of souls. The episcopal judgment was published the next year; the Bishop of Derry preached before the deputy on the sin of sacrificing principle to expediency, and the hearers cried aloud, "Amen." On the

* Mant, Hist. Ch. of Irel., vol. ii.

next Sunday the primate followed in the same strain. This document, representing concession as dangerous and its advantages as unattainable, carried so great weight that the deputy was constrained to request the archbishop's influence to induce men of all creeds to join in supplying the necessities of the government. The latter in consequence addressed those protestants who were of English descent, reminding them that their own security depended on that of the crown, but he elicited no contributions. The king highly approved of the sermon, of which a copy was sent him, but the English Commons remonstrated against it. Charles, not trusting wholly to conciliation, adopted vigorous precautions and defensive measures. By Falkland's advice he increased the standing army, the foot soldiers from 1350 to 5000, and the horse in like proportion, quartering the regiments on the different counties, where they were paid, maintained, and clothed. The Romanists resisted this step as oppressive, offering to pay the crown £120,000 in three annual instalments, and claiming in return fifty-one concessions, or "graces," to be legalised by a special parliament to be assembled in Dublin. By means of these they sought exemption from the maintenance of the army, leave to practice as barristers, restrictions on the royal authority, and deliverance from the troublesome investigation of old title deeds, by which so many estates in the south and west had recently reverted to the crown by means of a rule, that all titles undisputed for sixty years should, as at the present day, be considered valid.

The king, attracted by the bait of £120,000, eagerly consented to grant these concessions, and the instability of his promises not being as yet discovered, the instalments were regularly paid. But while the special parliament was delayed, these "graces" were all but forfeited through abuse

of the king's indulgence, for several churches were seized for the celebration of mass, and the forbidden clerical vestments were publicly resumed.

But the "thorough" policy and iron will of Wentworth, afterwards Earl Strafford, who became deputy in 1633, was not to be trifled with. For some time he dexterously secured voluntary contributions from both parties; but the wants of the government continuing to press, some other than parliamentary means must be devised to secure their permanence. He therefore smuggled into the House as many subservient members as would secure his own predominance there, and then boldly declared that he sought obedience, not advice; that the king would not resign his authority, nor by exercising an undeserved forbearance forego such advantages as could accrue from defective titles or prove convenient as a rod *in terrorem* over the heads of the disaffected. He would no longer condescend to bargain with rebels or entreat them, and even if he exacted contributions for another year beyond the stipulated time, they had no right to complain. Submission was becoming to them, convenient to him. He threatened the papists with the Sunday fine unless they supported the army, and told the protestants that without a regular revenue he would not venture to displease their adversaries.

The subservient council and parliament humbly voted large additional subsidies. Ingenious lawyers detected flaws in titles, and obedient juries gave verdicts for the king. We do not of course sanction repudiation, whether of royal promises or Pennsylvanian bonds. It was the unjustifiable act of an arbitrary government, yet the sufferers could not deny that they had only incurred the natural consequences of violating the law. In other respects Strafford was a just and wise ruler, keeping the army under strict discipline, and compelling the restitu-

tion of property plundered from the clergy. He had indeed forbidden the exportation of Irish wool in order to benefit the English woollen trade, but as some compensation he purchased flax-seed, and hiring skilled workmen from Holland and Flanders at a cost of £30,000 to his own purse, laid the foundation of the linen trade and with it of national, or at least of provincial, prosperity. The expenses of administration were thus repaid, a small balance out of the taxes accruing to the royal revenue.

But the Irish are jealous of their honour, which was deeply wounded by the governor's haughty bearing. It roused indignation that a people once glorying in their independence should be thus bitterly reminded of their subjection and contemptuously taught that it was not worth while to keep faith with them. But such thoughts germinated in secret, and the reactionary party found them a convenient material to work upon in reviving the dying embers of discontent. Thus was the seed plentifully sown, which, though covered as yet under a smooth surface of servility, would suddenly spring up and in due time yield a harvest, fearfully abundant, of murder, rapine, desolation, and almost every crime which has stained the annals of mankind.

Meanwhile Wentworth, released from the contest with the recusants, turned his attention, agreeably, as he said, to the king's earnest desire, to the Irish church, his two objects being to secure its close conformity with the church of England and to improve its administration. Unhappily, the former suited too well the despotic theories, in matters spiritual as well as civil, of Charles and his two chief councillors. The headship of the church had been so lately vested in the sovereign that its limits were scarcely so defined as to guard them from aggression through that love of power innate in man. Besides which the long subjection

of European christendom to the pontiff furnished a model too attractive for such tempers as those of Charles, Laud, and Wentworth, to resist the sovereign's imitation of it on the smaller scale of the British islands. The contest for it varied in England, Scotland, and Ireland, according to the special direction in which each country had diverged from the model prescribed. In Ireland the point insisted on was not, as in Scotland, the adoption of episcopacy, which was the only form of church government ever known there, nor the use of liturgical forms, for they were not objected to, but the acceptance of the English confession of faith. The orthodoxy of the Irish church was unquestioned, but as we have seen, in the convocation held in the preceding reign, James Ussher, a man of rising eminence, being called to frame a standard of doctrine, drew up a code of articles virtually, though not always verbally, agreeing with the Anglican, but including nine others, composed by Whitgift at Lambeth, which embodied the higher doctrines of Calvinism. All these were assented to by Parliament and Convocation, and ratified by the king.

To get rid of these, and to secure the predominance of Laud and the English bishops over Ussher, Wentworth indignantly summoned a select committee of bishops and other dignitaries to examine the canons, because the obnoxious articles were enjoined in one of them, and demanded that those of the English church should be alone and unanimously received. The meeting, which was stormy, retained the Calvinistic articles out of respect for Ussher, and asserted the validity of presbyterian orders.

The picture of the Irish church at this time as to its temporalities presents the same aspect of decay, mismanagement and neglect which Sidney had described to Queen Elizabeth. A few years later Carte* says, "The church was

* Life of Ormonde.

in a deplorable condition, the cathedrals in many places destroyed, the parish churches nearly ruined, the houses of the clergy left desolate, most of the tithes had been appropriate or sold to private persons, and made into lay fees. In some dioceses there was scarce a living left that was not farmed out to a patron at two, three, or four pounds a year for three lives. The vicarages were for the most part stipendiary. In the whole province of Connaught there was scarcely a vicar's pension which exceeded forty shillings. The bishoprics having been the greatest part of them depauperated by absolute grants and long leases, several of them were by these means reduced to fifty pounds a year, and some to *five marks*. The clergy of the Established Church were generally ignorant and unlearned, loose and irregular in their lives, negligent of their cures, and careless of observing decency in divine worship. This was the natural result of living in danger,—on the one hand from recusants, on the other hand from puritans, who offered insults to the Established Church government, and treated its sacraments with contempt."

The Convocation, addressing the king in the same strain, describe the rural clergy as "reduced to the extremity of contempt and beggary" by "frequent appropriations, *commendations*, (qu. *commendams*?) and violent intrusions into their undoubted rights, their churches ruined, their inhabitants left desolate, their tithes detained, their glebes concealed," and hence "an invincible necessity of a general non-residence." Yet, as if the cup of misery were not yet drained, Moore, narrating the parliamentary session of 1634, admits that the papists took advantage of the absence of several protestant members of the Lower House to introduce a measure to *reduce clerical incomes*.*

Wentworth, now created Earl of Strafford, in reward for

* Moore, vol. iv., chap. liii.

the munificent sum of £20,000 which he contributed from his own resources for the king's service, was left free to apply himself with laudable zeal to remedy these abuses. Pity it is that he did not always display equal wisdom and justice! In a letter to Laud, he deprecated the attempt to *anglicanize* the church, "before the decays of the material churches be repaired, and an able clergy be provided." He found the patient "in many ways distempered, the clergy unlearned and non-resident, the churches unbuilt, parsonages utterly ruined, the people untaught, the rites and ceremonies of the church run over without decency, order, or gravity, the possessions of the church, in great proportion, in lay hands, the schools ill-provided, ill-governed." He added, "Commissions for the repairs of churches are issued all over the kingdom, and all the life shall be given to them that possibly can." In the same spirit he compelled the laity to restore alienated church property. One of the largest mortgagees was Lord Clanricarde, but not daunted by the offender's rank, he said, "Have at him and all the rest of the ravens. I spare no man among them; let no man spare me." In another case he restored to a vicar a rectory and two vicarages which had, for thirty years, been alienated to the Earl of Cork. Of the Bishop of Killala he says, "I have adjudged and given him possession of so much land usurped from his see as is worth, at least, one hundred pounds per annum." "Laud's attention was also called to this subject in the first instance by a report from Bishop Bedell, and at length some years later on the suggestion of Ussher, he resolved to obtain, if possible, from the king a restitution of all the impropriations which had not been granted by the Crown. The empty exchequer and his own urgent necessities did not prevent Charles from assenting to the proposal; and, with Wentworth's hearty co-operation, a

considerable fragment of church revenues was restored. Laud's plan was stigmatized as traitorous, but he thought it sufficient to plead the Irish primate's suggestion, the concurrence of the exchequer, the consent of the king, and the manifest benefit which would accrue to the church itself in the acquisition of a better paid and a more efficient clergy.

In 1633 Laud was elected Chancellor of Dublin University; soon after which he obtained for it a new charter, and a code of statutes for its better government. He also joined the influence which he thus gained with that of Wentworth to curb the turbulent spirit of the papists, and to rescue the church from its state of helpless degradation. Overruling the gentle but less decided Ussher, he at length got rid of the Irish Calvinistic articles, and by securing the adoption of the English articles and canons, brought the two national churches into entire conformity with each other."

These and other decisive measures, and the arbitrary way in which he urged on the appropriation of Connaught and Munster estates which James had sought to colonize, forcing juries to decide in favour of the king's claim on them, were among the chief latent causes which, notwithstanding the benefits accruing to the trade, agriculture, and revenue of the country from Strafford's policy, led to the rebellion. His iron will merely laid a smooth surface over a volcano which raged beneath it all the more for its repression, and rendered the preparations of the conspirators more secret till the eruption was ready to burst out. The *underground* process, morally and literally, of the gunpowder plot was a specimen of a favorite mode of operations adopted by the Romanists after the Reformation.

The deputy had already shown his readiness to grapple with them. In April 1629 their arrogance had drawn from him a proclamation that, the recent intermission of legal pro-

ceedings against titular ecclesiastics having led to extraordinary insolence, the exercise of their ritual was forbidden; but the prohibition was scorned and disobeyed. The same contempt was shown to a bill filed in the Exchequer Court against the titular Bishop of Raphoe for his irregularities.

Bulkeley, archbishop of Dublin, about this time applying for military aid and a warrant to seize some sedition-mongers, a congregation of Carmelites rose *en masse* against its execution. The guard was attacked, and the archbishop insulted, narrowly escaping with his life. This rebuke to the military ecclesiastic was not wholly undeserved by one who employed carnal weapons better wielded by a secular than a spiritual hand. The king hearing of the fact ordered the house to be demolished where it took place, though he checked the zeal of the justices to persecute the recusants. But fifteen religious houses were seized for the royal use.

William Bedell, whose name soon to recur, must ever live in the annals of the Irish church as one of its most eminent saints, was now made bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh. He was born in Essex in 1570, and graduated at Cambridge,* where as fellow of Emmanuel College in 1593 he was known as a classic and Hebrew scholar. He became B.D. in 1599, removed to Bury St. Edmunds, and thence accompanied Sir Henry Wootton, ambassador to Venice, as chaplain. There he became intimate, during a residence of eight years, with Paul Sarpi the Tridentine historian, and with Diodati, the translator of the Protestant Italian version of the Bible. On his return he was for twenty years in the

* His tutor, Dr. Chadderton, was one of the translators of our Authorised Version of the Bible. (Mason's Life of Bedell.) This circumstance may account for his familiarity with Hebrew, and for his interest in vernacular translations of Scripture.

diocese of Norwich, but being proposed by Ussher immediately on his own elevation to the primacy, and being unanimously elected provost of Trinity College, Dublin, at the desire of James he quitted his loved retirement and applied himself to the improvement of its discipline and its religious instruction. Among other measures in the years 1627-8, he endeavoured with the king's approval to found an Irish lectureship. This idea was subsequently revived in 1656 by Dr. Winter the then provost, and in 1667 by Jeremy Taylor as Vice-chancellor, but each time it died away. Two years after his election, in 1628, on Laud's recommendation, Bedell, in his 59th year, entered on his episcopal functions at Kilmore and Ardagh.

The state of the diocese was unpromising, for the two preceding bishops had shorn it of its ancient property as well as of the additions made to it by the munificence of James, for their private emolument, leaving scarcely sufficient to maintain a bishop. At Ardagh, the cathedral, the bishop's palace and most of the churches were in ruins, and the people mostly recusants.* The Romish hierarchy, headed by vicars-general in full exercise of their ceremonial, outnumbered the lawful clergy. Swarms of begging friars insulted and impoverished the people, and as Bedell pathetically complained, his diocese abounded with delinquents who set at nought all spiritual processes. This was equally true of other dioceses, for Archbishop Loftus had granted a commission to the Bishop of Derry, renewed by Wentworth in 1633, to arrest all who refused to appear

* Of 64 incumbents 20 were not resident, but were aided by 10 curates of whom 4 could not teach in Irish. Several cures were served by one minister, and some not served at all. Tithes were paid to improprators, one of whom locked the curate out of the church! (Mason's Bedell, p. 168.)

before him when duly cited, and, in consequence of a report from a committee on Irish affairs, he addressed the prelates, lamenting the increase of the priesthood, prohibiting their too frequent practice of holding benefices with their sees, admonishing them and the clergy to renounce all appearance of scandal in their lives, promising them a sufficient maintenance, and exhorting them to diligence in their duties.

In glad compliance with Wentworth's commands the primate continued to reform the disorders of his province, and by frequent and friendly discussion reclaimed many from their errors. He enjoined the same course on his suffragan bishops. The clergy he required, according to the well-known intentions of the reformers, to catechise the young publicly before the prayers, and to preach on the creed, the Lord's-prayer and the commandments. Nor less exemplary were the diligence of Bedell, his vigorous measures of reformation, his care in filling vacant benefices, his strict examinations for orders, his watchfulness over the conduct of the clergy, his tenderness towards them, his efforts to promote residence on their cures, his improved mode of conducting visitations, which had been made occasions of scandalous extortion.

Another eminent name now appears in the annals of the Irish church. John Bramhall, afterwards bishop of Derry and primate was one member of a royal commission held in that year. Educated at Cambridge, and thence removing to Yorkshire, his native county, his abilities as manifested in conducting a disputation with three Jesuits recommended him in succession to the chaplaincies of the Archbishop of York and Lord Strafford, and to the see of Derry, whose wasted revenues and neglected discipline he seemed well fitted to repair.

Bramhall found the bishoprics reduced by former occupants, papist and protestant, to the lowest ebb, Cloyne for example to the value of five marks, Aghadoe to £1 1s. 8d., and simony shamefully prevalent. Strafford had received instructions for this enquiry from Laud, who assured him from the king that the work of reformation should be vigorously pursued. Laud was probably stirred up by a letter from Bramhall on the irreverence of the people and the desecration of sacred things then prevalent. As examples he mentioned one church in Dublin converted into a stable for the deputy, another turned into a dwelling house, a third into a tennis court, and the vaults under Christchurch into drinking rooms. He drew a dark picture also of the clergy, describing wholesale pluralities retained by the upper class of them and by the bishops, and the poverty and ignorance of the inferior clergy, besides the alienation of church property, and commended Strafford's laudable efforts to remove the most flagrant abuses, though appealing to the king as alone able to accomplish a thorough reform.

Irregularities now began to appear in consequence of the co-existence of episcopacy with presbyterianism among the colonists. Mant speaks of two men who, though staunch opponents of episcopacy, were ordained, one in presbyterian form by a bishop of Down in conjunction with presbyters instead of bishops, the other in the authorised form by a bishop of Raphoe, but corrected to suit the scruples of the candidate. Such concessions, reluctantly made, shew at least the strength of the nonconformists. There were many who, up to 1642, held church preferment though still presbyterians. Such evils are to be regretted, yet we are not bound to designate them as of the same magnitude as the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome. But the ungraceful attacks on episcopacy publicly made by men indebted to episcopal leniency

naturally tempted the bishops to greater stringency. A clergyman named Blair was suspended by his diocesan (whom he called a "vain-glorious man") for some informalities. The latter appealed to the Primate who, hoping that a wise forbearance might overcome his prejudices, required the withdrawal of the censure; but on a subsequent offence, Blair was suspended together with another minister, Ussher declining a second time to remit the sentence.* Nor will the principles of toleration as *now* understood represent these men as too hardly treated; for however secondary a question of outward conformity may be, compared with those which involve vital doctrines, it was not so considered by the sufferers; and with their views it was simply as dishonest as it is for modern Ritualists, to grasp the emoluments of a church which they were ever ready to vilify or to disobey.

Meanwhile the more serious evils, the growth of popery and of alienation from the royal authority, were rapidly advancing even in the protestant colonies, thanks to the arbitrary course of Laud and Strafford and the zeal of a hierarchy outnumbering the established clergy.

Romanism was then what it has ever been, both a political and a religious system. Bedell accordingly adopted two distinct methods of dealing with it in his diocese. Its political agitation he determined to hold in check by a strong military force, but its doctrinal errors led him to devote his episcopal life to the work of conversion. As the clergy generally took little notice of the natives, and the priests were mostly illiterate, he sought to gain the better informed among the latter, to whom he gave livings when satisfied of their sincere conversion, in order that the people might by their lips hear the truth in their native tongue. He condensed it into a short catechism of christian doctrine, with prayers

* Mant, History of the Church of Ireland, vol. ii.

and suitable texts, which he printed in parallel columns of Irish and English, for circulation through the diocese, where it was joyfully welcomed.

The Common Prayer-book in the native tongue was read in his cathedral, and parochial vernacular schools were established in his diocese. In a convocation held at Dublin in 1634, notwithstanding Bramhall's opposition, he obtained two canons, one that in every parish where most of the people were Irish the church Bible and Prayer-book should be in the same tongue, the other that if the minister were English, the clerk at least should be able to read in Irish. These he followed out zealously in Kilmore, and even had the Prayer-books printed at his own expense. Four years earlier he had been induced by the neglect and harsh treatment pursued towards the Irish, himself to acquire their language, with the same labour as he had already bestowed on the Greek, Hebrew and Italian. He at once commenced a translation of the Old Testament, engaging competent Irishmen as coadjutors in the work, and was revising it to print with the existing version of the New Testament when the rebellion broke out. A strong party was opposed to the publication of the Irish Scriptures, among whom were Strafford and Laud, the latter of whom was Chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin. They impeached the credit of Mr. King, one of the co-translators whom, at the age of eighty, they deprived of the living which Bedell had given him; but as this did not affect the translation, the bishop vindicated the latter in a letter to Laud, and thenceforward carried on the printing in his own house, and would soon have accomplished it but for the outbreak of 1641.

These efforts of Bedell differed from earlier efforts of the same kind in being more methodical and on a larger scale.

What would have been their issue if uninterrupted, whether the example would have been followed in other dioceses, or checked by the restless activity of the anti-reformers, may be doubted. They certainly were discountenanced by Strafford, who trusted more to the repressive power of the secular arm for the pacification of the people, than to the spread of truth.

In October 1633 Laud entreated the deputy to choose no bishops under forty years of age, but the rule was not fully established till some months later, for Bramhall before he had attained that age was elected to the see of Derry. In the next December Strafford informed him of the commission for the general repair of churches. The existing state of things was already ascertained, and led to the natural inference that it was vain to require attendance at churches when there were none fit to enter.

Laud in reply recommended that repairs of the material and of the spiritual edifice should proceed together. He would everywhere enforce the devout use of the English liturgy and would abolish pluralities. He would displace inefficient, and especially Romish, schoolmasters. He would also amend the statutes of Dublin university. For the latter he drew up a code of rules which were established by royal authority, and appointed as provost Chappell, dean of Cashel who, being a strict disciplinarian, enforced conformity in the society, and on the whole was successful in its management.

Meanwhile, as a preliminary to the intended meeting of parliament and convocation, the old controversy between the sees of Dublin and Armagh for the primacy, was re-settled in favour of the latter as the more ancient see. On the opening of the session several acts were passed for improving the temporalities of the church. In convocation the inferior clergy petitioned the king that in the interest of the

country and to relieve their own abject poverty, they might be provided with a competency to enable them to reside on their benefices. It was next sought to bring the sister churches of the United Kingdom into closer union by the adoption of a common confession of faith. Both the governments and most of the bishops and clergy desired that the Irish church should prefer the English thirty-nine articles to the more cumbrous formula of 1615, and Strafford despotically, as we have seen, though perhaps not unwisely, quashed an attempt to enforce the latter, by narrowing the discussion to the reception or refusal of the former, hoping that the others, if ignored, would be soon forgotten.

During the long debate, the principle of union being affirmed, one side denied that identity in form of confession was essential, but Bramhall in behalf of the other, replied that if they meant the same thing they could say it in the same words, for otherwise the confessions would lose much of their authority. A canon was at length passed declaring the adherence of both churches to the English articles.

On this some argued that the nine Irish articles were thus formally abrogated, some that they were *virtually* annulled, others that they were unaffected, while Ussher and some others believed that two equivalent confessions could well stand together. During the transition period some few bishops required subscription to both, but as they differed somewhat in doctrine as well as in form, that of the Irish church was allowed to expire from the death-blow it had received. An application to the deputy that it might be ratified by act of parliament was indignantly refused, and at last it perished in the flood of the rebellion.

It was next proposed that the English canons should be adopted in Ireland, but its convocation, containing a large puritan element under the influence of Ussher, determined to

combine a selection from them with others of its own, deeming that points of difference, though of no essential importance, might serve as a badge of independence. Bramhall therefore sent up the "Book of Canons and Constitutions" for the church of Ireland, and it was ratified by an act of parliament. They were fewer in number than the English, being only a hundred as compared with a hundred and forty-seven, but were not so well arranged.

All allusion to the "lawful use of the cross in baptism," the injunctions to submit to a lawful authority in things indifferent, to wear "a decent and comely surplice" in divine service, and to fix the ten commandments visibly at the east end of the church, and lastly, the "bidding prayer" are expunged from these canons. The seventh enjoins in general terms a reverential posture in church, but does not, like our eighteenth, specify when the worshipper is to kneel or stand; the thirty-first requires that candidates for the ministry should adopt the articles "generally received in the church of England and Ireland;" the eighth, that certain parts of the liturgy should be read first in English and then in Irish; the eighty-sixth, that if the minister be an Englishman the parish clerk must understand Irish; the ninety-fourth, that *the service-books be in the language of the majority of the congregation*; the twelfth, that the catechism be explained to the people every Sunday in church, and that ministers exhort them to trust in God and not in the creature, not in the friar's habit, in relics, or any such trumpery, and to turn them from superstition to christian conversation; the nineteenth enjoins a careful preparation for the Lord's Supper; the thirty-sixth, the union of great and small tithes in the case of poor livings; the forty-third, the due consecration of new churches and churchyards; another forbids the broaching of heresies or popish

errors; the eleventh, the admission of any who cannot intelligently repeat the Lord's-prayer, creed, or commandments, to marriage, sponsorship, or communion; and the forty-ninth forbids the use of those ordinances in Lent or during public fasts.

The clergy in the next year besought the dismissal of popish schoolmasters, in order to prevent the abuses of free schools, and a restraint on the practice of burial in the abbeys. Accordingly, the deputy authorised the ecclesiastical commissioners to carry out their prayer. He also sought to enforce the residence of the clergy, who too often spent their time and money in the capital, as well as the revival of church festivals and the repair of cathedrals.

Henry Leslie, a strict disciplinarian, succeeding Echlin, bishop of Down and Connor, like him enforced the canons against presbyterians, but wisely endeavouring first to conciliate them, he invited them to a conference in which their doubts and objections were patiently heard. These were of the usual kind, such as alleged corruptions of Scripture, the omission of large portions of it in the public service, the use of the Apocrypha, and kneeling at the communion. Bramhall unwisely objecting to the conference, it was abruptly closed, and the nonconformist clergy, persisting to refuse the canons, were deposed.

Such were distant mutterings of a revolution which in England threatened to destroy, and in Scotland swept away, episcopacy. The Scottish settlers attempted to introduce the "Solemn League and Covenant" into Ulster. The government therefore used the utmost caution in dispensing their patronage, and admonished the clergy to denounce the rampant spirit of disaffection. In 1638 the temper of the North was favourable to the Covenant. In Antrim, for instance, Robert Adair, who had estates there and in Scotland, joined

the Scotch party, signed the Covenant, and was thereupon appointed a commissioner against the king.

To counteract his example, the Bishop of Down and Connor informed the lord-lieutenant of it and of the disturbed state of the country. The latter requested prompt information of all similar cases—a commission willingly undertaken by Leslie, who being as loyal as he was eminent in scholarship, devoted two sons and all his fortune to his royal master's cause, whom he had already served as chaplain. In the same year he published a refutation of the Covenant, with a charge enjoining his clergy to catechise in public and conform to the rules of the church, calling churchwardens to a stricter fulfilment of their duties, censuring the laity for irreverence and neglect of divine ordinances, and warning them that disturbances in Scotland secured no impunity for themselves. He then traced presbyterianism to a recent origin and endeavoured to prove a connection between non-episcopacy and heresy, but passed by in judicious silence instances where bishops of the early church had been the first to broach notorious heresies, and councils, such as that of Rimini, where large episcopal majorities had sanctioned them.

He earnestly asked the deputy to strike a blow at the laxity of churchwardens who would not report cases of non-conformity, and to secure a negative to the petition of some Irish presbyterians who asked for the same privileges as their Scottish brethren enjoyed. His letter was handed to Laud, and by him to the king, who readily resigned the "refractory Scottishmen" to his tender mercies, and refusing the indulgences they asked for, required him to enforce conformity with the English ritual.

But the more loyal of the Scottish emigrants prepared an address, signed also by above forty English names, including

some Irish bishops, repudiating the Covenant, warmly testifying attachment to his majesty, and entreating that the loyalty of the majority might not be discredited by disaffection in the few. This being graciously received by the Lord Lieutenant in council, an oath of allegiance, abjuring every declaration contrary to it, was imposed on all Scottish proprietors in Ireland. The clergy also, in proof of their loyalty, volunteered three subsidies from their slender incomes, besides their usual contributions, to the royal exchequer, and even consented to a tax amounting to a sixth of the value of their livings. Somewhat later Ireland was a refuge from persecution to the loyalists of Scotland.

Lord Strafford's welcome announcement of clerical liberality was dated at the very time that he was quitting the viceroyalty and embarking for England. Immediately afterwards the presbyterian impatience at his stern and "thorough" policy, no less sternly carried out by the bishops, broke out in a petition which bitterly complained of the tyranny used against them. The Long Parliament favourably received it. Others were addressed to the Irish parliament against the bishops of Raphoe, Down, and Derry. The latter (Bramhall) they impeached in conjunction with O'Neill, the head of the Romanist party. He presented himself the next day at the House, but only to fall into the hands of his enemies, who committed him to prison.

The charge that he had used undue threats and compulsion to restore to the church its alienated property he denied and disproved, but alleged that the flagrant spoliation she had undergone might excuse compulsion to restore the plunder. The primate laid his case before the king who ordered his liberation, with no immediate result, but at length he was released, though without formal acquittal.

SECTION 2.—*The Rebellion in Ireland.*—A.D. 1641—1649.

WE have now reached the period when the great "Irish Rebellion" broke out with all the apparent suddenness of a huge conflagration, when volumes of flame shoot forth from a long smouldering mass, illuminating the sky and alarming the surrounding country. It may well be compared with the revolutionary "Reign of Terror" for the fiendish passions evolved, the atrocities perpetrated, and the widespread desolation that ensued.

The kingdom had been for some time tranquil, except where disturbed by Scottish innovators. The English and Irish were fraternising, intermarrying and rapidly assimilating. Romanists enjoyed almost unlimited indulgence, and almost entire religious freedom, the slightest restraint, where used, being only intended to protect from aggression. Priest, jesuits, and friars were multiplying with impunity. Yet a plot had long been in agitation between the papists in Ireland and those abroad. Public prayers for its success were offered, though not expressly, yet so as to be understood by those who used them. Beneath a smooth surface of external tranquillity volcanic elements were at work. The insulting arrogance of Strafford's arbitrary government, while flattering churchmen, papist and puritan, offended them all, and generated an enormous mass of discontent which waited but for the removal of his repressive hand to blaze forth in all its fury. Strafford being beheaded on May 12, the rebellion broke out on the 23rd of October following. The inference from these contiguous dates is clear. Besides this, the revolutionary wave moving westwards from England, the great questions there agitated awakened a sympathetic spirit in the sister legislature. The exiles displaced by the colonists were a combustible material which any spark

might ignite, and the distracted state of one country entering on a civil war was not lost upon malcontents in the other.

The populace were taught that a heretic's life was worth no more than a dog's, and that to harbour him was mortal sin. The means used to suppress their religion, as was alleged, were denounced. English settlers were represented as flourishing on the plunder of native owners, who had hitherto lived patiently in poverty, but who now had obtained priestly sanction to recover their rights by force.

Among other outrages which arose from such exhortations was the injury of churches; the destruction of Armagh Cathedral and the plunder of plate and vestments from that of Kilkenny, being samples of innumerable similar acts. The number of worshippers in them, according to Sir John Temple's computation, was lessened by 300,000 persons murdered or driven from their homes in less than two years; or following Sir W. Petty's (the lowest) estimate, by 37,000. Among these Protestant victims, mostly members of the Established Church, were many of the clergy, of whose barbarous treatment examples almost incredible are recorded. One was murdered with his wife and children; another stripped, pursued and pierced with darts till he fell dead; another confined for weeks in a loathsome dungeon. Frequently were their lifeless remains insulted or denied christian burial. The sacred volume itself was treated with indignity, soiled, torn or burnt, and all but banished the kingdom.

Nor did the heads of the church escape. During the primate's absence in England, never, as it proved, to return, his houses were plundered and destroyed and his possessions seized. Hamilton, archbishop of Cashel, found refuge abroad; Boyle, of Tuam, fled to Galway; Maxwell, of Killala

was driven from his palace, wounded, and his goods plundered; nine other prelates fled to England and died there. Martin, bishop of Meath, after the pillage or destruction of his property died in poverty in Dublin; Leslie, of Down and Connor, after similar losses, succeeded him at the Restoration. Bramhall, after narrowly escaping assassination, was raised by Charles II. to the primacy. Williams, of Ossory, was afterwards reinstated; Jones of Killaloe and Sibthorp of Kilfenora died in Dublin. Of two others, captured by the rebels, Bedell with his family was imprisoned in Loughouter Castle, and after several days' exposure to the weather was exchanged for other prisoners, but died soon afterwards from the effect of sorrow and hardship.

Of the complicity of the priesthood there remains no doubt. In 1642 a synod summoned at Kells by the titular primate declared the rebellion an act of piety, and called on all persons to join it. A titular bishop of Meath, who had declined attendance and pronounced the civil war unjust, was required to recant this opinion, and suspended for refusal. A larger synod at Kilkenny confirmed the decisions of that at Kells, prepared an oath of adherence to the rebel cause, the refusal of which by an Irishman involved excommunication, and resolved to appeal for aid to the Pope, the Emperor and the French king. The possessions of the protestant church were claimed as the rightful property of the priesthood on whom the titles of the established clergy were bestowed. In 1645 a popish convocation notified a refusal to restore the churches they had seized; another in 1647 claimed all the privileges possessed by their church in the reign of Henry VII. All this took place according to the instructions of Innocent X., conveyed through his nuncio.

Unfortunately they were seconded by the Puritans who,

in 1643, sought the legal abolition of prelacy, which however the king refused to grant. The Archbishop of Armagh declining to attend the Westminster Assembly of Divines, to which he was summoned, his name was struck off the list. But that body received more sympathy from the laity and inferior clergy than from the bishops; ten peers and twenty commoners on behalf of the clergy attending it. Measures were taken to extend its influence and to gain adherents to the Covenant.

The king declaring the Covenant a traitorous document, the Marquis of Ormonde, lord lieutenant, enjoined its repudiation wherever his authority was recognised, especially by military officers and soldiers, as unlawful, seditious and mischievous. Yet it was received enthusiastically in Ulster, where Scotch influence was predominant, both by officers and civilians. On the arrival of four Kirk ministers, the forbidden document was adopted by General Monroe, his officers and men and, with marvellous speed, by multitudes of the country people. In many places the Lord's Supper was denied to those who refused it. The mayor of Derry who had sought to avert the visit of the Scotch delegates thither, sought the protection of an English military guard. Thus strangely did the Romish Association Oath and the Presbyterian Covenant combine to overthrow the Established Church.

But we are anticipating, and must revert to the time when the rebellion was in embryo. The dark design was aided by the other difficulties which beset the government, for the outbreak was to be timed on the principle that "England's extremity was Ireland's opportunity." It must have been long evident to such shrewd observers as the Jesuits, accustomed to hold the tangled skein of European politics, that the strife between Charles and the Commons

of England, long maintained with professions of solicitude for the people's welfare on his side, and of reverence for the royal person and prerogative on theirs, must come at last to an open rupture; and as this danger became more imminent, the details of the Irish plot grew more mature, so that advancing *pari passu*, the English Revolution commenced in 1640 and the Irish Rebellion was ripe in 1641. At the former date the Long Parliament was about to resume its sittings and to maintain its defiant position. The antagonist powers were arming for the strife. A Scottish army, marching southwards, was already on the border; the king's hands seemed too full to leave him leisure to think of Ireland; his resources were too deeply pledged to be spared for its defence. Strafford's terrible presence was withdrawn by a summons to command the royal forces sent to meet the Scottish invasion—a recall soon followed by attainder and execution—and his place was supplied by two respectable but inefficient men, totally unequal to the approaching crisis, who jointly discharged the office of deputy,—Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, the former a man of mercenary spirit, though a zealous puritan, and loud in his threats to exterminate the papists; the latter, an aged soldier, indolent, and ignorant of all but military duties.

The immediate design of the conspirators, partly religious and partly political, was to sweep away the protestant colonies of Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, and to reverse the general settlement of property, transferring the ownership of the soil to its former proprietors, and restoring all that they had lost by their own or their ancestors' rebellion. But these designs of the main actors were only secondary to that of the Jesuit instigators, the restoration of the old hierarchy to its former power.

Various subsidiary steps were discussed. An extreme

section of the priesthood, considering that dead men can do no harm, advised a general massacre as the simplest and safest measure. A more moderate party was content with the wholesale banishment of the protestants, like that of the Moors from Granada. Another preferred a middle course. Of the laity one portion would have seized the property and extinguished the religion of heretics; another would have repealed all adverse enactments and have introduced Romanists to all offices of state; others would have expelled the British settlers or the new-created lords; and growing bolder with increasing numbers, some even suggested, with a magnificence of conception almost Napoleonic, if not American, the notion of raising a vast force amply sufficient to place the island under military subjection, after drafting off a contingent to join an expedition for the invasion of England, in order to bring the wandering planet back to its orbit round the pontifical sun.

The scheme was long and silently matured while all seemed quiet around, not one alarming symptom during all that summer of 1641 disturbing the fearful calm which preceded the tempest. Towards the end of 1639 the king had observed numbers, suspiciously large, of Irish ecclesiastics, flocking home from abroad, like vultures to their prey, accompanied by some veteran soldiers and Irish officers in the Spanish army, while those who stayed abroad indulged openly in the prospect of revolution. Yet, though he informed the deputies, one would not, and the other could not, see cause for alarm.

As the crisis approached, a rumour gained ground among the multitude, excitable as the Celtic race has ever been, that at the instigation of the puritans "the lords justices (we quote from Carte the historian)* set their hearts on the

* Life of Ormonde.

extirpation, not only of the mere Irish, but likewise of all the old English families who were not adherents of the Reformation, and of confiscating all their possessions," thereby, of course, extirpating Romanism from the land. Such a rumour which was not improbable, (for Sir William Parsons, as the mouthpiece of the puritans, had declared at a public banquet that "within a twelvemonth not a catholic should be seen in Ireland,") frenzied them and hastened their preparations. Priests and soldiers rushed homewards in still greater crowds, and the day of the outbreak, though intended like the Gunpowder Plot to wait for the meeting of parliament in November, was fixed for October 23rd.

The place of conference was Multifernam Abbey in Westmeath, once belonging to the Franciscans, but at that time owned by a Dublin alderman. The retired situation screened the meetings of the conspirators, while the comparatively short distant of sixty miles from the metropolis was convenient to their purpose by its easy access. Here, then, the final measures were concocted, in a chapel whose altar, images and choristers seemed to realise the palmy days of the past, and as they hoped, of the future. The growing frequency of their meetings early in October alarmed the neighbouring protestants, many of whom in consequence forsook the locality.

Among the leaders, mostly dispossessed exiles, the chief was Roger O'Moore, the poor but proud representative of an old Leinster clan, all but exterminated, whose ample patrimony was in the hands of strangers. Inheriting the vengeful memory of ancient grievances, his popular manners and pure Irish blood endeared him to the common people. His ally, Richard Plunkett, equally poor and proud, but not of so pure an Hibernian stock, was nevertheless popular, and

known as the leader of opposition in the Dublin parliament. The former visiting Ulster drew over Connor Maguire, baron of Enniskillen, chieftain of a small clan in Fermanagh, Colonel Byron, Sir Phelim O'Neill, or as he treasonably styled himself "The O'Neill," and his brother Tirlogh. Sir Phelim was of an excitable fiery temper. He was the most powerful man in the North, descended from a race of native kings who were ever the sturdy opponents of English rule, in memory of which their former tyranny and the subsequent miseries caused by their turbulence were easily forgiven and forgotten. Having, therefore, popularity and a commanding influence in Ulster, he was the most dangerous man among the disaffected. The Earl of Tyrone, son of the rebel earl who died in exile some years before, inherited his father's spirit, as did Hugh McMahan his own grandson. Colonel Byron,* Colonel Dillon and the Earl of Antrim undertook to raise troops in aid of the conspirators, on the plea that the king required them to serve in Spain.†

The latter, indeed, had been trusted with such a commission, and there were many who deemed that a supposed compliance with the king's wish was not incompatible with their plot, for in the impending struggle in England the king, since his unfortunate marriage with a Roman Catholic princess, had too readily leaned on those who professed the same faith; and the latter, shelving other questions for a time and identifying the government with the parliamentary and puritan party who had recommended the present lord deputies, were prepared to side with him.

Such were the avowed leaders under whose banners were ranged such malcontents as had suffered from the plantation

* Or Birn,

† Moore, vol. iv., ch. liv.

of the Protestant colonies. But the machinery was worked by Jesuits behind the scenes, where

"Far within
And in their own dimensions like themselves,
The great seraphic lords, and cherubim
In close recess and secret conclave sat."

These were in reality the soul of the confederacy, aiming to accomplish designs which possibly were only partially revealed to the tools whom they employed.

At the bidding of the leaders above named, the whole of the North and West were ready to rise. The hot Celtic blood of the inflammable mass would respond to the igniting touch by blazing into an immediate conflagration, and untaught, unreasoning, plastic as puppets under priestly influence, (the bane of that unhappy land,) they burst into a frenzy at the idea that the "ancient," or as they supposed, the primitive, faith was threatened with suppression.

Thus we see that three home elements, each swayed by separate motives, were acting in concert. First, as prime movers, a recusant priesthood, acting with political Jesuits, sought to undo the Reformation and to restore the faith and authority of their own church; secondly, the secular chiefs and their "following" sought to redress their supposed wrongs by destroying the colonies, and to recover the territories which they had lost by legal confiscation; and lastly, the native populace, blindly raging, sought, like the maddened elephant, to trample down the Reformation and to involve its adherents in indiscriminate slaughter.*

Besides these, the Roman Catholic powers of Europe

* Moore naturally omits to mention the priestly element of mischief, but adroitly insinuates that the king was secretly a party to it, though we have shown proof sufficient of what he omits, and he has given no sufficient proof for what he insinuates.

were as ready, as in former days, to countenance any scheme which promised the restoration of Ireland to the papal rule, and the insurgents probably relied on promises of succour both from Spain and from Cardinal Richlieu on the part of France.

The programme was not unlike that of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. As a first step, a general rising was arranged to take place in Dublin on the 23rd of October. Some of the leaders and a few trustworthy followers were to seize the Castle with its arms and stores, while on the same day simultaneous operations would commence in various parts of the country. Each leader was to attack and take the post assigned to him, but to be ready on summons to reinforce his associates in Dublin.

Meanwhile the deputies, whose tenure of office was only prolonged by the delay of a commission which would have appointed the Earl of Leicester lord-lieutenant, slumbered on in fancied security over the mine ready to explode under their feet; nor were they willingly awakened, for as late as October 11, they were informed by Sir William Cole of Enniskillen, of various strange and suspicious circumstances, such as the resort of Irishmen in large numbers to the house of O'Neill, the journeys of Maguire, the transmission of despatches, the levying of soldiers on pretence of the Spanish service. On the 21st Cole had gathered the whole scheme from two accomplices and laid it before the governors. Yet if the letter reached them, it did not rouse their fears.

At length the 22nd of October arrived, the day before that fixed for the rising, when providentially a discovery was forced on them. One Owen Conolly, though educated as a protestant gentleman, was considered by Macmahon as likely, perhaps from a secret leaning to popery, to be an

useful agent. Being summoned by the latter on the 22nd to his own house, he was introduced to Maguire. The leaders having finished their consultations were drinking to the success of their enterprise. The potent draught had brought them to that point when the most phlegmatic are enthusiastic and the most reserved communicative. What more natural than that each should whisper the great secret to the new found friend, detailing the wonderful transactions of the morrow in the glowing colours in which they were painted on his own mental retina.

The draught so generally fraught with mischief was for once overruled by Him who brings good out of evil, to a timely discovery of an intended crime. Conolly, who had not lost his faculties under its influence, being alarmed at its magnitude, represented its peril to Macmahon, but being threatened with vengeance if he betrayed it, he feigned adherence, took occasion to withdraw soon afterwards, rushed to the governor's house, burst into Parsons' presence, and in breathless haste and drunken confusion unfolded the desperate design. Parsons, discrediting information through so strange a channel, ordered him out, advising him to learn more of the intended treason ere he repeated the intrusion.

But reflection convincing him that such tidings were not to be despised, he closed the city gates, set a watch, and by his colleague's advice called a council which quickly sent a messenger in pursuit of Conolly. The latter was overtaken, and after he had regained his sobriety gave a clear account of the matter. Macmahon, Maguire, and about thirty more were arrested and brought before the council, while O'Moore and others, having timely notice, effected their escape. The former, after some hesitation, defiantly avowed the treason, and in reckless contempt of

life amused himself by chalking on the floor of the waiting-room his own imagined suspension from a gibbet. He added that his death would be avenged, and that the movement was so ramified and so many fortresses were in the hands of the insurgents, that any thought of arresting their purpose was futile.

On the same evening Sir Francis Willoughby, governor of Galway fort, an experienced English officer, providentially reached the metropolis. Finding the gates shut, while the suburbs were unusually disturbed and filled with strange horsemen, he hastened to the house of Sir John Borlase where the council was sitting. He assured them that the western counties were apparently quiet, but recommended as a precaution that the governors should retire to the castle and put it in a state of defence, for though stores of arms and ammunition were there which had belonged to Strafford's disbanded army, yet it was only manned by the usual body guard, not amounting to fifty men, the king's small force being dispersed in distant garrisons.

The suggestion was adopted, Sir Francis himself being judiciously appointed governor of the city and castle, both of which with indefatigable energy he prepared against hostilities. A proclamation notified the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy of papists, calling on the friends of order and loyalty to unite in defence of their homes, and forbidding any further levy for foreign service.

The insurgents who had hoped to surprise and pillage the place, paused when they found it not so easy as they expected. A body of troops meanwhile was summoned from England whose opportune arrival from Carlisle enabled the governor to arm two hundred men in defence of the castle, and these being reinforced by detachments from various quarters and by fugitives arriving from the country,

the panic was soon appeased and defensive measures were calmly continued.

Yet the military would not probably have been withdrawn from the provinces had their disturbed state been fully known, for the insurgents hoped to effect a simultaneous rising throughout the land, and in the meanwhile no news reached Dublin castle for several days except from the North. On the other hand the Ulster rebels, not knowing the check sustained by their brethren in Dublin, commenced the insurrection on the same day, as had been previously arranged, Sir Phelim O'Neill committing the first act of aggression, an act of whose barbarity even his advocates are ashamed. The aged Lord Caulfield, governor of Charlemont Castle, who had subsided from the brave soldier into the hospitable country gentleman and was living in confiding friendship with his Irish neighbours, was made the victim of a disgraceful stratagem. Sir Phelim imposing on his good nature and abusing his hospitality invited as his lordship's guests himself and a band of followers who, rising from table after their repast and throwing off the mask of welcome visitors, imprisoned the host in the dungeons of his own castle, of which they took possession; while O'Neill, finding a document bearing the royal seal of England, tore it off, and affixing it, as he avowed at his trial, to a false commission, gave out that his majesty had empowered him to punish his disobedient protestant subjects, and proceeded the same night to Dunganon whose fort at once surrendered to him, as also soon afterwards did the towns and castles of Mountjoy, Tandragee and Newry. The rebels took prisoners several English gentlemen and seized large stores of arms and ammunition.

The wildfire spread, radiating from various centres, while the thirst for plunder and the zeal for demolition, as often happens in civil commotions, grew into an appetite for blood,

whetted by the taste of it into insatiable voracity, and as in another reign of terror, was intensified from day to day. Roman Catholic sheriffs, where such had been elected, summoned the people to arms by an abuse of the king's name, and in Cavan the sheriff was joined by the parliamentary representative. The army of O'Neill was thus raised to thirty thousand men, which in a few days placed the counties of Derry, Fermanagh, Donegal, Tyrone, Cavan, Longford, Leitrim, Monaghan and parts of Down and Armagh at the mercy of men who knew not, for their religion had never taught them, what mercy meant. The English, against whom their efforts were first directed, surprised and paralysed at the sudden outburst of lawless violence, for a time scarcely resisted them; while they proceeded to destroy towns and castles which often surrendered at the first summons, to turn families out of their houses amid the severities of an inclement season, to plunder, arrest and imprison their victims on the plea that they were conspiring with the parliament against the king; and when resistance did commence, they spared neither age nor sex from a general massacre, sacrificing the tottering decrepitude of age, the tenderness of infancy and womanhood, not even regarding the pledges of protection given to those who capitulated, and even involving the Scots, whom at first they had spared, in indiscriminate slaughter.

Nor were these deplorable scenes long confined to Ulster. In a few weeks the conflagration reached Connaught, where it spread rapidly, castles and fortresses in Galway, Sligo and Roscommon falling before it. In Munster the Roman Catholic gentry were disinclined to the movement, till at length the brother-in-law of Sir William St. Leger, its president, committed some acts of violence, when in the

middle of December, joining in it, they seized Cashel the depot of the English troops.

It is impossible entirely to acquit the deputies of blame in connection with these events, for they could almost from the first have allayed the public discontent and extinguished the kindling flame by proclaiming the king's gracious intentions, as they were urged to do by the parliament; but they and their friends in England, intent on confiscation, which they reckoned would amount to ten millions of acres, from the spread of the rebellion into Connaught and Munster, had formed a company in London to purchase these prospective domains and had applied to the English parliament for permission to raise money in order to suppress the movement on the credit of the capital which would thus accrue. Rumours of these transactions combined with other provocations to swell the insurgent party.

The number of victims to this desolating cruelty has been variously estimated. The Romanists of that day, not as yet purged from the avowed spirit of intolerance, believing that they ought to do many things against heretics, nay, that even in killing them they were doing God service, boasted that they had slain 200,000, exclusive of those who were driven from their homes; while those of the present day in an age of toleration, anxious to stand well before a more enlightened public opinion, with equal shamelessness reduce the number to 4,000. The intermediate statement of Clarendon, whose estimate is from forty to fifty thousand, is probably near the truth.

In the midst of these horrors it is refreshing to find that human nature could still assert its rights, and that its still small voice was to be heard amid the whirlwind and the storm of religious bigotry. Philip O'Dwyer, leader of the Irish force against Cashel, used all his influence in behalf of

the lives and property of the English who fell into his power. James Saul, a jesuit, is said to have watched Pullen, chancellor of Cashel and dean of Clonfert with his family, with the purpose of protecting them from danger. Two Franciscan friars, Joseph Everard and Redmond English, received some fugitives and hid them under their chapel altar. All honor to such men. They are like oases in the desert. Let such facts be embalmed in history and the names of their authors rescued from that sea of infamy into which the name of Jesuit has sunk.

But worthiest of such record is the venerated name of William Bedell, whose saintly character, whose unwearied labours for the temporal and spiritual good of the ignorant and degraded peasantry, whose success in winning them to the reformed faith are admitted by men of all parties. At the first outbreak in Cavan, he was compelled by sheriff O'Reilly who organized it, to draw up a statement of grievances "to the Right Honourable the Justices and Councillors" of Ireland, under the idea that it must succeed when sanctioned by one so universally respected, and even later Roman Catholic writers have claimed credence for the grievances thus stated because the document was drawn up by Bedell, only ignoring the compulsion under which he acted.

Amidst all the havoc then committed, his person, house and property were by general consent left untouched as late as December 18th, his being the only English dwelling so long exempt. It was even respected as a sanctuary of refuge, and treated by the rebels as an ark of safety to the terrified population who fled from the deluge which overspread the land. He and his protégés enjoyed, says Burnet, "a miracle of quiet," and were only too thankful to lodge even in an outhouse in the church or churchyard, or on a heap of straw or hay, secure from harm. Yet indirectly he fell

a victim to the mental suffering consequent on the insurrection, for he died a few months afterwards.* He and his family were removed to Lockwater, all but himself being put in irons till January 7, 1642, when they gained their liberty by an exchange of prisoners. In his lifetime the natives were wont to call him the best of the English bishops, and it proved the love and veneration felt towards him, that the rebel forces went as mourners to his funeral, permitted the use of the protestant service, and fired a salute over his grave.†

We must not take leave of his twelve years' episcopate without once more alluding to the legacy he bequeathed to the nation in the translation of the Bible into the Irish tongue, a work which ranks him among the reformers, no less than the martyrs, of his adopted country. He saw that the people gained nothing by a reformation, nor could be elevated in their spiritual condition, while the word of God was inaccessible, nor could their loyalty be insured to those who withheld it from them. His whole public life therefore was a protest against the fatal policy then pursued in reference to the vernacular tongue. On assuming the provostship of Dublin university, though fifty-seven years of age, he began to learn it, thus sanctioning by his own example his requirement that every candidate for orders should pursue this despised branch of education. But before the preacher, even thus qualified, could urge his hearers to "search the Scriptures," they must be accessible, which, notwithstanding the several attempts to translate them already mentioned, was not the case. He therefore employed competent scholars

* On February 7, 1642, in the house of the Rev. Dennis Sheridan, formerly a Roman Catholic priest, but converted through his instrumentality. - Mason's *Bedell*, pp. 366-8.

† Moore, iv., p. 223.

to produce a correct Irish version, following it by various tracts and other religious works in the same language. That version, preserved intact amid the general wreck, though most of his manuscripts were lost, is to this day his most enduring monument: but no progress was made in printing it for the next forty years. Indeed the types formerly granted by Elizabeth had been sold to certain Jesuits who carried them away to Douay. Bedell likewise sought to remedy the neglect of the parishes in his diocese by promoting the residence of the clergy, and discouraging pluralities, enforcing his exhortations by himself resigning the see of Ardagh as incompatible with the due oversight of Kilmore.

But he was in advance of his time. It was an age of pluralities. His cotemporary Laud thought it no disgrace to hold, and has suffered no disrepute for holding, a vast quantity of preferment, and spent the first part of his career in bargaining and exchanging poorer for richer benefices. The temptation to hold pluralities was greater in Ireland from the small value of livings, while pastoral negligence, flagrant even in England, was still greater where, as in Ireland, the clergy were seldom conversant with the language of their people.

It is time to return from a digression which has afforded a moment's relief from scenes at which humanity shudders. We will not detail the heart sickening atrocities of the gloomy period of the next ten years. The Romanists were a strong party, their successes in the early stages of the rebellion, together with the influence of their leaders over the multitude, placed them on a vantage ground, and England was too much distracted by her own revolutionary contest to make any serious effort to subjugate them. Thus the struggle dragged on its weary length, each exasperating the

other, but neither being able to strike a decisive blow, till Cromwell's iron hand and resolute will crushed the embers out.

The state of Ulster being reported to Charles who was in Edinburgh, he at once dispatched thither a Scotch regiment, leaving his parliament, whom he informed of the emergency, to entrust the deputies with its direction. The latter, indisposed to carry out any measure originating from the king, objected to Scottish interference with a territory belonging to England. As tools of the English parliament, they were more anxious to implicate him in a rebellion whose abettors were avowed adherents of his majesty and desirous to free him from parliamentary tyranny, than they were to aid in its suppression. Hence while agreeably occupied in extorting evidence respecting it by the rack and screw, they did little to restore peace; nay, they waited for its wider spread before its extinction, because they thereby hoped to gain a pretext for a larger forfeiture of Irish property. The inhabitants of the Pale, universally proud of their loyalty to England for the time then present, having been for ages past at deadly feud with the native Irish, and therefore holding aloof from their proceedings, were faithful for a season, and offered their services in the cause of order, if only they were supplied with arms; a few stands were served out, but being immediately called in again, even the most loyal of the Romanist gentry, already provoked by the threats of the justices, went over to the insurgents.

But the Scots were not idle, and joining the Earl of Ormonde and his tenantry, were so effective in the cause of order, that O'Neill rapidly lost ground. Indeed to so low an ebb was he reduced, that a slight success which he gained near Drogheda, the more precious from its novelty, caused a boundless exultation on his side, only equalled by the depression which ensued on theirs. He had concentrated

a large body of his followers, swelled by the adhesion of whole regiments deserting the royal standard, on the seige of that place ; and thus could easily spare two thousand men who intercepted at Julian's-town bridge and routed a reinforcement of six hundred and fifty men sent from Dublin for its relief. A success so gained, of no importance but for the panic which it occasioned, might, if skilfully followed up, have imperilled the English cause.

The seige was prolonged for three months. The besiegers were nearly five thousand strong, and the town, though stocked with provisions and all the requisites for defence, the garrison being ably commanded by the brave Sir H. Tichbourne, must have yielded under the pressure of famine, had not the government, by a timely reinforcement, which enabled Ormonde to make a diversion on the Boyne, compelled Sir Phelim to raise the siege and not very heroically to take flight.

The rebel cause was for a time strengthened, first by the adherence of the Pale who, besides the provocations already stated, were unwarily entrapped by the feigned plea of the natives that they were rising in the king's behalf against his opponents, then by the gleam of success at Drogheda, and still more so by the sanction of the priests who, in a synod at Kells, described the rebellion as a "pious and lawful war," its opponents being "usurpers of other men's estates," and in another at Kilkenny required all who took arms to take an oath of association, threatening excommunication to those who refused it. In this council they loudly professed their loyalty and allegiance to the sacred person of the king, denouncing and threatening to punish the recent outrages. An official seal was appointed bearing the motto, "Pro Deo, Rege et Patriâ Hiberni unanimes," and a coinage was struck, with the motto "Floreat Rex." Lastly it was

strengthened by the aid of continental powers, the emperor, the French king and the pope pouring in large contributions of men, money, arms and experienced officers.

Thus favoured by priestly approbation, as Irish disorders have usually been, from a rebellion to a "Ribbon" outrage, a hedge murder or an election riot, the laity set up a rival constitution, not *imperium in imperio*, but *contra imperium*, including first, an upper and a lower house of "parliament," secondly, a system of county executives to administer justice, each consisting of a "council of twelve," whence lay an appeal to the "Supreme Council of Confederate Catholics," composed of twenty-four persons presided over by Lord Mountgarrett, and lastly a staff of foreign ambassadors. Lord Mountgarrett had formerly enjoyed the favour of James I., but was now tempted through unjust treatment to follow the example of the other deserters.

To maintain a force sufficient for the reduction of Ireland the resources of government were inadequate. The most devoted loyalists were melting down their plate even to supply the royal treasury from hand to mouth, while the parliamentary funds were fully employed at home. But the Commons, as we have seen, permitted a commercial company to invite contributions towards an Irish campaign, on security of the estates expected to be forfeited. The king would have commanded in person an expedition for such a purpose, but his faithful Commons, disinclined to trust him with so inconvenient a power, would not permit him to endanger his sacred person, adding that should he venture to assume it without their permission, they could not recognise any one to whom during his absence he should delegate his authority.

They raised a loan of £40,000, avowedly to subject a revolted province to its sovereign, but with the first in-

stalment of one-fourth they equipped a force to subject the sovereign to themselves, shewing but too clearly that they were more anxious to lay at his door the guilt of recent atrocities than to punish or prevent them, more solicitous for the estates of the disaffected than for the interests of the loyal subject in Ireland.

The Earls of Clanricarde and Ormonde nobly stood up for the king's authority, the former in Connaught, the latter, with a ragged and destitute force, in Dublin, which was besieged by the rebels and threatened with famine. So especially devoted and self-sacrificing was the latter, that his majesty bestowed on him a marquisate. Standing however alone, discouraged and thwarted, the Scotch contingent being paralysed by the English parliament, and their tools shut up in Dublin Castle, they could do so little that Charles was reduced to negotiate with the rebel council, empowering Ormonde whom he constituted governor of the capital to agree to a truce and to discuss with their chiefs the terms of peace. A royal commission, issued Jan. 11, 1643, empowered its individual members to consider the complaints and demands of the confederate rebels.

The king's message was at first rejected, and in a conference held on the 18th of March, the negotiation was nearly frustrated by the ill-omened arrival of Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, as nuncio to the hostile camp from Innocent X., bringing the papal blessing with an exhortation to perseverance. The royal and papal envoys formed separate parties of "Moderates" and "Nuncionists" respectively, who treated separately; but the Romanists clearly perceived that a puritan party, if triumphant, would prove far more formidable enemies than the king himself, whose marriage might even incline him in their favour. They therefore agreed to an armistice, pending further arrangements, and even en-

gaged to raise £30,000 in his service, an engagement slowly and reluctantly fulfilled, while he, relinquishing all attempts to bring them to justice, gladly recalled his troops in order to benefit by their aid at home. Had the confederates been less favourably disposed, he had signified his wish that in case of extremity the city should be surrendered to the puritans rather than to them, and Ormonde had with this view conferred with the English commissioners, so that it was thus doubly secured against the ultimate barbarity of hereditary foes. He also pleaded on behalf of the church for the retention of the liturgy. It was discontinued on the surrender of Dublin in 1647, but replaced by the Westminster Directory.

Martin, bishop of Meath, was at this time provost of the university. Some members of the council having agreed to send their plate to relieve the wants of the military officers, Martin declined to give a subscription, the rebels having, he said, left him nothing worth giving. For this answer, deemed offensive, he was committed to prison. On receiving the order to suspend the liturgy, he declined to do so, because the Act of Uniformity was unrepealed. The Dublin clergy joining him, published (July 9) an unanimous declaration of adherence to it, which, though remarkable for its cogent reasoning, its forcible diction and the eminent names affixed to it, was fruitless, except that it procured dispensations in a few special cases. By one prelate, John Leslie of Raphoe, the order was openly set at nought. In 1641 his fortified castle had been a place of refuge to loyal men from lawless violence. He had also freely contributed money and men to the royal cause, and was afterwards besieged by Cromwell's forces. The prohibition continued in force till after the Restoration.

Thus, then, the two parties remained till after the execu-

tion of Charles, each conscious of its own incompetence to gain any decisive advantage, and therefore ready to temporise. For example, in the summer of 1643, the confederates, having gained several successes, consented, as we have seen, to a year's truce, which was signed in September; but soon afterwards the parliament connived at its violation. The other side stated their grievances to the king, but were met by a puritan counter-statement. One side demanded toleration, the other the enforcement of penal statutes and the banishment of the priests. The king was ready to permit Romanists to purchase land and to hold various offices, and was willing to abstain from enforcing, but refused to repeal, the penal laws. He might perhaps have made greater concessions in deference to the queen's bigotted Romanism, but he dared not provoke the popular party. A similar negociation in 1645 failed, and a third soon afterwards. At length by the aid of the king's envoy, Lord Herbert, a Romanist, a private agreement was entered into, that in return for leave to exercise their religion in public, the confederates would send 10,000 men to defend the throne.

The nuncio, distrusting the king's sincerity, in the letter of which Herbert, created Earl of Glamorgan, was the bearer, had just resolved on an immediate campaign, when Glamorgan was suddenly arrested for treasonable correspondence with him, but was afterwards released on bail. Meanwhile Rinuccini was strengthened by a fresh treaty formed between the pope and the queen, which Glamorgan in February 1646 ratified on the king's part, who afterwards repudiated it. Sundry intrigues and conflicts occupied the next three years, between the king, the queen, the pope, Rinuccini, Glamorgan, and Ormonde, too wearisome to detail. The execution of Charles was the signal for the nuncio's departure for Rome.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PROTECTORATE OF CROMWELL, A.D. 1649—1660.

Vigorous Suppression of the Great Rebellion.

WITH the accession of Cromwell the balance of parties and the period of sufferance passed away. The weight of his vigorous arm, enforcing a policy stern, prompt, decisive, terribly (yet not needlessly) severe, crushed the rebels at a blow.

The occasion was soon furnished. They had throughout the contest professed to aid an oppressed monarch against an usurping parliament. Under this plea they had allured the loyal inhabitants of the Pale to their cause, and latterly had contributed money towards the maintenance of his struggle in England, in return for concessions wrung from him by his necessities. Hence they were not prepared tamely to accept a ruler forced on them by a victorious faction calling itself the government, especially when that faction notoriously waged war to the knife, wherever its power or its arms could reach, against that faith in whose defence, and at the instigation of whose teachers, they had relentlessly unfurled the standard of insurrection—neither giving any quarter nor expecting to receive it. Least of all could they accept a ruler, when that ruler was Oliver Cromwell, whose vengeance they had good reason to dread, with whose despotic will and straightforward simplicity of purpose

it was in vain to temporise, and to whose Ironside veterans (inured to victory under the republican standard) the watchword "Death to the Man of Sin" was like a household word. They therefore declined to recognise the Protector, and in proof of their refusal, joined the Scots in Ulster, and Ormonde in the South, in proclaiming Charles II., in whose name, at their instigation, Prince Rupert with an English fleet seized on the harbour of Kinsale.

Matters thus coming to a crisis, the subjugation of Ireland was commenced in earnest: immediate preparations were made, and undivided attention was given to the subject. Cromwell was appointed lord-lieutenant, and hastened thither with 8000 foot and 4000 horse. In Dublin he was welcomed by crowds as their deliverer, and boldly announced that he was come to "cut down and destroy all the barbarous and bloodthirsty Irish," and to "sacrifice all the Irish papists to the ghosts of English protestants whom they had murdered in cold blood." He regarded himself, as in truth he was, the executioner of divine vengeance; but while the retribution was just, we may demur to the vindictive spirit shewn and the vindictive language used. He was only just in time to relieve the Dublin parliamentary garrison threatened by Ormonde, and those of Drogheda and Dundalk beleaguered by Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, a rebel chief who had repeatedly shewn his treachery and thirst for blood during the war. Landing in Dublin Bay and proceeding northwards, he invested Drogheda, first besieged by Sir Phelim O'Neill, and the second capture of which was Cromwell's first success. He stormed it in person after two days' obstinate defence conducted by Sir Arthur Aston. Quarter was refused to all but those who laid down their arms. They richly deserved their fate, which (though retaliation is not exactly the right principle of christian

warfare) nevertheless struck terror into the insurgents, and intimidated other garrisons into flight or submission.*

In the South, Wicklow, Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Clonmel (under the skilful management of Ormonde), prepared for resistance; but the unnatural union in the royal cause between the rebels and the protestants who had opposed them, could not last, having no principle of coherence. Colonel Sinnott, commander of Wexford, not accepting a heretic defender, and encouraged by a reinforcement of Ormonde's Ulster troops which doubled the garrison, defied the besiegers, but yet surrendered at the first sound of their guns. We care not to defend in detail the severities of Cromwell: yet who can wonder if vanquished rebels, who had seldom shewn mercy, found none? He took Ross and invested Waterford which, after compelling him to raise the siege, shut the gates against the protestant defenders. Such, in fact, were the ability and diligence of the priesthood in sowing division among Ormonde's handful of soldiers, that their efforts could not fail of being crowned with success. The skill and heroism which had sustained him with scanty resources against overwhelming numbers, was unavailing before so potent a counter-influence. Kilkenny and Clonmel also surrendered, but their brave defence secured for them honourable terms.

Just then Cromwell was suddenly called away, being urgently required to crush the royalists in Scotland. He

* Romanists, and of late, Liberationists, have called these vigorous proceedings *persecution*, an evil of which they are peculiarly sensitive except when they have a chance of inflicting it. With the same interesting simplicity they might complain that Marlborough persecuted Louis XIV., and that English justice has persecuted the authors of Fenian outrages in Clerkenwell, Manchester, and elsewhere. Indeed some of these "patriots" are already elevated to the rank of "martyrs."

therefore entrusted the command of his army to his son-in-law General Ireton, who continued the work of subjugation, defeating the enemy in every engagement. As an instance of judicious severity, he executed a titular bishop, Macmahon, who, laying aside his sacred functions in order to command the rebels, had been taken prisoner on the battle-field. The wholesome fear of Ireton thus inspired made the nobles more submissive to Ormonde; but the priests, as Napoleon said of the Bourbons, "had learned nothing and forgotten nothing." With feeble pertinacity worthy of Pio Nono, they clung to the cause, as they deemed it, of their religion, and, untaught by reverses, allowed their loyalty to a foreign (mis-named a spiritual) power to break up an union which was their chief strength, abandoned the royalists, and renounced the claims of the young king, whose insincere promise, extorted by the Covenanters, that he would try to exterminate popery, was to them an unpardonable sin. Hence they repudiated Ormonde's plan, who wished to garrison Limerick in order to prevent the enemy from crossing the Shannon, and refused to employ any but orthodox troops. He, despairing of such impracticable materials, retired to France, resigning his command to Lord Clanricarde who, though a Romanist, being also a dutiful servant of the king, found them equally unmanageable.

The popish bishops, however, took a step more congenial to men of easy conscience, so little troubled with patriotic scruples as were those reverend dignitaries. They offered the protectorship of Ireland to the Duke of Lorraine who, though eagerly accepting the glittering prize, found, on attempting to grasp it, that it was not theirs to give; the agent sent to conclude the bargain arriving just in time to see it in the hands of Fleetwood, another of Cromwell's generals and sons-in-law, who, on Ireton's death after the

surrender of Limerick, married his widow, and assumed the lord-lieutenancy and the command-in-chief of the military musters of the English parliament. He renounced all terms with the broken confederacy, and hunted out for execution the chief perpetrators of the atrocious massacres of 1641. Two hundred were traced out and sentenced to death, among whom Sir Phelim O'Neill, the Nana Sahib of the party, suffered a well-deserved fate, though apparently dying a penitent, as he refused to the last the chance of saving his life, which was offered to him in case he could prove the genuineness of the royal proclamation which he had forged.

This stern measure was followed by resolutions to divide most of the landed property between the public creditors and Cromwell's soldiers, and to confine the native Irish to the province of Connaught, the boundary of the Shannon being supplemented by a chain of forts. The spirit of mutiny being thus cowed, continued quiet was secured by the recomposition of the Irish parliament, which was filled with men of guaranteed subservience to the "Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland," as Cromwell styled himself after the dissolution of the Long Parliament.

Towards the close of his earthly career he entrusted the government of Ireland to his son Henry, who was devoted to his father, inherited his mental qualities, but was in a great measure free from puritan prejudices. The nation was then broken in spirit, under the intense sufferings of the previous twenty years; perhaps also somewhat humbled under the pressure of divine chastisement; and in the north at least, partially reconciled to the iron yoke of England laid on them by the previous deputy, and the intermeddling of Scotch fanaticism. Henry's accession was therefore welcomed by every sincere patriot who appreciated his sincere desire to improve the state of the country; while the broken-

down confederate chiefs remained passive, from the conviction that their cause was lost, that the enthusiasm it had kindled had died out, and that any attempt to revive it would be suppressed and avenged by the protector, backed by the resources and prestige of his father.

The vigorous measures which had crushed it were counter-balanced by the pillage inflicted by the puritans upon the Irish church. Sixteen sees vacated during the protectorship were not filled up, while the eight surviving bishops and other dignitaries were plundered in the name of the law. Thus the revenues of the see of Dublin and the deanery of St. Patrick's were committed to certain trustees, who scrupled not occasionally to secularize the edifices of the church,—the chapels and aisles of Galway church, for example, being converted into stables. Certain properties of the see of Ossory were bestowed on the indigent soldiery. As a specimen of clerical penury, the primate Ussher gratefully accepted an asylum offered by one of his converts from popery; while the Bishop of Ossory declined a stipend of £100 a-year offered him in 1658 by Henry Cromwell.*

* The history of the Irish Church is a continuous record of spoliation during more than 1000 years, from 867 to 1869. The Danish invaders set the first example. The Normans gave nothing, but in 1172 merely guaranteed to the church the residue of their own appropriations of its ancient possessions. Henry VIII. gave to the primitive church reformed merely what was not bestowed on the laity as impropriations. The destitution and decay pathetically described under succeeding reigns were only the natural fruit of the impoverishment. The Irish clergy taxed themselves in behalf of Charles I.; and after suffering under the drastic treatment of Cromwell's puritans, were rewarded by the gratitude and the confiscations of his two sons, the one a secret, the other an avowed, papist. A few years more deprived them of the tithe of agistment. A century passed, during which they vainly buffeted with adversity, and a few private benefactions vainly strove to fill the gaps caused by state spoliation, when in 1834 a paternal govern-

On September 3, 1658, Oliver Cromwell passed to his account, leaving the protectorship, an unwelcome burden, to the feebler hands of his eldest son Richard, should the legislature make the office hereditary. He was immediately proclaimed, the army in Ireland under his brother willingly joining in the general consent to bow before the shadow of his father's name. But a few months' experience sufficed to weary him of the dignity, and induced him to send in his resignation to the reassembled "Long Parliament," by whom it was at once ungraciously and ungratefully accepted, and their first subsequent act (as though anxious to root out the name and memory of Cromwell) was to supersede his brother Henry's authority by the appointment of General Ludlow as deputy-governor in Ireland.

ment struck one-fourth of the tithes; and now again in 1869, the British nation, not yet learning from previous experience that confiscation has not cured but crippled the Irish church, turn round indignant at the result of their own workmanship, complain that the church is inefficient, and repeat the process of destruction by spoiling her of half the miserable remnant left after the last act of depletion.

CHAPTER VIII.

REIGN¹ OF CHARLES II.—A.D. 1660—1685.SECT. I.—*The Restoration—Divisions among Romanists—
Leaning of the King towards them.*

THE movements of General Monck for the restoration of Charles II., belong to a different page of history. We only remark that the army in Ireland came under his rule as commander-in-chief. Ormonde continued the king's firm friend, though not a little grieved by his dissolute manners and his predilection for popery. The council of state in Dublin were among the first who announced themselves to Monck as subjects of the new king.

One of the earliest acts of the latter was a graceful recognition of Ormonde's loyal services in the grant of an Irish dukedom, and the earldom of Brecknock, which made him an English peer: he also restored to him the estates which he had lost in the rebellion. No less than nineteen other loyal Irishmen also received official dignities or peerages. Gratitude is good policy, and though not a sin of which Charles was flagrantly guilty, yet he honoured himself and strengthened his own hands by conferring the lord-lieutenancy on the Duke of Ormonde, in whom loyalty was so deep-rooted, that his reverence for the Crown was unshaken even by his sorrow for the vices and personal hostility of its unworthy wearer; for he saw in him not the contemptible individual himself, so much as the martyr of republican

fury, whose memory was enshrined in his person, and whose vacant throne he filled. But such unbending uprightiness and unswerving devotion could not but excite the fear and hatred of a corrupt and venal court, to which so pure a character was a most eloquent rebuke. They therefore used their ingenuity, like the courtiers of Darius, to find an occasion against him. He did not condescend at first to notice their calumnies, but was moved to do so when his promptitude in crushing the rebellion was urged against him.

Charles received him as one who knew his innocence and his worth; but his downfall was determined on, for his enemies were unscrupulous, including the king himself, who therefore sent as a message what he dared not to say to his face, viz: that he must resign his office. But His Majesty must not thus escape from humiliation. The duke will only return his commission into the same hand which gave it, and on his entering the presence chamber, Charles is abashed, and denies having sent for his resignation.* This farce was twice repeated, and was followed by the appointment in the privy council of a successor, a friendly message requesting the ex-governor's continuance in office as lord-high-steward. The duke forgiving the wrong, and ready to defend the hand which smote him, retained a post which placed him near the royal person; where soon afterwards, while in attendance on the sovereign, he nearly fell a victim to a foul conspiracy; but the ruffians who committed the assault, missing their mark and fleeing from the spot, escaped the hand of justice.

Time however brought his vindication. The lowering cloud passed away, and the faithful servant, whose attachment nothing could weary or pervert, yet lived to be necessary to his master and, at his request, to resume in the year 1683 the government of which he had been unjustly deprived.

* Burnet's History of his own Times, edn. 1725, p. 489. . Walter's History of England, Charles ii.

But we have anticipated. The accession of Charles II. was cordially accepted in Ireland, and promised to be the harbinger of peace. He was proclaimed in Dublin with acclamations. The rebels, smarting from the pain left by the Protector's lash, were wonderfully submissive, while the various parties produced by the changes of landed property, turned their faces eastward, looking wistfully and hopefully to the newly risen sun. Dispossessed landholders hoped for restoration to their estates, because nominally, at least, they had fought for the king. The new occupiers hoped to be left in quiet possession of their lands. Some of Cromwell's officers who received their arrears in forfeited lands, hoped to retain them as the price of their loyalty to England; while others to whom such grants had been refused for their professed adherence to the king, founded on that fact a claim on his gratitude. Finally, some adventurers who had received allotments of land in return for money lent to subdue the rebels thought such a title sufficiently valid to claim the sanction of the law.

The act of indemnity drawn up before Charles's landing in England excluded the Roman Catholics in consequence of their connection with the rebellion. They were not admitted to the Lower House of the Dublin parliament held in 1661, nor to the Upper, unless they had received the sacrament from Bramhall. The first Act of Settlement gave little hope to the Irish of regaining their property, but after a later act restitution was claimed on the score of innocence by 6000 persons. Six hundred claims had been decided by commissioners when their powers expired. Some of the estates which remained unappropriated were liberally bestowed, after a few special claims on royal gratitude were satisfied, on the ejected claimants of land, of whatever religion they happened to be, in cases where both competitors could plead a fair title. The well-known fact of

the king's secret leaning, so far as he was conscious of any religious ideas, to the Church of Rome might, if then known, have turned the balance in favour of its adherents; but their "vaulting ambition" over-leaping itself, the insolent demands of some among them defeated their purpose by offending him and causing an unfavourable re-action. The Irish Parliament, having a protestant majority, was thereby enabled to pass a measure not unfavourable to the claims of new owners, yet reserving a portion of each estate for the disposal of the crown, and requiring every Romish claimant of alienated land to produce proof sufficient to satisfy a fair English jury that he had neither aided nor screened from justice the authors of the late massacres. This act produced so many verdicts of acquittal as to awaken a jealousy in the Irish parliament which even Ormonde could scarcely allay.

Now that the spirit of faction was broken down, the opportunity was a good one to start a new policy which might draw the sister countries into closer union. But England unhappily determined still to treat the Irish as an inferior race. The Stuarts were unfortunate in making enemies or alienating friends, and Charles II. peculiarly so, as the victim of unprincipled intrigues which unscrupulously sacrificed national interests to individuals or parties. As an instance of this, the sufferings of unhoused citizens after the Fire of London roused such general sympathy, that contributions for their relief poured in from all quarters, and it was no slight symptom of a return to better feeling that Ormonde raised a subscription from the Irish gentry to send thirty thousand black cattle to relieve the destitution of the London poor. Jacob's gifts should have appeased Esau's enmity; but the Buckingham faction, jealous of Ormonde and Clarendon, on whose ruin they hoped to rise, sought to undermine them. On the plea therefore that the fall of rents, then

general, arose from the importation of Irish cattle, the boon was scornfully rejected, their arrival interdicted, and as the well-deserved result of such short-sighted policy, the demand for English manufactures in exchange immediately ceased, while a better feeling being thus unkindly checked, room was again made for the display of popish intolerance.

At the time of the Restoration, the question as to how much obedience was due to a protestant government divided the Romanists into two parties. Peter Walsh, a Franciscan friar, whom Burnet calls "the honestest and learnedest man I ever met," though versed in Jesuit intrigue, being all but a protestant, yet afraid of committing sin in forsaking his own communion, represented the more loyal section of them.* He drew up in the name of his church an address of congratulation on the king's accession, which he singularly called a "Remonstrance," praying that the stipulations agreed to by Charles I. in 1648, might be fulfilled, disavowing the right of the Roman See to dispense with the obedience, secular and spiritual, due to the sovereign, and engaging to oppose all conspiracy against his person or prerogative. But, alas! so goodly a plant was an exotic in such a soil. So little sympathy was accorded to this loyal Romanist that at first he presented the address signed only by himself, but Ormonde objecting that its purpose would be thus defeated, it was signed by one bishop, twenty-three priests, and a few other persons, clerical and lay, whose names were gained by canvass.

But the Ultramontanes (we anticipate the word) taking alarm, and emboldened by the presence of Lord Berkeley, Ormonde's successor as viceroy, who was sent over by the "Cabal" to represent the Romeward leanings of the court, endeavoured to stay the progress of the Remonstrance. The nuncio, Cardinal Barberini, censured it, an adverse party

* Burnet's Own Times, ed. 1725, p. 320-1.

arose, counter-addresses were proposed, and a synod was assembled, which however, divided as it was, effected nothing except that the Walsh party were excommunicated, deprived, and exiled. Talbot, the titular archbishop of Dublin, was an anti-Remonstrant and their most determined persecutor. He was upheld by Berkeley, who would not even allow them a hearing, and who ostentatiously lent the vice-regal palace to Talbot, with his own plate and decorations, for a solemn mass, with a wish that the next might be celebrated in Christ-church cathedral. Roman Catholics were put into commissions for the peace. Renewed attempts were made to recover forfeited estates, for which Talbot headed a deputation bearing a petition to the king. Berkeley meanwhile tampered with the magistracy, the corporations, and the army, gradually changing their composition by the admission of Romanists.

But it was now the turn for the English interest to take the alarm. In consequence of remonstrances sent up to court Berkeley was recalled and replaced by the Earl of Essex.* Talbot was ordered to quit the British dominions, the obnoxious members of the Dublin corporation were removed, and ejected protestants restored, the king once more engaging to maintain the Act of Settlement.

Essex soon had reason to doubt his sincerity, or possibly to learn his utter and shameless want of it. He came over to England complaining of orders sent out inconsistent with public professions, of difficulties obstructing his administration, and of abuses which defied it. He returned to his post, but the "Cabal," finding that they had excited too much alarm, retreated for the time, and hoped to regain confidence by his recal and the popular step, suggested by the king himself, of reinstating Ormonde.†

* Burnet's Own Times, p. 704. † Ibid, p. 705-6, Essex found the revenues of Ireland appropriated to the building of Windsor Castle and the maintenance of the Duchess of Portsmouth.

SECTION II.—*Affairs of the Church.—Its reconstruction.—
Its assailants.—Its eminent men : Ussher—Bramhall—
Jeremy Taylor.*

It is time we should turn our attention to the reconstruction of the Established Church, which was completed May 17, 1661. On the accession of Charles II., Ormonde, then Steward of the Household, resolved to meet the wishes of the bishops and clergy by coming forward as its champion. Presbyterians, at that time in forcible possession of its pulpits, pleaded for the Covenant nor, few in number as they were, did they hesitate to appeal to the king and the army. The bishops, the peers, and many of the Commons, protested against these proceedings, which he took the best method to defeat by filling vacant sees with men who were eminent for character, learning, loyalty, and attachment to the church, one of the most popular, although a most rigid churchman, being Bramhall, bishop of Derry, who was nominated to the primacy.

A delay between their appointment and consecration during the preparation of a new seal led first to a report, notwithstanding the king's pledge to support episcopacy, that there would be no bishops; and then to a petition from the puritans for the retention of their own ministers, of whom the Act of Uniformity would deprive them, and to another attempt to diminish episcopal revenues. The bishops and the orthodox clergy thereupon framed a petition for the protection of episcopal rights, which the king graciously received. In fact he restored their temporalities as they had existed prior to 1641.

Jeremy Taylor, among other judicious appointments, was made bishop of Down and Connor. His exemplary piety,

gentle manners, and persuasive eloquence were an element of peace among the nonconformists who abounded there, though we may regret that they were associated with a semi-Romish cast of thought, developed in the nonjurors of his day and in the Tractarians of our own.* He was also appointed vice-chancellor of Dublin University. Margetson, ex-dean of Christchurch, and Pullen, accepted the sees of Dublin and Tuam. The joint consecration of two archbishops and ten bishops is probably unparalleled in the history of any church. The opportunity was taken to combine certain small contiguous sees, thereby reducing the staff of bishops from twenty-one to seventeen, which number was continued till the further changes in 1834. But the church needed still to make strenuous efforts to maintain her ground against her determined foes, popish and puritan, for religion was but little advanced by these external changes, and continued at a low ebb during the next four reigns. The former were stimulated both by recent defeats and the hope of future triumphs. Perhaps more aggressive missionary or evangelizing efforts would have added to her stability and furthered her extension, (as we may infer from the results of Bedell's labours and those of recent protestant evangelists,) to a greater degree than mere unassisted literary efforts, however well meant and well-executed by men who find it easier to write than to act, even though possessing such eminent learning and so eminent and saintly a character as the author of "Dissuasives from Popery." If the rule of the Romish hierarchy had been then met by an active agency supplementing literary efforts, scattering broadcast the seeds of truth, the hearts of the people might have been won

* "Taylor's was a great and lovely mind, yet how much and injuriously was it perverted by his being a favorite and follower of Laud, and by his intensely popish feelings of church authority."—Coleridge, *Table Talk*, i., pp. 165-8.

before two centuries longer had more firmly riveted the chains of their bondage.

Nor did the church experience greater mercy from the two parties of nonconformist assailants, the Calvinistic Dissenters and the Covenanters; the one consisting, of old nonconformist settlers, the other partly of those whose recent absence in Scotland had strengthened their predilections, partly of Scottish military chaplains. All these classes deserved gentle but firm treatment. The Uniformity Act of 2 Eliz., enjoining the use of the Ordination Service and the Book of Common Prayer under penalty of deprivation or imprisonment, was revived in 1660 and enforced by an act passed in 1666. However we may regret the expediency of such severe penalties, they were not so harsh as they now seem in an age when toleration was in its infancy, nor more so than the sufferers would have inflicted, *mutatis mutandis*, on their opponents, or than, if leniently administered, their pertinacity rendered needful. The primate set a judicious example of lenity by assuring the clergy at his visitation that, without deciding on the validity of their orders, he would supply any defect by a certificate inserted in their letters of orders, so to secure to them their temporalities. Taylor pursued a similar policy, but with only partial success, for while a few sectaries were gained over, the more sturdy pledged themselves not to confer with or even to see a bishop. Keeping aloof therefore from his visitations and refusing episcopal ordination, their livings with others in the North, fifty-nine in all, were declared vacant and presented to other men.

Such a course cannot be deemed too severe, for it was no sentence of excommunication on the deprived clergy; but in cases where the conscience of a dissentient did not induce him to relinquish emoluments to which he had no right, it was an exercise of the right which every church possesses to

prescribe its terms of communion and the conditions on which its temporalities should be held. Nor was the result wholly unmerited, for besides that the conscience of a sufferer should not have strained at a point of order if he admitted the soundness of the Established Church theology, yet if he objected to episcopal orders, any man of integrity, Presbyterian, Tractarian, or Freethinker, should scruple to eat the bread of a church whose doctrine or discipline he repudiates.

The result of a lenient course was apparently to produce a more submissive temper, if we may judge from an expression of Lord Orrery, one of the deputies of 1661, that "we are now generally in these parts all common prayer men, and I hope we shall have a general conformity thereunto throughout all the kingdom." In a parliament convened a few weeks later the primate accepted the post of Speaker to the House of Lords. The choice was a wise one, for a declaration was drawn up under his influence professing in the name of all his majesty's subjects within the kingdom, conformity to the Established Church and denouncing the Covenant with all other illegal associations. It was sanctioned by both Houses as well as by Convocation. He also obtained the restoration of much alienated property to the bishops and to many of the clergy. The Lower House in token of its compliant temper requested to receive the sacrament at his hands, expunged from their records every expression derogatory to the memory of Earl Strafford, and suppressed the sale of bibles and prayer-books bearing the late Protector's name. They also authorised the annual celebration in Ireland of May 29 and October 23, the first to commemorate his majesty's accession, the latter the safe preservation of the justices, the council, and the protestants of Dublin and other places, from destruction by the rebels.

There were still some refractory spirits to moderate the eager hopes of the sanguine, nor had the wisdom of the age

advanced further than to secure forbearance from enforcing the penalties of 2nd Elizabeth for non-attendance at church, except in cases where the assembling of conventicles by the absentees made them fair game for the hounds of the law. The temper of the recusants was in this year embittered by an appeal from the recently ejected English nonconformists who, relying on their sympathy, sought their concurrence in a meditated insurrection. The first step of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians was to be the seizure of Dublin Castle, but the design was happily cut short by Ormonde the Lord Lieutenant.

This year was marked by the death of Bramhall, whose loss to the church was, in accordance with his own wish, supplied by the translation of Margetson from the see of Dublin to the primacy.

In 1665 the Act of Uniformity which three years before had taken effect in England was extended to Ireland, requiring every clergyman, on pain of deprivation, solely to use, and to declare his unfeigned assent to the whole contents of the Book of Common Prayer. Its application to the then existing incumbents must be regretted alike for their sakes and for that of the church which enforced it; yet the anomaly of a church administered by those who disavowed its principles was not to be tolerated. Indeed many of the sufferers had gained their positions by similar ejections,* and in the opposite case would even now have dealt the same measure to their adversaries; for the conscience of that age was as ready to suffer as to inflict a penalty for differences in doctrine or discipline.

In the same session was abolished the then frequent practice of holding Irish, together with English or Welsh, livings. The next year (1666) Ormonde again discovered and prevented a plot by which the Presbyterians of the three

* See a pamphlet entitled "How did they get there?" 1862.

kingdoms hoped to overthrow the monarchy and the church. A synod of Romanists also met this year with his connivance in Dublin, but far from disclaiming, as he had hoped, the late rebellion, they were apparently ripe for another.

This is to be easily accounted for. The Rome-ward tendencies of Charles, whether the fruit of conviction, or of subserviency to Louis XIV., whose treasury was convenient for maintaining his prodigalities, were not unknown in Ireland, nor failed to influence its affairs. Berkeley gained his viceroyalty because he was found more reliable than the inflexible Ormonde for disobedience to the formal injunction to "watch over the interests of the protestant church." The Romanists, elated at the position of one whom they knew to be their friend, so persecuted the more loyal of their brethren, that the latter, often excommunicated, sought exile as a refuge from starvation. Their own petition for redress and the primate Margetson's intercession for them were alike in vain with Berkeley. But Ormonde did induce the king to check the persecutors, and the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, encouraged by him, applied to Berkeley, but in vain, and notwithstanding a second farce of royal intervention, the sufferers were consigned to the tender mercies of enemies who were rising into power and place in the sunshine of the court—of such men for example as Richard and Peter Talbot.*

The partiality of such proceedings drew forth a deprecatory petition from the English parliament, which, as Ormonde was again in power and a fresh plot had caused alarm, was promptly acted on. Military men were ordered by proclamation to stay at their posts, and titular dignitaries to quit the kingdom; all papists in the country were disarmed, and their public services in most of the chief towns were suppressed. These precautions of Ormonde were beyond all

* Burnet's Own Times, p. 875.

praise, but the confidence reposed in himself was the best safeguard against the spirit of insurrection.

Nor was he less successful in repressing the attempt to gain adherents to another Covenant started by the Ulster presbyterians and Scottish Cameronians who had assembled a large gathering in Donegal, but of whose proceedings, by means of one Nathaniel Johnson, an agent of the party, whom he apprehended, he received information by which he was able to check their designs.

Though the perils of the church were thus judiciously averted, its efficiency was but little increased. Williams, bishop of Ossory, complained that for one church in good repair throughout Ireland, seven were ruined, most of them being without roofs, doors or windows, while the supply of competent ministers was still scanty because of the insufficient means of education and the reduced value of livings, the property of which was in lay hands.*

Meanwhile the attempts to educate and convert the natives from Romanism, which had been interrupted in 1641, were now resumed. In 1669 Erasmus Smith, a London alderman, founded and endowed three grammar schools, one in Drogheda, one in Galway, and one in Tipperary. In 1652 a catechism of "christian doctrine" had been published in parallel columns of English and Irish, but about A.D. 1680 the Honourable Robert Boyle, son of the Earl of Cork, zealously endeavoured to tread in the steps of Bedell, as the promoter of native education. He was deeply imbued with the spirit of Lord Bacon, his master in philosophy, and what was more important, with reverence and love for the

* If the legislators of 1869 wish to see the inevitable results of disendowment, let them carefully ponder such facts as are here stated. Disendowment is no new measure, but dates from the days of Henry viii. and Thomas Cromwell, and its invariable fruits have been developed through the last 300 years.

Scriptures. In 1678, a time when a New Testament of the version of 1603 was rarely to be seen, Dr. Andrew Sall, a man well versed both in Scripture and in the Irish tongue became acquainted with Boyle who, on learning the scarcity of the vernacular Bible, cast a fount of types and, after printing the Church Catechism, translated the New Testament with the aid of Mr. Reilly, an Irishman educated in France, and published an edition of 750 copies. Having a year before discovered the MS. of Bedell's Old Testament, he was revising it for publication, when his death threatened to arrest the good work, had not others providentially already arisen to continue it. It was revised by Mr. Kirk, an English clergyman and by Dr. Marsh, provost of Trinity College, who had continued it in conjunction with Boyle. On Marsh's death soon after his elevation to the see of Ferns, Huntington, the next provost, carried on the work, and in 1686 published an edition of 500 copies. Boyle paid £700 of the cost.

Meanwhile some few works in Irish, Romish and secular, were published abroad during this century. For example, Hussey's Catechism, printed at Louvain in 1508 and reprinted at Antwerp in 1611 and 1618. In the latter year appeared at Padua Hugh McCaghwell's "Mirror of the Sacrament of Penance." In 1626 the "Mirror of Religion," a catechism by Florence Conry of Connaught, was published at Louvain, and an Irish grammar by Florence Gray, a native of Thomond; at the same place in 1639 was published a "Catechism of Christian Doctrine" by Stapleton, a Kilkenny priest, a compilation of Irish MSS. and history up to 1643, and a glossary of obsolete words by M. O'Clery, of Ulster; in 1645 appeared an Irish catechism entitled "Paradise of the Soul," by Anthony Gearnon resident in Louvain and afterwards in Dublin. In 1676 a book entitled the "Lamp of the Faithful," and the next year an Irish

Latin Grammar, were printed from a fount of Irish types at Rome. Nevertheless during the period we have reviewed while Britain printed for herself a hundred and thirteen editions of the New Testament, Ireland obtained but *two*, amounting at most to 1,200 copies, while a hundred and twenty-six editions of the English Bible corresponded to *one* only, of 600 copies, for the sister isle. This was completed at the primate's expense* by one Higgins, an ex-Romanist, and widely circulated; but its immediate benefit was greatly neutralised by the accession of James II., besides that it was greatly discountenanced owing to the reigning principle of politics at that time, that the Irish language should be suppressed. So much was this the case that Dopping, bishop of Meath, at first its zealous promoter, cooled down and withdrew his support.

We have no events of importance to relate during the latter years of Charles II., except the removal of several eminent men from the church. Jeremy Taylor died in 1667, Leslie bishop of Clogher in 1671, and Margetson the primate in 1678. In 1679 the Earl of Tyrone, and Plunket, Roman Catholic archbishop of Armagh, were accused of sharing in a popish plot by inviting a French invasion of Ireland. The charge was not proved against the former, but the latter was executed at Tyburn in 1681. It was a

* Yet we are told, in the face of the long list of illustrious names on the roll of Irish episcopacy, and the munificent sums they expended in works of charity, founding schools, libraries, hospitals, endowing livings, building churches, restoring cathedrals, often from patrimonial rather than ecclesiastical funds; in fact, fulfilling to the church the duties incumbent on, but neglected by, the State—that they pocketed large funds from the church of the majority, and did nothing in return, and that the church which they themselves represented and adorned, is a failure and a sham! It is verily an easy process of argument, when facts are not to be found to sustain a theory, *to manufacture them*, and those which would disprove it, *to ignore or falsify*.

period well fitted to depress the friends of the protestant cause, and to exalt the liveliest hopes of the opposite party. Amid the expiring embers of religion and the growth of infidelity and vice, the only symptom that the king possessed a conscience was the leaning of himself and his subservient court to Romanism, or (shall we say?) to the religious convictions, whatever they happened to be, of his treasurer Louis XIV.

It tintured his Irish policy even fourteen years before his death, and the temporary check imposed on it by the no-Popery spirit of the English parliament ceased to be effective as his power became more firmly established. After all however we must not boast too much of the reviving power of conscience in one of such easy faith as the "merry monarch," generally so little troubled with any special convictions; and without any great breach of charity, we may safely attribute the act of putting on a new creed to the influence of a powerful neighbour, by courtesy styled "Most Christian," whose painful memories of an ill-spent life, assisted by the pious admonitions of Madame de Maintenon, so far revived the dormant religious principle as to account for the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes which took place just before the death of Charles. Knowing the feelings of Louis, and his earnest desire to subvert the Reformation, he combined with such knowledge a wistful remembrance of the power and promise to replenish his own empty exchequer which had been drained by the many claimants, male and female, who had ministered to his pleasures and his mirth.

CHAPTER IX.

REIGN OF JAMES II.—A.D. 1685—1688.

Attempt to suppress the Reformation.

CHARLES II. died, as is well known, in communion with the Church of Rome, and was succeeded by a man of far different temperament, as remarkable for sincerity, as his brother had been for the want of it; whose zeal for his religion amounted to a frenzy, and whose sincerity was only equalled by his narrow-minded bigotry. Indeed, the parallel is remarkably close between the two English sovereigns who have had the honor of descending to posterity on the page of history as persecutors of the Protestant faith.

Mary of sanguinary name and memory and James II. were both born of mothers devoted to the Church of Rome; each was marked by a contracted mind, scarcely capable of holding more than one idea, but cherishing that one with most extravagant intensity, and acting it out regardless of expediency or right; each had reached middle life before taking the reins of government, thus enabling the nation to become thoroughly acquainted with their attachment to a creed which neither of them cared to disguise; each became painfully conscious of the stigma attaching to it by the unpopularity which led to an attempt, in both cases unsuccessful, to exclude them from the succession, and mounting the throne with embittered feelings, entered blindly on a career of extermination so unrelenting, that "except those days had been shortened" the Reformation could not have been saved from the same suppression as in southern Europe;

but for the truth's sake those days were shortened in the one case to four years, in the other to three. Each period was politically disastrous to England, for in the one she lost her last remnant of French territory, in the other she sank almost beneath contempt as the stipendiary of the French king; but each time as soon as she was relieved of the superincumbent weight of those twin sisters intolerance and misgovernment, she regained her elasticity, and being blessed providentially with a strong protestant administration, she recovered and improved her position; and, in each case, with a sound political constitution, nestled under the wing of religious truth and freedom, Great Britain has gained a pre-eminence among nations, under which the candle lighted by her martyrs at the Reformation has arisen to shine on kingdoms sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. In each case a disastrous reign was succeeded by a period especially glorious in the annals of England; for, in one case, she humbled the pride of Spain, in the other, that of France, the powers which at the two periods used the gigantic influence with which they over-shadowed Europe for proselyting purposes.

The accession of James II. to the throne was received with profound sorrow as betokening a dark day for the Church; but as in the case of Queen Mary, though wisdom permitted a persecutor to arise, mercy shortened his career. James had long been known to share the design of his late brother to re-establish popery in Ireland, at the instigation of, and with promise of aid from France, as a safe position for a first essay, before venturing to tamper with England. The Romanists exulted in his accession, indulging in golden dreams of property recovered, of heretics crushed, in short, of all the objects gained for which they had so long and factiously sought.

James entered on his new policy with a zealot's precipitancy and ardour. Ormonde was once more thrust with indecent haste from the vice-royalty on the plea of superannuation, his last retiring act being to drink the king's health at a public dinner. The vacant post was ominously filled by *two* lords justices, Boyle and Lord Granard, the real object being to make way for our old friend "Dick Talbot," created Earl of Tyrconnel, a Romanist and a military tyrant. The king for a time quieted popular fears by appointing the Earl of Clarendon as lord-lieutenant, partly as being his own near relative and partly on account of his loyalty. He also confirmed the good impression thus made by promising to respect the law and the church; but the appointment and the promise were merely a blind, for while Clarendon's name veiled his real intentions, his Majesty enjoined him to romanize the corporation and all judicial offices. So far was this system pursued, that in 1687 there was but one protestant sheriff in the kingdom. The privy-council was similarly remodelled, and so would have been the University professorships; but for the lord-lieutenant's politic *vis-inertiae*. He was superseded, crippled in power, and overshadowed by Tyrconnel, who assumed the title of Lord Deputy. The next step was to remodel the army, and to disband the militia, a body which was almost wholly protestant. Reluctantly they obeyed a mandate which left them as sheep among wolves, being only persuaded to do so by the primate, who entreated them not to withhold this proof of their loyalty. Clarendon was required to allay the fears of the protestants by assuring them that the Act of Succession would remain unchanged. This however gave but limited satisfaction, as it left the Romish party free to adopt any measure short of so radical a change. In fact, though he congratulated the country on its tranquillity, it was really portentously excited, for the dis-

armament of the militia drew from their dens those fierce banditti whose business was to terrify and annoy the peaceable but helpless victims of the brand of heresy.

In such emergency the viceroy restored their arms, though too tardily to be of use, to a few of the most trustworthy and the most imperilled. But another danger was imminent, more insidious, more fatal, in the shape of a body of informers from whose toils, if once entangled in them, escape was hopeless, since the most casual word dropped in disparagement of James, when Duke of York, was remembered, exaggerated, and tortured into a ground for vexatious and ruinous prosecution, the *animus* of which the lord-lieutenant saw through, but in deference to his master's well-known spirit, dared not openly oppose.

The Romanists felt encouraged to proceed with a haste which would overreached its mark had the sovereign been less determined and blindly headstrong. They sent deputations from the several counties to present a petition direct to the Throne for the redress of grievances alleged to arise from the Act of Settlement; and even the more moderate, who had refused thus to ignore their indulgent governor, concurred in a second petition placed in his hands demanding a reversal of the outlawries passed on the insurgent ringleaders.

Clarendon received it courteously, though with surprise at its tenor and doubt of its success; but the petitioners, seldom guided by moderation, were now still less so. When the prize was in sight could they help snatching at it? Knowing the king's mind they dashed away the restraining hand and whispered word of caution, crowded round Whitehall, rushed into the presence-chamber, and as they expected, were graciously received. Even Tyrconnel's plausible tales were believed, and he not only basked in the sunshine

of royal favour, but soon dictated irresistibly the policy of the government.

Boyle's removal from the chancellorship soon made way for Sir Charles Porter, a needy, and as it was hoped a subservient man; but the hope was doomed to disappointment till he made way for one who was yet more supple. Without any reason given, protestant judges had been replaced by papists, who were even allowed the unwonted honor of a seat at the privy council board without taking the usual oath of supremacy, Clarendon's suggestion that such a course was illegal being ignored as impertinent.

Great was the alarm of English protestants, who therefore hastily quitted a land where they saw Romanism about to reign supreme, and property to be thrown into confusion. The Irish added to the general alarm by boasting of their progress and expectations, and thus trade became paralysed. Ecclesiastical succeeded civil changes. Episcopal sees remained vacant, the revenues being reserved for Romish successors who flaunted their official robes before the public eye. The popish clergy preached and practised their rites unmolested, while the clergy of the Established Church were forbidden to touch on points of controversy; they were also deprived of tithes due from Romanists, whose ever multiplying priesthood exacted their dues without distinction. Protestant churches were thronged with worshippers till the government, in alarm, restricted these to their parish churches, whose distance or difficulty of access was often equivalent to total exclusion from public worship. The priests, disdainful of the slowness of state movements, seized on the edifices. The protestants appealed to the king; but the proclamation which he issued for the protection of the churches, being insincere, was disregarded, sometimes, as in the case of Christchurch, Dublin, on the plea that they were made receptacles for arms,

sometimes without any pretext at all. Yet such contemptuous insolence, however mortifying it would have been to any other monarch, was borne by James with admirable fortitude from his priestly masters, as he was then preoccupied with two other subjects, the reduction of Ireland into a "Catholic" kingdom, and the completion of the Benedictine nunnery which he was building in Dublin.

Another unmistakeable sign of the times was the transfer of the command of the army from the viceroy to Tyrconnel, who had given to Romanists the freedom of corporations, the shrievalties, and many military commissions, to fill the gaps caused by the suspension of protestant officers. The flattery of his co-religionists, inflaming a violent temper, led him, in contempt of Clarendon, to fulfil the king's wishes with indecent haste and coarse contumely, promoting only the most ultramontane of his party, the bolder among whom now boasted their expectation of recovered lands and even forbade their tenants to pay tithe to protestant owners.

Clarendon's presence and position being inconvenient, accusations were readily got up which, though he clearly refuted them, led to his removal; while the Earl of Sunderland, twice or thrice already converted and reconverted, easily took one more step in deference to the king, by recommending Tyrconnel's promotion from a subordinate, to the highest, position in the State. His easy faith was so accustomed to travel from post to pillar and pillar to post as almost to have realized the theory of perpetual motion. The ex-governor quitted the kingdom accompanied by 1500 families who were in haste to leave a country which in his absence would be no place of security. Sir Charles Porter also, no longer welcome in the chancellorship, where the upright principle which refused to violate the laws could only cause annoyance, made room for the infamous Sir Alexander

Fitton, a Romish convert. Nagle, a popish lawyer, replaced Domville, a loyal protestant, as attorney-general and secretary of state. On the judicial bench the only three protestants allowed to retain their posts were men of no influence. Thus the hope of even-handed justice was for the time extinguished.

Tyrconnel, once in possession of supreme power, quickly turned the sword of state against the Church, and developed the same policy which he had partially carried out under Clarendon's rule. He carefully expurgated the army of Englishmen, sending them adrift friendless, without clothing or accoutrements. In the privy council, on the judicial bench, in the shrievalties, and commissions of the peace, Romish majorities were secured. In like manner he tampered with municipal charters and corporations, a *few* dissenters for form's sake being included in the latter, but with powers carefully limited. The ejected military officers were protected and employed in Holland by William of Orange, and thus were linked in the chain of causes by which a disastrous policy ere long recoiled on its authors. As the corporations were romanised too slowly for Tyrconnel's impatience, he required them to resign their charters. Dublin, which was first summoned, being reproached and threatened by him for hesitating to comply, appealed to the king but, it is needless to say, unsuccessfully. The other cities, daunted by its failure, were flattered or intimidated into surrender. In some cases a new charter was made, a Romish sheriff packed the new corporation, a Romish judge received appeals from excluded members, and of course overruled them. Wherever English interests predominated, two-thirds of the members were required to be Romanists, the rest being contemptible and unscrupulous men, easily managed by those who had the will to do it. The church was carefully debarred from protecting its property, and its opponents were taught to disregard judicial

decisions which were adverse to their views. The recovery of arrears and debts by protestant creditors was all but impossible and even the wealthier clergy scarcely retained incomes sufficient for the necessaries of life. Churches were forcibly seized by the party in power, protestant educational funds were alienated, and schools left without teachers were supplied with papists, or opposed by rival schools. Four bishoprics and several benefices were left vacant during the whole of the king's reign, their incomes being awarded by him to titular bishops or priests.

The clergy though forbidden controversial topics, and unable to enforce their dues, were flattered with the hope of recovering the latter if they conformed to the Romish ritual, a bribe which was only accepted by two individuals. The king's "Declaration" for liberty of conscience, which conciliating dissenters while favouring Romanism, relaxed the penalties for nonconformity, led to his downfall by its rejection in England; but in Ireland, being supported by the power and military array of the viceroy, it imperilled the existence of the Church. A general massacre of protestants was projected, though not avowed. They were placed at the mercy of the native Irish, or rather of their leaders, and endured extreme sufferings, the priests requiring the attendants at mass to be armed with daggers and prepared to go on any mission proposed to them of murder, pillage, or any kind of petty outrage on their victims, those who had improved their property being made the special mark for calumny and wrong. Several bishops fled for safety to England where they lived in privacy, their incomes, amounting on the whole to more than £10,000 a year, being sequestered to Roman Catholics. The inferior clergy fared no better, being subjected to insult, violence and plunder

in every form, their pastoral work impeded, and themselves cursed, robbed, imprisoned, shot at or stabbed.

Nor could Dublin University, any more than Cambridge and Oxford, escape the fiery ordeal through which every rank and profession were passing. It was attempted to romanise the vacant fellowships contrary to the statutes. The fellows were required by royal mandate to admit one Green, a Romanist, to the professorship "of the Irish language," as it was carelessly termed, for in fact no such office existed. By this fortunate mistake Green was disappointed, and the university for the time escaped; but lest the next blow might be more successful, in order to provide for the evil day, they resolved to sell their plate, and with the proceeds to purchase a site for a new home. It was already in the port of Dublin, shipped for England, when Tyrconnel hearing of it, seized it in the king's name. By the counsel of his more prudent advisers he restored it, but finding that it was sold immediately afterwards, he wrathfully accused the purchaser of receiving stolen goods; the intended legal process however against the university was quashed.

No sooner had this matter subsided than the king presented an individual named Doyle, an unfit man, but a Romanist, to be elected a fellow, every oath but the fellowship oath being dispensed with. But as this included an assent to the royal supremacy which Doyle refused, the college was spared the infliction, though the annual grant hitherto received from the exchequer was withheld in revenge for the disappointment.

But perseverance won the day. Both king and priesthood persevered. A mandamus from James, who was now in Ireland, required Green's admission to a senior fellowship. The governors nobly stood their ground, though

being deprived of their pension, of rents no longer to be collected, and of nearly all their plate, the remnants of which they were selling for daily necessaries, they were all but starved out, and the king's avenging army was hovering near. They alleged Green's incapacity, the falsehood of his allegations, the college statutes, and their own oaths. But the unequal contest of right against might could not last long. In a few days they were ejected by the soldiery, their property, private and corporate, was seized, their chapel turned into a magazine, their chambers into prisons, their members, barely securing personal liberty, were forbidden to meet on pain of death, and a Romanist was appointed provost and guardian of its literary treasures till the king should have leisure to convert it into a Jesuit college.

But Ahab might not seize Naboth's vineyard with impunity. Retribution was at hand. The witnesses for truth were not only clothed in sackcloth but, as it seemed, slain; yet their resurrection was near. The English interest was all but crushed. The king, according to the adage, "*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat*"—headstrong and bigoted, aided by evil counsellors, was urging forward new changes. The embers of the old republican spirit, combined with the indignation of subjects oppressed to the utmost limits of endurance, induced the sufferers to look across the German Ocean to the rising power of the Dutch prince, who with consummate wisdom was preparing to deliver Europe from the tyranny of Louis XIV., and with whose aid they were about to accomplish a revolution which laid the foundation of British liberty and power.

Tyrconnel, the first to hear about the enterprise of the Prince of Orange, informed the king who, with his favorite

Sunderland, heard it at first with ridicule, but when he became conscious of danger, directed Tyrconnel to dispatch troops to England. The news was heard in Ireland with astonishment by all parties, and they rushed eagerly to Dublin to learn the confirmation of their hopes or fears. The Romanists affected to despise William and his enterprise till his landing in England and the desertion of James by his subjects were known; while the protestants, thrown into confusion by the fear that they were marked out for general massacre, embarked for England or, shutting themselves up in the fortified towns and in the northern counties, collected arms for their defence.

On the first news of invasion, Tyrconnel transferred to Dublin the garrison by which he had held the city of Derry, a step which led to the most glorious event of that period, one which has even yet left "foot-prints on the sands of time" in its commemoration by the loyal Orangemen of the North, viz., the protracted siege of the city, its noble defence, and timely deliverance. The records of its heroic defenders are imperishable, and their watchword, "No surrender!" will stand inscribed on the banner of our national liberty to the end of time.

This stronghold of northern protestantism, relieved of its popish occupants, soon rendered Tyrconnel so sensible of his error in withdrawing from it, that he sent a force of 1200 men to regain, if possible, its possession; but the inhabitants, taking alarm, refused them admission; and while they were deliberating on the best mode of defence, and the enemy were approaching the walls, a band of apprentices boldly seized the keys, raised the drawbridge and, being ere long re-inforced, made fast all the gates. Before further measures could be taken to reduce the town, the revolution had

progressed rapidly in England. After William's landing at Torbay, men of all ranks flocked to his standard, the whole country embraced his cause, the English legislature chose him as their sovereign, and James, now a wretched fugitive, took refuge with Louis XIV. who, with chivalrous and sympathising hospitality, placed the palace of St. Germain's at his disposal.

CHAPTER X.

REIGN OF WILLIAM III. AND MARY.—A.D. 1689—1702.

Seige of Derry.—Battle of the Boyne.—Expulsion of James from Ireland.—Treaty of Limerick.—Affairs of the Church.

WILLIAM III. pre-occupied, as is well known, in forming an European coalition to humble the exorbitant power of France, and valuing the British sovereignty chiefly as a means for effecting it, might have cared little for the state of Ireland had it not become the scene of a three years' contest to retain his new position. The disappointed Jacobites were of course unwilling to acknowledge a king whose accession had so suddenly annihilated their exultant hopes.

Tyrconnel, the priesthood, and the priest-ridden portion of the people, regarded William as an usurper, and his parliament as a mere convention ; while James, after a few months' sojourn in France, seeing this state of feeling, and sustained by French encouragement and gold, with which his courteous host, not without an eye to his own reasons for desiring to humble the Dutch prince, liberally supplied him, hoped to retrieve his fortunes, by appealing in the first instance to the Irish Romanists as most friendly to his cause, and with their aid to recover the English throne. He quitted his retreat at St. Germain, and in the spring following his abdication (1689) landed at Kinsale with some ships and a small military force which was expected to increase by the immediate adherence of the Irish Romanists.

After publicly attending mass at Cork, he went in solemn pomp to Dublin, where he made a triumphal entry. On his arrival he summoned a privy council composed exclusively of Romanists, in which he sanctioned the iniquitous acts of an unscrupulous viceroy and parliament. He required all protestants to join him against the Prince of Orange. He called a parliament which repealed the Act of Settlement, and which declared forfeit the estates of all who refused him their allegiance, and repealed the acts which secured their tenure. The rebels of 1641 were declared undeserving of punishment, and the forfeited estates were reassigned to them without redress or compensation to the new owners. By another act, 2641 persons, of all classes from the peer and landowner to the yeoman who, having gone to live in England or entered William's service, did not, within a specified time, return home or swear allegiance to James, were attainted of high treason. A clause was added, as James alleged, unknown to him, by which he was deprived of the power of pardoning any one whose pardon had not been signed before Nov. 1, 1689, though the act was artfully concealed till the following spring, and even then a copy of the list of names included in it was only incidentally found. It included all those who had given their adherence to William, many names being inscribed from mere rumour.

The estates of all who had aided or corresponded with William's adherents and the ecclesiastical dues hitherto paid by Romanists, were to be transferred to the priests.* The deprived clergy were thus reduced to extreme distress,

* Thus the "levelling down" measure of 1889 has furnished a model for the legislation proposed in 1869. Surely if the latter is to be the panacea for the miseries of Ireland, the memory of James II. ought to be rescued from the undeserved obloquy of the last 180 years.

only relieved by two briefs issued under royal authority which appealed to the sympathy of the English nation ; but one good purpose at least was served in the proof afforded of the hostile spirit of James to the existence of national liberty.

The sum of £20,000 a month was voted for the expenses of the expedition, to be raised by a heavy land tax, but as this did not yield sufficient, James, in the face of remonstrance, on his own responsibility levied a tax on chattels, and debased the coinage. Ere long he ventured to prohibit protestants to meet for worship outside of their several parishes, and even forbade them to use their own churches. As it was hopeless to carry out his purposes without a subservient parliament, he secured a majority of peers by a recall of outlawed nobles, by an addition to the peerage and by the aid of the titular bishops. From the Commons also he dexterously expunged the opposing element.

The natural effect of these arbitrary measures was to provoke resistance, and to compact together the victims of oppression who might otherwise have wavered between two claims to their allegiance, yielding ultimately to the prior claim, but who now laid aside their distinctive shades of opinion in order to uphold the protestant occupant of the throne who was sanctioned by the English parliament.

James lost no time in pressing forward the siege of Derry. The besieging force of 20,000 men was commanded by Marshal De Rosen. The defenders, 7,500 in number, with scanty stores and ill-mounted, were superintended by "Governor" Walker, a clergyman, of undoubted heroism but, as may be supposed, of little military experience. De Rosen approached the city of Derry towards the end of April, about a month after James's landing, and reached Limavady, twelve miles from the city, followed by a crowd

of women and children, as if to confirm the news, just received there, of a general massacre. The proprietor of the former place sent notice to the citizens of Derry of their approach under De Rosen, whose stern measures, proving that no mercy would be shewn, braced the resolution of the defenders to hold out to the last.

He threatened that if the gates were not opened by the first of July, the protestant population of the neighbourhood should be given up to general plunder and starvation. This proving ineffectual, a confused multitude of all ages and conditions and of both sexes, was driven under the walls to perish, and to cause intimidation by the display of their wretchedness; but the sufferers conjured the garrison, who were roused to fury at the sight, not to regard them, and to sell their own lives dearly. When James heard of these proceedings, he excused them as being customary in foreign service, but allowed those who survived at the end of three days to return home; while a few of the best men were admitted, unknown to the besiegers, into the town in exchange for ineffectives who were dismissed. Such cruelties defeated their purpose by rousing the garrison to desperation. Even starvation, should William's expected succour not arrive, was better than falling into merciless hands; and therefore they endured more than the usual horrors of a protracted seige, devouring vermin and the most noxious substances, and when these failed, the defenders presenting the appearance of spectres, scarcely able from sheer exhaustion to handle a weapon — Governor Walker, combining the soldier with the divine, assured them that He in whose cause they suffered would not forget their extremity, and that deliverance, though delayed, would surely come, for William was preparing effectual succours for them. Their patience was sorely tried, and long did they

strain their eyes from the roof of the cathedral which crowned the height on which the town was built, and to which four of the steepest streets in Europe converged at right angles,* hoping from its height to descry the vessels which should bring provisions and reinforcements; but though weeks passed wearily and in vain, the garrison continued true to their watchword, making several successful sallies on the besiegers, (ardour sometimes supplying the want of order), and advising them to retire from what would prove a hopeless enterprise.

At length their longing eyes were greeted by seeing the Mountjoy transport approaching the town from Lough Foyle, in the teeth of hostile batteries. It consisted of three vessels, two of which were laden with provisions. The third, after breaking the boom which barred their passage along the river, was stranded by the blow, but firing her guns, was extricated by their recoil. The town was relieved after a seige of 105 days, though only 4,300 of the 7,500 defenders survived, many even of these being incapable of service. The enemy had lost 8,000 men.

We must not omit some notice of a body of protestant soldiers known as the "Enniskilleners" who, led by Gustavus Hamilton, harassed the enemy. Lord Galway, who was sent to reduce them, invested their position, and being unable to bring up his heavy artillery, drew up with eight horses and two sham tin cannons. But, making a sally, they captured the formidable-looking pieces, and thus detected an artifice which exposed him to a contempt only equalled by the faithlessness which proposed an exchange of prisoners, and on the reception of the officers whose liberation he had sought, executed the two young captives whom he had agreed to restore.

Their increasing numbers and successes inspired some

* H. Inglis's "Ireland in 1834."

terror in the ruling party at Dublin till a victory gained at Belturbet supplying them with arms and a convoy of provisions arriving, they became so formidable that it was determined to attack them simultaneously on three sides; Lord Macarthy with 7,000 men encamping at Belturbet, Sarsfield and Fitzjames coming up from the West and North. The rapid movements of the Enniskilleners, as in the early campaigns of Napoleon, supplied the place of numbers, for by dealing with each body in succession they prevented a junction between them. Knowing at first only of the Connaught army, they marched out suddenly, surprised and routed them. Fitzjames' force cut to pieces some of their companies, but eventually retired before them. Macarthy at first forced a detachment of them to retreat, but turning round on their pursuers, they were victorious in a skirmish, and again in an engagement between the main bodies, in which the enemy had 2000 slain, 500 drowned in flight, and lost 500 prisoners, (one of whom was Macarthy himself,) their resolution making amends for inferior numbers. The news of this defeat hastened the flight of the besiegers from Derry.

They afterwards fought under Schomberg in the cause of William, and distinguished themselves in the capture of Sligo and at the Boyne, as their successors have done on the field of Waterloo; but the English looked somewhat coldly on them because, being a mere militia, meanly equipped, destitute of warlike pomp, and following only the impulse of an undaunted spirit, they did not match in outward seeming with Schomberg's veterans and chafed at the scrupulous discipline which often restrained them from rushing on the foe.

The noble stand made by Derry and Enniskillen was not lost on the men of Ulster, nor were leaders and advisers wanting in each county to direct them. They rallied round

the Dutch standard, and after James's abdication and final departure, they proclaimed William and Mary throughout the North.

The time was now come for William in person to conduct the war undertaken in his behalf, and as James commanded nearly 40,000 men, a large force was requisite. Accordingly in the same month with the deliverance of Derry, Schomberg landed 10,000 men at Bangor, County Down, and the Prince of Wirtemberg 7,000 more.

Both sides prepared for the new campaign, which opened inauspiciously to James by the capture in his very presence of his only remaining frigate with its convoy, as it lay in Dublin Bay, by Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Schomberg and his troops having recovered their health, which had suffered on first landing, in consequence of the low ground which they took for winter quarters after the capture of Carrickfergus in the autumn, at length made amends for the inactivity of the winter months by inflicting a still heavier blow in the capture of Charlemont, which they wrenched from him. It was strongly fortified, well provisioned, and desperately defended, but the redoubtable octogenarian, then nearly eighty-two, by the closeness of the blockade forced it to surrender.

Meanwhile, Louis, feeling that he had to maintain a vital struggle with William, sent further reinforcements to aid the Stuart cause, but the latter also sent reinforcements, English and foreign, and at length himself landed at Carrickfergus with 36,000 men to meet 33,000 under James. The latter consisted of half-armed Irish recruits, French auxiliaries well equipped and trained, and a body of mounted Irish dragoons. They had twelve field pieces. As William said, "he did not let the grass grow under his feet." He only waited to issue a proclamation for the suppression of violence, in

which he testified his gratitude to the people for their hearty welcome. To indemnify them for any loss suffered on his account he ordered a pension of £1200 a year to be divided among their presbyterian ministers. This payment still continued and increased to about £10,000 a year and known as the *Regium Donum*, is received, perhaps not quite consistently, by a body of dissenters as a state endowment.

He at once called out his troops and moved southward to Drogheda, the fleet with provisions accompanying him along the coast, and the enemy retiring but at length making a stand near Drogheda on the banks of the Boyne, henceforth to be immortalised in the annals of Irish protestantism. James hastened to confront them, leaving Dublin under the care of a body of militia, and contrary to the advice of his council to employ dilatory defensive tactics in order to wear out the patience and resources of his opponents, determined to offer battle.

William's army, he himself being in front of it, approached the Boyne near a rugged and difficult ford on the side opposite to the hostile forces, and reconnoitred the ground. While he was observing the enemy's camp, extending in two lines, flanked by the town on one side and a morass on the other, the fords lying straight in front, he had a providential escape from a danger so imminent as to have all but quenched the rising hopes which in the eyes of protestant Europe depended on his safety. The movements of William and his staff were watched by the enemy, who knew the value of the prize all but within their grasp, while he, too fearless by nature and too intent on his work to think of danger, rode unconsciously forward. A party of forty horsemen, concealing two field-pieces in their midst, kept pace with him on the opposite side, and when he dismounted to rest himself, discharged them from behind a hedge. One shot

killed a man and two horses near him, while the second, a six-pounder, striking the river bank, slightly grazed his arm as he was remounting.

Great was the exultation in the Stuart camp, of those who saw him fall, and in Paris, whither the news fled that he was killed, but such demonstrations were happily premature. His work being unfinished "no weapon formed against him could prosper." The skin-wound being bandaged he rode through the camp to restore the confidence of his troops.

That evening a council of war arranged the morrow's plans. William determined to cross the ford in front of the enemy, contrary to Schomberg's more timid or more prudent suggestion that it was too perilous. Both monarchs had by a strange oversight left unnoticed the pass of Duleek, three miles farther up the river: William neglecting to secure it because he thought Schomberg's advice to do so an excess of caution; and James neglecting to defend it effectually (though Hamilton reminded him that he might need it in case of retreat) because he thought a handful of men enough for such a purpose. Had a naval conflict been impending, the skill and energy of James, who once had filled the post of Lord High Admiral, would have been invaluable; but his consciousness that field operations were beyond his range, unnerving him, deprived him of the advantage possessed by William in his capabilities, the knowledge of his position, and the confidence of an army which beheld its chief in the forefront of every post of danger.

Early in the morning of July 12, William's right wing of 10,000 men, under Douglas, Lord Portland, and the younger Schomberg, easily crossed the bridge of Slane and outflanked the enemy, pushing on through fields and a dangerous morass as they formed in front of them. The centre crossed subsequently at another point. The Dutch regiments under

Count de Solmes, arriving first, drove the Irish from their posts, daunted the mass of their infantry, and overcame their resistance. A body of Danes was repulsed by the Irish cavalry; but the French protestants, Enniskilleners, Prussians, and English boldly forced their way through the stream, in some places breast-high, vigorously supported the Dutch (the force which Hamilton led to the river brink to oppose them making no impression whatever), and repulsed another body of horse. Schomberg now rushed across the river to replace the French general who had fallen, and the Irish cavalry who had burst through his ranks were cut down by the Dutch and the Enniskilleners. The too-adventurous Schomberg was soon afterwards wounded in the head and slain by a stray shot from his own men. After an hour's incessant firing a respite followed, during which the Irish retreated to the ground occupied by James, in order to repair their forces ere renewing the engagement; but on their second advance they encountered William in person who, having brought his left wing over the river with some difficulty and danger where the water was deepest, took the command of the right wing. The second onset of the Irish was so successful as to force them from the ground they had chosen; but William's presence as he rode from corps to corps sustained his troops till the foe at length took to flight. Their effort to regain the day was a desperate one; but it was the last, and issued in the capture of Hamilton among the other prisoners. They lost about 1500 men, while William lost scarcely 500. Among the latter was Governor Walker, whose heroism in the defence of Derry and in the battle of the Boyne has perpetuated the grateful remembrance of his name in a monument of him still to be seen in Derry Cathedral. Yet a minister of Him whose "kingdom was not of this world" was not justified in quitting his

peaceful calling and, after the manner of the Middle Ages, handling carnal weapons, preferring the battle-field to the pulpit, the din of arms and the work of death to the holier warfare under Christ's banner against "spiritual wickedness," and to the nobler task of proclaiming "peace on earth and goodwill to men." So thought William, in whose cause he fell, and who, on hearing of his death, asked, What business he had among his soldiers.

The Stuart cause was now so hopeless that James, disheartened at the result of the contest which he had watched, but in which he had taken no share, and feeling that the British throne was on that day for ever closed against his line, had no choice but to accept the advice of his best friends by providing for his own safety. He vented his vexation in complaints of the behaviour of the Irish troops, which provoked the merited retort that the presence of their king would have no less served his cause than the presence of him who was received as such by the enemy had aided them. Advising them to surrender their prisoners and to invoke the clemency of the Prince of Orange, he hastened to Waterford, and breaking down bridges that he might prevent pursuit, finally embarked for France.

William, proceeding five days after the battle to Dublin, which he found in a state of anarchy, attended divine service at St. Patrick's, to the satisfaction of the protestant inhabitants, immediately on his entry. He proclaimed pardon and protection to those who remained at their homes or returned to them, but required that rents due to James's partisans should for a time be withheld, and authorized the appropriation of all forfeitures due to the crown. This vindictive step was unlike the lofty nature of the king, but was drawn from him by the ambition or cupidity of some who hoped to profit by it. It was both needless and unwise, as was

ere long but too evident, for it prolonged the groundswell of the rebellion though the crisis was long past. Its leaders were provoked to continue the contest after James's desertion, aided by the remnant of their broken forces, with the desperation of men who fought for their all. It awakened a deep-rooted hatred in those who thought themselves injured, which of course was fostered by the priesthood, and led to precautionary and repressive measures which, however imperative, increased the evil which called for them.

But William chiefly trusted in the army. With one portion of it he took Wexford, Clonmel, and Waterford; while ten regiments under General Douglas, he sent a few days after the battle of the Boyne, to reduce Athlone; for there and at Limerick most of James's fugitive army was concentrated. He was about to return to England, after securing Waterford as a station for his navy, in consequence of a defeat inflicted by the French on his fleets at Beachy Head and in the Netherlands; but the latter retiring from Torbay, where they had for some days lain at anchor, he decided to stay in Ireland, where his presence was more necessary.

Douglas, meantime, laying waste the country round Athlone, approached its walls with a summons to surrender, which was met with defiance; and so vigorous was its resistance, so many the disasters inflicted on the besiegers, so great the probability that Sarsfield, James's lieutenant, then at Limerick, would cut off his retreat, and so little the impression made on the place,—that he hastened to raise the siege, and, while the road was yet open, to join the royal army *en route* to Limerick, where the chief struggle was to ensue.

William's tactics were similar to those of Douglas. Advancing with 38,000 men, and arriving under the walls, he

called on Limerick to surrender. But he could not enforce the summons, for he was in advance of his heavy ordnance, which was not due for several days. Sarsfield, hearing from a deserter of its approach, intercepted it in a night march seven miles short of its destination, and disabled all but two of the guns, with which William, alone undaunted by the disaster, made an assault, conceiving that the garrison, being more willing to open the gates than the governor's words implied, would thus be intimidated. He planted his guns, mounted his batteries, made a practicable breach, and sent on a storming party of 500 grenadiers, who gained a temporary lodgment; but so feebly were they seconded, so scanty was their ammunition, and so determined the resistance (in which even women joined, leading and animating the men, or hurling stones at the besiegers, who were falling or flying)—that after a hopeless struggle of three hours, maintained with the utmost bravery on both sides, he sounded a retreat, removed the batteries, withdrew the remaining troops, after a loss of 2000 men, unmolested, and to avoid a winter campaign (having entrusted the military government to competent hands) embarked for England.

The Earl of Marlborough, who had not yet earned his continental fame, offering his services and 500 men, both were readily accepted. He landed at Cork, and being immediately joined by a reinforcement of 4,000 men sent by Ginckel the Dutch general whom William left in command, he besieged it and quickly compelled its surrender. Thence he marched to Kinsale, which in ten days opened its gates.

The French thus lost the two harbours which they had occupied on the side of Ireland most accessible to them; and the sovereign in whose cause they were engaged having abandoned it in despair, their position was so perilous and

their ardour so chilled that they were not sorry to quit it, a portion of them under Lauzun having already withdrawn to Galway where they were waiting for transports; nor were the Irish less satisfied to be relieved from allies with whom they had never been cordial, displeased as they were at the preference shewn to them, and impatient at the check imposed by the presence of disciplined soldiers on their own wild modes of warfare.

Ginckel placed his troops in winter quarters near the fords of the Shannon, where they could watch the suspected movements of the Irish, and prevent the unquiet spirits of Connaught, called Rapparees from the peculiar weapon which they used, from passing over to excite the tranquillized provinces. The lawless violence of the Rapparees, acting on the anti-Irish feeling of English troops as a spark upon tinder, provoked retaliations more to be excused than justified. Their turbulence was incorrigible, and though the Romanists were made responsible for their good conduct, and priests were forbidden to harbour among them, they had then, as they have at all times had, too much secret sympathy with, if they have not openly instigated, disturbers of the peace, whether Rapparees, Whiteboys, Rockites, Ribbon-men, Repealers or Fenians, to damage their hereditary character by any serious attempt to control them. They declined to interfere until the English troops whom their own people had provoked, had, as they said, learned to imitate the moderation of their Dutch fellow soldiers. All that remained therefore was to limit the sphere of agitation, as the American would cut off a prairie fire, by creating a neutral space along which a military cordon could be drawn on each side of the Shannon between the peaceable and disaffected localities.

Meanwhile the Irish threw provisions into Athlone sufficient for a protracted siege, and were preparing to attack the English camp at Mullingar, when Ginckel, coming to its relief, met and defeated them in a skirmish at Ballymore, driving the enemy into Athlone, where a fresh mortification awaited them, for Tyrconnel had brought over no more than £8000 without any troops, from Louis XIV., whose zeal cooled down in proportion as the expedition seemed more hopeless and the general state of Europe more threatening. Ballymore, the most advanced post of the Irish in Westmeath, Ginckel besieged and captured, and from thence appeared before Athlone with 18,000 men. Tyrconnel, feeling the inadequacy of his feeble succour, was just gaining credit for treachery by prudently counselling surrender, when St. Ruth, who had been sent from Paris to supersede their popular fellow-countryman Sarsfield as commander-in-chief, landed at Limerick, with a supply of officers and military stores.

The dissension thus excited in the Irish camp induced Ginckel to offer a free pardon to all who should lay down their arms and tender their allegiance to William. St. Ruth being unprepared for any aggressive movement, fortified the Connaught side of the Shannon and retired behind Athlone, of which Ginckel forthwith commenced the siege, the lords-justices having declined to sanction his attempt to conciliate the Irish, and the supplies requisite for an active campaign being delayed.

The Shannon flows through the town; "English-town" lying on the east or Leinster bank, "Irish-town" on the west or Connaught side, a bridge connecting them. English-town was given up to the besiegers as indefensible, but Irish-town made an obstinate defence. The river being dangerous to ford, and the bridge by St. Ruth's orders being

broken down, Ginckel sought to cross at another point higher up the stream, but being prevented by the vigilance of the enemy, he attempted to make a pontoon. This being also destroyed, a gallery was carried across, and an attempt was made to cross at this and at two other points, but all was frustrated and the gallery burnt. In a council of war it was agreed, after some opposition, to storm the town the next day, by forcing a passage over the ford. The enterprise was dangerous but completely successful. The Irish could scarcely realise that the besiegers were in the town, but when no doubt remained of the fact, the castle was surrendered, the Irish guns being within half-an-hour turned against their own camp. St. Ruth with his troops 15,000 in number, vacated the town and removed to Aghrim.

Both parties now wished to close a contest for which the resources of each were insufficient, by some decisive action. Some of the English residents, embittered by the length of the strife, would fain have seen their foes exterminated, but Ginckel wisely preferring more moderate counsels, and desiring to reconcile them to the new government without bloodshed, actually offered pardon to all who should tender their submission. This would have been nullified at the council board, but the justices yielded to his wishes two days later, and held out a hope that every loyal subject would be allowed the free exercise of his religion.

But it was too late. The Irish were too angry to submit, and St. Ruth seconded by the priesthood, having held out illusory hopes of succour from Louis and thereby collected 25,000 men, determined to fight it out. He encountered the enemy at Aghrim Castle, near the river Sky in Roscommon, which stood on the edge of a bog, and commanded on the left the only pass from the heights where they were encamped, though there was one across the bog on the right,

opening through the hills into the plain beyond. The position, though well chosen, did not deter Ginckel's troops from rushing across the river to attack it.

A small body of Danes received a check early in the engagement, but both sides behaved well. The English, though fewer in number, and at one moment repulsed, yet on the whole had the advantage from the superiority of their position, their more powerful artillery, and the skill with which Ginckel discerned and improved his opportunities as they arose. The fight was long and obstinate, and the result might have been doubtful had not a cannon-ball, carrying off the head of De Ruth, deprived the enemy of their commander—an event which produced such a panic that the Irish were unable to rally or face the victorious troops who pursued them three miles to their camp with a loss of only 1,700 men, while that of the vanquished numbered 7,000.

The news of this victory preceded Ginckel to Galway, the siege of which was his next enterprise, a week later. It prepared the governor D'Usson, already disappointed of a body of Rapparee supporters, to accept an offer of pardon. These men O'Donnell had vainly attempted to introduce within the walls. The townsmen, the magistrates, and afterwards the garrison of 2,300 men, readily agreed to the governor's proposal. The Romanists were allowed the exercise of their religion and other immunities. Sligo next capitulated on the same terms. That lenity was good policy was soon apparent, for so many other towns were induced to tender their allegiance as to encourage an expectation that Ireland would be immediately pacified. But the rebel spirit was not dead; it was hard to die, and had yet so much vitality that unless crushed by a final blow it might revive to do mischief. Sarsfield, brave and implacable, roused the courage of his men by the hope that one

more effort would secure victory. Louis also sent more ships and men to prolong the contest and thereby to divert William from his operations in Flanders, whither 10,000 of his troops had been summoned under the idea that they were no longer wanted in Ireland. The three lords-justices, who had entered into office on Tyrconnel's death in behalf of the exiled James, counselled submission, but Sarsfield was deaf to them. Tyrconnel's death occurred at Limerick, just as Ginckel was approaching it, and there the Irish made their final stand. The governor and garrison of Galway after its surrender had retired thither, and the English had already been obliged to quit it. Ginckel proceeded cautiously and, withdrawing from fortified places only such troops as could be well spared, prepared for its second siege.

Investment being the only feasible mode of conducting it, it was necessary to master both banks of the Shannon which, as at Athlone, flows through the town, and to shroud the operation in secrecy, as it was one of no ordinary difficulty ; but Ginckel laid all the resources within his reach under contribution for men, money and provisions, and took every possible precaution to ensure success. It was in his favour that the enemy were divided among themselves. He therefore dismounted his batteries, and after storming some out-works, indicated that he was about to raise the siege. Meantime the English arrived for whom he was waiting, and with sixty guns and nineteen mortars he re-opened fire. The defenders, caught in the trap, were exulting in his supposed failure, nor were they undeceived till a bridge of tin boats, built in a single night and laid down under the veil of darkness, had brought over a large body of troops to an island from whence the farther bank was accessible. The commander of four Irish regiments placed there for its defence, unwilling to see the struggle prolonged, was

making but little resistance. Nevertheless an offer of pardon made to those who should submit within eight days was treated with scorn. Yet the difficulties of the beseigers were so great, that when the garrison, annoyed at the inadvertency of a French officer which had caused the slaughter of many of their troops, had beat a parley, Ginckel (so far from yielding to vindictive feeling) granted a three days' armistice, though justly indignant at the treatment shewn to some of his men who had been made prisoners. On its expiration they announced the terms on which they would submit. They modestly required an indemnity for all past offences, the restoration of their lands, toleration of their worship, the location of a priest in each parish, admission to all offices, civil and military, and the maintenance of an army on the same footing as the king's troops. Ginckel temperately replied that, though a foreigner, he believed these requirements to be greater than English law would sanction; and hoping to reduce them to more moderate dimensions, he ordered the erection of fresh batteries. A deputation then came requesting he would name the terms on which he was qualified to treat. He promised them the same free exercise of their religion as in the days of Charles II., an amnesty for all offences committed during the late contest, that alienated lands should be restored as in that reign (all reference to any earlier *status quo* being thus avoided) the use of arms by their gentry, exemption from all oaths but that of allegiance, liberty to the Irish army to enter into foreign service, and for that purpose a free passage to the continent.

These generous offers were gladly accepted by the garrison who had now learned that they were in no position to dictate terms of peace. They formed the basis of the treaty of Limerick, signed by the lords-justices of Ireland and the

commander-in-chief, and ratified by the king under the great seal, thereby closing the contest by establishing the sovereignty of William and Mary beyond further dispute. It was liberal and conciliating to the Roman Catholics, whose clearly defined position left nothing to uncertainty.

A few days after it was signed, another powerful French fleet arrived for the relief of Limerick, but being no longer wanted for this purpose, it was opportune for another, namely, to convey 14,000 Irish troops who accepted the privilege of transport to foreign service under the treaty, and who formed the nucleus of a band known as the "Irish Brigade," destined afterwards to distinguish itself on the battle-fields of Europe. It now only remained for William to reward the leaders of his victorious army with titles equivalent to an inscription of their triumphs on their brow.

It may well be believed that during a struggle for political existence, the internal condition of the country had not much improved since the days when Sir Henry Sidney and Wentworth drew so dark a picture of it. Storms purify the atmosphere, and are permitted for the sake of the ultimate good which time will shew as their result, but the immediate effect of the earthquake, the hurricane, the hail-storm and the lightning-stroke, is to strew the earth with desolation.

We have just glanced at the struggle which took place in Ireland, and which ended in the expulsion of James from the throne, and in the accession of William, because, though at first sight belonging more to its civil than to its ecclesiastical annals, it was, and was felt to be, one for predominancy between two opposing religions, and between the principles of spiritual, no less than of civil, despotism or liberty involved in them.

There is little to notice in the affairs of Ireland during the remainder of William's reign. The contests between the political and religious parties in England, the schism of the non-jurors, the reform of the coinage, the establishment of the Bank of England, the development of commerce and the colonies, the suppression of Scottish discontent and disturbance, the prosecution of the continental scheme which ended in the settlement of the Spanish succession, the humiliation of the Grand Monarque, and the Peace of Ryswick, gave him ample occupation, though as all these events belong to English and chiefly to secular history, they call for no further notice in this place. The sister country offered him no interruption, for the malcontents had learnt a lesson not soon forgotten. The trial of their strength had proved their inadequacy to cope with one to whom European protestantism looked as its chief, and whose resolute will refused to treat with rebels till they appeared in sackcloth and with dust upon their heads; besides which, the latent spirit of disaffection, muzzled and disarmed by the late treaty, was shamed into the simulation of gratitude by the clemency of William, who secured those rebels from the vindictiveness of the English parliament. His policy was, in fact, somewhat in advance of his day; for while the vengeful spirit of those who had smarted under Romish fanaticism smouldered on from year to year, and occasionally broke out in acts of annoyance or persecution, unwise and unchristian, yet not unprovoked, his steady aim was to render as little galling as possible the chain which was needed to preserve peace and to secure toleration for those who could not be trusted with power.

His reign was an invaluable period of repose to the protestants, during which the colonies of James I., after passing through a stormy infancy, had time to revive and develop themselves, thereby securing temporal and espe-

cially commercial prosperity. The Church might then have arisen and shaken herself from the dust, but a superhuman agency was wanted to awaken her from torpor and to restore her to that vitality by which alone she could prove a blessing to the country. Nothing but a fresh infusion of divine life could recal those who nominally held sound doctrines from mere "buying, selling and getting gain"; but the set time to favour her was not yet come, and therefore the season of repose was one of spiritual dearth and death.

Before quitting this reign, we must look back for a short space to the internal affairs of the church. We have seen the hostile spirit of the Romish clergy under the auspices of James II., in the passing of an act which made over to their use the tithes and the edifices of the establishment. During the latter portion of his reign its provisions were suspended for a time by the landing of Schomberg and his troops; but when the panic which this event caused had subsided, the priests regained courage, and the churches were seized, the mayors in the several towns demanding the keys from the sextons, and on the refusal of the latter breaking open the doors.

The aggrieved party justly complained that this was in contravention of James's own former act, which had permitted them to hold divine service in their own churches; but he alleged that being under obligations to the priesthood, he could not interfere with their claims. The courts of law, he reminded them, were open to the complainants; meanwhile, his prohibition of any "fresh" seizures confirmed the priests in the plunder already secured, besides that it was frequently disregarded, and that James had seldom the power, even had he the wish, to enforce it. Even in churches which were not seized the regular services were continually molested. Hence they were frequently celebrated in private houses, and it was

apparently against these private meetings that Colonel Luttrell issued his order as governor of Dublin, forbidding more than five protestants to meet on any pretext, under pain of death. The university continued to suffer under James's oppression. The pension from the Exchequer allowed to resident members being withdrawn, an obnoxious person having been thrust among the senior fellows, two priests after ineffectual opposition having been nominated to fellowships, and the members having been ejected, exiled, or imprisoned, at length the library, the chapel furniture, the communion plate and other college property were seized by the Jacobites and the house was used for barracks, magazines, or prisons.

James's last acts in Ireland after his defeat at the Boyne were characteristic of him. In the Parthian fashion he appointed certain priests to livings in the diocese of Meath,* and carried forward his favorite project of establishing a Benedictine nunnery in Dublin. A body of Dublin clergy, headed by the Bishop of Meath, presented a loyal address to William after the battle, and on the next Sunday attended his procession to St. Patrick's to return thanks for the victory, after which a day of thanksgiving and a form of prayer were appointed to commemorate the deliverance of the country "from popish tyranny and arbitrary power."

James having sought to break up the framework of the Church by leaving vacant sees unsupplied, a deputation of English bishops earnestly requested him to fill the sees and the livings in his gift with learned and pious men. But though he promised compliance, he never evinced any desire for it, and the matter being left thus unsettled claimed the immediate attention of the new government. Bishop Patrick was sum-

* The Parthians, as every tyro in Roman history knows, shot their arrows with deadly aim behind them as they fled from the enemy.

moned to a conference with Dr. Tenison, at which it was resolved to send back the expatriated clergy. A list of names eligible for bishoprics was also agreed on, to the disappointment of the Presbyterian body, who petitioned for the abolition of episcopacy, or, at least, for an equal share with it of State support.

One of the earliest promotions was that of Narcissus Marsh from Leighlin and Ferns, which he had occupied from the year 1682 till his exile, to the see of Cashel which had been seven years vacant, and for which his former diligence was a sufficient recommendation. Before he went to Leighlin, he had been provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and in this capacity in 1680 renewed Bedell's project to establish a lectureship in the Irish language. The lord-lieutenant and eighty students attended the lecturer to hear an Irish sermon given monthly to a crowded audience. But this seed-plot of hope was sacrificed at the shrine of expediency, for on Marsh's removal it died a natural death. It was revived thirty years afterwards, but again unsuccessfully. Dr. Hall, vice-provost in 1711, supported a teacher of Irish for those who wished to learn it, and Archbishop King sanctioned another, but the office was short-lived. The English government thus with short-sighted apathy discouraged those practical measures which would have secured the vitality and efficiency of the Irish Church, and unaccountably preferred, as in the present day, those measures of confiscation and impoverishment which could only make and continue it as the anomaly which they assert it to be.

Of the other sees the more important were filled up by translations; of Tenison, for instance, from Limerick to Clogher. Four deans were raised to the bench, and "Governor" Walker to the see of Derry, as a recompense, though not the most appropriate, for his distinguished prowess in

its seige. He fell at the Boyne, as we have seen, before he could enter on its duties and was worthily replaced by King, dean of St. Patrick's, who at once proved himself equal to his position by repairing and building churches in his diocese. He gathered round him an efficient body of clergy by compelling incumbents to reside or to keep a competent staff of curates. Many of these he maintained at his own cost. He was careful also in the bestowal of patronage. Protestant dissenters he conciliated by kindly conference, while he vindicated the character of the Church by his literary labours. From a work printed in 1694, and reprinted in 1706, after his location in Dublin, we gain an idea of the lamentable ignorance alike of churchmen and dissenters, and of his indefatigable and successful efforts to promote religious education.

About the year 1690 several Irish families having followed the army to the South, their place was filled by Irish-speaking Protestant Highlanders to whom, on their own petition, King granted a minister who spoke their own tongue, and whose success led to the appointment of others. Their labours were a preventive or a cure to the frequent secessions of Highland settlers to the ranks of Rome or Dissent, from the want of vernacular church ministrations, which had taken place on the principle that a defective religion was better than none.

The bishops easily acquiesced in the rule of the new dynasty and in the oath prescribed by the English Parliament, of fidelity to William and Mary, for the imposition of which indeed James's lawless conduct of itself was a sufficient motive. Sheridan of Kilmore, the only recusant, was deprived of his see, and died in poverty in London some years later. He was succeeded by William Smith, who vacated Raphoe in favour of Alexander Caircastle, archbishop of Glasgow, a

victim of Presbyterian intolerance, and hence a sympathising friend of the Scotch episcopal clergy. He died in 1701.

Among the few inferior clergy who were non-jurors, Charles Leslie is known for his refutation of Deism. Disliked by the government for his politics, he retired to the Pretender's court, where he spent many years, but returned in 1721, to die in the following year. He wrote several works against deism and popery, though none of them have attained so much celebrity as the "Short and Easy Method with the Deists," which long continued to be a standard work of its class. Until 1688 he had steadily opposed James's romanizing policy.

In 1694 Hacket, of Down and Connor, was first suspended and afterwards deprived, for simony as well as for long and gross neglect of his diocese. Several clergy were convicted and deprived on similar charges, of whom one, named Matthews, resisted the sentence, though in vain. Hacket was succeeded by one Samuel Foley, and in less than a year by Edward Walkington. Among other changes, Roan of Killaloe was succeeded in 1692, by Rider, archdeacon of Ossory, and Jones of Cloyne, translated to St. Asaph, by Palliser, fellow of Trinity College. Hartstong, archdeacon of Limerick, became bishop of Ossory, and on the death of Francis Marsh the see of Dublin, declined by Tenison, afterwards of Canterbury, was accepted by Narcissus Marsh, who vigorously prosecuted its duties and of whose munificence the archiepiscopal library at Dublin is to this day a monument.

On the assembling of William's first Irish Parliament, it formally recognised the new king and cancelled the acts passed by that of James II. The bishops had already framed certain measures of church reform—viz. : one to discourage pluralities, and another to enforce examination for orders and

a stricter discipline. A limited toleration bill was also passed, and a day was appointed to be observed in commemoration of the deliverance from the rebellion of 1641. An address of loyal gratitude to the king was adopted by both Houses, and another praying him to encourage the formation of protestant colonies. Bills were also proposed for the observance of the sabbath, for the reformation of the clergy, and for the abrogation of popish festivals, all of which were passed. A commission of detailed enquiry into diocesan statistics to be made by the respective bishops was demanded by the lords justices. Capital punishment was abolished for ecclesiastical offences. Papists were required to be disarmed. Swearing was prohibited. Idle persons were forbidden to relinquish their regular work on saints' days. Foreign education was discouraged. A bill abolishing tests of conformity was proposed, but did not pass.

In the session several useful statutes were passed. All the popish *regular* clergy were banished under severe penalties against continuing at home, returning home, or harbouring those who did so. Burials were forbidden in any suppressed monastery or where the English liturgy was not in use; and protestant females possessing property were prohibited from marrying papists, as also were all soldiers in the king's service. The penal character of these statutes must not be hastily condemned. On the contrary, if the priests were not with impunity to foment rebellion—if candidates for orders were no longer to be trained for sedition in foreign seminaries—if papal solicitors were no longer to disturb the peace, such protective measures were for the time no more than necessary.

The death of Queen Mary was untoward for the Irish Church, for the guardian of home interests being thus removed, William was too much absorbed in European politics

to check or even to notice irregularities which nevertheless existed in the management of church property.

In 1697, died the excellent Anthony Dopping, bishop of Meath, to whom the Church was deeply indebted for his resistance to the proceedings of James. The choice of a successor was of no small importance for, like London, Meath was the chief diocese next to the archbishoprics. Tenison's transfer from Clogher gave general satisfaction from the energy with which he sought to reform prevalent abuses.

In the session of 1698 the only ecclesiastical act passed was one for the erection of parsonage houses. Among those rejected was one "for the king's preservation," which was opposed by several prelates because it seemed to tell too heavily against the Romanists; one for building churches, to which exceptions were taken in matters of detail; one for the building and maintenance of schools, which was somewhat defective, and one for the reconstitution of parishes.

A statute was passed to facilitate the building or repair of glebe houses and one for the improvement of glebes by securing compensation to those who made them. The use of inappropriate tithes, where they were restored, was authorised for this purpose. Some episcopal residences were built or improved by these measures, but their good tendency was greatly thwarted by the selfish interference of the English legislature which repealed some of the most beneficial acts passed in Ireland.

William's last episcopal appointment was that of Robert Huntington, an eminent scholar and oriental traveller, to Kilmore. He had been Provost of Trinity College prior to 1688, but on his exile retired to England. He had refused the see in 1692, but accepting it eight years later, held it for twelve days and died. Promotion on such grounds was

not very likely to benefit the Church, but the selection of practical working clergy was a step too far in advance of the age to have commended itself to general adoption, besides that the material for such preference was as yet but scanty

The Bishop of Derry at this time discharged the functions both of the aged Primate and of the Lord Chancellor during the absence of the latter; besides holding one of those triennial visitations which are now an institution of the Irish, as of the English, Church. Archbishop Marsh accomplished an old design of founding a library for Trinity College, the building for which was completed July 5, 1704. Dr. Stillingfleet's library was added to his own and presented to the College.

CHAPTER XI.

REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.—A.D. 1702—1714.

Affairs of the Church.—Promotions.—Ecclesiastical Improvements.

QUEEN ANNE, on her accession, found the reformed religion widely spread among all orders of rich and poor, especially the English settlers. In the northern counties, however, which were largely colonised from Scotland, it chiefly assumed the presbyterian form, which was promoted by the departure of many English settlers through the decline of the woollen manufacture, while the growth of the linen trade attracted Scotchmen to fill the vacancy.

Ireland continued, during her reign, comparatively in the shade, eclipsed by the surpassing interest of the great European conflict and the brilliant victories of Marlborough. The people, knowing their inability to cope with the power of the Crown, refrained from violence and submitted to their rulers. Hence the country remained tranquil. The Parliament, being wholly protestant, was troubled with no special subject of dispute, except with Convocation on the subject of tithes. Yet but slight effort was made during the leisure time to cultivate the vernacular tongue, to evangelise a people sinking rapidly into heathenism, or to rescue them by argument or persuasion from spiritual darkness; for the very effort of missionary effort had not yet come. As a proof of the torpid state of the Church, so far from any attempt

being made to repair its edifices which had long lain in ruins, or to restore those which had suffered from civil war, only 400 churches throughout the land remained fit for use, while the decay of the building in any place, instead of stirring up local efforts to restore it, as would probably happen in the present day, was treated by an indolent clergy as a lawful excuse for neglecting the duties of the cure, while the government, more ready to lay penal restrictions on papists than to further any steps to rescue them from error, took no pains to enforce ministerial diligence. The natural result was, that Romanists were embittered, and the supineness of the Established Church was held up to their scorn.*

The statutes, however, of the previous reign worked so beneficially to papists and protestants, that the accession of a new monarch was dreaded by them both, but especially by the dissenters, who had shared in the favour, the bounty, and the wise legislation of his late Majesty.

The episcopal appointments during the present as well as the last reign were singularly few, (only nine vacancies occurring in twelve years,) and judicious, except in the preference of Englishmen to those born or educated in Ireland. On the death of Primate Boyle, aged ninety, after more than forty years episcopate, he was succeeded by Narcissus Marsh, and the latter at Dublin by King from Derry. Marsh accepted the primacy reluctantly, but having done so, vigorously reformed diocesan abuses. On his death, at the age of seventy-six, he was succeeded, not as might have been expected by the deserving Archbishop King,

* The Protestant Church might truly then have been called a failure, but it only shared in the general torpor of Christendom. It has since then enjoyed its share in the general revival of spiritual life—a result gained without the aid of disestablishment or confiscation.

whose politics forbade his elevation, but by Lindsey of Raphoe, who after a few months was replaced by Synge, chancellor of St. Patrick's. About the same time Wettenhall of Kilmore, was succeeded by Godwin, archdeacon of Oxford; Hickman, of Derry, by Hartstong of Ossory, the latter by Sir T. Vesey of Killaloe, and Vesey by Foster, a fellow of Dublin College.

In the Irish session of 1703, the succession to the throne of the House of Hanover was confirmed, and an act was passed to check the numbers and the intrigues of the priesthood. It enjoined a rigid surveillance of all foreign emissaries. Papists were forbidden to vote at elections, to marry out of their own communion and to evade providing for their Protestant children. They were required to abjure the papal supremacy and transubstantiation, and if candidates for office under the Crown, were bound to receive the Sacrament in communion with the Established Church. This last clause was opposed, but only for a short period, by the dissenters of the North, and was rigidly enforced for some time. The same act suppressed pilgrimages to St. Patrick's Chapel, Lough Dearg, a favourite place of resort in the North which, though destroyed and apparently abolished in the reign of Charles I., was regaining its influence in common with many other like superstitions in various parts. Such a measure could hardly be called superfluous when pilgrimages, public crosses, pictures, relics and inscriptions were multiplying, and lakes, ponds, wells, and trees became sacred, in consequence of miraculous virtues attributed to them.

The clergy were exempted from all claims of prior date to 1641 which had not been prosecuted since 1691. The transfer of glebe lands to convenient situations was also facilitated, and for building churches accessible to those who had drifted away into new localities. Many of these edifices accommodated three united parishes, one new church sup-

plying the place of three in ruins. King, who found the protestants of Dublin largely increased since the Reformation, munificently contributed by his own efforts or gifts to the building or repair of forty churches, adding glebe lands from the estates of the see. To augment incomes lessened by his division of several "unions," he purchased some impropriate tithes and added to them the proceeds of certain extinct prebends.

The meeting of this parliament was accompanied by that of Convocation; a body which, since 1534, had very rarely met, and for forty-two years had not met at all. Its constitution having been carefully revised by the Queen, the Lord Lieutenant and the Bishops in council, they were assembled according to the request of both houses, by her Majesty's premonitory writ conjointly with the Primate's provincial writ, both being addressed to the bishops. But little was affected by that inefficient assembly for the good of the Church, King even complaining that nothing was done. In the previous year, Nicholas Brown, an Irish clergyman, made zealous evangelistic efforts. Multitudes listened to him, and in the very face of priestly opposition many converts were made. He died in 1708. Equally successful was his cotemporary, Walter Atkins, a clergyman of the diocese of Cloyne, familiar with the Irish tongue in which he performed all the services of the church.

In this year (1703) it was first attempted to extend the "Queen Anne's Bounty," recently conferred on the English clergy, to their brethren in Ireland.

About this time also, Irish dissenters first aimed at the repeal of the Test Act, urging that their loyalty, their peaceable conduct, and their good service to the House of Orange, proved that such concession would be well bestowed. But the well-known spirit of combination among the Scots in Ireland, and their desire to overthrow the Church, awakening the fears of the nation, predisposed it against

the repeal. Accordingly, though recommended by a royal speech, it was rejected in Dublin; and in a bill passed "to check the growth of popery," a clause was included forbidding any ex-Romanist to be recognised as a convert unless within six months he received the Holy Communion according to the Established Ritual. The Lord Lieutenant's advocacy of the repeal the next year was equally in vain. It was opposed by four-fifths of the Commons, by nearly all the Lords, and by the great body of clergy and laity in the University.

Meanwhile the Church was fortunate in the two appointments to the sees of Cork and Ross, to the one of Peter Brown, provost of Trinity College, who successfully opposed the sceptical works of Toland, and laboured strenuously to improve the homes of his clergy; to the other of Thomas Milles, a Greek professor who had edited the works of Cyril of Jerusalem, to succeed Bishop Foy. The bishops were now more careful than heretofore to regulate the conduct of their clergy, and to check malpractices, such, for instance, as the custom, then too frequent, of ordaining men without a title. King gave a strict examination to candidates for orders, required a personal conference with each, and took pains to secure for them an adequate provision, especially beseeching the Queen to add to their endowments a grant of firstfruits and twentieths, besides promoting the erection and repair of churches. Nor did he neglect to provide deserving men with livings, and livings with suitable incumbents, on the occurrence of each larger vacancy removing three or four stages upward those whom he knew to deserve it. His anxious care to provide for converts from Romanism made him cautious in receiving their professions, and in preventing the increase of Romish ecclesiastics beyond the legal allowance of one for each parish.

To the desire of the bishops to give to every parish church

room sufficient and accessible, the people contributed by parochial assessments and donations, but these inadequate efforts were supplemented by the Queen Anne's Bounty, and by the acts of 1709-10, for the benefit of overgrown and scattered populations, which required the separation of combined parishes and the erection of churches on new sites when necessary.

Convocation now began to show more interest in the conversion of the native Irish, by procuring translations of the Bible and Liturgy with a vernacular exposition of the Catechism, printed in the English character, and by giving salaries to converted priests or other suitable clergy, to itinerate and hold services in Irish, with the sanction of the bishop and the incumbent of each parish. These labours, readily aided by Trinity College, were the more valuable because the priesthood forbore their usual offices in order to avoid the penalties thereby incurred. A fount of Irish types was also procured from London. But in order to extend these efforts, a petition for royal support and countenance was framed by the Bishop of Kilmore, signed by many nobles and bishops, and favourably received by Ormonde, the Lord Lieutenant. It prayed for a supply of Irish Bibles, Prayer-books, and other religious works, of which there was a great dearth, for the establishment of English charity schools, and for the formation of a chartered society by the primate, bishops, clergy and gentry, for the conversion of the natives. The Queen consented that the scheme should be, when duly matured in convocation, laid before herself and the parliament for further consideration. Meanwhile, the bishops and clergy of Armagh and Derry subscribed to establish missionaries in each diocese. With the aid of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded thirteen years before, an edition of 6,000 copies of the Common Prayer-book, an Exposition of the Catechism for the use of

schools, and an Anglo-Irish manual of the native language in parallel columns, were printed ; though alas ! Bibles were not included in the grant.

Such evangelistic measures, though favoured at Court, being in those lethargic days, too far advanced to claim the full sympathy of Convocation, expired under the fire of objection raised by professed friends who feared the detriment of English interests. A like fate befel a proposal that a competent provision should be made for an Irish-speaking clergy, which, after making hopeful progress on the western side of the Channel, sickened and died at the door of the English Parliament. It was shelved for the rest of the century, the great effort in that day being to abolish the unfortunate language. The principle of such beneficial measures was, as usual in such cases, admitted in Convocation with all due decency, after the manner of that learned and right reverend debating society, but the time for their discussion was whiled away in meeting objections raised on matters of detail. The history of a thing which ought to be done but which the Church has not the zeal to do, is somewhat of this kind. A few earnest men boldly propose it. The *poco-curante* party meet it with a profusion of compliments. "It is an excellent measure propounded by excellent men, only their zeal somewhat outruns their discretion." Men of theory, it is said, can of course rightly judge of what ought to be, but in a "practical" world "practical" men must judge of what is possible or expedient ; for just principles cannot always be reduced to practice. No one questions that the right thing should be done ; every one would rejoice to see it done ; but no one is prepared to state how to do it, or at least to take his own share in doing it. Whatever plan be started, every one can start objections, but can suggest nothing better, and thus, what only earnest-

ness could have accomplished expires, pierced with innumerable wounds which "insuperable difficulties" have, with due courtesy and "unfeigned reluctance," inflicted. It will then be honourably buried by the hands of indolence in the grave of forgetfulness, attended by a mourning procession of "well wishers" who will scatter flowers of encomium on the tomb, till at length some zealous innovator of determined will, stigmatized as a sincere but unwise enthusiast will, in some later day, exhume and vivify the corpse; and when the crowd of red-tapist objectors once more let loose a host of difficulties, he will, like Nelson, turn his glass eye towards them, and remarking—"I really cannot see them," win a victory greater than that of Trafalgar.

Meanwhile, the Rev. J. Richardson, of the diocese of Kilmore, printed a selection from the works of Bishop Beveridge with editions of the Catechism and the Liturgy, of 6,000 copies each, all in the tongue, and the latter in the character, of the native Irish. In his own country this indefatigable man had no successor, but the continental press was not idle. One Hugh McCurtin, published in Paris the "Elements of the Irish language," and a grammar and dictionary of the same. A larger one was compiled in 1739, and another in 1750.

In the Convocation of 1711, five canons were passed, relating to ecclesiastical courts and the conduct of the clergy. They were appended to those of 1634. Certain forms of prayer were also agreed on: one for the "Visitation of Prisoners;" one for "Prisoners under sentence of death," and one for "Imprisoned Debtors," inserted in the Irish Common Prayer-book. These were the last acts of Convocation, which, after that time, never had licence to meet

and deliberate. A meeting expected in 1713 did not take place.

In 1708 was revived the project of giving first-fruits and twentieths to the clergy to provide them with glebes and parsonage-houses. It had been mooted four years earlier, but on neither occasion had it made much progress, the government being too lukewarm to further it. At length, through King's perseverance, the exertions of Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, the influence of Harley the treasurer, and the goodwill of the Queen, this boon was obtained. Pity that one who deserved so well of the Church as Dean Swift for his care of her temporal interests should, by the unscrupulous, not to say coarse and profane, language, which too often pervaded his writings and conversation, have disgraced his profession. The deanery of St. Patrick's was the reward of his services on this occasion, his predecessor, the estimable Dr. Stearne, being removed to the see of Dromore.

Ere long a subject of discussion arose, causing much perplexity to many protestant clergy, connected with the occasional offices of the Church, which in England were adapted to the change of the times—though such alteration was not formally legalized in Ireland. Hence, while many used the revised services of the new English editions of the Common Prayer-book, many others, for want of express authority for the change, adhered to the old forms. This confusion was not remedied till the accession of George I.

CHAPTER XII.

REIGN OF GEORGE I.—A.D. 1714—1727.

Absenteeism.—Episcopal Changes.—Boulter's Anglican Policy.

GEORGE I., Elector of Hanover, first representative of the house of Brunswick, succeeded to the English throne on the demise of Queen Anne in 1714, and speedily took possession in person of his new dominions.

By an order bearing his name the revised occasional services, hitherto but partially used for want of a formal sanction, were directed to be annexed to the Book of Common Prayer and to be read on appointed days, with one for the Lord-Lieutenant to be used daily. The appending of the hymns now found in our Prayer-books, to Tate and Brady's Version of the Psalms, proves that the singing of psalms, even though mere scriptural language in metrical form, could not be lawfully used without royal sanction; but however preferable would be a common psalmody to the multitude of modern collections, yet the meagreness of the best compositions then to be had as contrasted with the poetic conceptions and devout breathings of Watts, Wesley, Cowper, Montgomery, Keble, and others, is one melancholy proof of the spiritual torpor which had befallen the Church in those profligate times.

The new reign was marked by a protestant "exodus" from Ireland which told disastrously on the national Church.

Commencing from the year 1717 great numbers of protestant families from the North crossed the Atlantic to the West Indies and North America in quest of a more eligible home.

The low terms on which proprietors offered to let land which had been wasted and rendered unproductive by revolutionary outrage had invited many Scotch adventurers to become tenant farmers, who in such circumstances found investment in land a good speculation; but when their leases expired, the grasping landlords overreached themselves by exacting rents incompatible with fair profits to the cultivators, who thereupon carried away their capital and industry to a new soil. The vacated lands, offered to the highest bidders, were caught up by Romanists, who, with the untaught Irishman's want of foresight, would make the most reckless bargains without the power, with scarcely the intention, to keep them, and indifferent to the moral guilt of breaking them. They neglected, for want of capital, the lands which they undertook to cultivate, contentedly folded their hands in half-starved indolence, fell into arrears, defrauded their landlords, and in a year or two decamped, leaving an exhausted soil to the next occupant, a man of the same desperate stamp, whom the owner had, with incredible folly, allowed to repeat the same experiment, till at length, disgusted and ruined, he retired, leaving the management of his property entirely in the hands of papists.

Thus grew up the curse of absenteeism, in later days too often rendered necessary by the secret intrigue or lawless outrage fostered by the priests and political agitators, which made it unsafe for an obnoxious landlord to reside on his property, and obliged him to seek a quieter home elsewhere. But though this temptation did not then exist another was no less effectual, for when Englishmen were appointed to

dignities and emoluments without having any previous interest in the country of their adoption or any fitness for the office which they held, they naturally preferred the comforts of an English home to a residence in a land regarded as uncivilised, and therefore left their duties in the hands of deputies. The emigration due to these causes was increased by the discouragement offered by English legislation to the trade of the country, by the facilities of transport provided by London and Bristol merchants, and by the efforts made to secure Romanist occupants of the soil. The emigrants were for this reason chiefly protestants.

From the year 1718 to 1760, the end of George II's reign, the example set by the lords-lieutenant of non-residence was followed, not only by English placeholders, but by men even of Irish birth, who coveted an exchange of home duties for the refinements of English life. A succession of English noblemen accepted the vice-royalty as entailing merely the holding of a court during the biennial visit of a few months to the capital. Consequently their functions were nominal, their authority a shadow, their influence none whatever.

Meanwhile the real governors of Ireland were the Archbishop of Armagh, as Primate of Ireland, the Chancellor, the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and a trio of lords-justices. The first was always an Englishman and irremovable—a privilege which, not being enjoyed by his colleagues, gave him the position of a prime minister on whom chiefly devolved the political business which therefore passed away from the hands of lords-justices. The burden was, however, incompatible with his ecclesiastical functions. Whenever the primacy was vacant, it was mostly offered to those who were best fitted for the duties of a statesman, and who would support the government of the day; piety, sound doctrine and zeal for religion or the Church of Christ, being secondary

qualifications seldom found and, unlike other things of less intrinsic value, *not* sought for in proportion to their rarity. Such bishops on the same principle nominated to their own church patronage merely in order to secure political votes.

The accession of George I. was viewed with apprehension by some of the clergy who, seeing in the fact of his Lutheranism a compromise with Rome, felt it their duty to preach against transubstantiation, the point on which the two systems most nearly approximated. Some of these preachers King, thinking it wise to avoid needless irritation, prohibited from the pulpits of his province. The evil however soon died away. One of the first events of the new reign was King's substitution, unlooked for by himself, for the Primate Lindsay as one of the lords-justices, his attachment to protestantism and to the line of Hanover being well exchanged for Lindsay's jacobitism.

The Duke of Shrewsbury, the new Viceroy, not entering in person on his office, was replaced by the Earl of Sunderland, and King, as a zealous churchman, at once laid the episcopal vacancies before him, whereby some of the appointments mentioned in a previous page were effected. His picture of the Church was not a bright one. There were, he stated, but six hundred beneficed clergy in Ireland; men ineligible for English promotion were sent over with a request from the government of some living for them worth, at least, £200 a year, to raise which ten parishes, or even the quarter of a diocese, must be united. The absence of lay efforts to amend this state of things, due to the want of cordiality between the laity and the clergy, tended to perpetuate it. King incidentally mentioned that the efforts under the previous reign to give vernacular instruction were continued, and not without success; for in one year 451 candidates for orders were studying the native language.

He warmly approved of them, considering that they would render the minds and hearts of the people more loyal.

The first business of a new parliament when it met was to recognise the title of George I. to the throne as a protestant sovereign, and to repudiate that of the Pretender. This was the more necessary in consequence of a large body of Romanists and other malcontents who were ready to support the latter. The next step was to prepare an act for "the real union and division of parishes," to confirm the extension of Queen Anne's Bounty to Ireland, and to extend to the bishops and clergy the time for their payments of firstfruits and twentieths. The first portion permitted the composition of small contiguous parishes for which one church sufficed, (the maintenance of one for each being a vexatious expense), and the united incomes of which formed a competence for the pastor. On the other hand it sanctioned the subdivision of parishes territorially large, whose alienated tithes had been restored to the incumbents. New churches were thus required on sites convenient for united parishes. An act, therefore, was passed for this purpose which led to the erection of 109 churches between the years 1719 and 1800.

We may here notice some episcopal changes of the period. Early in 1716, Moreton of Kilmore was succeeded by Evans of Bangor, and Vesey, the aged Archbishop of Tuam, by Synge of Raphoe, whose first act after his translation was to resign a fourth part of alienated property which had been allotted to the see, for the purpose of increasing the incomes of his resident clergy. This was in accordance with a statute made prior to 1641, but in consequence of the Rebellion never carried out in that diocese. Foster of Killaloe, a man of large church-and-school-building liberality, was translated to Raphoe. Lloyd of Killala was succeeded by Downes, Fellow of New College, Oxford. Stearne was

removed from Dromore to Clogher, which was vacated by St. Aske, who replaced Hartstong in the see of Derry, but St. Aske dying in about a year, he was succeeded by Nicholson of Carlisle.

In 1717 and 1718 the dissenters agitated for toleration, and especially for the repeal of the Test Act. The latter measure was strongly supported by the government, who thought it highly expedient to conciliate the dissenters, and though it was opposed by the bishops as a dangerous innovation, was passed a year later. It exempted them from certain obligations and penalties imposed in 1559 and 1678, such as the fines of twelve-pence for each absence from church, and of £100 for each service performed by a dissenting minister, only stipulating for the retention of the oaths of allegiance, of abjuration and against transubstantiation. An act "for the better maintenance of curates" fixed £20 as their minimum, and £50 as their maximum, annual stipend, and authorised the building of chapels of ease with curates attached, for hamlets more than six miles from a church; but the endowments awarded out of the tithes were inoperative when these were appropriated. An act was also projected, but not passed, to provide glebes and houses of residence for the clergy.

Immediately after this session the Lord-Lieutenant left the government to the lords-justices, King being excluded, though he had recently held the latter office, partly in displeasure at his opposition to the Toleration Act, partly on account of his infirmities; but in a visitation held in his name the next spring by the Archbishop of Tuam, he dictated a wise and conciliatory charge, though his exhortations to pastoral diligence were interpreted to the government as exciting disaffection. Yet he must have been ere long restored to favour, as in the two next years he was one of the lords-justices. But a want of cordial feeling towards him, first

as an Irishman, and then as a disciplinarian, was apparent among the Anglican bishops.

The years 1720—21 witnessed several vacancies when, unhappily for the popularity and efficiency of the Church, the government again manifested their preference of Englishmen for the enjoyment, too often unmerited, of Irish emoluments. Downes, transferred from Killala to Elphin, was a fair specimen of the class, though Hutchinson preferred to Down and Connor, was eminent for liberality, diligence, and scholarship. Josias Hort, who was elected to Leighlin, King would not consecrate in person on account of his dissenting education. Bolton, King's vicar-general, promoted to Clonfert, was a man of worth, eloquence, and ecclesiastical learning, of which, perhaps, Dean Swift's hostility to him is some confirmation. He was afterwards Chancellor of St. Patrick's. In 1724, Downes removing to Meath, Bolton went to Elphin and Price, Dean of Ferns, replaced him at Clonfert.

Lindsay's primacy was unmarked by any special event. He was benevolent, though feeble-minded, and a liberal benefactor to his cathedral. On his death speculation was rife as to his successor. Many predicted King's advancement, especially as his success in a suit against his dean and chapter implied the favourable disposition of the government towards him, and as some of his friends exerted themselves for him, though not with his consent; but the government professing to feel, as he himself felt, that his best days were past, the choice fell on Hugh Boulter, Bishop of Bristol. The real objection, however, to King was, that he was the head of the Irish party, whereas Boulter was zealous for the English influence, which it was thought well to strengthen. The latter certainly desired the welfare of the Irish arch, but he expected to promote it by filling every vacant Church and State with Englishmen. To this he lent all his influ-

ence, on this he insisted with the heads of each department, and suffered no opportunity to escape of acting on it. Thus he replaced Smyth of Limerick, on his death, by Burscough, Dean of Lismore, and gave the deanery to a Mr. Cotterill, both being Englishmen, besides conferring civil appointments on four others within six months of his own elevation. King, and even Dean Swift, might well complain that almost every Englishman who crossed the channel brought a train of dependents who gained the best preferments, while young men from the Irish University had no better prospect than to remain curates for life. Yet Boulter was anxious for the temporal and educational improvement of the Church, and set a noble example of liberality. He proposed to add to the firstfruits by a voluntary tax on the bishops and clergy, and partially succeeded in obtaining it. A Report for the year 1726 states that at that date the fund, thus enlarged and better managed, had purchased sixteen glebes, and the tithes of fourteen livings, besides aiding the erection of forty-five parsonage houses. He also resisted the vicious practice of pluralism, the laws to check which had been but too successfully evaded and which the poverty of the livings tended to increase.

In this year a portion of the Erasmus Smith Estates, devoted to educational purposes, notwithstanding great mismanagement of the funds, was appropriated to the foundation of fellowships and exhibitions in Trinity College, and to the admission of forty boys to be boarded and taught at the Dublin Blue Coat School. About this time also the opponents of state endowments were formed into the "Synod of Antrim" with which that of Munster, consisting of eight Unitarian congregations, coalesced.

In the next July (1722) Boulter held a visitation and published the charge, which was remarkable for its conciliatory spirit towards nonconformists and for the tact with which he proposed to deal with them. A copy was presented to Prince

Frederick, (father of George III.) whose tutor he had been.

On the meeting of parliament in September there was a collision between Boulter and King on the disposal of patronage, the former moving an address to the Lord-Lieutenant, the latter an amendment, which was carried but subsequently omitted. King complained, and not without justice, that £20,000 a-year of Irish ecclesiastical income was given to strangers, while not £500 a-year was bestowed on natives of the soil. Another grievance arose between them during the next year. Boulter, who was one of the lords-justices during the Lord-Lieutenant's absence, claimed the sole right, in virtue of existing statutes, to issue "prerogative" licenses to celebrate marriages at uncanonical hours, against King's exercise of a similar privilege. But Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, Gibson, Bishop of London and the Lord-Chancellor, all advising him to avoid litigation with so litigious a man, the matter was wisely dropped, and soon afterwards they jointly succeeded in obtaining for Dr. Maule, already Dean of Cloyne through King's influence, although an Irishman, the vacant bishopric of that see.

The death of Palisser, Archbishop of Cashel, at the age of 85 caused several changes. Nicholson of Derry, succeeding him, was replaced by Downes, but died within a month, of paralysis. Cobb of Killala being removed to Meath was succeeded by Howard, Dean of Ardagh. Cashel remaining four months vacant, King and the Primate each urged on the government their own respective views. At length three promotions took place. A brother of the too-celebrated Bishop Hoadley, a personal friend of Boulter, accepted Ferns and Leighlin, whence Hort was translated to Kilmore and Ardagh (for the separation of which King had vainly petitioned) and from thence Godwin, at the Primate's long urged entreaty, was sent to Cashel.

CHAPTER XIII.

REIGN OF GEORGE II.—A.D. 1727—1760.

Secular Spirit of Ecclesiastics.—Exceptions.—Popular Alienation.—Methodism.

BEFORE these arrangements were completed, George I. suddenly expired, and the accession of George II. was hailed with satisfaction in Ireland. Even during his father's lifetime he had taught the protestants to expect a large share of his favour, but it was not immediately apparent. An address of congratulation was presented to him by the heads of the University, of which he had been Chancellor. The Primate obtained from the Archbishop of Canterbury the promise that, if needful, he would promote Baldwin, who had presented it, to the vacant chancellorship.

On the first meeting of the new parliament, various projects of church reform were promoted by the Primate, with the aid of the English prelates, Wake and Gibson. To supply the want of churches and resident clergy, he reduced the distance at which a bishop could require a chapel of ease to be built to five measured miles instead of six long country miles from the mother church, the consent of patron and incumbent being superseded by that of contributing protestant inhabitants. Glebe lands were allowed to be granted at improved rents on the condition of parsonage houses being built on them. Other acts facilitated the recovery of small tithe dues, secured the right of advowsons, empowered their sale to lay-patrons, if under £300 a-year, in order to increase

their value, renewed and amended the act of Charles II. for separating or combining parishes when necessary, tested the assumed conversion of candidates for the legal profession, and enacted that no papist could vote at the election of a magistrate or a member of parliament. The exemption of the latter, for only fourteen days before and after a session, from being sued for debt, was stoutly, though not very creditably, opposed by Bolton of Elphin who, by organizing a party against it, was alienated from his episcopal brethren. The bill, however, passed.

The Church lost one of its most valuable bishops on King's death May 8, 1729, in his eightieth year. His infirmities and an illness of the previous autumn had long foreshadowed the event, yet when it occurred, it was felt as a bereavement by all those friends of the Church who had witnessed his indefatigable labours. In the early part of his long episcopate his diligence and administrative talents had been employed in visitations and sermons with a view to promote the progress of truth and to raise the moral standard both of clergy and people. His personal munificence stimulated the liberality of others to provide for the better education, residence, maintenance and efficiency of the clergy. His efforts to foster a spirit of loyalty to the line of Hanover brought him more than once into the civil government of the country, and gave him a beneficial influence in it which he failed not to use. In his latter days it declined, partly through his infirmities, and partly because his preference for an Irish episcopate and clergy was distasteful to those who were giving the best church preferment to Englishmen ; yet he lost neither his interest in the welfare of the Church nor his place in her affections.

The see of Armagh was occupied during most of this reign by Boulter and his successor Stone. The former, a man of princely liberality, gave a noble proof of it when,

during a famine, he maintained 2,500 of the Dublin poor, mostly Romanists, at his own cost. Nor was he indifferent to the ignorance and consequent lawlessness of the Romish peasantry and yeomanry, or to the state of the church temporalities, as appears from his correspondence with the English government between 1724 and 1739. Thus when writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he speaks of the dearth of glebes and parsonages, of parishes varying from eight to fourteen miles in length; with perhaps only one church in them, and that often at one end of the parish; of the pastor's difficulty in procuring the necessaries of life without glebe land which there was no hope of obtaining from Romish hands; of livings reduced by impropriations to the value of £5 or £10 a-year; of districts comprising many such parishes with but one or two churches, and the consequent defection from the protestant faith of many soldiers and officers who had fought under Cromwell. Yet he made no effort to remedy these evils by educating an Irish-speaking clergy, by encouraging the use of the vernacular scriptures, or by restoring ruined churches and alienated tithes; but without scruple massed together groups of poor livings and large parishes to form a decent, and often a barely decent, maintenance for one clergyman who should do duty at the only tenantable church within reach, and be driven, in sheer despair, to neglect a charge too unwieldy for any one man efficiently to fulfil.

Meanwhile the people avenged themselves on the clergy by cutting off their supplies, forgetting that they thus increased the cause of their irritation by diminishing the number of their pastors, already too few, and by rendering plurality and non-residence more inevitable. The Irish House of Commons passed a resolution, moved thereto by "zeal for the protestant religion and a desire to check the

progress of popery and infidelity," depriving the clergy of the tithe of "agistment" or the tithe on grass lands. Its immediate effect was to discourage tillage and to promote pasturage for the sake of exemption. Thus, corn tithes being already largely impropriated and grass tithes being thus lost, the protestant owners of the soil who had received it from Cromwell or from William, if they occupied it themselves, acquired the whole produce of which they had only a right to nine-tenths, while those who let it exacted a higher rent because it was tithe-free. The mulcted and half-starved clergy thus became dependent on the Romanist, that is, on the pauper, farmers who cultivated only potatoes, oats, and pigs. In corn-growing England this would not have been so disastrous, but in a land of rivers and lakes, whose abundant moisture and extensive pasture lands have gained it the name of the "Emerald Isle," it at one stroke pauperised the clergy and induced combinations of eight or ten parishes into one to eke out a subsistence for the solitary pastor. Not less than two-thirds of the tithes spared at the Reformation thus passed into the pockets of landlords, and in consequence, ere many years had passed, the number of the Irish clergy was decimated.*

The episcopal vacancies of 1729 had scarcely been supplied when Godwin, the new Archbishop of Cashel, died. The Primate as usual carried out his own views, and was well-satisfied with Hoadley's transfer to Dublin, Bolton's from Elphin to Cashel, Price's of Clonfert to Ferns, and that of Synge, eldest son of the Archbishop of Tuam, to Clonfert. On the death of Sir T. Vesey the Primate welcomed the Englishman chosen to succeed him, viz., Edward Tenison, a kinsman of his namesake at Canterbury, a warm adherent of the royal family, and a zealous propagator of protestantism by means of books and endowed schools. Elphin was given to Howard of Killala, who was succeeded by Dr. Clayton.

* This fact suggests clearly the inevitable result of "disendowment."

The death of Lambert of Meath led to four translations; of Ellis, Maule, Cobb, and Synge, respectively from Kildare, Dromore, Cloyne, and Clonfert, to the last of which Dr. Cary, a London clergyman, was consecrated. Ellis died two years later, greatly respected. The Primate, who was uninterested in these appointments, on Ellis's death, recommended the removal of Price and Synge from Ferns and Cloyne, the latter being replaced by Berkeley, Dean of Derry, a native of Kilkenny, commemorated by Pope, Johnson, Swift, and Markham, Archbishop of York, for genius, scholarship, and beneficence, but chiefly immortalised by the well-known work entitled the "Minute Philosopher." Not needing to regard pecuniary considerations, he accepted the see with the unwonted resolution never to be translated. Some years later he would have resigned it for a canonry at Oxford, that he might superintend his son's education. The king not consenting but granting him leave of absence, he commenced a residence at Oxford, which was but too quickly cut short by his sudden death. He was more active in the discharge of his duties than his literary habits would have rendered likely, for his visitations and confirmations were frequent, and the revival of the disused office of rural deans is attributed to him.

On the death of Bishop Downes, the Lord-Lieutenant and Lord-Chancellor recommended Hort of Kilmore to the see of Derry. Yet he was superseded by Thomas Rundle, a friend of Chancellor Talbot, who had recently been nominated to the see of Gloucester. This appointment had not been sanctioned, Bishop Gibson interposing, in consequence of heterodox opinions being imputed to him, but orthodoxy being perhaps thought less essential in Ireland than in England, or possibly an Irish, of less importance than an English, bishopric, he was appointed to the valuable see of

Derry. He was naturally received with disfavour at first, but the feeling gradually abated, and in course of time he was able to say, "My situation in Ireland is as agreeable as any possibly could be." He retained it till his death eight years later.

On the death of Tenison, Bishop of Ossory, Estè, Archdeacon of Armagh and the Primate's domestic chaplain, was promoted to it, but after nearly five years' occupancy was transferred to Waterford to succeed Mills, an ex-Greek professor at Oxford. In the same year Clayton of Killala succeeded Dr. Brown at Cork, who like Syngé and Delany, adorned the annals of theological literature at a time when it was too little encouraged. Syngé died after a long episcopate, and was replaced at Tuam by Dr. Hort, the author of "The Clergyman's Instructor," reprinted in 1807.*

The attention of the Church was during this period turned to her duties towards the native Irish, the instruction of those who claimed to be her members, and the recovery of those outside her pale. The new Bishop of Ferns, in his charge of 1729, enjoined public catechising, a practice which had been recently urged on the English clergy, and also the public exposition of protestant principles as a policy preferable to coercion. Maule, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, had in 1717 instituted a society for the establishment of charity schools, which led to the formation of several in town and country; and in 1730 he issued a proposal for a charter to incorporate a Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge among the Irish poor. It was favoured both by the Primate and the King. In the same year the former drew up a petition from the bishops, the nobility, and the landed gentry, for the formation of English protestant schools, such as had been established in Scotland, where gratuitous education could be given, as a necessary supplement to a resident clergy, if the

* For these details see Mant's Irish Church, vol. ii.

papists, who in many parishes formed a majority, were to be converted, or even to retain their loyalty. It was graciously received by his Majesty, who started a liberal subscription in its aid by the donation of £1000, and the Dublin Incorporated Protestant School Society was formed and empowered to appoint masters and mistresses qualified to teach Roman Catholic and other native children the English language, the Scriptures, and the doctrines of the Church, combined with general instruction. Where the charter was granted, the evangelising zeal of the Church gradually merged into this commendable effort, but unhappily it absorbed what little interest remained in the work of conversion through the native tongue, in the attempt to force instruction on the people in a language which deprived it of its influence for good.

In the three next years nine "charter" schools were founded. In 1745 a tax was laid on hawkers' licences for their support. In 1769 the Corporation had fifty-two schools, five nurseries, and 2100 children. Abuses creeping in, Howard in 1787 procured a commission of inquiry. But though parliamentary grants and individual gifts were still liberally bestowed, yet till after 1798 very little improvement took place. At the close of the century there were forty-four schools and 2025 children. But these had little general influence on the population for, besides their inadequacy to the wants of the country, there could be no hope of benefiting a people by any instrumentality so long as the native language was ignored.*

* It is unfortunate that the contempt visited on the Hibernian race has been also inflicted on their language, except by the Romish priesthood who cultivate it at Maynooth, and use the influence it gives them with the people. It is not the peculiar language of faction which expresses itself equally well in English from the lips or the pen of Irish sedition-mongers, nor is it a barbarous tongue, being one of the purest and most copious dialects of the primitive Celtic. See Mason's *Bedell*, pp. 116, 117.

In 1732 two bills were introduced into parliament; one obliging incumbents to build glebe houses on sites to be determined by the diocesan; the other, requiring large parishes to be subdivided with the consent of the chief governor, six members of the privy council, the ordinary and the patron, even without that of the incumbent, but yet reserving to the latter £300 a-year. They both obtained a majority of the Peers in their favour, though opposed by a few bishops, but were rejected by the Commons, probably because they would give too much power to the bishops. The former act, anticipating the present mode of proceeding, proposed that the cost of erection should be shared by four succeeding incumbents.

A series of aggressions on the temporalities of the clergy took place at this period of which later times have afforded but too many examples. Many spoliations of glebes and tithes had been effected by individual laymen, but now associations for the same object obtained parliamentary sanction to override the laws made for the protection of such property. The right to "agistment" tithes on unproductive pasture lands, granted by Henry VIII., had been frequently resisted, evaded, or not enforced, though the claim when insisted on had been allowed. At length petitions of landowners were sent up to the House of Commons arguing that these tithes were unnecessary for the sustenance of the clergy. Anti-clerical associations, well provided with funds, were formed and steadily increased, while the landlords, meeting with such encouragement, maintained an injurious resistance to these payments.

The death of Archbishop Boulter, after a twenty-four years' primacy, was an event of some importance to the Church. His uprightness of character and his sincere but too exclusive regard to English interests, especially to the House of

Hanover, secured to him the confidence of two successive sovereigns, for whom he thirteen times filled the office of lord justice. He used his property unsparingly for church purposes, providing education for the sons of the poorer clergy and endowments for their widows, assisting Protestant schools and, to the amount of £30,000 providing glebes for, and augmenting the value of, several benefices. It is a pity that political views should so far have overshadowed his spiritual character and his exercise of patronage, that of fourteen episcopal consecrations which took place during his primacy, more than half were in favour of men born in England. With respect to inferior appointments, in the words of Dean Swift, "there were hardly ten clergymen throughout the whole kingdom for more than nineteen years preceding 1733 who had not been preferred entirely on account of their declared affection to the Hanover line." As to the effect of this policy on the Irish Church we need say no more. As to the secular spirit which attached more weight to the political sympathies than to the spiritual qualifications of those on whose discharge of solemn responsibilities depended, humanly speaking, the existence, the growth, the purity of religion in the land, without dwelling on the influence which such considerations now exercise on episcopal appointments, it is but justice to Boulter's memory to admit that, in acting on merely political principles he was scarcely below the standard of his times, and that the objections to his appointments which would occur to the greater piety or conscientiousness of our days, awakened no serious protest either from the Church or the thinking part of society, under the spiritual torpor which then prevailed on both sides of the Channel.

It was not the Church alone which suffered from the decay of spiritual vitality. The Scottish colonists who

peopled Ulster, had brought with them the Presbyterian doctrine and polity ; but when the Restoration had caused a reaction from the fervour of the Commonwealth, when the Church, lifted up by the breezes of earthly prosperity, was stranded above the "living waters," "high and dry," and all but wrecked on the rocks of heterodoxy in the midst of which she lay ; when all ranks of society were steeped in profligacy ; when the coarse infidelity, then in fashion, scorned to veil itself under the non-natural use of christian phraseology, the modest suggestion of religious difficulties, the subtle refinements of ingenious philosophy, or the supercilious patronage of "all religions as equally true ;" * when even English Independency was content to slumber in the shade ; when enthusiasm for the "Solemn League and Covenant," north of the Tweed, was dying down into "Moderation ;" when Encyclopædic Atheism was growing up in France under the patronage of the profligate Louis Quinze, and in Germany under that of Frederic the Great,—the Irish Presbyterians, intent on commerce, agriculture and the pursuit of wealth, could hardly escape a freezing influence so universal. Nor is it strange that when religion had lost its vitality, and its followers had ceased to contend earnestly for the faith, the door should have stood open for the entrance of any form of heresy, even down to the exploded Arianism of the fourth century which, as it swept with revived strength, like the dust storm, over the non-conformist bodies of Great Britain, laid also its paralysing hand on the Presbyterians of Ulster, where it has found a home and a stronghold even to this day ; thus renewing the oft-repeated lesson that no form of Church government, how-

* "The unbelief of the last century attacked with Iconoclastic zeal the terms which enshrined such truth as it rejected, no less than the truth itself." Lyddon, University Sermons, Serm. iv., p. 106. Ed. 1865.

ever perfect, no scheme of doctrine however scriptural, no confession of faith, however sound, without spiritual life, will preserve the best institutions from the worst of evils, the purest church from the deadliest heresy. In 1746, a Scotch seceding minister was sent over to Ireland to revive the Presbyterians who were sinking into Arianism, and from this mission originated the "Synod of Associate Seceders" consisting of about a hundred congregations.

Meanwhile Ireland could not fail to benefit by the revival, in the eighteenth century, of the slumbering Church from the torpor into which it had sunk after the Restoration. Methodism made its first appearance there about the middle of the century. One of its preachers, named Williams, visiting Dublin, attracted the lower order of Romanists in such multitudes that Wesley himself was also induced to visit them. He preached both there and in the South, first in churches and afterwards in the open air, little noticed except with disapproval by the bishops, but countenanced by many of the clergy, few admitting him to their pulpits, but many coming to hear him, though others treated the movement with indifference and some with active opposition. The wave of Methodism passed northwards somewhat later, and ere long societies in connection with it were formed in most of the chief towns. At the close of the century it had enrolled 16,227 members. Wesley generally sought to disarm opposition by attending divine service in the churches of parishes which he visited. The Independents, Baptists and Moravians had likewise congregations in Ireland in this century.

Whatever the shortcomings of the Irish bishops as to the higher part of their functions, they were not unmindful of the external fabrics of the Church. Besides repairing, building and rebuilding them to accommodate the settled population, many of them sought to repair the neglect of their

predecessors by also improving episcopal residences, more than half of which were restored between the years 1698 and 1739. No small outlay was required, considering the low value of the sees, which ranged from £2200 to £1100 a-year, and were so insufficient that livings *in commendam* were sometimes held with them. The incumbents were in worse case, for while the nominal value of government livings varied from £300 a-year down to £80, their actual receipts were most precarious, the vexatious opposition of tithe payers often mulcting them of half their legal rights. This was due to the instigation of the priests, who swarmed around them and multiplied at the rate of five to one of the established clergy; while most of the latter, being without glebes or parsonage houses, and being compelled to hold pluralities or parochial union benefices, lost efficiency and moral power with a people among whom they were unable, however desirous, to dwell. The deficiency of church room tended to the same result for, notwithstanding the efforts made to supply it, four dioceses, which we may take as samples of the rest, shewed in the years 1746-56 such results as these—Waterford, Lismore, Cork, Ardfert and Aghadoe had respectively 9, 14, 30 and 15 churches in repair, with 22, 49, 46 and 52 in ruins.

Archbishop Hoadley was raised to the primacy after a short interval, and Bishop Cobb was removed from Kildare to Dublin, Stone from Ferns to Kildare, and Caterill, dean of Raphoe to Ferns. The death of Rundle at Derry brought Bishop Reynell from Down and Connor. Bishops Price and Maule were translated from Meath and Dromore to Cashel and Meath. Stearne, who died at Clogher aged 85, was one among other examples of liberality. He contributed largely to the completion of the episcopal houses at Dromore and Clogher, of Clogher cathedral, of the spire of St. Patrick's

and of its deanery house. But his works of usefulness reached a higher level than the mere erection of material edifices. He founded a lectureship at an hospital, endowed a Blue-coat school for the poor with several exhibitions at Trinity College, aided in erecting an University printing-press, bequeathed a library to Trinity College, and left £2000 to purchase glebes and impropriations for resident incumbents.

On Hoadley's death, the chief monuments of his primacy, says his biographer, were the episcopal palace and the improvement of agriculture. Among his literary works is a "View of Bishop Beveridge's Writings in a Humorous Way," which suggests no very exalted idea of his piety. The chief legislative enactment during his episcopate, passed in 1745, nullified marriages, celebrated often clandestinely by Romish priests, between persons one or both of whom were protestants.

Hoadley's successor was George Stone, a native of Winchester who, between 1733 and 1747, was Dean of Ferns and of Derry, Bishop of Ferns, of Kildare and of Derry, and lastly Archbishop of Armagh at the unusually early age of forty. Such rapid elevation was probably due to his zealous advocacy of the English over the Irish interest, after the example of his predecessor, whose death was subsequent to his own elevation to the bench, and who might have known him as the Lord-Lieutenant's chaplain, a post which was usually to an Englishman a stepping-stone to promotion.

It would be tedious to catalogue the undistinguished men who during the next few years mounted the episcopal bench or were handed from diocese to diocese. Among them were Burscough at Limerick whose piety, learning and eloquence won for him the affections of the citizens, and Pococke, the oriental traveller, who took the see of Ossory. The son of

an English clergyman, he was at Oxford cotemporary with Secker. Soon after his promotion to a precentorship at Lismore, he set out on his travels, the narrative of which in two volumes, published in 1754 and 1756, long continued to be a standard work of its class, and as such is quoted by later tourists. Little else is known of him, and he has left no theological writings of importance; but he was a promoter of protestant schools, and investigated with some pains the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland. He died two months after his elevation to Meath.

The name of Clayton has acquired a more painful celebrity which in the present day it may be worth while to recal. Of Irish birth and education, he became acquainted, on a visit to London, with Dr. Samuel Clarke, and impregnated with his Unitarian views, though he did not hesitate to accept the episcopal office which a relative at court, in concurrence with the late primate, procured for him. In the years 1730, 1735, 1745 he was Bishop successively of Killybegs, Cork and Clogher; but it was not till 1751 that an "Essay on Spirit" disclosed his real opinions. That a bishop should openly impugn the doctrine of the Trinity and the creeds of the Church was so unwonted an occurrence as to create no small ferment. The English government promptly negatived the viceroy's recommendation of him to the see of Tuam, but his proposal in the Irish House of Peers that the Nicene and Athanasian creeds should be expunged from the Liturgy excited general disgust. The King having ordered a legal prosecution, the Lord-Lieutenant fixed a day for his appearance before the assembled bishops. A censure was certain, and deprivation probable, but before the day arrived a nervous fever terminated his life. He had not the hardihood of a subsequent heretic bishop to brave the whole episcopal bench and to defy the censure of public opinion, and therefore fell a victim to his own heterodoxy.

CHAPTER XIV.

REIGN OF GEORGE III.—A.D. 1760—1820.

Episcopal changes.—Policy of William Pitt.—Protestant feeling of George III.—Agitation for Repeal of Test Act.—Support of Maynooth.—Roman Catholic Emancipation.—Rebellion of 1798.—Legislative Union.

THE reign of George III. dawned auspiciously on Ireland, though it produced no immediate influence on the Church. The trade of the country had for some years been increasing, and recently had not only begun to pay the expenses of government, but even to yield an overplus, amounting in one year to £120,000. This increase was further stimulated by the Earl of Halifax, the first lord-lieutenant under the new reign who, following an enlightened policy, sought to develop home manufactures, not only as furnishing employment to the peasantry, but as an addition to the national capital.

In the session of 1763 an act was passed for "confirming the possessions of Protestants, and for giving time to converts from popery to perform the requisites of conformity to the Established Church." Lord Halifax also encouraged protestant endowed schools. He systematically opposed the venality of party leaders, declining the larger salary offered to him as a bribe to abandon his principles, and to swim with the stream of court intrigue, and refusing to incur the risk of losing respect and influence among the Irish gentry.

The peasantry, untamed, untaught, untended, scarcely christianised, unable to appreciate any enlightened effort for their improvement, and impatient of the temporary loss of pasture caused by the enclosure of waste lands, commenced that career of petty, but widespread agitation, that systematic hostility to life and property for which Ireland has been long notorious. They were called "Levellers" from the practice of throwing down fences, and "White Boys" from the habit of wearing white smock frocks as a badge of mutual recognition when they went forth to seize the tithe collectors, besides other soubriquets such as "Hearts of steel" and "Hearts of oak." It was not easy to cope with the Kaffrarian tactics of men who rose from ambush on their victors, disappeared before their pursuers, and as suddenly surprised some fresh locality with pillage, fire or murder. But troops were sent into the disturbed districts of the South through whom several offenders were seized, tried, convicted and executed. But the forms of English law were ill-suited to a semi-civilized country. The ill-taught peasantry, sympathising with the criminal rather than with the law, regarded, as they are still taught to regard, his conviction as an insult to be avenged, and by a reign of terror silenced the witnesses who could have proved the crime, but who knew that if they dared to speak the truth they were inevitably exposed to the assassin's weapon. A more summary mode of dealing would have been more effectual, could it have been safely or fearlessly adopted.

Lord Halifax, after six months of personal effort to arouse the heads of Church and State from their supine neglect to extend a protestant education among the peasantry, returned home as usual, three deputies representing himself and his successors, till two of them, the Primate and the Earl of Shamon were removed by death. They and

their successors were nicknamed "undertakers," because, in return for royal patronage placed at their disposal, they "undertook" to secure the obedience of the Irish Commons to their intimations, which, distasteful as it was to really "honourable" members, and even to the King, they accomplished by availing themselves of the custom of only dissolving parliament at the demise of the Crown, and of thus relieving the sitting member from the need to consult his constituents. At length Lord Townshend, a man of popular manners, superseded the "undertakers" by engaging to continue in residence as lord-lieutenant. Very soon afterwards their adversaries, anxious to shorten the duration of parliaments, agreed to the heads of a bill for that purpose and, as Poyning's-law required, sent it over to England for the sanction of the home government. Leave was obtained, the new viceroy proposed the bill, opposition was silenced, and octennial elections became the law. A dissolution then took place, and a year's negotiation which ensued before another was allowed to meet sufficed to mould the electors into harmony with the Lord-Lieutenant's plans; but, as the new members insisted on the right of the Commons to originate money bills, he prorogued them for fourteen months more, and after his dismissal of two of the deputies, the Commons surrendered.

The first episcopal promotion under George III. was that of Robinson from Ferns to Kildare and, on the Primate's death, to Armagh. An Englishman by birth and education, he had previously held preferment in the diocese of York. He has been described as "watching most carefully over the interests of the Church of Ireland," as "splendid, liberal, lofty, ambitious of great deeds, capable of good ones," as towards intimate friends "all mildness, suavity, benevolence," as supporting the magnificence of a prince. He built his palace, beautified his cathedral, erected an infirmary and

observatory, endowed a public library in Armagh, the mud cabins of which city he replaced by stone buildings, provided many new parochial cures and parsonages, and lastly procured an act to perpetuate this good work under his successors.

In 1763 Denison Cumberland, grandson of a bishop of Peterbro', educated at Westminster and Cambridge, and for some years holding English preferment, became Bishop of Clonfert. The manner in which he discharged his functions won from the citizens of Dublin an unwonted mark of their respect, viz. the presentation to him of the freedom of the city. Cobb, for a long period Archbishop of Dublin, to whose efforts to promote Christian knowledge among the poor of the capital John Wesley bears honorable witness, was succeeded on his death by Carmichael Bishop of Meath. In connection with the latter, may be mentioned his promotion of Dr. John Gast, the son of a French refugee, educated in Dublin, to a benefice in that city, as it leads to the remark that Ireland was often at different periods a refuge to the victims of foreign persecution. The Verschoyles fled thither from Holland in the reign of Philip II., and in 1685 it afforded shelter to several thousand fugitives from the dragonnades of Louis XIV., who formed three congregations, one in Dublin, one at Waterford, and one at Portarlington in Queen's County, some of whose pastors, such as Abbadie and Saurin, rose afterwards to literary eminence.*

The French colonists of this class date from 1674 when the Dublin parliament promised to foreign protestants naturalization and admission to corporations. The Duke of Ormonde, who had resided in France during Cromwell's supremacy, favored and partly originated their introduction. He encouraged their manufactures, their agriculture, and the investment of their capital, guaranteeing at

* Weiss, History of the French Refugees. Smiles's History of the Huguenots.

the same time the free exercise of their religion. Several protestant noblemen followed his example, and the strength of popular feeling compelled even James to exhibit towards them a protective policy. The Irish parliament revived the bill of 1674 and many of the French who had accompanied William to Ireland immediately availed themselves of it. Many French officers after the peace of Ryswick joined the Dublin colony. The latter also included a strong commercial element. In 1751 a persecution in Languedoc drove a fresh swarm of refugees to Ireland. Among the earlier arrivals was that of Schomberg, descended from the dukes of Cleves, to whom, though he had distinguished himself in the military annals of France, Louis, at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, assigned Portugal as a place of exile, but who, being hated there on account of his religion, went to Brandenburg, the elector of which introduced him to William and to the military career with which we are already familiar.*

Viscount Townshend, on his acceptance of the vice-royalty, appointed as his chaplain Dr. Thomas Leland, whose History of Ireland and other works had already recommended him for promotion. But as his writings were so little connected with the cause of religion, we regret the less that his only benefice was a prebend in St. Patrick's cathedral. Smyth, Archbishop of Dublin was succeeded by Cradock of Kilmore. In the next year Dr. Isaac, an Englishman, was consecrated to the see of Cork, according to the dying request of Lady Townshend, to whom his visits were consolatory in her last moments. He is said to have been generally acceptable. He rebuilt his palace, but what was more important, is said to have won all hearts by his impressive ministry, and to have left several pastoral works behind him.

About this time several acts were passed, through the exertions of Robinson the Primate, similar to others in pre-

* Weiss, Hist. Protestant Refugees.

vious years, to remedy the flagrant evil of the Church, viz. : its spiritual destitution; one for the erection of district churches, and another to promote the residence of the clergy. A third, of a sanitary character, was passed to discourage intramural interments. To these he added the force of his own example, enriching his see by refusing the renewal of leases for the sake of the consequent fines. On his death he was succeeded by G. L. Jones, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Archbishop Ryder's death the same year removed Brown, Dodgson and Newcome from Elphin, Ossory and Dromore, respectively to Tuam, Elphin and Ossory; Dromore being occupied by Dr. Hawkin's of Trinity College. Cradock of Dublin was succeeded by a Bishop Fowler whom Wesley mentions in terms of commendation. He was kind and condescending, and is said to have administered the rite of ordination with remarkable solemnity. The aged Archbishop of Cashel was succeeded by Agar from Cloyne, and the latter by Chinnery from Killaloe, where he was replaced by Dr. Thomas Barnard, whose literary eminence is celebrated by Goldsmith, Sir Joshua Reynolds and Boswell in terms calculated to compromise the piety and gravity which befit so sacred a calling. Chenevix of Waterford, who died in that year, and whose family emigrated from France after 1685, had been British chaplain at the Hague when Lord Chesterfield was ambassador there and, when the latter became Viceroy of Ireland, accompanied him in the same capacity. He bequeathed to his diocese £2,600 to endow a fund for the widows of his clergy. Newcome of Ossory who succeeded him was replaced by John Hotham, Archdeacon of Middlesex.

While these and similar changes were taking place, another change detrimental to the true interests of the Church was in progress. The generation which had laid wholesome restraints on the adherents of Romanism had passed away to be

replaced by one which, knowing less, in England at least, of its true character and tendency, sought to remove them, and thus inaugurated that policy which the excessive liberalism of later times, has but too readily enlarged upon and, in the face of repeated failure, is still pursuing. The first step was an act "to enable his Majesty's subjects of whatever persuasion to testify their allegiance to him." Acts of parliament, like books, often bear titles intended to conceal their contents, as words are said to be the means of concealing our thoughts, and of expressing what we do not mean. Under this loyal designation it propounded an oath such as any loyal subject might take, disclaiming the pope's temporal authority in the British dominions, but passing over his spiritual power in ominous silence. Four years later, an act for the "Relief," so called, of Roman Catholics in Ireland was passed in consideration of their peaceable demeanour for several previous years. It enabled them to hold land on long leases, and to bequeath it in the same manner as protestants, on condition of taking the above mentioned oath. Titular bishops were now tacitly permitted to assume the same titles and distinctions as those of the Church. An act of "further relief" was passed, to facilitate to the Romanists the purchase and entail of landed property. They were no longer required to state where and from whom they heard mass, nor forbidden to be schoolmasters or guardians of children professing the same faith. Priests were freed from several disabilities affixed under William and Anne, though still forbidden to use bells, to officiate at funerals, or to appear robed in public. Such enactments, it is needless to say, neutralized the means devised to facilitate conformity to protestant worship.

Nor was the "relief of Nonconformists" forgotten. The sacramental test for admission to offices of state was re-

moved, and another act (1782) rendered valid the marriages of protestant dissenters when solemnised by their own ministers, the protest against it of several bishops and lay peers being ineffectual. However justly our enlightened age may rejoice that these restrictions are abolished, the motives which prompted their removal arose chiefly from the religious indifference which had characterised most of our statesmen for the previous hundred years and from the widespread infidelity of the age, the daughter of encyclopædison, the ally of the revolutionary mania then about to burst forth, and the parent of modern liberalism which, declining to enquire, What is truth? deems it impertinent to assume that any one system of religion is less true than another.

There now appeared three principal, among sundry new, occupants of the episcopal bench. The death of Garnet, Bishop of Clogher, "a friend of literature and religion," led by three promotions to the translation from the deanery of Carlisle to the see of Dromore of Thomas Percy, celebrated in the literary clubs where Johnson reigned supreme. He is known as the compiler of the "Percy Anecdotes" and the "Reliques of Antient English Poetry." In 1782, John Law, Archdeacon of Carlisle and a friend of Paley, was promoted successively to Clonfert, Killala and Elphin. His piety must have been sounder than his judgment, if we estimate him by his reprint of the works of Gother,* a priest, for the sake of what he considered their scriptural morality. Dickson, Lord-Lieutenant's chaplain, was also consecrated to Down and Connor, and lived to be an opponent of the Act of Union:

Some years before this period the agrarian disturbances of the South had spread into Ulster, commencing on the estates of the Marquis of Donegal, an absentee landlord,

* One of his works, a plea for Romanism, is entitled, "A Papist Represented and Misrepresented."

whose agents provoked reprisals by exacting rack-rent from the sub-tenant cotters. From night excursions to maim cattle, these victims of oppression set open gaols, enforced secret oaths and attacked the successors of ejected tenants. Some were brought to trial within the province, but neither witnesses daring to appear against them nor jury to condemn, they were sent to Dublin, which proved a safer place to the conscientious jurors, but not to the witnesses. Few convictions therefore took place, till the increase of crime led the more timid to seek refuge in America, while the sterner punishment inflicted on those who stayed behind, drove the guilty thither to escape from justice.

While this emigration goes on, let us pass onwards to the year 1778 when England and America were engaged in the great struggle, the one to retain her colonial possessions, the other to gain her independence. Ireland had little or no special interest in it. She suffered by the stoppage of the thriving trade which she had carried on across the Atlantic, that is, by her identification with England and her interests. She was denuded of her soldiers, who were taking part in the war; she had the example before her of a dependency on the mother country throwing off her yoke, and among her Celtic population many a restless spirit was ready to profit by the lesson. Her interests were so strongly opposed by the English parliament, that the proposal to rescind certain restrictions on her commerce was defeated, though some encouragement was given to her linen trade, and the West Indian ports were opened to her goods.

But the necessity to conciliate Ireland became more evident as the alliance between France and the American colonies increased the danger of her invasion by the former; and as her tranquillity was supposed to depend on the temper

of the priests and the Roman Catholics, that revision of the statute-book took place, whereby certain oppressive measures intended to check the growth of popery were repealed. These had been conceived in so harsh a spirit, that had the process extended no farther, the prudence and justice of their removal must have been commended ; but a government to whom religious truth was of secondary moment carried concession so far as to defeat itself, for an excited people, ascribing it to timidity, only made more exorbitant and clamorous demands. Time has proved the failure of such a policy, yet, by a strange infatuation, it is still pursued by men who can venture to pronounce an equally consistent adherence to Protestant principles an antiquated absurdity.

Irish agitation of course became chronic and universal. Volunteer associations everywhere sprang up, for Great Britain, in the midst of her own difficulties, was fain to leave the Irish to defend themselves. The merchants of Belfast, not obtaining the military force they had sought with a view to protect themselves from invasion, raised 4,000 Protestant volunteers around Dublin and in Ulster, they alone being thought safe to be entrusted with power. These were placed under the command of the Earl of Claremont, and in consequence of their military organization and the eloquence of Mr. Grattan, their advocate in Parliament, soon became a formidable machinery to sustain a growing agitation which, it must be confessed, was not wholly without excuse.

The commercial influence brought to bear on the English Parliament checking the encouragement of Irish manufactures which it was really not averse to granting, the Dublin merchants published a form of agreement, which pledged those who adopted it not to use any British goods if the same could be procured in Ireland, till they were

conceded. To intimidate the premier, Lord North, the Irish Commons also sent a message to the king, at Grattan's suggestion, that the nation could only be saved from ruin, suffering as it was by the loss of its American commerce, by the grant of unlimited trade at all its ports. The Speaker was escorted to the Castle with this address by the Duke of Leinster, and the streets through which he passed were lined with armed volunteers. The same party in the House, sustained unmistakeably by the sympathy of the Dublin populace, proposed that the supplies should be voted for no longer than six months. Opposition was overborne, and the ministry not daring to modify the proposition it was passed into a law.

The heads of a bill to invest the Crown for one year with authority over the troops in Ireland was also passed. Lord North, as was expected, yielded to the pressure in favour of the commercial concessions, though at the sacrifice of the popularity he might have gained by granting them earlier.

On the accession of the Rockingham ministry the volunteers, emboldened by success, having a government grant of 16,000 muskets, increasing rapidly in numbers, and being recruited by several Irish veterans from American battle-fields, began to interfere with the machinery of government. Knowing that Mr. Grattan hoped to carry a measure which would lead to disputes with the English ministry, they sent a number of deputies representing 143 corps of the Ulster force, as agreed on at a meeting of officers held at Armagh at the close of 1781, to meet at Dungannon, where they discussed and passed resolutions involving claims to carry arms, to make their own laws, and to exercise their private judgment in matters of religion; and a protest against the Poynings' statute, all tending to secure the legislative in-

dependence which they were pledged, if possible, to effect. They resolved to combine with the Dublin volunteers in a similar meeting, and to circulate an address of encouragement to those members of Parliament who were co-operating with them.

The attention of the English Commons being directed towards their proceedings, further information was sought from Mr. Eden, the Lord Lieutenant's secretary. He described them as, in common with the people of Ireland, brave, loyal, and reasonable in their wishes; and proposed the repeal of an Act of George I. which declared their legislature subject to that of England. The proposition was withdrawn, but when it was known, a few days later, that Mr. Grattan, in an inflammatory speech, had urged an address to the King to the effect, that "no power on earth, save that of the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for Ireland," that he was backed by the whole volunteer force; and that, to shew their determination to manage their own finances, the parliament had voted a testimonial to Mr. Grattan out of the surplus revenue usually paid to the English treasury, it was felt inexpedient to risk a war of independence by refusing the claim: Mr. Fox, therefore, carried Mr. Eden's proposal to repeal the assertion as to the paramount authority of the parliament of Great Britain, and the result was announced to the Irish parliament by the Duke of Portland, as Lord Lieutenant, in his speech from the Throne.

The Commons, well-satisfied with it, voted £100,000 to augment the navy in token of their gratitude, and the concession seemed as likely to be successful, as similar recent measures have been in the case of Canada and Australia; but the volunteers, knowing their power to intimidate while they were united, instead of disbanding, continued to hold delegate meet-

ings, which became more and more violent and factious. At a meeting of five hundred delegates, held at Dungannon, for the redress of grievances, they proposed that a military conventional-committee should be appointed to represent them and their comrades in the four provinces, and be named the "National Convention." After some preliminary meetings it was assembled at Dublin avowedly to promote parliamentary reform, and a reform committee was appointed, presided over by the bold but eccentric Earl of Bristol, who was also Bishop of Derry—the fact, that the representative of an old English family was a zealous partisan of Irish interests, giving the movement a prestige which it would never otherwise have had. A scheme was prepared for extending the franchise to Roman Catholics and for making elections triennial, which being on the next day laid before the Commons, they refused to entertain any proposition from a self-constituted rival council. A similar measure was rejected the next year, and the crisis was thus averted for a time, the body of two hundred delegates from twenty-seven counties, whose organization might have made it formidable, falling to pieces from internal dissension; and with it fell the project of reform till it was reawakened and the body of delegates revived by the frenzy of the French Revolution. Its President sank with it into insignificance, and retired into Italy, where he spent most of his time until his death. The only other fact worth record of him is his patronage of John Wesley.

The subject of education was now once more revived. Its importance even a Romanist would scarcely deny, for the want of it was one cause of the disorders of Ireland, but public feeling on the matter was torpid; and even thoughtful men on so difficult a question as education could scarcely agree on the best means of promoting it. The English protestant charter schools had been favourably noticed by the Duke of Rutland,

the Viceroy ; but, at length, in accordance with his expressed wish, Mr. Orde proposed to the Commons certain resolutions with the benevolent design of facilitating an useful and practical course of instruction in connection with the Church for the benefit of the poor and middle classes. One was for the foundation of one or two well-regulated public schools, and another required that the accounts should be rendered of all existing scholastic endowments. The Lord Lieutenant then pressed on the House the lamentable state of education and was followed by Mr. Orde. They recommended parochial schools, an endowed free school for each province, a seminary for elementary classics in each diocese, two academies preparatory for a college curriculum, and a new university, all these institutions being placed under competent inspection. Unhappily the death of the Viceroy arrested this salutary measure which, from the first, was coldly received and, not being taken up by his successor, fell to the ground.

On the entrance into office of the Duke of Rutland and Mr. Secretary Orde, some Irish patriots proposed a prohibitory duty on the import of English woollens ; but as England could retaliate by a tax on Irish linen, the proposal was negatived. Hereupon the Dublin populace being stirred up by a seditious press, a body of rioters broke into the House to reproach its members for having sold themselves to England and, a plot to assassinate some of the most unpopular having been discovered and traced to the instigation of the "Volunteer's Journal," a reinforcement was sought from England to strengthen the scanty Dublin garrison ; besides which, a bill was passed requiring newspaper printers and publishers to register their names, as ensuring their responsibility for any libels which might appear in their columns. The commercial classes being irritated at these proceedings, the volunteers called a meeting of Dublin citizens which passed

some violent resolutions and, as if assuming the office of reforming the representation, invited a national congress to meet in the Capital in order to "re-establish the constitution." By this irregular assembly it was first proposed that Romanists should have a vote at the elections. The city sheriffs advertised the meeting, but being threatened with prosecution for so illegal an act, it was dissolved ere it could proceed to business. The county sheriff, however, boldly presiding at a meeting and signing its resolutions, he was tried and convicted, but sentenced only to a nominal penalty. The congress met on the appointed day, but only six-and-thirty being present, they adjourned for three months, after which two hundred assembled who, not being able to agree, prorogued themselves till the following April, when they met to declare their sittings at an end.

The progress party had hoped to include Ireland in a Reform Bill brought forward by Mr. Pitt, and had even urged the claims of such a bill on his notice; but its rejection in England quashed their hopes, and led to its final rejection at Dublin. This excited a good deal of smothered discontent, which Mr. Pitt hoped to allay by efforts to promote the trade and general prosperity of the country, placing it on the same commercial footing with Great Britain, and claiming its surplus revenues, in order that it might share both the advantages and the necessary expenses of a direct trade with the colonies, its vessels being also subject to the same restrictions as the British commercial shipping; but the bill for effecting so wise and just a purpose was so opposed, in England because it was thought adverse to British interests, in Ireland because it was thought subversive of national independence, that much to Mr. Pitt's annoyance it was withdrawn.

The era of the French Revolution was a critical time. It would have been strange if French democratic views, driven

hither and thither in those tempestuous days and floating over Europe, had found no lodgment in Great Britain, and being freely entertained by political dissenters and radicals there, they would be likely to find a still more congenial soil in Ireland, where hatred to the English rule and religion, fostered by the priests, had become almost an instinct. During twenty previous years disaffection and intimidation had appeared in various forms, and the occasional combinations against high rents, unequal rates, and tithes, naturally led to renewed acts of violence such as had disgraced the nation in former periods.

Various names had been assumed by the disaffected, such as, the "Peep-of-Day Boys," a band of presbyterians, and "Whiteboys" or "Levellers," "Oakboys" or "Steelboys," who were mostly Roman Catholics. The lowest class of land occupiers, forming bands of rioters under the name of "Right Boys," were sworn at Romish chapels to resist the collection of tithe, the landlords frequently conniving at their proceedings in the hope of sharing the spoils. They commenced operations in Kerry, where "Captain Rights" swore at a mass house to starve the clergy. From thence spreading through Munster, an agitation for the non-payment of tithes, for a fall of rents and a rise of wages, attracted the notice of the Lord Lieutenant, who laid the subject before parliament with special reference to the Church and the clergy. The malcontents, aiming first to reduce the amount and to hinder the collection of tithes, next stopped the collection of parish cess, usurped the nomination of clerks and even of curates, and forbade the repair or erection of churches, while the people, tutored as they then were, loved to have it so. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne, relates that their hostility extended from the property, even to the persons, of the clergy, of whom many were reduced from competency

to less than a curate's stipend, while many others were hunted from their parishes and the churches closed. So stern was the reign of terror that witnesses were deterred from giving testimony and magistrates from passing sentence on insurgents. The infection spread through Connaught and Leinster. Threatening letters were written, houses were broken open, the inhabitants maimed, and their firearms plundered. Yet no clerical exaction could be alleged in excuse, for it was well known that many of the clergy received less than a twentieth of their legal income. Indeed Fitzgibbon, the Attorney-general, afterwards Chancellor, ascertained that they seldom received half their tithes, while many landlords were exacting enormous rents, sometimes £5 an acre from needy cottiers who had hitherto been ready to agree to terms however exorbitant and beyond their power or serious intention to fulfil.

An act had been passed in Ireland to forbid unlawful assemblages, which was followed by one in England (Geo. III. 15, c. 27) to prevent and punish illegal combination and outrage. It was declared felony to injure churches or to obstruct divine service. Heavy penalties were denounced against all hinderers of tithe collecting, and compensation was required to be exacted for any injuries to the persons or property of the clergy. Such provisions were not superfluous, for no sooner were the "Right Boys" suppressed than a more dangerous combination arose in Armagh and spread to the South, whose members, styled "Defenders," assembled in large numbers at nightfall to practise the use of arms, to attack the houses of the gentry and clergy, and to murder their owners. In the following session Mr. Grattan directed the current of legislation, but in vain, against the clergy.

Had sound religious instruction been diffused throughout the land, it would have struck at the root of these disorders;

and had christian principle found its way to the benches of the House, it would have secured moderate and judicious reforms, without so dangerous an agitation. But such calculations not being adapted to the politics of a naughty world, the rulers of that day simply appealed to the assumed venality of the Irish parliament by outbidding, in the cause of peace and order, the bribes of their opponents.

An "Association of United Irishmen" was formed on the model of the Roman Catholic Committee which had been instituted in 1757. Although composed of nominal protestants, episcopal and presbyterian, it was joined by most of that Committee, and professed to aim at a complete reform of the legislature on the principles of civil and religious liberty, including universal suffrage, annual parliaments, "catholic" emancipation, and according to Wolfe Tone, other measures still more revolutionary. But about sixty of the Committee, alarmed at the democratic tendency of the Association, assured the Viceroy of their own loyalty and of that of the Roman Catholic body, being induced thereto by the various concessions offered to them by the administration. As a counter-measure the agitators inveighed against the unrepealed restrictions which, as they alleged, still oppressed them, and allayed the fears of infidels and nominal protestants by repudiating persecution, papal infallibility, and their own claims to the estates lost by their forefathers. Lastly they gathered a "National Convention," to which the Romanists of every Irish parish sent two representatives. After much tinsel oratory, they adopted an address to the King, urging that as loyal subjects they could safely be trusted with the franchise. But not relying on civil words, they as usual sought to intimidate the government, at the instigation of two leaders named Napper Tandy and Hamilton Rowan, by a large muster in the streets of Dublin and Cork of "national guards" in green uniform,

on whose buttons was stamped the cap of liberty. The volunteers were invited to meet these sympathisers with the scenes then enacting in Paris, in order to celebrate the so-called triumph of liberty in France. The government however prevented the muster by a proclamation forbidding it and requiring magistrates, if necessary, to disperse it by force. But a counter proclamation from the convention ordered the resumption of arms in terms so inflammatory, that the secretary was prosecuted and sentenced to a fine with two years imprisonment. From the latter he escaped to America, but after some years he returned home a peaceable and loyal subject. Several other writers of inflammatory addresses were also prosecuted and punished.

The ministry, thinking it now prudent to pursue the policy of conciliation, courteously received the deputies who carried the address of the Convention to London while, at the opening of the next Dublin session, the Earl of Westmoreland, then Lord Lieutenant, proposed such measures as were thought likely to unite all classes of Irishmen. One of them, which he revived after a pause of ten years, purported to remove certain penalties, enacted in former reigns, from "His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects," or from "persons professing the Roman Catholic religion," such mild terms replacing the sturdy Elizabethan honesty which spoke of "Papistry" and "Popery." These concessions, viz. permission to practise law, to establish schools and to intermarry with protestants, were but the prelude to another bill proposed by the Irish Secretary for their further relief. Both were enforced by His Majesty's "special commands,"—an incredible announcement to any one acquainted with his stern conscientious resistance to such measures in England, did we not remember that Pitt, who on this point was utterly opposed to his sovereign's views, was now premier. The

latter bill was opposed, though in vain, by a masterly speech of Dr. Duigenan. The papists, who clamorously petitioned for relief, were felt to be unwilling, only because unable, to do mischief. Yet it passed both Houses, with some amendments conferring on them the elective franchise and every other privilege, such as the power of holding civil and military offices under the Crown, possessed by protestants, except a seat in the House. Only eight spiritual peers were present.

Earl Fitzwilliam, the next Lord Lieutenant, was entrusted with full powers, as it was thought, to concede all that was asked; but in consequence of a breach with the government, he was recalled, and his concessions were suspended. Meanwhile a bill was passed to prohibit the importation of arms, and another forbidding unlawful meetings. An attempt at insurrectionary drilling in the North was suppressed by proclamation, and a body of 16,000 militia for internal defence was levied for four years. Of the leaders of this attempt, real or suspected, one poisoned himself and two went into voluntary exile.

The episcopal changes of this period were neither many nor important. Law's translation from Clonfert to Killala made room in the former for Marlay, Dean of Ferns, described by Grattan as "remarkable for wit and humour and literary talents," partaking in the gaieties of Dublin society, and moreover the author of a humorous comedy for the Duke of Leinster's private theatricals. Excellencies, it must be owned, not pre-eminently episcopal! But be it remembered that he was an Englishman. Euseby Cleaver, also an Englishman and an Oxonian, was appointed to Cork, and on his removal to Ferns, was succeeded by W. Foster, chaplain to the House of Commons, and afterwards by W. Bennett, private tutor and afterwards chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant, and a friend of Sir William Jones, the Orientalist. During

his latter years his health obliged him to reside in London, where his eloquence as a preacher was in frequent requisition. Robinson, the Primate, on his death, left many proofs of his munificence. He was succeeded by Newcome of Waterford, a man of learning and piety, but of the soundness of whose theology some doubt exists.

In the published charge delivered at his primary visitation in Ulster, he invited the co-operation of bishops and clergy to promote clerical residence and every measure conducive to the prosperity of the Church. With the same design O'Beirne of Ossory had during that year reprobated the crying evil of "non-cures," as benefices inexcusably neglected came to be called, contrasting with the supineness of their incumbents the "pertinacious prevalency" of Romanism, and the methods by which it maintained its influence over the bulk of the people. To introduce a better discipline these two bishops and the Archbishop of Cashel revived the primitive but then disused office of rural deans. A society was also formed "for the discouragement of vice and the promotion of religion and virtue," the idea originating in the requirements of the vicious state of society then prevalent. Being intended chiefly for the rising generation, it provided for the erection of schools, the payment of teachers, the supply of books and the award of prizes, to all religious denominations, though it was in union with the Church of England and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It held on its way till it was superseded by the larger benevolent efforts of evangelical christians at a later day.

Newcome was replaced at Waterford by Marlay from Clonfert and the latter by Charles Brodrick, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, whose son was for many years Rector of Bath, and, till a recent date, Viscount Middleton, Dean of Exeter. Brodrick's removal to Cashel made room at Clonfert for Matthew Young, whose logical powers and literary

tastes rendered him an ornament of the Church, (perhaps more strictly an ornament than a blessing) especially in the fashionable circles at Dublin. But he added to the lighter accomplishments celebrated in the "Gentleman's Magazine," more solid acquirements, for in 1786 he had been elected to a chair of philosophy, and shortly before his death in A.D. 1800, commenced the study of Syriac. On Newcome's death, whose English version of the Scriptures, handling with dangerous freedom the highest Christian verities, formed the basis of the Unitarian Belsham's "Improved Version of the New Testament," he was succeeded by Stuart of St. David's.

We now return to the political movements of the time as connected with the state of religious parties. The Government, pursuing its policy of concession, consented to limit its own power over the Irish revenue, and the Opposition in return passed bills forbidding the unlicensed possession of arms, the summoning of unlawful assemblies and the framing of petitions to the throne for redress of grievances. But worldly policy is seldom truly wise, and concessions to a dangerous party, even after restrictive measures, were ill-advised. Had the removal of real grievances or the accordance of just demands been accompanied by proportionate efforts to evangelise, to educate and thereby to elevate, the heathenised masses, far different results might have followed; but when pressure could extort what justice sought in vain, each boon was regarded as an instalment of what future agitation would gain whenever a pretext should be found.

In 1794 it was first proposed to found a seminary to educate the priesthood, on the plea that those who sought education in France for want of a home institution were liable to inhale the revolutionary fever raging there, and by their

subsequent influence to exasperate the people with a triple hatred to their rulers, as being foreign, protestant and monarchical. The destruction, through the frenzy of the anarchists, of the seminaries at Paris, Salamanca and Rome, where they had hitherto been educated, an average number of a hundred and fifty being maintained in those universities, afforded a favorable opportunity to substitute one on their native soil where grateful pensioners might learn principles of loyalty to their founders. Accordingly Mr. Pitt, who hoped to break up the confederacy of "United Irishmen" by drawing off its Roman Catholic members through the medium of a loyalised priesthood, obtained an act for the erection and endowment of a college for the education of the priests at Maynooth near Dublin.* His sanguine expectations were apparently warranted by statements in the loyal and tranquillising charge of Archbishops Troy and O'Reilly to their co-religionists, though they were even then corresponding with the "Catholic Committee" and with Wolf Tone, one of its leading members. To secure the priests, Mr. Grattan was encouraged to propose a bill which would have rendered Romanists capable, if elected, of sitting in the House, but the King taking alarm, it was announced to the Lord Lieutenant Earl Fitzwilliam, that such a bill would not be allowed to take effect.

* The idea arose out of the revolutionary excitement of the times, and took for granted that the hereditary enmity of France to England must continue for ever, and could only breed disloyalty in British subjects educated there. It may safely be assumed that if Pitt had lived in our own generation and had witnessed the fact of an Anglo-French alliance, the idea of Maynooth would never have suggested itself to him. Indeed, if we may compare the temper maintained towards England in France and in Ireland, we may gather from the experience of the last forty years that an Irish priesthood trained in foreign seminaries would now perhaps be more loyal to Great Britain than if educated at home.

Earl Fitzwilliam resigning, his successor, Earl Camden, found the popish party exceedingly angry at this disappointment. Pitt, therefore, all the more resolved to win the priesthood, at the suggestion of their prelates, sought to form an endowment fund for the new college, though the plea for such a step was removed by the recent admission of Roman Catholics to the lectures given at Dublin University. Accordingly, donations in money or land for this purpose were exempted from the statute of *mortmain*, a grant was made of £40,000 for the erection of suitable buildings and another of £8,000 for the institution was annually renewed.

The scheme was destined, as might have been foreseen, to end in disappointment. The Romish party were not conciliated nor were they the less grasping than before, while their preference for French seminaries, as more in accordance with their republican sympathies, at length issued, after various prefatory conspiracies and tumults, in the rebellion of 1798. The government and educational constitution of the new college was entrusted to Dr. Hussey, a priest who had ingratiated himself with Pitt, but who was even then seeking to unite the Romish bishops and the United Irishmen in an application for French aid to throw off the English yoke. Our protestant government continued to grant £8,000 a-year, and sometimes more, to educate the teachers of a religion declared in our standard of faith to be blasphemous and idolatrous, till they crowned their inconsistency in 1845 by transforming it into a permanent endowment of £30,000 a-year, representing a capital of £1,000,000 sterling.*

* This concession was so large as to be thought amply sufficient to satisfy Roman Catholic ambition and to anticipate all future claims. Sir R. Peel would never have sacrificed his position in forcing this measure on an unwilling country had he foreseen that instead of

The board of management consists of eleven bishops and fourteen laymen, all Roman Catholic; three of the latter, three judges and the Chancellor being the visitors. The period of study is seven years. Its members previous to 1845 amounted to about 400, and consequently the priests annually sent forth were about fifty. The experiment is confessedly a failure. The cheap education, though available to the poorer students, does not place them within reach of those associations which would soften the heart, enlarge the mind or refine the manners. Its class-books have been proved to sanction the most flagrant violations of morality, and the priesthood, so far from becoming attached to the home government and their own soil, have proved more bigoted, more disloyal, more ultramontane in their sympathies, than in the days of their continental education.

So far were priests and people from learning loyalty or being pacified by English patronage, that in the very year after the foundation of the College (1795), the French Directory, counting on sympathy from the Irish papists, of which indeed they had been expressly assured, prepared to strike a fatal blow at Great Britain, through the sister island, which the hand of God alone averted. A fleet sailed from Brest conveying General Hoche and 25,000 men to the Irish shore. Its object had been kept secret, as it was hoped, from the English ambassador at Paris. Nevertheless, undecieved by false reports purposely circulated, he sent home such accounts of its equipment and probable destination, as induced the government to send Lord Bridport with a squadron to watch and intercept it. But the precaution was both use-

being a final settlement of the question, the same generation would witness a proposal to commute this sum for a capital endowment to Maynooth college of £380,000, to be obtained out of the ancient property of the Irish Protestant Church.

less and needless; useless because a thick fog enabled the fleet to elude his vigilance by sailing from Brest unseen, and needless because heavy storms, fulfilling the behests of Him who guides the destinies of nations, scattered the ships as in earlier days it scattered those of the Armada, so that a mere handful of hostile vessels reached Bantry Bay after eight days' buffeting with the waves, only to return singly, after a short interval, to the coast from whence they came, in order to escape the horrors of starvation.

But a crisis was near. Ireland was not to share Great Britain's exception from the calamities which desolated Europe. The sword was to be once more unsheathed on her soil, and the scenes of 1641 to be re-enacted. The organization half military, half political, which had long sought to overawe the government, was to produce its natural fruit of insurrection and civil war. In Ulster alone it numbered no less than 72,000 men, and a rising would have taken place in June 1797 but for the prompt and decisive measures of General Lake. The ministry and many loyal protestants in different localities knew that some secret plot was in preparation; and the latter were on the alert (sometimes exceeding the limits of the law) in order to discover those who were in possession of arms, where they were concealed, and where illegal drill meetings were held. Hence it was that Lord Moira, in an address to the Lords, urged conciliatory measures, especially that of "Catholic Emancipation," but he was ably answered by the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Clare, and the motion was lost. In order to put down the movement with a firm hand, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, a body of 37,000 armed yeomanry was raised, three seditious newspapers were suppressed, and while dissension was springing up among the Unionists, and the leaders were postponing operations in the hope of further

aid from France, General Lake set spies in all directions to discover and baffle their purposes.

Arthur O'Connor, one of the "Directory," as the republican leaders, in compliment to their Gallic friends, were called, was seized at Margate on his way to Paris, in the company of a Londoner, and of a priest named O'Coigley. An address to the French Directory being found during the trial on O'Coigley's person, he was convicted and hung. O'Connor was exiled, having turned king's evidence to save his own life. But more important information, even before his trial, was gained from one Reynolds, an intended colonel to a division of United Irishmen, implicating among others Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a brother of the Duke of Leinster.

Fitzgerald and eleven of the Roman Catholic committee, including its chairman, were arrested at the house of one Oliver Bond, in Bridge-street, Dublin; and all were imprisoned except Fitzgerald who, in his capture, gave and received a mortal wound. The salutary alarm thus induced brought out many demonstrations of loyalty which, though not estimated beyond their worth, were graciously accepted and responded to. Michael Murphy, a priest in Wexford County, is a fair sample of conspirators of his class. He and his flock had solemnly sworn allegiance to his Majesty, and that they did not nor would they belong to the United Irishmen, but would give all information in their power which might tend to prevent tumult and disorder. But when Wexford had been placed, after the arrests were made, under martial law, Murphy, as if more loyal than before, got up an address from himself and his flock to Earl Camden, stating that "in abhorrence (of) the barbarous outrages lately counselled," and the conspiracies of traitors calling themselves "United Irishmen," they felt

bound thus publicly to avow their devoted attachment to their beloved monarch and to maintain his rights. The value of these professions we shall presently see.

Both parties continued to prepare for the crisis. Sir Ralph Abercrombie was recalled from the West Indies, to command and to re-discipline the forces. A corps of 50,000 volunteer yeomanry was raised, and all other persons were summoned to surrender whatever arms they possessed. The conspirators, to forestall these preparations, fixed an early day for a general rising.

Two brothers named Shears, united with one Neilson who had taken the place of Fitzgerald, being the chief managers of the rebel programme, elected into their counsels an apparently zealous friend, but in reality a spy, to whom they announced that on May 23rd they hoped to get possession of Dublin and to stop the mails proceeding thither. The latter step was taken, and several rebels, having secretly entered the city, were awaiting the preconcerted signal to attack the garrison. But the two leaders being seized on the 21st, the town and castle having been put into a state of defence on the 22nd, and Neilson having been captured on the 23rd, the conspirators were thrown into confusion, and Dublin for one night at least was saved from bloodshed.

The garrison of Carlow, numbering 450, (May 25th) repelled an attack of 1500 insurgents, pursuing them with indiscriminate slaughter. On the 26th, the rebel standard was hoisted in County Wexford, and on the 27th, being Whit-sunday, Michael Murphy, so lately pledged to loyalty, led out 3000 men against "his protestant brethren." Three hundred yeomen cut them to pieces, but his namesake, Father John Murphy with 7000 insurgents, cutting off a body of Cork militia, moved to the Slieve-bay hills, plundering and burning on their way. They seized Enniscorthy on the 28th,

fortified a neighbouring eminence called Vinegar Hill, seized upon Wexford on the 30th, and soon afterwards on nearly all the South, except Duncannon and Ross, where they were defeated after a desperate contest and heavy loss, which they avenged by committing frightful atrocities.

Just then the executive were strangely dilatory; a besetting sin of our own and of most free governments, because liberty of speech tempts men who should be ever ready for action to waste that time in discussing what ought to be done, which might be better spent in doing it—a fault uncured even by bitter experience, and only second to that of headstrong rulers whose over-hasty movements often involve time to be spent, when too late, in unavailing regret. A mob of 36,000 men, ill-armed, ill-officered, and ill-disciplined, held the seaport of Wexford within a day's sail of Devonshire. Scarcely any regular soldiers appearing for a fortnight, the brunt of the contest was borne by the yeomanry and the militia, whom the King's officers viewed with suspicion in consequence of frequent desertions of papists from their ranks, but who, in their eagerness to avenge their personal wrongs, fought even more obstinately than regular troops would have done.

In the first serious defeat of the rebels at New Ross, 3000 of them were slain, while the royalist loss, except that caused by the death of Lord Mountjoy, was trifling. But a barbarous deed was committed at Scullabogue, about three miles in their rear. The rebels having left John Murphy there with 300 men to guard 220 protestant prisoners, some runaways from the battle field urged him to slay them. He himself shrank from so horrible a crime, but his men, hearing that the priests had ordered it, after crossing themselves and repeating a few prayers, shut their ears against cries for mercy, shot their hapless victims, and set fire to the barn whither they had fled for refuge.

Bagnal Harvey, a country gentleman, nominally a protestant, but of republican views, took the command of the insurgents; but when he saw the bodies of the slain, on his way from New Ross, he said, wringing his hands more in fear than repentance, "I see now my folly in embarking in this cause!" He forbade, under sentence of death, any execution to take place without his own written order, but he annexed the same penalty to desertion from the rebel ranks. He was, however, soon superseded as a "heretic," and succeeded by a priest.

Nearly all Wexford being now in the hands of the rebels, they assumed a constitutional form after the French model, consisting of a Directory, and the Councils of Ancients, and of Five Hundred; yet they persisted in committing lawless outrages on the persons and property of protestants. In this they were a remarkable contrast to the Vendéans and the Tyrolese in like circumstances. But these, though equally in opposition to their government, confided in the justness of their cause, while the Wexford insurgents were conscious that they were engaged in rebellion against constituted authority.

Into the political aspect of the movement we need not enter. The great mass of the rebels were Romanists guided by their priests. They therefore bitterly persecuted all who ignored their creed, binding themselves to exterminate them, to "burn, destroy and murder up to their knees in blood." Priestly harangues and priestly imposture aided the fanatical excitement. A priest named Roche professed to catch bullets in their flight, and to insure the purchasers of scrolls signed with his name from any hurt caused by gun, pistol or sword, while Michael Murphy the perjured priest, boasting that he was invulnerable, fell by a common shot.

These lying wonders were unsuccessful against British

valour. General Needham repulsed an attack upon Arklow, and General Lake with 16,000 loyal troops quickly surrounded and attacked Vinegar-hill where 15,000 of them lay intrenched after slaying no less than 400 protestant prisoners. The attack was bravely resisted, but after two hours' bombardment the camp and the town of Enniscorthy were carried with scarcely any loss. The rebels, being dislodged, fled to Wexford, where they practised similar cruelties but, being hotly pursued, they quickly abandoned it. The neck of the insurrection was now broken, though straggling parties, despairing of quarter, roaming in various directions, plundering and burning as they went, kept irritation alive. The main body were routed with great slaughter in Kilkenny, and again in Killarney, where John Murphy was seized and executed. The three or four thousand fugitives who remained, being hunted down and driven to extremities, notwithstanding some partial successes, contrived to reach some fortresses in the Wicklow mountains, broken and dispirited, seeking their homes or at least places in which to hide from their pursuers. The more welcome task to the victors of liberating the protestant prisoners thus superseded the reckless pursuit of the vanquished.

The latter were only a remnant exempted from the fate which the day before the battle had at Wexford bridge consigned to torture and death those who would not forsake the reformed faith. But hearing that the king's forces were approaching, the priests moved thereby to clemency, soothed down the ferocity which they had aroused. This humane policy however was not countenanced by their bishop, Dr. Caulfield, except that he saved Lord Kingsborough's life, hoping thereby to reap some advantage to himself. Consequently they were still guarding in durance vile the few prisoners whom they had spared from death, when the sound of the

cannonade at Vinegar-hill induced them to "let the oppressed go free."

The Wexford insurrection was accompanied by some sympathetic movements in Ulster, where a strong body of democrats sighing for a republic, formed a part of the United Irishmen in Antrim and Down. But most of these being Presbyterians or rather Arians, had no principle of cohesion with the papist members, who quitted them just before an engagement at Ballynahinch with 1,500 of the royal forces, leaving them to be vanquished by the latter. A few of the leaders were hung and Ulster was tranquillised.

Wexford was less fortunate for, notwithstanding repeated defeats, the hopelessness of their cause, the judicious proclamation of Marquis Cornwallis, the new Viceroy, in which he offered protection to all who should return to their allegiance, and an amnesty passed by the Irish parliament, according to the king's pleasure, in favour of all who should lay down their arms, except Napper Tandy and thirty others, two rebel chiefs, Perry and a priest named Kearnes had still 4,000 men under their command as late as the 11th of July. But a severe defeat at Clonard in Meath so disheartened them, that ten days later the chiefs, deserted by all their followers, were captured, tried and executed. Some who surrendered were transported, while in several cases the capital sentence was commuted to voluntary exile to such as gave information to the government which might lead to the detection of their accomplices and the suppression of the revolt. This extended the amnesty to several of those concerned, although it brought the penalty of death on others who were guilty of special cruelties. By the end of July none of the rebel host remained except a knot of desperadoes who infested the Wicklow mountains.

The Church of the Reformation drank to the dregs the

cup of misery. For example, a Wexford farmer, avowing himself a protestant, was kicked to death. In Kildare, a Mr. Crofford, for the same reason, was kicked and *roasted to death* with one of his children, the mother and another child narrowly escaping the same fate. The Wexford protestants were dragged from their houses, piked in half dozens and thrown over the bridge into the river. Among the clerical victims, one was stripped naked, laid in a pig trough and bled to death. Another, after ten days' imprisonment, refusing to recant, was knocked down, stripped, wounded, and sent barefoot back to prison. A Dr. Burrows, his family, and several parishioners who had taken refuge with him, were driven out from his parsonage which was set on fire by the insurgents. They had obtained a promise of safety on condition of non-resistance, but in violation of it, he and seven parishioners were instantly murdered. Many churches were plundered, dismantled, damaged, or destroyed, and one was turned into a barrack.

In Elphin diocese, which was extensively disaffected, the Romanists were held in check by the resolution of the Bishop, who hurled defiance at the rebels, fortified the palace and, by the force of his example on the gentry, preserved the diocese from anarchy. Bishop Percy, by forming a yeomanry corps, effected the same for Dromore. In Wexford County, Cleaver bishop of Ferns, whose gentleness, piety, learning and diligence won him no consideration, was plundered and nearly murdered. Stock of Killala who was holding an annual visitation while a body of French troops were landing in the bay of his cathedral town, by staying at his post to preserve order among the invaders, preserved the lives and property of many of its inhabitants.

Well was it that the rebellion was promptly subdued, for the landing of the French troops took place not more than

a month afterwards. Among them was the notorious Napper Tandy, who once more proclaimed himself as the leader of the malcontents. But the blossom of opportunity was faded, the day of hope was past, and he was so coldly received, that deeming discretion the better part of valour, he returned to France. The rabble, who had been drawn together for the moment, were no match for disciplined soldiers, or for the force with which a strong government and a loyal gentry would oppose them ; yet in the first contest, which took place at Ballina, the French general Humbert, aided by about 1,000 Irish recruits, wrested from General Lake seven pieces of cannon and 600 prisoners. But Lord Cornwallis, taking the field with 20,000 men, partly composed of volunteers in the Irish service from the English militia, soon surrounded the force which he encountered on its way to Castlebar, and as it only numbered 1,100 men, exclusive of local recruits, he easily compelled it to surrender. The Irish, in the face of their loss, continued to oppose his progress through the country, and at a place rejoicing in the euphonious name of Ballinamuck, Humbert turned round to offer battle. He fought obstinately but in vain. The Irish followers were slain, and their leaders were sent to Dublin for trial. In October eight ships and 3,000 more men arrived from France, but all the vessels, except two, were captured by four or five British ships who were on the look out for them, before a single man could land. On board of one of them was Wolf Tone, one of the first advocates of Roman Catholic Emancipation, wearing the French Republican uniform because he had cast off allegiance to his sovereign. He directed one of the French batteries during the engagement. He was sent to Dublin, where he was tried by court martial and sentenced to death, but he committed suicide in order to escape the penalty of the law.

The rebellion was now virtually at an end. The dispersion of the invading fleet which dispirited the malcontents, the dazzling splendor of Napoleon's victories which diverted attention to the Continent, the provision of coast defences against an expected invasion of England, and the disgust felt at the cruelties sanctioned by the priesthood, all tended to deprive its fomenters of the aid on which they had reckoned. Had it succeeded, Ireland, as a French dependency, would soon have shared in all the horrors of red republican violence; whereas its suppression riveted British authority more firmly than before. Unhappily instead of that cordial co-operation of Church and State to promote a religious education and to circulate the scriptures in the native tongue which awaited the wisdom of a later day, Pitt sought to tranquillize Ireland chiefly by means of its union with Great Britain, thinking that with one united legislature collision would be impossible, and that no temptation to resort to foreigners would remain if the interests of the two countries were thus approximated. The idea was well conceived and, if combined with other measures for the instruction and improvement of the people, might have realised its intention; but time has shewn that mere political reforms, without a higher influence, are of doubtful benefit whether to the governors or the governed.

The first step taken was the Lord Lieutenant's proposal of an indissoluble union between the two kingdoms. A message was conveyed from His Majesty to both parliaments, recommending it as a means towards the highly desirable object of consolidating his kingdom in the midst of a great European war. Before the English Commons Sheridan opposed the Union, while Pitt and Canning were its advocates on the ground that the Roman Catholics, if admitted to legislative power, would be more harmless as the minority

of an united senate than as the majority of a separate parliament. In the House of Lords, Watson, bishop of Llandaff, uttered similar sentiments.

Both Houses in England, and the Lords in Ireland, seeing the sound wisdom of the measure, received the royal message with favour, but in the Irish House of Commons, pride, poverty and the dread of absenteeism pleaded against migration to the more distant metropolis. The individual interests involved so interfered with the calmness necessary to the consideration of the question, that threats of armed resistance and vows of eternal enmity against its proposers induced the majority to refuse its further discussion.

Pitt, who had observed that the Romanists and most even of the chief landowners, although the large majority of these were protestants, were anxious for the Union, while the commercial towns did not share in the aversion to it which was shewn by the Dublin citizens, because they would be less affected by it, determined to persevere in his efforts to effect it. Lord Castlereagh, the Irish Secretary, who was to re-introduce the measure, was instructed to buy off the opposition of all who were capable of bribery, and to satisfy more honourable men by liberal promises to the Romanists. A series of resolutions embodying them was at once proposed by Pitt and passed both Houses.

In the session of 1800 the King's wish was again laid before the Irish legislature and, though some opposition was offered, a favourable reply, proposed by Lord Clare and Lord Castlereagh, was carried by a majority in the Lords of 49 and in the Commons of 43, the former including the bench of bishops. This so enraged the city populace, that military protection was necessary to guard the advocates of the Union from personal injury. A duel between the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Grattan was a mournful evidence of

the excitement.* In truth it was a contest between those who intelligently sought their country's good and those who were blinded by pride and prejudice. The latter were indignant at the degradation of Ireland from the rank of a separate kingdom to that of a mere province, but overlooked the fact that it would, under the new régime, share in the honours and privileges of a more powerful state. In exchange for a mere nominal independence it would enter into the European family of nations, debating on equal ground questions of the highest import, while local interests would be transferred from the hands of interested parties to an assembly unfettered by the narrowness of local prejudices.

The address in approbation of the Union was agreed to, though certain amendments suggested in the British senate were warmly discussed. It was proposed that twenty-eight Irish lay peers and four bishops should sit in the Upper House, and a hundred and six Irish members in the Lower, viz., sixty-four for the counties, two each for Dublin and Cork, and thirty-eight for as many other cities and boroughs. Pitt insisted that their admission would not unduly augment the influence of the Crown, but agreed that not more than one-fifth of them should be eligible for government offices. Mr., afterwards Earl, Grey opposed the Union which nevertheless passed the Lower House by a majority of 182. It was to take effect from January 1801. Three representative peers were to be chosen for life, and those who were not included among them were eligible by any British constituency. The two protestant Churches were incorporated as the "United Church of England and Ireland," with equal rights and privileges. Four lords spiritual were to sit in the House of Peers, one of them being an archbishop, who were

* Walter's Hist. England, vii., 281.

to be chosen each session in rotation from the Irish bench.* Freedom of trade was conceded to Ireland, and though she was bound to pay the interest of her own national debt, she was to be responsible during the next twenty years for only two-seventeenths of the general expenditure. The separate parliament of Ireland soon afterwards ceased to exist.

At that period the country was divided into four ecclesiastical provinces, subdivided into eighteen dioceses, of which Armagh comprised seven, Dublin three, Cashel five, and Tuam three. Their annual incomes varied from £8000 to £2000, and those of the deaneries from £1700 to £20. Of forty persons made bishops between 1760 and 1820 twenty-two were Englishmen, seventeen of them being vice-regal chaplains, and eighteen were Irishmen, chiefly members of noble families. There were thirty-three deaneries and thirty-four archdeaconries. Of 2,436 parishes in Ireland, 295 were in the gift of the Crown, 1560 in that of the bishops, 21 in university patronage, 62 in that of deans and chapters, and the rest in private hands. The number of "unions" reduced the benefices to 1120, and notwithstanding all the efforts made to build or repair churches, there were only 1001, till a parliamentary grant a few years subsequently largely increased their number. As in 1792 there were only 354 parsonage houses, it may be conceived how

* As the permanent union of the Churches was made a necessary condition of the Legislative Union, with the concurrence of the Irish Spiritual Peers, who would have withholden their consent on any other terms, the separation in the one case would be a step towards Repeal in the other; and should the protestant laity, who are the moneyed interest of Ireland, indignant that their rights are ignored, raise the cry for Repeal, the weight of their influence added to the existing Fenian organization, and a desire for Repeal which has smouldered in the minds of the Irish populace ever since the days of O'Connell, might render so disastrous a measure but too easy to realise.

greatly the Church suffered, from the non-residence, mostly but it must be owned not always, involuntary of its clergy. Their incomes, arising from glebes and tithes and in certain parishes from "ministers' money", the produce of a house-tax, will not be thought excessive. They averaged from £250 a-year in Raphoe to £90 in Killala, from which must be deducted five per cent. for collection and five for insolvency. The residue was often reduced by anti-tithe combinations from at best a bare competency to a point which involved utter destitution. Could the 562 inappropriate rectories and 118 wholly inappropriate parishes be redeemed from their present lay, and frequently absentee, owners, one chief obstacle to the welfare of the country and the efficiency of the Church would be removed.

Glebe lands in Ireland now amount to 132,756 acres, of which 87,000 are profitable.* The tithes and glebes have been estimated at £665,000 of which £117,000 were impropriated in 1838 by the remission of 25 per cent. from their value, when they were commuted to a rent charge on the landlord, thus leaving for the support of the clergy £548,000, which, if all collected, would yield about £225 a-year to each incumbent. Where payment of tithe is refused or the cultivation of glebe land neglected, the average of course is considerably lower. In 1800 there were 90 presbyterian churches in Ireland; in 1725 there had been 148; in 1804 they had increased to 177. In 1866 the produce of Ireland was estimated at £43,206,802 exclusive of its live stock which was valued at more than £50,000,000; the gross income of the bishops and clergy was then £586,428 a-year, their net

* Of these 111,151 acres or five-sixths of the whole, in the province of Armagh were granted to the Reformed Church in the 17th century, and were *never* in possession of the Church of Rome. See Bishop Wordsworth's Lectures on the Irish Church and the statistics of Dr. Lee.

income £448,943, as compared with £4,320,680 per annum, which would be the true value of the tithes, and the amount of church revenues, if its property were unalienated or redeemed.

Mr. Pitt, in fulfilment of his pledge, urged the King to consent to admit Roman Catholics to a full share of political power, which, he argued, under a united government, would leave them no opportunity, even had they the will, to attack the Established Church; besides which, their turbulent principles, no longer dangerous, were now disclaimed by an oath, from the obligation of which they denied the power of the priests to absolve them. A State provision for their priesthood would, he said, effectually place them and those whom they influenced under State control. But the King, who had already taken alarm when he knew that his ministers sought the alliance of Irish Romanists on behalf of the Union, which they had insisted on as a final measure, and who was supported by his friend Lord Eldon, gave a kindly expressed but resolute negative on the ground of the inconsistency of such admission with his coronation oath. Pitt therefore tendered his resignation, which the King, though reluctantly, accepted rather than violate his conscience. Could his Majesty have looked half a century onward, so as to foreknow how far the proposal, if carried out, would really "tranquillize" Ireland, his tenacity would doubtless have been confirmed. The evil was averted during his life, but the anxiety at so critical a juncture in European history, attendant on the formation of a new ministry was so great that his reason gave way, and the minister generously delayed his resignation till the war finances were provided, rather than desert his King in the hour of affliction. He was succeeded by Mr. Addington. Another attempted insurrection, insignificant in extent and soon put down, served to shew the volcanic materials

seething beneath the surface of society, and to mock the delusive hopes of politicians who, over-looking the importance of sound religious instruction, trusted to the Union and to "Catholic" emancipation as the infallible panaceas for all evil. Robert Emmett, a clever but headstrong young man, the chief conspirator, formerly expelled from Dublin, had fled the country for a time to escape punishment for sedition. On the present occasion he mustered barely a hundred followers, mostly of the lowest class, the recent suppression of rebellion having dispirited the chief malcontents. The dilatory Lord Lieutenant, Earl Hardwick, having taken no preventive measures, though warned of their possible necessity, Emmett and his party were allowed to hold meetings at an old store in Thomas Street, Dublin; and though such a mere handful of persons were barely able to accomplish a riot, one Saturday evening they murdered two or three individuals of known loyalty, including Lord Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who was just then passing in his carriage. Emmett, in full uniform, followed by his little band of desperadoes, then rushed on the Castle which he intended to storm. But one hour sufficed for a small body of soldiers to put down the *émeute* and to capture Emmett with five other persons, three of whom, with their leader, were convicted of high-treason and executed.

In 1805, "Catholic Emancipation" as the admission of Romanists to political power began to be invidiously called, perhaps in allusion to negro emancipation then under discussion, was first formally proposed in parliament. Grattan, who was now able to display the blaze of his eloquence within the walls of St. Stephen's, was one of its most strenuous advocates, knowing that it was virtually an Irish question. Availing himself of the favorite device of treating precedents in the past as stepping-stones for the future, he said that

since his Majesty's accession, the condition of his countrymen was so improved that they could no longer be repressed by force, but that while these disabilities remained, they were neither grateful nor contented. The measure was thrown out of both Houses, because Pitt, who had returned to power, unwilling to face the odium with which it was regarded, lent his influence to its opponents.

On his death, in 1806, the Grenville ministry induced the House to double the grant to Maynooth, and in the following year to admit Romanists to all grades of military rank, except that of Commander-in-chief. The Irish parliament had carried a similar, though less extensive, measure as early as 1793. The king, therefore, supposing the bill to be identical with its predecessors, consented to its introduction; though on learning its actual terms, he again recurred to the coronation oath, and it was withdrawn. But suspecting that he had been intentionally deceived, he demanded of the ministry a pledge that they would not pass any similar measure and, on its refusal, required their resignation.

The Duke of Portland was the nominal, but Spencer Percival, the real, prime minister. The staunch Lord Eldon was secured for the Woolsack, the Duke of Richmond succeeded the Duke of Bedford as Lord Lieutenant, and Sir Arthur Wellesley was Irish Secretary. A vote of censure on the pledge required by the King was proposed by the Opposition, but negatived by a majority of thirty-two; and numerous addresses, approving his Majesty's conduct, encouraged him to dissolve parliament, which he did in a speech nobly indicative of his resolution to adhere to his demand. The elections raised the ministerial majority to one hundred and ninety-five.

In the excitement of an European war the subject of Róman Catholic Emancipation was well-nigh forgotten; yet in the

occasional lulls of the storm the groundswell of its agitation strikes on the attentive ear when directed towards the West. In 1810 it was once more debated in the House of Commons together with the kindred topic of electoral Reform. Grattan, once more representing Irish and Roman Catholic interests, was its chief advocate; but the power of his oratory being unable to influence an assembly determined to uphold the protestant principles of its venerated monarch, it was again triumphantly rejected. The appointment of a regency during the king's incapacity was the signal for a more dangerous renewal of the agitation. The Romish party summoned two delegates from each county to form in Dublin a rival parliament or convention in behalf of their own interests. As this was not to be tolerated, the sheriffs were directed to arrest any persons who should assemble to elect delegates, and when a committee preliminary to the convention was understood to have met for business, an order for their dispersion was given to two magistrates, though it was eluded at the time on the plea that they had only met to sign a petition. A petition was signed and presented, but rejected by both Houses. The election of delegates still proceeding, they were again interrupted in Dublin by authority, and five of them were committed for trial; but presuming on the slight punishment inflicted, they shortly afterwards again met to the number of three hundred and, adopting a second petition, separated before any magistrate had time to disperse them. Dr. Sheridan, one of the five, was put on his trial, but obtained a triumph by the persistence of the jury in a verdict of acquittal. The delegates continued their meetings, but evaded the law by hasty dispersion or ingenious subterfuges.

Ere long another Emancipation Bill was proposed and, as a proof of the growing strength of the party who were in favour of it, it passed the second reading; but being so modified

in committee as to render it worthless to its promoters, they abandoned it. In the next year a declaration reached the English Primate from a Cardinal Quarantelli at Rome, apparently intended to render popular the political claims of his co-religionists, and to allay the fear which they engendered of adding unduly to priestly influence. It officially announced the opinion of theologians at Rome to be that the British government might be allowed to have a veto on the appointment of their bishops in Ireland. Such a veto would have proved a wholesome sedative, because a fiery priest, struggling into notoriety on the contingency of a mitre, or even of canonization, for services rendered to the Church by means of bludgeons, brickbats, altar curses and the usual weapons of the "peace, law and order" professed by agitators, might be induced, if he found his days likely to wear out in unepiscopal obscurity as the bitter penalty of turbulence, to bid farewell to Ribbonism, and haply to become a safe and peaceable subject. But the publication of the Cardinal's document divulged the secret, if it were one, that so wise a precaution was not palatable to his brethren in Ireland. Daniel O'Connell, who was soon afterwards to appear in full blossom as an agitator, denounced in their name the suggestion of these "slaves of Rome" as an unwarranted interference. He thus induced prelates and priests to declaim against the veto, and an "aggregate catholic meeting" of the laity to resolve, that "no foreign power had any right to exercise control over the proceedings of Irish Catholics."

The excitement produced by these harangues and the desire to extort further concessions led the Lord Lieutenant to declare the meetings of the "Catholic Board" illegal, and to revive an old law which would empower him, if requested by seven magistrates of a disturbed county, to require its inhabitants, within certain bounds, to remain

within doors from sunset to sunrise, on pain of transportation. But, unhappily, no decisive action was as yet undertaken, either by the government or the Church, tending to bring the country under the peaceable influence of a purer faith.

The Peace of 1815 let loose the evil passions which had been chained for a time by the vast ambition of Napoleon. Mr. Grattan, after the escape from Elba, had temporarily withdrawn from his usual attitude as a member of the Opposition and, by a large majority carried a resolution to support the allies in the expulsion of the Emperor from France, expressing the hope "that the most energetic measures would be employed to hurl the despoiler of Europe from the throne which he had usurped." But no sooner was the pressure of this fear removed than the spirit of disloyalty, regaining its native buoyancy, quickly sprang into the ascendant. Various elements of combustion were rife in England, nor were actual conspirators wanting to kindle the match of sedition, or demagogues to fan the flame, while in Ireland, during one year, no fewer than 25,000 soldiers were required to control the elements of insubordination.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE IV. (1820) TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

Turbulence of Roman Catholics.—Emancipation Bill and its Results.—Endowment of Maynooth College.—Suppression of Bishoprics.—Educational and Evangelistic Efforts.

ON the termination of the long reign of George III., the Prince Regent having already exercised the functions, though without the title, of royalty, the change of name led to no immediate change of policy. His repugnance to Roman Catholic Emancipation was no less determined than that of his father, and while the Liverpool ministry were in power, and Lord Eldon presided over the councils of the sovereign, it was in vain for the "Catholic Association" to agitate the populace, in vain for O'Connell to harangue them, in vain that a prophecy uttered by Pastorini, an Italian, was put in circulation to the effect that in 1825 protestantism would cease to exist, in the hope of thereby kindling the peasantry into efforts for its fulfilment. The Council of the nation stood firm as a rock against so disastrous an inroad on the Constitution, but in the mysterious dispensations of Providence the Premier was suddenly removed from power, a paralytic stroke rendering it hopeless that he should ever again be able to serve his country. Much to his Majesty's annoyance, Mr. Canning, the only person able and willing to form a new Cabinet, was the most zealous and able advocate of Roman Catholic claims, Lord Eldon, the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, being opposed to them and

refusing to act with him went out of office in favour of others more willing to concede them. The defenders of the Constitution being thus removed, a few years sufficed for its subversion, but Canning had scarcely reached the pinnacle of honor when the hand of death laid him low. He had postponed his favorite measure for a year in deference to the King's official declaration through the Primate and the Bishop of London, "that he was as firmly fixed as his father had been in opposition to the pretensions of the papists," but before the summer was ended he was no more. His death did not however dissolve the government or change its policy, Lord Goderich the new Premier, and Mr. Huskisson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, being favourable to the Romanists; but the ministry was broken up by internal dissensions, and succeeded by that of the Duke of Wellington.

Meanwhile the agitation was maintained in Ireland under the skilful leadership of O'Connell who, while his legal knowledge enabled him to keep within the letter of the law, made so formidable a demonstration of physical force, as obliged the new ministry to maintain a large military establishment there, and ere long to surrender their convictions to the popular will as the sole means of preventing a civil war.

During this year (1828) was established the organisation which is still in operation as the Irish National Board of Education. Its formation originated with, and was proposed by, Lord Stanley, now the Earl of Derby, but was sanctioned by the government, which thus rolled away the reproach it had too long and justly merited, of neglecting the instruction of the people. It was felt that many of the evils of Ireland resulted from the want of education, that the ignorant and untaught were easy victims of the demagogue, that a well-educated, would be a loyal, people,

and therefore that a system of sound intellectual training must ultimately tranquillize the country. It was also hoped that schools where children of either race and creed could, side by side, receive the same instruction, would train them to live in friendship, and that thus a generation would grow up who would have forgotten many of the differences and would have shaken off the prejudices and antipathies which had alienated their forefathers.

A course of secular lessons was prepared and sanctioned by the National Board, the acknowledged excellence of which has brought it into use, not only throughout Ireland, but also extensively in English parochial schools, many of whose managers select them as the best which have been written on their respective subjects. So complete an organization working on an excellent intellectual material, could not but to some extent succeed. Travellers, such as Sir Francis Head, who have visited the national schools and examined the scholars, bear the highest testimony to the efficiency of the instruction, the intelligence of the recipients and their general intellectual progress during the last twenty-five or thirty years.

But the system could not act without the sacrifice of vital principle, implied in the separation of secular from religious teaching. To suit the feelings of a Romish population, it was necessary to banish not only all distinctive creeds and dogmas, but the entire Scriptures, from the course of combined instruction, and the result has been, what it ever must be when principle yields to expediency, a disappointment. A selection of Reading Lessons from the Bible was for a time sanctioned by the National Board in the early years of its existence, but as the priesthood obtained more influence in its management, and more control over its schools, they were expunged from its list—a step which led to the retirement

from its Committee of one of its earliest and most zealous members, Archbishop Whateley.*

The absence of vernacular teaching has also deprived the National System of a strong influence which it might otherwise have had with the masses. Besides this, neither priesthood nor clergy would willingly forego the inculcation of their own religious teaching. The clergy, till quite recently, have been averse to it, and have maintained Protestant schools with large voluntary aid from England. The National schools have thus fallen under priestly influence, have been taught chiefly by Roman Catholic masters, and have been frequented almost solely by Roman Catholic children, thereby presenting that very sectarian aspect which it was mainly intended to avoid. Moreover instruction, mainly secular, even Romanists have reluctantly accepted, as appears from their efforts to establish an education exclusively in their own hands free from State aid and control. Nor have its supposed tranquillising effects been realised. Mere secular teaching, making no appeal to the heart, confers little benefit on the character. A generation has passed away since the introduction of the system, and recent events tend to shew that the Irish of the present day, having been mostly taught in National schools, may be better educated, but are not necessarily more loyal, and that a training which cannot turn out better subjects may only manufacture more perfect demagogues and rebels.

Dissenters making common cause with Romanists, as they have too often done from the days of James II. to the present time, and forsaking the principles of their non-conforming forefathers whenever a political end was to be gained, sought and obtained the repeal of the Test Act which required participation in the Lord's Supper in com-

* Life of Archbishop Whateley, vol. ii.

munion with the Church of England, and by such a precedent, however justifiable the abolition of so invidious a test may have been, rendered it impossible long to refuse further immunities to the Romanists. The latter body formed an association under O'Connell's entire control and, by adroitly changing names and modes of proceeding from time to time, evaded the interference of the law. Directed by the priests they employed the tactics, often since then turned to scandalous account, of intimidating election voters so as to render impossible the return of a member not pledged to support "Catholic Emancipation."

Not being yet able to command a majority, the Emancipation Bill was again thrown out in an unusually full House, whereon a "general meeting of Catholics" was held in Dublin, which uttered ominous threatenings against a body who dared to refuse the prayer of "seven millions of oppressed, injured and highly discontented subjects," who were nevertheless told to wait calmly in the hope that Britain would repent rather than drive them to despair. Against the Established Church they were taught to swear eternal enmity and register in heaven their vow against it. This vow has since been but too well fulfilled.*

They had some provocation to such hostility, at least so far as fear can rouse it, for the Church was just awaking from a long season of apathy, and the clergy were for the first time bestirring themselves to evangelise a heathenised peasantry whom, though nominally under their charge, they had till then indolently left to the care of the priests.

* Yet in their declarations to the English government and nation, they professed to regard Emancipation as a final and satisfactory measure of conciliation, and engaged to refuse countenance or co-operation in anything which would tend to injure the Established Protestant Church. Their gratitude has not *quite* equalled their profession of it, nor has this engagement been *quite* so religiously kept as the vow mentioned above.

No wonder then if the latter were roused to wrath on seeing their authority and their fees likely to slip from their grasp. Mr. Richard Lalor Shiel, whose impassioned oratory placed him next in the rank of agitators to O'Connell, announced "a tremendous organization extending over the whole island." He spoke of "an internal government grown up, gradually superseding the legitimate authorities and armed with a complete domination,"* of "the whole body of catholic clergy as alienated from the State," and of "the catholic gentry, peasantry and priesthood, as all combined in a vast confederation."

The Marquis of Anglesea, a Waterloo veteran, then Lord Lieutenant, was not to be daunted by mob violence; but when the Catholic Association thought it safer in Protestant Ulster to signalise their power by repressing rather than by rousing it, he was deceived by the perfect quietness of the province even before the arrival of his proclamation enjoining it, was induced to say that he wished success to the Association, and consequently, immediately after so imprudent an expression, so contrary to what was due from one in his position, he was recalled.

Yet such was the temper of the Irish nation, and even of the English House of Commons, that the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were meditating a change of policy, fearing that even concession was less formidable than the consequences of refusal. The King himself was beginning to waver, and the Duke of Northumberland was appointed to succeed Lord Anglesea, in the vice-royalty, his attachment to the Established Church being a guarantee that he would take no step prejudicial to it. The language of the Romish party also was such as easily to mislead any one not well read in history. Promises were as readily

* This description accurately delineates modern Fenianism in all but the name.

made (and it seemed uncharitable to enquire too closely into the past), as they have since been readily broken. Dr. Doyle, titular bishop of Kildare, a leading member of the priesthood, declared, before a parliamentary committee that, "if emancipation were carried, the whole of the Catholic population would consider their grievances, as it were, at an end." "It would produce in them an affection towards the government greater than has ever been experienced in almost any country." He saw nothing more easy than for a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic consistently to recognise and engage for the maintenance of a Protestant establishment.

The Romish bishops in England published a solemn declaration, disclaiming "any right, title or pretension" to the temporalities of the Church as settled by law, while the lay members of their communion signed an address "most explicitly disclaiming every principle or practice, hostile in the remotest degree to the institutions of the country." The Secretary to the Associated Romanists in Queen's County described it as his "earnest wish that all the rights and immunities of the Established Church should be preserved." Michael Collins, a priest of Skibbereen, declared before a parliamentary committee that "no Catholic clergymen had the slightest disposition to derange the Protestant religion established by law, as the religion of Ireland."

O'Connell recommended that the State should make a pecuniary provision for the priesthood, who would thus become a species of crown officers and be secured from undue foreign influence. There was no pledge which "Catholics," individually or collectively, were not willing cheerfully to give to prove that they were not aiming at ascendancy; and in order to show the loyalty of the gentry and secure that of the bishops, he declared it to be the wish of every layman in

Ireland that no name should be sent to Rome for episcopal promotion without government approval. Such extravagant assertions proved too much. Those who made them would readily promise anything to gain their end. But many persons, among whom was William Wilberforce, argued that men who could make such professions, even if they had no conscience, might possibly be trusted as gentlemen. This vain hope overcame the scruples of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, who imagined that an exclusively protestant government might provoke civil war in Ireland, besides shaking the steadfastness of their supporters in the Lower House. They therefore prepared a speech, which the King reluctantly read, advising the removal of civil disabilities from the Roman Catholics. The Irish members in return consented to the suppression of the "Catholic Association," and to the increase of the qualification for the county franchise from forty shillings to ten pounds a-year.

Sir Robert Peel's bill, in accordance with the royal speech, having been admitted in the Lower House by 384 against 160, the time had come in the Committee to propose securities against any possible injury to the Protestant Establishment. It had been suggested that no Romanist should have a vote on any question affecting the Church of England. Ministers were averse to this, but it was made illegal for Romish bishops to assume the titles of English or Irish existing sees or to become Jesuits, (the penalty of banishment being denounced on any who should do so), and Jesuits were forbidden to enter the kingdom. The clergy and laity had long since offered to bind themselves by oath not to injure the Established Church, and an oath to this effect was enjoined on every member of parliament in the Emancipation Act, which Sir Robert Inglis, member for the University of Oxford, would have

made more stringent, had he not been overruled by Dr. Lushington who thought it needless.

Most of the members were satisfied with the effort made to purge the Irish constituencies, and with the securities afforded in the Relief Act which, though strongly opposed by the members themselves and notwithstanding the extraordinary number of petitions which they presented, passed the Commons, without material amendment, by 320 against 142.

In the House of Lords, till now firmly opposed to the bill, the Duke of Wellington frankly explained, as a motive for his change of policy, that having seen more of the horrors of war than most men, he was unwilling to expose his country to the risk of encountering them in the worst form, that of civil strife. The Primate proposed the rejection of the bill, but Burgess, Bishop of Salisbury, being absent through illness, there was no other prelate to second him. The venerable Lord Eldon led the phalanx of lay opponents as Lord Lyndhurst did that of its lay supporters, who hoped that it would secure the loyal gratitude of Irish Romanists, save the necessity of a large standing army, and even bring over an accession of converts to the protestant faith. Two hundred and thirteen of the Lords voted for, and one hundred and four against it, after which, on April 13th (1829) it received the royal assent. Two weeks later the Duke of Norfolk and Lords Clifford and Dormer first took the new oaths and their seat among the Peers, and in another week the Earl of Surrey in the House of Commons, and these being English gentlemen, have honourably kept their pledge by forbearing to attack the Established Church. Well would it have been had their example been followed by their co-religionists, yet the Romish bishops who had expressed unbounded surprise that members of their church were sus-

pected of disregarding an oath, and who had declared that it ought to be kept in its known meaning as understood by those to whom it is sworn, were even then introducing into the Maynooth curriculum the theology of Peter Dens, whence the embryo priest could infer the little regard due to any oath for the protection of the Established Church. This fact was concealed till some years later. Yet it could have caused no surprise to any one who had observed a newspaper correspondence which had taken place a few years before between the titular bishop of Ossory and a Major Bryan, chairman of the Kilkenny Roman Catholic Committee. The former having engaged to sign certain documents, the latter signed a letter complaining that he had not kept his word. The bishop in reply allowed that a *serious*, but not a *solemn*, promise was given, which was not binding if its fulfilment were found to be inexpedient.

O'Connell had been chosen to represent the County Clare before the Act passed, and hoped that this exercise of the popular will, though irregular, would be valid now that it *had* passed, but the 116 in the House who concurred in this view were in the minority, and the election being declared void, writs were issued for another. Angry at being thus foiled, he threw off the mask and disclaimed all idea of gratitude. Though ministers had made no small sacrifices for the relief of papists, refusing the prayer of innumerable petitions, acting in the teeth of public agitation, throwing away much of their popularity, alienating many of their best friends, their only reward for preferring apparent expediency to right was, that the man whose services they had so dearly purchased became their bitterest foe. He avowed his intention to agitate for the Repeal of the Union and the restoration of an Irish parliament. The priests recompensed him by raising, under the name of "rent," an

income which he had never before realised. His declarations roused the populace of Tipperary and neighbouring counties to such frenzy that a large military force was required to stem the tide of insurrection, and this after repeated instances in which the starving peasantry had in a time of need lived upon English generosity. Such were the consequences, neither unforeseen nor unfortold, which recoiled on the promoters of "Romish Emancipation."

In the very year after it was passed (1830), a French revolution rekindled disaffection in Ireland, exposed as usual to sympathetic shocks from political earthquakes abroad. This with the "Reform" fever which soon afterwards reached its height, and the turbid stream of democracy which, overpassing its boundaries, rolled over the length and breadth of Great Britain, all combined to strengthen the Romish party in Ireland which, from its new vantage ground, being roused into more dangerous activity by the very Act which was meant for a counter-check, had entered on a fresh career of agitation, scorning the boon so lately coveted, now that it was gained, and perceiving the Whig ministry to be susceptible, equally or more so than its predecessor, of pressure from without, clamorously demanded the repeal of the Union. O'Connell twice sought to constitute a permanent assembly to organize their efforts, but was foiled by the Lord Lieutenant's firmness, and persisting in attending the meetings proscribed by the law, was prosecuted and, in a tone of defiance, pleaded guilty. He had rightly estimated the ministry who, knowing his power over Irish Romanists, never ventured to pass judgment on him.

His impunity encouraging popular turbulence, crimes of violence rapidly increased. Bishop Doyle, McHale, titular archbishop of Tuam, and others of their order, in published letters, invited the people to resist payment of tithes to the

clergy—an invitation on which the latter were not slow to act. A reign of terror followed, organised by O'Connell, during which all payment of tithe or of other church dues was denounced, and the clergy in consequence were plunged into the greatest distress. This chiefly arose from the irritation of the priesthood at the efforts in the cause of education made by the clergy, who had awakened to their duties as pastors and instructors of the people, and had undertaken this good work in the long-neglected native language. The duty of vernacular education had often been acknowledged, but only in this century seriously acted on. As early as 1790, a gentleman named Flood bequeathed a property worth £7,000 a-year to found an Irish professorship at the University, to establish composition prizes in the same tongue, and to purchase books in the same or cognate dialects. Happy would it have been had these explicit testamentary directions been fulfilled; but, on account of some alleged informality, the will was disputed and finally set aside. It is true that before and after the foundation of Dublin University, many colleges and professorships were endowed and presided over by Irishmen abroad for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen, one at Salamanca dating from a period as early as 1582; but such qualifications and the fruit they might have borne found no congenial home on native soil. Hence, even in 1830, not one in sixty of the population could read their spoken tongue, while in almost every county there were entire districts where English was unknown.

Several societies had been recently formed to effect the purpose of giving religious instruction to the natives by means of daily and Sunday-schools, the circulation of the Irish Scriptures, the delivery of controversial lectures, and the offer of a reward to every one who could produce a scholar, whom he had himself taught to read in Irish. One

was named the "Kildare Street Society." The Bible was read without note or comment in its schools, which increased in number between 1816 and 1831 from 8 to 1,600 containing 132,000 scholars. It enjoyed for a season a treasury grant of £25,000 a-year. The "Sunday-school Society" with 200,000 children on its list, the "London Hibernian," with 70,000, and other societies mustering 28,000, added their quota of protestant instruction.

Besides these measures, several Irish books had at intervals been issued from the press. Some of these belonging to the early part of the eighteenth century we have noticed. In 1742, an Anglo-Irish Catechism of Christian doctrine was printed at Paris by the Rev. A. Donlevy and another in 1750 by the titular archbishop of Armagh. In 1758, an Anglo-Irish Dictionary compiled by the titular bishop of Cloyne was printed at Paris. These efforts were few and feeble but, with the opening of the present century, attention to the native language was revived by the publication of several grammars and a new dictionary. Since then, a better day has dawned on the aboriginal tribes. Dr. Stokes, of Trinity College, had already published the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts in Irish, when in 1806, he printed another edition including the other three Gospels; in 1811 he completed the New Testament. In 1817 the Bible Society issued the whole Scriptures in Irish, and in 1828 adopted the native character.

Provoked at such efforts, the priests forbade, though with small success, all attendance at Protestant schools, and determined, if possible, to overthrow the National Church. To this effect they tried their power with the government. The Irish Romanists had a natural affinity with the Radical party, and being sufficiently numerous and united to secure a majority for those with whom they coalesced, they became so necessary to the Whig ministry

as to hold them in subserviency. Under their dictation Earl Grey withdrew the annual grant to the Kildare-street schools, because the indiscriminate reading of the Bible was obnoxious to them, and appropriated £30,000 a year to others in which it was not to be used as a class-book, but to be replaced by extracts approved by a Romish bishop, all books being prohibited which were not approved by a Committee which included the same bishop and two barristers, one of whom was a Romanist and the other an Unitarian. A register was required to be kept at such schools of the attendance of Roman Catholic children at their chapels. These practices grew up, be it observed, under the *unsectarian!* wing of the Irish National Board.

But more serious measures were in contemplation. Earl Grey introduced the question of Irish Church Reform in 1833, and an act was passed, one of whose provisions was that, instead of the payment of first-fruits to the Crown, of which the Irish clergy had long complained, a tax should be levied, varying from two-and-a-half to fifteen per cent. on clerical, and from 5 to 15 per cent. on episcopal, incomes. By a subsequent act, viz. the Irish Church Temporalities Act (1834), the revenues of Armagh and Derry were reduced, the deaneries of Armagh and Christchurch were united, and no fewer than ten sees were suppressed, their territories being united with those of other sees, viz. the archbishoprics of Cashel with Armagh, and of Tuam with Dublin; the bishoprics of Dromore with Down, of Raphoe with Derry, of Clogher with Armagh, of Elphin with Kilmore, of Killaloe and Achonry with Tuam, of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh with Killala, of Kildare with Dublin, of Ossory with Ferns and Leighlin, of Waterford and Lismore with Cashel and Emly, of Cork and Ross with Cloyne. The revenues arising from the tax and the suppression,

placed in the hands of an Irish Ecclesiastical Commission, were authorized to be employed in the "building and repairing of churches, the augmentation of small livings, and such other purposes as may conduce to the advancement of religion."* Such redistribution of church dignities and revenues would be scarcely a subject of regret if the disposable funds were faithfully used in furtherance of the Church's interests and usefulness; nor would the suppression of so many sees be wholly unjustified, could it be proved that the rulers of the Church were consulted, and had given their consent to such a measure, or that their separate existence was no longer essential to her welfare and efficiency. But the alienation of one-fourth of her tithes into lay hands comes under a wholly different category; it adds one more example to the long list of previous alienations by which the Church has already been crippled and impoverished, and which form the real reason of that comparative inefficiency of which she has since been made to bear the blame; if, in some period of revolutionary fever, the same mode of dealing were to be applied to lay property, the historian would characterise the transaction as an act of *pillage*. But "sweet are the uses of adversity." These reverses have awakened a large section of the Irish clergy from the torpor into which, like many of their English brethren, they had sunk. Of late years this section has largely increased in numbers, as well as in the spirit of union pervading it, as appears from the unanimity which characterizes their large annual gatherings in Dublin for conference and co-operation.

* 3 and 4 William iv., c. 37. By the Tithe Commutation Act of 1838, (1 and 2 Vic., c. 109), the Irish tithes were converted into a rent charge, at a reduction of 25 per cent., on the plea that the greater certainty of the payment by the landowner than by the tenant would compensate for the nominally smaller amount:

In Ireland, as in England, the increase of vital religion among the clergy has caused an increase of missionary zeal, as shewn not only in their co-operation with Englishmen in behalf of foreign missions, but in their evangelistic efforts at home. The "Hibernian Society," now called the "Church Education Society for Ireland" had for many years carried on the work of protestant education on a large scale combining, in one united effort, the action of all who could not conscientiously adopt the otherwise excellent but sine-scriptural system of the National Board. The Irish Societies of London and of Dublin since 1822, have widely circulated the Irish Bible and, through lay agents teaching the peasantry to read it, have disseminated its doctrines. Protestant colonies planted in the far West have stood their ground in Achill, Dingle, and Ventry since 1834, and have survived no small amount of petty persecution. Excommunication and priestly anathemas have been plentifully hurled against them—harmless weapons, inasmuch, as "the curse causeless shall not come," but indirectly mischievous where a people, scarcely more enlightened than the people of Melita, being forbidden to indulge the instincts of their own kindly nature, stand aloof from all social contact with the leprous heretic, and wait in wondering awe to see the curse commence its deadly work, and its heaven-struck victims to lie "swollen or fallen down dead." The names of Nangle, Gayer, and Moriarty, in connection with these localities, used to be like household words to thousands who contributed pecuniary aid and hearty sympathy to the oppressed protestants residing there, but as some of them are still our living cotemporaries, the historical record of their labours must occupy a later pen than ours.

We will not dwell in detail on events which occurred immediately subsequent to 1833. The period from thence till 1846

was marked by an almost incessant political agitation which, in 1843 had reached such monster proportions, as required nothing less than the strong arm of the law to arrest it. O'Connell renewed an agitation for Repeal of the Union by establishing a "Precursor Society," the subscription to which, not exceeding one shilling per annum, was thought to represent both numbers, that is, physical force, and capital, sufficient to restore the native parliament. It kept the question alive, and formed the nucleus of an agitation which might at any convenient moment spring into action, and by intimidation render subservient to its dictation the ministry whom its political votes retained in power. The Municipal Bill was passed under the auspices of Lord Morpeth and Sir Robert Peel. It admitted Romanists into municipal and judicial offices from which their religion had previously debarred them. On the return to power of the Peel Cabinet in 1841, O'Connell, in order to intimidate a supposed unfriendly ministry, led by the resolute will of its chief, into the same subjection as their whig predecessors and the *poco curante* Lord Melbourne, once more raised the cry for the Repeal of the Union. He formed the "Repeal Association," and held monster meetings in order to inflame the popular mind with the idea of political grievances, and thereby to force its concession from the government. The places selected for these gatherings, such as Trim, contiguous to the Boyne, Mullingar, the Hill of Tara replete with thrilling recollections, the times of meeting which were made to coincide with historical anniversaries, and the multitudes flocking together, amounting to, at least, 150,000 (at Tara, it was said to nearly 300,000 persons), all tended to render the repetition of such dangerous gatherings intolerable. The pliant Melbourne ministry was replaced by the stronger conservative administration of Sir Robert Peel, in obedience to whom the Lord Lieutenant, by a proclamation,

arrested another assemblage summoned to Clontarf, and added military preparations which rendered any attempt to effect a meeting utterly hopeless. O'Connell was prosecuted for sedition, condemned after a protracted trial to imprisonment, and though by appeal to the House of Lords the sentence was reversed, he had learned a wholesome lesson of caution. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and a "Coercion Bill" was passed against the indiscriminate use of arms. Thus the prestige and popularity of the arch agitator, though backed by the priests and by the physical force which spiritual machinery enabled them to wield, began to wane, and sedition for the time was checked.

But after this result had been gained, the evil policy of concession was re-adopted. A bill was passed in 1844 permitting Irish Unitarians to retain certain endowments originally intended for orthodox Presbyterians, and Sir Robert Peel in the next year proposed and carried a bill intended to abolish the irritation caused by the annual discussion of the Maynooth Grant, by constituting it a permanent endowment of £26,000 a year. This measure struck the first blow at the conservative majority which had placed and kept him ever since 1841 at the head of a strong government, and late years have shewn how it has failed to realize the tranquillizing results which he anticipated from it. A grant of funds soon followed for the endowment of three colleges to be called the Queen's University which, in contrast with the limitation of graduates at Trinity College, Dublin, to members of the Established Church, promised to conciliate all parties by offering the same academical career to Churchmen, Dissenters, and Romanists; but the exclusively secular education thus entailed led to a very common result, viz., that the effort to please all parties pleased neither of them.

The protestant clergy for the most part stood aloof from it, while Romanists scorning the "Godless Colleges," as O'Connell aptly named them, are now seeking to found a "Catholic" that is, a sectarian, University.

In the next summer occurred that mysterious infliction, the "potatoe disease" which produced famine, pestilence and depopulation, the decennial period in which it occurred witnessing an extraordinary decrease from the often boasted seven millions of Irish people to five millions and a half, but which, like many other permitted evils working greater good, has been the means, of emancipating a large portion of the population from spiritual bondage to the liberty of freemen whom the truth makes free. Ireland's extremity was England's opportunity to return good for evil, to feed the hungry even amid her own privations, to bestow her aid bountifully, nationally, parochially, and individually, and to make her sympathy gratefully felt in contrast to the extortion of the priests, whose want of feeling lost to them the affection of the peasantry, and whose failure to avert, by their usual incantations, the crushing calamity which they did nothing to alleviate, transferred irrecoverably the prestige which they so little undeserved from the "Priest" and "Levite," who superciliously passed by on the other side of their starving brethren to the heretical Samaritans who poured oil and wine into their wounds.

O'Connell, in the meanwhile, surviving his popularity, no longer able to wield multitudes by his eloquence, broken-hearted at the miseries of his famine-stricken country, a diseased, disappointed and melancholy man, departed from the scenes of his tumultuous triumphs, to die abroad. The juncture was in one sense a happy one. English piety, remembering that Ireland had other than temporal necessities, sought also to relieve her spiritual famine. Many an

English parish, acquiring a missionary interest in some parochial district of the sister country "affiliated" with it, besides the weekly or monthly fruits of personal self-denial, which they guaranteed for a fixed period in order to supply food to the perishing, undertook also to maintain a temporary or permanent religious teacher among them.

These sporadic efforts led to an organised plan, conceived in England, but cordially welcomed by the Irish clergy, viz. the formation in 1847, of a "Society for Promoting Irish Church Missions among Roman Catholics" which, ignoring the corrupt semblances of christianity still remaining in its sphere of labour, instructs, evangelises, and reclaims the people, as if from heathenism, overcoming all obstructions, by the simple power of the Gospel, "the blood of the Lamb, and the word of His testimony." Its funds, chiefly raised in England, are considerable, and its efforts have been spread in various directions, except in the presbyterian North, including even the Irish metropolis. Its most successful mission is in the wild district of Connemara, county Galway in the far West, where its labours have borne abundant fruit, exhibiting at this day twenty-two new parishes entirely protestant, each with its church and pastor, and likely ere long to be endowed or self-supporting, thus leaving the Society free to enter into new fields of labour. It raised in the first nineteen years of its existence £493,000 exclusively for Church work in Ireland, conducted by the clergy of parishes whose revenues were small and the number of protestants originally but few. It has erected by means of special funds eighteen churches, eight parsonage-houses, seven orphanages, and thirty school-houses. It maintains (1868) fifty-four Sunday, and eighty-six daily, schools, attended by 8,172 scholars. It employs thirty-four clergymen and 385 other agents. It has about five-and-twenty mission stations in Ireland,

and after more than twenty years of its operations its work still continues and prospers. Indeed the conjecture may be hazarded that the fear awakened by its success is one cause why Romanism is so anxious to dispense with the presence of protestantism in Ireland. It has been urged as a reproach that the Irish Church is unable to carry on missions for itself without aid from England which, in fact, does the work for her. This taunt might have some weight were the Irish Church wealthy and her clergy numerous with an open field before them. But crippled, impoverished, and persecuted as she is and has been, it is no more a reproach to her that she avails herself of English aid in her missionary work, than it was to our own Duke of Wellington that he relied on the aid of Prussian reinforcements to secure the victory of Waterloo. It may be added that, as one fruit of these and similar efforts, according to recent statistics, while the whole population of Ireland had between 1834 and 1861 decreased 27 per cent, and the Roman Catholics 30 per cent., the Church of England, apart from other protestant denominations had decreased only 13·4 per cent., that is, it had *increased* relatively to the whole population.*

The revolutions of 1848 once more awakened the sedition-mongers, the result of whose inflammatory efforts, within three years of the "conciliatory" Maynooth Bill, was the rise and prompt suppression of what is contemptuously known as the "Cabbage-garden Rebellion," and the exile of its fomenters. Some of these have died, and others have returned, sadder but wiser men, to disclaim their youthful follies; while others again, who have "learned nothing and forgotten nothing," have lived to join in any feverish or factious movements, springing up with mushroom growth in the scene of their expatriation.

* Statistics of Dr. Lee.

These intestine broils with their twin companions, famine and fever, besides the direct drain on population, produced that wholesale emigration known as the "Exodus," which has not yet ceased, and which, combining with other causes, must have swept from the soil at least three millions of the people. These were drawn chiefly from among the poor and from the ranks of Romanism, which has so far been a loser in Ireland without an equivalent gain in America except of the "Fenian" brotherhood, of whom it might still have boasted, were it not more convenient in this case for the parent to repudiate her offspring. These have concocted the wildest schemes, at first in darkness and secrecy, though latterly drawing up the curtain to exhibit the stage-players behind the scenes, and now openly avowing, or pretending, to entertain the hope of sweeping English rule and English protestantism from the earth. The later developments of this absurd movement tend to throw doubt on its exclusively Romanistic character, exhibiting the mere mercenary and republican elements in large proportions. Whatever the motives of the Irish priesthood transferred to the American soil, whether their conviction in reference to their spiritual children be that the emigrants are inevitably lost to them, or that American liberty is incompatible with spiritual despotism, or that their former sympathy with insurrection has robbed them of more prestige than they care to lose or that a shout of loyalty is a convenient cloak to cover whispers of sedition, certain it is that Fenianism has called forth generally though not uniformly their severest denunciations. Its insane warfare against life and property and social order, however, is not the chief mischief wrought by this wretched conspiracy. The reaction which it has caused has been far more perilous, for it has raised a political cry, not indeed in Ireland itself, but among

the aspirants to political power and the enemies of all Church endowments in England, that the Irish Church must be sacrificed as the only means of pacifying Ireland and extinguishing sedition. None know better than their authors the falsehood of those statements which are urged as the plea for spoliation, such as that Romanism is the ancient religion of Ireland, and that Protestantism has proved a failure. Did the welfare of the Church rest on an arm of flesh, we might fear the worst from the confederacy of Moab, and Ammon and Amalek, but the "Lord on high is mightier," and He, who in 1688 permitted the Crown to be subverted in order to rescue the Irish Church from a combination of foes similar to that of 1869, can not only turn evil councils into foolishness, but teach our rulers to reverse their anti-Irish policy, and to legislate for the future well-being of Ireland and her Church. If they profit not by the lesson they may learn too late that while Irish Romanism has scourged them with whips, it may in years to come chastise them with scorpions.

The railway system, besides quickening the vital circulation of a country whose length and breadth it permeates, stimulating trade and industry, and consolidating its population by promoting mutual intercourse, has especially benefited Ireland by opening it up to British tourists, thus tending to dissipate the animosity between Celt and Saxon by bringing them face to face in kindly communication. The sale of encumbered estates has also proved beneficial, rescuing the old proprietors from hopeless embarrassment and estates from reckless mismanagement, introducing British capital and industry and drawing the two peoples into still closer union as dwellers on the same soil, and having a common interest, as employers and employed, on the same properties. It develops the material resources of

the country, increases its productiveness by stimulating agriculture and manufactures, and is thus far laying the foundation of national prosperity.

From the operation of these joint causes, in the providence of God, viz., the growing activity and zeal of the Irish clergy, the evangelistic labours of various benevolent societies, the mortality and emigration consequent on the potatoe famine, the waning influence of the priesthood, though the Romish hierarchy under the skilful leadership of "Archbishop" Cullen are striving to restore it, the transfer of property, the development of the railway and telegraphic systems, and the closer connection thereby promoted with England and its protestant institutions, the progress of education, though less distinctive and scriptural than it might be, to which perhaps we might add a religious movement known as the "Revival" which occurred in certain districts of the North a few years ago, the relative proportion of Romanists and Protestants is gradually changing. The former are computed at less than four millions, wasting away through desertion and emigration; the latter, aided by Scotch and English settlers, the converts from Popery and the hereditary followers of the Reformed faith, have been supposed to exceed two millions.*

It may be that the race of fiery agitators is not yet wholly extinct, that a church which owns the supremacy of a foreign prince and prelate can have no firm or loyal

* This was the estimate of O'Connell before the famine, when the total population was nearly eight millions. The total decrease since then must of course have been shared by the Protestants, but the same proportion would still show them to number one-and-a-half millions of all denominations, and as their relative decrease has been less than of other religious bodies, we may safely assume that they do not fall below that number. See Murray's *Ireland and her Church*, p. 344.

attachment to a Church, Throne and Constitution essentially antagonistic to it, that national antipathy and hereditary hatred, satellites of seven hundred years' growth into the vitals of the earlier Church and among the primitive inhabitants of the land are not to be extinguished in one day or in one generation. It may be that old superstition and modern rationalism, that false religion and irreligion linked in common hostility to the Established Church as a faithful witness against both, may combine in fierce onslaught to destroy her, and may succeed in depriving her of her temporalities; but the hostile movement will doubtless be overruled to realise those salutary reforms which shall render her position more impregnable, and constitute her a more effective instrument of accomplishing her beneficent mission. It may be that, after the earthquake is past, the rumblings and vibrations, recurring from time to time, will prove that a long interval must elapse ere equilibrium is restored; yet the agencies for good, ordained by Divine wisdom and love, are wielded by almighty power using and prospering the feeble instrumentality of man, while those in opposition to it, though based on a system marked by almost superhuman skill, and at one time holding the civilized world in its grasp, are only wielded by one who was once beheld like lightning to fall from heaven. The strong man armed will yet struggle fiercely to retain his goods, but "God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved; God shall help her, and that right early;" and the spoiler being opposed by One who is stronger than he, the contest cannot be doubtful, the victory is certain, and on the principle that the house of Saul will wax weaker as the house of David waxes stronger, we may safely, notwithstanding threatening appearances, prognosticate brighter days for Ireland, when her Reformed Church shall take her place among sister

churches in spiritual prosperity and in missionary effort, the harbingers of a more perfect day when "the Lord shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire to take vengeance" on those who know Him not, when the corrupt system already tottering to its fall shall receive the final overthrow to which it has long since by the voice of inspired prophecy been destined, when "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ," and He shall reign for ever.

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