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‘FACTS OR FICTION?’

THE CHURCH OF IRELAND’S WRITING OF IRISH CHURCH HISTORY 1838-1870

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

JAMIE BLAKE KNOX

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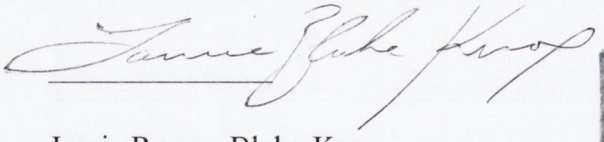

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores a central, but curiously neglected dimension of the cultural and intellectual history of Ireland in the nineteenth century. It addresses the systematic attempt by a group of scholars and academics, largely based in Trinity College, Dublin, to re-write the history of the Irish Church. Their preoccupation with the historical origins of their Church was shared with English Episcopalians. In both cases, academics and theologians sought justification for the birth of their respective Reformed branches of Christianity.

In the case of the Church of England, the issue of Apostolic Succession was a matter of some controversy – dating from the alleged consecration of bishops in the Nag's Head tavern during the early years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. This issue was warmly debated within the Church of England over the following centuries.

A similar preoccupation can be found in the Church of Ireland. However, the underlying issues and their implications were very different – and much more fundamental. While there may have been contention over whether or not the Church of England could properly claim a valid Apostolic Succession, there was no question that the Church was an authentically English institution. Like most successful Churches, it has moulded itself to the contours of the culture in which it was situated, and had become national in the fullest sense of the term. In the case of the Church of Ireland, other principles were involved – including the entitlement of that Church to consider itself as genuinely Irish. The Church of Ireland had been established by law in 1536, and, almost from its inception, its theologians had sought to validate their Church's very existence and presence in Ireland.

Archbishop James Ussher[1] (4th January 1581 – 21st March 1656) played a critical and formative role in the early years in which a distinctively Irish identity was created for the Church of Ireland. Alan Ford has maintained that Ussher's *A Discourse of the Religion Anciently professed by the Irish and British* (1631) should be considered as the 'ur-text' of

[1] Ussher was the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland between 1625 and 1656.

Irish Anglican history.[2] In this work, Ussher set out to demonstrate that the religion practised by the first Irish Christians was the same in substance to that practiced in the contemporary Church of Ireland. This theme was developed in the course of the seventeenth century by Sir James Ware, and editions of his and Ussher's works continued to be widely read in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, it should be noted that subsequent Irish Anglican historians tended merely to reproduce their arguments, rather than add to them.

By contrast, English historians were able to write about their country's Established Church with a degree of coherence and self-confidence that was simply not possible for Irish Anglicans. In England, by the end of the seventeenth century, the great majority of the population identified with the Church of England. In Ireland, the situation was very different. The majority of the Irish population were members of the Roman Catholic Church. Even within Ireland's minority Protestant population, a large proportion were not Anglicans, but Presbyterians. What is more, many of the members of the Church of Ireland were descendants of English and Scottish immigrants. Clearly, this undermined Irish Episcopal historians' claims to be the rightful heirs of the Early Irish Church.

In England, the foundations of Anglican historiography had been laid by such distinguished scholars as Gilbert Burnett and John Strype. Burnett had written a celebrated defence of the English Reformation in 1679[3] – which was considered so effective that he had received a formal vote of thanks from the English Parliament. Strype had also written authoritative works about the Reformation in England – and the research material which he collected for those works proved of lasting value to subsequent historians. There were, of course, also a number of distinguished English Roman Catholic historians, but the dominant narrative in the nineteenth century was supplied by writers who were either practising members of the Church of England, or had, at least, been raised in that Faith.

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[2] Interview with Alan Ford conducted 14/10/2013.

[3] The second volume of *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* appeared in 1681and the third in 1714.

In Ireland, the founding narrative that Irish Anglican historians claimed for their Church was often challenged - directly and vigorously - by those who belonged to the Roman Catholic communion. To put it simply, historians connected with the Church of England – such as Burnett, and Strype – did not have to engage in combative debate with Catholic scholars of the calibre and self-assurance of Stephen White, Mícheál Ó Cléirigh and John Colgan.

It is clear that it was not possible to apply the same paradigm to the Episcopal Church in Ireland as it was to the Church of England. The Reformation, for example, presented obvious difficulties of explanation for Irish Anglican historians. In England, the Reformation could be perceived and was often understood as a victory for rational religion over primitive Roman Catholic superstition. However, the Reformation in Ireland was a prolonged and tortuous affair – in which the Church of Ireland did not finalise its Confession of Faith, or disciplinary canons until the third decade of the seventeenth century. Of greater significance was the fundamental and inescapable gulf between some of the claims of the Church of Ireland and its historians, and the obvious reality. The Irish Anglican Church was simply not the Church of the majority of Irish people. Indeed, it could even be argued that a genuine Irish Reformation never took place – or, if it did, it proved a spectacular failure.

There were other contradictions which complicated and frustrated the attempts of Irish Anglican historians to produce a coherent narrative about the genesis of their Church. On one hand, successive generations of Irish Anglicans claimed that the Early Irish Church was, in essence, Protestant. On the other hand, some Irish Anglican historians were sceptical of some of the religious traditions which had originated in the Early Irish Church. There is no better exemplar of this than the figure of Ireland's principal patron saint, St. Patrick. According to some Irish Anglican scholars, St. Patrick almost represented the prototype of a Church of Ireland Minister – according to others, like Edward Ledwich he was an entirely fictional - a 'monkish fiction,' and a typical product of Catholic gullibility.[4]

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[4] Edward Ledwich, *The Antiquities of Ireland. The Second Edition. With Additions and Corrections to which is added A Collection of Miscellaneous Antiquities* (Dublin, 1804) p. 57 Donal MacCartney has asserted that Ledwich 'left a deep impression: he could be accepted or rejected but not ignored.' Donal McCartney, 'The Writing of History in Ireland, 1800-30,' *Irish Historical Studies*, x (1957), p. 349

Irish Anglicans began the nineteenth century with their Church recognised as the State religion of Ireland, established and protected by law. Although certain restrictions on Roman Catholics holding state offices still applied, as the century progressed, the tide of history turned against Ireland's Anglican population. The campaign for Catholic Emancipation was able to mobilise on a large scale the popular forces of Catholic Ireland. That campaign was followed by the movement for Repeal of the Union between Ireland and Great Britain. When Daniel O'Connell staged his "Monster Rallies" - aptly named, as far as many Irish Anglicans were concerned – the mood within the Church of Ireland was one of extreme apprehension about its future.

Some Irish Anglicans expressed such fears in apocalyptic terms. James Henthorn Todd wrote to his former provost, Samuel Kyle, Bishop of Cork, in 1836, to admit that he was 'really beginning to despair for the Church. Its very friends are aiming to stab at it.'[5] He went on to suggest that 'our strength is to sit still. If we are to be murdered in cold blood, let us not commit suicide, if iniquity, injustice and robbery are to triumph - let wickedness proceed from the wicked.'[6] Todd's bleak outlook was understandable: he was, after all, writing at a juncture when the Church of Ireland was coming under increasing pressure, not just from forces within Ireland, but also from the "Mother of Parliaments" in Westminster – which explains Todd's reference to the 'friends' who are 'aiming to stab'.

The Church Temporalities Act[7] – passed by the British Parliament in 1833 - was described by William Conyngham Plunket as 'a death sentence passed upon the Church, with a stay of execution for a period amounting to the average expectation of the life of the existing clergy.'[8] In the decades that followed, it became clear that the campaign for Irish political democracy was eroding the privileges that had once belonged to Ireland's Anglican minority.

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[5] TCD Ms 2214/25.

[6] Idem.

[7] Sometimes called the Church Temporalities (Ireland) Act 1833, the Act suppressed ten bishoprics and merged the corresponding dioceses with effect from the next vacancy.

[8] Fredrick Douglas How, *William Conyngham Plunket, Fourth Baron Plunket and Sixty-First Archbishop of Dublin: A Memoir* (London, 1900) p.87.

Franchise extensions, land transfers, tithe abolition, and other reforms could only lead in one direction, and, by the 1830s, it seemed obvious to many observers that it was no longer credible for the Church of Ireland to continue to claim to be Ireland's Established Church.

A sense of doom and gloom was pervasive among both clerical and lay members of the Church of Ireland. It became apparent to some Anglican intellectuals that it was imperative for them to try to construct a feasible future for their Church – if their community were not simply to wither up and die. In this context, some leading figures in the Church of Ireland determined to begin by re-constructing their Church's history - in order to establish that it was integral to the history of Christianity in Ireland. One of their principal objectives was to address a blatant omission: the lack of authoritative and modern histories of their Church.

In 1834, a reviewer in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* quoting from James Seaton Reid argued that the Church of Ireland was 'without a historian' – and that this had left 'a chasm' in Ireland's ecclesiastical history.[9] As late as 1843, Robert King, a fellow of St. Columba's College, complained that Irish Anglicans had allowed the 'candle of sacred history (...) to lie under the bushel.'[10] It is hardly surprising, then, that Irish Anglican historians regarded this historical project with the utmost seriousness of purpose – and it was one in which the intellectual and financial resources of Trinity College were to prove critical. Men like Todd – and the other writers whose work is examined in this thesis – did not simply "sit still". Instead, they committed themselves to a direct engagement with the tumultuous changes that the Church of Ireland was facing.

The first priority for many Anglicans was to establish a clear and certain sense of their own identity, and distinctiveness from the Church of England. This encouraged some leading Irish – and Irish-based - antiquarians and academics to turn to the history of the Early Irish Church to establish that their roots in Ireland extended back to the birth of Christianity on the island. This led, in turn, to an extraordinary flowering of historical research and writing within the

[9] *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* (April, 1834), p 210.

[10] Robert King, *A primer of the history of the Holy Catholic Church in Ireland, from the introduction of Christianity to the formation of the modern Irish branch of the Church of Rome* (Dublin, 1843), 2nd ed., p. x.

Church of Ireland – some of which was highly innovative, and which contributed to the development of history as a modern academic discipline in Ireland. [11] This movement produced some highly significant publications – such as Henry Cotton's *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*,[12] and Evelyn Philip Shirley's pioneering use of primary sources in his *Original letters and papers in illustration of the history of the church of Ireland*.[13]

All of this represented a distinct movement within Irish Anglicanism that had two implicit and related objectives. One of these was to provide convincing evidence which would establish that Ireland's Anglicans were authentically Irish – and, therefore, had a right to remain in the country. The other objective was to try and identify a future for Anglicanism in the context of the growing likelihood of an independent Irish State - where political and social power would inevitably be held by the Catholic majority. Both these objectives marked a radical shift from the perspective of some leading Irish Anglicans in the eighteenth century who had treated the Early Irish Church with disdain and suspicion.

Ludwig Bieler assessed the eighteenth century as 'a period of sterility, in hagiographic studies, [which] did not produce any work on St. Patrick that might be worth mentioning.'[14] It is not hard to understand why Bieler was inclined to make such a sweeping and dismissive judgement: Bridget McCormack has maintained that only one new life of St. Patrick was produced during the course of this century. However, as McCormack has argued, 'silence in

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[11] Fergal Grannell has argued that 'Irish Anglicans pledged themselves in that extraordinary outburst of literary and scholarly activity which was sustained over a hundred year period. (1833-1933)' Fergal Grannell, 'Early ecclesiastical studies' in Michael Hurley SJ (ed.)*Irish Anglicanism 1869-1969- Essays on the role of Anglicanism in Irish life presented to the Church of Ireland on the occasion of the centenary of its Disestablishment by a group of Methodist, Presbyterian, Quaker and Roman Catholic scholars* (Dublin, 1970) p.40.

[12] The six volumes were published in Dublin from 1845 to 1850.

[13] Published in London in 1851.

[14] Ludwig Bieler, 'The mission of Palladius. A comparative study of sources' *Traditio* vi (1948) p.15

the field of formal Patrician hagiography does not necessarily imply an absence of interest in Patrick by the inhabitants of eighteenth century Ireland.'[15]

There were many works produced by Irish Anglican historians in the years leading up to the Disestablishment of their Church. Among the plethora of books, tracts and pamphlets produced in these decades are a number of critical importance. This thesis focuses on a number of key texts which were central to the Irish Anglican intellectual project in the middle of the nineteenth century – and from which all the other work is derived, or draws upon. Considered collectively, these key texts mark a crucial staging post in the writing of the history of the Church of Ireland by Irish Anglicans. The texts in question are: Richard Mant's *The History of the Church of Ireland from the Reformation to the Revolution; with a Preliminary survey, from the Papal Usurpation, in the twelfth century to its legal abolition in the sixteenth* Vol I and *The History of the Church of Ireland from the Revolution to the Union of the Churches of England and Ireland January 1, 1801; with a catalogue of the Archbishops and Bishops continued to November 1840* Vol II ; Charles Richard Elrington's *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D.D Lord Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland* (in 17 volumes); William Reeves' *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy: written by Adomnán, ninth abbot of that monastery. The text printed from a manuscript of the eighth century; with various readings of six other manuscripts preserved in different parts of Europe. To which are added, copious notes and dissertations, illustrative of the Early History of the Columbian institutions in Ireland and Scotland;* James Henthorn Todd's

[15] Bridget McCormack, *Perceptions of St. Patrick in Eighteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000) p. 15 Indeed, in the second half of the eighteenth century, one of the few historical figures to command the respect of both the Catholic and Protestant religious communities in Ireland was St. Patrick – who was widely accepted as having converted the pagan Irish to Christianity in the fifth century. His feast day was celebrated officially by the Viceroy and administration in Dublin Castle, and more informally throughout the city and country. St. Patrick's Day became a bankers holiday in 1760. This development was, perhaps, caused by a rise in the participation of Ireland's commercial and business community in the national celebration. This was also a period in which a number of new institutions, associations and societies – which took Patrick as an inspiration – were established in both Protestant and Catholic communities. These included charitable organisations, such as the Ancient and Most Benevolent Order of Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick in 1750; drinking clubs, such as the Order of St. Patrick, (or the Monks of the Screw), in 1779; and educational institutes, such as St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, in 1795. Patrick's role, as a national symbol of Ireland, was further enhanced when a new and exclusively Irish order of knighthood, the Knights of St. Patrick, was instituted by George III in 1782. This was followed by the Order of the Most Illustrious Knights of St. Patrick in 1783.

St. Patrick apostle of Ireland; a memoir of his life and mission. With an introductory dissertation on some early usages of the church in Ireland, and its historical position from the establishment of the English colony to the present day; and William Maziere Brady's *Facts or Fiction: The alleged conversion of the Irish bishops to the reformed religion, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth; and the assumed descent of the present established hierarchy in Ireland from the ancient Irish church, Disproved in 1866.*

These five historians offer very different perspectives, and the types of work they produced may seem to have little in common. The texts that they published vary considerably in length: one runs to more than 1,700 pages, while another contains less than 50. They also diverge in their literary and analytical qualities - ranging from the rambling and verbose, to the focused and succinct. The work produced by these five writers differs in subject matter and ambition: extending from scholarly editions of ancient Irish texts to contemporary polemics.

The ways in which each of these works was published also varies greatly, and indicates the diverse means which the Church of Ireland and its clergy used to communicate with a wider audience. One text was commissioned and financed – at great expense - by Trinity College, and published by the Dublin University Press. Another text was published by the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society: it was funded by subscription, and in conjunction with the Bannatyne Club in Edinburgh. Two texts were released by commercial publishing houses. Finally, one text first appeared as a pamphlet: it was published and paid for by a political society involved in the campaign to disestablish the Irish Anglican Church.

Despite the differences, these five writers were responding to the same acute historical crisis. For that reason, they can all be considered as part of the same historical project. One of the great ironies of this highly ambitious intellectual undertaking is that – although these writers shared the same basic aspirations – the conflicts that emerged in their work exposed, and undermined some of those shared objectives. This even led two of them to suppress original and critical material, and deliberately to misrepresent and wrongly attribute the sources of their research.

Since their first publication, some of these works – and their authors - have been somewhat discredited – although this has been largely on the basis of their perceived sectarian bias, and not because of their questionable academic ethics. Their works have also tended to be viewed in isolation from each other. However, they are best understood when read in conjunction – and as part of a discernible collective project. This is not to suggest that they were orchestrated by some central agency - but they were sometimes commissioned, or encouraged by the hierarchies of both Trinity College, and the Church of Ireland.

Bishop Richard Mant (February 12th 1776 – February 12th 1848) wrote the first major history of the Church of Ireland, but, in some respects, was an unlikely choice for that role. Mant was an Englishman who had little - if any - contact with Ireland until his appointment as a Bishop in the Irish Anglican Church in 1820. He found it difficult to adjust to his new environment, and, throughout his time in Ireland, Mant displayed a lack of understanding of the nuances of Irish society in both the north and south of the island. Paradoxically, it was, in part, because Mant was considered to be an outsider - with no connection to any ecclesiastical faction within the Church of Ireland - that made him seem suitable in the first place to produce a work that was unlikely to cause further division within the Church.

Mant differs from the other Anglican writers examined in this thesis in several other respects. Perhaps, the most significant of these is his apparent lack of interest in the Early Irish Church. Not surprisingly, Mant tended to view the Church of Ireland from the perspective of an English Anglican. However, he shared the ambition of other high churchmen to minimise the role that Calvinism had played in the Church's past - particularly, in its formative stages. In this, he was not alone: indeed, four of the five writers considered in this thesis were characterised by an extremely negative attitude towards the main exponents of contemporary Irish Calvinism: Ulster's Presbyterians.

The second work that will be examined in this thesis was conceived on an even larger and more ambitious scale than Mant's *History*. In 1825, the Board of Trinity College resolved to publish the collected works of Archbishop James Ussher, and appointed Charles Richard Elrington as overall Editor of the project. It took more than twenty-five years to complete the

publication of *The Whole Works of James Ussher.* Indeed, by the time the final volume appeared, Elrington was dead, and the publication of Ussher's works had become the most prolonged and expensive project undertaken by either the Dublin University Press, or Trinity College in the whole of the nineteenth century. It can also be regarded one of the most significant.

There are several unusual features of this publication. These include the apparently random order in which the volumes were released. Certain related texts that had been written by Ussher also appeared in separate volumes of Elrington's edition, while other texts by Ussher were ignored or suppressed. Elrington's *Life* of Ussher accompanied the publication of the collected works. In this volume, he summarised Ussher in ways that minimised the Calvinist aspects of his work - while portraying his theological views as if they coincided closely with those of contemporary high church Anglicans. Elrington's work is also characterised by the consistent and open hostility which he displays towards the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. In reality, he drew extensively upon the research of Presbyterian historians. However, he concealed their input and influence - deliberately and systematically - by attributing their research to other scholars. This has remained unknown and unacknowledged until now.

The work of William Reeves can be differentiated in several ways from the other writers considered in this thesis. This is not only because his edition of Adomnán's *Life of St Columba* is an exceptional work of scholarship - which draws upon extensive, original and rigorous research. His edition of Adomnán remains one of the most important texts produced by an Irish antiquarian in the whole of the nineteenth century. But it is not only the quality of Reeves' scholarship that has made his work of such significance. It is also distinguished by his capacity to appeal to those outside the confines of the Church of Ireland.

At a time when Irish historians often viewed Irish history from an overtly sectarian perspective, Reeves brought a genuine sense of impartiality and broadness of vision to his work. Unlike other Irish Anglican historians, he generally avoided a cynical, or condescending approach to the religious beliefs of Irish Roman Catholics. He was meticulous in crediting his sources, and did not try to disguise his indebtedness to Catholic

scholars. This conciliatory impulse also applied to his dealings with the other major Reformed denomination in Ireland: the Presbyterian Church. Unlike the other Anglican historians whose work is examined in this thesis, Reeves revealed a subtle and a shrewd understanding of northern Presbyterian culture, and was prepared to engage with that culture on its own terms. Reeves' ability to cross both of the major sectarian divisions, which separated Ireland's Anglicans from the other Christian denominations, marks him out as a significant figure in Ireland's ecclesiastical history

James Henthorn Todd has become a somewhat neglected figure in Ireland's intellectual history. His reputation has even been eclipsed by some of those who had once served as his editorial assistants. However, in his day, Todd was properly regarded as one of Ireland's leading antiquarians, and he was extremely active in a wide range of learned clubs and societies that were devoted to archaeology, history, and the Irish language. He also played an important role in the academic affairs of Trinity College for many years. Ireland's national saint - St. Patrick - was of obvious interest to all of Ireland's major Christian denominations. Todd was responsible for the first modern attempt to place Patrick within a distinctly Irish Anglican religious tradition. Although he was a scholar of exceptional ability and rigour, Todd's most significant work, *Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland - A memoir of his Life and Works,* provides ample evidence of his own intellectual preoccupations, and of some of the recurrent themes in Irish Anglican historiography.

Among these was the belief that the failure of the Irish Reformation was primarily the fault of English colonial rule in Ireland. This was related, in turn, to another of Todd's central arguments: that there was an underlying and unbroken line of succession between the Early Celtic Church and the Established Church of Ireland. The implicit challenge that Todd's claim presented to the Catholic Church in Ireland was accompanied by much more explicit aggression directed towards the Irish Presbyterian Church. Indeed, Todd argued that the iconoclastic actions of their puritan ancestors meant that Irish Presbyterians were partly responsible for the failure of the Irish Reformation. Despite some obvious weaknesses,

Todd's *St. Patrick* remains a highly significant text, and, arguably, the first modern historical work about Saint Patrick.

The last of the historical texts examined in this thesis is the shortest, but it could also be said to have made the most immediate and direct impact. It was written by William Maziere Brady. He came from a well-connected family that had played leading roles in the political and social life of Ireland for several generations, and had also occupied senior positions in the Church of Ireland. It seemed that Brady was destined for a glittering career within the Irish Anglican hierarchy, but he became disillusioned with the Church of Ireland, and emerged as a leading advocate for its Disestablishment. This culminated with the publication of his controversial pamphlet *Facts or Fictions*. For many of his co-religionists, this work represented nothing less than the public betrayal of their community.

The ostensible purpose of Brady's pamphlet was to deny the claims of the Irish Anglican Church to be in a direct line of Apostolic Succession from the Celtic Church. Brady achieved that goal in a substantial measure, but his work went far beyond that: he questioned - vigorously, and at a fundamental level - the right of the Church of Ireland to be considered as an authentically Irish institution. At the time when the issue of Irish national identity was becoming more closely linked with that of religious affiliation, Brady's suggestion that the Irish Anglican Church was simply an alien import from England was deeply upsetting and unsettling to many of his co-religionists. Brady's work also carried an explicitly political dimension. His arguments reinforced the views of many of those within the British Liberal Party - including its leader, William Ewart Gladstone - who recognised the advantage of being able to call upon a credible voice from within the Church of Ireland to support the campaign for its Disestablishment. Brady fulfilled that role - perhaps, beyond the expectations of his political patrons - and, for a period, he can fairly be said to have exerted some influence on public and political opinion within the United Kingdom..

The five writers, whose texts are considered in this thesis, are now better known by reputation than by their work. There are several reasons for that – some obvious, some less so. They all wrote in the years leading up to the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland – a

time of great anxiety for them and their co-religionists, when the very future of their Church seemed at risk. In the decades that followed Disestablishment, it became clear that the Irish Anglican Church was not going simply to disappear, and it began the business of adjusting to its new position in Irish society. Further adjustment became necessary in the early years of the twentieth century – with the foundation of an independent Irish State.

In that context, the work of these writers was neglected for other reasons. Several of them contributed greatly to our current understanding of Early Irish History, to our respect and recognition of the Irish language, and to the birth of Irish archaeology. However, without exception, all of the writers considered in this thesis were Unionist in their politics. As such, they ended up on the wrong side of history. At any rate, there was little appetite to honour their work in an Irish State whose ethos was stridently Catholic and Nationalist. I hope that the present thesis will contribute something to a significant re-assessment of their contribution to the cultural and intellectual life of both the Church of Ireland, and the history of nineteenth century Irish culture.

Note on Terminology

The nomenclature of religious profession in Victorian Ireland was not straightforward. This thesis is primarily concerned with the Irish Anglican Church, at the time variously referred to as the Irish Church, the Established Church, the Church of England in Ireland, the Church of Ireland, and the Church in Ireland. The difference between the last two names was subtle, but important. The former characterised the Church as a purely Irish institution, the latter as the Irish branch of a wider British Church.

Throughout this thesis Irish Anglican is used. I am aware that this description carries with it certain cultural implications. While it was common in the 19th century in southern Ireland to describe Church of Ireland churches as being Anglican or Episcopalian - the prime example being Trinity's own chapel - it was less far less common in Ulster. This is perhaps because of the negative associations with an overtly English identity that it could conjure up in a region of Ireland where many of its inhabitants identified themselves more closely with Scotland than England. I have primarily used it to differentiate members of the Church of Ireland from their English brethren and to allow me to distinguish between different strains and factions within the Church of Ireland itself.

The habit of reserving the word 'Protestant' strictly for members of the Anglican Church and the un-capitalised 'protestant' for members of all Reformed denominations is also problematic. This has important implications, as sections of the thesis specifically confront the differences between an Anglican exclusivity and a wider perception which was inclusive of other Reformed denominations. In this thesis, 'the Church' is the Anglican Church, and normally referred to as the Church of Ireland. An uncapitalised 'church' indicates a building. Within 'the Church', 'Low Church' indicates a strain or faction normally described as evangelical, with its emphasis on individual piety, and an ecclesiology read through the lens of soteriology, and a salvific sense of churchmanship where the body of true believers have individually responded to a specific call.

In this thesis 'High Church' means a grouping or faction whose ecclesiology is based on apostolic succession and sacramental inclusion. Typically, this grouping was highly committed to a traditional constitutionalist position of maintaining Church-and-State. Although these characteristics were shared with the Tractarians, this thesis differentiates between Irish and English high church camps.[1]

Todd's churchmanship which he shared with Elrington and Richard Mant, was expressed in the Book of Common Prayer, to whose services and language they were all devoted. Todd and Elrington went to great efforts to uphold the tradition of the full liturgical round in the College Chapel, and dreaded the curtailing of it. Todd, in particular, became deeply depressed by anything that appeared slovenly or casual in the conduct of church services in the country parish churches which he encountered during his travels in the quest for the language and antiquities of Ireland. He wrote to Elrington in 1836, 'I really do think it a very serious step in the History of the College, to abolish the morning service of the Church - it does most undoubtedly prepare the way for the admission of Popery.'[2]Similarly, in another letter to Elrington, he stated even more forcefully that 'nothing could not have been more foolish I would say unprincipled than an attempt to place the College on a footing different from that of the Church - let us live or die together shall always be my maxim - for the College without the Church, will never be the T.C.D that is worth preserving.'[3]

This thesis acknowledges that while all the individuals shared many characteristics, the nature of their faith, and the manner in which they practised and described it, was personal, individualistic and often fluid. Their religious convictions may sometimes seem to be adjusted to the specific circumstances in which they were writing: when it was considered

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[1] Peter Nockles has examined the connections between the Oxford Movement and an indigenous and long established high church tradition in Ireland which could trace its roots from Jeremy Taylor through to Alexander Knox and John Jebb. While many Irish high churchmen – as well as some Evangelicals - initially allied themselves with early Tractarians, they gradually became increasingly estranged from them. Peter Nockles 'Church or Protestant Sect? The Church of Ireland, High Churchmanship, and the Oxford Movement, 1822-1869,' *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998) James Henthorn Todd wrote to Charles Richard Elrington that his 'apprehensions of the tendencies of the party at Oxford are quite as acute as yours but I would not publicly oppose them.' MS 2214/122

[2] MS 2214/17

[3] MS 2214/97

expedient, for example, to emphasise their shared heritage with the Church of England, these clergy did so. While Mant and Elrington were called high church and accepted that categorisation, this did not apply equally to each of the writers whose work I am exploring in this thesis. There is also a clear generational divide between those writers: Elrington and Mant were, in many respects, products of the Georgian church - while Todd, Reeves and Brady may be considered more typical of its Victorian successor. It is striking that, although Todd occasionally used high church as a way of describing his own faith, at times he even used it in a derogatory sense to describe some of his contemporaries. He preferred using Episcopalian and to a lesser extent Catholic, and that option was shared by Brady, Cotton and King. Reeves was the most versatile – and, perhaps, the most open-minded - of the writers considered in this thesis: in his writing, he used Protestant, Reformed, Catholic and Episcopalian to describe himself. For the sake of clarity and continuity, I have used 'high church,' throughout this thesis, and whenever I am quoting directly from any of the writers I follow the terminology that they used.

CHAPTER ONE – FROM ON HIGH

I

Richard Mant was an Englishman - born in Southampton in 1776 – and, unlike all the other writers that this thesis focuses upon, he was educated entirely in England, and held no formal association with Trinity College, Dublin.[1] In fact, he was already in middle-age before he was appointed Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora in 1820 – and he had no known connection with Ireland before that date. Mant occupies a unique position in this thesis, and his inclusion is due to the historical importance of his major work - his *History* of the Church of Ireland - an importance which transcends Mant's national, or ethnic origins. His work had been eagerly anticipated by many within Ireland's Anglican communion – and it made a significant impact. Before long, Mant's volumes had almost become part of the furniture in the homes of many Anglican clergy.

Mant's adjustment to life in Ireland had not been promising. In 1820, soon after his arrival, he published his *Primary Visitation Charge* - in which he lambasted the local Anglican clergy for their ineffective attempts to convert Catholics, and encouraged the use of Church of Ireland schools 'as an instrument of Proselytism.'[2] The 'misdirected zeal' of his efforts were met with horror by John Jebb, who warned the Archbishop of Cashel Charles Brodrick that Mant had breathed 'warfare against the Papists.' Jebb believed that Mant could 'involve the South of Ireland in flames and, at the same time, stop any quiet progress that has been

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[1] Mant was educated at Winchester College then at Trinity College, Oxford where in 1797 he graduated B.A. This was followed in 1798 with his election to a fellowship at Oriel, which he held to the end of 1804. He graduated M.A. in 1801, was ordained deacon in 1802, and priest in 1803. He became curate in charge of Buriton, Hampshire in 1804. After acting as curate at Crawley, Hampshire 1808, and to his father at Southampton (December 1809), he became vicar of Coggeshall, Essex (1810), where he took pupils. Cited *The Gentleman's Magazine,* xxxi, (Jan-June 1849) p.89.

[2] NLI MS 8866/7: John Jebb to Brodrick, 16th October 1820.

making towards an unsuspected influence over the minds of our Roman Catholic population.'[3]

It was not surprising that the local Roman Catholic population also took exception to the militant tone of his charge, and Mant would soon come to realise the danger of raising issues of religious controversy in Ireland. He began to discover that an attack on the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland was perceived as tantamount to attacking the cultural identity of the majority of the Irish population, and that to do so was to risk open animosity. By the winter of 1821, that is precisely what occurred: Mant received a letter from an anonymous 'friend', that warned him against 'walking in those parts of his garden and demesne which he was used to frequent, as some persons were bound to destroy him, under an obligation they dare not disobey, including the writer, who professed himself a friend.' [4] Terrified by what he read, Mant promptly took his family to Dublin, and then fled with them back to England. It was only at the insistence of William Howley, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Charles James Blomfield, the Bishop of London that Mant reluctantly agreed to return to his Irish see - leaving his family behind in Bath.

Following this incident, Mant appealed to his chief patron, Lord Liverpool, for translation to a safer diocese in England. However, he was merely reminded of his folly at causing such unrest, 'so soon after your settlement in the country and before you could have had sufficient local knowledge of the state of it to hazard anything of a doubtful nature.'[5] He was also told, in no uncertain terms, that neither the English Bishops nor the British Government were impressed by his precipitate flight from Ireland. Chastened and demoralised, Mant returned to his Irish diocese, and was forced to spend the Christmas of 1822 there alone, confined to his Bishop's palace, with soldiers patrolling the grounds. It was deemed prudent to continue to post armed guards around his home for the next two years. Finally - in order to save further

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[3] Idem.

[4] Walter Bishop Mant, *Memoirs of the Right Reverend Richard Mant* (Dublin, 1857) pp. 135-6.

[5] Ibid, p. 144.

embarrassment - the British government decided to move Mant to the see of Down in 1823, succeeding Nathaniel Alexander, who had been translated to Meath.

It is clear that this baptism of fire played a significant role in Mant's future career in Ireland and his subsequent writings. He would later recall the advice that an unnamed Irish bishop had given him immediately following the incident: 'I should recommend extreme delicacy in regard to the Roman Catholics. It would really be wise, I conceive, to abstain from any mention of them, and to promote the interests of our own Church in the most effectual as well as the safest way.'[6] In future, Mant would moderate his criticism of Roman Catholicism. No doubt, he hoped that he would not encounter the same difficulties in his northern diocese - since it contained a large number of his co-religionists. However, he would also display a lack of understanding of the denominational nuances of his new environment.

Ulster held the greatest concentration of Anglicans in Ireland, but, in the course of several centuries, proximal living with Presbyterians had affected the character of the Anglican Church in Ulster. This was evident in its loyalty to markedly low church practices, and in its staunch resistance to any suggestions of Tractarianism and Puseyism. The blunt – not to say, abrasive - nature of some forms of Presbyterian discourse had also influenced Ulster's Anglicans. Mant had been critical of the religious enthusiasm of Methodism - comparing it to the worst excesses of Puritanism - during his clerical career in England. He might have expected that he would encounter something similar in Irish Presbyterianism, but he is unlikely to have anticipated the type of direct challenges that he would meet in Ireland from his fellow Anglicans.[7]

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[6] Ibid p. 143.

[7] Some of the divisions between Irish Protestants had been compounded in the course of the nineteenth century by the existence - and growth - of acute regional differences. At the beginning of that century, the vast majority of Ireland's Presbyterians were concentrated in the nine counties of Ulster, where they constituted the largest Protestant denomination, and, in some instances - such as certain parts of Counties Antrim and Down – where they even formed an overall religious majority. There had been a long history of friction between Ireland's two largest Reformed Churches. In previous centuries, Ulster's Presbyterians had suffered legal disabilities under the

On the 16th of November, 1838, Mant received a requisition on the subject of Church Extension from the clergy and laity of his diocese. He acceded to their request, and appointed Wednesday 17th of the following month, for a meeting. A committee was named for the purpose of making preliminary arrangements. At its first meeting, it soon became apparent that 'there was no public room in Belfast sufficiently large' to cater for the huge public interest[8] - a graphic illustration of the level of popular concern. It was under these 'peculiar circumstances,' and because of the 'important religious object of the proposed meeting,' that Mant agreed that it should be held in the newly founded Christ Church - which was then the largest Anglican church in Belfast.[9]

When Mant arrived in Christ Church for the public meeting, he might well have been surprised to find that it was packed to capacity, with almost 2,000 persons of all social classes - 'nobility, clergy, and gentry and (...) a large number of the laity of the diocese.'[10] The ostensible purpose of the meeting was to discuss the want of Church accommodation, but clearly there was substantially more to this meeting than simply a discussion of Church extension.[11] The evangelical clergyman, William McIlwaine,[12] touched upon the underlying

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Penal Laws, compelled to pay tithes to the Church of Ireland. The structure of the Presbyterian Church was also robustly democratic – and its members tended to display little of the traditional deference to hierarchical authority that could be found in some Anglican congregations.

[8] Walter Bishop Mant, Memoirs of the Right Reverend Richard Mant, p. 389.

[9] Ibid, p. 390.

[10] Ibid, p. 391.

[11] Unfortunately the entirety of this meeting was not published. However, Mant's notebooks contain sections of his speech and this is further augmented by extracts included by the Rev William McIlwaine in his own publication of 1843 and in NLI MS 15 561 (2). The Church Accommodation Society ceased operations in 1843 apparently according to plan. Things were not quite as they seemed for according to one observer 'many regretted the dissolution of this society,' and 'the harmony and confidence which existed.' Unfortunately 'Romanising influence had sadly increased to the perversion from the truth of many among the clergy and laity.' Since the society had originally been founded amidst concerns about, and to strengthen the Church against, the enemies of the Church in the 'University of Oxford,' the suspicion that such enemies had infiltrated the society itself was bound to excite hostility. The substance of these allegation and the nature of the 'Romanising influence,' was clearly a pointed reference to Mant and the inaugural members of the Down, Connor and

themes, when he used his opportunity to warn all those present of the necessity of faithfulness against the dangers of errors that threatened the Church from within. The implications of his speech would have been clear to all – and Mant was soon accused more directly from the floor of the meeting for his alleged Tractarian sympathies.

The reaction to Tractarianism, or Puseyism, as it was more commonly known, in the two united Ulster dioceses - Down, Connor and Dromore, and Derry and Raphoe - was of heightened significance. These represented the areas of Ireland where Anglicans could be found in the largest numbers. But it was also an area where intolerance of Tractarianism - if not quite leading to persecution - radically affected the character of the Church's ministry. This vigorous and vocal opposition to high church tendencies in Ulster was the most extreme in Ireland - and the problems it raised for the prelates of the Anglican Church gives crucial insights into the regional differences and hierarchical tensions that existed within the Church of Ireland, during the late 1830s and early 1840s.

It is true that there were some isolated instances of Tractarian practices in Belfast, but they were certainly not on the same scale as in Dublin. It was also in Ulster that Anglican Evangelicalism – of a type associated with the emotional enthusiasm of popular revivalism – had its strongest levels of support, and where opposition to Puseyism was most combative and intense. The depth of this antagonism is evident in a letter James Henthorn Todd wrote to his brother in 1843, about a colleague's curacy: 'One thing is perfectly plain', he wrote, 'that wherever his name [Charles Boytin[13]] will bring with him the imputation of 'Puseyism,' and although I am quite certain that he will never do anything extravagant - yet you know as well

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Dromore Architecture Society. That this society became affiliated with the Cambridge Camden Society, of which Mant was also a patron, did nothing to promote its popularity.

[12] McIlwaine was one of Mant's most hostile critics. Later he moved away from the extreme evangelicalism and became 'the sole representative of the moderate High Church party.' 'William McIlwaine Obituary,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette* 22nd August 1885 p.712

[13] Charles Boytin was a former leader of Orangeism at Trinity College, Dublin.

as I do how impossible it is for a man to avoid the imputation now especially in a Presbyterian county, however moderate he may be.' [14]

In reaction to the accusations levelled against him, Mant declared his steadfast loyalty to 'our National Church.' His choice of phrase here is telling - since this was arguably the most authoritative way of describing the Church of Ireland. The term was, of course, also increasingly recognised as being inaccurate. Mant was, no doubt, acutely aware of this: in an earlier reply to Archbishop Beresford, he had stated that the abolition of the Church assessments was 'an avowal that the Protestant Episcopal Church is no longer, to a certain extent at least, to be regarded as the Established National Church of Ireland.'[15] At this public meeting in Belfast, he felt constrained to stress his conformity to the principles of the Reformation: maintaining that 'against the Romish corruptions I have again and again raised my voice,' and stressing that 'against the modified form of Popery to which you advert, I have also not been wanting in bearing my testimony.'[16]

Mant further pledged himself to continue to oppose conscientiously 'every effort, however, innocently or undesignedly made, for introducing amongst my brethren of the Protestant Established Church, any institution which even remotely savours of those false doctrines and teachers, whose evil is now so manifest elsewhere.'[17]

His son, Walter Bishop Mant, maintained that, of all the bishops who commented on the Tracts at this time, 'none did so more energetically than the Bishop of Down and Connor.' However, this was by far Mant's most emphatic rejection of Tractarianism to date.[18] Austin Cooper has noted that, in general, Mant 'walked cautiously enough,' and that, along with

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[14] TCD Todd Correspondence MS 2214/131.

[15] Mant and Brinkley to Beresford November 5th 1832 Trinity College Library Beresford Ms 66.

[16] 'Ecclesiologism Exposed' the letters of the Rev William McIlwaine as published in *The Belfast Chronicle.* 1843 pp.62-63.

[17] Ibid p. 57.

[18] Mant, *Memoirs of the Right Reverend Richard Mant*, p. 396.

John Jebb, his 'ideas and teachings were the very stuff of Tractarianism.'[19] In 1836, he had already published a short work entitled *The Churches of Rome and England Compared* in which he sought to make the differences clear and clarify his own position. His work anticipated Newman's *Tract XC,* in comparing the decrees of the Council of Trent with the 39 Articles – and, although his conclusions were very different, it only managed to raise further suspicions about him.[20]

Patrick Comerford's assertion that Mant 'constantly asserted his anti-Tractarian and pro-Protestant principles,' may be questionable, but Comerford is certainly correct in noting the significance of Mant's publication, *The laws of the Church: the churchman's guard against Romanism and Puritanism in two charges, June and July 1842.*[21] This marked Mant's definitive break with Tractarianism, and helped cool any lingering Irish high church support for the Oxford Movement. While this charge was attacked as 'Puseyite' by some staunch Evangelicals, it is more significant, in the context of this chapter, that it was also criticised by Elrington – who, in a letter to Todd, lamented its cold, dry tone.[22]

The tolerance that Mant had first exhibited towards Tractarian principles was not reflected in the attitudes of the lower Anglican clergy and laity – and that was especially true in Ulster. S. Peter Kerr has speculated that Mant's English origins meant that he was fundamentally unable to communicate his attitude towards Tractarianism to the Anglican laity because he was 'not close enough' to the people.[23] Whatever the reasons, Mant would appear - until a

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[19] Austin Cooper, 'Ireland and the Oxford Movement', *Journal of Religious History*, xix, no. 1, (June, 1995) p. 64.

[20] Ibid, p. 65.

[21] Patrick Comerford, Anglo Catholicism Relevant after 175 years? A lecture was given to The Dearmer Society in the Church of Ireland Theological Institute, Dublin, on Monday 12 January 2009 as part of the celebrations marking the 175th anniversary of the Oxford Movement.

[22] TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214/140, Todd to Elrington, 28th August 1843.

[23] S. Peter Kerr, 'Tolerant Bishops in an Intolerant Church: The Puseyite Threat in Ulster,' in W. Shiels, *Toleration and Persecution Studies in Church History*, (Oxford, 1984) p. 352. When Newman published *Tract*

very late stage - to have been simply incapable of appreciating 'the depth of hostility that the spectre of Puseyism aroused' in the Northern laity.[24]

In February, 1843, a group led by the Rev. Thomas Drew memorialised Mant. For Drew, Mant's views were essentially those of 'Puseyism and prelatism.'[25] Patrick Long and C.J Woods maintain that Drew 'despised' the Church Architecture Society, of which Mant was a prominent member, 'for its lack of public fervour and its fondness for elegant ecclesiastical architecture.'[26] They maintain that his direct confrontation with Bishop Mant, by means of a memorial of censure, exposed 'an Anglican clash of ideals regarding outward display.'[27] Mant refused to be intimidated, and used his ecclesiastical privilege to abolish the Church Accommodation Society, which funded Drew's efforts. He did, however, resign as a patron of the Cambridge Camden Society: a body with which it was felt that the Church Architecture Society should no longer officially communicate. [28]

Mant's admitted that minds which nursed such grievances against the Camden Society were possessed of a 'sensitiveness' that he could not easily share. His attitude was indicative of the manner in which the high church prelates of the Church of Ireland initially reacted to the Romanising tendencies associated with the Tractarians. [29] They tended to view this primarily as a theological issue, rather than as a possible threat to their political identity. This was not,

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90 in January 1841, seeking to reconcile the 39 Articles and the decrees of the Council of Trent, it proved too much for even the most tolerant of Irish bishops.

[24] S. Peter Kerr, 'Tolerant Bishops in an Intolerant Church: The Puseyite Threat in Ulster,' p. 352.

[25] Patrick Long and C.J Woods, 'Thomas Drew,' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

[26] Idem

[27] Idem

[28] The Society itself was later renamed the Harris Society, in honour of the antiquary Walter Harris, which further emphasised its strictly historical purposes. Dunlop has speculated that Reeves 'may have been influential' in this decision. William Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore consisting of a Taxation of those Dioceses, compiled in the Year MCCVI, With Notes and Illustrations. Reprinted for the centenary of the author's death with Biographical Introduction* ed. Eull Dunlop (Ballymena, 1992) p1 Certainly, Reeves wrote frequently to Mant during the difficult year of 1843. In these letters, he set before his Bishop acceptable proposals that concerned, in Mant's words, 'the attainment of general information as to the ecclesiastical topography of the diocese.' Lady Ferguson, *Life of William Reeves, D.D*, p. 16 This coincided with Mant's own outlook 'rather perhaps going beyond it', and was timely, as it made possible an 'enlargement of the Society's objects' at a period of no little dispute. Ibid p.17

[29] ''Ecclesiologism Exposed' the letters of the Rev William McIlwaine,' *The Belfast Chronicle* 1843 p.63.

however, how the issue was viewed by many of their co-religionists in Ulster – who were inclined to view Tractarianism in the most explicit of political terms, as a real and present danger to the future of their community in Ireland.

At the public meeting in Christ Church, Mant sought to distance himself from the Tractarians. He declared that 'it is in the time of trouble, when some to whom we may have looked for consolation and encouragement regard us with coldness, and others, perhaps, treat us with hostility, that the warmth of the friendly heart and the support of the friendly hand acquire increased value and demand additional gratitude.'[30] His words carried a greater resonance for his audience than may now seem apparent. It would have been evident to many of his clergy and laity that this was not simply a reference to Mant's own personal position, but also to the external pressures being exerted on the Church of Ireland by English Anglicans.

It is significant that, before his meeting with his northern clergy and laity, Mant had been summoned to Dublin, where on the 28th of November 1838 he met the Anglican Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of Dublin, and many other senior prelates. A memorandum[31], signed by those as in attendance, includes the signatures of 'John G. Armagh,'[John George de la Poer Beresford]; 'Richard Dublin,'[Richard Whately]; 'R. Cashel,'[Richard Laurence]; 'Power Tuam etc,' [Power Le Poer Trench],;'Robert P. Clogher,'[Robert Ponsonby Tottenham]; 'James Dromore,' [James Saurin]; ''R. Derry & Raphoe,'[Richard Ponsonby]; 'S. Cloyne, Cork & Ross,'[Samuel Kyle]; 'Stephen C. Killaloe,' [Stephen Craggy Sande]; 'E. Limerick,' [Edmund Knox]; 'R. Down,' [Richard Mant]; and 'G. Kilmore.'[George de la Poer Beresford].[32] This private meeting was in marked contrast to the public one that Mant was to face in Belfast a few weeks later on the 17th of December.[33] In part, this underlines the discreet differences that existed within Irish Anglicanism, and indicates the influence that Presbyterian democratic structures and forms of discourse exerted on the Church of Ireland in

[30] Ibid pp.62-63.

[31] This Memorandum dealt with the Church Home Mission Society.

[32] Walter Bishop Mant, *Memoirs of the Right Reverend Richard Mant*, p. 369.

[33] Ibid pp 380-381

the Ulster counties.[34] Mant's son, Walter Bishop Mant, later maintained that it was at this meeting of the prelates that a unique project was first suggested, regarding the want of 'an historical work' of the Church of Ireland.[35]

II

In 1837, James Henthorn Todd had written to a former Provost, Samuel Kyle, outlining his fear that 'there is a serious and radical defect in the education of our clergy. They are not taught to be churchmen. The peculiarities of our own church polity are all studiously kept out of sight and that in a country where they have to contend with Presbyterians on the one and the Papists on the other.'[36] He continued: 'How can we hope to have our clergy Episcopalian in their feelings, when we sap the very foundations of Episcopal principles by teaching them Presbyterian Church History?'[37]

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[34] It also illustrates the consequences of the implementation of Irish Reform Act of 1833, which radically changed the structures of the Church of Ireland and ended what Edward Brynn has described as the area of 'middle management' so long a curse of the Church.' By expanding the responsibilities of the rural deans, dignitaries of cathedral chapters, and archdeacons in liaison and disciplinary functions between the top and bottom levels of ecclesiastical hierarchy this had bridged the gap between bishops and their parochial clergy. Such reforms had been staunchly resisted, for Mant and other senior high church Irish Anglicans episcopacy was the lynchpin of their ecclesiology. Mant readily concurred with Ignatius that 'without a bishop nothing should be done.' Edward Brynn, *The Church of Ireland in the Age of Catholic Emancipation* (Michigan, 1982) p. 289.

[35] Ibid p. 391 This sequence is confirmed by Mant's letters to Charles Richard Elrington during 1839, contained in NLI MS 15,361 (2).

[36] TCD Todd papers MS 2214/ 54

[37] Idem

The concerns that Todd expressed were not his alone: they appear frequently in the correspondence of other leading high church figures – such as Charles Richard Elrington, William Reeves, Archbishop George Beresford and John Godley - throughout this period.[38] As H. Uhden - a German observer in Ireland - noted, Irish high churchmen had 'a very decided feeling on the individualities of their church.'[39] In 1834, James Seaton Reid lamented that the Protestant Church in Ireland 'has hitherto been without a historian', leaving 'a chasm in the ecclesiastical history of the Empire.' [40] The lack of historical publications was perceived as a significant handicap for Irish Anglican clergy – since it restricted their knowledge of their own Church, and made it harder for them to defend it from Presbyterian, or Roman Catholic critiques. Reminiscing about the early 1830's, Archdeacon Edward Stopford of Meath later claimed that 'there was scarcely a clergyman in Ireland who (knew) anything of the Church in Ireland. We were required at ordination to know something of the history of the Church in England, but of our own (Church) - nothing.'[41]

In this context, the imperative articulated in Todd's letter becomes understandable. Todd was also insistent on the specific need for this Church history to be written 'by an Episcopalian,' and identifies the ideal choice as Charles Elrington.[42] Todd's choice of phrase here is revealing: in this context, it is clear that, in using the term 'Episcopalian,' Todd means a high churchman. His emphasis on the need for a specifically Episcopalian version of the Church of

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[38] John Godley who wrote that 'the great fault of the Irish clergyman is ignorance. Most of her ministers are zealous, pious, hardworking men, but with few exceptions, wholly uniformed in the writings of churchmen either from their own or foreign countries.' LPL, Selborne papers, MS 1861, fos. 85-6, Godley to R. Palmer, 16th March 1843.

[39] H. Uhden, The Anglican church in the nineteenth century: indicating her relative position to Dissent in every form, and presenting a clear and unprejudiced view of Puseyism and orthodoxy. Translated from the German by W. C. Humphreys (London, 1844), p. 105.

[40] J.S. Reid, History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (Edinburgh, 1834), i, p. v.

[41] Edward Stopford to E. P. Shirley, 9 May 1853: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, MS D3531/G/11.

[42] TCD MS 2214/53 Todd to Samuel Kyle dated July 1st 1837 It is also evident that this idea had been one which Todd had toyed with for some time; in fact, it had first arisen in a discussion with Samuel Maitland two years earlier. TCD MS 2214/16 Samuel Maitland 15th December 1835

Ireland's history is reflective of a tendency among certain Irish high churchmen to regard Protestant Dissent in terms of heresy and schism, rather than mere denominational difference. An editorial, in the Irish Anglican *Christian Examiner* in 1840, expounded on a similar theme: 'We are churchmen; episcopalians on principle and by preference; we shall not be found on the side of anything that militates against church order and episcopal authority.'[43] In marked contrast, evangelicals within the Church of Ireland were more conscious of the common ground that they shared with Protestant Dissenters.

Charles Richard Elrington may have been Todd's ideal choice as the author of the new history. However, it was soon accepted that he was unsuitable for this critical task because of the number of controversies and antagonisms that he had generated. Over a period of some years, Elrington had found himself growing more isolated from the different theological factions that were present in Trinity. His brand of high churchmanship - which he shared with Todd – was increasingly derided and dismissed by younger scholars as 'high-and-dry.'[44]

The commissioning of Mant to write the History, therefore, needs to be set against the factionalism that had come to dominate what might be termed the theological politics of the Church of Ireland – and, specifically, those within Trinity College. Austin Cooper has noted that at this time – and 'in typically Anglican fashion' - the University 'spoke with several voices.'[45] Although Desmond Bowen has maintained that the numbers of 'convinced Evangelicals' may have represented a minority, the indirect influence of Evangelicalism on the Established Church in Ireland was marked and increasing.[46]

High churchmen, like Todd, frequently commented on the actual, and perceived upsurge in Evangelical activity – which clearly worried them. Peter Nockles has claimed that it was

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[43] *Christian Examiner*, new ser. I (Jan. 1840), p. 2. Peter Roe's *The evil of separation* (1815) was evidence that Irish Anglican Evangelicals were not unmindful of the danger to the establishment of separatist principles.

[44] R.B McDowell and D.A Webb, Trinity College, Dublin 1592-1952- An Academic History, p. 192

[45] Austin Cooper, *Ireland and the Oxford Movement*, The Journal of Religious History Vol. 19, No. 1, (June, 1995) p. 70

[46] Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant crusade in Ireland* (Dublin, 1978) p. 62.

'only the Oxford Movement controversy that led Anglican Evangelicals into being classed as low churchmen.'[47] Todd's language consistently drew upon this connection: he was deeply concerned by the dominance of what he called 'the ultra-Protestant or Puritanic party.'[48] In a letter to John Henry Newman, Todd lamented that the other contending faction was made up of 'drones, if I may so call them, who do nothing but what decency or inferior motives require them to do - and these last unfortunately are popularly called the High Church party.' He complained that proper Christian zeal had 'hardly any channel except an irregular one to manifest itself in,' and that 'the bishops in opposing, as they must do, these irregularities are properly regarded as the opponents of spiritual religion and the advocates of laziness and worldliness in the clerical office.'[49]

As Evangelicals of all shades became a more vocal and powerful group within Trinity College, Elrington fought a campaign to maintain traditional high church interests. In a sense, it was a war of attrition – and, in most respects, it proved futile. It did result, however, in Elrington gaining a number of influential enemies.[50] It is clear that the prelates of the Church of Ireland and their advisors were aware of the hostility that this had engendered against Elrington within Trinity: such awareness is evident in a letter from John Jebb[51] to Todd - Elrington's closest ally - in which he commented: 'what an unfortunate figure (Elrington)

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[47] Peter Nockles, 'Church or Protestant Sect? The Church of Ireland, High Churchmanship, and the Oxford Movement, 1822-1869,' *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), p. 459.

[48]Their beliefs are clearly reflected in a letter from J H Todd to Elrington, in which he declared that 'the Church is in a fearful state- and I confess I see no remedy except to return to the good old ways- to observe the feasts and fasts of the Church as our forefathers or indeed I might almost say our grandfathers did, and not be afraid of being called Papist, or anything with P, except Puritan.' TCD Todd papers MSS 2214/121

[49] Birmingham Oratory (BO), Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 26 Apr. 1837.

[50] One of these was Joseph Henderson Singer. Singer had been a candidate for the chair of Hebrew in Trinity, but was effectively blocked by the staunch opposition of Elrington, who objected to what he saw as Singer's extreme Evangelicalism. R.B. McDowell, and D.A Webb, *Trinity College Dublin: An Academic History 1592-1952* (Cambridge, 1982) p.192

[51] Jebb was prebendary to Limerick cathedral, the eldest son of Justice Richard Jebb and nephew of Dr. John Jebb Bishop of Limerick.

always makes in controversy. I do think his conduct peremptory and rough.'[52] It was clear that Elrington's authorship of a history of the Church of Ireland was likely to prove divisive within the Irish Anglican communion.

Without its intended author to carry it through, the History project might have foundered, but Todd's proposed History had found enthusiastic support from the Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, Samuel Kyle, and from the Archbishop of Dublin, Richard Whately. Walter Bishop Mant[53] later claimed that his father's undertaking of this project had arisen directly as a result of a conversation between 'the prelates in the previous winter, [1838], in which the want of such an historical work was discussed.'[54]

Through his close association with Elrington, and through his own writings, Todd was also viewed with a degree of suspicion by some members of his own Church.[55] For Todd and the

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[52] TCD Todd papers, MS 2214/59 John Jebb to Todd.

[53] For clarity the full name Walter Bishop Mant will be used throughout this chapter, Mant refers exclusively to his father Bishop Richard Mant.

[54] Walter Bishop Mant, *Memoirs of the Right Reverend Richard Mant*, p.391. This sequence is confirmed by Mant's letters to Charles Richard Elrington during 1839, contained in NLI MS 15,361.

[55] There is a revealing letter from Nicholas Patrick Wiseman, to the Secretary of the Propaganda of the Vatican, only a few months after Mant received his commission dated January 12th 1839. It is evident that Wiseman was well informed about contemporary developments in the Anglican Church, both in England and in Ireland. In the letter, Wiseman chose to include an extract from the letter of Mr. R. - apparently a member of the British Parliament - which reports on circumstances within Trinity and comments about Todd. It begins by noting that 'Doctor Todd having taught at the University of Dublin that the Catholic Church is not the apostate church about which it is spoken in sacred scripture, was upbraided by a theologian and former fellow of that university, inasmuch as this new doctrine of his was 'without foundation, very in-opportune, and of a dangerous tendency.' The writer continues that 'the church dignitary in a public announcement of the superiors of the University answers him and they (the latter) confirm Mr. Todd for another year, a very odd event. Here are the words of the official: 'The application which has been made by some professions to the Roman Church by some Protestants has been for some time the cause of bitterness and hatred between us and the Catholics. If such application is false as Mr. Todd has proved, the sooner this error is removed, the root of bitterness and discord, the better. To oppose it is to condemn it and every-thing else as inopportune and dangerous.' Nicolas Patrick Wiseman, *Essays on Various Subjects*, 2, (London, 1853) pp. vi–vii.

prelates, it seems that it was important that whoever wrote the new History should not be connected with the clerical politics of Trinity – or associated with its internal disputes. Before long, the leading candidate was held to be Richard Mant, the Anglican Bishop of Down and Connor. At first sight, Mant might not have seemed an obvious choice to write an authoritative history of the Church of Ireland. His direct contact with Ireland had not commenced until relatively late in his life. He had also entered the Church of Ireland as a Bishop, and it was evident – as he acknowledged - that his knowledge of the local character of the Anglican Church in Ireland was limited by this personal background. Mant claimed that his awareness of such limitations had made him reluctant to embark on such a demanding scholarly enterprise.

In the Preface to the first volume of his *History*, Mant claimed that this work would 'certainly not have been undertaken' by him if 'a History of the Church of Ireland would be put forth by one so well qualified to execute it, as the present Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin.'[56] Mant explained that he was only 'induced' to undertake this work when 'reassured by Dr. [Charles Richard] Elrington that prolonged ill health and other literary labours prevented him from fulfilling his intention.'[57] There were, however, a number of underlying factors which led to Mant being commissioned as the author of this important historical work.

Todd and Elrington – as the prime movers behind the commitment to produce and publish this History – were satisfied of Mant's discreet, but unequivocal high church allegiance. 'Wherever I am known,' Mant had written, 'I apprehend that my high-churchmanship must also be tolerably well known also.'[58] C. Dewey has described Mant as 'one of the most

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[56] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland, From the Reformation to the Revolution* (London, 1840)

[57] Idem. The 'literary labours' to which Mant refers here were *The Whole Works of the most Rev. James Ussher*, which Elrington had been in process of editing since 1829, and which were eventually completed after his death in 1850 by both Reeves and Todd.

[58] Quoted in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, May 1857.

advanced high churchmen of his day, an implacable opponent of Evangelicalism and (a) future sympathiser with the Tractarians.'[59]

This sensitivity of the work may help to explain why the Irish Anglican Hierarchy chose a Bishop to write a comprehensive history of their Church. The nomination of Mant, rather than a member of Dublin University, or the lower clergy - or the laity, for that matter – was, in itself, a highly unusual and significant development. It undoubtedly gave the work a greater prominence and status - not only to those within the Church, but also to those outside its communion, including some of its most entrenched opponents. As such, Mant's *History* occupies a unique place within Irish Anglican historiography. It marks the first significant attempt that was authorised from within the Anglican Church in the nineteenth century to write a distinct and separate history of that Church. It may have been intended that the primary readers of this history would be Irish, but it was also clear, from the beginning, that the work had also been conceived with an English audience in mind – and, as we shall see, this was to have significant implications.

Both Todd and Elrington had written to the London based publishers, John W. Parker and Hugh James Rose, throughout the 1830s in efforts to publish works relating to the history of the Church of Ireland, but all of their approaches had been rejected.[60] The publishers of the *Tracts for the Times*, Rivingtons, also rejected a proposed new high church periodical for the Irish Anglican Church because of fears that the market would be too limited.[61] In this regard, the selection of Mant as author of the history opened up new possibilities – since he could call upon a number of useful and influential connections. He was already a published and respected author in England.[62] Furthermore, he was friendly with Robert Banks Jenkinson,

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[59] C. Dewey, *The passing of Barchester* (London, 1991) pp 159-60. In private Mant described himself as 'vigorous opponent of evangelicalism.' NLI MS15,361 (1) J. Jebb (senior) to R. Jebb, (1833). Jebb criticized members of the 'Hackney Phalanx' for being too anti-Evangelical. John Jebb papers TCD MS 6397/ 539,

[60] TCD, MS 2214 / 19 Rose to Todd, 24th March 1836.

[61] TCD, MS 2214 /18 Rivington to Todd, 18th March 1836.

[62] At the behest of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge with the help of George D'Oyly, he had published an annotated Bible in 1814 which was frequently reprinted; this was followed by an annotated Book

the Earl of Liverpool, and also with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Charles Manners Sutton, and other members of the Hackney Phalanx. The reputation that Mant enjoyed in England is evident in the advertisement for the volumes of the *History* which ran in the *British Magazine*. When it first arrived in the magazine's offices, the editor stated that he knew 'nothing about it except two facts which will say more to interest the readers in the work than the most elaborate opinion which he could deliver- it is the history of the Irish Church, and it is written by Bishop Mant.'[63]

Mant's relationship with John Parker had been established through his work for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, (SPCK), for which Parker was the official printer. On the 15th of November 1836, Parker was also elected official printer to the University of Cambridge. The titles which he printed in that capacity included cheap - because they used steam-powered presses - editions of the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and other religious works. The Bible Society at Cambridge had originally objected to such inexpensive editions, but the quality and popularity of Parker's volumes eventually changed their minds.

Initially, Parker had only modest hopes for Mant's work, and wrote to him expressing his reservations that he did 'not think that a history of the Irish Church likely to become a popular book here, [in England]'. At the same time, Parker conceded that he 'cannot doubt that such a work, by a Bishop of the Church of Ireland must sell to a certain extent - probably a remunerative one.'[64] In spite of his doubts, Parker was finally persuaded by Mant to finance the entire costs of its publication, and to split the profits.[65] Parker's commercial reservation proved unfounded, and, despite the expense of the volume, Mant's *History* sold out within a

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of Common Prayer in 1820. The bibliography of his publications occupied over five pages in the British Library catalogue. His poetry is chiefly notable for its copiousness. Nigel Yates has described Mant as a 'protégé,' of Manners Sutton. Nigel Yates, *The Religious condition of Ireland 1770-1850* (Oxford, 2006) p. 69.

[63] *The British Magazine* Volume XVII (1840) p. 88.

[64] NLI MS 15,361 (1) Despite his reservations Parker concluded that 'If the Bishop were happy to put such a work in my hands I would bring the work out at my own expense & divide the profits that might accrue.'

[65] At this stage Parker was already official publisher of *The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, Cambridge University Press.

few months of its release. Indeed 'induced by the reception which had been given,' to this volume, Mant felt confident enough to proceed with a second volume which was published in 1840: this was, in turn, followed by a second edition of both volumes in 1841.[66]

Mant's correspondence with Hugh Rose reveals that they had agreed to publish lengthy extracts of his *History* in the *British Magazine*: a high church quarterly with strong links to the Tractarians. Although not all of these extracts were published before Rose died, they were all based on the biographical details drawn by Mant of many leading Irish and English Caroline Divines, and their place in the Church of Ireland. These included figures from the Irish Church who were also known in England – like William Bedell and Jeremy Taylor – as well as some, such as James Ussher, who had already been selected to form part of Newman's Anglo-Catholic Library. It also included figures such as Archbishop William King, and other lesser known, but important individuals from the Irish Church's history. Rose collected thematic passages from Mant's work that dealt with the relationship between the Church of Ireland and the Church of England. These extracts were published both prior to, and contemporaneously with the volumes of his *History* - with the obvious and understandable objective of increasing the relevance and appeal of Mant's volumes to English readers. This thematic collection continued to appear throughout the 1840s, and played a role in continuing to inform English perceptions of the Church of Ireland.

In the Preface to the first volume, Mant alluded to the difficulties that he had faced in locating and obtaining the source material necessary for his work. However, he acknowledged that 'in some cases advantage has now and then been taken of kind assistance.' Although Mant claimed that this had been for the 'most part acknowledged on the occasion,' the extent and nature of this assistance remained obscure.[67] He did reserve his 'special thanks' for the

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[66] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland, From the Reformation to the Revolution; with A Preliminary Survey, from the Papal Usurpation , in the Twelfth Century, to its Legal Abolition in the Sixteenth. Vol. 1&2 (London, 1840)* p. 2.

[67] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland, From the Reformation to the Revolution,* Preface.

'friendly zeal and intelligence,' of James Henthorn Todd - then a Junior Fellow and librarian in Trinity College.[68]

This is one of only two references to Todd in the first volume; he does not appear at all in the second - which might suggest that his contribution to the final text was fairly modest. However, there is ample evidence to indicate that the role that Todd played in the overall work was an important - and even a formative - one. Todd was not only engaged in the collating of research material for Mant, he was also involved in editing and shaping the final drafts. This role is explicitly acknowledged in a letter that Mant sent to Todd on the 11th of November 1840, regarding the second edition of the work: 'I thank you for your letter (undated) received this morning', he wrote, '& for your corrections whenever they come. On their arrival, my proof corrected by yours will be returned to the press.'[69]

The notes and preliminary drafts for the two volumes of Mant's *History* are contained in the National Library of Ireland, and, along with Mant's correspondence, they allow for new and revealing insights into how his work was conceived and written. The role of Mant's various assistants in this, his major work, has never been examined until now. It is clear that their task was to provide Mant with memoranda summarising the relevant documentary evidence that he sought. Indeed, Mant often incorporated these memoranda in their entirety within his own text. These research and briefing documents are filled with extracts and selections from a wide variety of different libraries and archives throughout Great Britain and Ireland, and almost each note is accredited to the source who brought it to Mant's attention.

From this, it can be established that his most frequent source of information is Todd – or 'JHT', as Todd signed himself in these memoranda. This is followed in terms of frequency by William Hardinge (WmH). Although it is not possible to identify all of the initials which appear, some of those that feature prominently in the documents reveal the full extent to which Mant drew upon the practical assistance of some of the most promising members of a

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[68] Idem.

[69] TCD Todd papers MS 2214/112

new generation of Irish Anglican antiquaries and historians. They include those of Charles Richard Elrington, ('CE'); William Gowan Todd, ('WGT'); Henry Cotton, ('HC') James Graves, ('JG'); William Reeves, ('WmR'); and Robert King ('RK')[70]. All of these scholars were active in, or had recently graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, and they constitute the channels through which Mant's work was directly connected with contemporary Anglican scholarship at that university.

Francis Godwin James has argued that both Mant's volumes assert a 'distinct Anglican bias.'[71] The choice of phrase here may conceal as much as it reveals – since it fails to distinguish between Irish and English Anglican interpretations of the Church of Ireland's historical and cultural identity. Given his background, it is hardly surprising that Mant imbued his work with certain English perceptions – both of Ireland and of the Anglican Church. Some of his assumptions about Ireland would have been distinctly unappealing to many of his Irish readers. However, as I have already indicated, Mant's perspective was also specifically designed to appeal to an English audience - to whom his work was, to a considerable extent, addressed.

Given the significant input of his Irish assistants, the volumes that Mant produced cannot be judged simply to have provided an English perspective on the Irish Church. In fact, his work also carries many of the dynamics and contradictions that were implicit and unique to Irish Anglican discourse: in this respect, his work can be deemed to represent an interaction of both English and Irish influences. This cultural exchange runs through the body of Mant's text. The combination of what are, at times, rather contradictory impulses informs much of his work, and allows these two volumes to offer a fascinating insight into the common features of these two branches of Anglicanism – as well as indicating their distinctiveness.

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[70] NLI MS 15,361 (1) (2) (3) Mant Correspondence (Note this collection of letters are subdivided into three parts, aside from this division they are unnumbered)

[71] Francis Godwin James, 'The Church of Ireland in the Early Eighteenth Century,' *The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Vol 10, Part 8, (Austin Texas 1979) p. 434.

III

Mant's *History* was initially intended only as a single volume, and to be no more than 400 pages in length. However, the final text was greatly expanded from that brief. Although the work covers less than 300 years of Irish Church history, its two octavo volumes run to more than 1,700 pages. Its monumental scale - in both literal and figurative senses - and the high price of 17 shillings for each volume, are in marked contrast to the modest offerings that had previously been available from other Irish Anglican writers. These had tended to be short and cheap, and were often intended to address a wide and popular readership. The size and weight of Mant's *magnum opus* indicated its underlying ambition – which was not merely to rival, but to overshadow the writings of earlier Catholic and Presbyterian historians.

Both of Mant's volumes are approximately the same length: the first volume runs to 735 pages of text, whereas the second is slightly longer at 781 pages - with both including an additional Appendix and Index. Despite these similarities, the volumes are quite different in terms of structure and style.

In the second volume – there are five chapters each of roughly the same length, at over 100 pages long. These cover the period from the Glorious Revolution to the Union of the Churches of England and Ireland on January 1st 1801. This volume included Mant's critical depiction of the Georgian Church of Ireland. For Mant, this was a church in fundamental decline, and the Georgian period itself was 'a period of lethargy, instead of activity, of worldliness instead of spirituality, of self-seeking instead of self-denial, of grossness instead of refinement.'[72] Irish Victorian churchmen had often reflected upon the pastoral negligence and financial profligacy of their Georgian predecessors - with some reason - and Mant was particularly critical of Primates Hugh Boulter, John Hoadly and George Stone. Indeed, he viewed the latter half of the 18th century as 'a season of supineness and inaction as to religion

[72] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland from the Revolution to the Union,* p.778.

in these kingdoms: and the Irish clergy in general may be judged to have partaken of this character.'[73]

As interesting as Mant's opinions of the Georgian Church are, the first volume of this work is much more significant in the context of this thesis. This is because it deals with those aspects of the Church of Ireland's history which were the most difficult to address - and which were also the most controversial. In contrast to the second volume, there are ten chapters in the first, and they vary a great deal in their length. The longest is Chapter VII, which deals with the '*Reign of Charles the First 1625-1640*', and runs to 164 pages. Those chapters which deal with more problematic issues - about which Mant has the least to say - are a good deal shorter: '*Chapter III. Reign of Edward the Sixth 1547-1553,*' '*Chapter IV. Reign of Queen Mary 1553-1558,*' and '*Chapter VIII. The Usurpation 1647-1660,*' are the three shortest chapters at 41, 22 and 18 pages respectively.

One of the distinctive features of Mant's *History* is the manner in which it broke from the standard chronology of traditional Irish Anglican historical narratives. The structure that Mant employed in this work was taken, instead, from what may seem like a most unlikely and unexpected source: the pioneering work of the Presbyterian scholar, James Seaton Reid, and his *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* of 1834. The connection between these two works has been characterised as essentially reactionary - with Toby Barnard stating that Mant's *History* was, simply 'conceived as a riposte,' to Reid's earlier volumes.[74] There is certainly an element of truth in Barnard's assertion, but the underlying connection between the two works is much closer and more intimate than has hitherto been acknowledged.[75]

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[73] Ibid pp. 779-780.

[74] Toby Bernard, 'Scholars and Antiquarian; the Clergy and learning, 1600-2000,' Toby Barnard & W.G. Neely (eds), *The Clergy of the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000*, (Dublin, 2006) p. 251.

[75] The first volume of Reid's *History* dealt with the historical origins of Irish Presbyterianism, but it had a rather strange structure. Reid did not begin by tracing the roots of Irish Presbyterianism to its obvious source – the arrival of Scottish settlers in Ireland at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the subsequent establishment of the first Presbyterian synod in Ulster a few decades later. Indeed, the latter seminal event was

Mant began his first volume with a "preliminary survey": this chapter deals with the period that starts with 'the Papal Usurpation, in the Twelfth century, to its legal abolition in the sixteenth.' It is the second longest chapter - running at 105 pages - and its inspiration is clearly drawn from Reid's earlier *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*. Like Reid, Mant argued that his church was ultimately descended from the pure Early Irish Church, before devoting considerable time detailing the manner in which papal influence had corrupted the pre-Reformation Church.

This chapter is divided into six different sections, and, as with all of the others, it is further subdivided by a series of headings which leave little doubt as to the direction of Mant's analysis. These headings include '*Polity and independence of the church,*' '*Papal encroachments on the Royal prerogative,*' '*Encroachments by the Irish hierarchy on the King's prerogative,*' '*Other Enormities in the Hierarchy,*' '*Superstition prevailing in the Church,*' '*Belief in fictitious miracles,*' and '*Need of Reformation.*'

Mant's depiction of pre-Reformation Ireland is not flattering. He believed that the people of Ireland had been sunk in superstitious ignorance, and were held in thrall by a corrupt and exploitative Papacy. In this interpretation, there was a good deal that was commonplace in the work of earlier Irish Protestant writers. Those writers had continually stressed that 'popery' was a vulgar superstition, and that Gaelic Irish society was synonymous with 'incivility.'

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not reached until page 371 of his work. While it was understandable that Reid's first chapter should began with the arrival of Scottish Presbyterian Ministers in Ulster, this chapter was preceded by a lengthy preface – in which Reid provided a 'Preliminary sketch of the progress of the reformed religion in Ireland during the sixteenth century.' Although Reid moved fairly rapidly to the Jacobean era and the arrival Scots ministers (James Seaton Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol i, second edition p.70 (Belfast, 1867)) the effect of this Preface is to create the impression that Presbyterianism had not only grown naturally out of the sixteenth century Reformation - but that it had an organic relationship with the early Celtic church itself. There is an obvious parallel here with an argument pursued by Irish Anglican scholars. James Seaton Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, vol i, p. 73. Ibid vol i pp. 1-72; c.f. his reference to the 'scriptural character' of the early Celtic bishops, 'each having charge of only one parish', and 'the presbyterial order of the Culdees and their singular piety and zeal', ibid.p. 2.

Such writers typically represented Irish Catholicism as a force that was built upon the ingrained and stubborn ignorance of the native population.[76]

Mant maintained that it was 'painful to dwell upon' scenes of 'disgraceful outrage,' in which the Church 'unhappily bore too conspicuous a part.'[77] This did not, however, prevent him from describing a large number of such outrages in highly graphic terms – and these were highlighted for the reader from the main body of text by marginal notes which made them easier to reference. Mant included the murder in 1525 of a Bishop of Leighlin, by his archdeacon because 'he rebuked him for his insolence, obstinacy, and other crimes and threatened him with further correction.'[78] He described - in some detail - accounts of the burnings of heretics, and a charge brought by the Bishop of Ossory against the Lady Alice Kettle and her two accomplices of 'enchanting and witchcraft', noting that one of them - a female servant - 'was convicted and burned at Kilkenny.'[79] All of these incidents served to strengthen Mant's assertion of the violent and unruly nature of the native Irish Church before the restorative influence of the Reformation.

Although Mant makes references to the Early Irish Church, he made little attempt to analyse any primary sources in any great depth. He also devoted very little space to the theme of continuity between the contemporary Irish Anglican and the early Celtic Church. This is not only surprising in the context of such a significant work: it is also highly unusual in Irish

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[76] Leland claimed the Irish were 'in proportion to their ignorance, abjectly attached to papal authority.' Thomas Leland, *Ireland In Past Times: An Historical Retrospect, Ecclesiastical and Civil with illustrative notes* (Dublin, 1826) p. 353 William Palmer, in his *A compendious Ecclesiastical History: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (London, 1840) described the Church in Ireland as one which 'became infected with the prevalent superstitions.' It is remarkable how persistent this narrative was: in the twentieth century G. V. Jourdan perceived the seeds of the Reformation's failure in the total unsuitability of the pre-existing 'uncivilised' Irish culture to comprehend and embrace its more advanced tenets. For him the 'general ignorance of the Irish,' was the crucial factor. Walter Alison Phillips (ed) *History of the Church of Ireland: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, Volume 2 (London, Oxford University Press, 1933) pp. 244-245

[77] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland, From the Reformation to the Revolution,* p.19.

[78] Ibid p. 24.

[79] Ibid p. 29.

Anglican historiography – where the themes of preserving an ancient continuity held an obvious appeal to all sections of the Church of Ireland.[80] A later review in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette* lamented that Mant had 'been silent about St. Patrick and his religion as if his name had never been mentioned in either true or fabulous story.'[81] It is revealing that, although Mant's *History* continued to be highly regarded for some years, John Thomas Ball felt that it 'ought to be studied in conjunction,' with other works like Robert King's *A Primer of the History of the Holy Catholic Church in Ireland.*[82]

It has been tempting for critics to view Mant's silence about the Early Irish Church as simply a product of inherently English attitudes: in other words, Mant did not explore the history of the Early Church because he did not appreciate its importance for Irish Anglicans. It is, however, apparent from Mant's earlier writings on monastic ruins - and his vigorous attempts to organise the preservation of such monuments - that he was very interested in the Early Irish Church. The reasons why Mant chose to relegate it to the periphery of his *History* may better be understood in terms of his apprehension of the likely indifference of the English reading public to such matters.

The theme of Apostolic Succession - of an uninterrupted ecclesiastic lineage from the foundation of Christianity - held a special attraction for many high church Irish Anglicans. There were also those within Oxford - such as William Palmer - whose enthusiasm for the Early Irish church was encouraged by the manner in which the Church of Ireland had historically placed great emphasis on such Succession and Church authority. Palmer was not

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[80] Evangelicals joined with high churchmen in appealing to the ancient independence of the Irish church but their suspicions of the high church agenda made them wary of this line of apologetic. This found expression in their strictures on Cotton's Fasti for neglecting 'the history of that most interesting portion of our church that may be denominated evangelical.' *Christian Examiner*, 4 (1840), pp. 103-4; 117-22. See also E. Nangle, *The ancient Catholic church defended against Romish novelties* (Dublin, 1834), pp. 3-98; C. Elizabeth, *Letters from Ireland*, 1837 (London, 1838), p. 112; R. Murray, *The church of St John in Ireland. A tract for the times* (London, 1841); W. P. Walsh, *St Patrick and the Holy Catholic church in Ireland* (3rd edition, Dublin, 1854).

[81] *The Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette* 12th January 1868.

[82] John Thomas Ball, *The Reformed Church of Ireland 1537-1889* (London, 1890) p. 283.

alone in expressing the hope that this renewed effort could be utilised to support the claims of the beleaguered Irish Church. His research was influential, and initially it was readily accepted by Tractarians. Newman wrote to Hurrell Froude in 1832, acknowledging that the Church of Ireland was 'truly Apostolic, and that Romanism in Ireland was schismatic.'[83] Similarly, his friend, John Bowden, commended the resistance of the 'calumniated Church of Ireland as an example for English churchmen.'[84]

However, Pusey and other Tractarians soon began to abandon the standard Irish high church apologetic which asserted, in Crosthwaite's words, that 'Romanism in Ireland is a schism of the most unchristian sort.'[85] Pusey conceded to Crosthwaite in 1841 that he no longer thought 'that we can call the Romanists altogether schismatics in Ireland. I think Palmer etc. use the argument too drily. Before we can call them schismatics, we must have something more than the succession. We have no right to condemn them for not recognising us, as the church of St Patrick, when we are so little like it.'[86]

It is evident that the traditional arguments in favour of the Church of Ireland's status were becoming increasingly unpalatable to English Anglicans. One of Mant's correspondents, Edward Newenham Hoare, Dean of Achonry and chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, also warned that too great an emphasis on the antiquity, and original independence of the Irish Church would only play into the hands of Ireland's Roman Catholics: 'you hereby sanction the principle of referring to antiquity as a test of truth, thereby confirming him in his attachment to the church of Rome, which he can easily prove to be the more ancient, if he confine the research backwards to a thousand years, with which most antiquarians would be

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[83] Newman to Froude, 8th January 1832, LD/JV, ed. T. Gornall and I. Ker, vol III (Oxford, 1976), p. 4.

[84] Ibid Bowden to Newman, 3rd April 1832, p. 34.

[85] Bodleian Library, MS England Misc. fo. 353, Crosthwaite to Pusey, 10th Sept. 1841. Todd also held that Irish Roman Catholicism represented 'a schismatical and grossly heretical body.' TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214/216, Todd to Stopford, n.d.

[86] Bodleian Library MS Eng Misc. e. I 17, fo. 356, Pusey to Crosthwaite, 1st October 1841.

satisfied.' [87] Hoare comments are reflective of fears amongst some Irish Anglicans about perceptions of the Church of Ireland's history by their English brethren.

Mant was conscious of writing a work that would appeal to an English audience, and he realised that English Anglicans simply did not have a comparable interest in the history of the early Irish Church. In this regard, Mant's concluding remarks in his introductory chapter are revealing: he argues that 'whatever pretensions may be have been justly advanced in Ireland, in previous ages to the title of 'the island of Saints,'' that an examination of its subsequent condition proved that it had in reality 'fallen many degrees below the standard of evangelical purity and simplicity, and was weighed down by a burden of corruption and error during the centuries under review; and was abundantly in need of improvement in its profession and practice of religion, in the character of its clergy and people, at the era of the Reformation.'[88] Mant's *History,* therefore, does not represent a definitive break in Irish Anglican historiography, but, rather, may be viewed as a pragmatic solution to a narrative chronology which Irish Anglicans were finding increasingly difficult to defend in England.[89]

In contrast to the sweeping narratives of earlier writers, Mant chose to frame this chronology of Irish bishops within tighter constraints: commencing in 1535 - the twenty sixth year of Henry VIII's reign - and ending in 1690, the year James II was ousted. Although he devoted

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[87] E. N. Hoare, *The tendency of the principles advocated in the 'Tracts for the times' considered in five letters addressed to a candidate for holy orders* (London, 1841), pp. 40-1.

[88] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland- Reformation to revolution*, p. 105.

[89] Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, many of Mant's former assistants - William Reeves, Todd, James Graves, Robert King and William Gowan Todd - sought to redress those areas that Mant had neglected. Yet the manner in which they did so was markedly different from traditional Irish Anglican claims to be the rightful heirs to the early Irish Church. Although principally written in English, it is clear that their works were no longer addressed primarily to an English audience. Instead, their texts were intended either for domestic consumption, or for an international market. They sought to establish connections with a wide network of antiquarian and archaeological societies throughout Europe Aside from London their works were now to be published, financed and reviewed throughout Scandinavia, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Scotland and the German Confederation. This afforded Todd, Graves and Reeves a freedom to examine these works outside of the constraints imposed by adhering to apostolic succession.

little time to the Church of Ireland's claim to Apostolic Succession, Mant included - in the Appendix at the end of the first volume of his *History* - a detailed chronological list of succession for each diocese. This approach gave greater weight to his assertion that 'only two Irish prelates' were deprived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.[90] Mant's strategy also helped focus the debate of the Church's legal entitlement along lines which were more readily acceptable and understandable to an English audience. At the same time, Mant had followed a narrative which could also be read, from an Irish perspective, as implicitly reaffirming the Church of Ireland's legitimate succession – and in a manner which the Church of England itself could not claim.

Mant's correspondence to Todd reveals that the inclusion of this Appendix was the last part of the first volume to be completed - and also that it was one of the most demanding pieces to research.[91] In fact, the Appendix came about as the result of a challenge by an English Tractarian, Arthur Perceval, before the final sheets of Mant's work had gone to press. Perceval's volume - 'apparently of much research and value' - was brought to Mant's attention by Todd.[92] In his *An Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession,* Perceval argued that it had 'never been disputed that' at the accession of Queen Elizabeth 'of all the

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[90] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland- Reformation to revolution*, p. 275. Having mentioned that Bishop Walsh of Meath, and Bishop Leverous of Kildare, refused to take the oath of supremacy and were the ones deposed, and having added that 'these are the only two prelates who appear to have been deprived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,' Mant goes on to challenge the assertion mentioned by an anonymous writer that an uncertain number of other bishops in addition to Archbishop Dowdall were deprived by Elizabeth. He states that there is neither 'record nor rational ground of suspicion of the deprivation of any others except the two whose deprivation is a matter of historical notoriety.' He reasons that had any others been deprived, the fact must have been known and recorded, and can hardly have escaped the notice of the ecclesiastical historians of the time. Indeed upon an inspection of the condition of the different sees about this time, he argues that 'it is evident that in about twenty no change of occupants occurred; and whatever obscurity may attach to the occupancy of the remainder, being, as they are, those of least note and importance, there is not the faintest probability thence given that either of the bishops underwent deprivation.'.

[91] NLI, MS 15 561 (2).

[92] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland- Reformation to revolution*, p. 743.

Irish bishops only two were deprived and two others resigned, on account of their adherence to the supremacy of the See of Rome. The rest continued in their sees: and from them the bishops and clergy of the Irish Church derive their orders.'[93]

Perceval had thanked Elrington for providing 'numerous copies of records,' but he did not think it 'desirable' to include a list of their number: partly 'because of expense which may decrease circulation' - but also because the records had been lost through fire and other causes, and were therefore in 'so defective a state as to afford much less information than could be wished.'[94] Mant's inclusion of these records allowed him to assert that 'in this particular the position of the excellent writer appears to me questionable at least, or, I may venture to say, erroneous.'[95] He was able to attribute Perceval's 'error' to William Dodsworth - another Tractarian - and his 'little volume,' *The Church of England, a Protester Against Romanism and Dissent* of 1836.[96]

In this regard, Mant noted that Dodsworth quoted exclusively from – and replicated - the mistakes of a recent Tract entitled *Historical Notices of Peculiar tenets of the Church of Rome* published under the pseudonym Philecclesia.[97] Both Todd and Mant were well aware that this was actually a nom-de-plume used by Perceval: by highlighting his concealed re-use and citation of his own work, Mant was able to question the validity of Tractarian criticism of the Church of Ireland. Mant may have casually dismissed the whole controversy as 'no great moment,' but his successful rebuttal was enthusiastically embraced by Irish Anglicans. He

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[93] Arthur Perceval, *An Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession: with an Appendix on the English Orders* (London, 1841) p. 260.

[94] Idem.

[95] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland- Reformation to revolution*, p.743.

[96] Ibid p. 746.

[97] Samuel Halkett, *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature, Volumes 1-5* (Edinburgh, 1926-62.) p. 54.

offered seemingly concrete evidence of continuity and with it legality, and his methodology was frequently repeated. [98]

While Mant was drafting the volumes of his *History*, he continued to correspond frequently with members of the Hackney Phalanx, and he also was familiar with contemporary developments in Oxford. Throughout his notebooks, there are passing references to the *Tracts*, and the writings and conduct of Newman, Pusey and Palmer. There are also two fragments of letters from unidentified assistants, informing him of the negative reactions amongst their parishioners to the publication of Hurrell Froude's *Remains.*[99] Froude had died in 1836, and John Henry Newman, along with other friends associated with the Oxford Movement, had published the *Remains* - a collection of Froude's letters and journals. While many English high churchmen were to become alienated from the Oxford Movement - when the Tractarians repudiated the English Reformers - the sense of shock this generated amongst Irish Anglicans was particularly acute.

Mant was aware that most Irish Anglicans were wedded to a deep reverence for the Reformation settlement as a guarantor of their Church's Apostolicity. Rather than a 'limb badly set,'[100] the legacy of the Reformers was sacrosanct in the eyes of many Irish Protestants – who saw their Church's founders as the restorers of Apostolic Christianity, and as figures who had liberated their ancestors from the abuses of 'popery'.

Irish Anglicans may have held positive views of the English Reformation, but they had far more ambivalent feelings towards its execution in Ireland. Alan Ford has maintained that the Reformation was, in many ways, 'an embarrassment' for Irish Protestant historians.[101] The practical difficulty in dealing with the Reformation – both in terms of attitude and tone, as well as of analysis - was especially pronounced within the Church of Ireland. Other

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[98] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland- Reformation to revolution*. p.747.

[99] NLI MS 15 561 (2).

[100] Peter Nockles, *The Oxford movement in context Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857* (Cambridge, 1994) p. 124.

[101] Interview with Alan Ford conducted 14/10/2013.

Reformed Churches could present the Reformation in straightforward triumphal terms – with the shining light of the plain and unadorned Gospel banishing superstition and anti-Christian darkness. For many Church of Ireland high churchmen, such triumphalism was not merely crass and inappropriate; it was also viewed as dangerous and inadvisable. Ford has argued that 'the problem' of the Irish Reformation did not go away: instead, as the nineteenth century progressed, 'it loomed increasingly large in historical and contemporary Anglican discussions and controversies.'[102]

Todd and Elrington did not share in the general Anglican disapproval of the publication of Froude's *Remains*. [103] In a pair of letters to Todd, Elrington condemned Godfrey Faussett's attack on the Tractarians in May 1838: believing it to be 'most unreasonable.'[104] Todd also

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[102] Idem. This was partly a result of the external pressures on the Anglican community in Ireland. Not surprisingly, this 'Second Reformation' helped to inaugurate a new period of sectarian bitterness between Anglicans and Catholics. The next generation of Irish Anglicans included many who – for understandable reasons - did not wish to repeat that disturbing experience. In this context, Charles Elrington's reaction to Magee is revealing: 'the language of his first Charge is very high church and had not the Catholics taken offence, the Evangelicals would. I heard one of their leaders returning from the cathedral say there had not been such a Charge since the days of Laud.' TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214/9, Elrington, n.d. [c. 1831]. As far as Irish Protestant historiography is concerned, it was Magee's insistence on the separateness of Ireland's Church of Ireland community which is of greatest importance - as it focused attention of the significance of intra-Protestant differences. In Ireland, each Protestant or Dissenting church or sect - and even specific groups within particular churches - had their own way of interpreting the Reformation to legitimise their own ecclesiological and theological preferences. Archbishop William Magee, A charge delivered at his Primary Visitation in St. Patrick's Cathedral Dublin, October 24th 1822, Second edition (1823).

[103] In his attitudes towards the English Reformation Todd was well in advance of other high church Irish Anglicans – including his close associate, Elrington. To Newman's clear surprise, Todd informed him: 'as to Cranmer and Jewell, I cannot justify their low views of sacraments and sacramentals, or the Erastian principles that Cranmer, at least, seems to have adopted ... I have long been in the habit of regarding the Reformation as an event in which the Providence of God, and not the foresight or wisdom of any set of men was manifested, in the preservation of our church ... I am by no means disposed to praise any of the Reformers personally, or to set up their writings ... as a sort of standard of doctrine to which we ought to conform ourselves.' Brampton Oratory, Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 28th May 1838.

[104] TCD, MS 2214, 84, Elrington to Todd, 29th October 1838.

wrote to Elrington that his 'apprehensions of the tendencies of the party at Oxford are quite as acute as yours but I would not publicly oppose them - I dread them being driven (not into Popery, for of that they are in no danger) but into lay communion - if our Bishops should be so ill advised as to take any open step, or pronounce any official sentence of condemnation against them, I very much apprehend an unpleasant split - not in the way of a separate Communion for that they will not and cannot think of without Bishops, but their clergy will retire into lay communion and gather round them a body of discontent laity, letting off from time to time queerish tracts.'[105] These letters are reflective not only of Todd and Elrington's contradictory impulses towards the Tractarians, but also of the acrimonious differences that were starting to emerge - even between Irish high churchmen - in how to deal with the issues that they raised.

Todd and Elrington directly contributed to, and clearly sought to influence Mant's *History*. While there are whole passages where their influence can be seen, it is equally evident that their suggestions were not always adopted by Mant. Included amongst the memoranda are detailed notes from Todd about Saint Patrick and Saint Columba which do not feature in the final text.[106] It is also clear that the drafting of the volumes came at a considerable cost to their personal relationships. Todd would remain on cordial terms with Mant for the rest of his life, but correspondence between Mant and Elrington ceased, indicating that they had become estranged. Todd and Elrington also sought in their later works to distance themselves from aspects of Mant's *History* by addressing those areas that he had neglected. This response was symptomatic of Irish Anglicans' growing reservations about the work – but, in highlighting the most contentious aspects of the two volumes, Todd and Elrington also reveal its persistent impact.

It is revealing, in this context, that the vast majority of the memoranda that Mant's assistants sent him are related to the contents of the first volume – which deals with the Reformation. By comparison, there is remarkably little that is directly connected to the contents of the

[105] TCD, MS 2214/83.

[106] NLI, MS 15 561 (2).

second volume. In part, this is because of the huge amount of primary source material, needed to construct the elaborate and detailed tables that Mant required to prove that the Church of Ireland's Apostolic Succession of the Marian bishops extended through to the accession of Queen Elizabeth.[107]

In dealing directly with the implementation of the Reformation in Ireland, the issues addressed in Mant's first volume were not only of historical interest: they were also of central importance to the Church of Ireland's contemporary concepts of its own historical identity. In the Preface to the second volume, Mant only thanked the English ecclesiastical historian Thomas Lathbury for his assistance. It is significant that the two volumes contain separate and distinct dedications: the first is dedicated generally to the Members of the Established Church of Ireland; the second, which deals largely with the 18th century and contemporaneous events, is dedicated specifically to those in the united diocese of Down and Connor[108] - and this shift suggests a certain narrowing of focus.

In *The Christian Examiner*, Caesar Otway and Joseph Singer had pioneered the idea of a broad-bottomed Irish Reformation in one of its early volumes. They appealed for Protestant unity based on the example of the early seventeenth century Reformation in Ireland: a comprehensive and inclusive Calvinist church founded on Ussher's articles. *The Christian Examiner* contrasted the resultant good relations between the Established Church and Dissenters in Ireland with the deep-seated hostility which persistent persecution had caused in England. It pointed to the way that Ulster-Scots settlers and their clergy had been incorporated into the Church of Ireland in the early seventeenth century, through the Irish Articles of 1615, and regretted their deprivation by Wentworth and Bramhall.[109]

For Mant, the Irish Reformation had, from its inception, mirrored the English, and, in his work, he sought to demonstrate how the early Irish Reformation legislation had echoed that passed by Henry's English Reformation parliament. The longest chapter of the first volume

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[107] NLI, MS 15 561 (2).

[108] Archdeacon Berens, *A memoir of the Life of Bishop Mant*, p. 165.

[109] *The Christian examiner and Church of Ireland magazine*, ii (Feb. 1826), 10f., 82-4.

of his book is Chapter VII, which deals with the reign of Charles I from 1625 to1649. It runs to 136 pages, and is subdivided into 9 sections. Chapter VII, in turn, is followed by the shortest chapter - which is simply titled 'The Usurpation 1647-1660,' and is merely 19 pages long. The sheer difference in the amount of attention paid by Mant to these two periods suggests that his priority was to make an overwhelming case in which the 1615 Irish Articles could be portrayed as a form of aberration, and a short-lived attempt to graft the doctrines of Calvin and the Lambeth Articles on to the Profession of Faith of the Irish Anglican church. [110] Mant explicitly criticised the Articles for their Sabbatarianism and - above all – for their adoption of strict Calvinist doctrines of predestination. [111] He also drew upon Samuel Maitland's research in attacking the Calvinists' identification of the Papacy with the Antichrist. In so doing, Mant was not merely reflecting prevailing English attitudes: he was also addressing an issue which had a pronounced relevance within an Irish context.

It is not surprising that Mant welcomed the introduction of the Thirty-Nine Articles in 1634: in his words, the previous dispensation had been replaced, and 'by the blessing of Providence this evil was not permitted to be of long continuance: being obliterated in the succeeding reign by a recurrence of the 'Apostles' doctrine' concerning God's will in man's salvation, as avowed in the professions of the early Christians and perpetuated in the Articles of the Church of England.'[112] Mant developed his own explanation for James Ussher's involvement in drafting the Irish Articles: it was the result of Ussher being not sufficiently weaned from the educational system that had prevailed for some time after the Reformation. In Mant's eyes, this was not Ussher's personal responsibility - he was a merely victim 'of studying divinity in the systems of modern divines, instead of learning the doctrines of true

[110] Ibid p. 382f.

[111] Ibid pp. 385-7.

[112] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland- Reformation to revolution*, p. 416f.

Christianity, and the real sense of Scripture... by having recourse to the guidance of the primitive Church and the writings of the early fathers.'[113]

Mant's aversion to any form of Calvinism can be detected in his attempts to expunge any association with Presbyterianism from the Church of Ireland's history. In 1838, Henry Cooke – a leading northern Presbyterian - wrote to Mant, complaining about his support for an anti-Presbyterian sermon delivered by an unnamed clergyman in Mant's diocese. Cooke warned Mant that 'our common enemies the Romanists & Radicals are able to employ it against our common cause.'[114] It is evident, however, that Cooke's plea for friendly co-operation made little impression upon Mant. He opposed Cooke's calls for pan-Protestant unity between Anglicans and Presbyterians in defence of the Union, and the Protestant character of the British state. Along with Todd and Elrington, he was increasingly alarmed that Evangelicals looked for their roots to the Calvinist Irish Reformation of the early seventeenth century, - which they interpreted as the basis for an inclusive Irish Protestantism, united against the common Catholic threat.[115]

In his *History* of the Presbyterian Church, James Seaton Reid had discussed in detail how Robert Blair, the leader of the Scottish clergy in Ulster, came to serve within the Church of Ireland. Unhappy at the imposition of Episcopacy in Scotland, Blair had sought greater freedom in the Ulster Plantation. Reid was particularly drawn to Blair's interactions with Bishop Robert Echlin, of Down and Connor. He claimed to be drawing from Blair's own

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[113] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland- Reformation to revolution*, p. 384. Confirmation of the Church of Ireland's adherence to another defining feature of Anglicanism - the prescribed liturgy - came in 1647, when, following the surrender of Dublin to the parliamentary commissioners, an order was issued to replace the Book of Common Prayer with the Directory. Dismissing the Directory as that 'meagre and latitudinarian code of instructions to the puritanical clergy,' Mant related how the Dublin clergy sought to remain loyal to the Prayer Book, and steadfastly refused to 'be weaned from the liturgy of the Church of England.' Ibid pp. 585-8.

[114] NLI, MS 15 561 (2).

[115] Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant crusade*, p. 62 and Jennifer Ridden, *'The forgotten history of the Protestant Crusade: religious liberalism in Ireland'*, *Journal of Religious History* xxxi (2007), 79.

testimony that - when faced with the conflict between Blair's desire to serve in the Established Church, and his reluctance to be ordained by a bishop - Echlin had sidestepped the issue by agreeing to join with other Presbyterian clergy in laying their hands on Blair in 1623. Reid believed that this accommodation suited both parties. It meant that Echlin could claim that, as an Anglican bishop, he had ordained Blair. At the same time, Blair could claim that he had been ordained by Echlin acting simply as one of a number of presbyters.[116]

Reid provided another similar example of interdenominational accommodation: one which he again claimed was derived from Blair's own account. According to Reid, Blair had met with the Anglican Primate, James Ussher, on two occasions: first, with a group of nobles and other clergy from Ulster. At this meeting, it seems that Blair had become uneasy by the use of the Anglican Prayer Book. Ussher, sensing his unease, had suggested that he come to his residence in Drogheda for a private conversation. According to Blair, they conversed amicably, concurring in fundamental doctrinal matters, while agreeing to differ on ceremonies. For Reid, it seemed prophetic that Ussher had warned Blair that - although he did not wish to move against the Presbyterian clergy in the Church of Ireland - there were others in his communion who would. For Presbyterians like Reid, Ussher's sense of tact had been exemplary: he praised him as a model of Episcopalian gentleness and discretion.[117]

Mant was unequivocal in his rejection of Reid's narrative: he described Blair as a 'delinquent,' and characterised Reid's account as a 'perfect delusion.'[118] In conferring holy orders, Mant argued that a bishop is 'personally nothing: he has nothing whatever to say or to do about conditions on his own account. He is the trustee, the representative, the minister, the organ of the Church: in her name he acts; his course of proceeding is prescribed by her, and he has promised and is pledged to faithfulness in following it.'[119] Quoting directly from Reid,

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[116] James Seaton Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church I Ireland*, vol i,102 f.

[117] Ibid p. 136 f.

[118] Charles Richard Elrington, *The life of James Ussher, Lord archbishop of Armagh* Volume I p. 146. Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland- Reformation to revolution*, pp. 514.

[119] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland- Reformation to revolution*, p. 455.

he dismissed out of hand Blair's claim that he had asked Echlin to submit to ordination from the adjacent brethren, and 'to let him come in among them in no other relation than a presbyter.' Mant also dismissed any notion that Archbishop Ussher would ever have countenanced the accommodation that Reid had described. For Mant, this was 'too flagrant a breach of discipline', and was 'not within the limits of credibility.'[120]

Reid had argued that the imposition of English standards of strict Church conformity, under John Bramhall and Thomas Wentworth, was a critical turning point in the history of the Church of Ireland – signalling an era when 'learned and tolerant' ministers were replaced by 'violent' men 'of Arminian and intolerant principles.'[121] Reid recorded in detail the replacement of the Irish Articles by the Thirty Nine English articles, and the writing of new and stricter disciplinary canons in the 1634 Convocation, which were followed, in turn, by the expulsion of Presbyterian clergy from the Church of Ireland ministry.[122]

Reid also traced a similar 'cleansing' of Trinity College, Dublin, as Laud and Wentworth replaced the 'leaven of puritanism' which they found there with their preferred leaders - including the 'violent Arminian', William Chappell, who became provost in 1634.[123] It is not surprising that Mant took a radically different view of the Ulster-Scots clergy, and their relationship to the Church of Ireland. One aspect of the Plantation which he felt was 'deeply to be lamented,' was the influx of ministers from Scotland who, following Calvin and Knox, preferred a 'studied affectation of a bare... abstract and frigid simplicity in the service of God' in contrast to 'the apostolical form of church government by bishops and the liturgical mode of worship both of which had been transmitted from earliest Christianity.'[124]

By the seventh chapter of the first volume, a marked shift in Mant's writing becomes noticeable: up to this point, his writing is highly discursive, and lacking in syntactic clarity.

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[120] Idem.

[121] James Seaton Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church I Ireland*, vol i, p. 158.

[122] Ibid pp. 160-95.

[123] Ibid pp. 158-60.

[124] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland- Reformation to revolution*, p. 365f.

He does not favour economy, or succinct expression: single sentences can run on for pages, and his extensive and lengthy footnotes frequently have only a loose connection with the main body of his text. Mant also incorporates vast tracts of primary texts, and there is protracted discussion of statutes, royal prerogatives and the manner in which they were executed. To say the least, this does not make for easily digestible, or enjoyable reading.

However, in the second section of the chapter dealing with Charles I's reign, he chooses to construct his narrative around a biographical account of a 'distinguished ornament' of the Church of Ireland: , the former Primate and Provost of Trinity College, William Bedell.[125] The appeal of Bedell to Irish Anglicans had been long established: it would be hard to argue with Desmond Bowen's assertion that 'generation after generation of Protestant scholars have produced studies of him.'[126] He was also an inclusive religious figure, whose legacy was also claimed by Evangelicals and Presbyterians. Mant clearly had profound reservations about Bedell's character, and his actions when he exercised Episcopal governance of the Anglican Church. However, Mant was prompted by a series of letters from Todd - which advised him of the high regard in which Bedell continued to be held in Anglican circle - and Mant was eventually convinced to adapt his representation of Bedell to accommodate that factor.

Although he drew heavily upon Bishop Gilbert Burnet's *Life*, Mant asserted Bedell's orthodox high church credentials. Bedell's education in Emmanuel College - a centre of Puritanism in Cambridge in the late sixteenth Century - was dealt with in just two lines. Mant's treatment of Bedell's career as Provost of Trinity was similarly vague and ambiguous - with Mant merely praising the 'reformation that he had wrought in the University.'[127] Mant suggested that it was through the personal recommendation of Laud - at that time Bishop of London - that Bedell was advanced to the see of Kilmore and Ardagh: the inference was that Bedell must have had scant sympathy with Calvinism. In short, Mant used Bedell to illustrate what he considered were the best aspects of English attempts to introduce the Reformation in

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[125] Ibid p. 433.

[126] Desmond Bowen, *History and the shaping of Irish Protestantism*, p. 89.

[127] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland- Reformation to revolution*, p. 434.

Ireland. Mant acknowledged that Bedell was talented and driven - and was prepared to engage with the local population and adapt to meet their needs. He believed that those qualities enabled him to convert not only 'the ignorant and deluded Irish Papist,' but also - and, in this context, more significantly - 'Scotch and English sectaries' to the communion of the Church.[128]

Mant emphasised that Bedell occupied a see that had been 'wasted by excessive dilapidations,' with a series of seemingly insurmountable difficulties and tribulations to be faced.[129] Bedell's response to these conditions - and his eventual death as a consequence of the bloody events of 1641 - enabled Mant to depict him as a martyr. The second editions of the first volume even contained a romantic double print of the castle in which Bedell had been imprisoned.

Mant praised Bedell's attempts to 'furnish his converts with a means of instructing others,' in his efforts to instruct the laity in Irish, and in his translation of the Old Testament.[130] Sadly, Bedell's 'great design,' was interrupted by the breaking out of the 1641 Rebellion[131] - otherwise, it was suggested, his reforming zeal might have succeeded. Mant lamented that 'it should be noticed that this plan for religious Reformation 'appears not to have been approved by the Government, certainly it was not countenanced by Lord Wentworth.'[132] This may seem like a relatively minor acknowledgement of English mis-governance, but it fed into previous Irish Anglican explanations for the failure of the Irish Reformation, and was well received.

Another individual chosen by Mant for special attention in his *History* was his predecessor in his northern see, Bishop Jeremy Taylor. Mant had already used Taylor as an example in a charge delivered in 1825. He had sought to draw his clergy's attention to Taylor's 'genius

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[128] Ibid p. 440.

[129] Ibid p. 435.

[130] Ibid p. 470.

[131] Idem.

[132] Idem.

and learning,' and 'his benevolence and piety,' which he believed 'reflect after the lapse of a century and a half, and will long continue to reflect, honour on the See which I now with much unworthiness occupy; and his renown, in the absence of every monument, save the perennial memorial of his works, is cherished, I am persuaded, in the minds of all of you, with a sort of hereditary affection.'[133]

Taylor was firmly established within the Irish Caroline Tradition, and his writings continued to be popular within the Church of Ireland. While Taylor was well known and admired by many southern Irish Anglicans, his legacy in his former diocese was more problematic.[134] The remains of the first Church of Ballinderry was known locally as the Church of Portmore, or Jeremy Taylor's Church.[135] In 1823, it was decided to build the new church on the site of the Middle Church, and one of Mant's first acts as Bishop was to prevent its destruction and refurbish it.

It would be naive to believe that, in referencing Taylor's works, Mant was merely demonstrating his awareness of Irish Anglican historical identity. Despite his apparent self-effacement - and the emphasis he placed upon his own "unworthiness" - he was clearly suggesting certain connections between himself and Taylor. They were, after all, both Englishmen who had been called to serve in the Irish Church during disturbed and turbulent times. Walter Bishop Mant later recalled being told by his father that, when he told one of his friends that when he had been appointed to a Bishopric in Ireland, his friend had responded 'I do not congratulate you... Poor Jeremy Taylor! He was ill used and banished to an Irish

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[133] Richard Mant, *Charge delivered to the clergy of Down, Dromore and Conor 1825* (Belfast 1826).

[134] Robert Hoopes identified some of the problems inherent in Taylor's work arguing that 'his own church, though it esteems him highly, does not regard him as a precise or logical theologian.' Robert Hoopes, 'Voluntarism in Jeremy Taylor and the Platonic Tradition' *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Number 4 August 1950 p. 341. C. Sydney Carter observed that 'his definitions are apt to be vague and even inconsistent, while his views on the great doctrines of the Christian faith are often somewhat loose and indefinite.' C. Sydney Carter, *The English Church in the Seventeenth Century*, (London, 1909) p. 106.

[135] This was the church in which Taylor officiated first, and which Bishop Heber called the 'half ruined Church of Killultagh.'

Bishopric.'[136] It is clear that Mant identified strongly with Taylor: his notebooks and correspondence throughout his life are full of extracts and quotations from Taylor's work.

Mant was able to point out that, of the seventy-odd Presbyterian ministers claiming rights as incumbents at the start of 1660, at least half of them were in Taylor's diocese. Even before his consecration, Mant noted that Taylor had been made aware of their hostility to his appointment, and their accusations of Socinianism and Arminianism. A meeting of Presbyterian ministers serving in the Church of Ireland took place at Newtown in early December 1660, where they resolved to preach against Episcopacy, and the Book of Common Prayer. Within two months of his consecration, Taylor held a diocesan synod, to which only two Presbyterian ministers came. This allowed Taylor to declare thirty-six livings vacant, and ready to be filled by Episcopally ordained clergy. In time, five Presbyterian ministers were prepared to submit to ordination by Taylor, but the mutual hostility between him and the ejected ministers remained unabated. For Mant and the readers of his book, the implications were fairly obvious: a distinguished and revered Bishop, such as Taylor, was one who was able and willing to stand up to Presbyterians.

IV

Mant's *History* not only made a considerable impact when it first appeared, it also generated a significant degree of controversy. It received a highly favourable reception from the English ecclesiastical press. *The Church of England Quarterly Review* gave a lengthy summary of Mant's work, praising him for having 'given the country a work which it had too long wanted.'[137] In the years that immediately followed its first release, large sections of Mant's work were republished in a wide variety of English periodicals, including the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *The British Magazine*, *The Saturday Review* and *the Christian Remembrancer*.

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[136] Walter Bishop Mant, *Memoir of Bishop Mant*, p. 48

[137] *The Church of England Quarterly Review* (Apr. 1840), p. 440

In Ireland, the Roman Catholic response to Mant's work was the most straightforward – and the most consistent across several decades. *The Dublin Review*, refused even to acknowledge its real title: referring repeatedly to the work as 'Mant's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland.' That journal also denounced the alleged over-reliance of Irish Anglicans on the 'hideous picture of (Catholic) Episcopal depravity drawn by Dr. Mant,' [138] and concluded that 'assuredly never was there published, under the title of history, such a tissue of undisguised and unmitigated bigotry.'[139]

In 1864 Cardinal Patrick Francis Moran identified what he saw as the true significance of Mant's *History*. As far as Cardinal Moran was concerned, it lay in Mant's attempts 'to prove statistically that the Irish hierarchy adopted the tenets of the Reformation.'[140] Mant was, of course, not the first to claim that the Marian Bishops had converted to Anglicanism under Elizabeth's reign. However, the elaborate legalistic framework that he and his assistants sought to construct in order to validate the Apostolic Succession of the Church of Ireland - and with it the legitimacy of its historical claims – was detailed and influential. It helped change Irish Anglican interpretations of the legacy of the Reformation in Ireland.

Even Moran conceded that Mant had 'outstripped' all other writers in 'the clear statement which he has made of this Protestant theory'[141] - in this context, a somewhat back-handed complement. Moran's comments are revealing in several other respects. They were made over thirty years after the first publication of Mant's volumes, and are illustrative of how his work came to represent a distinct part of the mainstream Church of Ireland historical narrative – even in the eyes of its opponents. With the prop of Establishment collapsing, the high church basis of Irish Anglican apologetics, as expounded by Mant, took on a new importance. His approach and methodology were frequently replicated by later Irish Anglican

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[138] *The Dublin Review*, Vol. XIV February and May 1843, p. 221.

[139] *The Dublin Review,* March 1844, p. 65.

[140] Patrick Francis Moran, *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1864) p. 175.

[141] Idem.

historians and apologists, and, in that respect, Mant helped to mark out the parameters of historical debate in the build-up to the Disestablishment of his Church.

On its first appearance, Mant's *History* was, for the most part, well received by many Irish Anglicans. The reviewer for the high church (and Tory) *Dublin University Magazine*, for example, stated that 'the Irish clergy owe him great obligations,' and recommended it 'to the student who desires to acquaint himself with our ecclesiastical history.' This reviewer welcomed the book as 'a clear and elaborate digest of all that it is desirable to know upon that subject'. The same reviewer also praised the endurance of the Church of Ireland in the face of its sufferings since the Reformation – Catholic hostility, poverty, official indifference, lay depredation – and sought to reassure fellow Protestants that they could survive similar contemporary threats. [142]

Significantly, the reviewer also praised the 'ample evidence of the gross abuses which prevailed in the Irish branch of the Church Catholic, before the Reformation; and consequently, of the absolute necessity of such changes as might restore it to its original purity, and render it beneficial, as, in its corrupted state, it was found to be to the best interests of mankind.'[143] Indeed, this reviewer even regretted that they 'cannot afford space to enumerate the various instances in which legends the most absurd, and superstitions the most revolting, are shown, by our author, to have held a high place in the veneration of those who were then denominated 'the faithful.''[144]

The Christian Examiner 'rejoiced,' that the historian of the Georgian church was an Englishman - although this approval was based on grounds that might have caused Mant some personal unease. The *Examiner* believed that Mant had adduced 'unanswerable evidence, that English worldly mismanagement of the Irish Church made her what she was at the end of the century and by a just retribution has rendered this country a scourge and a

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[142] *The Dublin University Magazine*, Bishop Mant's History of the Church of Ireland* First Article, No. LXXXVII, March 1840 Vol. XV p. 243.

[143] Idem.

[144] Idem.

thorn in the side of England. She sought, without regards to religion, to make the Church the means of forming an English interest, and by leaving the Irish without true religion, she effectively defeated her own object and almost annihilated English interest in the country.'[145]

The *Examiner's* reviewer arraigned three successive Anglican Primates – Hugh Boulter, John Hoadly and George Stone - as the arch villains, reserving his severest censure for Boulter. His regime represented the greatest injury that was ever done to the Irish Church - its miserable 'low state in 1800 being his legacy.' Boulter was 'the very description of a man qualified to do evil in his situation. A man without personal religion; as far as he had any opinions on the subject, heterodox in his views and deeply steeped in political partisanship, which engrossed the full exercise of his talents.'[146]

It may not be surprising - given the breadth of issues dealt with - that aspects of Mant's *History* were unpalatable to some Irish Anglicans. The work had initially been published in London: there were two subsequent editions, and it is significant that these were both published in Dublin since it indicates a high level of local interest. However, less than a decade after its initial release, Mant's *History* was already viewed by some Irish Anglicans as having dated badly. One unkind reviewer accused him of merely constructing 'an abridged and continued edition of the history of the Irish bishops by [James] Ware and [Walter] Harris.'[147] The *Dublin University Magazine* would later dismiss a reissue of Mant's volumes by declaring that 'a general history of Ireland is not what we at present require.' The *Magazine* maintained that such a work - even when of a high standard - would 'probably lead to feelings of regret and despondency.'[148] This was a remarkable public admission of the low morale of the contemporary Church of Ireland.

The selection of Mant to write the much-awaited history had not appealed to everyone within the Church of Ireland. One clergyman, writing under the pseudonym 'presbyter Hibernicus',

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[145] *The Christian Examiner*, bound volume for 1841 in Reviews 'Mant's History,' p. 117.

[146] Idem

[147] 'Irish church history', *Irish Quarterly Review*, ii, no 5 (Mar. 1852), p. 19.

[148] 'The Annals of the Four Master,' *Dublin University Magazine*, March 1848, p. 361.

was clearly dismayed at the choice of Mant to undertake such a task. He wrote to the *Christian Examiner* expressing his 'fear that you will lead many of your readers to ascribe an authority to Mant's History of the Irish Church, which it is by no means entitled to claim.'[149] Despite such overt hostility, the influence of Mant's work was to prove profound and long-lasting. Irish high churchmen showed themselves ready to apply the lessons they drew from his *History* to contemporary events. J.A.F. Spence has argued that Mant's work offered those Irish Anglicans whose political instincts were Tory a narrative - of close alliance with England and the Church of England - with which they could easily identify.[150]

In spite of his own reservations, the reviewer for the *Christian Examiner*[151] could at least concede that he believed that Mant had 'laid the foundation on which it will not be difficult for other workmen to build.'[152] In fact, this assessment proved prophetic – since, after a fall in popularity, aspects of Mant's volumes and research soon began to resurface.

Ulster's Presbyterian scholars remained deeply offended by Mant's *History.* William Dool Killen would later declare that Mant was 'assuredly a bigot of the purest water,' and a 'miserable partisan of the narrowest order.'[153] Throughout both of Mant's volumes, there are no references to either Reid or to his work. Yet references to Reid's work – and to the work of other Presbyterian historians - appear frequently in Mant's notebooks. In his correspondence to Todd and Elrington, he consistently refers to Reid's volumes as '*The History of Presbyterians in Ireland*': the consistent – and, perhaps, unconscious - suppression

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[149] *The Christian Examiner*, bound volume for 1841 in Reviews 'Mant's History,' p. 117.

[150] J.A.F. Spence, 'The philosophy of Irish Toryism, 1833-52: a study of reactions to liberal reformism in Ireland in the generation between the Reform Act and the famine, with especial reference to expressions of national feeling among the Protestant ascendancy' (University of London, Birkbeck College Ph.D. thesis, 1991), p. 160.

[151] *The Christian Examiner*, was founded in Trinity College, Dublin in 1836. Its first editor was Dr James H. Singer, Fellow of Trinity, later Regius Professor of Divinity, and from 1852 Bishop of Meath.

[152] *The Christian Examiner*, bound volume for 1841 in Reviews 'Mant's History,' p. 117.

[153] William Dool Killen, *The ecclesiastical history of Ireland: from the earliest period to the present Times* Vol II (London, 1875) p. 474.

of the word "Church" may be taken to indicate his underlying feelings. It echoed Archbishop William Magee, who had arrogantly and offensively dismissed the Roman Catholic Church as 'a Church without a religion', and Presbyterianism as 'a religion without a church.'[154]

The controversies that Mant's *History* generated in Ireland were to have longstanding repercussions. Elrington built on Mant's work, and began to formulate a radical re-interpretation - not only of Trinity College's history, but also of the history of the Reformation in Ireland, and the inheritance of the Caroline Divines. Like Mant, Elrington sought to deny and excise the Church of Ireland's Calvinist heritage, by identifying it as the alien import of disaffected English and Scottish puritan nonconformists. As part of this process, the complete works of James Ussher were edited, and, to a considerable extent, remoulded. This process involved the construction of an elaborate narrative: one which depicted Ussher's involvement in the drafting of the Irish Church Articles as the product of mere youthful folly – while, at the same time, asserting his impeccable high church credentials. This radical revision of Ussher's role in the history of the Irish Anglican Church is the focus of the next chapter in this thesis.

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[154] Richard Sinclair Brooke, *The Irish Church* (London, 1877) p. 19. Brooke would later note 'whether this clever antithesis was just or the reverse, it made him unpopular with the parties wincing under the two-edged sarcasm.' NLI MS 15 561 (1) Henry Cooke, the influential Presbyterian Minister, wrote to Mant in October of 1836 complaining of a provocative speech delivered in a parish in his diocese in which an unidentified clergyman had refereed to 'unchurched Presbyterians,' and denied the validity of their orders and sacraments. Cooke continued that 'your Lordship pronounced it the best sermon ever preached in your Cathedral & ordered it to be printed.' Cooke asserted that 'nothing could more delight your Churches bitterest enemies than the prospect of polemic war between the Protestants of Ireland.' He reminded Mant that Presbyterians counted for some three quarters of all Protestants in Ulster - and close to one half of all Protestants in Ireland.

CHAPTER TWO: THE WHOLE WORKS OF JAMES USSHER

I

James Ussher occupies a unique and commanding position in the history of the Church of Ireland. This is not only because he served as the Archbishop of Armagh, and the Anglican Primate of All Ireland for more than thirty critical years. It is also because of his remarkable personal qualities, and intellectual distinction. He was a prolific scholar, who had entered Trinity College just a few years after Dublin University was founded. Later, he became Professor of Theological Controversies at the University, and Vice-Provost of Trinity. He was born into a family that was closely connected with the Church of Ireland: indeed, his uncle had served before him as Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland. Ussher was also closely involved in drawing up the first Confession of Faith for the Church of Ireland. In other words, he played a central role in the formative years of the Irish Anglican Church.

Since Ussher occupied this key position - in relation both to the Reformation in Ireland, and the formation of the Irish Anglican Church - ownership of his spiritual legacy was considered to be of fundamental importance to his co-religionists. From the time of his death, there had been intense disputes within the Church of Ireland over the nature of that legacy. This may help to explain why - well over a century after his death - his collected works had yet to appear. It fell to Charles Richard Elrington to correct that omission. However, in this chapter, I will demonstrate how Elrington used his position as the editor of his works to portray Ussher as an orthodox high churchman, whose ecclesiastical sympathies would appear to have been very similar - if not identical - to Elrington's own. In particular, Elrington attempted to present Ussher's mature theological views as being free of any taint of Calvinism.

It would seem that Elrington chose to represent Ussher's life and opinions - and, in effect, to suppress critical aspects of Ussher's work - in order to re-fashion his legacy according to what Elrington perceived as contemporary high church interests. This may explain why Elrington was led to make a number of questionable editorial decisions. One of these involved publishing Ussher's *Whole Works* out of the chronological sequence in which they were written, published or appeared. This chapter will seek to uncover and explain the underlying reasons for this apparently random order. Although Elrington entitled this collection the "whole works" of Ussher, he choose not to include a number of Ussher's texts which he considered problematic. He chose not to translate several other works which Ussher had written in Latin. He also chose to publish some of Ussher's related texts in isolation from each other - and, it could be argued that process of editorial discrimination reduced their impact for his readers.

In the *Life* of Ussher, which accompanied the *Whole Works,* Elrington also tended to paraphrase Ussher in ways that tended to minimise the Calvinist elements in his theological writings. This was combined with a marked and consistent antipathy which Elrington displayed towards the Presbyterian Church in Ireland - and towards some of its leading historians. Despite the somewhat dubious nature of Elrington's narrative of Ussher's life, and the editorial strategy that he followed in preparing the *Whole Works*, his portrait of Ussher had a distinct appeal for many Irish Anglicans - especially, to those of a high church persuasion. That may also help to explain the influential nature and long-lasting impact of Elrington's work.

A demand for the publication of Archbishop Ussher's works was first made soon after his death: in the brief biography prefacing the 1677 edition of Ussher's *Body of Divinity,* its editor had pleaded for the publication of the three volumes of divinity lectures which Ussher had delivered in Trinity College. The editor believed that this publication 'would be no small honour to that University.'[1] However, it was to take the college almost 150 years to begin to fulfil that ambition. In the early 1820s, while serving as a college tutor, James Henthorn Todd

[1] James Ussher, *Body of Divinity* (London, 1677), Preface.

had launched his own ecclesiastical journal. He had used *The Christian Examiner* to encourage the Board of Trinity College to improve the condition of the Library. As Editor, he had also advocated the publication of Ussher's works - lamenting how 'his folios moulder on the shelves.'[2]

It may be as a result of such pressure that the Board of Trinity College finally resolved, on the 10th of October 1825, 'that Archbishop Ussher's works be collected and printed at the expense of the College.'[3] Charles Richard Elrington was appointed as overall Editor of the project.

Elrington had been elected Donnellan Lecturer in the university in 1819, but, unusually for the time, none of his lectures were ever published. His career was, however, on the rise, and in 1825 he had been personally appointed by Thomas Manners-Sutton, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to the vicarage of St Mark's in Dublin. On the death of Richard Graves in 1829, Elrington succeeded him to become Regius Professor of Divinity - a position that he would hold for the next twenty years. As the son of a former Provost of Trinity and Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, he was well connected to the hierarchy of both Dublin University, and the Church of Ireland. Among the senior fellows of the college, he was 'widely respected for his independent, if cautious views.'[4]

Despite his conservatism in religious matters, Elrington managed to introduce important reforms in the teaching, syllabus, and examination system in the Divinity school. He was profoundly distrustful of what he viewed as the emotional excesses of the Evangelical movement. However, he also held strongly anti-Catholic views, which drew him frequently into public controversy. In 1839, he had helped to form the Church Education Society, the purpose of which was to provide funds to support primary schools connected with the Church

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[2] G.O Simms, 'James Henthorn Todd,' *Hermathena*, No. 109 (Autumn, 1969), p. 7.

[3] Vincent Kinane, *A history of the Dublin University Press 1734-1976* (Dublin, 1994) p. 140.

[4] R.B McDowell and D.A Webb, *Trinity College, Dublin 1592-1952* (Cambridge, 1982) p. 164.

of Ireland, in order to counteract what he and the other founders saw as the pernicious national school system of primary education without religious instruction. It was ultimately this outspoken opposition in 1842 to Government policy on education that was said to have prevented his elevation to a bishopric.[5]

Elrington's project was commissioned directly and entirely financed by Trinity, and it is also the only major work to be considered in this thesis that was printed by the Dublin University Press. Despite his established background, Elrington's appointment as the Editor of Ussher's works proved to be highly controversial. An anonymous letter - from an 'Ex-Scholar T.C.D' and self-proclaimed 'admirer of Ussher's character and learning' - to *The Christian Examiner,* noted that there were many within Trinity who were of the opinion, from the beginning, that the Board of the college was 'rather infelicitous in their selection of an editor, from the almost acknowledged want of sympathy, and this too, on points of importance' between Elrington and Ussher. [6]

In fact, as the project progressed - with agonising slowness - Elrington became increasingly isolated and unpopular with the younger generation of fellows, professors and students at Trinity. The chief thorn in his side was a Senior Fellow, Joseph Henderson Singer, who had begun to promote Evangelical opinions in the College. Indeed, a consistent complaint amongst other Evangelicals was that Singer should have been selected for the work - instead of Elrington.[7]

After its initial commissioning, the publication of Ussher's collected works was delayed for some years, and this deferral did not go unnoticed. *The Christian Examiner* was highly critical of the low output of the Dublin University Press, and, in 1828, one of its contributors - using the pen-name 'Observer' - wrote that 'some three years ago we heard (that

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[5] Tom Kelley and Linde Lunney, 'Charles Richard Elrington,' Dictionary of Irish Biography

[6] 'Letters to the Editor,' *The Christian Examiner*, August, 1848, p. 492.

[7] Idem.

publication) was taken in hand, and that the whole works of this admirable scholar and divine would speedily come forth, properly edited and uniformly printed by our University press. Say Sir, is the mountain in labour, and when will the parturition take place?'[8] The next mention of the work in the Irish press came on the 10th of October 1835. *The Dublin Penny Journal* noted that 'a large portion of this great work, which will occupy fifteen or sixteen volumes is already finished.'[9] Vincent Kinane maintained that the gradual gathering of criticism over the delay in publication eventually 'spurred the college on,' and printing of the volumes began in earnest in 1829.[10]

Remarkably, the volumes only began to be bound in quantity in 1842. The College Bursar's accounts of the 25th, February, 1842, record George Mullen's charges for 'boarding in cloth,' 400 copies of Volume II at one shilling each, and 29 large paper copies at 1-3.[11] Michael Henry Gill, the college publisher, submitted a bill for printing part of this volume on the 1st June of the same year - indicating that the edition was of 500 ordinary copies.[12] There followed, in rapid succession, a series of bills from Mullen for casing the succeeding volumes - so that, by July 1844, volumes II through to X had been properly bound.

Todd claimed that the total cost of the work 'amounts to the large sum of £3,800.' This figure, however, was merely the base cost for paper and printing, and was 'exclusive of the payments made to transcribers, advertising and other incidental expenses.'[13] These incidental expenses were never clarified, but it is evident that the real costs of the project were very much greater. Elrington, Todd and William Reeves, for example, had taken only minimal

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[8] *The Christian Examiner*, Vol. VI (1828) p. 423.

[9] *The Dublin Penny Journal*, 10th of October 1835.

[10] Vincent Kinane, *A history of the Dublin University Press 1734-1976,* p. 140.

[11] TCD MUN/P/4/231/ 56- 56a, account presented 23rd of April 1842.

[12] TCD MUN/P/4/231/30.

[13] James Henthorn Todd, *The Whole Works of James Ussher,* Vol. XVI: Correspondance. Advertisement, p. xiii.

payment for the exacting work in which they were engaged.[14] Todd was also keen to emphasise that Reeves had 'consented to give his valuable time and labour for an amount of remuneration which proved that the honour of the University, and the fame of Ussher, were his principle motives for undertaking the task.'[15]

It is, therefore, beyond any reasonable doubt that the real cost of the project was considerably higher than Todd claimed. Constantia Maxwell maintained that the whole cost of the work was nearly double Todd's estimate, and that it 'cost more than £6,000.'[16] Unfortunately, she gave no source for this figure, but Kinane believes that 'editorial charges of over £2,000 must have been involved.'[17] In current terms, the project would have cost Trinity College several hundreds of thousands of euro. As such, it was undoubtedly one of the longest, most ambitious and expensive projects undertaken by the Dublin University Press and Trinity College, Dublin in the whole of the nineteenth century. It was also one of the most significant.

In the Advertisement for the sixteenth volume of Ussher's *Works*, Todd included a timetable detailing the date of publication of each of the preceding volumes. This schedule revealed that the time span - from the publication of the first volume to the project's completion - was a quarter of a century. Given this extraordinarily extended period of publication, Todd lamented that it is 'attended with this inconvenience, that there will no doubt ultimately be left unsold a large number of old volumes.'[18] He reassured readers that all those who were in

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[14] Todd visited numerous libraries in Britain and on the continent sourcing manuscripts for Elrington. It is evident that Elrington sought Todd's opinion on aspects of the editing of the Life. Reeves also highlighted documents relating to Ussher that came up in auction. After the death of Elrington he continued in this endeavour in TCD MS T.3.3 there is an undated letter from Reeves (presumably to Todd) outlining notices in *The Times of London* and the *Publishers Circular* (August 15th 1863) of a sale of Ussher's manuscript letters at Messrs Patrick & Simpson. He included detailed descriptions of the contents and costs of the letters. Reeves also helped compile a complete and functioning index for all of the volumes.

[15] Idem.

[16] Constantia Maxwell, *A History of TCD 1591-1892* (Dublin, 1946) p. 202 n.29.

[17] Vincent Kinane, *A history of the Dublin University Press 1734-1976*, p. 142.

[18] James Henthorn Todd, *The Whole Works of James Ussher,* Vol. XVI: Correspondence. Advertisement, p. xiii.

possession of the incomplete works could, however, have their sets made whole on application to the University printers, Messers Hodges, Smith and Co. of Dublin. The cost of complete collections would have been well beyond the means of most individuals at that time - since each volume cost 12s.[19] It is not surprising, therefore, that only a few people would seem to have taken up this offer. Indeed, just before the current millennium commenced, hundreds of unsold volumes of *The Whole Works of Ussher* were found in the basement and cellars of House 6 of Trinity College. Sadly, the large majority of these had succumbed to mould, mildew and fungus, produced by the damp conditions in which they had been stored for many decades - and it took several days to remove their damaged remains.[20]

Todd had drawn attention to what he termed the 'chronological arrangement of the works' that Elrington had adopted.[21] When read sequentially - with a few minor omissions - the volumes do, indeed, run in chronological order, as Todd claimed. However, the sequence in which they were actually published was very different – and highly significant. The timetable of the publication included by Todd revealed what might seem like a random or haphazard order.

Vol II, November 7th 1829
Vol IV. June 9th 1830
Vol V. October 16th 1830
Vol III. September 1st 1831
Vol VI. October 30th 1831

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[19] 'Advertisement for Vol I', *The Publishers' Circular* and *General Record of British*, Vol XI 1848; 'Advertisement for Vol I', *Foreign Literature* 1848, Advertisement for Vol VI from *The Edinburgh Review* or *Critical Journal* Vol LXXVI 1843 and Advertisement for Volume XIII contained within *The Churchman's Monthly Review* 1844, *The Athenœum: A Journal of Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, Music, and the Drama*, January 7th 1843 p.22, *Bent's Literary Advertiser and Register of Engravings, & Works* Volume 9 February 10th 1848 p.16

[20] Vincent Kinane, *A history of the Dublin University Press 1734-1976*, p. 142.

[21] James Henthorn Todd, *The Whole Works of James Ussher,* Vol. XVI: Correspondence. Advertisement p. xiii.

Vol VIII. April 3rd 1832

Vol IX. June 14th 1832

Vol VII. June 14th 1832

Vol XI. August 1st 1832

Vol X. October 13th 1832

Vol XII. December 12th 1833

Vol XV. May 18th 1834

Vol XIII. June 24th 1844

Vol XVI. November 6th 1846

Vol I. January 5th 1848

Vol XIV. May 17th 1862 (Todd conceded that this was actually published in 1864[22])

Vol XVII. April 25th 1864[23]

The sequence in which Ussher's Works were published is, to say the least, somewhat unusual, and demands further critical scrutiny. It is, after all, fairly uncommon for Volume I of any collected works to be published nineteen years after Volume II. According to Todd, the decision to adopt this uncommon non-sequential approach was not Elrington's, but one that he had been advised to follow by the Board of Trinity. In fact, Todd claimed that this stricture had 'greatly displeased Dr. Elrington who submitted with reluctance to the arrangement.'[24] Todd gave a number of explanations for the peculiar order: he described in detail the numerous difficulties that Elrington had faced, and the acute 'embarrassment' he had felt at his own limitations in transcribing, sourcing and editing some of Ussher's writings as a further contributing factor to the unorthodox order of publication.[25] However, it is tempting to believe that he protested rather too much about these difficulties.

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[22] James Henthorn Todd, *Ussher's Works* Vol. XVII: Correspondence. Advertisement, p. x.

[23] For full list see Appendix.

[24] Ibid p. xiii.

[25] Ibid pp. iv-x.

While there may well be some truth in Todd's claims, there are still some important questions that deserve to be raised. I would suggest that there are other underlying reasons which Todd did not choose to acknowledge – or, perhaps, even to recognise – and that these relate to the way in which Elrington seems to have wished for Ussher's work to be interpreted and understood by contemporary readers. It would appear that these volumes were not initially intended to be published in what might seem like a random sequence. Indeed, it is only in Volume I of *The Whole Works of James Ussher,* to which Elrington prefixed a comprehensive biography of Ussher, that the perspective from which he wanted Ussher's writings to be viewed becomes apparent. According to Elrington, this biography had been intended 'merely as an introductory volume.'[26] However, the public's appetite for the work is clearly illustrated by the Advertisements for the previous volumes, in which Elrington had felt compelled to emphasise that the *Life* would only be published at 'the conclusion of the Work.'[27] Frustrated by the delay, *The Dublin University Magazine* acted upon its reader's demands, and included its own series of sketches of Ussher's life in 1841. These were published anonymously, but were later revealed to have been composed by a young Evangelical member of the college - William Fitzgerald.[28] The repeated calls by Evangelicals to include a *Life* of Ussher with each individual volume were dismissed by Todd in a letter to Elrington as 'absurd,' and 'nonsense.'[29]

Despite this opposition, the value of a biography of Ussher was eventually recognised by members of the Board, and they agreed to finance the extra costs of the publication - making it the most expensive volume of the entire project.[30] In addition to this, a popular edition was

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[26] Charles Richard Elrington, *The Whole Works of James Ussher with a life of the author and an account of his writings*, Vol I Advertisement p. v.

[27] Advertisement for Vol II in *The University Magazine*: A Literary and Philosophical Review Vol XIX January 1842.

[28] From 1847 to 1852 Fitzgerald was professor of moral philosophy in Trinity and from 1852 to 1857 was professor of ecclesiastical history. He was consecrated as Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross in 1857.

[29] TCD Todd correspondence MS 2214/130.

[30] TCD MUN/P/4/244/30-30a.

also issued the following year, in a separate edition of 750 copies at a further cost of £114-5-0.[31] Elrington's *Life* of Ussher became the best-selling of any of the volumes published in the sequence, and its influence was arguably the most significant and long-lasting. I would argue that t is in the context of this volume - and Elrington's concomitant attempts to miminise the influence of Calvinist theology in Ussher's life and work - that the unorthodox order of publication can best be understood.

As Alan Ford has demonstrated in a detailed, credible and convincing way, the Church of Ireland displayed a greater commitment to Calvinist theology in the beginning of the seventeenth century than did its English 'Mother Church.'[32] For some later high church Irish Anglicans, such as Elrington, this represented something of a dilemma. They were not sympathetic to the fundamental tenets of Calvinism. They tended to associate these with the Presbyterians of Ulster, whose robust denial of ecclesiastic hierarchy they found both disagreeable and unsettling. At the same time, the notion of an unbroken spiritual continuity appealed strongly to men like Elrington. If they wanted to claim any direct connection with the Early Irish Church, or with the notion of Apostolic Succession, then it was clear that they could not simply ignore the history of the Church of Ireland in the early seventeenth century. This led high church members, such as Elrington, to attempt to 'de-Calvinise' the history of their Church, by understating the influence of Calvinist clergy and the presence of Calvinist theology in that history. This process was of particular importance in relation to the work of Ussher: given his critical role in the formative years of the Church of Ireland, his legacy could not be brushed aside, or its significance denied. Instead, high churchmen, such as Elrington, sought to claim that Ussher's mature beliefs involved a clear rejection of any of the Calvinist theology to which he might have subscribed to some degree in his early years.

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[31] Idem.

[32] Alan Ford, 'High or Low' unpublished paper.

II

In the preface to the second edition of the *Life*, Elrington defended his original position that the book had always been intended 'merely as an introductory volume' to the collection of the works of Archbishop Ussher. He acknowledged the pressure of the 'strong representation' exerted by 'many persons' who wished to have the biographical memoir alone. However, he remained defiant, and did not alter the second edition significantly: indeed, at 322 pages, both editions are exactly the same length. Elrington noted that, if it had originally been intended as a separate publication, then many extracts 'ought to have been given at greater length, and fewer references made to the following volumes.' In conclusion, he expressed the hope that no great inconvenience would arise from these minor defects.[33]

It is clear that neither edition of Elrington's *Life* was conceived as an easy or undemanding read. The continuous narrative is unbroken by the division of a single chapter - unrelieved even by a table of contents, or index of dates or events - and followed by several appendices: reading it becomes increasingly laborious - and tedious. The effect of Elrington's construction is to create a solid and apparently impregnable wall of text - and one that does not lend itself to being easily referenced.[34] Along with the main body of the text, Elrington incorporated lengthy footnotes – at times, these reproduce large tracts of primary material which occupy almost all the page, and they can on occasion run over several pages. He used these notes not only to support his own assertions and undermine others, but often to express more clearly his own interpretations.

Elrington was acutely aware, as his volumes were released, that aspects of Ussher's work were also being examined – and published - by the Tractarians. Ussher's *Prayers for the*

[33] Charles Richard Elrington, *The Whole Works of James Ussher with a life of the author and an account of his writings*, Vol I popular edition (Dublin, 1849), Preface.

[34] The other volumes contained only the most rudimentary of guides where passages and letters are individually indexed, allowing the reader some ability to locate them.

Dead (No.II Against Romanism) was reprinted as Tract 72, on the 6th of January 1836, his *On the Universality of the Church of Christ* appeared alongside the writings of other divines referenced in Tract 78 *Catena Patrum*. No. III. *Testimony of Writers in the later English Church to the duty of maintaining, Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus traditum est*, which was published on the 2nd of February 1837. It is revealing that one of the principal reasons that Elrington gave to justify the necessity of his *Life of Ussher* was because previous English writers did not understand Ireland enough to situate Ussher in his proper Irish context. He believed that, for example, Richard Parr 'evidentially knew nothing of Ireland and made the strangest of blunders on every subject'; while he rated Thomas Smith's *Life* as being much superior, he also felt that 'his account of Irish affairs is barren and erroneous.'[35]

By any standards, Ussher played a pivotal role in the history of the Church of Ireland – and one that was acknowledged even by those who were opposed to him for theological or political reasons. However, despite his voluminous letters and publications, Ussher's forms of expression could, at times, seem indirect or allusive - allowing a certain ambiguity to develop about his precise views. This apparent lack of clarity had been exploited by biographers and scholars who were anxious to secure his posthumous endorsement: a process that began, arguably, with the eulogy at Ussher's funeral – which was published by his Calvinist chaplain, Nicholas Bernard, in 1656.[36] Alan Ford has noted that Bernard's claims 'faithfully to interpret his master's voice were far from uncontested.'[37] Peter Heylin even accused Bernard of being a kind of necro-ventriloquist, robbing graves and making dead men speak, offering a false portrait of Ussher as a saintly Bishop.[38] Bernard, in turn, was outraged by Heylin's characterization of Ussher as a 'Calvinist' and 'puritan' an indication of the dangers

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[35] Charles Richard Elrington, *The Life of James Ussher Lord Archbishop of Armagh*, Advertisement pp. v-vi.

[36] Alan Ford, "Making dead men speak" manipulating the memory of James Usher,' in *Constructing the past: writing Irish history, 1600-1800*, ed. Mark Williams and Stephen Forrest (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010) p. 49; Nicholas Bernard, *The Life and Death of the most revered and learned father of our Church Dr. James Ussher* (Dublin, 1656).

[37] Idem.

[38] Peter Heylin, *Respondet Petrus* (London, 1658) p. 3.

associated with labelling anyone at this time.[39] Defining Ussher's theological views presented both an intellectual and an ideological challenge for Irish Anglicans, and - given the Primate's important historical role –it was one which was, as Alan Ford has argued, of 'considerable importance in identifying the character and thrust of the Irish Reformation.'[40]

In a real sense, significant parts of Elrington's *Life* are polemic thinly disguised as history. The claim that the early history of the Church of Ireland had been, in some way, 'puritan' or Calvinist - and that Ussher was part of that inheritance - had been a persistent and controversial allegation which offended high church Anglicans. In 1605, Sir John Harrington had claimed that the failure of the Protestant church to convert the mass of Irish people was the result of 'the ill choice of ministers sent thither.' He believed that 'profane men go to convert men superstitious, puritans are sent to persuade papists.[41] Peter Heylin argued that the Church of Ireland had been 'invaded' by Scots and English non-conformists who had, over three decades, turned the Church into a Calvinist stronghold.[42] John Vesey painted a similar picture of a Church with a sour and a Calvinist outlook: its ministry consisting of fiercely anti-Catholic puritans, who were like children who 'so much dread the fire, that they think they can never be far enough from their fear.'[43] In his *The History of the Puritans,* Daniel Neal also saw the Irish Reformation as having been 'built upon a puritan foundation.'[44]

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[39] Nicholas Bernard, *The Judgement of the Late Archbishop of Armagh ... 1. Of the Extent of Christ's Death and Satisfaction, Etc. 2. Of the Sabbath and Observation of the Lord's Day. 3. Of the Ordination in Other Reformed Churches. With a Vindication of Him* (London, 1657).

[40] Alan Ford, 'High or Low' unpublished paper.

[41] John Harrington, *A Short view of the state of Ireland*, ed W.D Macray (Oxford, 1879) p. 15.

[42] Peter Heylin, *Aerius redivivus: or the History of the Presbyterians* (London,1672) pp 3887f; idem, *Cyprianus Anglicus* (London, 1668) p. 269.

[43] John Vesey, *The Life of Primate Bramhall* (Dublin, 1676) sig I2r.

[44] Daniel Neal, *The History of the Puritans, Or Protestant Nonconformists: From the Reformation in 1517, to the Revolution in 1688; Comprising an Account of their Principles; Their attempts for a farther Reformation in the Church; their sufferings; and the Lives and Character of their most considerable Divines* vol I (New York, 1843) p. 261.

As early as the second page of his *Life*, Elrington signalled, in unambiguous terms, his intention to claim Ussher for high church Anglicanism - as opposed to Calvinism - by his emphatic and scornful rejection of the account by Nicolas Bernard of Ussher's born-again conversion at the age of ten. Elrington summarily dismissed this claim as 'a mere attempt to support the doctrines of Calvin by a remarkable example.'[45] He went on to indicate his own doctrinal preferences, by insisting that Ussher was 'one of those happy individuals' who had daily grown in the grace conferred on him by the rite of baptism - making later conversion unnecessary, and even irrelevant.[46] If Ussher had experienced any adolescent religious experience, Elrington insisted that it had been safely sacramental, and occasioned by him receiving Holy Communion in the Anglican rite for the first time.[47]

Elrington lamented the prevalence of Puritanism in the early years of Trinity - which he attributed to the unsavoury habit of the English Anglican Church disposing of its puritan waste in Ireland. As a consequence, he argued, the Trinity of Ussher's youth was a 'refuge for puritans, who would not have been tolerated in any similar position in England.'[48] Elrington accepted that this 'must have materially contributed to influence the early theological opinions of Ussher', and marvelled that 'any germ of affection for the doctrine of the Church of England could have survived in so corrupted an atmosphere.'[49] In this profound antipathy to Trinity's Calvinist history, Elrington was by no means exceptional.

Members of Trinity had often expressed a deep ambivalence towards the College's founding fathers. The Congregationalist, William Urwick, later noted that like 'a rich and prosperous

[45] Charles Richard Elrington, *Life of Ussher* Vol I p. 2.

[46] Idem.

[47] Ibid p.7.

[48] Ibid p. 15.

[49] Ibid p. 17.

man ashamed of his lowly boyhood, it is as if hitherto the College had been under a cloud; its early Provosts and alumni were to be spoken of (being Puritans) with bated breath.'[50]

Elrington also regretted the 'extraordinary selections' made by the English government, and the 'pernicious influence' that men such as Walter Travers – whom he described as 'perhaps the most improper man in England' - had made on impressionable young men in the early years of the college.[51] He conceded that, without doubt, the young Ussher had been susceptible to such malign influences, and 'had held rigidly the opinions of Calvin.'[52] The detrimental hold of Calvinism on the early progress of the Irish Reformation was confirmed for Elrington by the decision of the Church of Ireland to draw up its own Confession, rather than use the Thirty-Nine Articles of the English Anglican Church.[53] Elrington further conceded that 'there is not any thing contained in the Articles, which is not in strict conformity with the opinions (Ussher) entertained at that period of his life.'[54]

He did not, however, simply agree with Heylin, who had bracketed Ussher and the Irish Articles together as irredeemably Calvinist. Indeed, Elrington believed that Heylin's assertion

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[50] William Urwick, *The Early History of Trinity College*, Dublin (London, 1891) p. 40. James Henthorn Todd, *Dublin University Calendar 1833* (Dublin, 1834) contained the first officially authorized history of the University. It had a somewhat unusual structure in that it did not begin – as one might expect - with the period directly prior to the College's foundation. Instead, Todd choose to begin by discussing the early Irish Church, and tried to place Trinity within an earlier indigenous Irish tradition – such as the University of Armagh, which he noted was 'said to have been founded by St. Patrick.' It is striking that it is not until the twenty-sixth page of Todd's work that the foundation of Trinity itself was mentioned. Todd rigorously ignored anything in the College's history that could be construed as Calvinist. Although he made reference to Adam Loftus, James Ussher, William Bedell, Henry Alvery and Walter Travers, he made no mention that they had all been influenced by Calvinist doctrine. Instead, he placed great emphasis on the development of the statutes and regulations of the College – lavishing praise on the manner in these were amended and finalised by Bramhall and Laud.

[51] Charles Richard Elrington, *The life of James Ussher*, pp. 17, 15

[52] Ibid p. 270.

[53] Ibid p. 43.

[54] Ibid p. 44.

that 'the passing the Irish Articles was an absolute plot of the Calvinians and Sabbatarians in England to make themselves so strong a party in Ireland as to obtain what they pleased in this Convocation,' may have gone 'too far in saying what has given so much offence.'[55] Elrington accepted that the Irish Articles had been 'framed with a strong desire to conciliate the non-conformists', and reflected Ussher's opinions 'at that period of his life.' However, he sought to play down their longer-term importance, and to limit Ussher's responsibility by advancing a number of mitigating arguments.[56]

He argued that the Irish Articles were never, in any case, properly sanctioned by Parliament.[57] He would later further elaborate upon this argument, and insist that the Articles were not quite as radical as Heylin had argued.[58] Some of the Articles - such as the tenth and twelfth - dealing with the service of God, and of each individual's duty towards their neighbour - were dismissed by Elrington simply as being 'of a character unsuited to articles of faith, and (approaching) that of a homily.' Others - with 'rigid precision' - determined questions which Elrington maintained 'had hitherto never been introduced into articles of faith.'[59] He rejected Heylin's objection that the Articles supported the Sabbatarian doctrine of a Judicial Rest on the Lord's Day. He suggested that 'it may be doubted whether this passage ought to form part of an article of faith', but, for Elrington, the doctrine put forward was, in reality, 'unexceptionable.'[60] Heylin's claim that the Irish Articles contain Calvin's doctrine of

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[55] Ibid p. 46.

[56] Ibid p. 44.

[57] Ibid, p. 49.

[58] Charles Richard Elrington, *Answer*, p. 25. In this regard Elrington foreshadowed Robert Buick Knox who suggested that the Irish Articles were not as much opposed to the English as had been claimed. R.B. Knox, 'The ecclesiastical policy of James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh' (London University Ph.D. dissertation, 1956), p. 69.

[59] Charles Richard Elrington, *The life of James Ussher*, p. 44.

[60] Idem.

Christ's descent into Hell, was also dismissed by Elrington – who maintained simply that 'there does not appear any such agreement.'[61]

Elrington combined this down-playing of Ussher's Calvinist history with a sustained attack on James Seaton Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* - which he felt had reasserted Heylin's views too strongly, and had 'carried his proofs far beyond what he is justified in doing.'[62] The Irish Confession had omitted the English article 36: *Of consecration of bishops and ministers,* and Reid saw this as meaning that the validity of ordination by presbyters was implied, that the doctrine of absolution was condemned, and that the forgiveness of sins was understood to be only declaratory. Elrington, on the other hand, denied that such an inference could be drawn: pointing out that Reid had misquoted the English Article in order to strengthen his case. He had attributed his claim to Heylin, but could not 'find authority for it.'[63] Instead, Elrington maintained that the condemnation seemed to be confined to the 'Popish doctrine of absolution,' and that the words of the prayer in the Morning and Evening Service were copied exactly.[64]

Elrington was also keen to note that, while it was certainly true that the Pope is 'unhesitatingly called Antichrist' in the Irish Articles, this assertion was 'carefully kept out of the English Articles though firmly believed by many, if not all, the compilers.'[65] The reason that Elrington offers for this apparent omission is reflective of his own attitudes: he claims

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[61] Idem.

[62] Ibid. p. 46.

[63] Ibid. p. 46.

[64] Reid's assertion that Lent was disclaimed as a religious fast, was similarly dismissed as not in the Articles. Elrington took exception to Reid's argument that no authority was claimed for enforcing ecclesiastical canons or decreeing rites and ceremonies. Elrington noted that 'this is certainly a very bold assertion,' drawing Reid's attention to the seventy-seventh Article which gave 'the power as fully as it is claimed by the English Church.' He acknowledged that Reid was correct in stating that no allusion is made to the mode of consecrating the higher orders of the ministry, but insisted that he should have added that 'the ordination of presbyters and deacons was equally omitted, and while the Liturgy remained in force neither was necessary.' Ibid p. 47.

[65] Idem.

that the compilers thought it might lead to divisions upon a point which was not of vital importance. This interpretation enabled Elrington to refute the 'ultra-Protestant party,' and endorse his own view that many 'a true member of the Church of England and determined opponent of the See of Rome does not believe that the Pope is Antichrist.'[66]

The most important ground of objection that Elrington held in relation to the Irish Articles was the introduction of the Lambeth Articles, which had been recently rejected by the Church of England. By this unfortunate inclusion, Elrington argued, a 'serious impediment was interposed to prevent any agreement between the Churches of England and Ireland.'[67] He lamented that Ussher and those who acted with him 'must have been aware of this evil.' He speculated that their belief in the necessity of introducing the Lambeth Articles was because they must have 'considered that the English Articles expressed imperfectly, if at all, their views of Christian doctrine.' Elrington then rounded on the 'advocates of Calvinistic opinions in the English Church,' arguing that the Thirty-nine Articles were exclusively Calvinistic, and that 'they cannot admit an interpretation at variance with those particular views.'[68]

Elrington complemented his hostility to Puritanism by a trenchant defence of the actions of Charles I, William Laud, John Bramhall and Thomas Wentworth. For Elrington, these individuals were responsible for saving the errant Irish church, and bringing it back into conformity with the Church of England. He felt that 'every friend to the Irish Church must feel grateful to those distinguished individuals for the zeal and energy with which they endeavoured to rescue the property of the Church from the hands of its unprincipled plunderers.'[69] This was, by Elrington's own admission, the only part of the second edition of

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[66] Idem.

[67] Ibid. p. 45.

[68] Idem, In refuting the conduct of the 'predestinarian party,' Elrington drew heavily upon Richard Laurence *An attempt to illustrate those articles of the Church of England which the Calvinists improperly consider Calvinistical* (London,1805) - initially released as a Brampton Lecture in 1805, and then again in 1820.

[69] Charles Richard Elrington, *The life of James Ussher*, popular edition, preface (Dublin, 1849).

his *Life* that was 'entirely new.'[70] It included an account of the disputes which arose in relation to the second Charter granted to Trinity, respecting the appointment of William Chappell to the Provostship, and, subsequently, to the Bishopric of Cork. Elrington asserted that it was this appointment that had, in the end, engaged the notice of Parliament, and swelled the list of charges brought against Wentworth.

Ussher had played a central role in this, and Elrington was forced to acknowledge that he had 'at one time' supported Laud and Wentworth, and 'at another' had been involved 'in opposing them.'[71] Sensitive to the suspicion of Tractarianism and other high church tendencies that many Irish Anglicans exhibited, Elrington went out of his way to defend Laud, Bramhall and Wentworth from charges that they favoured popery, and stressed their close theological links to Ussher.[72] He noted that there was 'no part of the Life of Archbishop Ussher about which I was so anxious to obtain accurate information, as that which related to the transactions connected with the death of Lord Strafford.'[73]

In this context, it is revealing that Elrington explicitly stated his wish to vindicate the character of Wentworth from the 'foul calumnies which have been thrown upon it by those who ought to have acted differently.' While Wentworth's character was not faultless, Elrington believed that 'its failings arose from the most amiable weaknesses of our nature.'[74] Elrington's description of the 1634 Convocation - and the imposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles and the new canons – sought to minimise the disagreements between Wentworth and Ussher, and to downplay the differences between the Irish canons and the English canons of 1604.[75]

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[70] Idem.

[71] Idem.

[72] Charles Richard Elrington, *The life of James Ussher*, pp. 92, 108, 113, 153.

[73] Ibid. popular edition, preface (Dublin, 1849).

[74] Idem.

[75] Ibid pp. 165-87.

At the same time, Elrington took great pains to detail the friendship and regular correspondence of Ussher and Laud: a pattern which, he claimed, was established about 1629, and continued without a break through the 1630s.[76] He was not the first of Ussher's biographers to develop this theme: it had also been endorsed by Richard Parr - the first post-Restoration biographer of Ussher – who had made a convincing case for Ussher's friendship with Laud. Parr had acknowledged that most of those letters written between the two in the early 1630s had perished. Elrington also lamented that there are not many letters exchanged between Laud and Ussher extant. In fact, the number of letters used by Elrington is precisely the same as Parr, who admitted that he had 'selected' them 'out of a far greater number.' [77]

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[76] Ibid., pp. 129-30, 198-200 and in Robert B.Knox, James Ussher, pp. 45-6.

[77] Richard Parr, *Life of Archbishop James Usher*, pp. 40-1; Recently, Ford has published an additional twenty-two letters between Ussher and Laud which he found transcribed at Bodleian Alan Ford, 'Correspondence between archbishops Ussher and Laud,' *Archivini Hibernicum*, XLVI (1991-2), pp.5-21. Amanda L. Capern has argued that Ussher's past biographers have presented 'a picture of friendship through misrepresentation,' and that Ussher 'did not like or approve of Laud to the extent suggested by them.' Amanda L. Capern, The Caroline Church: James Ussher and the Irish Dimension,' *The Historical Journal*, 39, I (1996), pp. 57-85 As evidence for this, she has focused on the qualitative difference found between Ussher's correspondence with Laud, and his exchange of letters with those he numbered amongst his friends in the English clergy. Hugh Trevor-Roper also pointed out that one would expect letters between Ussher and Laud to be formulated by the rules of professional courtesy, and that letters between the two and their respective friends must be more enlightening. Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh,' in *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans* (London, 1987), p. 140 Such letters do, indeed, provide just that degree of insight. Laud's letters to Thomas Wentworth, for example, show that he felt an intense irritation towards Ussher - for reasons that were sometimes of an ideological nature. It must also be noted that on two occasions after Wentworth went to Ireland, Laud complained about Ussher's apparent reluctance to write to him at all. The Earl of Strafford's letters and dispatches with an essay towards his life by Sir George Radcliffe, William Knowler (ed.), *Strafford's letters and dispatches*, (2 vols., printed by R. Reilly for Robert Owen, I71 '), William Laud to Thomas Wentworth, I No-V. 1633, 1, 156, 29 Dec. 1638, 11 Capern believes that ideological reservations were passed on to Peter Heylin in his *Aerius redivivus* and *Cyprianus Anglicus* which posthumously accused Ussher of 'Calvinism' and 'puritanism' because of the Irish Articles. Peter Heylin, *Aerius redivivus: or, the prehistory of the presbyterians* (Oxford, I670), p. 394; *Cyprianus Anglicus: or, the history of the life and death of... William Laud Lord archbishop of Canterbury ... containing also the ecclesiastical history of the three kingdoms ...* (London, I67), pp. 24, 192-5. This indicates

For Elrington, the real significance of Ussher's 'friendship' with Laud was very clear. He asserted that 'the point at issue is whether the Archbishop (Ussher) found reason, at a subsequent period, to change these opinions.' [78] He maintained that a 'rigid Calvinist could not honestly have spoken in such terms of Laud's promotion - to the Archbishopric of Canterbury - as are to be found in Archbishop Ussher's letters.'[79] In later years, however, he argued that 'the effects of this prava disciplina were almost obliterated' within Ussher's work.[80]

Elrington explicitly rejected James Seaton Reid's interpretation of Wentworth and Laud's reform of Trinity College as being inspired by a wish to remove out Puritanism, and install Arminian leaders. According to Elrington, Ussher had approved Laud's attempts to replace a discredited Provost to restore the sense of order to University; and to introduce new statutes that would help to maintain conformity and discipline.[81] It was true that Ussher had supported the appointment of Archbishop Laud as Chancellor of Dublin University in 1633. However, the following year, Laud had imposed on the college an Arminian Provost, William Chappell, whose autocratic style and theological views were clearly at odds with those of Ussher.

Reid had focused on the policy that Wentworth and Laud had followed in relation to Trinity College. Reid interpreted all of these actions as symptomatic of Laud's interference in the affairs of the Irish Church. He believed Laud's underlying purpose was to rid Trinity of Calvinist influence and to introduce an Arminian ethos to the University. For Elrington, Wentworth and Laud had acted out of honourable motives which were simply to ensure that

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the degree to which both Laud and Heylin accepted Richard Montagu's proposition that the Irish Articles were as 'foreign' as the doctrinal decisions of the synod of Dort: equally it indicates their acceptance of Montagu's pejorative meanings for the term 'Calvinism.'

[78] Charles Richard Elrington, *The life of James Ussher*, p. 290.

[79] Idem.

[80] Ibid p.17.

[81] Ibid. pp 155f, 191-8.

University affairs were conducted with some sense of order and decorum: he believed whatever changes had been made by Laud and Wentworth had been directed for this admirable purpose. Reid did not dispute that the University needed reform but he attributed to Laud a desire to change the ethos of the University to coincide with his own theological views.[82] Elrington challenged Reid 'to produce one single change from the statutes of Bishop Bedell, which could be construed by the most decided Calvinist into a measure for the establishment of Arminianism'.[83]

Reid's claims that Ussher was sympathetic to, and tolerant of the Presbyterians serving in Ulster dioceses of the Church of Ireland were also emphatically rejected by Elrington.[84] For

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[82] Ibid p. 155f.; James Seaton Reid, *Seven Letters to Dr. Elrington, Professor of Divinity in Trinity College, Dublin, "occasioned by his Animadversions in his 'Life of Ussher' on certain Passages in the History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland"* (Glasgow, 1849) pp. 21-8.

[83] Charles Richard Elrington, *Answer*, p.16 On this matter, Elrington can claim some support from recent historiography: his interpretation of Laud's policy with regard to Trinity anticipates that advanced by Kevin Sharpe in relation to Laud's dealings as Chancellor with Oxford. Kevin Sharpe, 'Archbishop Laud and the University of Oxford,' in *History and imagination: essays in honour of H.R. Trevor-Roper*, ed. Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Valerie Pearl and Blair Worden (London: Duckworth, 1981),pp. 156-62. However, a close examinations of the Trinity statutes, suggests that - *pace* Elrington - there were a large number of significant changes which reflected the concerns of what most historians would label the English Arminians. Alan Ford has argued convincingly that it is 'incontrovertible that Chappell - the Provost appointed by Laud - was, theologically, an Arminian.' Alan Ford, 'That bugbear Arminianism': Archbishop Laud and Trinity College, Dublin,' in *British interventions in early modern Ireland*, ed. C.F. Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.147-60.

[84] I have in the previous chapter discussed the manner in which Richard Mant - in His *History of the Church of Ireland* - sought to refute Reid's assertion that Ussher was committed to conciliation between Ireland's Protestant denominations, and that such a commitment reflected Ussher's conviction that Presbyterians and Church of Ireland shared a common Calvinist heritage. Central to this were Ussher's relations with Robert Blair and other Presbyterian ministers within the Church of Ireland. Elrington's outright rejection of the veracity of Blair's account of his two meetings with Ussher, like Mant before him, sprang from the unshakable certainty of his high church conviction that no Primate of the Irish Anglican Church would – or could – ever tolerate liturgical laxity.

Elrington, Robert Blair's testimonies were 'notoriously false - since he thought it simply inconceivable that the Primate would ever have tolerated laxity in the use of the Prayer Book.' Elrington even identified Ussher as the person most responsible for the expulsion of Calvinists from the Church of Ireland.

In the *Life* - as elsewhere - Elrington's sense of personal ownership of Ussher's work and legacy is palpable. His readiness to defend what he seems to hae considered to be his intellectual property can be seen in the numerous letters of complaint that he wrote to various ecclesiastical journals when he felt that Ussher had been misinterpreted.[85] This sense of self-assurance may also help explain some of his editorial decisions. He had refused - though requested to do so - to publish the *Body of Divinity* among Ussher's recognised works because he maintained that it was 'spurious,' having been expressly disavowed by Ussher.[86] *The Dublin University Magazine* hoped that it would be included when the 'mysterious throes which have so long delayed the delivery of Dr. Elrington's complete edition of his work shall have subsided.'[87] An Evangelical critic, writing under the pseudonym Arterus, pointed out the irony of the 'magnificent title' - *The Whole Works* – given that Elrington had chosen to exclude one of those works.

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[85] In one note to the Editor of *The Christian Examiner,* he expressed his disbelief that a correspondent had quoted a passage from the Body of Divinity as expressing the explicit opinion of Archbishop Ussher: 'I am surprised", Elrington wrote, "to find (your correspondent) ignorant of the history of that work.' Elrington maintained that the question raised by the anonymous correspondent ought to be decided by the best authority: namely, Archbishop Ussher himself. He included a letter that Ussher had sent to his publisher, in which he had stated, 'you may be pleased to take notice that the Catechism you write of is none of mine.' Ussher continued: 'so imperfect a thing copied verbatim from others, and divers place DISSONANT FROM MINE OWN JUDGEMENT, may not, by any means, be owned by me.' *The Christian Examiner*, 1833, Vol II p.571.

[86] Charles Richard Elrington, The Life of James Ussher p. 248.

[87] 'Gallery of Illustrious Irishmen No XII James Ussher,' The Dublin University Magazine, Volume XVII February 1841 p. 171.

Arterus also drew attention to Elrington's apparent reluctance to include the *Bibliotheca Theologica* - because he attributed it to an early period of Ussher's life.[88] In fact, Ussher had been working on this text over many of his last years, and it was unfinished at the time of his death. Elrington discussed the precise status of Ussher's posthumous works with Henry Lynch Blosse. Initially, he had planned simply to divide those works that were released during Ussher's life from those which were published after his death. However, Blosse suggested that 'perhaps it would be as well not to break up the order by separating the posthumous works.'[89] Eventually, Elrington did not choose simply to omit those of Ussher's works that might be considered the most problematic from a high church perspective. Instead, some of those texts - which he seems to have felt he could not ignore - were published in a sequence that tended to isolate them from each other. The result of this editorial decision could only serve to diminish their potential impact.

In short, it seems evident that Elrington used his *Life* to deal with – one might almost say, to neutralise - some of the more questionable elements, from a high church perspective, of Ussher's written legacy. He interspersed his chronological biographical narrative with a series of detailed descriptions of Ussher's most important published works.[90] As Elrington summarised these works, he could not resist seeking to dismiss, or diminish, those Calvinistic features of which he clearly did not approve. He appeared at a loss to explain how the *Confessions of Gotteschalus* - which seemed to have been 'in direct opposition to the orders issued by the King against reviving the Predestinarian controversy' - escaped with 'no censure' against Ussher.[91] However, Elrington concluded that this was merely further evidence of the 'high respect' that Ussher enjoyed from Charles I and Bishop Laud.[92]

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[88] 'Letters to the Editor,' Notes and Queries, 9th of July 1859.

[89] TCD MS 2489/12.

[90] Along with the main body of the text, Elrington incorporated lengthy footnotes – at times these incorporate large tracts of primary material which occupy almost all the page and can on occasion run over several pages. He used these notes not only to support his own assertions and undermine others, but often to express clearly his own interpretations.

[91] Charles Richard Elrington, *The life of James Ussher*, p. 129.

Elrington recognised the importance of Ussher's *Discourses of the Religion Anciently professed by the Irish and British* - describing it as the 'first step' in Irish Anglican history.[93] In this work, Ussher had set out to demonstrate, in the words of the title of the 1639 edition, that the religion professed by the ancient Irish was 'the same in substance with that which is now established by public authority in Ireland.'[94]

Such claims held an obvious and continuing appeal for many Irish Anglicans. Elrington believed that there could be 'no more powerful argument with the Irish Roman Catholics, to turn them from the errors of their ways, than this appeal to the religion of their ancestors.'[95] He praised Ussher's work for successfully demolishing the 'vulgar false invective' of the Catholic historians, 'Campian the Jesuit,' and 'Philip O'Sullevan Bear.'[96]

Ussher's treatise is divided into eleven chapters, and Elrington offered a 'brief abstract of this remarkable work.'[97] The second chapter dealt with Predestination, Grace, Mercies, Faith, Works, Justification and Salvation, and was clearly profoundly influenced by Calvinistic impulses. Indeed, Ussher had argued that predestination was not only part of an original tenet

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[92] Ibid p. 131.

[93] Ibid, p. 143.

[94] James Ussher, *Discourses of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British,* opening title.

[95] Charles Richard Elrington, *The life of James Ussher*, pp. 141-42 Its *Prefatory Epistle* had implored his 'poor country men to consider a little better of the old and better way from whence they have been misled,' and not to 'entertain those lying legends wherein their Monks and Friars in these later days have polluted the religion and lives of our ancient Saints.' In what proved to be a critical intervention with far-reaching implications, Ussher had attempted to prove 'by such records of former ages as have come unto my hands (either manuscript or printed), (that) the religion professed by the ancient bishops, priests, monks and other Christians in this land was for substance the very same with that which now by public authority is maintained therein, against the foreign doctrine brought in thither in latter times by the bishop of Rome's followers.' James Ussher, *Discourses of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British,* opening Epistle

[96] Charles Richard Elrington, *The life of James Ussher*, pp. 131-32.

[97] Ibid p. 142.

of an uncorrupted early Irish Church, but was one of its distinguishing features from the Roman Church.

Ussher had maintained that this belief formed a crucial part of his Church's self-identity as an independent body. He argued that, while Pelagius and Celestius had begun to spread their heretical ideas, Palladius and Patrick were the 'great depressers' of this error.[98] Ussher identified this as a fundamental feature of the Irish Confession of Faith: 'the doctrine which our learned men observed out of the Scriptures and the writings of the most approved fathers, was this, that God 'by his immovable counsel... ordained some of his creatures to praise him, and to live blessedly for him and in him, and by him:' namely, 'by his eternal predestination.'[99] Elrington dismissed this merely as a 'laborious attempt' by Ussher to 'force' Calvinist doctrine. He insisted that its real significance was actually in establishing that the doctrines of the early Irish Church were 'entirely at variance with the Romish doctrines of modern times.'[100]

Elrington maintained in both editions of his *Life* that the 'most interesting events' in Ussher's life were - for the ecclesiastical historian - the proceedings at the Convocations of 1615 and 1634.[101] He included Ussher's *A Brief declaration of certein principall Articles of Religion set out by order and aucthoritie as well of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Sidney, as by the Archbyshops and byshops,* as well as the *1615 Articles.*

Elrington clearly viewed the 1615 Irish Articles as an aberration: a short-lived attempt to graft the doctrines of Calvin and the Lambeth Articles on to the Profession of Faith of the Irish Anglican Church. Elrington criticized the Articles for their Sabbatarianism; their identification of the papacy with Antichrist; and - above all - their adoption of a strictly

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[98] Charles Richard Elrington, *Ussher's Works,* Vol IV pp. 259-60.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Charles Richard Elrington, *The life of James Ussher*, p. 134.

[101] Ibid p. vi.

Calvinist concept of predestination. In a typical move, he preceded his *Life of Ussher* with a series of his own related publications. Elrington had expressed his gratitude to the authors of the tracts in his work *Apostolical Succession* of 1839, 'for bringing forward many invaluable principles of our church, which had almost fallen into oblivion.'[102] In 1842, this was followed by his *Subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles* in which he developed many of the ideas which he would reiterate in his *Life of Ussher*.

There are some notable similarities between his efforts, and those made by John Keble, in his 1836 edition of Isaac Walton's *The Works of that learned and judicious divine Mr. Richard Hooker with an account of his Life and Death*. The connections between these two projects have not been explored until now. Since many of Hooker's papers and tracts were housed in the library of Trinity College, both Elrington and Todd became actively engaged in assisting Keble in his endeavour. Keble was driven to embark on his edition of Hooker's texts by the emergence of Low Church interpretations of Hooker's work. The particular trigger for Keble's project was a three-volume edition of Hooker's works published in 1830, by Benjamin Hanbury, an accomplished Congregationalist historian.

Like Elrington, the challenges faced by Keble were substantial. Since its initial release in 1665, Walton's edition had proven to be very popular: indeed, it had reached its fourth edition by 1675. It had helped to change perceptions of Hooker and resolve questions of his orthodoxy as a high church Anglican. [103] It was, however, also widely criticised for being tediously written and exceptionally dull. In his desire to present examples of Hooker's meekness and patience - and as 'almost childishly ignorant of human nature and of the

[102] Charles Richard Elrington, *Apostolical succession* (Dublin, 1839), p. vi.

[103] Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Richard Hooker's Reputation', *English Historical Review*, cxvii (2002) p 773; Alan Ford, *Ussher*, p 6

ordinary business of life' - Keble believed that Walton had 'produced the most incorrect impression,' of Hooker. [104]

Despite this, Keble recognised the merits of Walton's edition its reliability and potential for adaptation, and thus prolonged the old high church case against the last three books of Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. He complimented his new edition with copious footnotes and explanatory corrections and a preface - the latter of which is unusually long, and runs to some 112 pages. There are distinct parallels to be drawn between Keble and Elrington's resolution of problematic issues of their subject's early education. Keble acknowledged the influential role that John Reynolds[105] as leader of the 'moderate Puritanical party,' had exerted in Hooker's education at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. However, he maintained that any malign puritan influence was countered by Hooker's 'entire independence of thought, and the manner in which he worked his way to other views than those in which he been trained.'[106] Keble stated that organising Hooker's work chronologically would as a course be 'so far preferable to any other, as it gives the completest view of the progress of the writer's own mind, and any modifications which his opinions may have undergone.' Despite this admission, he could not resist suggesting alterations so that future editors might 'consider whether they may not advantageously invert this order.'[107]

Both Elrington and Keble distanced themselves from the traditional narratives concerning their subjects. Elrington rejected Thomas Pierce's earlier claim that, at the end of his life ,Ussher had renounced Calvinism, and become a good Arminian as about as believable a claim as those made by Catholic opponents – which were that he had considered converting

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[104] John Keble editor, Isaac Walton, *The Works of that learned and judicious divine Mr. Richard Hooker with an account of his Life and Death*. Vol I (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1836) p. Keble's full three-volume edition was reprinted in 1841, 1845, 1863, 1865, and 1874, and in a two-volume text-only format in 1841, 1845, 1850, 1865, and 1890.

[105] Keble spelt it 'Reynolds,' but the name can also be spelt Reinolds.

[106] Idem

[107] Idem

to Catholicism after the disasters of the civil war. Instead, Elrington drew upon Ussher's advice that 'it is a dangerous thing to leave all undone till our last sickness. I fear a death bed repentance will avail us little, if we have lived vainly and viciously, and neglected our conversion, till we can see no longer.' In recording Ussher's death, Elrington simply noted that at about one o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st of March (1656), at the age of seventy-six he passed away the last words he was heard to utter were: 'O Lord, forgive me, especially my sins of omission.' [108]

However - like Keble - Elrington could not resist revisiting Ussher's death. In order to validate his assertion that Ussher had privately renounced the excesses of Calvinism in his later years, Elrington drew upon the testimony of a number of divines who were particularly popular with the Tractarians. He reproduced a letter from Henry Hammond, and cited the testimonies of Bishop Brian Walton, Bishop Peter Gunning and Herbert Thorndike as evidence for the radical change in the mature Ussher's thought.

Elrington's narrative of events has proved to be remarkably enduring in terms of Irish Anglican scholarship. John Walton Murray described how Ussher – as the draftsman of the 'entirely Calvinistical,' Irish Articles - 'modified his views' late in his life.[109] James Carr related Ussher's metamorphosis from 'an extreme Calvinist' into 'a man of reasonable views' on the extent of atonement, election, and reprobation.[110] In a memorial discourse preached at Trinity in 1895, John Dowden - the Irish born Bishop of Edinburgh - explained that, while the young Ussher imbibed the 'Calvinistic influences' of his teachers, in later life, Ussher 'was able to free himself from beliefs to which he had been so deeply committed.' For Dowden,

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[108] Charles Richard Elrington, The life of James Ussher, p. 277.

[109] John Walton Murray, *Sketches of the Life and Times of imminent Irish churchmen, from the Reformation downwards* (Dublin, George Herbert, 1847) pp.43, 50.

[110] James Carr, *The Life and Times of James Ussher*, (London, 1895) p. 203f.

the testimonies of Hammond, Walton, Gunning and Thorndike left 'no possible doubt,' over the Primate's opinions at the time of his death.[111]

It is in this context of diminishing the influence of Calvinist thought on Ussher and his works that the puzzling sequence in which each volume of *The Whole Works* was actually published begins to make more sense. Far from being completely random or haphazard, it seems evident that their order was systematically chosen by Elrington. One instance of the underlying considerations that helped to determine the sequence of publication may be found in a letter to Elrington that he received from his father. Bishop Thomas Elrington was also a distinguished scholar, and he wrote to his son advising him how best to deal with Ussher's problematic legacy. He asserted his own view that 'the chronological order of Ussher's works can not be followed,' (his emphasis). Instead, he recommended that his son take a different approach: 'in short I would bring all his work on similar subjects together.'[112] Although this letter is simply dated the '29th of June,' it clearly predates 1835 - the year in which Bishop Elrington died. The purpose of this intervention is evident in one of the questions that Bishop Elrington asks his son: 'Have you ever read a letter of his (Ussher) on Predestination - I think it worth while to make special reference to it in a note.'[113] The issue of Predestination was one of particular sensitivity for high church Anglicans like the Elringtons – *pere et fils* – since it could be regarded as one of the defining features of Calvinist theology. It seems clear it was for that very reason that Bishop Elrington advised his son that it needed "special" attention.

Following this letter, Charles Richard Elrington began to compile a series of categories – or, as he preferred to describe it, to prepare himself for the 'division of Ussher's work.'[114] He wrote frequently to Francis Lynch Blosse, and to Bulkeley Bandinel - the head librarian of

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[111] John Dowden, 'Archbishop Ussher' in Peplographia *Dublinensis: Memorial Discourses preached in the chapel of Trinity College, Dublin 1895-1902* ed by J Bernard (London, Macmillian, 1902) p. ii.

[112] TCD Elrington papers MS 2489/15.

[113] Idem.

[114] TCD MS 2489/ 12, MS 2489/15.

the Bodleian. In one response to Elrington, Blosse discusses the process by which they had begun to group Ussher's works into various categories. Blosse divided them into seven basic themes: six works relating to Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities; six Chronological and Geographical works; fourteen Polemical works; four Critical disputations; four Practical works; four Political works; and the Letters – which are not sub-divided into specific categories.

The date of this letter is significant as it corresponds with the first complete draft of Elrington's *Life*. Although this preparatory list in Blosse's letter of Ussher's works is incomplete - it only lists thirty-eight works - it suggests that the order of publication may be much more significant than has previously been recognised or acknowledged. Indeed, there are a number of distinct patterns which emerge between this list and the final order. It seems significant, for example, that amongst the first works to be published were some of Ussher's Polemical works, and those on Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities. These texts had a particular appeal to many Irish Anglicans in the 1830s and 1840s, when many felt that the future role of the Church of Ireland was uncertain, because of Ussher's trenchant defence of their Church.

However it might have been rationalised, the system of classification devised by Elrington and Blosse reveals many of the inherent ideological contradictions in trying to group Ussher's works along strictly thematic lines. It was, for example, impossible to deny that Calvinist influences were present in Ussher's writings throughout his life. Despite his pronounced disliking of the works, Elrington still published *Gotteshalci et Praedestinatione Controversias abeomotae Historia* and the *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Syllogeare* in Volume IV. They were released on the 9th of June 1830, and followed by the *Brittanicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates caput I-XII,I* - which was released on the 16th of October of the same year. The grouping of these works corresponds directly with those described by Blosse: they are numbered 3, 4 and 2 on his list of Ussher's works on Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities. In other words, there was a degree of deliberate continuity in the ways in which

Ussher's various works were grouped together for publication, and they did not appear in a more or less random sequence.

Similarly, those works which held a direct and obvious polemic appeal to Irish Anglicans - such as Ussher's *A Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British* and *An Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuit in Ireland* - had been placed together by Blosse and Elrington, and were released in close proximity. Evidence of the contemporary currency that these works still held can be found in Blosse's bold assertion that the *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge* successfully refuted Charles O'Conor's *Rerum Hibernicum Scriptore* – a work which he noted had recently been reissued by the Irish Historical Library.[115]

As I have mentioned already, Elrington choose not to translate a number of works which Ussher had written in Latin. It seems likely that he was following his father's advice - who had maintained that 'the question of the translation of the annals should y'd think, be determined by the question of fact, did he translate it - or cause it to be translated & correct it & if he did, we have his own opinion that English is preferable to Latin for that work.'[116] Although Elrington defended the merits of this inclusion for reasons of authenticity, it clearly limited the work's accessibility to a wider audience. This - coupled with Elrington's timetable for publication - also proved to be remarkably effective in diffusing potential criticism. It is telling that few of the individual volumes received any critical attention, and that there are only a few fleeting references to the project in the Irish Anglican ecclesiastical journals and publications of the time.

[115] TCD MS 2489/ 12.

[116] TCD MS 2489/15.

III

The reception that Elrington's *Life of Ussher* was accorded was mixed and controversial. It was, however, generally well received in England. *The English Review* was positively glowing in its approbation of Elrington's work: describing his *Life of Ussher* as 'extremely acceptable', and suggesting that the book 'deserves a far more extended notice than our present space permits us to offer.'[117] The reviewer encouraged all those who are interested in the past state of the Church of Ireland to read it, and praised its 'faithfulness and accuracy.'[118] Similarly, *The Spectator* described it as 'scholarly,' and 'full in matter and close in style.' Although this journal's reviewer conceded that it was 'rather too ecclesiastical for general readers,' and that the 'man is lost sight of in the clergyman and the scholar.'[119]

William Hendry Stowell of *The Eclectic Review*[120] did not focus directly on the failings of English governance that Elrington had highlighted. Instead, he argued that, given that Ireland afforded 'but slight temptation to mere hirelings,' it followed that the presence of an active and enthusiastic body of Roman priests 'could be met successfully, only by the zealous labours and dialectic skill of the men whom Parker and Whitgift refused to tolerate nearer home.' [121] For Stowell, the irregularity of such appointments might have been a necessity of the times, but it exhibited 'in a glaring light, the folly and wickedness of the

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[117] 'Notes &c,' *The English Review*, Volume IX December-June (Francis & Rivington, London, 1848) p. 204.

[118] Idem.

[119] 'Reviews,' *The Spectator*, 4th of March 1848, p.16.

[120] Stowell gave it a lengthy and largely positive review. His review incorporated long tracts of Elrington's text directly, as it examined his complaints of the manner in which the Irish Church patronage had been disposed of by the English governments. He noted that this policy had opened Ireland up to Puritan clergy who were prohibited from the exercise of their ministry in England, and soon began a place of refuge to the 'more scrupulous and energetic clergy, whom those decisions deprived of English preferment.' 'Reviews,' *The Eclectic Review*, Volume 25 January-June 1849 p. 348.

[121] Idem.

rulers of the Church, who, at this very time, when the paucity of preachers was so notorious, were doing their utmost to silence the most zealous and best qualified of their clergy.'[122]

English journals were also keen to attribute blame for the failure of the Irish Reformation directly to Ussher. *The English Review* felt that despite 'all his learning and great merits' – Ussher had ultimately 'sat still amidst corruptions and abuses which ought to have induced him to resign his see rather than consent to them.'[123] According to this viewpoint, it was because Ussher 'could not or would not move boldly for the reform of abuses' that he was chiefly responsible for the abuses of Puritans and others. The reviewer insisted that, as the Head of the Church in Ireland, Ussher had abdicated his functions when they were called for by 'the highest necessities of religion,' and had virtually handed 'them over for the time to inferior agents.'[124]

Stowell was unconvinced by Elrington's interpretation of the Irish Convocation of 1615. He felt that the one hundred and four Irish Articles expressed the 'views of Calvin and the morality of the Sabbath were asserted in broad and unmistakeable terms.' He was critical of

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[122] Ibid p. 349.

[123] Notes &c,' *The English Review*, p. 204.

[124] 'Reviews,' *The Eclectic Review*, Volume 25 January-June 1849 p. 350. Elrington had expressed the hope that this was not the case - as Temple, 'was the third appointment made by the English Government, of persons whom they were anxious to get rid of, and unwilling to promote in England!' However, Stowell noted that Ussher was reported to have advised the election of William Temple, whom Stowell maintained 'had strong Puritanical tendencies!' Elrington had sought to emphasise the strained relationship that Ussher had with Oliver Cromwell: referring to Cromwell's non-fulfilment of a promise made to Ussher 'that the Episcopal clergy should not be molested, provided they did not interfere with subjects relating to the government.'(Charles Richard Elrington, *The life of James Ussher*, p.274) Elrington claimed that when Ussher applied 'to get the promise confirmed and put into writing,' the Protector hesitated, and ultimately refused - alleging that he had been advised by his council 'not to grant any indulgence to men, who were restless and impracticable enemies to his person and government.' (Idem) Elrington argued that Ussher had been bitterly disappointed, and expressed himself accordingly. Stowell failed to find support of such 'sweeping censure,' and could not 'perceive the falsity and deceit which are imputed.' 'Reviews,' *The Eclectic Review*, Volume 25 January-June 1849 p. 363.

Heylin's depiction of these Articles as an 'absolute plot of the Calvinians and Sabbatarians in England.'[125] Stowell was damning of Elrington's denial of the Calvinistic complexion of the English Articles, and his contention that those of Ireland were designed to supply their deficiency which he felt was 'equally untenable with that of Heylin.'[126]

The main evangelical periodical in Ireland, *The Christian Examiner,* did not offer any official reviews of Elrington's *Life of Ussher.* Its review of books at this period of the 1840s was not a regular monthly feature, and was usually devoted primarily to educational texts. Despite that, in the years immediately preceding its release - those of 1847, 1848 and 1849 - Elrington and his depiction of Ussher surfaced frequently both in articles and in letters to the journal. One former scholar of Trinity College believed that it would 'not be read by any, save by that few, whose admiration of Ussher should have overcome their disgust in the manner in which his life has been presented to them.' He also lamented the 'ponderous lucubrations' and 'learned plagiary,' of Elrington's *Life.*[127]

Despite his established background, Elrington's appointment as the Editor of Ussher's works proved to be highly controversial. An anonymous letter - from an 'Ex-Scholar T.C.D' and self-proclaimed 'admirer of Ussher's character and learning' - to *The Christian Examiner,* noted that there were many within Trinity who were of the opinion from the beginning that the Board of the college were 'rather infelicitous in their selection of an editor, from the almost acknowledged want of sympathy, and this too, on points of importance' between Elrington and Ussher. [128]

Anglicans within Ireland wrote numerous letters of complaint to English journals regarding Elrington's *Life,* believing that it had been too widely accepted. One anonymous writer is

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[125] 'Reviews,' *The Eclectic Review*, Volume 25 January-June 1849 p. 350.

[126] Idem

[127] 'Letters to the Editor,' *The Christian Examiner*, August, 1848 p. 492.

[128] Idem.

symptomatic of this trend: he simply styled himself Arterus – however, he was either Irish, or a resident in Ireland, because he gives his home as Dublin. What is more – and much to Elrington and Todd's annoyance - this correspondent revealed an in-depth knowledge of the publication of the works, and the religious dynamics within Trinity. In blocking the promotion of Singer, Elrington had gained many influential Evangelical enemies within the College. In that context, Arterus' letters to *Notes and Queries* were damaging, and caused Elrington acute embarrassment – as is evident by his complaints to Todd of attacks from an unnamed opponent in Trinity who had besmirched his name abroad. The letters from Arterus are also illustrative of the deep unease with which Evangelical elements within the Church of Ireland reacted to the project. Arterus was highly critical of Elrington's *Life of Ussher* - regretting that he had 'found little to commend' the work.[129]

If Evangelicals in the Church of Ireland were critical of Elrington, it was mild in comparison to the concerted attacks that he received from Ireland's Presbyterians. In Ulster, Elrington's edition sparked a vigorous and public reaction. The reviewer of *The Free Church Magazine* declared that 'no mercy should be shown to the writer who, recklessly casting firebrands, arrows, and death at the reputation of others who have the misfortune to differ from him on points of Church government.'[130] James Seaton Reid publicly criticised Elrington in a series of letters to the *Banner of Ulster*, a Belfast Presbyterian journal. He stated that his sole object was self-defence: when Elrington sought to 'impeach' the fidelity of the Presbyterian Church, Reid felt obliged 'to rebut the charge of (so) many wilful misstatements, so confidently preferred against it by one whose character and station gave the greatest weight to his allegations.'[131] This journal was not circulated outside Ulster - so Reid's followers had the letters collected and published as a separate book in 1849.[132] The public debates in which

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[129] 'Letters to the Editor,' Notes and Queries, 9th of July 1859.

[130] Review of Seven letters to the Rev C.R. Elrington by James Seaton Reid,' *The Free Church magazine*, p. 95.

[131] Ibid, January to December Vol VIII (Johnstone and Hunter, Edinburgh, 1851) p. 95.

[132] James Seaton Reid, *Seven letters to the Rev C.R. Elrington* (Glasgow 1849). W.D Killen echoed his mentor Reid 'had ministers of the Established Church, as a body, followed the example of Ussher, Protestantism would

Elrington and Reid engaged were highly charged, and often included a personal dimension. Elrington accused Reid directly of 'gross misstatements, not the result of ignorance, or of mere gratuitous assertions for the purpose of attacking others.'[133] Their debates are significant because they marked the beginning of a definitive break within Irish Protestantism along regional lines.

IV

Of most interest to this current thesis, however, are high church reactions to Elrington's *Whole Works* - both while he was alive, and following his death. On the afternoon of 18th of January 1850, Elrington died suddenly and unexpectedly in Armagh.[134] His old friend and colleague, Todd, lamented that his death 'deprived the college of one of its brightest ornaments and the Irish Church of its most learned theologian.'[135] Elrington's death was to have an immediate and profound impact upon the project that had been his life's work. As Todd noted, Elrington had 'labored for upwards of twenty years' on the complete editions of James Ussher's works. However, at the time of his death, the project was still unfinished. Elrington had completed the first thirteen volumes, as well as the fifteenth and sixteenth: he had interrupted the progress of the fourteenth volume when he had completed 400 pages.

With Elrington's death, the momentum behind the project appeared to be lost, and plans for its continued publication ground to a halt. It seemed as though this monumental undertaking was in danger of remaining incomplete.[136] However, the importance of the project – as well

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have soon made great progress all over Ireland. But the pious Primate had few imitators.' W. D Killen, The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, Vol II p.7.

[133] 'Review of Seven letters to the Rev C.R. Elrington by James Seaton Reid,' The Free Church magazine, p. 95.

[134] 'Obituaries,' The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle, for the Year 1850 Volume 187 p. 678.

[135] James Henthorn Todd, Ussher's Works Vol. 17: Indexes p. 2.

[136] That it was viewed as essentially finished is reflected in the numerous gifts made by the College to various notable individuals and institutions of incomplete editions of Ussher's Works. They were sent to the missions

as the costs that had already been incurred – encouraged the Provost, Richard MacDowell, and the Board of Senior Fellows to commit to completing the edition. Todd was by this stage a vocal member of that Board – which may help to explain why he was chosen to bring Elrington's work to its conclusion - and it was Todd who proposed that the Board allow him to 'employ Dr. Reeves to complete the task, as well as to make a complete index to the 16 volumes of Ussher's Works.'[137]

Todd had been actively engaged with the project well before this point: indeed, he had been thanked by Elrington in his acknowledgements to Volume I.[138] Todd helped edit and locate manuscripts relating to Ussher both in Britain and in continental libraries. Elrington was clearly concerned that his *Life* and his intentions would be exposed. It is a measure of the confidence with which he held Todd that, on the 9th of January, 1843, he asked Todd to send a section of his *Life* to William Monsell, who had helped found St. Columba's College. Elrington's explicit instruction to Todd was that the author of the work should remain anonymous, and Todd duly reported that he had shown the extract to Monsell but 'without saying anything to him.'[139] Monsell, was evidently impressed by the work, but was also able immediately to identify its author. He suggested that it could be improved by including more details of Ussher's writings and 'the occasions that produced them.'[140]

Todd - along with Reeves - proceeded to finish the remaining volumes: this was an arduous task as it necessitated the compiling of an effective working index, numerous corrections and the inclusion of missing letters all of which was finally completed in 1864. The project that Elrington had embarked upon, and which was completed by Reeves and Todd, was by any

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attached to Trinity in China and India. The board of the Trinity also give Elrington a copy of the portrait of Ussher used as the frontispiece to the volumes as a token of its appreciation.

[137] James Henthorn Todd, *Ussher's Works Vol. 16: Correspondence*. Advertisement p. x.

[138] Charles Richard Elrington, *The Life of James Ussher Lord Archbishop of Armagh*, Advertisement p.vi.

[139] TCD MS 2214/130.

[140] Idem.

standard a huge undertaking.[141] It had taken nearly forty years to complete: printing had begun under Ruth Graisberry's tenancy of the Dublin University Press in 1829, and was only finished in the second period of Michael Henry Gill's career at the Press in 1864.

Although they had close relationships with Elrington, both Todd and Reeves belonged to the contemporary Victorian Church - while Elrington was, in many respects, a product of its Georgian predecessor. Todd hinted at this generational gap between himself and Elrington, when he explained to Newman, that - unlike Elrington – he was not a 'Revolution Protestant,' or an 'old Whig of the Revolution times.' [142]In this sense, it would be tempting to view their editing of these last volumes and completion of a functioning index as the Victorian Church trying to mask the omissions of its antecedent. Their efforts finally made the work more accessible and useable to the general reader, and yet there was no significant shift in ideology what was merely added was a thin veneer of scientific methodology.

It is clear that, despite his prominent role in finishing Elrington's project, Reeves harboured a lingering dissatisfaction with aspects of it, and especially with its biographical volume. Reeves' copies of volumes I, XVI, XVI and XVII were purchased following his death,[143] and are held in Trinity's archives and each volume is heavily annotated. Written in his distinctive script on the inlay of the front cover of volume I, Reeves explained that he had in the 'course of very close examination of this life, most carefully correlated all the quotations, corrected numerous errors, supplied many omissions added occasional references and finished a running chronological headings in the margin of every page.'[144] He stressed that he had done

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[141] The collected edition sought to build upon the earlier works of Richard Parr and James Ware, and to cover all of Ussher's published and unpublished printed and manuscript sources.

[142] BO, Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 4th of December 1837. Similarly Todd's brother, W. G. Todd, maintained that 'the revolution of 1688 has injured the Irish church in every possible manner' and that 'Orange principles' were 'plainly subversive' of the church's authority and influence. W. G. Todd, A history of the ancient church in Ireland (London, 1845) p.159

[143] The copy was purchased from the executors of Reeves' estate in 1893.

[144] TCD MS 1072

this 'so that this volume so improved would be found most useful to any future Biographer of Ussher, or any person who desired to have the current memoir in the most correct form'[145]

For whatever reason, Reeves chose not to publish his criticism of Elrington and kept them private. A clue can be found in the preface to volume I. Elrington had singled out those who had assisted him noting that 'first place must be appropriated to his valued friend, the Rev. James H. Todd, D.D., who, amidst numerous avocations, has assisted him with his advice and varied information through every part of the work.'[146] In Reeves' edition, this sentence is underlined twice with a pair of exclamation points beside it that clearly express his exasperation. It is also clear that the relationship between Todd and Reeves was complex. Reeves was ten years younger than Todd, and he had been taught by him. They had many shared interests, and it is evident that Todd greatly respected Reeves and valued his opinions. However, in finishing *The Whole Works* Todd was the driving force, and Reeves was clearly the junior partner.

His annotations contain what are often biting criticisms of Elrington's 'ignorance': at one point, even proclaiming 'Shame on the editor!'[147] At times, Reeves entirely dismisses Elrington's conclusions: one comment states succinctly that 'Dr Elrington's description of this controversy shows that he did not understand the nature of it.'[148] These extensive corrections help to reveal the manner in which Elrington effectively distorted material to suit

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[145] Idem.

[146] Idem.

[147] Idem.

[148] Idem. Charles Richard Elrington, *The Life of James Ussher Lord Archbishop of Armagh*, p.70 The controversey to which Elrington is refering is between Ussher and Sir Thomas Ryves, In October 1613 Ryves obtained the reversion of the office of judge of faculties in the prerogative court of Ireland, eventually succeeding Sir Daniel Donne in this position in 1617. However, the Irish bishops, notably Ussher and the bishop of Meath George Montgomery, demanded that one of their own should fill the position. Although Ryves attempted to defend his position for some time, he eventually resigned the office, which was given to the archbishop of Dublin in 1621. Perhaps not surprisingly in the light of this dispute, J.D. Davis notes that 'Ussher had a poor opinion of Ryves, considering him dishonest.' J.D. Davis 'Sir Thomas Ryves' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

his own convictions. They also list accurately the exact sources from which many references are actually drawn. This reveals the true extent to which Elrington had made use of Calvinist authors like Bernard, Burnet and Reid, but reattributed and misrepresented his sources as coming from more appropriate high church authors.

Reeves' described Elrington's arrangement of Ussher's letters in volume XV as 'a confusing and wretched list.'[149] He added copious notes and corrections, footnoted the letters and placed emphasis on certain passages by underlining them. He indicated where the letters refer to specific works, and related that to other volumes of *The Whole Works*. This had the effect of synchronizing the project, and making it much more accessible and easy to use. Where possible, he added the place the letter was sent, and the date - all of which Elrington, for his own reasons, had chosen to omit. He also highlighted how the letters were derived from 'Parr's mutilation + patch work of Ussher's correspondence.' In one note, Reeves was able to point out that Elrington had actually previously published a correct version, but 'having printed the genuine letter Elrington was very careless in reproducing from part a spurious version of it.' In another, Reeves was able to demonstrate how Elrington had taken a large portion of a letter dated March 15th 1629 and 'tacks on to it most of the letter half of this, and annexes to the combination a date of this dec 10.' Reeves regarded this as 'very barbarous+ dr Elrington was guilty of great indolence as well as neglect.'[150]

Some of Reeves' corrections - such as the addition of a running chronology with dates in the top corner of every page and the inclusion of functioning index for volume I -could be viewed as little more than necessary housekeeping. There are, however, indications within them that he had moved away from the narrative constructed by Elrington.[151] Both

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[149]TCD Ms 1072

[150]TCD Ms 1072

[151] In his *Seven Letters* to Elrington, Reid had furnished many instances of Elrington's 'quiet appropriation' of passages from his *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.* Elrington had claimed the reason that he uniformly quoted Reid's book as 'The History of Presbyterians' was simply because he had borrowed a copy of the book. He protested that he had taken extracts from it, with the reference Hist. Pres.* and had then forgotten

Evangelicals and Presbyterians had accused Elrington of plagiarism. The reviewer of *The Free Church Magazine* delighted in pointing out in trenchant and damning terms that whole sentences, containing 'recondite pieces of information which cost Dr Reid many an anxious search, are copied by Dr. Elrington word for word, without the slightest acknowledgment!.. So much for High Church honour and honesty.'[152]

Elrington strongly refuted such accusations, and, as the reviewer of *The Free Church Magazine* delighted in pointing out, he went on the offensive 'after having thus picked the Presbyterian doctor's pocket, the Episcopalian professor turns round on him, and charges him with being a forger and a false accuser!'[153]

In fact, these accusations from northern Presbyterians are corroborated by Reeves: as early as page 3 for footnote e, he was able to point out that: 'there is a note almost identical to this in Reid's Hist of the Preb i 56 - therefore this plagiarism is from a rival as Reid was first in the field.'[154] Indeed, a consistent feature of Reeves' annotations is the manner in which he highlighted numerous other examples of Elrington's misappropriations. On page 38 he notes 'Elrington follows Bernard p.49,' and similarly on page 67 he is able to point to the exact sequence 'Bernard p.53,' 'Bernard p.54,' 'Bernard, p.51,' 'Bernard p.51,''Bernard p.54.'[155] A sense of Reeves' own exasperation at Elrington's conclusions can also be seen in the passages he underlined - so that, on page 163, he highlights 'as we have already seen, the Presbyterian writers endeavour to prove that Archbishop Laud and Stratford were doing

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the full title of the work. His claims were rejected many believed the real reason was that this 'convenient forgetfulness,' saved Elrington from giving the Presbyterians the name of a Church.

[152] Idem There was one final irony: the anger that Elrington's *Life of Ussher* generated amongst Ulster Presbyterians, lead to a revival of interest in Reid's *History*. It had at the time of the controversy been long out of print. However in its next issue, *The Free churchman* noted that 'Dr. Reid is now engaged in preparing a new edition of the portion of his history already published.' Indeed, Reid had also begun compiling a third volume, in which the narrative continued down to the nineteenth century. Ibid p. 125.

[153] Idem.

[154] TCD MS 1072

[155] Idem

every thing to diminish the influence of Ussher, and establish Arminianism and Popery in Ireland.!!' [156]

The first work published after the Ussher's death was a collection of tracts by Bernard, to which he affixed the title of, *The Judgement of the late Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland. 1. Of the extent of Christ's death and satisfaction. 2. Of the Sabbath and observation of the Lord's day. 3. Of the ordination of other reformed churches, with a vindication of him from a pretended change of opinion in the first, some advertisements upon the latter, and, in prevention of further injuries, a declaration of his judgment on several other subjects.* Elrington felt strongly that Bernard would have 'consulted much better for the reputation of the Archbishop if he had not published these papers.'

He even claimed that Bernard had 'so mixed his own opinions and comments with the Archbishop's, that it is difficult to ascertain how far we can receive them as the judgment of the Primate; and he has undoubtedly added much in order to conciliate the favour of the Presbyterians, with utter disregard to the character or declared sentiments of his patron.' Elrington maintained that the publication of these comments were because they afforded Bernard an opportunity to explain away all the statements of the Archbishop, and establish on his authority his own false and mischievous opinions.' This section is underlined by Reeves who defended Bernard - arguing that he had gathered 'up the fragments that remain so nothing be lost!'[157] Elrington had described Reid's criticism of Laud's change to the statutes of Trinity as 'gross misstatement,' Reeves simply crossed out this comment.[158]

Although Reeves was born in Cork he spent most of his pastoral life in Down in close proximity to Presbyterians – unlike Todd or Elrington, who had little personal contact with them. Close association with Northern Presbyterians may not always lead to greater sympathy or understanding, in this instance, however, it seems to have resulted in Reeves adopting a more conciliatory approach towards members of other Reformed denominations.

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[156] Idem
[157] Idem.
[158] Idem.

Reeves' inclination towards the notion of a shared Irish Protestant history can be seen by his inclusion, at the end of his copy of volume I, of an article cutting from *The Northern Whig* entitled 'Ulster Biographical Sketches (second series).' This is dated December 8th, 1884, and deals with Robert Blair's interactions with Ussher. Many of its passages are derived directly from Reid's earlier account, and, significantly, they are underlined by Reeves in obvious approval. In the next chapter, I shall examine Reeves' own work - and its impact - in greater detail.[159]

[159] TCD Ms 1072

CHAPTER THREE – THE AFTERLIFE OF ST. COLUMBA

William Reeves is unique within the context of this current thesis; unlike all of the other figures his reputation has not only remained intact, but continues to grow. Amongst the myriad of tainted historians and polemicists writing in Ireland during the nineteenth century, Reeves is perceived as an outstanding exception to the general rule. His work is heralded as fundamentally unsullied by sectarian bias. Whitley Stokes wrote to John O'Donovan describing it simply as 'glorious.'[1] Reeves' seminal edition of Adomnán's[2] *Life of St Columba* is seen not only as an outstanding piece of pioneering scholarship and research, but it is also lauded as a rare example of conciliation between Irish Catholics, Irish Presbyterians and Irish Anglicans. Since the time of its first publication, it has been hailed as 'the most learned and the fullest collection of knowledge of ancient Irish ecclesiastical affairs published since the time of John Colgan.'[3] Though no longer the leading edition, it continues to be referred to by scholars over 150 years later.

Reeves' edition is seen as free from sectarianism, but this did not mean that contentious elements are entirely absent from his work. The underlying ambiguity of Reeves' ideological position is best caught in a letter to his friend James Graves – in which Reeves stated his wish to see a 'dispassionate Church History of Ireland, written by a Protestant, who is free from bigotry.'[4] As his letter to Graves indicates, Reeves believed that the best Irish Church history

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[1] RIA 24 0 39/JOD/356 23rd December 1857

[2] Adomnán (c. 624 – 704)

[3] Norman Moore, 'William Reeves,' Dictionary of National biography archive 1898

[4] RIA MS 24 0 39/JG/147 (viii) 8th March 1876. In this letter Reeves discussed the work ofWilliam Dool Killen. He noted that Killen was 'so good as to send me a copy of his latest work.' (*The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland from the Earliest Period to the Present Times*, 2 vols. (Belfast,1875)) Having looked over both volumes Reeves was damning in his faint praise when he noted that the the work had the appearance of much research 'and no doubt he has consulted many first class authorities, but it is their research, which when transferred into the notes offers such a display of errudition.' He contiunued 'strange to say he (Killen) has not revived the Presbyterian claims on the Culdees and I congratulate him on his wisdom in eschewing the subject.'

would – and should - be produced by scholars from within his own Anglican community. In this context, it is impossible to ignore what was clearly Reeves' primary objective in publishing his edition: it was to claim - or re-claim - Columba[5] as part of Ireland's Anglican heritage.

It is not, therefore, so surprising that we may identify some significant elements of continuity between Reeves and other Irish Anglican writers. Indeed, an integral part of the complexity and multi-faceted nature of Reeves' edition is the novel way in which he reflects and adapts some of the same impulses, preoccupations and characteristics that are present in the work of other Irish Anglicans. In Reeves' *Life*, these features are discreetly introduced – and they are certainly not offered in any confrontational manner – but they are still present, and can be identified. Reeves was, in essence, the most effective of polemicists – in that he was not perceived as following any preconceived agenda. This is not to imply that Reeves was without his own deeply-held religious beliefs - or that he was disingenuous or cynical in an attempt to disguise them. It is, rather, to suggest that his work revealed a genuine intellectual subtlety which was able to appeal - not only to divergent viewpoints with the Irish Anglican communion, but also to Presbyterians and Roman Catholics. It is the breadth of this appeal that makes Reeves such an important figure in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, and which also helped to make his edition of Adomnán's life so influential.

I

In 1838, William Reeves was just twenty three years of age. He had recently graduated from Trinity College, Dublin,[6] where he had been taught by Charles Richard Elrington and James Henthorn Todd. He had just been married, and had been ordained deacon by Bishop Richard Mant. An indication of Reeves' conciliatory attitude towards Ulster's Presbyterians may be found in a comment he made soon after he was appointed to a northern parish. Reeves wrote

[5] Columba (7th of December 521 – 9th of June 597)
[6] His first degree was in Divinity his second in Medicine. Norman Moore, 'William Reeves,' Dictionary of National biography archive 1898

to his wife that in 'the parish to which I have been appointed are 7000 Protestants. God give me strength for my undertaking.'[7] At that time, the total population of Lisburn was just over 7,000 - of whom the majority were Presbyterians. It would be wrong to overstate the significance of Reeves' choice of words, but his inclusion of these Presbyterians as "Protestants" suggests a lack of denominational partisanship, and a placatory impulse that was not always shared by his co-religionists.

Like a number of other Church of Ireland clergymen, Reeves was to spend the majority of his working life outside the southern Irish Anglican community in which he had been born and raised. At first, Reeves had found it difficult to adapt to his new life in Ulster, and he made repeated, but unsuccessful applications for a number of clerical and academic positions in Leinster - including the Chair of Ecclesiastical History, and the post of Librarian at Trinity College, Dublin. He wrote to his friend John Windele, expressing his interest in news of George Petrie's work on Round Towers. This work was focused, he explained, on 'the quarter which gave me birth.' He still had relatives and connections in that part of Ireland, he continued, 'altho profession + other associations have fixed me in the county of Antrim.'[8] However, Reeves soon began to settle into his new environment, and, in time, it was to help to provide him with an understanding of denominational distinctions within Ireland that was not only rare, but was to prove crucial to his edition of Adomnán's *Life* of St. Columba.

His attempts to set aside some of the theological and cultural differences between Irish Anglicans and Presbyterians was not shared by all of his co-religionists. When Richard Mant was appointed Bishop of Down and Connor in 1823, he believed that the extent of cooperation in the northeast between Anglicans and their Presbyterian neighbours was simply unacceptable.[9] He was determined to put a stop to such 'mutual accommodation' – whether it

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[7] Lady Mary Ferguson, *Life of the Right Rev. William Reeves, D.D.* (Dublin, 1893) p 40

[8] RIA Windele MS 4/B/11/104

[9] Walter Bishop Mant, *Memoirs of the Right Reverend Richard Mant, bishop of Down and Connor, and of Dromore, with a sketch of the history of those dioceses from the beginning of the seventeenth-century* pp.121, 159

was on the question of the timing of services, the announcement of 'rival' activities, or the content of sermons.[10] Mant expressed his fear that his clergy were 'compromising their principles,' in order to conciliate their Presbyterian counterparts.[11] His impolitic interventions in long-established local traditions of interdenominational cooperation, were 'often unwelcome.'[12] By instilling a sense of authority and distinctiveness, Mant sought to counteract the ecumenical tendencies of the voluntary agencies in which many Anglican clergy and laity were involved.

Unlike Mant and other high church Irish Anglicans, Reeves went to great lengths to interact and correspond with those outside his own religious community. His letters show that he developed an acute awareness of the cultural dynamics - and conflicts - at work within Ulster Presbyterianism, which were often of little interest to his senior Anglican colleagues. Clarke Huston Irwin included Reeves in his list of those members of the Established Church who had tried to 'draw closer together the divided branches of Irish Protestantism.'[13] Irwin was insistent that, on the part of Irish Presbyterians, 'such a desire has long been felt.'[14]

Reeves consistently sought to forge closer contacts with the Presbyterians in his local community: in his private letters, for example, he even adopts characteristically Presbyterian phraseology. In one letter, he praises a particular Presbyterian minister whom he describes as shining like a 'new light' - an expression with a particular historical resonance for Ulster Presbyterians - and whom he believed 'the simple folks here understand (...) is going to set up a new kind of Religion - something between the Presbyterian and the Episcopalian ways.'[15] Within a few years of his arrival in Ulster, Reeves had become extremely active in

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[10] Ibid p. 159

[11] Idem

[12] David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society 1740-1890* (London,1992) p.67

[13] Clarke Huston Irwin, *A history of Presbyterianism in Dublin and the south and west of Ireland* (London, 1890) p. 161

[14] Idem

[15]RIA MS 24 0 39 / JG/ 144(x)

local community activities - such as the Down and Connor Archaeological Society[16] - and he won the respect of the local Presbyterian community for his energetic and committed pastoral care. He soon gained the reputation for walking the length and breadth of his parish, and that reputation was well-founded: his notebooks contain frequent references to the need to have his shoes resoled. Drawing upon his degree in medicine he offered medical, as well as pastoral care to the wider community.[17] It is revealing that Presbyterian references to Reeves often allude to just how unlike previous Anglican ministers he was. His efforts at inclusive initiatives over a number of years were also recognised by the local Presbyterians; characteristically, they praised his industrious and selfless work ethic.[18]

As the years passed, Reeves devoted an increasing amount of his time and energy to researching the local history of Ulster, and this was to become a prominent feature of much of his subsequent work.[19] Gradually, he acquired a reputation throughout Ireland - and beyond - for his thorough and detailed scholarship. His letters to James Graves from this period contain only passing references to the positive reactions and reviews that his work was receiving outside Ulster. Instead, he appears to have been much more concerned with how it was perceived within the north of Ireland. He delighted in telling Graves 'my work is well

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[16] Reeves' response to the new circumstances that he found himself in was not untypical of other Irish Anglicans – such as James Graves and even Richard Mant, both of whom established antiquarian societies in their new communities. Shortly after his arrival in Kilkenny in May 1849 James Graves co-founded the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, and became its long-term secretary (1849–86), and later also treasurer (1858–86). The society was the forerunner, through several permutations, of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland (RHAAI, established 1869) Mant established the Down and Connor Archaeological Society in 1829.

[17] Marsh's Library, Z.1.1.18 (12) His notebooks contain many letters from Presbyterian families thanking him for his help.

[18] Marsh's Library, Z.1.1.18 (12)

[19] Reeves' first publication, printed at Belfast in 1845, was a description of the ancient monastic site of Nendrum, Co. Down.

known in Belfast!'[20] During this period, he was elected to the Royal Irish Academy[21], and published papers for the Academy, and a host of other antiquarian societies.

His *Ecclesiastical antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore* was published in 1848, and Samuel Ferguson noted, in his review in the *Dublin University Magazine*, that this work was among 'the most signal contributions which have been made to the Irish Library since the revival of historical learning among us.'[22] Not only did Ferguson assign an 'eminent place to this work', he also asserted that Reeves 'has earned his place with Petrie and O'Donovan.'[23] Like them, Ferguson believed that he had 'earned it by grave, erudite and patriotic labour.' He concluded by wishing that Reeves would 'long enjoy the eminence so honourably and usefully achieved.'[24]

It was of comparable significance to Reeves that his work was praised at a local level within Ulster: the *Armagh Guardian*'s reviewer rejoiced that it was 'with unaffected delight we hail this valuable accession to the history and archaeology of Ulster, a province which has been sadly neglected and yet there is no part of Ireland which affords richer material.'[25] This publication was followed in 1850 - the year that he received his Doctorate in Divinity in

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[20] RIA MS 24 0 39 / JG/ 144(x)

[21] He was elected a member of the Royal Irish Academy December 14th 1846. He would later be elected President in 1871

[22] *The Dublin University Magazine*, Issue 31 (1848), p. 207.

[23] Idem

[24] Idem

[25] *The Armagh Guardian* continued 'It is impossible, in the space we can devote to a notice of this work, to enumerate the various interesting articles which are comprised in the Appendix.' Cited in advertisement in Jonathan Pim's, *The Condition and Prospects of Ireland, the Evils arising from the present distribution of landed property: suggestions for a remedy* (Dublin, 1848) p. iii Leading Catholic papers also reviewed the work positively the Nation described it as 'a most valuable work on local Church History and Antiquities. Upon a meager text, Mr. Reeves has accumulated, in the shape of Notes and an Appendix, an immense body of local history, tradition, etymological research, and antiquarian learning of the most authentic kind. In truth, we can scarcely believe that he has left much to glean, either as to the civil or ecclesiastical history of that portion of Ulster.'

Trinity – by his *Acts of Archbishop Colton in his metropolitan visitation of the Diocese of Derry*. In both of these works, medieval records were illuminated by Reeves' highly detailed knowledge of the modern local topography, and of all that had been written, or was traditional about the districts mentioned.'[26]

Reeves' notebooks and correspondence reveal that he was not entirely immune to the prejudices of that period - or to making disparaging comments that carried a certain sectarian edge. He remarked, for example, of one Holy Well that it was a place in which 'many Popish superstitions were practiced.'[27] He also lamented that 'a greater strain of sameness pervades all the Irish Saints' lives. It is a feature special to our Hagiol. school, no nation in Europe can produce such a mass of curious matter containing so many historical & topographical matters of extreme antiquity with a set of legends of such wild outrageous absurdity.'[28]

However, in another letter to Graves, Reeves criticised the legacy of Charles Vallencey - because 'it enables the public to choose, which it should not feel bound to do, between rival schemes, and their weaknesses or caprice often adjudicates the prize to the inferior, it sets up O'Brien versus O'Petrie, O'Windele against O'Graves, O'Bentham against O'Donovan, & so on, ready of course, to favour him who loves country more than truth, theory more than practice, speculation more than induction.'[29]

It is revealing that all of these writers, whose names have been pseudo-Gaelicised by Reeves, were members of the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, and the Royal Irish Academy. The make-up of the members, patrons and contributors of these two societies consisted of prominent high church Irish and English Anglicans - such as William Wilde, Reeves, Todd, John Clarke Crosthwaite, William Millar, T.A. Larcom, William Bentham, James and Charles Graves. It also included several leading Anglican converts to Catholicism, such as

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[26] Sixteen papers of varying importance, but all showing original work, followed, chiefly in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy and in the Ulster Journal of Archaeology.

[27] Marsh's Library, Z.1.1.18 (12)

[28] Idem

[29] RIA MS 24 O 39/ JG/ 145 (vii)

The Earl of Dunraven and Aubrey De Vere - along with Irish Roman Catholics, such as L. F. Renehan, President of St. Patricks College, Maynooth, Mathew Kelly, Eugene Curry, John O'Donovan and George Petrie.

Reeves' first biographer Lady Mary Ferguson maintained that the work on the *Life of St Columba* 'was reserved to be a solace to Reeves in his day of sorrow and hours of solitude, and was accomplished at the close of 1856.'[30] This romantic idea that the work solaced Reeves' grief - as he was compelled to deal with the death of his wife, and the raising of their nine children - proved to be very appealing to his subsequent biographers. In reality, most of the work was finished well before the death of Emma Reeves, on 12th of October 1855.[31]

In 1843, Todd wrote to Reeves that they must endeavour to 'open people's eyes to the great mass of valuable information which they have been so long trampling under their feet, to make them see its vast importance not only in attaching to the Church its own members, but also in bringing others to see our real claims and our true position, as the Church of Patrick, Bridget, and Columcille,.' Todd went on to claim that the Church of Ireland was 'the only Church which possesses (the) true 'Comharbas' (succession)' of the saints. [32] It is evident from his notebooks, and from his private correspondence, that Reeves shared Todd's explicit enthusiasm for such a project. Reeves wrote to John O'Donovan as early as 1848 with queries about Adomnán's Vita Columbae, and he was evidently greatly heartened by O'Donovan's

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[30] Lady Mary Ferguson, *Life of the Right Rev. William Reeves, D.D*, p. 47.

[31] She died from cholera, following the difficult birth of their ninth child.

[32] Lady Mary Ferguson, *Life of the Right Rev. William Reeves, D.D.* p. 18 It is certainly true that the work was produced over a period when Reeves had many other pressing preoccupations- he was living in straightened financial circumstances as a curate in Ballymena, where he had to raise funds towards the building of a new church, (Saint Patrick's Ballymena was consecrated on the 2nd of August 1852. Cited in *The Belfast News-Letter*, Monday, March 21st 1853; Issue 11860) he also had to educate eight children.

reply, which reassured him that he had 'no doubt' that the Vita Columbae had been written by Adomnán.[33]

Reeves' decision to edit Adomnán's Life of Columba was, in several respects, a significant and a bold one. The absence of a definitive and reliable edition of Adomnán's writings had left them open to sectarian exploitation, and they had been widely used in both religious and political polemics. As the reviewer for *The Irish Literary Gazette* noted, Saint Columba 'enjoys a two-fold reputation': he was acknowledged as a great Irish missionary in Britain, but his memory as a saint and a prophet was 'still more marvellously preserved amongst the most illiterate of the Irish peasantry. At the fairs and markets you find little paper-covered books of coarse paper, warred letter-press and blotched engravings, recording some wonderful and unintelligible prophesy of St. Columcille—about the regeneration of Erin or the expulsion of the English or some other grand Millennium.'[34]

In the first edition of his bestselling *Primer of the Church of Ireland* released in 1846, Robert King referenced Adomnán only eight times: describing his Life of St. Columba as 'one of the most curious records that remain of our ancient saints.' According to King, accounts of St. Patrick had failed to describe 'the real circumstances of his life', but had 'occupied their time in giving us a marvellous detail of visions, prophecies, and miracles, which they boldly ascribe to him.'[35] Despite this, King also recognised that 'whatever credulity or indiscretion may appear throughout his work, the piety and beauty of some parts will be admitted by all.'[36] King was highly selective - noting that he would use 'Adomnán's own words, as nearly as possible, only omitting some things less worthy of being mentioned here, visions, &c,

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[33] University College Dublin, Special Collections, Correspondence of John O'Donovan MS JO'D L33: July 14th 1848 Indicates that Reeves had been engaged in this research for some considerable time.

[34] *The Irish Literary Gazette*, Saturday September 19th 1857, p. 113

[35] Robert King, *A Primer of the History of the Holy Catholic Church in Ireland, From the Introduction of Christianity to the formation of the Modern Irish Branch of the Church of Rome* (Dublin, 1846) First Edition p. 88

[36] Ibid p.89

which that author notices, and abridging some of the less striking parts of his narrative.'[37] In practice, King's use of Adomnán's description of Columba's death also carried a sectarian sub-text - which was likely to provoke, and, perhaps, even to incite those who were not his co-religionists.[38]

In Ulster, the northern Catholic community tended to feel that it was Columba - rather than Patrick – who best embodied their particular ethnic identity. He was, after all, a member of the Ui Neill royal house of Ulster. He had a close association with counties Donegal and Derry. He also represented the effective merger of the early Irish Church with Ireland's indigenous society. He had accepted permanent exile as a penance for his war with Finnian, and, as such, carried some of the sense of dispossession that many northern Catholics felt. As Marianne Elliott has argued, given all of this background, it is 'not surprising to find that it is a Saint with human failings, rather than Patrick who is invoked as the Catholics' vengeful

[37] Ibid pp. 90-91

[38] King notes that 'my Roman Catholic readers will look in vain for various particulars which they may naturally think too important to be omitted in recording the dying scene of priest of the Church departing in the Catholic faith, but on which nevertheless, Adamnanus is utterly silent. No anointing occupies the thoughts of the dying Saint: no purgatory is conceived to open for him its dismal doors; no torments after death are thought necessary to remove the stain or guilt of his forgiven sins: no prayers are lost in the idle effort to raise him to that holy heaven where he would have been before them; but when, absent from the body, he had gone to be present with the Lord, the temporary sorrow which nature exacted from those who remained on earth, soon gave way to the chastened joy of 'sweet psalmody' and thanksgiving, on behalf of the bright jewel rescued from all the defilements of earth, and set for ever in the Redeemer's diadem.' pp. 90-91 It is revealing that by the time A Primer of the History of the Holy Catholic Church in Ireland, was in its fifth edition King had extensively revised his views on Columba. He now dedicated three chapters to discussing Columba and Adomnán (IX, X, XI) he also stated that 'the best account of St. Columba is to be found in the beautiful and learned edition of Adomnán's Life, by the Rev. W. Reeves.' Robert King, A Primer of the History of the Holy Catholic Church in Ireland, From the Introduction of Christianity to the formation of the Modern Irish Branch of the Church of Rome Vol 1 Fifth edition (Dublin, 1869) p. 107

ally in prophesising the destruction of the Protestant heretics during periods of sectarian conflict in Ulster.'[39]

The prophecies associated with Columba had acquired a specifically sectarian dimension in Ulster. They had been circulated in 1641, and resurfaced in the years leading up to the 1798 Rising. In the years before the Great Famine - when sectarian tension had increased in Ulster - they were again revived. Seághan Clárach McDonnell's poem *On the prophecy of Colum Cille son of Phelim* told how Colum Cille had predicted the English 'swarm', the massacre of Islandmagee in 1641, and even the loss of the Irish parliament in 1800, as well as the Great Famine. Colum Cille had also apparently foretold how 'the descendants of the Gael' would take their parliament back from England, and 'would incite the dogs to murder through the north.' Elliott has maintained that such prophecies may have been 'embarrassing' to the northern Catholic middle class, but were 'widely believed among Catholics that were lower in the social strata.'[40]

As a consequence, there was an understandable reluctance by many Ulster Presbyterians to recognise, or accept as trustworthy, the writings associated with Adomnán. James Seaton Reid treated it with apparent indifference - as is evident in the first chapter of his *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, which briefly describes the state of religion that existed in Ireland prior to the Reformation. The tone is striking: Reid is unusually vague - claiming that this period of Irish history is covered in 'deep obscurity, rendered still more impenetrable by the violent and protracted controversies which it has occasioned.'[41] He even mentions that the very existence of St. Patrick, 'the celebrated apostle of Ireland, has been plausibly

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[39] Marianne Elliott, *The Catholics of Ulster* (New York, 2002) p. 16

[40] Ibid p.276

[41] James Seaton Reid, *The History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland- Comprising the Civil History of the Province of Ulster, From the accession of James the First: A Preliminary Sketch of the Progress of the Reformed Religion in Ireland during the Sixteenth century* p. 1

impugned; and the period of his mission, the character he sustained, the form of Christianity he introduced, and the success he experienced, are to the present day vigorously contested.'[42]

However, despite his arguments to the contrary, even Reid could not entirely resist drawing parallels between the contemporary Presbyterian Church in Ireland and the Early Irish Church, and he choose to end this section of the Introduction to his book by noting the similarities between the two. According to Reid, these included 'the free and commanded use of the Scriptures - the inculcation of the doctrines of grace and of the efficacy of the sacrifice and intercession of Christ, without any allusion to the mass, to transubstantiation, purgatory, human merit or prayers for the dead- the diversity in the forms of celebrating divine worship - the rejection of the papal supremacy - the marriage of the clergy - the scriptural character of the early bishops, each having the charge of only one parish, and being labourers 'in word and doctrine.''[43]

At first, it might seem unlikely that Irish Presbyterians, such as Reid, should wish to identify with the Early Irish Church. Presbyterians in Ulster – where a large majority of that denomination lived - were strongly disposed to identify the Church of Scotland as their Mother Church. This was not only because of the similarities in theological beliefs between the two Churches, but also because of the strong cultural links that had existed between the North of Ireland and Scotland for many centuries. As the movement for Irish political independence gathered momentum in the course of the nineteenth century, this empathy with Scotland also tended to increase, and the emotional affinities between Ulster and Scotland became a recurrent motif among those northern Presbyterians who supported the political Union with Great Britain.

At the same time, there was a distinct counter-current to be found in the work of some Presbyterian clergy and historians. Viewed from this perspective, the form of Christianity that had been exported to Scotland from Ireland had never been part of the Roman Communion.

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[42] Ibid p. 2

[43] Idem

This meant that the Presbyterianism which Scottish settlers had brought to Ireland – through both spontaneous and organised migration – might be interpreted as a return of the original Christian religion that had been corrupted in the intervening centuries by Roman Catholicism.

There were other factors which encouraged some Ulster Presbyterians to see themselves as the legitimate heirs of the Early Irish Church. One of these included their understanding of the historic person of Saint Columba. In the course of the nineteenth century, Ulster Presbyterians had developed a strong sense of their own ethnic identity – and of the characteristics with which they identified and valorised. Such characteristics included their resolution of will, their moral righteousness, and their frankness in speech. From another viewpoint, of course, those same characteristics might be viewed as their contrariness, their obduracy and their churlishness.

Columba may have held a particular significance for many Ulster Catholics. However, for some Presbyterians, the Irish saint also seemed to embody some of those qualities which they believed their community held in large measure. Not only had Columba found himself in conflict with what might be considered the established Church of his day, he had also settled in another country, and established an enduring Christian presence there. In this context, it was possible for some Ulster Presbyterians to empathise with the mission of Columba, and, through him, also to identify with the Early Irish Church: if not as a fully Presbyterian institution – then, at least, as its early prototype.

Reeves' notes from this period are deposited at Trinity College,[44] the Royal Irish Academy and Marsh's Library, and, until now, have been largely unexamined. In one notebook, entitled *Miscellanea Scotia*, which dates from the early 1850s and deals with the Breviary of Aberdeen, Reeves divides its calendar by 'Founders of Churches in Scotland'; 'Irish Saints who had a mission to Scotland'; 'Irish Saints who visited Scotland, and left foundations there'; 'Irish Saints venerated simply'; and 'Native Saints of the Columban Church.'[45] There

[44] Trinity College Library, MS 1092 (T. 3. 15)

[45] Marsh's Library, Z.1.1.18 (12)

is a large degree of overlap between these categories, illustrating Reeves' ability to tailor the lives of these Saints to meet different criteria. These notebooks also indicate that Reeves was skilled at adapting Adomnán and Columba to fit in with seemingly conflicting denominational historical narratives.

His *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore,* had been dedicated to Reeves prelate, Richard Mant.[46] The relationship between Mant and Reeves was initially close they had many shared interests but it is clear that it gradually became increasingly strained. It is revealing that only a few years after the publication of his *Ecclesiastical Antiquities* Reeves began to re-edit his copy of Elrington's *Life of Ussher*. As we have seen in the previous chapter, his criticism of Elrington's cursory rejection of Presbyterian narratives was at times scathing. His notebooks reveal that he took an even less flattering view of Mant's attitudes.[47]

It is evident that Reeves appreciated the distinctive components of traditional Ulster Presbyterian historical narratives: the morality that is implicit in many accounts of its origins; its rootedness in Ireland; the abiding features of its Scottish character and the exploits of the Scots in Ulster - all are recognised and framed by Reid.[48] Unlike Irish Anglicans, who sought to articulate their concerns in an all-Ireland context, Irish Presbyterians - whether politically Liberal or Conservative - had a distinct ethnic culture and forms of ecclesiastical organisation that closely corresponded with the historic provincial boundaries of Ulster.

For Presbyterians in Ulster, 'Scottishness' came to represent a collection of ideas that could be deployed at certain times for specific reasons, such as the commitment to theological

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[46] William Reeves, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore, consisting of a Taxation of those Dioceses* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1847) Dedication

[47] Marsh's Library, Z.1.1.18 (12)

[48] For Patrick Adair the Scottish migration to Ulster in the seventeenth century was providential, 'to make way for a more full planting of the gospel' and 'a more full reformation' in Ireland, 'the land being overgrown with idolatry and barbarousness', and 'the first means God used for this end was the sending over of the Scotch army.' Patrick Adair, A true narrative of the rise and progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland Also the History of the church in Ireland since the Scots were naturalized, by the Rev. Andrew Stewart Minister of Donaghadee with an introduction and notes by W. D. Killen. (1623-1670) (Belfast, 1866)

orthodoxy, or civil and religious liberty - as well as certain alleged character traits, such as a propensity for hard work, courage, and soberness. In June of 1836, Henry Cooke travelled to the Scottish General Assembly, and, gave a speech which was laced with phrases that identified Ulster Presbyterians as the 'true sons of the Church of Scotland.' He also referred to 'our Mother Church of Scotland,' and later was to remark that Irish Presbyterians 'derive our origin from your bosom; we have adopted, fully, your doctrine, government, and worship; we have partaken, in other days, of your weal and woe.'[49]

Reeves knew that there was a palpable curiosity, and genuine willingness amongst many Ulster Presbyterians to explore, and even to claim the history of the early Irish Church as part of their own historical narrative. He also grasped that, in order to do so, he would have to produce a work that did not appear simply to be advancing traditional Irish Anglican claims. He attempted to utilise, and to redefine Ulster Presbyterian concepts of their own specific mixture of Scottish and Irish identities. In his correspondence with David Laing, Joseph Robertson, Cosmo Innes, Alexander Chalmers, William Forbes Skene and other leading Scottish figures, Reeves was keen to stress the shared features of Irish and Scottish history and identity. The Preface included a letter from Joseph Robertson which noted that 'Scottish history now confesses the proprietorship of ancient Ireland in the name Scotia.'[50] It is, however, clear that Reeves saw his work as a means of reclaiming the legacy of both Adomnán and Columba for its true owners - who were, in his view, the Irish.

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[49] Cited in Andrew Holmes, 'Presbyterian Religion and Historiography, and Ulster Scots Identity, 1800- 1914', in *Historical Journal*, 52, 3 (2009), p. 623

[50] William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy, written by Adomnán, ninth Abbot of that monastery, the text printed from a manuscript of the eighth century; with various readings of six other manuscripts reserved in different parts of Europe to which are added copious notes and dissertations, illustrative of the early history of the Columbian institutions in Ireland and Scotland*, p. xxxix

II

Of course part of the importance of Reeves work is the genuinely pioneering nature of his research. He managed to collate from a variety of disparate sources the most definitive edition of *Adomnán's Life of St Columba*. His work is therefore also significant outside of Irish Anglican historiography it must also be viewed in a wider European context. He established new and vital connections with some of the most innovative scholars in Scotland and continental Europe.

In 1853, the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society was founded. At its first meeting, James Henthorn Todd had proposed that the Society should publish *Adomnán's Life of St Columba,* and that it would be edited by Reeves. This was intended as part of a series[51] of numerous other ancient Irish manuscripts. The publication of Reeves' edition would prove to be an arduous, ambitious and expensive undertaking. However, Todd and Reeves realised that, not only was there a considerable degree of interest in Irish history outside Ireland, but that there was a potential market where Irish interests could be promoted, and which might serve as a source of additional funding. There had been previous attempts by both the Royal Irish Academy and the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society to engage with similar groups outside Great Britain. However, as a letter from the Swiss archaeologist Ferdinand Keller to Reeves illustrates, such attempts were initially poorly planned and orchestrated. Indeed, Keller noted how the arrival of a mysterious package at the headquarters of the Zurich Society of Antiquaries - containing copies of the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy without any accompanying explanatory note - had simply caused confusion for its recipients.[52]

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[51] The first publication was initially meant to be the Liber Hymnorum, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. However, the 'inherent difficulties of the work, as well as its expense, have hitherto deterred the Editor and the Society from proceeding with the publication.'

[52] RIA MSS 12. W. 29

Given Columba's history in Scotland, Reeves and Todd first sought to establish links with Scottish antiquarian clubs and societies. However, they did not limit themselves to Scottish Episcopalians: a connection which might have been expected - given the close links with their own Church. Instead, they also wrote to leading members of the Church of Scotland, the Free Church and other Dissenting denominations. Reeves travelled to Scotland frequently, and it is clear that he held many of the individuals he met there in very high regard.[53] In a letter to Graves, he commented on the success of the Scottish meeting of Antiquaries in Edinburgh, and expressed his wish that the Irish had 'their zeal, their nationality, yea even their conceit.'[54]

Reeves also wrote to the Scottish antiquarian Joseph Robertson, then secretary of the Maitland Club in Glasgow in 1849, offering to prepare an edition of Adomnán's *Life* for publication. The approach and tone of this letter are revealing. Reeves began by explaining that he had 'long wished to see that unique specimen of ancient ecclesiastical biography placed before the antiquarian public in an accessible and inviting form.'[55] He stressed his belief that it would be 'very desirable, for the antiquarian credit of both Scotland and Ireland that a new edition, in the form of a monograph, should appear, illustrated with the topographical and historical matter which recent researches in the two countries have brought to light.'[56] Reeves suggested that 'by a happy concurrence of circumstances St Columba may be regarded by the Scotch and Irish as common property: he was born in Ireland, but he died in Scotland; he was ordained in Ireland, but his ministrations chiefly lay in Scotland; he was

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[53] He referred to Innes, Robertson and Laing and the Edinburgh circle as a 'noble knot of men.' In another letter he describes Alexander Chalmers of Brechin as a wealthy man with 'an exalted mind,' and is 'worth a score of the flippant charlatans who haunt our path.' Reeves' correspondence to Graves shows that he was able regularly to visit Iona, but they also reveal his increasing frustration at the restrictions placed on his research by both his pastoral and family duties - along with his parishes' relative isolation from these sources.

[54] RIA MS 24 0 39/ JG / 146 (ii)

[55] Lady Mary Ferguson, *Life of the Right Rev. William Reeves, D.D.* p. 29

[56] Idem

educated in Ireland, but he taught in Scotland; while as regards his biographer, the same may be said, and both are held in equal veneration on either side of the Channel.' [57]

Robertson replied - reporting with some enthusiasm that he had laid Reeves' 'very interesting outline' before a meeting of the council of the Maitland Club, and was glad to inform him that the proposal was received with 'universal favour, with more general and hearty satisfaction, indeed, than I remember to have been accorded to the first mention of any new undertaking.' Reeves was asked to make an estimate of the probable extent of the work, and the probable expense of transcripts, collating, and editing. Robertson ended his letter by expressing the hope that his 'last act as secretary of the Maitland Club will probably secure for that society the distinction of a work so desirable as the Life of St Columba, edited with the diligence, learning, and accuracy which are so conspicuous in the Ecclesiastical antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore.'[58]

In spite of this positive reaction, the project did not proceed. Robertson - somewhat fearful of the scale of Reeves' ambitious proposals for his Edition - had enquired about the probable costs connected with obtaining transcripts, and Reeves was unable to provide him with a firm, or definitive answer. Undeterred, Reeves and Todd were forced to seek support from other sources. Todd began corresponding frequently with David Laing, stressing the unique importance of the planned project. Finally, in July of 1855, an order of 120 copies was placed by Laing for the Bannatyne Club at a cost of £100. This was a very large order by the standards of the Society; indeed, it was to prove to be its final major publication. Laing would later respond to Reeves' proposal for a volume of Adomnán's *De Locis Sanctis,* (On Holy Places), by acknowledging that, while it would form 'such a desirable companion to your invaluable edition,' it was not possible because the Bannatyne Club had 'ceased to exist.'[59]

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[57]Reeves must have been aware that his bold claim that both Columba and Adomnán were 'held in equal veneration,' was highly problematic. William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy, written by Adomnán* p lix

[58] Lady Mary Ferguson, Life of the Right Rev. William Reeves, D.D. p. 29

[59] University of Edinburgh David Laing correspondence MS 7808

In their attempts to be as exhaustive as possible in their scholarship, Todd and Reeves sought to make use of sources which had previously been out of reach to both Irish Roman Catholic and Anglican writers - since they were only available in continental libraries. In order to facilitate this, Todd and Reeves needed to engage with authorities and individuals outside Ireland and Britain. Todd travelled frequently throughout Europe, and, along with Reeves, had established an extensive network of correspondence. In their efforts to find the purest, or most original copy of Adomnán's Life – and one which could credibly rival the versions edited by John Colgan and Stephen White - Reeves and Todd increasingly sought to obtain access to the manuscript archives contained in those continental libraries.

Reeves wrote to Windele, on December 2nd, 1851, that he was in correspondence with 'a clergyman in Switzerland who has written some things on Irish literature in the archaeological journal of Zurich.'[60] The clergyman to which Reeves was referring was Ferdinand Keller;[61] and his assistance turned out to be pivotal for the completion of the edition. [62]

Compared to the expenditure on printing and publication, the costs involved in collating the manuscripts for Reeves' edition were relatively small. Remarkably, the total cost of gathering the continental material was less than £8. This was roughly equivalent to two weeks of Reeves' own annual income, but is a small sum compared to the total cost of publication at £371 – which would be more than £30,000 by current reckoning. [63]In Ireland, Reeves was able to call upon the services of some outstanding scholars - John O'Donovan, Eugene O'Curry, William Millar, James Graves, Todd, Robert King and Henry Cotton - who all

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[60] RIA MS 4/B/11/104

[61] Idem Keller letters to Reeves reveals that he had intended to visit, one letter dated May 31st 1853 notes 'I am highly pleased at your idea of visiting the continent and the localities, where your countrymen the Irish Apostles, made a stay or founded monasteries and Churches.'

[62] Reeves had first contacted him directly in autumn of 1850 and they maintained a regular correspondence until the end of 1853.

[63] *Report of the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society* (Dublin, 1857)

conducted extensive research, and Irish translations for the project free of charge.[64] It is clear that Keller and other continental scholars frequently worked on precisely the same basis. In a letter dated the 16th of December, 1850, Keller discussed the cost of getting manuscripts transcribed at about 'two £s and half,' telling Reeves that he could send the amount to Bowdery and Kerby at 190 Oxford Street, London. He also offered Reeves an alternative: 'instead of money some books on Irish political & ecclesiastical history for our public library which is totally destitute of works on Ireland.'[65] It appears that Reeves took up the offer since Keller later wrote to him: 'allow me to protest most positively against your sending me any more books. Hibernia has of late conferred so many favours upon Helvetica that the latter feels quite ashamed.'[66]

Keller proved himself to be highly conscientious and confident in his own abilities: he wrote to Reeves that he had manufactured the facsimiles himself, 'and you may be sure they are correct.'[67] His self-confidence was not misplaced: Keller was extremely well qualified for the task that Reeves set him. He was already a famous archaeologist, who had founded the Society of Antiquaries of Zurich in 1832 - and some of his subsequent excavations would prove to be of considerable historical importance. Despite his other interests, Keller was prepared to devote himself with sustained enthusiasm to the Irish project, and his letters reveal that he travelled extensively throughout Switzerland, detailing the numerous Irish books he had discovered in St. Gall, Basel, Bern and Zurich.[68] He also travelled further afield

[64]RIA Windele MS 4/B/11/61-63 letters to John O'Donovan about Irish translations

[65] RIA MSS 12. W. 29

[66] Idem

[67] Idem He wrote to Reeves from Zurich on the 22nd of January 1851

[68] RIA MSS 12. W. 29 Nov 27th 1851

- throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Milan[69] and numerous Germanic City States and Principalities - tracing leads for Reeves. [70]

One of the most important texts, relating to Columba, that Reeves was able to draw upon was one written by Dorbéne, head of the Iona school before 713. The provenance of this manuscript was chequered, but it had been used at various times by some of Ireland's leading ecclesiastical historians, including John Colgan, James Ussher and Stephen White. [71] Reeves made a significant breakthrough when it was tracked down in 1845: Keller had come across the Dorbéne codex in Schaffhausen, and had taken the manuscript with him to Zurich for examination. Since he was curious to learn all he could Keller had facsimiles made, which he later sent to Todd for further identification. All the information concerning the Schaffhausen manuscript, contained in the introduction to the Life of St Columba, is derived directly from Keller's memoranda.

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[69] "I shall visit Milan if the Austrians there allow a Swiss to pass the frontiers."

[70] Todd also visited Zurich but much to Keller's annoyance did not visit him "I hope you will not play the Deus ex Machina like Prof. Todd but let me know the time at which you set out and give me the pleasure of making your personal acquaintance at being your guide in Switzerland." Keller wrote to Reeves inviting him over to Switzerland "I am highly pleased at your idea of visiting the continent and the localities, where your countrymen, the Irish Apostles, made a stay or founded monasteries and churches. In seeing and examining those places with Irish eyes you will be able to tell what impressions the scenery must have produced on their minds and why they chose such places for their abode – desolate spots between rugged mountains or sterile islands in rivers and lakes – whereas continental monks generally selected a most pleasant and picturesque situation for their convents."

[71] This precious manuscript was sent from Iona to Northern France during the eighth century and then to the upper Rhine valley, where its final destination was the monastery library in Reichenau on Lake Constance. It was rediscovered there in 1621 by the Irish Jesuit Stephen White, who copied it. This copy was given to Colgan, who printed it as *Vita quarta S. Columbae* in his *Trias thaumaturga* (1647). Sometime before 1639, White had lent his copy to Ussher, who made an abstract of it. John Tyrell, grandson of Ussher still owned this copy in 1662. Another copy was used by the Bollandist Francis Baert, for inclusion in the second June volume of the *Acta sanctorum* (1698).

Receipt of all these documents made it possible for Reeves to start work in earnest. The next hurdle he faced was the collation of another key manuscript of the *Vita Columbae*. The most widely known version in continental Europe was derived from an abridged version of Adomnán's text, compiled in the ninth century by a monk of St Gall. This was the version printed by Henricus Canisius in 1604, and later by Jacques-Paul Migne in his *Patrologia Latina*. The original manuscript was still in the library of the monastery at St. Gall, and Reeves desperately wanted to include it in his volume.

Reeves was warned by Keller - who had already examined the manuscript in St. Gall - that it was simply a copy of the Dorbéne codex, and that it would not be of any value for a critical edition. Keller complained about 'the rules and strictures of the Catholic corporation,' and warned Reeves to leave the monks of St. Gall 'uncertain' as to whether or not he was an Anglican. He suggested that Karl Johann Greith, the Dean of the cathedral at St Gall, was one of the 'most fiery Ultramontane priests of Switzerland", and would "probably not have been very expeditious, had he known that a heretic had undertaken to publish the Life of a saint, so full of marvellous stories.' [72]

In another letter, Greith offered to transcribe some of the rich collection of material relating to Columba. Keller rejected this offer since he had 'no faith in the accuracy of a person who is at present the political and ecclesiastical factotum of a decrepit bishop.'[73] It is worth noting here how remarkable it was that Reeves' two principal sources for acquiring manuscripts on the continent belonged to different and opposing parties in the Swiss Roman Catholic Church: Greith was an Ultramontane, and Keller a liberal.

The publication of scholarly editions – based on original research, with introductions and critical commentary – was difficult to achieve, and was usually undertaken by well-funded

[72] Idem

[73] RIA MS 12/W/29/2 26th of April 1853

Societies. In contrast to the large scale projects of Mant[74] and Elrington - which were either financed from within the Church of Ireland, or by Trinity - the high cost of Reeves' publication was almost entirely paid for by subscriptions from individual members of the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.[75]

The Celtic Society - which preceded the foundation of the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society - had, in general, avoided focusing on manuscript texts of a purely religious nature, and concentrated, instead, on those considered to be of civil historical interest. Its only publication that might have been viewed to have any sectarian dimension - which contained comments relating to the early Irish Church as well as the post-Reformation period - was *Cambrensis Eversus* by John Lynch, published from 1848 to 1852. Although the Archaeological Society certainly contained a larger contingent of high churchmen - such as Todd - who were interested in manuscripts that gave the reader a sense of the beliefs of the primitive Irish Church, this was not always reflected in its publications.[76] Indeed, the only example of this objective that was published was the 'Antient poem attributed to St Columcille,' contained in *The miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society Vol 1,* published in 1846.[77] Given that Edwin Wyndham Quin, the 3rd earl of Dunraven and Mount Earl, was

[74] Mant's volumes had both been intended not only for an Irish audience, because of the political context in which they were written they also had to appeal to English sensibilities. In contrast in the 1850s disestablishment was temporarily off the political agenda. In the same year as Reeves' edition was released W. J O'Neill Daunt and a few others started a movement for disestablishment. It was not, however, until the foundation of the National Association at the end of December 1864, that the campaign in favour of disestablishment was given a firm framework in Ireland

[75] This consisted of £3 admission and £1 per annum for full members, and £1 per annum and no admission fee for associate members.

[76] Factual information about the early church and some of its personalities could be found in 'The Annals of Multifernan' contained in *Tracts relating to Ireland Vol 2* (1842), *The tribes and customs of Hy-Many, commonly called O'Kelly's country* (1843) *The genealogies, tribes and customs of Hy-Fiachrach, commonly called O'Dowda's country* (1844) and *The book of obits and martyrology of the Cathedral Church of Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, Dublin* (1844)

[77] As Owen Chadwick has noted the use of poetry 'as a vehicle for religious language,' was an important part of high church Anglicanism Owen Chadwick, The spirit of the Oxford Movement: Tractarian essays (Cambridge

Vice-President of the new Archaeological and Celtic Society, with Todd as its joint secretary and Petrie, Reeves and Charles Graves on its council, the influence of those, whose primary academic concern was the history of the Early Irish Church, was likely to be significant.

In December of 1856, Todd and J.T Gilbert - the Secretaries of the Society - wrote to all its members that Reeves' book was printed and 'nearly ready for delivery.'[78] With the printing of the *Leabhar Imuinn: the book of hymns of the ancient church of Ireland*, edited by Todd, and Reeves' *Life of St Columba*, the Society had spent more than £500 in less than three years.[79] From a healthy balance in credit of £138, which had earned interest in 1854 and 1855, the society went to nil credit by the end of February, 1857.[80] The sum expended, therefore, clearly exceeded the annual income of the Society in any given year, and the Council stated that it had only been 'induced by the great value' of the work to undertake the responsibility of printing it.[81] In order to make publication possible, members were asked to wait for two years to allow the costs to be spread. They were warned that the Society could not afford to expose itself 'to such risk' again. Todd and Gilbert also expressed the rueful hope that, in future, its members would pay their subscriptions in advance.[82]

University Press, Cambridge, 1990) pp. 19-20 Ironically the poem selected preached against pagan belief but also showed evidence in a belief in predestination which was surely more likely to appeal to Presbyterians than Irish Anglicans.

[78] RIA, MS 4 B 15/30.

[79] Report of the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society (Dublin, 1857)

[80] Idem

[81] University of Edinburgh MS 7808

[82] Idem An indication of the financial constraints on the society can be seen in the publication of Todd's *The Martyrology of Donegal* in 1864 after a delay of twelve years. It had been finished and ready to print since 1852. NLI MS 5372

III

In late 1857, Reeves' *Adomnán's Life of St Columba* was finally published in Dublin and Edinburgh. There were ninety subscribing members of the Bannatyne Club, and a further ten copies were sent to institutions throughout Great Britain, Ireland and the United States.[83] Each copy of the Irish run was personalized, with the name of the individual subscriber printed in red on the recto of the title page: 'This copy was printed for [name], Member of the Society.' At 559 pages in length, it was a substantial volume. It contained a map of Scotia and of the monastery of modern Hy, genealogical tables of the abbots of Hy and the Dalreadic Kings, and five colour plates with examples of facsimiles from ancient manuscripts. Initially, it had been intended to be released in two parts - each half of which had its own title page - but this was eventually abandoned to stop the costs spiralling even higher.

The first half consists of a long Preface, an Introduction and an Appendix. This is followed by Adomnán's text, which is in Latin and is heavily annotated with copious lengthy footnotes in English, Irish and Latin. Given their intended audience, it was not thought necessary 'to add to the bulk of the work by giving English translations' of the Latin portions of the text: it was assumed that the book's readers would be familiar with Latin - if not with the Irish language.[84] There are also additional notes, a further Appendix, illustrations, maps, and an Index. Both Todd and Reeves stressed that dual-language editions of texts were necessary to ensure the availability of the authentic Irish texts, while increasing their accessibility to readers with little knowledge of the Irish language, but with an interest in the sources for the history of medieval Ireland.

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[83] These ten were The British Museum, The Society of Lincoln's Inn, The Faculty of Advocates, The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, The Society of Writers to H.M Signet, The University of Cambridge, The University of Edinburgh, The University of Glasgow, Trinity College, Dublin and The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A.

[84] Idem

In his *Leabhar Imuinn*,[85] Todd had insisted that each Hymn, or prose document in his edition be printed separately, and that this was to be preceded by a special Introduction: 'pointing out the authorities, printed or manuscript, which have been employed in the illustration of it, with such remarks on its age and authorship as may seem to the Editor to be necessary.'[86] Those sections in Irish, were, however, always accompanied by an English translation. Great emphasis was placed on the original manuscripts, with every word - whether in Irish or Latin - 'written in the only character known to the scribes of the time, namely, that which is now preserved in Ireland only, and which is known as the Irish letter.'[87]

Reeves' work sustained this meticulous approach. He wrote to Graves in 1853 that, while he liked the use of marginal comments at the side of the text, his only objection was that 'in the score of sourcing they subtract from the length of line in the text, and with it from the scope of the notes.'[88] In fact, the main body of text is accompanied throughout by numerous exhaustive and lengthy footnotes. The pages are frequently divided equally between text and notes. This division is augmented by a further subdivision: this detailed breakdown - that either lists the sources from which each sentence is derived, or the philology of the words - reads, at times, almost like a musical score. Todd had stressed that this was for the 'elucidation of the text, the verification of obscure references, [and] the explanation of obsolete words.'[89] This structure enabled Reeves to imbue his work with multiple layers of explanation.

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[85] The Second part was only completed shortly before Todd's death on 1869. This work was believed to have belonged to the Abbey of Iona. The first volume included hymns in praise of St Brigid and St Patrick which purported to give insights into the practices and beliefs of the two saints.

[86] James Henthorn Todd (ed.), *Leabhar Imuinn: the book of hymns of the ancient church of Ireland*, Volume 1 preface (Dublin, 1855)

[87] Idem

[88] RIA 240/ 39/ JG/145 (ii)

[89] James Henthorn Todd editor, Leabhar Imuinn: the book of hymns of the ancient church of Ireland, Volume 1 preface

The approach that Reeves took when dealing with the miracles, prophecies and controversies associated with, and attributed to Columba was both novel, and illustrative of his methodology. It is striking that Reeves does not serve to pass any pronounced judgements on the miracles and prophecies associated with Columba even though they are particularly gruesome and included murder, rape, revenge and incest. He rejected some of the most contentious prophecies associated with Columba on the grounds that they were merely modern interpolations. However, unlike other contemporary Irish Anglican and Roman Catholic writers, he did not simply dismiss Adomnán's descriptions of his miracles. Instead, he included them, but sought to diminish their novelty. When describing, for example, how the young deacon, 'started off with his pitcher to the nearest well, and having invoked the name of Jesus, drew it up filled with wine,' Reeves notes that the conversion of water 'into some superior kind of beverage was a favourite mode of exhibiting miraculous powers. St. Patrick changed it into honey; St. Finian, into milk; and St. Bridget, with a charity surpassing that of ordinary women, into beer.'[90]

As we have seen in the previous section, Reeves went to extraordinary lengths to acquire specific documents. In the Preface and additional notes he gave incredibly detailed descriptions of how he located each individual manuscript. He was particularly keen to emphasis the continental and Scottish material that he had consulted. Along with this he highlighted many of the individuals like Keller who had been so integral to the project. This all serves to further underline his credentials as an impartial and objective authority. Reeves openly acknowledged the important roles that Todd, Robert King and William Millar and other Anglicans had played in the reading of proofs of the work: noting that he was grateful for 'the patience with which they have performed their part, and the valuable suggestions which they have made.'[91] It is, however, most revealing that he chose to place these acknowledgements in his text at a point that came after he had already praised those Irish

[90] William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy, written by Adomnán*, p 104

[91] Ibid p xxxviii

Roman Catholics[92], members of the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Church of Scotland,[93] and continental writers who had also aided his research. In this respect, it is tempting to view the sequence of acknowledgements in terms of deliberate ecumenism.

It is indicative of Reeves' avoidance of polemical or provocative language that the only remarks he made about the early medieval Church that could possibly have offended Roman Catholics were his references to the disagreement between the Irish clergy and Rome over the question of the Easter date and tonsure. Reeves described how St Columba and the saints of the time had tried to develop a native ministry, 'whose system possessed more nationality than that of their predecessors, and took a deeper impress from the customs and condition of the country.'[94] Reeves argued that it was not until 716 and 718 respectively, that Rome's Easter date and tonsure were accepted. [95]

A number of distinctive features of Irish Anglican narratives are still present within Reeves' edition, and can be identified. The manner in which Reeves sought to set Adomnán as a credible Irish equivalent to the Venerable Bede, for example, discreetly underlined the Church of Ireland's sense of separation from the Church of England. It also served as an opportunity for pointed criticism of the Tractarians. His work also displays contradictory impulses towards Irish Roman Catholic authors - about whom he writes, at times, with reverence, and, at other times, with apparent scorn. Reeves felt that Scottish historians had falsely claimed elements of Ireland's ecclesiastical history as their own, and was determined to assert Ireland's - and, by extension the Church of Ireland's - legitimate ownership to this

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[92] Eugene O'Curry and John O'Donovan

[93] This included William Forbes Skene, Cosmo Innes, David Laing, Joseph Robertson, Donald MacVean and John Stuart

[94] William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy, written by Adomnán*, pp 334-5 and 347-50

[95] This was in marked contrast to the first publication of the Celtic Society *Cambrensis Eversus* by John Lynch who had dismissed the significance of this and claimed that the Irish Church was always closely in line with Rome.

past. In a parallel movement, Reeves both endorsed and undermined some traditional Ulster Presbyterian narratives about their own Scottish roots.

Reeves began his own work, in plain and frank language, by readily confronting and recognising the weaknesses of Adomnán's testimony. He stated that this was 'suited to the taste of the day,' and 'calculated to promote the veneration of his memory.' He also acknowledged that, in pursuit of this design, Adomnán 'probably turned his attention rather to the marvels than the sober realities of the Saint's life, and consulted more for the excitement of admiration in a simple and credulous age, than for the supply of historical materials to meet the stern demands of remote posterity.'[96]

Reeves continued by examining the various sources that Adomnán drew upon for his memoir. This work, which 'immortalized both the subject and the writer,' was derived, in Reeves' view, 'in part from written, in part from oral authorities.' Not only does Reeves reassure us that Adomnán was 'quite near enough to the fountain-head, both in time and place, to draw from authentic sources,' he defuses any lingering doubts about its authenticity by pointing out that some of the most 'valuable pieces of biography in the western Church have been written by the disciples, or immediate successors of the respective Saints.' Reeves cites the examples of St. Martin's Life by Sulpicius Severus; St. Germanus' by Constantius; St. Columbanus' by Jonas, and, most importantly, St. Cuthbert's by Bede.[97]

Reeves posed the audacious question that - if Bede had 'contented himself with being the biographer of St. Cuthbert, instead of the historian of England - would he be now par excellence the Venerable? If Adomnán had extended to history the style and power of description which appear in his tract on the Holy Places, with the experience, the feeling, and the piety, which characterize his Life of St. Columba, the voice of Christendom would have

[96] William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy, written by Adomnán*, p v

[97] Idem

borrowed the word from his countryman,' and irreversibly have coupled his name with the title of Admirable.'[98]

Despite the 'limited sphere' which Adomnán chose, Reeves argued that 'he soon acquired, to use a modern expression, a European celebrity,' and that the numerous copies of his writings found scattered over the Continent showed the degree of esteem in which he was held abroad.[99] Reeves challenged the English historian, John Bayley Somers Carwithen's assertion that 'splendid as is the fame of Iona, the names of almost all its literary men have perished,' as 'more rhetorical than just,' and merely an attempt to, 'create a silent sister beside the vocal Lindisfarne, and state that.'[100]

Reeves maintained that Adomnán had actually produced a work, which, 'though not ostensibly historical,' was the 'most authentic vouched now remaining of several other important particulars of the sacred and civil history of the Scots and Picts.' To further this claim, Reeves cites John Colgan - a writer whom, he noted, was 'not over-given to eulogy' – who had asserted that Adomnán's work was 'the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but even through the whole middle ages.' Adomnán, Reeves argued, was 'indeed as free from the defects of hagiology as any ancient writer in this department of literature.' At the same time, Reeves also commented that 'it must ever be subject of regret that he chose an individual instead of a society as his subject, and reckoned the history of his Church a secondary consideration to the reputation of his Patron.'[101]

Apart from challenging existing perceptions about the merits of Adomnán's *Life*, Reeves' reference to the 'defects of hagiology,' is pointed, and the implications would have been clear to many of his readers. From November, 1844, to December, 1845, John Clarke Crosthwaite,

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[98] Ibid, p viii

[99] Idem

[100] Idem

[101] Ibid p.vii

John Henry Newman, Edward Bouverie Pusey and Frederick Oakeley had released a series of papers entitled Modern Hagiology in the British Magazine. The papers were to prove both influential and controversial.[102]

As its etymology would suggest, hagiology sought to promote the scientific study of hagiography - to give critical exposition to the works of biographers and historians which were perceived to be excessively reverential, or uncritical of their subject. In reality, the execution of these works by those members of the Oxford Movement was often very different: indeed, Newman's reputation has long suffered from his connection with *The Lives of the English Saints* and *Modern Hagiology*.[103] Newman had outlined the intended character of his *Lives* in the following terms: 'I mean the work to be historical and devotional, but not controversial. Doctrinal questions need not enter. As to miracles, I think they may be treated as matters of faith credible according to their evidence.'[104]

Within a year of Newman's conversion, Crosthwaite had reprinted the articles that he, Newman, Pusey and Oakeley had written - brought together for the first time. Reeves maintained regular correspondence with Crosthwaite from their days when they were students together at Trinity.[105] For Crosthwaite, it was this which 'infected all their views of theology, urged them downwards from one stage of error to another, and made them, - all along, and at every period of their unhappy career, - whether as commentators, as dogmatic

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[102] The catalogue of Reeves' library establishes that he owned a complete run of the *British Magazine* - along with individual works by Pusey, Newman, Oakeley, Crosthwaite and Henry James Rose. *Catalogue of the valuable library of the late Right Rev. William Reeves, D.D, Lord Bishop of Down, Dromore and Connor, President of the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1892)

[103] Owen Chadwick, for instance, has pointed out, by the standards of modern critical history, they 'are not edifying productions,' and, coupled with Newman's *Essay on Ecclesiastical Miracles,* are the 'most cogent evidence for a sceptical interpretation of the Tractarian attitude towards faith.' Owen Chadwick, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (London, 1960), p. 174

[104] Anne Mozley (ed.), *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman* (London, 1891), 11, p. 345

[105] Both were also active members of the Royal Irish Academy, and had contributed papers to the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.

divines, as ecclesiastical historians, or as parish priests, - the unsafe guides which the church has by too painful an experience proved them to have been.'[106]

Crosthwaite stated his belief in the necessity of 'exposing these false principles,' for the sake of 'such as may still be in danger of being misled,' that Newman and his other converts offered a 'most instructive warning,' of the 'fatal consequences of trifling with truth.' Significantly, in order to illustrate the flaws in Newman's work, Crosthwaite selected his *Life* of St. Adomnán. Although there is no mention or reference to Newman's work in Reeves' *Life*, he was clearly aware of it. In one of the notebooks I have consulted, Reeves has meticulously noted and detailed every available source relating to Adomnán: Newman is listed twice, and both times his name is crossed out.[107] Newman made no explicit reference to any of Adomnán's writings: instead, he used Adomnán primarily as a vehicle to express his own views of the atonement, and the expiatory power of penance.[108]

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[106] Crosthwaite denounced the 'loose method this party adopted of interpreting- or, rather, of explaining away - the Holy Scriptures, and the defective notions of the value and sacredness of truth they have from the beginning manifested, and which lie at the root of all such spiritual and allegorical interpretations. This it was which constituted the real evil and danger of the movement. This it was which gave the party an inherent determination to error of some sort or other.' Crosthwaite went to great lengths to distance himself from Newman's subsequent history, and was keen to stress that he had 'no means of knowing,' when he began to write that would have, led him to 'suppose that such were Mr Newman's intentions,' that he had 'no secret intelligence' so far as any persons he knew might have connected themselves with the 'agents of the Jesuits and the emissaries of Rome.' Crosthwaite struggled to explain how Newman had 'developed themselves into an undisguised advocacy and propagation of Jesuitism.' J.H Newman, Pusey, J .C Crosthwaite, F. Oakley, *Modern Hagiology- An Examination of the nature and tendency of some legendary and devotional works lately published* (London, 1846) He argued that there was 'no security - there can be none, - no protection whatever, against heresy of any sort or degree, in any Church where the figurative, and spiritual, and mystical, and allegorical modes of explaining away the inspired volume find toleration. According to Crosthwaite, the consequences of 'surrendering one's judgment to such a principle,' of which Newman and Pusey were the principle exponents was a permanent danger.' p. vi Ibid pp. vii, viii

[107] TCD MS, 1092 (T. 3. 15)

[108] Newman proposes St. Adomnán as an example: he is depicted as having led a life of the strictest continence; taken monastic habit and vows; often spent entire nights in prayer; eating only on Thursdays and Sundays, while

Reeves' maintained that Adomnán's memoir should be prized as an 'inestimable literary relic of the Irish Church: perhaps, with all its defects, the most valuable monument of that institution which has escaped the ravages of time.'[109] He stressed that he had 'therefore taken great pains, in the midst of many difficulties and discouragements, to call into his service all the means of illustration which books, places, and men could afford.'[110] In his handling of the questions of Apostolic Succession and the primacy of Armagh, Reeves seemed consciously to suppress and distance himself from discussing them in explicit terms. These were topics which had been assigned a fundamental importance by other Irish Anglican writers, and which had the potential to generate sectarian controversy and contention.

Despite his efforts, these themes occasionally surface in his text: in one instance, he dismisses the arguments of a 'learned and ingenious writer,' whose work had recently been republished in 'a modern journal.' According to Reeves, this 'has proved to a demonstration, from the

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taking no sustenance of any kind during the rest of the week; and to have had a character 'strikingly resembling St. Paul's carefulness, clearing of themselves, indignation, fear, vehement desire, zeal, and revenge, whereof he speaks to the Corinthians.' Newman assured his readers he was 'not saying that penance is not true penance if it falls short of St. Adomnán's, or that it must needs take the peculiar shape of his austerities. There are ordinary Christians who serve God acceptably without being called to the eminences of the saints. Penance may be true penance, and yet have none of that heroicity in it which the promoter of the faith would demand if canonization were claimed for the penitent.' His enemies clearly felt that laying down this pattern as a universal rule, was a 'Romish notion,' which implied 'one sort of religion being required in some particular persons, and another in the generality of mankind.' Newman's claims were further weakened because, in the same Life, he referred to the Jesuits as 'the most noble and glorious company of St. Ignatius; which, next to the visible church, may, perhaps, be considered the greatest standing miracle in the world.' John Henry Newman, *Lives of English Saints- Hermit Saints St. Gundleus, St. Helier, St. Herbert, St Bettelin, St. Herbert, St. Neot, St. Bartholomew* p. 120 As Crosthwaite noted, unless these views were written by 'disguised Romanists and Jesuits, they are the work of persons anxious to appear as patrons and admirers of the enemies of their own church. There is, in truth, all through them, a studied affectation of the phraseology of Romanists.' J.H Newman, E.B. Pusey, J .C Crosthwaite, F. Oakley, *Modern Hagiology- An Examination of the nature and tendency of some legendary and devotional works lately published* p.17

[109] Ibid p. xxxvi

[110] Idem

native Annalists that a lineal succession of abbots existed in many of the Irish monasteries during the ninth and following centuries.' Reeves believed that the writer in question had "failed to include the coarbs of Columba in the class; and a comparison of his premises with the Genealogical Table which accompanies this Note will show that he has mistaken names for persons.'[111]

This 'modern journal,' to which he was referring, was the *Catholic Layman.*[112] Reeves merely hints that the identity of this 'ingenious,' but anonymous writer [O'Kearney] can be found in Robert King's *A Memoir introduction to the early history of the primacy of Armagh,* and that the 'reader will recognise the same master hand.'[113] This seemingly innocuous comment, which would have been understood by many of his readers, is actually a pointed criticism of John Colgan's earlier *Vita Sancti Malachi,* and is reflective of the understated and unobtrusive way in which Reeves used traditional Irish Anglican historiographic arguments to substantiate his own work.

King's work had initially been issued in 1854, in weekly portions.[114] Writing in the *Armagh Guardian,* Reeves chooses to encourage his readers towards this text - both directly and indirectly[115]- because the arguments that King adopts are entirely in keeping with the most traditional of Irish Anglican historical narratives.[116] There were six central arguments that King put forward in this book: the sixth of these stated that 'his Grace the Lord Primate is the present representative of a succession which has always existed here from the days of St. Patrick to the present time, and the individuals belonging to which have in all cases been

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[111] William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy, written by Adomnán*, p. 344

[112] Idem

[113] Idem

[114] At the rate of four pages per week, amounting to an eighth of the entire paper. The publication accordingly commenced on Friday, July 20th, 1853, and was continued regularly without intermission, on each succeeding Friday, until February 3rd, 1851, when it was brought to a termination, in the 28th number from the commencement, inclusive.

[115] William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy, written by Adomnán*, pp.66, 199, 339, 344, 364

[116] See appendix

possessed of the chief dignity and the highest ecclesiastical jurisdiction recognised as existing in the place.'[117] In his Preface, King had openly acknowledged the pivotal role that both Reeves and Todd had played in the drafting of his work.

However, like many Irish Anglicans, Reeves harboured contradictory attitudes towards a number of Irish Catholic writers - and, in particular, towards John Colgan, a seminal figure in Irish historiography. Colgan is frequently cited throughout Reeves' edition: often, there is a palpable sense of impatience in Reeves' criticism of him. At times, Reeves mentions that Colgan 'seeks in vain,' declares 'without good reason,' 'is in error,' and is prone to 'painful uncertainty.'[118] There is, however, one area where Colgan is central to Reeves' work. It is one of the most important themes, and one which he went to great lengths to stress: the idea that Ireland was 'the ancient home of the Scotch,' and that from 'this mother country issued St. Columba, and almost all the early saints of the Scottish calendar.'[119] Thomas Dempster's *Menologium Sanctorum Scotorum* regarded it as axiomatic that, wherever the "Scotia" name occurred, it meant Scotland. For Reeves , this 'transferred to Caledonia the greater part of that noble army of confessors who were known in history as Scots, and whose memory was as fresh in the 'Insula Sanctorum' as if they had been but just dead; for the author of it acquired the title of Sagiokleptes or 'Saint-Stealer.''[120]

Four years before he published his *Life*, Reeves had released an article in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology,* as the first instalment of their Irish Library series which he had devised. The first of these dealt with John Colgan's works; the second with Patrick Fleming; and the third was devoted to Stephen White. They give fascinating indications of some of the themes that would play a prominent role in his later work.

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[117] Robert King, *A Memoir introduction to the early history of the primacy of Armagh*, Second edition (Armagh, 1854) preface

[118] William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy, written by Adomnán*, pp. 50, 59,60

[119] Ibid p. lix

[120] William Reeves, 'Irish Library. No.1. Colgan's Works' *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, First Series, Vol. 1 (1853), p. 295

Reeves began his piece on Colgan by identifying what he claimed was the 'greatest boon that ever was conferred upon Irish literature': namely, Dempster's *Menologium Sanctum Scotorum.* Reeves argued that this particular publication had additional significance because it set the Irish 'upon the recovery of their historical property.' It had excited Hugh Ward to 'put in motion the intellectual machinery which was represented by [Patrick] Fleming, the O'Clerys, [Micheál Ó Cléirigh was chief writer of the 'Four Masters'] and Colgan; and produced the undying memorials of Irish industry, the Annals of the Four Masters, the Collectanea, and the Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae.'[121]

In a letter to James Graves from 1850, Reeves noted with undisguised pride the high esteem in which 'our Colgan'[122] was held by William Forbes Skene, Joseph Robertson and Cosmo Innes. Similarly, in his *Life* he compared Colgan favourably to the 'foreign author', (the Scottish) Pinkerton.[123] Reeves was also keen to discuss some of the hostile reaction that Adomnán's *Life* had provoked amongst other Scottish Presbyterians - citing Sir James Dalrymple, who had written in 1714 that Adomnán 'was remarkable for nothing, but that he was the first abbot of that monastery, who quit the Scottish Institution, and became fond of English Romish Rites.'[124] Once again, it is revealing that all of the writers cited by Reeves were Roman Catholics. The *Acta Sanctorum Hibernias*, compiled by John Colgan - to whose labours Reeves felt the 'Irish Antiquary and Ecclesiastical Historian are under endless obligations.'[125] However, even his use of the phrase 'under endless obligations' carries some hint of ambivalence and resentment.

Reeves drew upon this earlier article, but he re-edited its content for his *Life*: noting, more diplomatically, that 'there was a time when the confident manner in which the name Scotia, and its derivatives, are limited in the following pages to Ireland and its relations, would have

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[121] Idem

[122] RIA MS 240 39/ JG/ 144 (vi)

[123] William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy, written by Adomnán*, p. 57

[124] Ibid. p. lix.

[125] Idem

been pronounced by the inhabitants of North Britain to be bigotry or presumption; but fortunately that day of prejudice is past.'[126] In order to substantiate this view, he drew upon a letter from Cosmo Innes, which stated that 'from Maiden Kirk to John O'Groat you will hardly find one follower of Thomas Dempster. Scottish history now confesses the proprietorship of ancient Ireland in the name Scotia.'[127]

It is clear that Reeves regarded his own volume as a direct continuation of the process first devised by Ward,[128] Fleming, Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, White and Colgan: its purpose was to reclaim Adomnán and Columba as essentially Irish figures. There was, however, another implication one which would have a resonance in Ulster.

The Irish Anglican desire to prove their own Church's Apostolic Succession, and to assert the validity of their Holy Orders was – to put it mildly - extremely unappealing to Ulster Presbyterians. Henry Cooke openly confronted Anglican depictions of his Church when he stated 'I repudiate the name Dissenter. I am no Dissenter. The Presbyterians of Ulster were never connected with the Episcopal Church of England or Ireland. The Presbyterian Church of Ireland is a branch of the Church of Scotland. From it I hold my orders, and as one of its ministers I stand before you this day.'[129] Reeves realised that the most effective way of convincing Ulster Presbyterians of the qualities of Adomnán and Columba was by demonstrating how their Scottish Episcopal and Presbyterian brethren had been convinced of their merits.

James Seaton Reid had already praised 'the presbyterial order of the Culdees and their singular piety and zeal - all these important points of doctrine and discipline which were maintained and practised in the ancient Irish church, clearly indicate its opposition to the

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[126] Ibid p. 296

[127] William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy, written by Adomnán*, p. xxxix

[128] He was also known as Mac an Bhaird, Aodh Buidhe (Ward, Hugh; Vardaeus, Hugo)

[129] Clarke Huston Irwin, *A history of Presbyterianism in Dublin and the south and west of Ireland* (London,1890) p. 120

papal system.'[130] Reeves disagreed with Reid's sentiments about the Culdees, and would later write to Graves about William Dool Killen: 'strange to say that he has not revived Presbyterian claims on the Culdees, and I congratulate him on his wisdom in eschewing this subject.'[131]

Reeves had gone to great lengths to stress the tangible connections between Ireland and Scotland. He was able to trace Columba's name alone in fifty three places in Scotland - both among Scots and Picts - where it was commemorated either in wells, or Churches dedicated to him.[132] By emphasising the Irish origin of Christianity in Scotland, Reeves was, at a fundamental level, inverting traditional Ulster-Scots historical narratives. The implications were clear: it was really the North of Ireland - and not Scotland - that had given birth to Presbyterianism. Other Irish Anglican authors had sought to enforce their own claims to the heritage of the Early Irish Church on Ulster Presbyterians, Reeves reiterated these claims, but did so in terms which many Northern Presbyterians would find hard to resist: in effect, Columba was presented as the prototype (and stereotype) of a contemporary Ulster Presbyterian Minister - contrary, single-minded and direct.

The manner in which Reeves' edition was disseminated in Scotland and then Ulster actually mirrored this approach. In 1874, William Forbes Skene along with his cousin, the Bishop of Brechin Alexander Penrose Forbes reprinted, as part of their *Historians of Scotland* series, Reeves' edition of *Adomnán's Life of St Columba*, with a translation, and a rearranged Introduction. The preliminary note stated that Reeves had permitted and assisted the publishers 'in order to adapt the work to a more general reader to add an English translation and to re-arrange the matter contained in his learned and exhaustive notes.' Skene praised Reeves' work for its 'accuracy,' for the thorough nature of its research, and for rescuing a history which had previously been 'perverted to suit the purposes of religious controversy.'

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[130] Idem

[131] RIA MS 240/ 39/JG/ 147 (vii)

[132] William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy, written by Adomnán* p 289

Skene's edition enjoyed a wide circulation in Scotland, and was enthusiastically received in Ulster.[133]

The *Historians of Scotland* series proved to be very popular not only in Scotland but also in Ulster. A year after its release the Presbyterian historian, William Dool Killen, published the two volumes of his *The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland from the Earliest Period to the Present Times.* Killen who had staunchly rejected Mant's history - and the traditional Irish Anglican claims that it upheld - was, by his standards, positively extravagant in his praise of Reeves for the 'great industry and learning,' which his Life of Columba had exhibited.[134] The second and third chapters of the first volume were openly indebted to Reeves' research. Given that Reeves underpins so much of the work, it is notable that Killen's portrayal of Columba has a distinct Presbyterian dimension. His Columba is described as a man who could 'express himself with ease and gracefulness; he had a quick perception and a sound judgement; he was an ardent student; and he had great powers of application. His temper was hot, and he sometimes gave way to gusts of passion; but, withal, he was just and generous, and his indignation was never so much excited as by the perversity of the wicked.'[135] There were, of course, the alleged characteristics with which Killen's fellow Presbyterians tended to identify strongly with their own community.

IV

Reeves was apprehensive about public criticism of his work. In August of 1856 - while in the middle of his final edits - he wrote to Graves of his eagerness to find any flaws, or, at least, 'every fish I can catch.'[136] As it turned out, Reeves need not have been so apprehensive: the responses to his work were overwhelmingly positive. Initially, the book was not widely

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[133] William Skene, *Historians of Scotland* Vol IV (Edinburgh, 1874) preliminary note

[134] William Dool Killen, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* p.30

[135] Ibid p31

[136] RIA MS 240/ 39/JG/ 146 (ii)

reviewed - which was hardly surprising, given the small numbers of copies of its first release. However, Reeves' edition quickly became widely accepted, and was later drawn upon by writers of all denominations to a remarkable degree.[137]

It is revealing of how effective Reeves' adaptation of traditional Irish Anglican narratives was that it was not negatively commented upon in any reviews. The honours bestowed on Reeves in the years immediately following the publication of the *Life,* stand as testimony to the high esteem in which he was held, both in Ireland and Scotland. Joseph Robertson told him that the son-in-law of one of his friends 'pronounces your Columba to be the most astonishing monument of labour that our time has seen. Until he begun to read it he would not believe that Ireland had good antiquaries.'[138] Reeves was granted honorary membership of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland - limited to just twenty-five members - as well as being awarded the Cunningham Gold Medal from the Royal Irish Academy, and an honorary LLD from the University of Edinburgh.

His book was acclaimed as 'a work of the highest historical importance.' [139] John O'Donovan wrote to Reeves, in September of 1857 noting the positive critical reaction to his edition in London.[140] The English periodical, *The Saturday Review,* in a remarkable article, maintained that until recently Ireland 'might fairly be regarded either as an asylum filled with every kind of political and religious lunatic - tended, however, by a few sane keepers- or as a land doomed to perennial famine, disease, and despair, as a punishment for the internecine feuds of its inhabitants.' This woeful state of affairs, it argued, had influenced local literature, especially that which dealt with Irish history and antiquities.

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[137] Wentworth Huyshe has maintained that it formed the 'bed-rock,' upon which all subsequent interpretations of Columba and Adomnán have rested Wentworth Huyshe, *Adamnan, The Life of Saint Columba* (London,1905) p. x

[138] University of Edinburgh, La IV. 17 fols 8080-8081

[139]Lady Mary Ferguson, Life of the Right Rev. William Reeves, D.D. (Dublin, 1893) pp.47–8.

[140] TCD MS 2903-4 He also mentioned that 'a young Whitley Stokes' should very much like to meet Reeves 'but fears that he may be troublesome.' Prophetically, O'Donovan goes on to praise Stokes: noting that he is 'a very great acquisition' to Irish History.'

The *Review* accused Irish writers of 'wistfully looking back with the Celtic fondness for the past, the people's eyes gazed eagerly on the mirage conjured up by an ignorant antiquarianism; and a system of dealing with Irish archaeology was established, which culminated in the absurdities of Vallancey and Betham - Englishmen both.' Thankfully, the *Review* also noted that 'a school of Irish archaeology has arisen remarkable for its sobriety and for the soundness of its scholarship.'[141] Reeves' work was seen as an outstanding example of this: it was described as 'the most valuable contribution ever made to the history of the early Celtic Church.'[142]

The Irish Anglican response was also glowing: *The Dublin University Magazine* praised Reeves for having successfully rejuvenated interest in both Columba and Adomnán – its reviewer claimed he had helped 'dissipate the darkness around them.'[143] Just a few months before Reeves' own publication came out, Nicholas O'Kearney - a Roman Catholic, sometime former fellow and tutor at Saint Columba's College[144] and co-founder of the Irish Celtic Society - had released his *The prophecies of SS Columbkille, Maeltamlacht, Ultan, Seadhna, Coireall, Bearcan, Malachy, & c. Together with the prophetic collectanae or gleanings of several writings which have preserved portions of the now lost prophecies of our Saints, with literal translation and notes or the gleanings of several writers who have preserved portions of the now lost prophecies of our saints.*

Reeves had gone to great efforts to assure his readers that he had printed the *Life of St. Columba* by Adomnán from a manuscript of the eighth century, and had not drawn upon the prophecies set forth in the publications of O'Kearney, and 'the other concocters of similar

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[141] The *Saturday Review,* September 5th 1857. The *Review* further praised George Petrie's essays on *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland* and on *The History and Antiquities of Tara Hill,* along with John O'Donovan's *The Annals of the Four Masters,* as 'models of research and convincing argument.'

[142] The *Saturday Review*, September 5th 1857

[143] *The Dublin University Magazine*, Issue 31 (1848), p.207.

[144] O'Kearney was fired from his final teaching position in 1851.

legends.'[145] What is more, he assigned the date of 1150 to the oldest manuscript in which he had found St. Columbkille quoted as a prophet. R.R Madden used this as definitive proof that 'our modern *post factum* prophets carry up their parchment data for *their* prophecies of St. Columbkille to 572, not one of which, with their application to modern times and events, is to be found in the Life of the Saint by Adomnán.'[146]

The critical reception that O'Kearney's work received was overwhelmingly hostile: in fact, it was immediately denounced as a forgery by John O'Donovan, Eugene Curry and other highly respected scholars. The controversy that it generated was considerable, and culminated in 1866, with the publication of Madden's *Exposure of literary frauds and forgeries concocted in Ireland.*

Although Reeves' made only two passing references to O'Kearney in his book, he did correspond privately with Madden on the subject of O'Kearney's work, and, along with O'Curry and O'Donovan and Petrie, helped Madden build a case against him. Madden would recall that they enlisted the help of William Bernard MacCabe, a columnist for *The Weekly Telegraph,* to try to bring to a close the subject of 'the so-called "Prophecies of Columbkille and other Irish saints".'[147] Numerous letters were exchanged throughout February, March, and April, of 1856.[148] Some of these original letters written by O'Donovan referring to this controversy are now deposited in the Royal Irish Academy – they reveal the manner that he utilised Reeves' *Life of Columba* to counter O'Kearney.[149]

Madden, in particular, drew heavily upon Reeves' work and published some of his letters in order to discredit O'Kearney in a comprehensive manner. Reeves' tactical undermining of O'Kearney's work reproduced the method through which he had first questioned

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[145]R.R. Madden, *Exposure of literary frauds and forgeries concocted in Ireland : spurious predictions designated prophecies of St. Columbkille.*(Dublin, 1866) p. 64

[146] Idem

[147] R.R. Madden's Exposure of literary frauds and forgeries concocted in Ireland p. 32

[148] The *Weekly Telegraph* February 10th, 28th , April 10th,17th, March 10th , 18th

[149] RIA 24 0 39/ JOD/ 137

O'Kearney's scholarship in his *Life* – albeit in a markedly more understated way. First, Reeves had demonstrated his own complete familiarity with all of the manuscripts and sources referenced by O'Kearney - noting drily that his 'Eire this night' was 'not as old as the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill!!!'[150] He recommended that O'Kearney should - 'for the credit of his undertaking' - have gone to Oxford, and copied Laud 615. In so doing, Reeves suggested, 'he could have found prophetic matter enough, full three hundred years old, to satisfy the most morbid appetite, and, moreover, have provided himself with a collection of very ancient and curious historical poems.'[151]

This contrasts somewhat with the private letter he wrote to Madden in which he referred to the 'alleged prophecies,' of Columba - 'the genuineness of which even Colgan called in question.'[152] Copies of some of these prophesies had been preserved in Ireland, and, while they were attributed to St. Columbkille, Reeves believed that they had been 'modernised, interpolated, and often garbled.'[153] Reeves referenced O'Kearney's work merely as 'a collection' that had lately been published in Dublin, and expressed his regret that its 'editor,' had 'not (been) content with medieval forgeries', but had 'lent his name, and what is worse, has degraded that of St. Columba, to the propagation of a silly imposture, which does not possess even an antiquity of ten years to take off the gloss of its barefaced pretensions.'[154]

Reeves' edition was also well received by the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy. In 1865 *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* reviewed Reeves' *The Culdees of the British Isles, as they appear in History with and Appendix of Evidences*.[155] Its reviewer took the opportunity to note that

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[150] William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy, written by Adomnán*, pp. 78-79

[151] Ibid pp. 79-80

[152] R.R. Madden's *Exposure of literary frauds and forgeries concocted in Ireland : spurious predictions designated prophecies of St. Columbkille* p.34

[153] Idem

[154] Idem

[155] *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* was founded in 1864 by Cardinal Cullen. It was intended to represent a forum for Catholic interests and crucially to counter those claims made by Irish Anglicans. This was illustrated in its first issue which declared that 'there are two positions that command the whole field of Irish Church

Reeves' 'reputation is deservedly great.' He further praised Reeves' approach arguing that he put forward 'not so much of his own views on the subject, as a comprehensive statement of trustworthy materials upon which to form a sound and philosophical opinion.' Crucially he maintained that Reeves' impartiality 'sets an example in his own proper person, whatever his private sentiments may be on points of issue he professes to hold them back.'[156] A sense of the esteem in which it was held even amongst the Roman Catholic hierarchy, is reflected in a letter that William Maziere Brady wrote to Patrick Francis Moran - asking to borrow his editions of Reeves' Adomnán, and Todd's *Leabhar Imuinn*. Moran was uncharacteristically abrupt – not to say, blunt - in his refusal: noting that he made 'constant reference to them, and without them I could not get along at all.'[157]

On the 15th of January, 1863, Reeves received a letter from Charles Forbes René de Tryon Comte de Montalembert. He had been introduced to Reeves' edition by their mutual friend, Lord Dunraven. Montalembert explained that, while he was acquainted with Reeves' previous work, his *Life of St. Columba* came to him as a revelation, 'I feel still more obliged to you, as all lovers and students of Church history ought to feel, after having studied your admirable edition.' He continued, 'I may safely say I have never met with a more satisfactory and more conscientious labour in that line than yours.'[158]

Montalembert was a significant, but highly controversial figure on the French political scene in the 1850s. With his friends, Félicité de Lamennais and Henri Lacordaire, he had founded the liberal Catholic newspaper *L'Avenir* in 1830. This newspaper was extremely polemical, and was one of the main voices of Ultramontane opinion in France, opposing the concordat between Church and State that had been signed in 1801. Montalembert frequently spoke in

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History,' the first was 'the original connection of the Irish Church and the See of Rome,' the second is that 'her hierarchy has remained ever faithful to Rome, especially in the time of the Reformation.' It warned 'deny either of these and the whole aspect of our ecclesiastical history is immediately changed.'

[156] 'The Culdees of the British Isles, as they appear in history, with an appendix of evidences by William Reeves.' The Irish Ecclesiastical Record Vol. I, June, 1865

[157] NLI MS 8608/3

[158] Lady Mary Ferguson, *Life of the Right Rev. William Reeves, D.D.* (Dublin, 1893) pp. 48-49

the French parliament, advocating the cause of Catholic education, and defending the freedom of the Church in a Republican state. He was also a prolific author, and had been elected to the Académie Française in 1851. Montalembert was keenly interested in Ireland: he was a great admirer of O'Connell, and had visited Ireland in September and October of 1830 in order to meet him.[159] He freely admitted to Reeves that he had been described as a 'Jesuit' and an 'Ultramontane fanatic,'[160] by both *The Times* and *The Morning Post*. His enthusiasm for Reeves' work is further testimony to its ability to cross sectarian and cultural frontiers.

Reeves would later authorise and assist Skene, Killen, and the Catholic priest F. Mullany[161] in their respective editions of Adomnán's life of Columba. However, this began with Montalembert, who wrote to Reeves to assure him that he would mention his works in 'a very cursory view of Irish monasticism,' which he had just been correcting. This was the second edition of a work called *Les Moines d'Occident, but* Montalembert insisted that he would 'make a point of quoting you as often as I can in the third volume of this same work, which will begin by an account of St Columbkille's mission in the Scottish Isles.' He sought to ease any of Reeves' concerns by assuring him that 'as soon as the second edition of the two first volumes (of his forthcoming work) is ready, I shall ask your leave to present them to you, as, from all that I have read of you, I feel sure that, although belonging to a different Church, you will not scorn the toil of a sincere Christian.'[162]

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[159] On his way to Rome in February 1847, O'Connell had stopped in Paris, where he was officially welcomed by Montalembert.

[160] Lady Mary Ferguson, *Life of the Right Rev. William Reeves, D.D.* (Dublin, 1893) pp. 48-49

[161] F. Mullany's *Life of St. Columba, or Columbkille, Patron of Derry and Founder of Iona translated from the original Latin, with copious notes,* was released in1865. In the Preface, its writer noted that 'it must seem strange that no one has hitherto tried to render into English St. Adomnán's *Life of St. Columba,* considering the veneration always paid to him as one of the three chief patrons of Ireland.' Mullany claimed that his was the 'first effort made to present to the English reader a literal translation of St. Columba's life (by St. Adomnán).' However, he was also keen to point out that the text 'we followed is generally that edited by Dr. Reeves for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Societies.'

[162] Charles Forbes René de Tryon *The monks of the West*, Volume III (Paris, 1896) p. 98, note 2

Les Moines d'Occident was soon translated into other European languages, and quickly became a main reference book for Church historians. The section on Columba was reprinted by William Blackwood and Sons as a popular booklet, without any notes, under the title *Saint Columba, apostle of Caledonia*, by the Count de Montalembert of the French Academy. Montalembert openly acknowledged, in the second edition of his *Les Moines d'Occident,* how much he was indebted to that 'excellent publication, which is distinguished by an impartiality too rare among learned English authors, (and which) has rendered a considerable service both to the hagiography and to the national history of Ireland and Scotland.'[163]

However, Montalembert was not so forthcoming in his praise for other Irish scholars. In fact, he was highly critical of one of Reeves' closest colleagues, whom he described as a 'learned Englishman of our own day.' The 'Englishman' in question was James Henthorn Todd, of Trinity College, and the book that attracted Montalembert's derision was Todd's major work, *St. Patrick - Apostle of Ireland.* Montalembert expressed, in emphatic terms, his incredulity with Todd's assertion 'that the Irish Church of the sixth century differed in nothing as to doctrine from the rest of the Catholic Church; but at the same time (maintaining) her independence of the Holy See.'[164]

It is hardly surprising that Montalembert - as one of France's leading Ultramontanes - was gravely displeased and offended by Todd's denial of any direct connection between the Papacy and Patrick's evangelising mission to Ireland. What was more unexpected was the strident opposition that Todd's book produced within Ireland. In fact, it gave rise to a controversy that involved not only Roman Catholics, but also Presbyterians - and even Todd's own co-religionists in the Church of Ireland.

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[163] Ibid p 85 note 1

[164] Idem

CHAPTER FOUR – ST. PATRICK, APOSTLE OF IRELAND

I

James Henthorn Todd[1] devoted himself throughout his life with zeal and consistency to the study of Irish history, the Irish language and Irish archaeology, and was one of the foremost Irish antiquarians of his day. Although he spent virtually his entire adult life within the walls of Trinity, [2] his influence outside those walls was no less remarkable. His reputation was such that Hugh Jackson Lawlor (1860-1938)[3] described him as 'a household word in ecclesiastical history.' [4] His numerous publications were internationally recognised: he was honoured as an outstanding scholar by numerous societies throughout Europe and North America, and he was awarded an *ad eundem* degree from Oxford University. [5] His entry for the Dictionary of National Biography claimed that 'no man in Ireland has, since Archbishop Ussher, shown equal skill at bibliography, accuracy and knowledge or devotion to the development of Irish literature.' [6]

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[1] 23rd of April-28th of June 1869

[2] TCD Todd correspondence MS 2214/221 The reason Todd was compelled to work in so many positions within the college was because his father Charles Hawkes Todd, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the Royal College of Surgeons died on the 19th of March 1826. This left James as the eldest son with responsibility for his widowed mother and a family that consisted of nine sons and six daughters. Todd worked as a Grinder, a Tutor, Chief Librarian, a Junior Fellow, a Senior Fellow, Junior Dean, Junior Proctor, Junior Bursar, Senior Lecturer, Senior Dean, Regius Professor and Registrar. A letter to Charles Eddie Todd after his brother's death notes that 'in the University, nothing is done without him. Everyone who has any single-hearted desire to do good there, or to carry out any real improvement, invariably looks to him in the first place for his counsel, approval and assistance.'

[3] Hugh Jackson Lawlor was Archbishop King's lecturer in divinity from 1890-93 and professor of ecclesiastical history 1898-1933 at Trinity College, Dublin. C. J Woods, 'Hugh Jackson Lawlor' Dictionary of Irish Biography

[4] G.O Simms, 'James Henthorn Todd', *Hermathena*, No. 109 (Autumn, 1969), p 5

[5] E. M. Todd, 'James Henthorn Todd,' Dictionary of National Biography Archive 1898

[6] Idem

Todd's early literary career was not without incident – and its share of controversy. He had vigorously opposed the educational policy issued in 1831 by the Board of Commissioners and the new National School system.[7] Todd had even composed a fictitious letter purporting to be from Pope Gregory XVI to his archbishops and bishops of Ireland. This so-called Papal Letter praised the Commissioners' policy. Todd mischievously sent it to the evangelical rector in Harold's Cross, in Dublin - who, in turn, and without Todd's knowledge took it with him to the evangelical centre at Exeter Hall, London, where its supposed revelations of papal duplicity caused a furore and even public riots. When the actual origins of the letter were uncovered, Todd admitted his authorship, but was at pains to explain that, in writing the letter, he was merely following what he claimed was an established and respectable literary strategy. Nevertheless – and understandably - he was pilloried for his apparent deception. Acutely embarrassed, Todd was compelled to confess to the hoax in public. He pleaded – rather feebly - that he had assumed no one would take the letter seriously. However, he was clearly wounded by the criticism he received: his letters and notebooks, located in Trinity, contain numerous newspaper clippings generated by this publication.[8] It is not surprising that Todd never again used a similar literary strategy to make his point.[9]

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[7] This separated secular from religious instruction, and introduced what virtually became schooling on denominational lines. Todd had even clashed on the subject with his own Archbishop Richard Whately of Dublin- one of the few from the Established Church to support the Commissioners in their policy. Todd thought it impossible to effect the separation of the secular and the religious. In his opposition to Whately's proposals Todd was well in advance of other Irish Anglicans. He apparently went too far for his editor James Henry Rose, with the counter-arguments he expressed in contributions to the British magazine. Rose wrote to him tactfully: 'I have been in a hundred minds about printing your truly able attack on the Archbishop of Dublin, but the magazine has hitherto abstained from assaulting dignities, not as thinking them infallible or impeccable, certainly . . . but perhaps your paper might be modified. ... I wish you would give me something on the present Tithe Bill and its consequences. We are sadly in the dark.' TCD Todd MS 2214/80

[8] The Christian Observer, led the attack and Todd wrote to its editor, Mr Wilks, in 1836: 'strictly speaking every fiction and every parable is logically untrue, but it does not follow that every fiction is a falsehood.' TCD MS 2214/33 Lord John Russell also gave it publicity, and after he saw the point of the satire, continued to consider it most unfortunate TCD MS 2214/35 A letter to Todd from the Primate, Lord John George Beresford, must have brought him some comfort. The Primate thought that Todd had written 'with good taste and judgment.' TCD

Todd's Donnellan lectures[10] - examining in detail the prophecies relating to the Anti-Christ in the writings of Daniel and St Paul, and later in the Apocalypse of St John – also generated considerable controversy. This time, however, criticism of Todd's work came from another quarter: he had infuriated Presbyterians and evangelicals. His critics were often abusive, and on one occasion Todd was dismissed as a 'theologaster.' [11] From this point in his career, Todd appears to have decided to avoid engaging in any public altercation: the only other theological work that he wrote during this period which might have generated some dispute - *In search of infallibility*, published in 1848 – was praised for displaying a 'mild temper and moderate spirit.' [12]

Todd gradually restored his reputation. Indeed, as early as 1842, the Roman Catholic journal, *The Tablet,* stated 'we consider him to have fully atoned for his first fault - if fault it were - by these later efforts at reparation.' [13] Todd established the Irish Archaeological Society in 1840, with the help of two leading Catholic antiquarians - John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry. One of the express goals of this Society was that it was to be purely scholarly, and would scrupulously avoid any of the sectarian tensions which were prevalent in Ireland. A former colleague wrote to Charles Eddie Todd, following his brother's death, praising his 'conciliatory manner and temper, his entire freedom from anything approaching

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MS 2214/41 This was after Todd's second edition of the Papal Letter had been issued with a signed preface and an explanation of his basically honourable purpose. The Primate held that the explanation was sufficient 'to vindicate your character from the charge that was made against it. I think few persons have a better right than yourself to complain of the mistakes of your friends and the malice of your enemies.' TCD MS 2214/41

[9] As a literary device, a similar letter, published a few months before this, claiming to be from the Pope, had been addressed to some members of Oxford University. It had also been used Jonathan Swift in *Gulliver's Travels* and Daniel Defoe had used it in *Robinson Crusoe.*

[10] The Donnellan lectures, published in a twofold series, 1839-41 and 1843-47, grew to massive proportions. 'The ghost of Mrs Anne Donnellan is haunting me,' wrote Todd from one of his European tours, knowing that he was behind with the proofs. TCD MS 2214/140

[11] G.O Simms, James Henthorn Todd , p 10

[12] TCD Todd MS 2214/140

[13] The Tablet, Review 'An Apology for Lollard Doctrine,' 8th October 1842 p.3

to the acerbity of sectarian feeling.'[14] This correspondent further commended Todd's time as president of the Irish Archaeological Society because he 'brought and kept together men who never before could be induced to act on any common ground for the benefit of Ireland.'[15] Todd made a vital and pronounced contribution to all of the works of scholarship that have been so far examined in this thesis.[16] Henry Cotton could characterise him with some reason as 'the *sine qua non* of every literary enterprise in Dublin.'[17]

Given his importance, Saint Patrick had frequently been cited by Irish Anglican authors – such as William Hales - in anti-Catholic polemics.[18] Indeed, he was sometimes presented as a fictional character, and evidence of the gullibility of the Irish Catholic population. However, this confrontational stance sat uncomfortably with some high churchmen – such as Todd's younger brother, William Gowan Todd. In the Preface to *The Church of St. Patrick, an historical inquiry into the Independence of the Antient Church of Ireland* of 1844, W.G. Todd stated that the 'manner in which the records of the early Church in Ireland have been dealt with by polemical writers, affords a remarkable example of the evil consequences of thus

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[14] TCD Todd MS 2214/140

[15] Idem

[16] Apart from his own extensive catalogue of work, he also regularly edited for the Archaeological Society, and was the author of lengthy and considered introductions to the works of other contributors to the publications of the same society.

[17] Alfred Webb, 'James Henthorn Todd,' *A Compendium of Irish Biography; comprising sketches of distinguished Irishmen, and of eminent persons connected with Ireland by office or by their writings*. (Dublin, 1878) p.525

[18] William Hales had identified Saint Patrick as proof of 'the purity and simplicity' of the primitive Irish Church and its independence from Rome. Hales had called upon other Irish Anglican writers to 'open the eyes of his benighted fellow- countrymen of the Romish persuasion by correct editions of the remains of their patron saint, Patrick.' He hoped that this 'labour of love or charity' would promote a 'radical reform of their religious tenets, gradually removing those mists of prejudice which their blind guides and their servile flocks have groped and groaned for so long!' Hales believed that, through this process, Ireland's Catholics would find 'a real EMANCIPATION.' William Hales, *An Essay on the Origin and Purity of the Primitive Church of the British Isles and its independence upon the Church of Rome* (Dublin, 1819) pp. v, 430, 431

mixing up controversial divinity with history.'[19] He continued that 'facts have been distorted to suit the exigencies of a case; and not a few historians have deemed it prudent to suppress whatever might tell against their own religious opinion.'[20] W.G. Todd went further than most Irish Anglicans in his readiness to concede that the primitive Irish Church was 'neither Protestant nor Papist, but Catholic - having much in its system which ultra-Protestants would now condemn.' [21]

W.G. Todd was effusive in his praise for his elder brother's assistance in the drafting of his volume. It is also clear that the elder Todd shared many of his younger brother's sentiments: writing to Dean R Butler in 1842, he stated, 'I am very glad that you are writing on the character of St. Patrick - it often seemed to me that the fear we Protestants have of admitting his connexion with Rome, was very absurd, as if Rome of that day was Popish, or in any degree tainted with what we now call Romanism.'[22] In the preface to his *Saint Patrick,* Todd launched a scathing attack on almost all previous attempts to explain the history of the early Irish Church. He believed that these explanations had failed for two principal reasons: either through a lack of analytical rigour, which has led the early history of the Church to be 'greatly misunderstood' – or through deliberate deception, and attempts to 'conceal' or keep potentially controversial material 'out of view.' [23]

Despite W.G. Todd's later conversion to Roman Catholicism, the brothers remained close: indeed, they both joined the Friendly Brothers of St Patrick – a benevolent Society whose membership was very largely composed of well-connected Irish Anglicans. It is clear that as a consequence of his brother's conversion - along with the positive reception of his own

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[19] William Gowan Todd, *The Church of St. Patrick: An Historical Enquiry into the Independence of the Ancient Church of Ireland* (London, 1844) p. 2

[20] Idem

[21] Ibid p. 4

[22] TCD Todd MS 2214/127

[23] James Henthorn Todd, *St. Patrick apostle of Ireland; a memoir of his life and mission. With an introductory dissertation on some early usages of the church in Ireland, and its historical position from the establishment of the English colony to the present day.* (Dublin, 1864) p. iii

writings - many Roman Catholics believed that James Henthorn Todd was himself likely to convert. *The Tablet* believed that 'having become a Puseyite,' he had 'more than once shown some disposition to make common cause with us against Low Church and Dissent.' [24] It is evident that these sentiments were echoed by many within the hierarchy of the Irish Roman Catholic Church.

In 1864, his seminal work *Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland - A memoir of his Life and Works* was finally released. Since its initial publication, Todd's volume has attracted a considerable amount of critical attention. It also immersed Todd, towards the end of his life, in the sort of sectarian controversy that he abhorred and had managed to avoid for very many years. Some of its most trenchant critics were those whom Todd had come to regard as his scholarly colleagues and friends, and their criticisms are likely to have wounded him deeply. Although it is now generally recognised as a highly significant text, and, arguably, the first modern historical work about Saint Patrick, it has also been viewed as exhibiting an 'unmistakable ecclesiastical bias,' and that perception has affected - and continues to influence - interpretations both of Todd's text, and of the man. [25]

II

Todd had initially been asked by a London publisher to write the *Lives* of all the Archbishops of Armagh from whom the Church of Ireland claimed Apostolic Succession. This work was conceived and intended to be written on an epic scale - comparable to that of Walter Farquhar Hook's exhaustive ten volumes on the *Archbishops of Canterbury.*[26] It also had clear parallels with other projects that Todd had been engaged in, such as *The Whole Works of James Ussher,* and the ultimately unsuccessful reworking of Walter Harris' *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware Concerning Ireland.* Unfortunately – or otherwise - for Todd, the publisher's

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[24] The Tablet, Review 'An Apology for Lollard Doctrine,' 8th October 1842 p.3

[25] Fergus Grannell, 'Early Ecclesiastical Studies,' in *Irish Anglicanism 1869-1969, Essays on the role of Anglicanism in Irish Life presented to the Church of Ireland on the centenary of its Disestablishment by a group of Methodist, Presbyterian, Quaker and Roman Catholic scholars* edited by Micheal Hurley S.J p. 48

[26] E. M. Todd, rev. Sinéad Agnew, 'James Henthorn Todd' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

business failed when the first volume, dealing with the life of St. Patrick, was still in the press. As a result, Todd was forced to release his book as an independent publication, through Hodges - the regular publisher used by Dublin University.

Todd's *Life of St. Patrick* is 515 pages in length, and its substantial appearance seemed to confirm the weight of its import. Denis Gargan believed that 'its portly size, its splendid type, and all that the artistic skill, enterprise, and ability of its distinguished Publishers could make it, commended it to the eye; and the mind of the anxious reader was cheered for a rich treat, of which the title page and preface gave splendid promise.'[27]

The book is divided into two parts - of almost equal length, and with an appendix in the middle, separating them. Although both parts are in the same volume, they are, in essence, two separate books: indeed, the second part of the book even has its own title page and epigraph. The first part of Todd's work is ostensibly an introduction to the subject, while the second part is apparently devoted to its declared purpose: a description and analysis of the life and works of Saint Patrick. However, this division is not as straightforward as Todd claimed it to be.

In the Preface and Introductory Dissertation, Todd introduced some of the major themes, arguments, strategies, and contradictions that characterise the work. There is the fundamental claim that the Church of Ireland enjoyed a continuity of Apostolic authority that can be traced back - not only to the early Irish Church, but to the very foundation of Christianity.[28] In line with this, there is the denial of any the direct connection between Saint Patrick and the Roman Catholic Church. There is a marked propensity to identify the contemporary Church of Ireland as holding the rational middle ground between the perceived excesses of both

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[27] Denis Gargan, *The Ancient Church of Ireland: a few remarks on Dr. Todd's "Memoir of the Life and Mission of St. Patrick, apostle of Ireland."* (Dublin, 1864) p. 5

[28] Todd's decision to identify the early Irish Church from the very start as the "Church of Ireland" – as opposed to the "Church in Ireland" – would not have been lost on his contemporary readers. From the beginning, he laid claim to the legitimacy of his own Church's claim to be the rightful heir to St. Patrick's spiritual legacy, and, this remains the guiding principle that is followed throughout his book.

Roman Catholicism and Low Church Protestantism: in the case of the latter, this leads Todd to express a persistent and overtly aggressive attitude towards the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. There is also the recurring tendency to explain contemporary social and political conflicts within Ireland by reference to sources that are located outside the island – principally, Rome and England. Finally, there is evidence of a highly ambivalent attitude towards certain features of Irish culture – which can oscillate between a level of respect that borders on reverence, and a degree of condescension that verges on outright contempt. The overall strategy that Todd followed was to combine lengthy repetition of these central themes with minor embellishments to create a multi-layered effect. This, in turn, not only added a great sense of empirical weight to his narrative, it also provided a momentum which enabled him to draw increasingly bold, and contentious conclusions. As the book progresses, Todd's themes begin to emerge more clearly - and so do some of the contradictions in his historical analysis, and his underlying ideological project.

At 262 pages in length, the first part of his book is not only substantial, it also deals with a wide range of subjects and themes. Readers might reasonably expect to encounter a discussion of 'Christianity in Ireland before St. Patrick', but Todd also took the opportunity to discuss 'English Rule in Ireland - Hatred not caused by Religious Differences,' 'The Reformation,' 'The Penal Laws', and even 'The Legislative Union.'[29] The first chapter of the second part of the book - entitled 'The Antient Church of Britain; and the Mission of Palladius to the Scots believing in Christ' - is, in effect, another lengthy introduction. Indeed it is, remarkable that it is only in Chapter II of the second half of the work - at page 351 - that Todd finally deals with 'the life, opinions, and actions,' of St Patrick.[30] Despite this, the following chapter began with the blunt admission that it would be 'inconsistent with the

[29] Ibid pp. 242, 244,245

[30] Idem

purposes of these pages to record minutely the all the adventures and acts attributed to Patrick by his biographers.'[31]

It is clear that one of Todd's chief objectives was to reject the 'the story of St. Patrick's commission from Pope Celestine.' He began by simply stating that he believed there was 'no satisfactory evidence for it.'[32] Although this opinion was shared by many other Irish Anglican historians, Todd wished to emphasise that his own rejection of this idea – unlike some others– was based firmly on the dispassionate and non-partisan nature of his research. He stressed that this research was grounded on concrete empirical sources - or the lack of them. He acknowledged that he was a priest in a Reformed Church, but immediately distinguished the Roman Church of the fifth century from that of the sixteenth. Todd implied that, whatever his current objections to Rome may be, they are not based on innate or inherited prejudice. He informed the reader that he saw no material advantage to the Reformed Christian denominations in claiming that the Pope did not ordain Patrick's mission. He chose to emphasise the rational, scholarly and open-minded perspective that he claimed to be bringing to this study. No doubt, Todd believed that this would protect him from accusations of harbouring any sectarian motives.

Todd sought to use Patrick's *Confession* to refute traditional Roman Catholic claims, and to construct a credible alternative chronology for Patrick's mission in Ireland. Todd argued that Patrick had devoted himself to the conversion of Ireland. He maintained that he said 'nothing of Palladius,' and 'nothing of Rome, or of having been commissioned by Pope Celestine.'[33] Instead, Todd attributed Patrick's Irish apostleship to an internal imperative, which he attributed to a divinely-inspired vocation. He used this to criticise Catholic historians who 'could not rest satisfied with the simple and humble position,' in which Patrick's own writing had placed the saint. Todd suggested that this understandable impulse to exalt Patrick meant

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[31] Ibid p.400 Todd maintained that this was simply because many of these 'adventures' were 'evidentially invented.'

[32] Idem

[33] Ibid p. 377

that clerical historians 'could not concede Palladius the honour of a direct commission from Rome, without claiming for Patrick a similar honour, they could not be content that their own Patrick should be regarded as an unlearned, a rude, and uneducated man even though he had so described himself.'[34]

According to Todd, 'these fictions modern as well as antient, have been created altogether by the attempt to maintain, without any evidence from original documents that Patrick had received a complete ecclesiastical education' at the best schools of the Gallican church, and that Patrick had been regularly commissioned by the Roman Pontiff to take the place of Palladius as bishop to the Scots in Ireland.[35] Todd disputed this narrative, arguing that - although Germain was 'undoubtedly commissioned' by Pope Celestine, and Palladius was 'undoubtedly closely connected' to St. Germain - 'we have no evidence that the same things were true of Patrick, Apostle of Ireland.' [36]

Todd quoted at length from Patrick's description of the dream in which he determined that his mission was to evangelise Ireland. He reassured his readers that 'there is nothing in all of this which is not quite consistent with the feelings of an enthusiastic mind, filled with the

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Todd argued that, 'no unprejudiced mind can doubt' that writers - such as Joceline and John Colgan and others - 'allowed themselves the utmost license in dealing with the authorities.' The original narrative of the Book of Armagh was, therefore, interpolated to 'impose upon an uncritical and credulous people' the fables of the ecclesiastical education of Patrick under St. Germain, his monastic tonsure under St. Martin and his commission from Pope Celestine. Todd drove home his point by simple repetition: we are frequently reminded by him that this is 'legend and not history,' and that 'no antient and trustworthy authority has countenanced these statements.'

[34] Todd scarcely troubled to disguise his condescension towards those whose 'credulity' allowed them to 'swallow' such fanciful 'tales.' Ibid p. 334

[35] Idem

[36] However, this was only a minor concession, and unlikely to be of any great interest to Irish Anglicans. It was certainly of much less importance than Todd's repeated insistence that Palladius' connection with Rome was of no real significance, and that there was no evidence that Patrick received any commission whatever from the Pope. Ibid p. 332

holy ambition of converting to Christ the barbarous nation amongst whom he had been in captivity.'[37]

In a revealing comment, Todd stressed that, in contrast to other accounts, the dream had not involved any 'incredible or absurd miracle,' and that Patrick believed 'that his call was supernatural and that he had seen visions and dreamt dreams.'[38] Todd reminded his readers that Patrick was merely part of a wider Christian tradition of 'other well-meaning and excellent men in all ages of the church,' who have similarly 'imagined themselves to have had visions of this kind and to have been the recipients of immediate revelations.'[39] In other words, Todd sought to use Patrick's dream to undermine the suggestion of any outside influence – such as the Church of Rome – on his missionary purpose. At the same time, he introduced a note of some scepticism to undermine the notion that there was anything excessively 'miraculous' about Patrick's dream.

Patrick's *Confession* and *Epistle to Coroticus* were written in a fairly crude form of Latin. This had led some Roman Catholic historians to doubt their authenticity. Todd argued, instead, that not only did these flaws confirm the genuine nature of the works, they were also 'full of good sense, and even intellect and fire, and what is better, full of piety.'[40] For Todd in his *Epistle to Coroticus*, Patrick exhibited 'the greatest humility, without, however, lowering the dignity of the ministry.'[41] He concluded that 'in a word the Tract has much of the character of St. Paul. The author was undoubtedly well read in the scriptures.'[42] Here, Todd again identified Patrick with features that were often associated with the Reformed Faith: in particular, its focus upon, and familiarity with the Bible. As he had done throughout much of his *St Patrick,* Todd clarified and emphasised his views with para text in the margins: in this

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[37] We might note here that Todd's casual reference to Ireland as "a barbarous nation" - even in this qualified context - was likely to displease and provoke some of his Catholic readers. Ibid p. 378

[38] Idem

[39] Idem

[40] Ibid p. 383

[41] Idem

[42] Idem

instance, noting brusquely, but a sense of complete authority that 'The Confession was irreconcilable with the mission from Rome.'[43]

St. Patrick's *Confession* was also used by Todd as a means of establishing a date for his mission to Ireland. He cited a number of omissions which lead him to conclude that it must have been written before the Macedonian controversy. He was eager to defend what he conceived as the orthodoxy of both the early Irish church and St. Patrick, noting that there is 'no allusion to Pelaganism or any of the great heresies of the day.' Despite this, he was forced to concede that there is little in the two tracts to 'lead us to any decisive date of the author or precise year when he commenced his missionary labours amongst the Irish.'[44]

However, this did not prevent Todd from speculating upon a range of possible dates. He explored – again, in great detail - every possibility and permutation of the chronology. All of this was clearly intended to persuade the reader of both the thorough and the impartial nature of Todd's research. The outcome, however, was all too predictable, and we are led back repeatedly to Todd's fundamental conviction that it was highly improbable that Pope Celestine had commissioned Patrick. It was only after having established - at great length, and with considerable complexity of argument - the 'older chronology' of Patrick's arrival in Ireland that Todd assured his readers that they could now 'proceed to consider the particulars' of St. Patrick's missionary labours in Ireland.[45]

Todd argued that most of the popular legends and myths surrounding Patrick were actually invented by 'English ecclesiastics,' who had come to colonise Ireland, and were 'anxious to connect themselves, in the eyes of the people, with traditions of Saint Patrick.'[46] Here, as elsewhere, Todd identifies 'the English' as exerting a malign influence on the religious character of Ireland. Todd also dismissed, in summary terms, the 'famous institution' of Saint

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[43] Ibid p. 386

[44] Ibid p. 391

[45] Ibid p. 351

[46] Ibid p. vii

Patrick's Purgatory as a 'manifest invention.'[47] He pointed the finger of blame at England again: attributing the creation of the Purgatory myth to 'Anglo-Irish bishops of the north of Ireland' and to 'English Kings.'[48] The Purgatory, he claimed, was 'entirely unknown' to the original Church of Ireland, and, again, the emphatic – not to say, dogmatic - nature of his claim is likely to have grated with some of his Roman Catholic readers.

Issues of an explicitly political nature surface frequently in Todd's text. He attributed, for example, the disaffection of the 'descendants of the native tribes' from the 'original Irish Church' almost entirely to the malign influence of England. In other words, he suggested that the determining reason why the majority of the Irish population were Roman Catholics - and not (high church) Anglicans - was directly related to English colonial policies.

Todd identified English policies in Ireland as 'the parent of almost all the political and social evils of the country.'[49] He argued that contemporary antagonisms within Ireland did not originate in religious or ethnic differences, but in the historic suppression of Irish cultural 'manners and laws,' the confiscation of landed property 'for the benefit of English colonists', and the displacement of 'native chieftains.' Underlying this explanation is the inference that there would be a spiritual community of contemporary Irish Anglicans and Roman Catholics - if it were not for the English colonisers. There is a major contradiction at work here, which Todd simply ignores: the reality is that the "English colonists" were, in many cases, the ancestors of the same Irish Anglicans whom Todd believed had been compromised by England's domination of Ireland.

In fact, English governance provides Todd with a convenient explanation for a number of other contradictions in his arguments, and it is cited as the factor that explains everything from the failure of the native Irish to embrace the Reformed faith - to more current political

[47] Idem

[48] Idem

[49] Idem

issues.[50] Todd from made a range of fundamental assumptions about the impact of England's historical role in Ireland.

In his descriptions of early Irish society, for example, Todd consistently placed great emphasis on the notion of 'the clan'. He even declared that it was 'not too much to say that the spirit of clanship is the key to Irish history.'[51] We are told that many of the early priests and bishops, 'the successors of St. Patrick', were themselves 'descendants of the ancient kings and chieftains,' and were, therefore, 'venerated by clannish people.'[52] As a consequence, their teachings were apparently not looked upon as 'coming from foreigners, or as representing the manners and civilisation of a foreign nation.'[53] This predisposition - along with Patrick's 'judicious management' – is enough to convince Todd that the Christianity which Patrick founded became truly 'self-supporting.'[54] What is more – and this is crucial for Todd – it also convinced him that the early Irish Church was endowed by the chieftains 'without any foreign aid.'[55]

For Todd, the integrity of this connection was maintained for almost four centuries. Eventually, he argued, the clan system itself was broken and destroyed by the military power of England. However, Todd did not believe that the impact of this development was entirely negative. Indeed, he conceded that the measures adopted in the reign of James I for the abolition of hereditary clanship were calculated 'to abolish great and crying evils,' and were, as such, 'a step in the direction of civilisation.'[56]

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[50] There is an obvious and insurmountable conflict embedded in this approach: not only would a high proportion of Todd's fellow Anglicans - including his own family - not be in Ireland, if it had not been for English (and Scottish) colonisation, but, as a Unionist, Todd and a large majority of his co-religionists were committed to the continuation of British Imperial rule.

[51] Ibid p.227

[52] Ibid p.514

[53] Idem

[54] Ibid p.515

[55] Idem

[56] Idem

The aim of England, according to Todd, was to abolish the arbitrary exactions of the chieftains, which were 'intolerably burdensome to the people,' and whose 'evil moral influence,' destroyed all possibility of agricultural and social improvement.[57] Yet, despite such admirable intentions, Todd believed that the change was 'too sudden and too violent,' and that 'neither chieftains nor people were prepared for it.' [58] As a result, many chieftains were 'induced - perhaps it would be more true to say - compelled' to resign their ancient rights and territories.[59]

Todd argued that the native nobility and gentry were critically handicapped by their ignorance of the English language. Consequently, they did not understand the significance of the new laws under which they found themselves, and the English colonists made sure that 'no steps were taken to instruct them.' As a result of this process, the native Irish were left without their 'accustomed guides' and 'became victims of foreign intriguers.'[60] Todd suggested a direct and explicit connection with contemporary Ireland: claiming that his historical analysis had exposed how 'the foundation was laid for that tendency to insurrection and to agrarian outrage which has exhibited itself so strongly even to our own times.'[61]

Todd believed that the abolition of the clan system within Ireland had devastating consequences. He argued that the measures adopted by the English in relation to the Irish Church were 'equally disastrous.'[62] He claimed that the Danish Bishops of Waterford and Dublin in the eleventh century had received their consecration from Canterbury 'entirely ignoring the Irish Church, and the successors of Saint Patrick.'[63] The Anglo-Norman settlers also ignored the native bishops, and – in another critical distinction – Todd believed that they did so 'under the authority of the Court of Rome,' by virtue of the 'donation to Henry II by

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[57] Idem

[58] Idem

[59] Ibid p.228

[60] Ibid p.230

[61] Idem

[62] Idem

[63] Ibid p.231

the celebrated Bull of the only English Pope, Nicholas Breakspeare.'[64] It was from this juncture that Todd maintained there were, in effect, two Churches in Ireland.

Todd's description of Adrian IV's Papal Bull is amongst the most emotive and provocative in the entire book. Henry II was authorised to invade the island for the purpose of bringing the people 'into subjection to law; to exterminate the nurseries of vice,' and – importantly for Todd - to 'pay to St. Peter an annual tribute of one penny for every house in the country.'[65] Todd identified Papal authority as essential to the underpinning of English rule in Ireland. He acknowledged that the Pope took care to express concern for 'the ecclesiastical rights of that land.' But, for Todd, all this meant was that the Pope wanted all 'his own rights in that land - uninjured and inviolate.'[66]

The manner in which Todd assessed the consequences of the commission that Henry II received from Pope Adrian IV, is particularly striking. According to Todd, it was 'executed by filling the country with needy adventurers thirsty for spoil, reckless of human life and looking out greedily for every pretence to confiscate the lands of the Irish chieftains.' It is on these 'principles, or rather, we should say, these ends, they governed the country.' Todd argued that for a considerable time after the 'invasion' of Henry, the native chieftains 'submitted with good grace to English rule.'[67] However, the 'licentious outrages,' 'unwise policy' and 'impolitic attempts' of the 'colonists' and the English government, 'irritated and exasperated' the native lords, and ultimately 'produced those bitter feuds and animosities, the effect of which continue to this day.'[68]

Despite this, Todd argued that there 'appeared a phenomenon that has puzzled historians and sorely exasperated political partisans.' This was the apparent readiness of the native Irish to

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[64]Todd reminded the reader that the Irish were described in this Bull as 'barbarians', and that the English King was exhorted to make known 'the true Christian faith to those and uncivilised tribes.' Idem

[65] Idem

[66] Idem

[67] Ibid p.232

[68] Idem

follow their chieftain into battle regardless of whether he supported the English crown or its enemies. This leads Todd to make another crucial - and highly problematic - step in his argument: the suggestion that the devotion of a typical Irish clan to its chieftain meant that they 'followed him even after the period of the Reformation, in opposition to what we might presume to have been religious prejudices.'[69] The clear implication here is that the native Irish would have embraced the Reformed Faith - if only their chieftains had led them in that direction. This might be considered an outright fantasy – but it was one likely to have appealed to many of Todd's Anglican readers.

Todd was even more scathing in regard to the enforcement of English manners and laws upon the native Irish and 'degenerate English.'[70] Although he conceded that 'it is not denied that the statutes of Kilkenny contained some good and useful enactments', he concluded that 'its general tendency was to erect a harsh and impassable barrier between the two nations.' [71] The absence of the Archbishop of Armagh and his suffragan bishops from the Kilkenny Parliament was taken by Todd as indicative of this trend. He could not resist noting that the Archbishop at this time was an Englishman, Milo Sweetman, who was nominated to his See by Pope Innocent. Todd maintained that, sadly, this was true of most of the other Irish bishops. The effect of this is to argue that the Papacy was deeply implicated in the securing of

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[69] Idem

[70] Ibid p. 234 In one remarkable passage, he comments 'let it be admitted that the Irishman of that day was a barbarian; his costume uncouth; his national usages and language barbarous; it did not follow that he was to be deprived of the rights of citizenship and equal law; that he should be denied security for his life and property, and subjected to a treatment which was in tendency nothing short of extermination. This was indeed to make him a barbarian, and at the same time to punish him for being a barbarian.' Ibid p.233

[71] The concluding section of the statutes contained the signatures of Thomas Mynot Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas O'Carroll of Cashel, John O'Grada of Tuam, Thomas Le Reve of Lismore and Waterford and Thomas O'Cormacan of Ossory. All of those named pledged themselves to pronounce the spiritual sentence of excommunication upon all violators of the Act. Here, Todd cannot resist pointing out that 'these prelates all owed their promotion to Papal provisions,' and, therefore, must have been 'consenting parties' to the statutes that included a clause which 'protected the monks of the English pale from the possibility of having their devotions contaminated by the presence of a mere Irish brother.' Ibid p. 236

English authority over Ireland: indeed, Todd suggested that the English colonists were 'as a matter of course the representatives of (Papal) policy.' Todd, therefore, held Rome as 'fully responsible as England for the great political mistake of erecting the unhappy wall' between the native Irish or 'the 'King's Irish rebels' and the 'Anglo-Norman colonists' of the Pale.[72]

Todd re-asserted his view that, as result of the combination of Papal and English policies, there were two Churches in Ireland: separated from one another 'without any essential difference of discipline or doctrine, at a period long previous to the Reformation.'[73] The first of these was what he termed the 'Church of the English Pale', which was initially supported by 'all the power of the court of Rome.' In contrast, the second Church was that of the native Irish – which was 'discountenanced and ignored by Rome as well as by England.'[74] According to Todd, this second Church consisted of the 'old Irish clergy and inmates of the monasteries beyond the limits of the English pale.'[75] He believed that they had not adopted the English manners or language, and were, therefore, treated as *de facto* rebels, and compelled to rely upon the charity or devotion of the ordinary people. Many of these, he argued, sought refuge in foreign countries, or connected themselves with foreign emissaries hostile to England at home.

Todd was keen to stress that the very particularities of the early Irish Church - which he was going to identify and explain - did not represent a heretical, or schismatic brand of Christianity. Todd suggested that some of the peculiarities of the early Irish Church were essentially superficial, and attributable to geographical isolation, or its 'government' by 'aboriginal chieftains.'[76]

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[72] Idem

[73] Ibid p.241

[74] Idem

[75] Idem

[76] Here, the clear implication is that – if the contemporary Church of Ireland lies in direct descent from St. Patrick – then, it also forms part of a true Apostolic Succession. Idem

Todd addressed what he deemed to have been certain 'irregularities' in the 'Church of Ireland' in its early history.[77] The first "irregularity" that Todd identified in the early history of the "Church of Ireland" is its large number of bishops. However, while he acknowledged that these were 'very numerous,' he went on to refute the suggestion that there was no 'real episcopacy' in the early Irish Church – or that the distinctions between priests and bishops were not 'thoroughly understood and carefully preserved.'[78] He suggested that, while 'seeming irregularities' may have occurred, these were essentially of a minor nature, and he took the opportunity to reject emphatically any notion that the early Irish Church could be regarded as a 'species of Presbyterianism.'[79]

Todd went on to relate a 'curious story' told by Adomnán, in his Life of St. Columba, in which the status of a bishop, who is travelling incognito, is miraculously revealed to Columba.[80] This is followed by 'another curious anecdote' which describes how the ordination of 'one Aodh Dubh' – a 'blood-stained murderer,' according to Todd – led to the rotting of the hand of the bishop who had ordained him.[81] Although Todd was sceptical of their miraculous nature, he cited these stories as evidence that the early Irish Church properly respected Episcopal authority, and performed its duties in accordance with the canons 'of the fourth council of Carthage.'[82]

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[77] Ibid p.4

[78] Ibid p.4

[79] Ibid p.5

[80] Ibid p.6

[81] Ibid p.9

[82] Ibid p.10 Later in the "Dissertation," Todd relates another story: this time, of a bishop who was devoured by wolves. He had apparently set out for Rome in contravention of St, Brigid's explicit orders, and she had prayed that he might come to a sudden death. 'We may hope,' Todd comments, 'that this latter part of the story is not exactly true.' Nevertheless, he continues, 'there is nothing at all improbable in the anecdote, setting aside the implied miracle.' Todd then cites this story as proof of his contention that the authority of this bishop was subject to St. Brigid. p.25

There is an obvious contradiction at work here: Todd was prepared to treat some elements in each of these different 'anecdotes' as reliable, empirical evidence when they happened to support his own interpretation of the history of the early Church. At the same time, he felt quite free entirely to dismiss the 'miraculous' dimension that is central – if not the defining feature - of all of these stories.

In the Preface Todd had claimed that – for a period of around 400 years – there were, in reality, two Churches in Ireland and that, since the 16th Century, there has also been a third.[83] Although he did not identify any of these three Churches in explicit or detailed terms, his meaning would certainly have been apparent to many of his readers. The first of these Churches was described by him as the 'original Irish Church' – which he had already identified as the 'Church of Ireland.' We may reasonably deduce that the second Church is intended to be understood as the Church of Rome. The third Church may appear more problematic: it is described by Todd as the 'Church of the English pale.'[84]

Todd's definitions are somewhat elusive at this point they might even be termed confused or muddled, but the notion of this 'third Church' will play an important role in his overall approach to St. Patrick. Throughout, his book, Todd was at pains to represent the Church of Ireland – or, more precisely, the high church element within the Church of Ireland – as a kind of "middle way": a sane and rational spiritual path to be charted – with the Roman Catholic Church on one flank, and Evangelicalism and Presbyterianism, on the other.

According to Todd, at a 'subsequent period, when the Anglo-Irish Church had accepted the Reformation, the mere Irish clergy were found to have become practically extinct.'[85] At this point, Todd claimed, 'their episcopacy had merged or become identified with the episcopacy that was recognised by law.' The Missionary bishops and priests were, therefore, ordained abroad, and 'sent to Ireland to support the interest of Rome.' It was from them that the 'third

[83] Ibid pp. iii-iv

[84] Idem

[85] Ibid p. 242

Church is derived' in 'close communion with the see of Rome, which has now assumed the dimensions of a national state religion.'[86]

Here, the implications of Todd's argument reinforce one of his underlying themes: the notion that this 'third Church' was, in truth, the real charlatan, and the originator of much of Ireland's problems. In a characteristic move, Todd went on to suggest that 'it will be seen that the hatred for the English which has for centuries rankled in the native Irish heart, was not created by any differences in religion.' Instead, he argued that it originated, and reached its height, at a time when the 'only difference in religion' was that the established Church of the English Pale was 'more thoroughly devoted to Rome, and was more completely under Papal, or, as we would say ultramontane influence, than the ancient clergy and bishops of the aboriginal Irish ever were, or could have been.'[87]

The underlying thrust of Todd's arguments expressed a deeply-rooted, and widely held narrative which can be traced back to the time of James Ussher and William Bedell. For all the range and sophistication of Todd's scholarship, his work re-presents a chimera that was familiar to generations of Ireland's Protestants. Central to this is the speculation that it was 'highly probable' that, had the Reformation been presented to the 'aboriginal Irish' in a 'Gaelic dress and in the Gaelic language,' then it 'would have been accepted by them without difficulty.'[88] This belief might have been comforting to Todd's co-religionists, but it is not surprising that Irish Roman Catholics should find it offensive - as well as incredible.

Todd was, of course, compelled to concede the current reality: that the reverse was actually the case, and that a large majority of Irish people had not become Anglican. However, the blame for this was extended by him from the English colonial regime and the Church of Rome to connect with his other *bêtes noires*: Puritans, Presbyterians and Non-Conformists. Indeed, it would seem that, in Todd's eyes, almost everyone was to blame for the failure of the Reformation in Ireland - with the exception of the Established Church. Todd argued that

[86] Idem

[87] Idem

[88] Idem

the Reformation was 'almost studiously brought to Ireland in ostentatious connection with the Church of the Pale and the English colonists: it was planted on the basis of Puritanism and iconoclastic outrage.' The influence of this 'unhappy mistake continues to destroy the usefulness and to paralyse the energies of the Irish clergy.'[89] According to Todd, it was because the Reformed doctrines were regarded as essentially English that they were rejected by the native Irish 'without examination,' and 'spurned with the detestation and abhorrence with which the English and everything coming from England were as a matter of course treated.'[90]

Todd argued that, when the 'Court of Rome' excommunicated the sovereigns of England, 'all its former complicity was forgotten.' The "fact" that the English crown's claim to the sovereignty of Ireland was based on 'authority of a papal bull was forgotten.'[91] According to Todd, the fact that the Anglo-Irish Church had for four centuries been supported by papal power, and the 'antient clergy, of Irish descent, of Irish tongue, banished from their livings, and suffered to become extinct by papal policy, was also forgotten.' Todd claimed that once the Pope had 'become the deadly enemy of England (it) was enough to turn the scale the other way.'[92]

Todd asserted confidently that the history of 'Irish Episcopal succession' can be divided into two 'distinct and well-defined periods.'[93] He described the first of these as covering the 'primitive ages' of the Irish Church – which he identified as running from the 'earliest plantation of Christianity' to the 'establishment of archiepiscopal and diocesan jurisdiction'

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[89] Ibid p. 243

[90] Idem

[91] Idem

[92] Idem

[93] Ibid p. 1

in the twelfth century.[94] He defined the second period as running directly 'from the twelfth century to the present day.'[95]

What is most remarkable about this division of Church history is its implicit denial of what would normally be considered as a major watershed in the history of Christianity – not only in Ireland, but throughout Europe: the Reformation. Such denial also reveals Todd's apparent refusal to accept that the existing - and acute - political-cum-ethnic divisions in contemporary Ireland were articulated around precisely those religious distinctions that had been introduced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a result of the Reformation. What is more, Todd is clearly stating that an unbroken spiritual continuity exists between the pre-Reformation and post-Reformation Episcopal Church in Ireland. Claiming that the Church of Ireland stands in direct and unbroken succession both to the "primitive" Irish Church, and to that originally established by the Church of Rome.

Todd urged his readers to remember that the Irish Church was 'planted in a heathen land'.[96] For some centuries, he argued, the early Church continued to be surrounded on all sides by a very gross form of heathenism. He argued that this was derived partly from the superstitions and idolatry of the aboriginal Irish people, and partly - at least, in later times - from 'the pagan rites and doctrines of the Danes and Norsemen who established themselves in the country.'[97]

Todd acknowledged that 'unhappily a deeper insight into Irish history effaces much of this pleasing picture.'[98] He reminded his readers that even Patrick encountered difficulty in spreading the Christian message, and that it is 'not true that *all* Ireland was brought tranquilly under the influence of the Gospel.' He pointed the frequent and persistent attempts on Patrick's life; and that, on a few occasions, he had 'narrowly escaped the efforts of the Druids

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[94] Idem

[95] Idem

[96] Ibid p. 36

[97] Idem

[98] Ibid pp. 501, 502

to destroy him.'[99] Todd stressed that there were 'many places and districts that where the teaching of Patrick were rejected.'[100] This historical perspective - of being surrounded by an unreceptive and aggressive population - offered some degree of consolation to Irish Anglicans for the growing, daunting, and apparently insurmountable challenges that their Church faced at that time.[101]

According to Todd, the "Church of Ireland" was also under attack while engaged in extensive missionary work with 'the savage Picts' and 'heathen Saxons of Great Britain.'[102] At home, the Church struggled against 'a lawless and savage paganism, in the midst of which neither life nor property was secure; and against a state of society in which Christian life was impossible except in a community exclusively Christian.'[103] Todd suggested that whole tribes persisted in rejecting Christianity for many years, and that the consecration of multiple bishops without sees was therefore an obvious necessity.[104]

Todd concluded that Patrick seemed to have made himself 'all things,' in accordance with the apostolic injunction, to the rude and barbarous tribes in Ireland.' For Todd, it was especially significant that, in working with the indigenous Irish, Patrick always dealt 'tenderly with their usages and prejudices.'[105] Todd believed that although Patrick 'sometimes found it necessary to overturn their idols, and on some occasions risked his life, he was guilty of no offence or unnecessary iconoclasm':[106] For Todd, the essential key to Patrick's success lay in the fact that although he was 'a native of another country, he adopted the language of the Irish tribes,

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[99] Ibid p. 502

[100] Idem

[101] Other comparisons could be drawn between what Todd depictions as Patrick's successful mission strategy and the failures of the 16th century Reformed Church in Ireland.

[102] Ibid p. 37

[103] Idem

[104] It is clear from Todd's use of language, and from the way in which he ordered and developed this particular theme, that there are certain parallels which are heavily implied in his text between the representation of the early Irish Church, and his understanding of the contemporary position of the Church of Ireland.

[105] Ibid p.514

[106] Idem

and conformed to their political institutions.'[107] The parallels between Patrick and Ireland's contemporary Anglicans did not need to be laboured further - and the lessons that might be learned from Patrick's example were all too apparent.

III

Todd's *St Patrick* generated considerable public and critical interest throughout Ireland and Great Britain. The different reactions which it produced in those two territories reveals a good deal about the distinctions between Irish and English Anglicanism. English reviewers tended to consider Todd's book very much on its own terms as a work of dispassionate scholarship. *The Spectator*, for example, praised his 'handsome volume' - describing it as 'a mine of learning on the Early Irish Church, the Irish language and Irish Antiquities.' [108] *The London Quarterly Review* was similarly effusive: describing Todd as a 'scholar of extensive and multifarious learning,' who had 'always devoted a large share of his time and thought to the literature of his country.' [109] It even commended Todd's extraordinary 'ardour' in making himself 'a master of the Irish tongue.' The fact that Todd had learned the Irish language struck that reviewer as something which went well beyond the call of duty: he informed his readers – with a sense of awe and wonder - that at one time Todd's scholarly devotion had led him to spend a summer on "a lonely island on the Western coast were not a word of English was spoken.'[110]

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[107] Ibid p.515

[108] Review 'St Patrick Apostle of Ireland. A Memoir,' The Spectator 12th March 1864 p. 24

[109] Review 'St Patrick- Apostle of Ireland,' The London Quarterly Review April 1864

[110] Idem. Todd's descriptions of the Irish language are full of contradictions. On one hand, he describes the Irish language as 'uncouth' and speculates that it can even seem 'barbarous.' On the other hand, he displays obvious pride in his mastery of Irish, and refuses to change the original spelling of Irish names to make them appear more accessible 'to English eyes.' He sets out a guide to correct Irish pronunciation, and places considerable

The Gentlemen's Magazine also praised Todd's 'very valuable and learned work,' and claimed that he had provided convincing proof that the Church of St. Patrick was independent of the Pope and 'that the peculiar tenets of the Roman Church were not held by the early Irish Church.'[111] Its reviewer believed Todd had established that it is a 'singular caprice of history that at a subsequent period the position of the two branches of the Church in Ireland should have been entirely reversed.' Following on from this, the reviewer concluded, along with Todd, that 'the Reformation brought the English Church into the position of the early Church of the time of St. Patrick, and hatred of the English drove the Irish branch into the arms of the Pope.'[112]

The English response to Todd's book transcended simple sectarian divisions. The liberal English Roman Catholic journal *The Home and Foreign Review* – also found much in the work to praise. Despite some reservations, its reviewer felt Todd's dissertation on the character, and some of the usages of the ancient Irish Church, had 'put forward views which differ very much from those usually received, but which we think are nevertheless well

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stress upon the practical difficulties of properly understanding Irish history without a working knowledge of its native tongue. This emphasis fulfils several purposes for Todd: it grants him a relatively privileged position among his contemporary Irish historians, and it also pre-empts a certain amount of criticism from those scholars and readers who may not have acquired the same degree of proficiency in Irish.

[111] Historical and Miscellaneous Reviews, and Literary Notices 'James Henthorn Todd, Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, A Memoir of his Life and Mission with an Introductory Dissertation on some early usages of the Church of Ireland, and its Historical position from the Establishment of the English colony to the present day,' The Gentlemen's Magazine, Volume 216, January –June 1864 (John Henry and John Parker, London, 1864) p.366 Its reviewer also fully accepted Todd's contention that it was not until the 12th century that the 'Pope gave Ireland to King Henry II of England and authorised the invasion of Ireland to bring the Irish Church into the subjection of the Papacy, and that for two or three centuries, there were two distinct Christian Churches in Ireland.' These were identified as 'the ancient Irish Church, independent of Rome and partaking more of the Oriental character,' and 'the English Church in Ireland, authorised and sanctioned by the Pope and acknowledging subjection to the see of Rome.'

[112] Idem

worthy of consideration.'[113] This reviewer even conceded that 'perhaps we may add that the court of Rome was disposed before the Reformation to favour English political interests rather than Irish ones.'[114]

This reviewer was critical of some aspects of Todd's work, and considered it 'unnecessary to discuss seriously' the hypothesis that after the English invasion there were two churches in Ireland.[115] He felt that Todd 'might as well say that there are two churches amongst Catholics in Ireland at present, because some bishops may differ politically from others,' but that 'political differences of this kind do not entitle any one to speak of two Churches.'[116] He believed that 'here and there' Todd had 'not been sufficiently candid.' Nonetheless, he was prepared to concede that this error might be forgiven of 'a man in his position,' and concluded that Todd's book 'has set at rest completely the question of the character of the antient Irish Church.'[117]

What English Anglican and English Catholic reactions held in common was a failure to grasp – or even apprehend - the likely impact that Todd's work would have in Ireland, in both social and political terms. The reviewer for *The Spectator* blithely stated that it was 'uncontroversial in tone,' and that 'its temper and moderation are throughout admirable.'[118] To say the least, that was not how it was perceived in Ireland.

To begin with, it must be acknowledged that expectations placed on Todd's *St Patrick* in Ireland – particularly, amongst Irish Anglicans - were very great. The sense of expectation was heightened by the words of James Whiteside, the sitting M.P. for Trinity College at

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[113] The Home and Foreign Review, Volume IV (William and Norgate, London, 1864) p.286 The reviewer even produced additional evidence to corroborate Todd's views on the clannish nature of Irish society arguing that 'this view is borne out by the fact, which Dr. Todd has not noticed, that all the early Saints belonged to families of the great chieftains.'

[114] Ibid p. 287

[115] Idem

[116] Idem

[117] Idem

[118] Review 'St Patrick Apostle of Ireland. A Memoir,' The Spectator 12th March 1864 p. 24

Westminster. In the course of successive debates about the future of the Church of Ireland, Whiteside had claimed that Todd's impending publication would demonstrate in conclusive terms that Irish Anglicans stood in direct succession to the Early Irish Church – of which St. Patrick had been part.[119] In the contemporary Irish context, this implied that Todd's book would claim that Patrick – the patron saint of Ireland – was, in figurative terms, owned by the Church of Ireland.

When the book appeared, however, it did not sound that note of triumphalism. Instead, it caused contradictory reactions within the Church of Ireland, and these conflicting impulses are reflected in the reviews it received in Irish Anglican journals and periodicals. Such reviews ranged from enthusiastic and extravagant praise[120] to frustration and anger that Todd had failed to provide a solid and clear basis for arguments that could be used effectively in defense of the Church of Ireland. The reviewer for *The Christian Remembrancer* was content to suggest that Todd's work 'promises (...) more than it performs.'[121] What was also significant in the Irish Anglican reactions to Todd's book was that they did not simply conform to familiar divisions within the Church.

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[119] Whiteside concluded his address in defence of the Established Church of Ireland by declaring 'I will add, because I do not wish to conceal it, that it is mainly to be defended because it is connected with the Reformation. Let that event never be forgotten by Protestants. It burst the fetters that enchained the human mind. It taught people to think and shook the powers of darkness and of evil; and from that moment the Church of Ireland has held the lamp of truth. It may have been obscured but it has never been quenched. The light now shines with steady lustre, and will grow brighter and brighter every day, until, I trust, it will at last illuminate our island.' House of Commons Debate Select Committee Moved for Religious Endowments 19th May 1863. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third series vol 170, 1863 p. cc1988-2021 (London, 1864)

[120] The reviewer for *The Christian Remembrancer* described Todd's book as 'exhaustive,' and believed that it was to be prized, 'for the calm and measured and unaffected dignity of its style - neither flippant nor fine - and its entire freedom from polemical warmth and bitterness.'

[121] Article 1 'Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, A Memoir of his Life and Mission with an Introductory Dissertation on some early usages of the Church of Ireland, and its Historical position from the Establishment of the English colony to the present day, by James Henthorn Todd,' The Christian Remembrancer Vol, XLVIII July to October (John and Charles Mozley, London, 1864) p. 5

The Christian Examiner published two separate lengthy reviews of the book – a relatively unusual occurrence which, in itself, indicated the importance placed on the book.[122] Its reviewer, "J.P.M", praised the manner in which Todd's St Patrick was 'free from passion, and divested of that colouring which has made a romance of his life.' However, he also lamented that, instead of 'launching diatribes against Jocelyn and other fabulists,' Todd had 'adopted a judicious method of examining fact, weighing statements, sifting evidence, and of arriving at his conclusions only after a careful consideration of its premises.'[123] The reviewer did not intend his words as praise.

He went on to define exactly what he thought his fellow Irish Anglican readers sought from Todd's work: 'We want a man of fine critical acumen, who shall examine unsparingly the collection of critical biographies published by Colgan.'[124] In other words, what "J.P.M." seemed to want was something like a manifesto – around which the beleaguered troops of Irish Anglicanism could rally. For this reviewer, The Seven Lives of Patrick in the *Triadis thaumaturgae* should have been subject to a 'searching analysis' by Todd, and 'the residuum of indestructible fact laid side by side with the Saint's own autobiography, as the basis of this memoir.'[125] "J.P.M." posed a final question: 'How could Dr. Todd have hoped in a historical era, to have satisfied the legitimate demands of inquiry, without such a process?'[126] From this perspective, Todd had merely dallied with the enemies of the Church of Ireland, 'instead of dealing them a mortal blow.'[127]

The reviewer for *The Christian Remembrancer* began his critique with a remarkably candid admission. He confessed that he had cut open the pages of the book 'mainly interested at the first in ascertaining what were the views of Dr. Todd on the vexed questions of the present

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[122] These appeared on the 9th of January and on the 9th of March of 1864

[123]The Christian Examiner and Church of Ireland Magazine from January to December 1864 (George Herbert, Dublin, 1864) 9th January Issue p. 13

[124] Ibid 9th March Issue p. 68

[125] Idem

[126] Idem

[127] Ibid 9th March Issue p. 75

time.'[128] In other words, the reviewer was interested in Todd's historical research only insofar as it could be connected directly to the most pressing political issues of the day. The issues which the *Remembrancer's* reviewer admitted he was "curious to study" included Todd's opinions about the exact position of the Church of Ireland Ecclesiastical Commissioners; the Suppressed Bishoprics; Synodal action; Polemics; Tithes; and a dozen more very serious questions.[129] To say the least, it is remarkable that this reviewer hoped that a book - ostensibly devoted to a study of the Early Irish Church - would also directly address issues affecting the Church of Ireland in the middle of the nineteenth century.

This admission is telling because it indicates some of the underlying – if unrealistic - hopes and anxieties harboured by Irish Anglicans about Todd's book. In fact, rather than calming their anxieties and promoting a sense of solidarity among his co-religionists, Todd's work was far from re-assuring – at least, in the ways that many had anticipated. It could be said to have heightened the internal differences within Irish Anglicanism. In this context, we may appreciate why Denis Gargan mocked Todd's 'disavowal of arriving at conclusions on controversial prejudices.'[130]

IV

The reaction that Todd's work produced in Irish Catholic circles was very different to that among Anglicans, but it was equally significant. When the first critical responses from

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[128] Article 1 'James Henthorn Todd, Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland,' The Christian Remembrancer, July 1864 p.5 J.P.M identified 'a want of confidence inspired by the author's use of 'perhaps' (and) the phrases 'if this be so,'(or) 'if this be true.''

[129] Idem

[130] Denis Gargan, *The Ancient Church: A few remarks on Dr. Todd's 'Memoir of the Life of Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland'* (Dublin, 1864) p.7

Catholic sources were published, *The London Quarterly Review* treated them as quite predictable. The Review dismissed Irish Catholic criticisms of Todd's work on the grounds that their objectives were not scholarly, but 'entirely polemical.' The attitude of the London Quarterly Review was one of weary and somewhat condescending tolerance: 'We have no right to complain,' the Review editorialised, such criticism was only 'to be expected.' [131]

In reality, the critical reaction that Todd's work received in the Catholic press was highly unusual and noteworthy. [132] It may have begun with critiques from leading Catholic academics such as Denis Gargan and Patrick Francis Moran, but it also surfaced in the popular press. This response was not spontaneous, but was initiated, and, to an extent, orchestrated from within the Roman Catholic hierarchy by Cardinal Paul Cullen. What is also significant is that this concerted critical response is not one that Todd might reasonably have expected - because for many years he had enjoyed cordial relations with the some of the same Catholic scholars who now criticised his work.

At the end of the Preface to his *Saint Patrick*, Todd had noted in passing that the proof sheets had been corrected while he was 'resident on the continent, for (his) health in the early part of the year 1862.' [133] The comment is revealing because, unlike most of his contemporaries, Todd had travelled regularly and extensively throughout Europe. His diaries and correspondence are full of detailed discussion of these trips. [134] While abroad, he exerted

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[131] The London Quarterly Review Vol.119 January & April, 1866 p. 475 The reviewer acknowledged that 'we have no right to complain of this, such books were to be expected,' but he concluded that Todd's, 'opponents cannot for a moment get rid of the tone and temper of polemics; and they seek for every opportunity of destroying the credit of a writer from whose conclusions they shrink.'

[132] Traditionally, Catholic ripostes to Irish Anglican historians had tended simply to dismiss the current significance of their historical claims. They had been inclined to argue that Irish ecclesiastical history was valuable only as abstract history: if a small body of legislators hundreds of years ago had approved of a Protestant Reformation it did not mean – for the vast bulk of Irish Catholics – that the current institution of an established Protestant Church was anything other than a grave and palpable injustice.

[133] James Henthorn Todd, Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, p. x

[134] His visits to Rennes, St Gall, and Rome, on the track of manuscripts, in order to collate them and obtain a full description of their contents, are recounted in his lucidly written letters. The year 1843 finds him on a European

himself in procuring transcripts, or accurate accounts of Irish manuscripts that could be found in foreign libraries: 'endeavouring,' in the words of O'Curry, 'to recover for his native country 'as large a portion as possible' of her long lost and widely dispersed ancient literary remains.'[135]

Throughout his *Saint Patrick,* Todd made highly effective use of the knowledge he had gained from these visits, and there are many references to the Irish manuscripts collections that he had viewed. As well as the manuscripts held in Trinity College's Library, Archbishop Marsh's Library, the University of Edinburgh and the Bodleian, he also mentioned those found in St. Anthony's College, Louvain, the Burgundian Library and in Brussels. Perhaps most significant of all - he demonstrated a detailed awareness of some of the contents of the Vatican Archives - particularly those housed in the Barberini Library, and at St. Isidore's College in Rome. [136]

Todd's admission that he had gained access to these important Catholic archives was a significant revelation in itself. However, his private notebooks and letters – which have been unexamined until now - reveal that his access was much more extensive than he was prepared to acknowledge in public. It is true that Todd's access to such material coincided with a general relaxing of attitudes during the 1850s and 1860s. [137] However, it is important to note that this was still based on individual cases, and Todd's access to these sources preceded by several decades the official opening of the disparate Vatican archives and libraries in 1880. [138]

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tour. He lists the names of the towns on his itinerary with obvious relish: Aix, Cologne, Paderborn, Leipzig, Dresden, Karlsbad, Wurzburg, and the rest. Paderborn he describes as an antiquary's delight: 'not disturbed by a single ray of Protestantism, where there had been no Reformation to sweep away relics.' TCD Todd MS 2214/140.

[135] Alfred Webb, 'James Henthorn Todd,' A compendium of Irish Biography p.525

[136] James Henthorn Todd, Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, pp.32, 103

[137] This was before frontiers were hardened over the 'Syllabus,' the First Vatican Council and above all over the proclamation of papal infallibility.

[138] Katherine Walsh has maintained that even when the Vatican archives were first opened in the early 1880s the policies of popes and archivists 'wavered between leniency of access to the chosen few and uncompromising

Katherine Walsh has stressed the significance of the role of those individuals who first gained access to the Vatican archives as being 'particularly important for Ireland and for Irish historical research in Rome in the second half of the nineteenth century.' [139] As a result, Walsh argues that the earliest Irish historians – such as Todd - who gained access to such archival material have 'slipped by almost unnoticed.' [140] Not surprisingly, the first two Irish scholars who can be identified as regular users of the Vatican Archives before the official opening were Roman Catholic priests: one was the vice-rector of the Irish College in Rome, the nephew of Cardinal Paul Cullen, and the future Cardinal and Archbishop of Sydney, Patrick Francis Moran - the other was a Galway-born Dominican, Michael A. Costello.

The archives of the papal *Camera*[141] had belonged to curial departments that were scattered across Rome. They came under state control after the Italian state's occupation of the city in

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insistence on the ban which prevented unauthorized persons from entering the archive under pain of excommunication, combined with refusal to permit archival material in the hands of anybody except the (minute) staff of the archive itself.' Katherine Walsh, 'The Opening of the Vatican Archives (1880-1881) and Irish Historical Research,' in Archivium Hibernicum, Vol. 36 (1981), p. 34 The eventual opening of these archives led, in turn, to the establishment of a number of government institutions such as the Ecole Francaise de Rome (1875); the Austrian Historical Institute (Istituto Austriaco di Studii Storici 1881); and the Prussian Historical Institute (Istituto Storico Prussiano 1887/8). However, only those scholars who came as government representatives to study the sources relating to their own countries were granted admittance. In 1980, this centenary was celebrated by the representatives of these national projects. Papers were delivered by Austrians, British, French, Germans and Spaniards - members of an international union of academies and scholarly institutes that are located in Rome. They reconsidered the impact that the opening of the Vatican archives had had on their respective historiographical traditions. Primarily, these scholars dealt with the careers and researches of their own, largely government-sponsored predecessors. However, as no Irish Government has ever established such an institution, Ireland was not directly represented at this important symposium, and Irish research in the Vatican archives was only presented under 'Ricerche inglesi nell' Archivio Segreto Vaticatio.'

[139] Ibid p. 35

[140] Idem

[141] These were later used extensively by William Maziere Brady for his *Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland, A.D. 1400 to 1875, with Appointments to Monasteries, and Extracts from Manuscripts in Public and Private Libraries in Rome, Florence, Bologna, Vienna, and Paris* (Rome, 1876–77)

1870 – thus, making consultation easier.[142] Todd was the first Irish Anglican to consult Vatican archives. It is not hard to understand why he was afforded such privileged access. Todd was perceived within the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy as sympathetic and liable to convert - just as his brother had already done. Todd's reputation as an outstanding scholar in Ireland and Britain meant he was regarded as a valuable and high-profile asset to be won over by the Roman Church. Although he did not convert, the avenues of contact and personal connections that Todd used to obtain access to the Vatican archives were to prove of similar value for another Irish Anglican historian - William Maziere Brady - with rather different consequences.

It is clear that Todd had an informed knowledge of the libraries in Rome long before he eventually visited them. In 1846, he had written to F.B. Woodward, 'Did you ever hear from Rome of the ancient Irish manuscripts formerly in the Ambrosian Library but removed by Cardinal Neri to Rome and afterwards given on his application to Dr McHale, who instead of publishing (as he intended) suppressed them on finding that they represent the ancient religion of Ireland as *Puseyism* not Romanism?' [143] Contained within Marsh's Library - among an un-catalogued mass of William Reeves' papers - there is a notebook and a collection of letters from Todd's time in Rome and Milan. These reveal the dates, times, and locations of the many manuscripts that he consulted. [144] They also include references to many of the individuals that he met while was there. He met with Tobias Kirby at the Irish College in Rome, indeed Cullen wrote his letter of introduction.[145] Todd's letters also mention a series of fruitful and cordial meetings with Patrick Francis Moran.

At that time, Moran was collecting the materials subsequently published in his *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation* (1864) and *Spicilegium Ossoriense*.(3

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[142] Leonard E. Boyle, A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto 1972) p. 42.

[143] N.L.I., Todd MS 2252

[144] Marsh's Library MS 286

[145] Irish College, Rome Kirby papers KIR/1862/23 Letter from Cullen to Kirby 6th of February 1862

vols 1879) Todd notes that they discussed this material at considerable length, and in some depth. Although some of the documents published by Moran in his earlier work were drawn from the Consistorial archive (Acta Camerarii), and may have been technically outside the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, they were housed in the courtyard of S. Damaso in the Vatican until 1907. Others - concerning the legateship of Cardinal Reginald Pole, and the appointment in 1554 of his former chaplain William Walsh as Bishop of Meath - were definitely drawn from within the archives proper. Todd is directly mentioned only in passing - a total of seven times - in Moran's *History*, and some of his claims are directly refuted by Moran. Nonetheless, Moran consistently refers to him in respectful terms. We are told, for example, that Moran is 'indebted' to the 'learned and impartial' Dr. Todd for the publication of the Loftus MS, in Marsh's Library. [146]

Todd's cordial meetings with Moran and other prominent Roman Catholics in Rome and Milan - along with the privileged access that he was granted - must have filled him with confidence that his book would be received with some degree of respect from Catholic scholars in Ireland. However, unknown to him, Archbishop Cullen had heard a report that Todd had purchased seventy-four volumes of the *Acts of the Congregation of the Holy Office* from a continental dealer, and deposited them in Trinity's library. Cullen feared that Galileo's trial was in the collection, and that Todd intended to make controversial use of this source material in ways that could be damaging to the credibility of the Roman Catholic Church.[147]

Cullen's suspicions of Todd were exacerbated by Whiteside's provocative speech in the British House of Commons. In some respects, Cullen's sense of moral outrage at Todd's alleged appropriation of St. Patrick seemed a little contrived. Cullen had, after all, placed Ireland in 1852 under the special patronage of the Blessed Virgin - rather than Saint Patrick -

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[146] Patrick Francis Moran, *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1864) pp.7, 47

[147] Irish College, Rome Kirby papers KIR/1862/217 Cullen to Kirby 20th November 1862

leading the *Dublin Evening Mail* to speculate that he had 'predicted the downfall of the old national saint.' [148]

Cullen's antipathy to Todd's work seemed to grow rapidly: in a letter to his secretary, Tobias Kirby, he dismissed Todd's work – perhaps, with a degree of cynicism - as 'anti Catholic enough, but so expensive and scholarly not many will read it.' He concluded that it was 'a work of no merit either literary or antiquarian.' [149] At the same time, Cullen encouraged his protégé Moran to publish a series of essays which refuted – at least, to Cullen's satisfaction - what he believed to be Todd's absurd claim that Saint Patrick had really been a Protestant. Todd's work was further attacked by another of Cullen's associates, Denis Gargan, then Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Royal College of St. Patricks, Maynooth.[150]

The second half of Moran's collection of essays sought to challenge various modern theories about Saint Patrick. Alongside brief and temperate discussions of Irish Anglicans, such as Ussher, Ledwich, and Sir William Bentham, and Roman Catholic scholars, such as Lanigan and Petrie, he dedicated three full chapters (V, VI, and VII) to dealing with 'latest writer on the history of our apostle.' This writer, he claimed, 'has given his name to some theories which are repugnant to the traditions of Ireland, and are in direct contradiction to the explicit testimony of the earliest and most authentic of its records.' [151] The author of these 'repugnant' theories is identified by Moran – with a disdainful formality - as 'the learned professor of Trinity College, Dr. James Henthorn Todd.' [152]

Moran identified three principal assertions that he believed were integral to Todd's 'special theory connected with St. Patrick.' [153] These were, first, that St. Palladius was not a deacon of

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[148] Dublin Evening Mail, November 11th 1852

[149] Irish College, Rome Kirby papers KIR/1863/322 Letter to Tobias Kirby December 11th 1863

[150] Gargan replaced Mathew Kelly as Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Maynooth on the 21st June 1859. C.J Woods. 'Denis Gargan,' Dictionary of Irish Biography

[151] Patrick Francis Moran, The Origin, Doctrines and Discipline of the Early Irish Church (James Duffy, Dublin, 1864) p. 51

[152] Idem

[153] Idem

the Roman Church, but only a deacon of the bishop of Auxerre, St. Germanus. Second, that St. Patrick did not enter on the apostolate of Ireland earlier than the year 440. And, third, that consequentially, St. Patrick's mission to Ireland had no connection with, or sanction from the Roman pontiff, St Celestine. In each of the three chapters dedicated to Todd's Life, Moran selected one specific area within these three principal assertions, which he then examined and refuted in considerable detail. Chapter V, for example, dealt with Todd's argument that St. Palladius was not a deacon of the Roman Church. [154]

In the Preface to his *The Ancient Church: A few remarks on Dr. Todd's 'Memoir of the Life of Saint Patrick*,' Denis Gargan sought to diminish the positive reviews that Todd's work had received - not only from Irish and English Anglican publications. He also attempted to downplay the tolerant response and degree of acceptance that it had received from some Roman Catholic reviews in England. Gargan cautioned his readers that these reviewers had 'hastily adopted all the learned Professor's opinions, either as quite congenial to their own, or as emanating from a great name.' [155]

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[154] Moran posed the question 'does the famous Book of Armagh expressly style him chief deacon of Pope Celestine - for it is thus Dr. Todd himself teaches us to translate archidiaconis, archiepiscopus, and similar words in the ancient monuments of our Church?' Having already given a lengthy extract from the Life of St. Patrick by Muirchu-Macca-Mactheni, Moran noted that Todd had given the same passage on page 288 of his St. Patrick. He highlighted that this passage was also given by Petrie in Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. XVIII, part 2, page 84, and that could be found in the Liber Armacanus, fol. 2. Given this, Moran argues trenchantly that 'it seems strange, that Dr. Todd when translating that passage of our early writer, merely says "Palladius was ordained and sent." Moran also drew attention to Todd 'omit(ing) the phrase which would alone suffice to falsify his subsequent assertion: "Palladius, chief deacon of Pope Celestine, Bishop of the city of Rome." In support of this, Moran pointed out that the Book of Armagh is not 'the only monument to expressly describe Palladius as deacon of Rome': the Vita Secunda in a passage, which Moran notes Todd himself 'judges "probably not later than the eighth century," contains a passage which states clearly: 'Pope Celestine ordained Bishop the chief deacon of the Roman Church, named Palladius, and sent him to the island of Hibernia.'

[155] Denis Gargan, *The Ancient Church: A few remarks on Dr. Todd's 'Memoir of the Life of Saint Patrick'* Preface

Gargan also sought to offer some service to those who felt their 'long-cherished opinions disturbed by the arguments of a writer, whose fallacies they have suspected, but which, owing to many circumstances, they have been unable to detect.' Todd, he maintained, had 'perverted the facts of early Irish history, by concealing or keeping out of view the circumstances by which they were surrounded.' [156] Gargan chose to situate his rejection of Todd's work within the context of the most current European historiographical developments - comparing Todd unfavourable to Barthold Georg Niebuhr. The implication is clear: while Todd's work may find favour with writers and critics of his own persuasion, the work would assuredly lose its popularity whenever Todd's views are impartially examined by empirical tests of historical truth.

Like Moran, Gargan targeted a number of 'notions' – this time six of them - advanced in Todd's work as especially deserving of vigorous refutation. Todd's arguments were dismissed as 'clouded and obscured.' [157] The first of these was Todd's claim that diocesan jurisdiction had not existed in Ireland before the twelfth century. Gargan also questioned Todd's contention that the Irish Church underwent a decline during the sixth and seventh centuries. Todd had reached this judgement on the basis of a number of testimonies. Gargan attempted to show – in some detail - that these testimonies were lacking in the substance necessary to support such a serious conclusion. He highlighted various points that Todd 'plainly ignores,' or was 'almost entirely silent' about certain important issues. [158]

Todd had claimed that Saint Patrick was illiterate and ignorant, and that the story of his education under Saint Germanus was false. In order to substantiate this he had drawn from Saint Patrick's *Confession* and the *Hymm of Secundinus*. Todd's allegation that that Saint Patrick had no commission from Pope Celestine was treated by Gargan under the disparaging heading of 'Dr. Todd's negative arguments.' In this part of his refutation, he focused upon the apparent silence observed by Todd about the mission from Rome in a variety of sources.

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[156] Ibid p.9

[157] Ibid pp.31, 32 and on p116 Todd is described as having 'clouded and unsettled notions.'

[158] Ibid p. 15

Under the heading 'Todd's Chronological Difficulties against the Roman Mission of St. Patrick,' he rebutted Todd's arguments by drawing from various credible Catholic sources.

The final charge brought by Gargan was perhaps, the most damning: he observed that 'we are left strangely at a loss to know whether the form of Christianity which he (Patrick) introduced into our island in the fifth century was in harmony or variance with Catholicity as the prevailing in the east and west, and as still prevailing in all churches in connection with the chair of Peter.'[159]

These responses to Todd's work had been published in book form, but they also gave rise, in ten, to critiques in several journals. Initially, *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* - founded and edited by Cullen - purported not to take Todd's book too seriously: it was presented by the reviewer as a sort of scandalous addendum to the real matter in hand - which was a studious examination of Moran's *Essays on The Origin, Doctrines and Discipline of the Early Irish Church* and his *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin since the Reformation* – and Gargan's *The Ancient Church of Ireland.* The reviewer stated that he would simply offer 'a few remarks on Dr. Todd's Memoir of the Life and Mission of Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland.' [160] Nonetheless, it is clear that the works of the two Catholic authors were being summoned by this reviewer primarily in order to refute Todd's conclusions.

The Irish Ecclesiastical Record felt that the indisputable calibre of Todd's scholarship had only made a comprehensive refutation more necessary: 'coming from such a source, and which, as we have seen, strike at the very heart of our ecclesiastical glory, we had need of a work conceived in good temper, executed with scholarly precision, and giving proof as well as extensive acquaintance with our ancient records, as of critical skill in their interpretation.' [161] Its reviewer stated in categorical terms - and using quasi-military imagery - that there were 'two positions that command the whole field of Irish Church History.' The first of these was the original connection of the Irish Church with the See of Rome; the second was that the

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[159] Ibid p. 105

[160] "Notices of Books," *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* Vol 1 (1865) p.41

[161] Ibid p.42

Catholic hierarchy has remained constant in its fidelity to Rome - 'especially in the time of the Reformation.' The reviewer warned that to 'deny either of these' meant that 'the whole aspect of our ecclesiastical history is immediately changed.' [162]

The question arises as to why Todd decided to enter this area of dispute at such a late stage of his career. Denis Gargan depicted Todd's decision as fundamentally one of vanity: what 'a long role of many other Irish historians left unaccomplished, it was for him to complete.' Gargan accused Todd of being resolved to nothing less than a complete 'reconstruction' of early Irish ecclesiastical history.[163] No doubt, there is an element of vanity when anyone engages in such an ambitious intellectual project. However, there is no reason to presume that Todd either foresaw the negative reaction that his work would receive within Ireland, or wished to seek out such attention.

By the time this book was published, Todd's health was already beginning to fail; his *St Patrick* was to be one of the last major public works before his death in 1869. According to G. O. Simms, Todd continued 'to the end of his days' to be 'a warrior in the academic and ecclesiastical field, and his head remained unbowed.' [164] In a remarkable letter to Reeves - concerning the possibility of crowd trouble at the unveiling of the O'Connell Monument - Todd described himself as 'a bulldog,' ever-ready to defend his beloved Trinity against an angry mob.[165] Throughout his career, Todd was acutely aware that his own high church beliefs were somewhat removed from the majority of Irish Anglicans. Although he was unapologetic for his beliefs, he was still cautious: knowing the potential dangers he might face from all sides if he revealed them too clearly.

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[162] Idem In this sustained – and, at times, vitriolic - critique, Todd's scholarship is characterised as incompetent, repugnant, inauthentic, unoriginal and trivial. At the same time, these judgements are tempered with expressions of pious regret – as if the review had been written more in sorrow than anger, and Todd were to be pitied rather than condemned for his errors.

[163] Denis Gargan, The Ancient Church: A few remarks on Dr. Todd's 'Memoir of the Life of Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland' (James Duffy, Dublin, 1864) p. 8

[164] G.O Simms, James Henthorn Todd, p. 9

[165] TCD Reeves correspondence MS.2903/6 Dated 8th of August 1864

Todd welcomed with some enthusiasm the appointment of Richard Chenevix Trench as Archbishop of Dublin. He wrote to his nephew in 1863: 'our new Archbishop is likely to be a success. He is high Church, which will be a great change - I already see symptoms of a turning tide among the clergy of Dublin and I have little doubt that in a year or two they will all come over the high church views.' Todd's hopes for the future of the Irish Anglican Church were further raised when Trench 'called upon me the first thing he did and has appointed Dr (Alfred. T.) Lee his examining chaplain, so that our star is in the ascendant.' [166]

Todd's optimism was shared by other members of his family: in that same year, his brother, the lawyer Charles H. Todd, published a legal history of Irish synods whose main theme was their relationship to Parliament, and which was clearly written from a high church perspective. This may have encouraged Todd to write his own *Life* of Saint Patrick - which was strongly imbued with a high church ethos. In fact, as it transpired, he had also fundamentally misjudged the part that Trench would play in the Church of Ireland. The new Archbishop was deeply unhappy when he saw the term 'Puseyite Trench' chalked up on walls around Dublin. [167] Trench sought to assuage the evangelicals' concerns on this matter, and promptly distanced himself from high church associations. [168]

Although Todd sought to defend the Church of Ireland, his views on its history were highly individual – even idiosyncratic - and did not conform simply to standard Irish Anglican narratives, despite the expectations of some of its readers. As James Golden has argued, any history of the Irish Church 'seemed inevitably to prompt a discussion of the nature of English

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[166] Todd MSS., T.C.D., MS. 2214/166

[167] Michael James Thompson, 'The high church tradition in Ireland 1800-1870 with particular reference to John Jebb and Alexander Knox', (unpublished Master's thesis, Durham University, 1992) p. 106

[168] William Magee's analysis of the situation in Dublin was brutally honest 'I am sincerely sorry to hear ... of Archbishop Trench and the Evangelicals. Trench is our last hope for the Irish Church. If he seriously estranges himself from the Evangelicals before he can reform and elevate them, we shall have to encounter a fierce Puritanical reaction making the Irish clergy, if possible, more Calvinistic and Low Church than they are now, and utterly alienating the Irish Ultra-protestant laity.' Quoted in John Bromley, The Man of Ten Talents: a Portrait of Richard Chenevix Trench, 1807-1886 (London, 1959), p. 169

governance in Ireland, and suggest that Irish national spirit resided in the Church despite English machinations.' [169]

Todd was remarkably candid in his assessment of some of the traditional pillars of Irish Anglican historical narratives - acknowledging the 'considerable difficulty' that had been created by 'the attempt to make out a regular succession of Bishops in Armagh and elsewhere.' He was emphatic in his rejection of such claims: stating categorically that 'the truth is, there was no such thing.' [170] In the immediate build up to the Disestablishment crisis, Todd's work began to take on a new significance: James Godkin, a Unitarian, even argued in *Ireland and Her Churches* published in 1867 that the real significance of Todd's *St Patrick* was that he had 'dug a pit into which the Patrician successionists have all descended.' [171]

Irish Anglican dissatisfaction was seized upon - with evident glee - by some Roman Catholic critics. In *The Dublin Review* - in a section called Our Contemporaries – one critic stated that 'perhaps we ought not to be too hard upon one who so misread the facts before his eyes when we find him tripping in matters of history,' and that 'irritated at not finding more pabulum for his credulity, he nevertheless pronounces everything he does find excellent. His only cry is for more.' [172]

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[169] James Golden, 'Protestantism and Public Life: The Church of Ireland, Disestablishment, and Home Rule, 1864-1874', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2011 p. 23

[170] James Henthorn Todd, Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland, p. 172

[171] James Godkin, Ireland and Her Churches, (Chapman and Hall, London, 1867) p. 40

[172]Our Contemporaries, The Dublin Review, Volume III; July –October Volume 55 edited by Nicholas Patrick Wiseman (Duffy, Kelly, and Other Booksellers in Dublin, Dublin, 1864) p. 512 It mocked *The Christian Remembrancer*'s reviewer for instantly discerning in Dr. Todd 'the Virgil and Beatrice all in one who is like another Dante, through the Paradise, Hell and Purgatory of Irish Ecclesiastical History. The first stage is Paradise, the primitive un-Roman (!) Church of Ireland; the second is that inferno created by the Popes in the medieval times; the third is that place of waiting for better and brighter things, the existing Irish Establishment.' *The Dublin Review* further derided and ridiculed *The Christian Remembrancer*'s 'most impotent conclusion.' This was the claim that these 'evils can be remedied' by two very simple and impending changes: first, the Primate of Armagh has only to 'employ his unbounded influence with the Orange faction, and induce these

When Moran's work was released, Cullen informed Kirby – with evident delight - that it had shocked the whole intellectual world of Trinity. If Todd believed that his academic standing and reputation would prevent such trenchant refutations, he was mistaken: Cullen reported, with some satisfaction, that 'Dr. Todd is very angry, it is said, with Dr. Moran. He expected to be let off quite free, and now he thinks it a hardship to have his theories overthrown in so effectual a manner.' [173]

Cullen had now developed an enthusiastic interest in church history, and he assured Kirby that so long as he was around no one was going 'to give a Protestant colouring to our old Fathers.' [174] Cullen's main champion in intellectual combat was his nephew, but he was already looking for possible reinforcement in the form of Anglican scholars who might convert to the one true faith. He wrote to Kirby in March of 1867 that he thought that Moran had 'silenced all the Deans and Archdeacons of the Protestant Church. They appear all to have retired from the field.' Cullen then expressed his interest in the emergence of the 'Rev Dr. Brady, nephew of the ex-chancellor,' whom he noted was 'writing powerfully against the Protestant Church,' and 'putting it down.' He simply concluded 'I hope he will become a Catholic.' [175]

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wolves of loyalty to lie down with the lambs of the Church,' and, second, the Archbishop of Dublin has only to '*awaken a stronger feeling of Churchmanship among the Irish.*' *The Dublin Review* concluded with heavy irony: 'no doubt all these things will be altered.'

[173] Irish College, Rome Kirby papers KIR/1864/140 Cullen to Kirby July 19th 1864 He continues 'The people are beginning to talk about Dr. Moran's work. The case here, however, is that no one reads anything except newspapers and novels. Even the priest rarely read anything serious.' Cullen would later write that Todd 'is supposed to be correcting his work on St. Patrick, after admitting that Dr. Moran's work was that of a scholar and a gentleman.' Irish College, Rome Kirby papers KIR/1864/159 21st August 1864

[174] Irish College, Rome Kirby papers KIR/1867/22 16th January 1867

[175] Irish College, Rome Kirby papers KIR/1867/70 1st March 1867

CHAPTER FIVE: THE MOST IMPUDENT FALSEHOOD IN HISTORY

I

In 1866, William Maziere Brady published his *Facts or fiction: the alleged conversion of the Irish bishops to the reformed religion, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth; and the assumed descent of the present established hierarchy in Ireland from the ancient Irish church, disproved.* With Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland already on the agenda of the Westminster parliament, this work made an immediate impact, running to five editions in its first two years.[1] Brady had already published other articles and pamphlets in favour of Disestablishment, but this work, which was adapted to counter the challenges of his critics, proved to be his most controversial and important contribution. As its full title indicates, Brady denied that Ireland's bishops at the time of the Irish Reformation had converted to the Protestant religion, and, in so doing, also denied the claim that the Church of Ireland formed part of an Apostolic Succession from the Early Irish Church.

In the Preface, Brady sought at once to explain his purpose - and to occupy the high moral ground: arguing that, if the Church of Ireland were to be preserved, 'that cannot be done by stifling and suppressing truth, and it is better that an admission of error should come from within the Church itself than that its being upheld by falsehood should be hurled against it, with much damaging force by hostile hands.'[2] It was in this context that Brady claimed to hope that he would 'be pardoned for the part he now takes in contradicting what has been

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[1] All subsequent four editions of the work were entitled *The Irish Reformation or The alleged conversion of the Irish bishops to the reformed religion, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth; and the assumed descent of the present established hierarchy in Ireland from the ancient Irish church, Disproved.* (Second Edition, London, 1866) (Third Edition, London, 1866) (Fourth Edition, London, 1867) (Fifth Edition, London, 1867)

[2] William Maziere Brady, *Facts or Fiction: The alleged conversion of the Irish bishops to the reformed religion, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth; and the assumed descent of the present established hierarchy in Ireland from the ancient Irish church, Disproved in 1866*, preface. (Dublin, 1866)

described to him, by perhaps the highest living authority, as 'the most impudent falsehood in all history'.'[3]

The 'highest living authority' cited by Brady was James Anthony Froude, and Brady's endorsement of Froude's scathing and unambiguous dismissal of the claims of previous Irish Anglican writers would no doubt have provoked and angered many of Brady's co-religionists. It was not surprising that *The Times* soon reported that he had been 'denounced by many of his brethren as a kind of sacerdotal Iscariot.'[4] The sense of profound shock, disbelief, betrayal, and incomprehension that Brady's work generated amongst Irish Anglicans is well reflected by the reviewer for *The Ecclesiastic,* who offered 'another theory,' which he felt was 'admissible,' to explain why Brady had undertaken to write such an iconoclastic work: 'Dr. Brady may be under an hallucination. Such forms of insanity are not uncommon.'[5] That verdict might have seemed to have been vindicated, in the eyes of some Church of Ireland members, by Brady's later conversion to Roman Catholicism.

There were a number of well-known Irish Anglican converts to Catholicism in the course of the nineteenth century – particularly, in its latter half. Some of these came from the upper echelons of Southern Irish society, such as the Earl of Dunraven, Lord Granard, and Sir Aubrey de Vere. Although P.M.H. Bell has maintained Brady's conversion was 'an exception amongst clergymen of the Irish Church,'[6] there were some other notable converts from the senior ranks of the Irish Anglican clergy, such as Edward G. Kirwan Browne,[7] Thomas Lloyd Coghlan, George Montgomery,[8] and William Gowan Todd - the younger brother of James

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[3] Idem.

[4] 'The Irish Establishment in The Reign of Elizabeth,' *The Times*, Thursday, Aug 20th, 1868.

[5] 'Lee and Brady on the Irish Succession,' *The Ecclesiastic*, Volume XXVIII, January to December 1866 p.528.

[6] P.M. H. Bell *Disestablishment in Ireland and Wales*.(London, 1959) p.64.

[7] Edward G. Kirwan Browne was author of *Annals of the Tractarian Movement, Trials of Faith,* and Professor of Classics at Trinity College, Dublin

[8] W. Gordon Gorman, *Converts to Rome: a list of about four thousand Protestants who have recently become Roman Catholics,* Second Edition (London, 1885) p. 47.

Henthorn Todd.[9] While each of these conversions may have caused a degree of dismay and confusion among the Church of Ireland faithful, it is unlikely that any convert left quite as damaging a legacy to their former Church as Dr. William Maziere Brady.

In the immediate build up to the Irish Church Act of 1869, his *The alleged conversion of the Irish bishops to the reformed religion* played an influential role, and generated considerable critical reaction from Irish and British historians. In response, Brady contributed numerous letters and articles to a wide variety of national and local papers. In October of 1868 alone, he wrote to his friend John Ribton Garstin of his intention to send letters to *The Times* of London, *Daily News*, *Pall Mall*, *Fraser's* and the *Contemporary Review*.[10] His interventions helped to inform much of the public and parliamentary debate that surrounded Disestablishment.

Brady's most famous and contentious work was written before his conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1873. His conversion has – perhaps, understandably - come to dominate interpretations of Brady's career, and has influenced the manner in which this publication has been evaluated. It has been viewed as an explanation for his rejection of traditional Irish Anglican depictions of the Reformation. However, other possible reasons for Brady's conversion have not been adequately explored. Desmond Bowen, for example, merely noted that he was 'converted through the agency,' of Patrick Francis Moran.[11] It may never be possible to determine with any degree of certainty the sincerity of Brady's changed religious convictions, or his precise motives. His correspondence and papers – ignored, until now - do, however, provide some important insights, and not only into his own personal reasoning. Perhaps more importantly, they help to situate Brady and his political beliefs within a wider - and a specifically Irish - context. His letters to William Gladstone and his secretary Chicester

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[9] '"Rome's Recruits:" A list of Protestants who have become Catholics since the Tractarian movement. Reprinted with numerous additions and corrections', from *The Whitehall Review* of September 28th, October 5th,12th, and 19th 1878 (London, 1878) pp. 11,21 and 23.

[10] NLI MS 8609/1, contained letter to John Ribton Garstin dated October 1868.

[11] Desmond Bowen, *History and the Shaping of Irish Protestantism* (New York, 1995) p.308.

Fortesque, also provide a unique perspective to the behind the scenes negotiations that led up to the Irish Church Act.

In the wake of Disestablishment, Brady's legacy and work – particularly, within the Church of Ireland - were largely dismissed. When Anglican scholars referenced his work, it was usually to denounce his ideas as incorrect, or even abhorrent, or the product of a slavish devotee of James Anthony Froude. This is a perspective which continues to shadow Brady, but it is one that is flawed at a fundamental level. Far from being a product of individual isolation, Brady's work exhibits certain critical similarities and differences with other Irish and English Anglican historical narratives of the period. Rather than representing a radical break, the impulses which drive and inform Brady's arguments also have an underlying connection with the work of earlier Irish Anglican writers. In this context, Brady's work can be seen to represent one way of resolving some of the inherent conflicts that had long existed within the Church of Ireland historiography.

A recurring and distinguishing characteristic of Irish Anglican writers is the explicit desire to reaffirm the intrinsic Irishness of their Church - as distinct from the Church of England. For all his attempts to move away from the traditions and attitudes found within the Irish Anglican community, it is not surprising that Brady retained an abiding connection with the Church in which he had been raised. He retained a particular pre-occupation with the origins and nature of the Church of Ireland, and its claim to be authentically Irish. However, while other Anglican writers wished to emphasise the spiritual continuity of their Church with native Irish traditions, Brady's arguments tended to lead in precisely the opposite direction.

For a significant number of Irish Anglican converts to Catholicism, the change of religious allegiance was also accompanied by a change of political perspective and affiliation. This was not the case with Brady. Ironically, for someone who seemed so mindful of English condescension towards the Irish, he remained a committed Unionist even after his religious conversion. It is clear, from his correspondence with Patrick Francis Moran, David Moriarty, Henry Edward Manning, Goldwin Smith and Aubrey De Vere, that there was a certain logic for him to wish to reconcile an internal contradiction - of considering himself, at the same

time, both Irish and Unionist - by becoming a Catholic. In this respect, his work represents an important example of the interaction between southern Irish Anglicanism and Roman Catholic Unionism which has seldom been thoroughly examined.

II

William Maziere Brady was born in Dublin in January 1825 into an accomplished and well-connected family. He was the youngest son of a baronet, Sir Nicholas Brady, who had been knighted by George IV. Brady's mother, Katherine, was the daughter and co-heiress of Peter Johnson, a Controller of the Customs in Ireland. Brady's uncle - after whom he was named - was Maziere Brady, who had become the first Irish-born Lord Chancellor of Ireland to be appointed since the Act of Union. Beyond that, Brady could claim direct descent from the Gaelic chieftains of the once powerful O'Grady clan. The family's original name had been changed to Brady by Sir Denis O'Grady - who also became the first in his family to change his religion. [12]

Brady was admitted to Trinity College, Dublin, as a pensioner in 1842, and had graduated with honours in classics as B.A in 1848. Subsequently, he graduated with a B.D. in 1858 and a D.D. in 1863. He was taught by, or studied alongside, many of the same historians and theologians that he would later seek to discredit: these included Charles Richard Elrington, James Henthorn Todd, Joseph Henderson Singer, Samuel Butcher, and William Reeves, amongst others. His clerical career began in 1848, when he was ordained as a deacon in St. Patrick's Cathedral. The following year, he was ordained as an Anglican priest in Lisburn. Given his family background and his own intellectual ability, it was not entirely surprising that he rose rapidly within the ranks of the Church of Ireland. In 1848, he was appointed Curate in Maynooth; in 1849, he became curate of Kilkeedy, in Limerick. Further preferment

[12] Thompson Cooper, 'William Maziere Brady' in *Men of the Time: A Dictionary of Contemporaries, Containing Biographical notices of eminent characters of both sexes.* (London, 1884).

saw Brady become perpetual curate of St. Dolough's, in Dublin, in 1851. In that year, he also married Miss Frances Walker. His new wife's family had similarly impeccable credentials within the Church of Ireland: her father and mother could both trace their lineages back to distinguished Anglican Divines. In the 1850s, Brady was appointed as one of the Chaplains of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by three successive Viceroys.[13]

It would be no exaggeration to state that Brady, at this point of his career, was widely regarded as being – by birth, and attainment - at the very heart of the Irish Anglican establishment. As such he was one of the most improbable candidates to launch a trenchant and blistering critique of some of the most deeply held beliefs among Church of Ireland members. The fact that someone of Brady's background was capable of publishing such a critique increased the impact of his work within the Irish Anglican community.

There are, however, early indications that Brady's ideas were in opposition to many of his contemporary co-religionists in Ireland. Chris Morash has commented that Aubrey de Vere's notebooks reveal that he 'was suffering that most Victorian metaphysical malaise, a religious crisis.'[14] Brady's papers and notes - which begin in the 1850s and run until the 1890s - reveal a somewhat similar pre-occupation.[15] They are filled with references to historical works, and State papers relating to the Reformation and Irish history: indeed, this concern borders, at times, on an obsession. Signs of a growing bias on Brady's part are also quite evident in these private papers: although he considers a broad range of sources, there is a marked difference between the manner in which he deals with works from Roman Catholic writers, and those written by Irish and English Anglicans. With the latter, he is a great deal more critical – and

[13] Two letters from Henry Ponsonby dated January 10th 1853 and March 15th 1855 confirming his appointment NLI MS 8608/23.

[14] Chris Morash, 'The Little Black Rose Revisited: Church, Empire and National Destiny in the Writings of Aubrey de Vere,' in *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Dec., 1994), p. 45.

[15] NLI MS 8609 and NLI MS 8610

even, contemptuous and dismissive: systematically highlighting the most contentious and inflammatory passages of anti-Catholic rhetoric in these texts.[16]

He includes, for example, a speech from Marcus Beresford delivered at Dublin's Mansion House, in August 1834, in which Beresford boasted that 'we will get rid of the bloody Papist rebels from amongst us. We will stock our land with honest Protestants.'[17] In an undated letter to John Ribton Garstin, he writes 'I have nearly finished a 'smasher' of Mr [Alfred T.] Lee, his 4th edition of Facts (this appeared in 1865) is out and I have made a hare of him and Mess [Samuel] Butcher.'[18] These notes and his correspondence also provide crucial insight into the formation of Brady's political convictions - convictions that were closely connected to his eventual religious conversion.

It is hard to read through Brady's notes without concluding that that he was actively seeking out evidence which would confirm - and re-enforce - his own changing beliefs. In one letter, he records his exhilaration at finding no conflicting evidence to his interpretations in British State papers: 'I have got a dozen or two State Paper Extracts all in favour of 3 Bishops & have ascertained by an infallible (not papal) authority that no State Papers exist in London office which can be brought against me - Hurra!'[19]

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[16] MS 803 NLI. These works include John Jebb, *Remains of Alexander Knox* Vol I (1834), Richard Whately, *The Protestant Church in Ireland* (1832), The errors of romanism traced to their origin in human nature (1830) James Henthorn Todd, *St. Patrick Apostle of Ireland - A memoir of his life and mission* (1864), James Anthony Froude, *History of England Volumes I,V and X, Essays on the Irish Church By clergymen of the established church in Ireland* (1866), John D'Alton, *Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin* (1838), *History of the county of Dublin* (1838), E. J. Whately, *Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately* (1864), Robert King, *A Primer of Holy Catholic Church in Ireland* (1843), Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland* (1840) Anonymous, *The Irish Church-Important Tracts* (1835) Richard Murray, *Outlines of the Catholic Church in Ireland* (1840) Evelyn Philip Shirley, *Original letters and Papers- In Illustration of the History of the Church of Ireland, during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth* (1851).

[17] NLI MS 803 (This collection is not subdivided).

[18] NLI MS 8609/1.

[19] NLI MS 809/1.

Like many other high church Irish clergymen – such as Todd, King, and Elrington - Brady was also preoccupied by concerns of theological orthodoxy. His notebooks are full of references to doctrinal debates, and especially to the differences that existed in the constituent churches of the British Empire. He was particularly drawn to two cases: the first was the *Essays and Reviews* affair of 1864 - which exposed some of the inherent problems of the Established Church in Ireland. *Essays and Reviews* had initially been published in 1860, and, as its title indicates, consisted of a collection of short pieces by seven leading Anglican Churchmen. Each essay had been authored independently, and the seven essayists included Fredrick Temple - who Gladstone appointed Bishop of Exeter, and who eventually became Archbishop of Canterbury; Rowland Williams - a tutor at Cambridge, and later Professor of and Vice-Principal of St. David's University College, Lampeter; Baden Powell – an Anglican priest, and Professor of Geometry at Oxford; Henry Bristow Wilson- fellow of St. John's College, Oxford; Charles Wycliffe Goodwin- a former Fellow at St Catherine's, Cambridge;[20] Mark Pattison- Rector at Lincoln College, Oxford; and Benjamin Jowett - Fellow of Balliol College, and Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford.

There was no overall editorial policy informing this publication – beyond allowing each contributor to choose his own theme. Perhaps as a result of this editorial freedom, the collection caused some controversy. P.M.H. Bell notes that the book was 'condemned by the great majority of the clergy of the Church of England.'[21] Indeed, two of its contributors - Williams and Wilson - were brought to the Court of Arches, where they were found guilty of heresy. On appeal to the Judicial Committee in 1864, they were acquitted., and Brady was one of those who felt that the highest court of appeal had ruled that it was possible for clergymen of the Established Church to hold views which the great majority of their co-religionists thought to be, at best, objectionable – or, at worst, heretical.

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[20] Charles Wycliffe Goodwin was a fellow at St Catharine's College but he lost this in 1847 as his fellowship could be retained only by taking orders, which he could not do, his religious views having changed. Francis Espinasse, rev. Josef L. Altholz 'Charles Wycliffe Goodwin,' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

[21] P.M. H. Bell, *Disestablishment in Ireland and Wales*, p.12.

There is another revealing pamphlet which is referred to three times in Brady's notes, and which contains the conflicting views of the Bishops of Salisbury, Oxford, and Ossory, and the Bishop of Natal, on the issue of the Real Presence.[22] This doctrinal controversy arose out of the problem of biblical criticism. John William Colenso, the Bishop of Natal, had published a book in 1862 on Pentateuch and the book of Joshua. In this book, he had denied the historical accuracy of many of the statements of these biblical accounts. Colenso was promptly deprived of his see by the Bishop of Cape Town.

On appeal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ruled that the Bishop of Cape Town had no valid jurisdiction - although he was formally Colenso's metropolitan - and therefore the sentence was null and void. While this judgement passed no verdict on Colenso's alleged heresy, its practical effect was to keep him in his Bishopric. It also meant that the Colonial Bishoprics Fund would continue to pay his salary. A.O.J Cockshut has argued that, in effect, this appeared as if 'there was now a settled policy on the part of the courts to prevent the enforcement upon clergy of any standards of belief.'[23]

Although Brady was unsettled by the lack of uniformity within the Anglican Church, both of these cases may have emboldened him to be more vocal in his own criticisms. At this time, he began writing articles in newspapers and magazines - notably in *Fraser's Magazine* and the *Contemporary Review,* which addressed historical, antiquarian, and political subjects. However, the discernible shift in his religious views seems to have first emerged in public during a sermon that he preached in the Chapel Royal, Dublin, towards the end of Lord Carlisle's vice-royalty.[24] In this sermon, he openly denounced 'the wickedness of the State Church in Ireland, which applied the whole of the ancient ecclesiastical revenues for the benefit of a mere fraction of the people.'[25] Not surprisingly, the vehement, and somewhat

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[22] NLI MS 803.

[23] A.O.J Cockshut, *Anglican Attitudes- A Study of Victorian Religious Controversies* (London, 1959) p. 107.

[24] No exact date is given by Cooper and any references to it in Brady's papers only mention that it took place in 1864. It is likely that it was shortly before Lord Carlisle vacated his position in October of 1864. Stefanie P. Jones, 'George William Fredrick Howard,' Dictionary of Irish Biography

[25] Thompson Cooper, William Maziere Brady in *Men of the Time: A Dictionary of Contemporaries, Containing Biographical notices of eminent characters of both sexes.* (London, 1884) p.161

intemperate nature of this attack drew 'excited astonishment' from its audience, and his remarks were 'strongly censured by the organs of the Conservative party.'[26] In all likelihood, this event also led to Brady's subsequent omission from the list of chaplains under Lord Kimberley's lieutenancy.[27]

It is tempting to view this contentious sermon simply as an error of judgment on Brady's part, which alienated influential figures in the Church of Ireland, and interrupted what had been his steady advance in the Church's hierarchy. However, amongst his papers there is a small note that suggests that he had considered some of the implications of his sermon. This note details those 'Protestant Peers favourable to Disestablishment in Ireland.' Included on this list are the 'Duke of Leinster, Duke of Devonshire, Earl of Cork, Earl of Abingdon, Earl of Clarendon, Earl of St. Germans, Earl of Kimberley, Lord Dufferin, Lord Ashtown?, Lord Clermont.'[28] While this list clearly dates from after 1866 - the year in which Lord Kimberley was made an Earl - it reveals a deliberate calculation by Brady of the level of support he could expect from the Irish Anglican aristocracy.

This was not mere speculation on his part - he had, after all, been chaplain to the Earl of St. Germans, and he corresponded regularly with him and Lord Dufferin - and the list clearly demonstrates Brady's awareness of those sympathetic to the idea of Disestablishment. In this context, his sermon in the Chapel Royal might be seen as a calculated risk - based on a hope, or even an expectation, that some leading Irish Anglicans would come to endorse his sentiments. In other words – rather than representing a burning of his bridges within the Anglican community – this sermon might be understood as an attempt to lead and direct opinion within that community.

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[26] Idem

[27] This account is verified by the Catholic journalist James Coleman in the Irish Monthly who also claimed that this frontal attack led to Brady's name being omitted from the chaplaincy to the new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl of Kimberley. James Coleman, 'Contributions to Irish Biography, No.33 Dr. William Maziere Brady,' *The Irish Monthly* Vol. 24, No. 282 (Dec., 1896) p. 657.

[28] NLI MS 803.

His next posting was as vicar of Clonfert - a parish whose total Anglican population numbered just 142, and which rewarded Brady with an annual income of £452.[29] It was during this period that Brady completed three volumes of his *Clerical and parochial records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, in 1863. This was his first major publication, and it was to mark the beginning of the most productive period of his life – in terms, at least, of his published work. When the *Clerical and parochial records* were published, they gave ample evidence of Brady's qualities - both as a scholar, and as a writer. He provided an exhaustive analysis and compilation of diocesan registries, records and manuscripts which he had found in the principal libraries of Oxford, Dublin, and London, or had tracked down in private or family collections. All of this material was described by him in lucid and energetic prose. Not surprisingly, the list of subscribers to these volumes reads like a roll call of the leading figures within the Church of Ireland, and the Irish landed gentry.[30]

This notable success may have seemed to offer the prospect of full rehabilitation for Brady in the eyes of those whom his Chapel Royal sermon had offended. Brady's own desire for such rehabilitation may also have been suggested by the conciliatory dedication of his work to the Bishop of Killaloe, Kilfernora, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, William Fitzgerald - who from 1847 to 1852 had been Professor of moral philosophy in Trinity College, Dublin, and from 1852 to 1857 was Professor of Ecclesiastical History in that University. Brady offered this

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[29] James Coleman, 'Contributions to Irish Biography, No.33 Dr. William Maziere Brady,' The Irish Monthly Vol. 24, No. 282 (Dec., 1896) p.657 and in 'Lee and Brady on the Irish Succession,' *The Ecclesiastic*, Volume XXVIII, January to December 1866 p.529

[30] Included are the late most Rev. Lord J.G Beresford Archbishop of Armagh, Lord Primate, the Most Rev. Marcus Gervais Beresford Archbishop of Armagh, Lord Primate, Alderman Richard Atkinson- Lord Mayor of Dublin, Maziere Brady- Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Samuel Butcher- Professor of Divinity in Trinity, Henry Cotton Archdeacon of Cashel, John Ribton Garstin, John Gore Vice-Admiral, Charles Graves- President of the Royal Irish Academy, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, Alfred T. Lee, the Right Rev. Samuel Wilberforce Lord Bishop of Oxford, Dr. William Reeves and James Henthorn Todd significantly it also included the Roman Catholic Bishops of Cloyne and Ross Dr. Keane and Dr. O'Hea.

dedication to his former teacher as a 'slight token of my gratitude for your kindness and admiration of the high qualities which distinguish you as a scholar, an author and divine.'[31]

In the Preface of the work, Brady acknowledged that the ecclesiastical records of Ireland had 'recently in some degree attracted the notice of the learned.'[32] Among those 'learned' individuals whom he singled out for special praise were Dr. William Reeves, Dr. James Henthorn Todd, Evelyn Philip Shirley, and Dean R. Butler. He credited them with publishing works that were 'illustrative' of the history of the Church, and for having rescued many interesting and valuable documents from 'oblivion and decay.'[33] Henry Cotton's *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae* was praised, in particular, for providing the details of succession of all Bishops and Cathedral dignitaries in Ireland. Brady's attitudes towards some of these scholars and writers would change very considerably in the years that followed.

The resurgence of interest in diocesan records, that Brady alluded to in his Preface, might be considered part of a wider trend within British historiography – one that could be termed empiricist. The tendency of this trend was to focus upon achieving an 'objective' reconstruction of historical events through forensic research into primary sources and records. But this approach also had an explicitly Irish dimension – and one that had come to pre-occupy some Irish Anglican scholars.

In his *Original letters and papers - in illustration of the history of the Church of Ireland, during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth*, published in 1851, Evelyn Philip Shirley had expressed hope that these papers would cast 'additional light on the all engrossing topic of the day - the Pretensions of Papal Rome.'[34] Shirley believed that that they could 'perhaps prove that the assertions of modern statesmen who affirm that the Romish

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[31] William Maziere Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross* (Dublin, 1863) Dedication.

[32] Ibid, Preface.

[33] Evelyn Philip Shirley, *Original letters and Papers - In Illustration of the History of the Church of Ireland, during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth*, (London, 1851) Preface.

[34] Idem.

Church has existed in Ireland in unbroken succession from the time of the Reformation, rests on a very inadequate foundation.'[35] In Ireland, this claim took on a very particular significance – and one that involved both social and political as all as religious dimensions. The assertion - that the Roman Catholic succession in Ireland had been broken at the time of the Reformation - helped not only to establish the Church of Ireland's legal claims to the collection of tithes, but also implicitly demonstrated that the Church of Ireland was authentically Irish, with roots that were empirically traceable and real. Against this background, Brady identified his own objective: he believed that there had been 'no attempt yet' made to trace the Parochial Clergy of Ireland from the period of the Reformation to the present day, 'or to trace from our own records the history of the Church.'[36]

Patrick Francis Moran, would later question what he saw as the preoccupation with legal succession on the part of Anglican scholars. Moran dismissed it as 'an ingenious legal theory,' and even argued that 'for Protestants this question is indeed one of vital importance and the adoption of the Reformation tenets by the bishops of our island on the accession of Elizabeth is one of the main principles on which rests the Church Establishment of this country. For Catholics it is solely a question of historical interest.'[37] .

While Brady's *Clerical and parochial records* was, in general, reasonably well received within Ireland, his work garnered exceptionally positive reviews in England - attracting enthusiastic attention in *Notes and Queries*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Athenaeum* and the *English Churchman*, amongst others. The reviewer for the *Clerical Journal* noted that 'it is astonishing how much that throws light on life and manners may be gleaned in almost every page.'[38] This was a decade in which the attention of many leading figures in English

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[35] Idem.

[36] Idem.

[37] Patrick Francis Moran, *The Episcopal succession in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth: being remarks on some recent statements of Archdeacon Lee, Dr. L. Studdert, and others*. (Dublin,1866) p. 3.

[38] *The Clerical Journal*, November 1866.

Anglican intellectual circles had turned towards Ireland: indeed, Peter Nockles has identified the early 1860s as the 'critical juncture' in the history of the Church of Ireland.[39]

The favourable critical response which Brady's *Clerical and parochial records* received in England indicated that he had gained considerable credibility in the eyes of many English Anglicans – and not only in clerical circles. This positive response clearly delighted Brady: in an undated letter to John Ribton Garstin, he asked: 'if you see any more of the Clerical in the London Times send me the paper - I feel quite rewarded if a little of my facts come out now and again.'[40] As is apparent from Brady's private correspondence, he also began to be consulted by the Established Church (Ireland) Commission, through its secretary, Joseph Faviere Elrington, and also by several leading political figures - including the Liberal leader, William Ewart Gladstone.[41] In the space of a few years, Brady had been able to establish himself as a reliable and, in some respects, a pioneering Anglican historian. Brady claimed in 1868 – perhaps, disingenuously - that it was 'not easy to perceive,' how his scholarly inquiries 'could affect a question of State policy.'[42]

The political context in which Brady's work was published is highly significant. There was no effective Irish parliamentary party functioning at Westminster in the 1860s. However, it was clear that Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland was a measure which appealed to the Liberal Party, and especially to its leader, Gladstone. English interest in the status of the Irish Church had grown in the preceding decade. As a reviewer in *The Times* noted, its political importance would increase in the years leading up to Disestablishment: 'we did not notice Dr. Brady's pamphlet when it made its first appearance, because, whatever divines may imagine, the destiny of the Irish Establishment in no wise depends on its pedigree; and we only refer to it now because this lead him into a field of investigation of wider and more

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[39] Peter Nockles, 'Church or Protestant Sect? The Church of Ireland, High Churchmanship, and the Oxford Movement, 1822-1869,' in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), p. 491.

[40] MS 8609/1 NLI.

[41] MS 8309/23 NLI.

[42] 'The Irish Establishment In The Reign Of Elizabeth,' *The Times*, Thursday, Aug 20, 1868; p. 4.

general interest.'[43] However, there were some in Ireland who felt that the whole issue was one that was largely confined to English politicians and secular activists.

The *Freeman's Journal* may have asserted that 'the Church question lies at the root of all other grievances of Ireland,'[44] but Mark Tierney has argued that majority of Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy 'felt that the Church issue was only a 'blind': a trick on the part of the English government to distract from other more serious issues, such as land, and the demand for Home Rule.'[45] Senior Roman Catholic figures, such as Dr. Patrick Leahy, expressed doubts regarding the real value of Disestablishment. As far as Leahy was concerned, this was an issue that simply did not touch the lives of ordinary Irish people. Tierney believes that Disestablishment never became 'a live issue among the Irish as a whole.'[46] Instead, he suggests that there were other issues – such as Fenianism, or the breakdown of the landlord system – that impinged far more urgently on everyday Irish life.

English concerns about the possible implications of Disestablishment were repeatedly raised in their national press. *The Saturday Review*, for example, was apprehensive that, when the Establishment of the Church of Ireland had been given up, the Irish would go on to demand the revision of the land system, and independence. Land tenure, the *Review* argued, was a very different matter, and independence impossible - but, with the Establishment of the Church of Ireland gone, the *Review* argued, the British government could resist other political demands on firmer ground, and could even use force, in case of an Irish rebellion, with a clear conscience.[47]

Even with those papers - such as *The Times* - that were the most staunchly supportive of Disestablishment, there was seldom a coherent and unified consensus. On occasion, that

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[43] Idem.

[44] *The Freeman's Journal*

[45] Mark Tierney, 'Correspondence concerning the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland 1862-1869,' *Collectanea Hibernica*, No. 12 (1969), p. 104.

[46] Idem.

[47] *The Saturday Review* 27th June 1868.

newspaper took a similar line to *The Saturday Review:* identifying Irish aspirations as identical with those held by the Roman Catholic Church. A leading article claimed that no reasonable person thought it possible to satisfy the Irish people - or Catholics in general - because 'their pretensions are beyond range of possibilities, they can never be satisfied.' 'Let all that can be conceded next year,' the editorial continued 'and the Irish Catholics will be neither thankful nor satisfied. What of that? Who ever said they could be?'[48]

Despite this, influential journals and newspapers, such as the *Times,* continued to argue that Disestablishment would do more than anything else to appease ethnic and social antagonisms in Ireland.[49] Another newspaper editorial argued that what was at stake in the election of 1868 was 'nothing more or less than the temper of the future government of Ireland, and dependent upon this, the feelings of the inhabitants of Ireland towards ourselves, the peacefulness - we may almost venture to say the unity - of the kingdom.'[50]

In a revealing letter, dated January 7th, 1864, from John Carvell Williams, the Liberal politician and secretary of the Liberation Society, discussed in candid terms some of the practical obstacles faced by those in favour of Disestablishment. Williams acknowledged the difficulties likely to be encountered in 'initiating an effective agitation' in favour of Disestablishment.[51] He stated his belief that it was essential to make clear that 'the demand for Disestablishment is an Irish, rather than, primarily an English one.'[52] He suggested that, if that could be achieved, then 'the weight of English opinion as represented by liberals generally as well as by Voluntaries, will soon make itself felt.' [53] In 1867, Williams had travelled to Ireland to meet O'Neill Daunt - a prominent member of the National Association,

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[48] *The Times,* 25th August 1868.

[49] *The Times*. 24th September 1868.

[50] *The Times*, 16th November 1868.

[51] Attached in a letter from William Joseph O'Neill ('Denis Ignatius') Daunt (Moriarty), to Archbishop Leahy dated the 9th of January 1864, contained in the Leahy Papers 1864, no. 1. In the Cashel Diocesan Archives cited from NLI microfilm copy n.5705

[52] Idem.

[53] Idem.

which was also committed to Disestablishment - and six Catholic Bishops. P.M. H. Bell has maintained that the alliance between the Liberation Society and the National Association - along with the general support given by many of the members of the Liberal party to the movement for Disestablishment - played a crucial role and 'ensured a vigorous discussion of the Irish Church question between 1865 and 1868.'[54]

Brady was able to supply that crucial, missing element that Williams had identified: indeed, he was able to deliver beyond Williams' expectations. Brady, after all, was not only an Irishman – and one who could present a persuasive case for Disestablishment - he was also a respected figure within the Church of Ireland. He seemed to articulate precisely the sort of reasonable Irish voice that liberal English Anglicans longed to hear. One English clergyman wrote to *The London Review* to express such approbation: 'Fortunately for herself, the Church possesses some liberal and enlightened men like Dr. Brady who repudiate the notion that the existence of a Church depends upon the continuance of a State provision for its bishops and clergy.'[55] The connections between Brady and leading figures within the Liberal party are more significant than has previously been acknowledged. References to Gladstone appear frequently in Brady's notes, and it is evident, through the British politician's secretary, Chichester Fortesque, that they were in regular contact. In one letter from Brady to Garstin, dated July 9th, 1866, which discusses a recent article of Brady's that had appeared in the London *Times*, Brady reveals that 'it was W. Gladstone who sent it to them.'[56]

P. M. H. Bell has divided the arguments for disestablishing and disendowing the Church of Ireland under four headings: these include 'the argument from numbers; the argument from wealth; the argument from history, nationality, and religion; and the argument from politics.'[57] Brady became increasingly outspoken in all of these areas, and during this period his numerous contributions became bolder and more prominent. He sought to draw attention

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[54] P.M. H. Bell, *Disestablishment in Ireland and Wales*. P. 43.

[55] *The London Review of Politics, Society, Literature, Art, and Science*, 21st April 1866.

[56] NLI MS 8609/1.

[57] P.M. H. Bell, *Disestablishment in Ireland and Wales*. p. 43.

to the changed political situation of the Church of Ireland, 'as a political machine.' Writing in 1869, in *Essays on the English Church in Ireland,* he commented that 'the establishment is every day becoming less useful to the state.'[58] He believed that it merely served the purpose of furnishing a few rewards to government supporters.[59] He also foresaw – shrewdly, one might think - the probabilities of the future: arguing that, if Disestablishment were delayed, it might come later with much greater risk to the Church. He suggested this was because the proportion of the wealthy and landed classes who were Protestants would diminish, and the attitude of the Catholic Church might get worse.[60] He further argued that, even if Disestablishment were staved off, the Church would remain under constant attack, and would be condemned to a political struggle, which would absorb energies better used in the work of the Church in other ways.[61]

Brady insisted on separating the interests of the Church from the question of its Establishment. He held that 'no necessary connection exists either between Protestant ascendency in Ireland and purity of religion, or between the Church and the Irish establishment.'[62] He maintained that the Church of Ireland was a religious institution, and its endowments were valuable as a means of doing its religious work; but, if this means proved unjust or inexpedient, it could adopt another.[63] He believed that Establishment was a burden on the Church, and asserted that 'in proportion as the Church Established seeks more earnestly to live as a Church, so will her position as an Establishment become less tolerable.'[64]

On the practical issues involved, Brady argued that Irish Churchmen should create a body of Church property and revenue, which they could rightfully call their own. The nucleus of the

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[58] William Maziere Brady, *Essays on the English State Church in Ireland*, (Dublin, 1869) p. 115.

[59] Idem.

[60] Ibid, pp. 86-87

[61] William Maziere Brady, *Remarks on the Irish Temporalities* (Dublin, 1865) pp. 17-18.

[62] William Maziere Brady, *Essays on the English State Church in Ireland*, p. 84.

[63] William Maziere Brady, *Remarks on the Irish Temporalities*, pp. 4-5.

[64] William Maziere Brady, *Essays on the English State Church in Ireland*, p. 154.

new endowment would be formed by the compensation for vested rights paid by the government at the time of Disendowment. The gifts of Churchmen could also be relied on to supplement this fund: 'the abolition of the Establishment in Ireland, if it led to such an issue would be a revival of the Irish Church.'[65] Like Aubrey de Vere, Brady thought in terms of some form of concurrent endowment, and even suggested that, after compensation had been allowed for, the property of the Irish Anglican Church might be used to endow the Catholic Church in Ireland.

It is important to acknowledge that the ideas that Brady expressed - while reflecting the most radical of reforming tendencies - did have some precedents within the Church of Ireland. However, his *The alleged conversion of the Irish bishops to the reformed religion,* represented a significant break. In this work, he sought to undermine the core of the historical identity created by Irish Anglicans. In a characteristic move, and one which echoed his earlier controversial sermon at the Chapel Royal, Brady delivered the first draft of the latter work in a sermon preached at the consecration of Archbishop Trench.[66] It is difficult to conceive of a gathering where it would have made greater impact. As he had done before, Brady sought to adapt this sermon into a series of articles which he intended to publish in *Fraser's Magazine* - then under the editorship of James Anthony Froude. A letter, dated the 22nd of June 1866, reveals that it was Froude who suggested that 'your paper on the Irish Bishops may do better as a pamphlet than in Fraser's; especially if you make any reference to me.'[67] It was, indeed, as a pamphlet that the work was to have its greatest impact, as Brady challenged some of the prevalent – and most cherished - Irish Anglican perceptions of the history of the Reformation in Ireland.

The first edition of this work ran to just 41 pages - modest in scale in comparison to its longer incarnation in the fourth and fifth editions. The initial action taken by Anglican scholars, such

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[65] Ibid pp 93-95.

[66] James Godkin, Ireland and her Churches (Dublin, 1867) p.238. Godkin gives no date for this but Trench was nominated on the 18th of December 1863 and consecrated on the 1st of January 1864.

[67] MS 8608/13 NLI.

as William Lee, was simply to dismiss its significance. Lee commented that he had only noticed the volume from an 'article in *The Times* informing me of its existence.' He maintained that 'Brady has brought forward no reasons which have had lead me to modify,' his own beliefs.[68] Lee attached as a postscript a letter from L. Studdert, which carried further refutations of Brady's arguments which its author hoped to 'convince him of his double error against his own Church and that of Rome.'[69] Despite the protestations and apparent indifference of these and other Anglicans - and to their dismay - Brady's work was quickly and widely disseminated.

The cumulative effect of Brady's pamphlet - in all its successive editions - was to present certain aspects of the history of the Church of Ireland in what can only be described as an extremely critical light: one that verges, at times, on explicit partisanship. Brady claimed that his purpose was simply to expose the myths that surrounded the Reformation in Ireland. However, the sheer gusto – not to say, glee - with which Brady sets about that de-constructive process seems far removed from his introductory claims of dispassionate scholarly analysis. In his opening remarks, he drew upon a letter of Froude's in which he had expressed the view that Irish Anglican claims to be in direct succession to the pre-Reformation Church were the 'most impudent falsehood in all history.'[70] By any standards, this was, to say the least, a most extravagant assertion – yet it is quoted by Brady with full and uncritical approval.

It could be argued that the self-confidence of the Irish Anglican Church had already been badly shaken prior to Brady's publication. In the 1840s, for example, the notion of a lineal continuity between the ancient Irish Church and the contemporary Church of Ireland had been undermined by the Roman Catholic controversialist, Daniel Rock. William Gowan Todd's response, *The Church of St Patrick* (1844), had restated the old arguments in favour of

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[68] William Lee, *Strictures on Dr. Brady's pamphlet, in which he denies the descent of the present hierarchy of the church of Ireland from the antient Irish church*. (Dublin, 1866) pp 24 and 49.

[69] Idem.

[70] William Maziere Brady, *Facts or Fiction: The alleged conversion of the Irish bishops to the reformed religion, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth; and the assumed descent of the present established hierarchy in Ireland from the ancient Irish church, Disproved in 1866.* Preface. (Dublin, 1866)

an independent early Irish church, but was notably more defensive in tone than preceding texts: Todd's conclusion was modest - merely claiming that the public should have the 'opportunity of considering what may be said on the other side.'[71]

Brady stated, in the Introductory Preface to his pamphlet, that his conclusions had emerged as a direct and inadvertent result of his previous research. He claimed that, while examining the published and unpublished archives relating to the Reformation period for his earlier book the *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross* (1863-4), he 'could not fail to remark that no documentary evidence was forthcoming to verify the received opinions touching the asserted conversion of the Irish bishops and the descent of the Reformed episcopate from the antient Irish Church.'[72] Brady claimed to recognise that this would cause acute distress to many of his former supporters. However, he presented himself as driven by a kind of personal mission to proclaim the truth: 'it would be unmanly and almost a dishonest course on the part of the writer to conceal the facts thus ascertained and allow the stereotyped assertions to be any longer employed, without refutation, as weapons of party warfare.'[73]

Brady insisted that he had no deliberate intention of undermining the status of the Established Church, and that he was simply opposed to historical misrepresentation. Such an assertion may seem rather disingenuous: Brady was, after all, a relatively sophisticated individual, who had grown up in a politically active family. It is difficult to believe that he was unaware of the likely impact that his work would have on his co-religionists in Ireland. Brady's denial of Apostolic Succession, made by a Doctor of Divinity, and an Anglican clergyman who derived his derived his income from the very Church whose title deeds he undermined, would naturally receive considerable attention. For the same reasons, a critique of the Church of Ireland by one of its own clergy would not seem to be motivated by simple sectarian

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[71] W. G. Todd, *Church of St Patrick*, p. vi.

[72] William Maziere Brady, *Facts or Fiction: The alleged conversion of the Irish bishops to the reformed religion* Preface.

[73] Idem.

prejudice. In this context, it seems almost inevitable that Brady's work would lead to some controversy.

Such, indeed, was the case, and the publication generated great public interest: as Patrick Francis Moran noted, with some satisfaction: 'during the past three months public attention has been much engaged by the question of episcopal succession in the Protestant church of this island during the reign of Elizabeth. Dr Brady in an able pamphlet, undertook to unmask the historical fallacies which, fostered by the prejudices of three hundred years, had grown up around this question.'[74]

Brady's work was to play a significant role in influencing English parliamentary, and, to an extent, public opinion in the period immediately preceding Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. Indeed, on the 17th of July, 1867, he was called before the select committee of the House of Commons to give evidence 'On Ecclesiastical Titles and Roman Catholic Relief Acts.' In the course of giving his evidence - when asked whether he thought that all but two Irish Bishops had converted during Elizabeth's reign - Brady asserted his belief that 'the grounds on which the general opinion was formed are very slight, and scarcely stand a moment's investigation.'[75] Instead, he argued that the Roman Catholic hierarchy had, with the exception of the period of the Cromwellian persecution, always 'existed in large numbers.'[76]

When asked by the Chairman if he had formed any opinions as to the operation of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, Brady stated that he had had 'extensive' correspondence with Roman Catholic Bishops - although only 'upon matters wholly secular.'[77] He admitted that he had been puzzled how to address them. From this, he concluded that the current legislation

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[74] Patrick Francis Moran, 'Archdeacon Lee on the Protestant Episcopal succession in Ireland,' *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, November, 1866, p. 40.

[75] The Sessional Papers printed by Order of the House of Lords or presented by Royal Command in the Session 1867-8 Vol. IX (London, June 1868) p. 69.

[76] Idem.

[77] Idem.

was not only unfair, and unworkable, but formed a 'great hindrance to the intercourse of the Protestant clergyman with their Roman Catholic neighbour.'[78]

III

It should be made clear from the outset that Brady's text is - even in its fourth and fifth editions[79] - not only shorter, but has a much narrower focus than the lengthier and more discursive works produced by James Henthorn Todd, Charles Richard Elrington, Robert King or Richard Mant. In fact, at times, his text reads more like an overt polemical tract than an instance of historical scholarship. However, it is the very narrowness of Brady's focus that helps to give his writing its gathering momentum and cumulative energy.

Brady's text does not purport to break new ground in the field of historical analysis. Instead, it is based firmly on well-established empiricist principles. Brady's methodology may be, in many respects, very conventional, but its somewhat repetitive nature is offset by the vigour and clarity of his writing – which stands in marked contrast to the rather convoluted and, at times, impenetrable prose of writers such as Mant.

The bulk of Brady's text consists of a systematic analysis of each Irish diocese: these analyses are designed to show that each of these sees - with the possible exception of Dublin - can claim unbroken loyalty to Papal authority. In this strategy, Brady is essentially reproducing one that had been followed previously by several Anglican scholars.[80] Like

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[78] Ibid p. 70.

[79] These run at 57 and 200 pages respectively.

[80] In order to substantiate his claims, Richard Mant included in the appendix at the end of each volume a detailed chronological list of succession for each diocese. He begins with the Archbishops of Armagh - which was for obvious reasons by far the most contentious. In separate columns, he provides information on each of the Bishops: their names, place of birth, previous stations that they had held, the date of their succession. When there was a vacancy, it is included in a final column entitled 'translation.' This last section would prove to be particularly inflammatory. In the case of George Dowdall, for example, we are informed that he was born in

them, he seems to place great significance on the notion of legal succession. However, in Brady's text, some of the characteristic modes of analysis and themes produced by Irish Anglican scholars have been inverted to form a form of mirror-image.

The theme of spiritual continuity, for example, was a significant feature of Robert King's work – and one that distinguishes it markedly from that of Mant. In his concluding assessment of Henry VIII's reign, King thought it necessary to remind the reader that 'it is important to remember that at this stage there was not open schism in the Church of Ireland.'[81] King maintained that there 'did not as yet exist here two separate bodies of Christians, such as we have at this day, each with its own rulers, and each claiming for the bishops of its own party the spiritual allegiance of the people of Ireland.'[82]

King asserted that Archbishop Browne, and other supporters of the Reformation - along with Primates Cromer and Dowdall who 'resisted its progress' - were 'members of the same Church, only differing in their sentiments and views of Christian doctrine, and in their judgement of what was most profitable for that Church to which they both belonged.'[83] According to King, even those figures that had supported the Pope's authority were members and prelates of the Irish Church. He argues that 'it was not until afterwards, (in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or rather, in that of her successor) that the Pope found it necessary to have recourse to the desperate expedient of forming a new, a second Church in Ireland, the heads of the old having altogether deserted him, and discarded the restraints of his pretended authority over them.'[84]

Louth. He had been Prior of Crouched Friars in Ardee. He succeeded in 1552 to a vacancy of the same year. However, the column for translation simply records his 'voluntary banishment.' These records were reused by a host of Irish Anglican writers such as Christopher Wordsworth's in his *The History of the Church of Ireland: in eight sermons preached in Westminster Abbey, of 1869*.

[81] Robert King, *A Primer of the History of the Holy Catholic Church in Ireland* Vol II, p. 727.

[82] Ibid p. 717.

[83] Idem.

[84] Idem.

This notion of continuity between the Church of Ireland and the early Irish Church had a critical and concomitant dimension: it cast the Roman Catholic Church in the role of a foreign church – and had, therefore, an obvious appeal for Irish Anglicans. As we have seen, James Henthorn Todd, in his *Life of St. Patrick*, also claimed that – for a period of around 400 years – there were, in reality, two Churches in Ireland. While Todd and other Anglican scholars had stressed the continuity between the Church of Ireland and the pre-Reformation Church, Brady follows much the same theme in relation to the Roman Catholic Church. Irish Anglican scholars had found evidence of their Church's continuity in compiling detailed tables of the succession of bishops. Brady produces similar tables, but uses them to support a competing and opposing interpretation: that the only real spiritual continuity in Ireland is to be found in the Roman Catholic Church.

Brady is able to marshal some compelling evidence to suggest that fewer Marian bishops conformed in the reign of Elizabeth than some Anglican scholars had maintained.[85] If his text were confined to this argument alone, it is doubtful if it would have had the same impact within the Irish Anglican community. However, Brady's analysis of succession in each Irish diocese also includes additional information and commentary which serves to question, at a fundamental level, the true identity of the Church of Ireland.

Alfred T. Lee had argued that the ecclesiastical unity of the Church of England and the Church of Ireland was demonstrated because 'English bishops were transferred to Irish sees, and Irish bishops; though more rarely to English ones.'[86] In so doing, Lee fundamentally misunderstood Irish Anglicans' perceptions of their own identity. At the end of his discussion of each diocese, Brady enumerates the ethnic or national origins of each Anglican bishop that had served in the see in the preceding centuries. It soon becomes clear that a very high

[85] Arthur Perceval in his *An Apology for Apostolical Succession of 1840*, stated - with rather more subtlety than Murray - that 'at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, of all the Irish Bishops, only two were deprived, and the other two resigned on account of their adherence to the supremacy of the see of Rome. The rest continued in their sees; and from them the bishops and clergy of the Irish Church derive their orders.' (Protestant Episcopal tract society, New York, 1840) p. 102

[86] Alfred T. Lee, 'The Church in Ireland,' *The Dublin Evening Post*, March 28th 1866.

proportion of bishops in the Church of Ireland had not been Irish, but English. Once again, the repetition of this enumeration in diocese after diocese results in a cumulative impact: its effect is to undermine, in a fairly relentless manner, the claim that the Church of Ireland is truly a native institution. Brady draws particular attention to the very low number of graduates of Trinity College who became Anglican bishops in Ireland. He points out that a see such as Kildare - which had an unbroken Protestant succession from 1560 to 1846, when it was suppressed in the Church Temporalities Act – had nine prelates in that period. Of these, eight were English, one was Scottish – and none were Irish. Of the nine bishops, seven were educated in Oxford, and other two in Cambridge. Brady emphasises that 'not a solitary Irishman, either by birth, or education in Trinity College, Dublin appears during that period of more than a century and a half.'[87]

There is little doubt that those Anglican historians who had graduated from Dublin University would have found this an especially wounding observation. The clear inference here is that the Church of Ireland did not have enough confidence in its 'own' University to provide its leadership. Once again, the observation gained in credibility and impact because Brady was himself a graduate of Trinity.

Not only does Brady emphasise the English origins of many Church of Ireland bishops, he also draws attention to how seldom some of these bishops seem to have visited their dioceses; how many of them died outside Ireland; and how many Irish bishoprics were left unoccupied for substantial periods of time during Elizabeth's reign. He connects such flagrant neglect of their Episcopal duties with English attitudes towards the indigenous Irish.[88] Brady repeatedly characterises such attitudes as contemptuous: for him, both English bishops and English colonial administrators held a common view of the Irish as being 'useless.'

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[87] William Maziere Brady, *Facts or Fiction: The alleged conversion of the Irish Bishops* p. 99.

[88] Irish bishops, Brady claims 'seem to have been generally looked on as utterly useless and contemptible in those days, from the mere fact of their being "Irish."' p. 81.

Brady also seems to relish the recounting of every anecdote that describes corrupt, brutal, or unsavoury behaviour on the part of Irish Anglican bishops.[89] In the few instances which he cites of Irish Roman Catholics who converted, and became Anglican bishops, Brady invariably suggests that their motives were base or venal: there is negligible evidence that he has even considered that any of their conversions might have been sincere: instead, they are usually 'alleged' conversions, which are regarded as inherently 'suspicious.'[90] While Brady treats a range of Anglican bishops with a degree of consistent disdain, he also (properly) emphasises the shameful and barbaric way in which Roman Catholic bishops were for a period treated. He describes, in graphic detail, how some were subjected to agonising torture – while others were 'legally murdered,'[91] or 'unjustly executed.'[92]

There are a number of points to be made here. While previous Anglican writers had often been critical of the individual failings of bishops in the Church of Ireland, they had usually tried, at the very least, to balance that awareness with equal recognition of some of the hierarchy's more admirable members. Through his rigorous exclusion of such individuals, it could be argued that Brady was, once again, mirroring the practices that had been followed by those Protestant polemicists, whose texts he had annotated scornfully - but somewhat obsessively - some years previously. In fact, this sort of vulgar defamation of Roman Catholic clergy remained a recurring feature of contemporary English Anglican writing: Mant, in particular, seemed to take a comparable delight in his contemptuous dismissal of the quality and character of Ireland's Roman Catholic priests and bishops.

At times, Mant appeared anxious to dwell upon the 'unbecoming manner' of the native Irish clergy. Although he claimed that it was as 'needless, as it is revolting to dwell on individual examples of this profligacy,' he, nevertheless, described in considerable detail a number of scenes of 'disgraceful outrage,' in which the Church 'unhappily bore too conspicuous a

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[89] Idem.

[90] Ibid p. 30.

[91] Ibid p. 52.

[92] Ibid p. v.

part.'[93] For Mant, such incidents served only to strengthen his underlying view of the violent and unruly nature of the native Irish Church. Mant tended to characterise this Church as one that is dominated by 'rival claimants,' 'pertinacious and irreconcilable controversy,' and the 'abuse of the power of excommunication.'[94]

Irish Anglicans tended to take a somewhat different attitude to that of Mant – who was English-born, and ignorant of some of the complexities of Irish life. Robert King, for example, was unambiguous about those who shared responsibility – or blame – for the comparative failure of the Reformation in Ireland. Aside from the Papacy, and the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, King is most vehement in his criticism of England's role. He argues that 'Englishmen at the period of the Reformation and subsequently, were the great hinderers of that movement in our island, by open opposition, by misgovernment, by indiscreet and injurious laws, by abuse of Church property, by evil appointments in Church and State and otherwise. The English influence has also been since the time of the Reformation, with few exceptions, hurtful to the interests of the Irish Church.'[95]

This apparent suspicion and distrust of the English administration in Ireland recurs – almost as a theme - throughout the second volume of King's work. It might be interpreted as the sort of resentful reflex that was generated by the high degree of political dependence of the contemporary Irish Anglican Church on the Westminster government. This may help, in turn, to explain why King's work was so well received by his fellow members of the Church of Ireland. His sentiments were echoed in 1866, when William Fitzgerald, the Anglican Bishop of Killaloe, stated that the penal laws had been designed to crush Catholics 'into a state of hopeless poverty, ignorance, discontent, and undying hostility to everything which bore the hateful name of English.'[96]

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[93] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland* Volume I, p.19.

[94] Ibid p.24.

[95] Robert King, *A Primer of the History of the Holy Catholic Church in Ireland* Vol II, p.677.

[96] William Fitzgerald, *A Charge to the Clergy of Killaloe*, (Dublin, 1867) p.10.

The traditional attack that the Established Church was an 'alien Church,' – a phrase which Disraeli had first used in the House of Commons 1844- was one which had been repeatedly used by its opponents.[97] The *Freeman's Journal* was careful to refer to the Established Church always as Anglican, never as the Irish Church or the Church of Ireland. It is telling that - despite his criticism of Establishment - Brady continued to assert that 'it is not a fact that the Church of England and the Church of Ireland were ecclesiastically one before the Act of Union.'[98] This position was ridiculed by Alfred T. Lee: 'in what way,' he asked, 'does Dr. Brady think ecclesiastical unity consists?' Lee argued that the English and Irish Churches before the union had the same creed, the same liturgy, the same articles, the same Church government and with a few minor exceptions, the same canons and both were under the jurisdiction of the same sovereign.

In the case of James Henthorn Todd, the blame for the failure of the Reformation in Ireland was extended beyond the English colonial administration and the Church of Rome - to connect with other traditional bêtes noires of some Irish Anglicans: Puritans, Presbyterians and Non-Conformists. Todd argued that the Reformation was 'almost studiously brought to Ireland in ostentatious connection with the Church of the Pale and the English colonists: it was planted on the basis of Puritanism and iconoclastic outrage.'[99] The influence of this 'unhappy mistake continues to destroy the usefulness and to paralyse the energies of the Irish clergy.'[100] According to Todd, it was because the Reformed doctrines were regarded as essentially English that they were rejected by the native Irish 'without examination,' and 'spurned with the detestation and abhorrence with which the English and everything coming from England were as a matter of course treated.'[101]

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[97] The State of Ireland, Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 16th February 1844 (London,1844)

[98] William Maziere Brady, 'The Irish Church Temporalities 'Facts' or Fiction,' *The Daily Evening Post,* April 1866

[99] James Henthorn Todd, *St. Patrick Apostle of Ireland - A memoir of his life and mission,* p. 243.

[100] Idem.

[101] Idem.

In a sense, the contradictory and conflicting impulses, which are manifest, at times, in the work of both King and Todd – may also be seen as central to the understanding of Brady's work, and his own resolution of the same impulses and conflicts. In fact, there is a significant degree of similarity between these three historians: Brady clearly shares King's profound distrust of English policy in Ireland – just as he shared Todd's visceral antipathy for Irish Presbyterians and Non-Conformists, whom Brady simply, consistently, and negatively equates with Orangeism.[102]

In his *The alleged conversion of the Irish bishops to the reformed religion*, Brady presented his analysis of the Reformation in Ireland with the same sense of bracing self-confidence that informed the rest of his work. In this respect, he differs from Mant and some of the other Anglican writers whom we have considered - whose prose could often coil and twist, as if even their syntax had been malformed by the presence of some underlying and persistent doubts. It could be argued that - by rejecting the constraints which had lead to their convoluted historical narratives - Brady had found a kind of intellectual liberation.

IV

It is not the purpose of this chapter to question in detail each of the claims or arguments made by Brady in this his most influential text. However, it is worth drawing explicit attention to one central point. At the time when Brady published his pamphlet, there were just 12 Bishops of the Church of Ireland. However, the 1861 census revealed that the Anglican population on the island was close to 700,000.[103] Whatever about the Anglican hierarchy, the vast majority of this population had not only been born in Ireland, but had been born into families that had lived in Ireland for several centuries. Brady is quite accurate when he points out that a disproportionate number of Anglican bishops had been of English birth, but, as we have seen, the inference he draws from this statistic is that the Church cannot be considered to be an

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[102] NLI MS 803.

[103] The Census of 1861 recorded that members of the Established Church numbered 693,357 cited from Abraham Hume, Results of the Irish Census of 1861. (WHY NOT CHECK OUT CENSUS RETURNS?)

authentically Irish institution. Brady makes no allowance whatever for the role played by the Anglican laity – or the bulk of its clergy, who were also Irish-born - in shaping the identity of their Church.

It could, of course, be argued that such recognition would fall outside the purpose of his scholarly investigation. However, Brady was quite prepared to digress from that purpose when he wished, for example, to discuss details of the horrific torture that one Roman Catholic prelate had undergone. Implicit to his analysis of the Church of Ireland is his assumption that the identity of that Church can best be revealed through an investigation of its hierarchy. That may well reflect Brady's own background in terms of his social origin, and may also be connected to him serving for much of his clerical career in parishes with small – sometimes, very small – Anglican congregations. His failure even to mention in passing that the Church of Ireland had, over the course of more than three centuries, established genuine roots throughout Ireland can only have caused deep offence to many of those who were still his co-religionists.

Of course, Brady also differs from writers such as Mant and King in the uncompromising terms with which he rejects the historical research conducted by some of his fellow Anglican priests. In the course of his pamphlet, he accuses several of them of stupidity, dishonesty, and the deliberate propagation of historical falsehoods. In the case of those historians of the Church of Ireland who were of English birth, Brady implies that this fact represents a formidable handicap to their genuine understanding of Irish history. However, that belief did not stop him quoting extensively from a leading English scholar in order to advance his own interpretation of the Reformation in Ireland.

The influence of Brady's pamphlet was soon apparent. In 1867, James Godkin, a journalist, Unitarian and popular historian, published *Ireland and her churches*. Godkin corresponded with Brady, and to Brady's evident satisfaction, he followed his characterisation of Elizabeth's Established Church as one that 'got everything but the people - the property, the

buildings, and worldly state; and to the present hour the people are alienated.'[104] Godkin went on to suggest that 'we can see from all this how futile is the argument in favour of the rights of the Established clergy derived from records of consecrations and episcopal successions in the several sees.'[105]

Godkin maintained that the traditional Church of Ireland argument that assumed spiritual authority - the right to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments - 'depends on the authenticity of those records,' and on the 'infallible proof that the Holy Ghost was imparted to the existing bishops by other bishops, who had received the same divine gift in an unbroken line from St. Patrick.'[106] He concluded that this 'foundation may serve for a Hierarchy, but it will not do for Christianity.'[107] The consequences for the Church of Ireland of such continued delusions was, Godkin argued, quite clear: 'its greatest enemy could not wish to place it in a worse position, if he wanted it to be swept away by the tide of rationalism.'[108]

An indication of the comparable seriousness with which Brady's arguments were viewed by opponents of Disestablishment, can, perhaps, be seen in the enthusiasm in which they embraced the work of one of his most vociferous opponents: Alfred T. Lee. An energetic propagandist for the Established Church of Ireland, and prominent member of The Central Protestant Defence Association of Ireland - which released '*Occasional Papers,*' of '*Facts and Fallacies relating to the Church of Ireland*' - Lee was the primary author of the various pamphlets, sermons, and articles issued in support of its position. His *Facts respecting the present state of the Church in Ireland,* which was originally published in1863, had reached a fifth edition by 1868. Even the original and full title of Brady's own work, *Facts or fiction: the alleged conversion of the Irish bishops to the reformed religion, at the accession of Queen*

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[104] James Godkin, *Ireland and her Churches*, p.40.

[105] Idem.

[106] Idem.

[107] Idem.

[108] Idem.

Elizabeth; and the assumed descent of the present established hierarchy in Ireland from the ancient Irish church, Disproved, was understood by Lee – probably, correctly - as a scornful parody of the title of his earlier volume. Indeed Brady repeated this tactic in his *Facts or Fictions? Seven Letters on the 'Facts concerning the Irish Church,' published by the Church Institution* of 1867.

Alfred T. Lee had been present to witness Brady's original sermon at Trench's consecration.[109] They had originally had a close and amiable relationship: indeed, Lee had even written to Brady in 1864 that he was 'much obliged' to Brady for pointing out some mistakes in his *Facts*. In a remarkably candid admission, he even confessed to Brady that 'when so many 'facts' are brought together in such a small space, I find it almost impossible to avoid mistakes. I did my best but it is far from easy to avoid them altogether.'[110] He ended by encouraging Brady to be sure to mention to him any other mistakes that he may have made. It is apparent, however, that their relationship quickly deteriorated, and Brady was forced to use intermediaries such as John Ribton Garstin to ask Lee questions on his behalf.[111] Eventually, their interaction was confined entirely to their respective pamphlets and in letters to the press.

In the later editions of his *Facts,* and in his *The Irish episcopal succession: the recent statements of Mr. Froude and Dr. Brady respecting the Irish bishops in the reign of Elizabeth, examined* of 1867, Lee sought to refute Brady's claims in the most emphatic language: arguing that 'it proves nothing, it settles nothing.'[112] Nonetheless, he seems to have realised the potential damage that Brady could inflict. John Thomas Ball had queried 'what does the farmer and peasant know of Macaulay, Russell or Froude.'[113] Lee lamented that 'the

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[109] Idem.

[110] NLI MS 8608/17.

[111] NLI MS 8609/1 Brady to John Ribton Garstin dated Dec 1866, 'Could you ask Lee if he swears by Studdert? I was thinking of writing him a note to ask him the question.'

[112] Alfred T. Lee, *The Irish Episcopal succession: the recent statements of Mr. Froude and Dr. Brady respecting the Irish bishops in the reign of Elizabeth*, examined, Preface.

[113] John Thomas Ball, *The Reformed Church in Ireland* (London, 1886) p 332

enemies of the Irish Church gladly accept it and without examination accept it, as proof that the Irish Church was 'imported' from England, while her friends were somewhat startled by being told that the statements of her most eminent historians on this point were, after all, but the most 'impudent falsehood in all history.''[114] He even posed the blunt question: 'is it possible for Dr. Brady to look favourably at anything which concerns the church of which he is an ordained minister?'[115]

The Edinburgh Review could claim that 'no English historian has written of Ireland and the Irish in a more kindly and sympathising spirit than Mr. Froude.'[116] It would, however, be hard to imagine a more reviled historian amongst contemporary members of the Church of Ireland than Froude.[117] Brady could not have been unaware of this perception. It was only in the fourth and fifth editions of his pamphlet that Brady chose to respond to the increasingly personal attacks from those people who 'mistake invective for argument,'[118] by including - at the suggestion of Froude[119]- two letters from Froude: one refuting Richard Mant, and the other countering Lee's pamphlet.[120] Brady's claimed ignorance of the controversy his work had produced is clearly disingenuous, and that is evident in his correspondence to John Ribton Garstin: in a letter, dated the 20th of June, 1867, Brady writes: 'I dare say my 'Irish Reformation,' 5th edition (200 pages) of the Bishops will create another row - I hope that you

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[114] Idem.

[115] Alfred T. Lee, 'The Church in Ireland' a letter to the editor of the *Daily Post* dated March 24th 1866.

[116] 'Mr Froude's History of Queen Elizabeth,' originally in the Edinburgh Review cited in The Living Age, Volume OIV, The Sixteenth Quarterly Volume of the fourth series, January, February, March 1870 p. 466.

[117] Idem.

[118] William Maziere Brady, *The alleged conversion of the Irish bishops to the reformed religion, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth; and the assumed descent of the present established hierarchy in Ireland from the ancient Irish church, Disproved*, Fourth Edition p. 41.

[119] NLI MS 8609/1.

[120] This letter does not appear in any of the first four editions.

will laugh at the introduction as I have done.'[121] He later asked Garstin to write to the *Clerical* and 'put in a query to him [William Lee] asking how can he withstand my evidence + W. Froude's touching the alleged Reformation.'[122]

William Lee and Alfred T. Lee were not the only writers to look critically at the connection between Froude and Brady. Writing in 1868 for the *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette,* Thomas Roe - one of Brady's chief critics – noted that 'for a time,' an 'importance and respectability was attached' to Brady's pamphlet by 'the free use' the writer made of the name of James Anthony Froude.'[123]He mocked the manner in which Brady had 'paraded' Froude as 'perhaps the highest living authority,' and as 'one of the chiefest (sic) of living historians.'[124] The implication, according to Roe, was as if Froude's 'dogmatic utterances' would be 'sufficient to intimidate all gainsayers and silence controversial opposition from whatever quarter it may come from.'[125] Roe suggests that Brady 'chiefly depended on the authority' of this English historian to substantiate the controversy which he had 'so rashly engaged.'[126] This perceived dependence on Froude's testimony is certainly significant, and, as both Lee and Roe indicate, it was viewed as the exposed flank where Brady's opponents believed him to be vulnerable. Any critique of Froude's work would, therefore, rebound on Brady.

In an article in the *Contemporary Review,* dealing with the Irish sections of the ninth and tenth volumes of Froude's *History of England*, Richard Nugent charged Froude with serious errors and misstatements. Such charges were supported by detailed references to the original documents on which Froude's work was based. A similar approach was subsequently followed by Irish Anglican scholars. Nugent stated baldly that 'it is evident that Protestantism

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[121] NLI MS 8609/1.

[122] Idem.

[123] Thomas Roe, 'The Irish Episcopal Succession: Froude and Brady', *The Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette* January 18th 1868.

[124] Idem.

[125] Idem.

[126] Idem.

in Ireland is Mr. Froude's bete noire. With a strange obliquity he attributes to this one source almost all the ills, all the wrongs, and all the disloyalty of Ireland and the Irish.'[127] Nugent went even further: coming close to accusing Froude of actively inciting the Fenian campaign of physical force: 'he throws a halo of grandeur and almost of glory around the Irish leaders, who, lashed into fury by papal and foreign agents, in an evil hour for themselves, their posterity, and their country, induced their poor ignorant followers to take up arms against their lawful sovereign.'[128]

Brady was, no doubt, keenly aware of just how controversial a figure Froude was within Ireland. In his criticism of Irish Anglican writers, who asserted 'the alleged conversion of the Marian Bishops to the Protestant religion,' and 'who endeavour to support the old assertions that they have long supported,' by the 'repetitions of the unsupported statements,' Brady made explicit reference to Nugent's article.[129] However, he chose not to confront the points that Nugent had raised, but to fall back upon the rather patronising tactics that he had used before: suggesting that the fundamental limitations in Nugent's understanding of Irish history could be explained by his English nationality. He went on to mock Nugent's description of Stopford as 'probably the greatest living authority on Irish Church History,' and, wondered if 'it is to be supposed, [that he] has not heard of Dr. Reeves, Dr. Todd or Archdeacon [Henry] Cotton.'[130]

Brady's opponents began to depict him merely as a slavishly devoted - or woefully blind - follower of Froude, who was fundamentally compromised by his uncritical association.

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[127] Richard Nugent, 'Froude's History of England,' in *The Contemporary Review* Volume IV January- April 1867, p. 471.

[128] Idem.

[129]William Maziere Brady, *Facts or Fiction: The alleged conversion of the Irish bishops* p.31, 'The various writers and speakers of the present day, who seem to regard the statements of [Robert] King, [Richard] Mant, [William] Palmer, [Arthur] Perceval and others as undisputed and in disputable.' To this list he would later include the works of earlier writers such as John Bramhall and contemporaries such Christopher Wordsworth, William Lee, Frederick Chenevix Trench, Edward Adderley Stopford and Alfred T. Lee.'

[130] Ibid p. xiv.

Alfred T. Lee accused Froude of 'romance' - but he accuses Brady, more damagingly, of basic historical 'error.'[131] Aside from some deferential references to Froude's *History of England*, Brady's pamphlet had also reproduced, in full, a letter that Froude had written to him. In this letter, Froude refutes – in tones of weary condescension - Lee's pamphlet concerning the conduct of Irish Bishops in the 16th century. Froude is at pains to point out that since 'the controversy is one in which I have little interest, and which I took part in accidentally, what I have to say will be very short.'[132] He then proceeds, over seven pages of text, to explain in detail how he reached his own conclusions. Although he is prepared to concede that he was 'mistaken' in assuming that only one Marian Bishop conformed instead of two, this apparent concession has, by his reckoning, only a 'very slight bearing,' on the question.[133] He characterises Dr. Lee as 'ill informed,' and concludes that he can 'see no reason,' in Lee's arguments not to 'continue in the same opinion,' until he is challenged by evidence 'stronger than any which has yet been produced.' [134]

Despite Froude's apparent indifference, his critics could not help but notice that Brady had already included large sections of another letter of Froude's in the refutation of Mant, in the fourth edition of his pamphlet. It had been Froude who had first suggested that Brady also include his own refutation of [Alfred T.] Lee.[135] They began to correspond increasingly regularly from 1865, and Brady's numerous contributions to the *Contemporary Review* under Froude's editorship, indicates that initially Brady had a close relationship with him. It is also clear that their relationship deteriorated rapidly soon after the publication of Brady's pamphlet. Indeed, in his *Essays on the English State Church,* of 1869, Brady mentions Froude only twice: once as a footnote, and once to comment on Nugent's reference to Froude as the bête noire of Protestantism. In response to the latter, Brady merely quotes Virgil:

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[131] Alfred T. Lee, The Church in Ireland a letter to the editor of the Daily Post dated March 24th 1866.

[132] William Maziere Brady, Facts or Fiction: The alleged conversion of the Irish Bishops Fifth edition p.173.

[133] Ibid p.174.

[134] Ibid p. 174, p.175.

[135] NLI MS 8608/ 13.

'Tantaene animus celestibus irae - Is there so much anger in the minds of the gods?'[136] The manner in which Brady uses Froude to support his interpretation of the Irish Reformation is, therefore, exceptional and revealing. There is an important passing reference from Brady in a letter to Garstin, dated the 23rd of March, 1868, which reveals the increasing role that Froude played: it simply notes that 'the book is nearly printed. W Froude corrects the proofs.'[137]

In his initial criticism of Brady's pamphlet, Lee responded to Brady's questioning of his competence to understand Irish history because of his nationality: 'though an Englishman,' Lee replied, he had 'written in the name of the Irish Clergy.'[138] Lee also pointed out that he was 'an Englishman now resident in Ireland for several years as an Irish rector.'[139] This respectful and modest claim was, however, rather undermined by his subsequent bombastic assertion that of 'one thing I am certain, that if I know anything of the character of an English gentleman and English statesman, whatever be their political or religious opinions may be, they will be more inclined to listen to an Englishman's view of the present state and position of the church in Ireland than be led astray by the stricture of an Irish clergyman, born and bred and nourished up to the bosom of the Irish Church, and still living on her bread, but who for reasons which we will not even venture to conjecture has 'now lift up his heel against her.'[140]

Lee ridiculed Brady's claims that 'an attack on the Irish Church has nothing to do with an attack on the English Church.' However, it is clear that Brady's pamphlet was primarily intended for an English audience.[141] Given that, his decision to cite Froude was probably intended to carry greater weight in England. This is indicated in another letter to Gratin, from the 26th of March, 1868, in which he states that 'it would be better for you to lend a squib

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[136] William Maziere Brady, *Essays on the English State Church,* 1869 p. 54.

[137] NLI MS 8608/ 13.

[138] Alfred T. Lee, The Church in Ireland a letter to the editor of *The Daily Post* dated March 24th 1866.

[139] Idem.

[140] Idem.

[141] Idem.

calling attention the variance between W[illiam].L[ee] + W Froude + W[illiam].B[rady]. You might quote with effect the Saturday Review which clinches the matter.'[142] The order in which he places himself is this sequence is itself revealing.

Brady was not the only Irish historian to use Froude to cast doubt on Anglican interpretations of the Reformation. In 1866, the Roman Catholic journal *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*[143], under the editorship of Patrick Francis Moran, had also included a lengthy letter from Froude. Moran had made particular use of Froude's most vehement denunciations of the Church of Ireland, but he had also drawn explicit and highly critical attention to Froude's generally dismissive attitude towards the Irish people – which came perilously close, at times, to outright racism. In this context, I would argue that there is another dimension to Brady's pamphlet: in his selective use of Froude, Brady does not simply follow Froude's arguments as his disciple. Instead, he chooses entirely to ignore those deeply unappealing aspects of Froude's historical writing - so that he can cite him as 'the highest living authority,' and advance his own interpretation of the Reformation in Ireland.

In November of 1866, Moran repeated Alfred T. Lee's assertion that 'minor writers of every grade repeated day after day that Dr. Brady was a Papist.'[144] The relationship with Moran was clearly of fundamental importance to Brady, and it is clear, from their private correspondence, that they enjoyed a close and cordial relationship.[145] Thomas Roe commented that Brady was 'so high in the confidence' of Moran, that the latter had allowed him access to sensitive, and previously unseen documents in the Barberini Archives in Rome. Although Roe would later dismiss Brady's findings from these archives as 'insignificant,'

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[142] NLI MS 8609/1.

[143] Patrick Francis Moran, *Froude's History of England The Irish Ecclesiastical Record Vol I,* 1866. P. 360.

[144] Patrick Francis Moran *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* November, 1866. P.49 Cited from Alfred T. Lee, The Church in Ireland a letter to the editor of *The Daily Post* dated March 24th 1866.

[145] MS 8608/20 In one letter, dated 1868, in which Brady's latest draft of the Irish Reformation is mentioned, Moran even makes reference to the importance of 'our work.'

they represented a major coup for Brady, and they constituted primary historical sources with which his opponents could not easily compete.[146]

It is impossible to state with certainty the precise motives behind Brady's eventual conversion to Roman Catholicism – apart, that is, from some presumed sense of inner conviction. Brady was beginning to express profound reservations about the Anglican Church in the late 1850s. Nonetheless, he only resigned his benefices as Vicar of Donoghpatrick and Rector of Kilberny, Meath, in May, 1873. Brady was immediately received into the Roman Catholic Church by Monsignor (afterwards Archbishop) Tobias Kirby, Rector of the Irish College at Rome. [147] At one level, Brady's conversion was clearly a highly personal matter: at another, it raises some pertinent questions about the changing nature of Irish Anglican – and, indeed, Irish - identity in the wake of Disestablishment.

V

For all his attempts to break with many of the traditions and attitudes found within the Irish Anglican community, it is not surprising that Brady retained an abiding connection with the Church in which he had been raised. His opponent Lee pointed out that the English and Irish Churches had the same creed, the same liturgy, the same articles, the same form of Government, and, with a few minor exceptions, the same canons. Both were under the jurisdiction of the same sovereign, and acknowledged that 'the King's Majesty under God is the only supreme Governor of this realm,' Lee continued, 'if this does not constitute ecclesiastical unity between two churches, we are afraid such unity 'never has and never can

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[146] Thomas Roe, "The Irish Episcopal Succession: Froude and Brady", *The Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette* January 18th 1868.

[147] When Dr. Tobias Kirby, who had been for forty years Rector of the Irish College in Rome, was dying in January, 1895, just after completing his ninety first year, someone asked if it was true that he had received Dr. Maziere Brady into the Church. 'I do not remember if it be true,' he said, 'for I forget many things now; but I remember the piety of his life as a convert. My recollection of his piety is very vivid.'

exist in this world.''[148] Brady had also asserted that the temporalities of the Irish Church were 'not so much as mentioned in the Act of Union.'[149] In response, Lee wondered how 'can anyone doubt then that the disestablishment of the Irish Church would be an open and flagrant violation to the act of Union?'[150]

With some other Irish Anglican converts to Roman Catholicism, the change of religious allegiance was accompanied by a change of political affiliation. This was not the case with Brady. Ironically, for someone who seemed so mindful of English condescension towards the Irish, he remained a committed Unionist even after his conversion. It is clear that he saw no inherent contradiction in this: indeed his letters to Patrick Francis Moran reveal how they shared common political beliefs – as well as those of a religious nature.[151] After his formal conversion, Brady released *Rome and Fenianism*, [152] in which he reiterated his belief - and sense of relief - that the Papacy shared his disgust at the Fenian movement.

Aside from Moran, Brady also corresponded with other notable Catholic Unionists - such as the Bishop of Kerry, David Moriarty. Moriarty was not only an avowed Unionist, he was also a vociferous opponent of Fenianism. He declared during a sermon in Killarney Cathedral on Sunday 17 February 1867 'when we look down into the fathomless depth of this infamy of the heads of the Fenian conspiracy, we must acknowledge that eternity is not long enough nor hell hot enough to punish such miscreants.'[153] Desmond Bowen has noted how this 'severe censure' had 'reassured' many Irish Anglicans.[154] It is also clear from their letters that Brady had an intense aversion to Orangeism. as well as a belief in the contribution that the Roman Catholic Church could play in introducing greater political stability to Ireland, within the

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[148] Idem.

[149] Idem.

[150] Idem.

[151] The Irish Times, 19th February 1867

[152] Initially he released this anonymously but by the second edition of the same year 1873 he had placed his own name to it.

[153] NLI MS 8608/22.

[154] Desmond Bowen, *History and the Shaping of Irish Protestantism*, p.305.

Union. Moriarty and Moran also shared with Brady a sense of profound revulsion at the growth of political violence and assassination in Ireland.[155]

It would appear that, while Brady's religious views changed to grow increasingly out of kilter with those of the Church in which he served, he found re-assurance that his unchanging political views were compatible with those of the Roman Catholic Church. In this, he was greatly helped by his friendship with Moran and Moriarty. It would seem that they served to convince him that it was not only possible, but desirable to reconcile Roman Catholicism with a form of Irish Unionism that stood in clear opposition to the vulgar, strident, and volatile Unionism which they identified with Orangeism.

This may suggest another telling way in which Brady differed from some contemporary Anglican historians. Scholars such as Todd, or King were prepared – perhaps, too prepared – to connect their analyses of Irish history with current social and political events. For Brady, however, there seems to be few points of reference to the modern Ireland in which he was living. There is a real sense that, for all his apparent sympathy with the native Irish, such sympathy is located at a fairly abstract level. Insofar as any political goal can be identified in his work, it seems to be covert, rather than explicit. In that context, Brady's underlying contention appears to be that the Church of Ireland remains as alien a Church in Ireland as it was during the reign of Elizabeth. The implications of this contention may be unspoken, but they are unmistakable: such a Church clearly does not merit its Established status.

Given his growing and outspoken antipathy to his own Church, its governance and hierarchy, it does not seem surprising that Brady's repeated applications for senior positions within the Church – to which he may well have felt entitled - were unsuccessful. While he was consistently passed over for advancement, he was still connected - through his family and previous career - to many of the senior figures in the Church and government. His letters show that he was still often a guest at Dublin's Mansion House, and even attended a bridal

[155] *The Irish Times*, 19th February 1867.

party at the Chancellor's house in 1865.[156] They also reveal that he sought to debate the issues raised by his own work in this environment. He wrote to Garstin, in July, 1865, boasting that the Anglican Archbishop of Dublin 'has adopted my calculations and not those of Mr. Lee.'[157] However, it is also clear that he was becoming increasingly isolated and frustrated within the Church of Ireland - and disappointed by his lack of preferment. In fact, this is a prominent feature of much of Brady's correspondence at the time he was drafting his editions of his *Facts and fictions*. His letters are full of discussions, and spiked gossip about the new appointments of his peers, and their questionable suitability. He also discusses up-coming vacancies in the Church of Ireland, and his own financial preoccupations.[158] His attitudes towards Irish Anglican Bishops and Archbishops also become increasingly bitter and hostile: he describes Archbishop Trench as 'a heavy stupid muff.'[159] In contrast, he described Cardinal Manning in the same letter as a 'truly great & good man.'[160]

Brady wrote to Garstin that he thought he had 'nearly got as much venom off into the C[hurch of.]I[reland] as requisite and I feel in good humour with all men even with Archdeacon Lee.'[161] Even at this late stage, his separation from the Anglican Communion does not seem fixed in his own mind. There are two revealing letters that illustrate this point. The first is from Brady to de Vere, and is dated July 29th, 1869. In this letter, Brady mentions that he has sought an appointment from Gladstone to a Church of England living in England. There is an unwritten suggestion that he felt this was more than his due for the service he had done for the Liberal leader. The second letter is from Gladstone to Fortesque, and is dated the following day: July 30th 1869.[162] In this letter, Gladstone seems sympathetic and polite, but promises nothing – which is precisely what he delivered. It seemed that as far as British

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[156] NLI MS 8609/1.
[157] NLI MS 8609/1.
[158] He wrote to John Ribton Garstin, that 'Mr John Gerrard 20,000 a year between his own and the old Lady's.'
[159] NLI MS 8609/1.
[160] Idem.
[161] NLI MS 8609/1.
[162] Somerset Records Office, Strachie MS 324,CP 1/55,56.

politicians were concerned, Brady had served his purpose. It is not stretching credulity to believe that this lack of recognition – once Disestablishment had been realised - contributed to Brady's final decision to convert.

CONCLUSION

William Maziere Brady released his controversial pamphlet, *Facts or Fictions*, in 1866. Almost seventy years later, Hugh Jackson Lawlor, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Trinity, published his *Reformation and the Irish Episcopate*. Lawlor was approaching the end of a long and distinguished career as an academic historian. However, he stated that his principal objective in writing this work was to refute 'the first person to deny the apostolic succession of the Reforming bishops': William Maziere Brady. [1] It seemed that the psychic wounds inflicted by Brady on his former co-religionists were still raw and sensitive – which may explain why Lawlor's volume reached its third edition within two years of its first publication.

It would clearly be a mistake to suppose that - once the Church of Ireland had been disestablished - the historical narratives examined in this thesis would cease to be of vital concern and interest to Irish Anglicans. The issues raised by these five historians may have become irrelevant in Irish political debates, but they continued to be of great importance for many Irish Anglicans, in defining and understanding their cultural and historical identity.

As far back as 1857, John O'Donovan had mentioned to Reeves that 'a young Whitley Stokes' should like to meet him, 'but fears that he may be troublesome.'[2] O'Donovan went on to praise Stokes, noting that he is 'a very great acquisition' to Irish History.'[3] He proved to be prophetic in his assessment of the young historian, and the diffidence that Stokes expressed in wanting to meet Reeves gives some indication of the respect in which he was held and the influence he would exert on further generations of Irish Anglican writers. In reality, Disestablishment did not lead to a definitive break of the historical narrative found in the work of Anglican historians in Ireland, and Stokes was not the only one to draw inspiration from the innovative and rigorous research that Reeves and others had begun.

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[1] Hugh Jackson Lawlor, *The Reformation and the Irish Episcopate* (Dublin, 1932) p.6.

[2] TCD MS 2903/4.

[3] Idem.

Although Reeves' work is still recognised as pioneering and important, Todd's reputation as a scholar has suffered. His contribution to Irish historiography, and to our understanding of the Early Irish Church, was, in its own way, just as significant as Reeves. It is also clear that neither man had worked in a vacuum. This study of their published work, their unpublished drafts and their correspondence reveals that - despite their sincere belief in the validity of the Church of Ireland's historic claims – they engaged in a wider dynamic than has previously been acknowledged. Because these men were great scholars, the integrity of their historical analyses overrode whatever partisan perspective they might have brought to their work, and they were often able to look beyond the obvious sectarian horizon. They remained committed to the historical project in which they and others were engaged – but, at times, the quality of their scholarship allowed them to transcend that project, which is why their work has retained its relevance to contemporary historians.

Todd was not only instrumental in the expansion of Trinity's Library and the Royal Irish Academy, he also travelled throughout Europe in a systematic attempt to track down the valuable documents and manuscripts which were part of Ireland's common religious heritage. He contributed to numerous cultural societies, and wrote a prodigious number of learned papers. He also worked in close conjunction with John O'Donovan and George Petrie, and helped to ensure that their careers progressed. His significance as an outstanding Irish scholar ranks alongside that of Reeves.

In the works which Irish Anglicans produced in the period, and which I have examined in this thesis, there is the clear sense of a vibrant and active community – one that was prepared to argue its beliefs and value-systems with all-comers. In the following century, that spirit would appear to have faltered: making what was, perhaps, its last public appearance in W. B Yeats' famous Senate speech – in which he claimed that Irish Anglicans, from whose community he came, were 'no petty people.' It was, in some ways, a courageous act of defiance – but it can also be considered as a last hurrah.

In that context, it is also revealing that - almost exactly a hundred years after the publication of Richard Mant's *History* - the Church of Ireland embarked on a similarly ambitious project.

The new History had been commissioned at the Church's General Synod in 1929 – three years after Yeats' Senate speech, and at a time when others within the Church of Ireland felt that its identity was threatened by the policies of the new Irish State.

The chief editor of this new history was Walter Alison Philips, the first holder of the Lecky Chair of History at Trinity. Like Mant, Philips was English, and had been educated at Oxford. In his Preface to the three-volume History, Philips began by stating that the Irish Anglican Church 'had no need to apologise for its existence.'[4] However, the Church of Ireland Synod had given specific instructions that the work in this collection should constitute 'a measure of defence against (...) hostile propaganda.'[5]

Subsequent research and publications have rendered the work of Elrington and Mant largely irrelevant. However, this thesis has argued that they continue to offer important insights into the cultural identity of nineteenth century Irish Anglicanism. Whatever his scholarly shortcomings as an historian, Elrington's editions of Ussher's works remain to this day the most definitive collection of the Archbishop's writings. Indeed, some years ago, Trinity College attempted to produce a new and comprehensive edition of Ussher's complete works. After ten years, the University had to admit defeat: the project was too vast to be finished, and they decided to restrict their publication to Ussher's letters.

Walter Alison Phillips in his editorial Preface to the new *History of the Church of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, stated that the work was to be seen as a 'reasoned defence' of the Church of Ireland's claim to be 'the legitimate successor of the church founded by St. Patrick and the early Irish saints.' In an essay in the first volume, entitled 'The Celtic Church', James L. Gough Meissner discussed the historic influence of Church of Rome in Ireland. He drew a distinction between political and ecclesiastical influence, and

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[4] Walter Alison Phillips, *History of the Church of Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, Vol I Editorial Preface. (London, Oxford University Press, 1933-34)

[5] Cited in Kenneth Milne 'The Church of Ireland: A Critical Bibliography, 1536-1992,' Part VI in *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 112 (November, 1993) p. 377.

argued that the latter was 'infinitesimal.'[6] The reaction from Roman Catholic scholars was immediate and contemptuous. John Ryan, Lecturer in Early Irish History at U.C.D., noted mockingly that Meissner's attempt to justify his argument was a. labour 'so exacting that the learned writers who attempt it deserve sincere sympathy.' He also dismissed out-of-hand the claim that the Church of Ireland was 'deep-rooted in the past history of Ireland' noting that 'must be ignored as fanciful, unless so many distinctions are made: that the claim is all but emptied of meaning.'[7]

In the three volumes of the *History of the Church of Ireland*, only the final chapter of the last volume deals with the history of the Irish Anglican Church in the half century that had passed since Disestablishment – and even that is confined to a passing mention of the need for church extension in Belfast. That silence is indicative of the failure of the Church of Ireland to address in an open and forthright manner its current and future role on the island of Ireland. However. its author, Charles Webster, maintained that Disestablishment had proved to be a positive force for Irish Anglicanism – and one that had brought reconstruction and regeneration –as well as a new interest on the part of the Church's laity. It was clear that, where their nineteenth century brethren were ready to infuse their Church's ancient history with a contemporary significance, the authors of the new History felt a good deal more constrained in their expression.

In a telling and rather poignant gesture, the last volume of the new History ended with a reference list of all the bishops of Ireland. This line of descent runs from St. Patrick - through the Anglican Reformation - to the beginning of the twentieth century: affirming, once again, the conviction that the Church of Ireland stood in a direct line of Apostolic Succession. This was, of course, precisely how Richard Mant had chosen to end his own *History* almost one

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[6] The subject matter of Volume II extended from the Scandinavian invasions to the Plantation of Ulster J. D. Seymour and G. V. Jourdan sought to clarify the treatment of the medieval church and show where William Dool Killen was defectively informed.

[7] John Ryan, 'The Church of Ireland and the Celtic Church History of the Church of Ireland by W. Alison Phillip' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review,* Vol. 23, No. 90 (June, 1934), p. 330.

hundred years previously. Whatever the merits of such a claim, it is clear that the themes of historical continuity continued to resonate strongly within the Church of Ireland long after Disestablishment had been effected.

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APPENDIX

1. Complete List of publication of Ussher's Works

Volume Number	*Date of Publication*	*Contents*
Vol II	November 7th 1829	De Christianorum Ecclesiarum Successione et Statu historica Explicatio (1613); A Sermon preached before the Commons House of Parliament, 18th February, 1620; A Speech delivered in the Castle Chamber, Dublin, 22nd November, 1622, concerning the Oath of Supremacy; A Sermon preached before the King's Majesty, 20th June, 1624, on the Universality of the Church of Christ.
Vol IV	June 9th 1830	A Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British (1631); Immanuel, or the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God (1638); Gotteschalci et Praedestinatione Controversiae abeomotae Historia (1631); Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge (1632)
Vol V	October 16th 1830	Brittanicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates ; Quibus Inserta est Pestiferae adversus dei Gratiam a pelegio Britanno in Ecclesiam inductae Haereseos Historia I-XIII (Dublin,1639)
Vol III	September 1st 1831	An Answer to a Challenge made by a Jesuit in

		Ireland. Wherein the Judgment of Antiquity in the points questioned, is truly delivered, and the novelty of the Romish Doctrine plainly discovered (London,1625)
Vol VI	October 30th 1831	Brittanicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates ; caput XIV-XVII (1639)
Vol VIII	April 3rd 1832	Annales veteris Testamenti, a Prima Mundi Origine deducti, una cum Rerum Asiaticarum Aegypticarum Chronico, a temporis historici principio usque ad Maccabaicorum initia producto (1650)
Vol IX	June 14th 1832	Annales veteris Testamenti (contd.)
Vol VII	June 14th 1832	A Geographical and Historical Disquisition, touching the Asia properly so called; The Original of Bishops and Metropolitans briefly laid down; The Judgment of Doctor Rainolds, touching the Original of Episcopacy, more largely confirmed out of Antiquity ; Dissertatio non de Ignati solum et Polycarpi scriptis, sed etiam de Apostolicis Constitutionibus et Canonibus Clementi Romano attributis (1644); Praefationes in Ignatium (1644); De Romanae Ecclesiae Symbolo vetere aliisque Fidei Formulis tum ab Occidentalibus tum ab Orientalibus in prima Catechesi et Baptismo proponi solitis (1647); De Macedonum et Asianorum Anno Solari Dissertatio (1648); De Graeca Septuaginta

		Interpretum Versione Syntagma, cum Libri Estherae editione Origenica et vetere Graeca altera ; Epistola ad Ludovicum Capellum de variantibus Textus Hebraei Lectionibus ; Epistola Gulielmi Eyre ad Usserium
Vol XI	August 1st 1832	Annales veteris Testamenti concludes; Annalium Pars Posterior, in qua, praeter Maccabaicam et novi testamenti historiam, Imperii Romanorum Caesarum sub Caio Julio et Octaviano Ortus, rerumque in Asia et Aegypto Gestarum continetur Chronicon ... (1654); The Principles of Christian Religion (1654); The Method of the Doctrine of Christian Religion (1654); The Power communicated by God to the Prince, and the Obedience required of the Subject ; The Original and first Institution of Corbes, Herenaches and Termon Lands ; The first Establishment of the English Laws and Parliaments in the Kingdom of Ireland ; A Discourse, showing when and how far the Imperial Laws were received by the old Irish and the Inhabitants of Great Britain ; Chronologia Sacra
Vol X	October 13th 1832	Annales veteris Testamenti (contd.)
Vol XII	December 12th 1833	Chronologia sacra (1660); Historia Dogmatica Controversiae inter Orthodoxos et Pontificios de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis; Dissertatio

		de Pseudo-Dionysii scriptis; Dissertatio de epistola ad Laodicenses ; The Reduction of Episcopacy into the Form of Synodical Government received in the ancient Church (1657); The Judgment of the Archbishop of Armagh, what is understood by Babylon in Apoc cap. xvii and xviii ; The Judgment of the Archbishop of Armagh, what is meant by the Beast that was, and is not, and yet is ; The Judgment of the Archbishop of Armagh of the Time, Intent, and Extent of Christ's Death and Satisfaction upon the Cross ; An Answer to Some Exceptions taken against his aforesaid Letter ; A Letter to Dr. Twiss concerning the Sabbath ; Part of a Letter to Mr. Ley of the Sabbath ; Part of a letter in Answer to Dr. Heylin's History of the Sabbath .
Vol XV	May 18th 1834	Correspondence
Vol XIII	June 24th 1844	22 published and 15 unpublished sermons
Vol XVI	November 6th 1846	Correspondence
Vol I	January 5th 1848	The Life of James Ussher, D.D. The Appendix includes the following: i) Genealogical Table; ii) An Account of the Commencement held on the 18th of August, 1614; iii) A Brief declaration of certein principall Articles of Religion set out by order and aucthoritie as well of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Sidney. as by the Archbyshops and byshops.;

		iv) The 1615 Articles; v) A Certificate of the State and Revenues of the Bishopricke of Meath and Clonmacnoise; vi) An Historical narration of the controversy betwixt the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin touching the Primacy; vii) A Vindication of the opinions and actions of the Lord Primate Ussher in reference to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and his conformity thereunto, from the aspersions of Peter Heylin, D.D. in his pamphlet called Respondet Petrus, by James Tyrell, Esq.
Vol XIV	May 17th 1862 (Todd conceded that this was actually published in 1864)	Tractatus de Controversiis Pontificiis ; Praelectiones Theologicae
Vol XVII	April 25th 1864	Index

2. Robert King's Arguments

The first five of the principle arguments given by King are as follows:-

'1. That while no other form of ordination except the episcopal was known or heard of in Ireland in the early ages, (from the first preaching, in fact, of Christianity in the island, to the period of the British Reformation,) yet no diocesan episcopacy was settled in this country, or employed for the government of the Irish Church, until introduced by the Church of Rome in the twelfth century.'

'2. That the churches of Ireland in the preceding ages, not being subject to episcopal jurisdiction, were governed by the Successors, (appointed by a certain mode of election, and in many cases from particular families exclusively,) of certain eminent early missionaries and founders of churches, venerated as the old Saints of Ireland, and Fathers of the Irish Church. These successors were in the early ages mostly presbyter abbots, but sometimes also of the episcopal order, although not forming regular or continued episcopal successions. To such Abbots, or Successors, the bishops were, during that period of history, subordinate.'

'3. That, as there were, generally, no metropolitan archbishops then to be found in our island, so there was no such person as the Archbishop of Armagh ever known or heard of, or mentioned in any history or legend written in the 600 years between the death of St. Patrick, in A.D. 40!'

'4. That the persons commonly known, and set forth, as the Archbishops of Armagh previously to A.D. 1100, by Ware, Lanigan, and other learned writers, were in reality the Abbots of Armagh. This is the name by which they are generally known in the ancient Annals of Ireland, at least in the earlier part of them: for the name Coarbs (or Successors,) of St. Patrick, which is also commonly given to them in those Annals, is the designation most usually employed in the later ages, from the tenth century onwards. Several of these Coarbs are noticed as having been of the episcopal order, while some of them, on the other hand, were but laymen. But no one of them included in the period above specified ia in any ancient record called an Archbishop of Armagh.'

'5. That, as in the ecclesiastical government or appointments of this country, the Church of Rome had in those ages no control nor voice whatsoever, so the church-lands of Ireland never belonged to her jurisdiction while the natives retained their independence; but came under her power only very gradually, and by much struggling, as that independence was lost;—and that in Ulster, where such independence was retained until the reign of the Protestant Sovereign James I., those lands had never come generally into the possession of the Church of Rome or her bishops in this province.