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The history of the Church of
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COMMENTARY ON THE HOLY BIBLE.

THE OLD TESTAMENT

IN

The Authorized Version,

WITH

NOTES AND INTRODUCTIONS

BY

CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D.

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Miss Taylor's book

The History of the Church of Ireland

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THE HISTORY OF THE
CHURCH OF IRELAND

In Eight Sermons

PREACHED IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

✓
BY CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D.

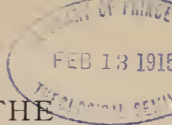
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PREFACE.

THE great question which now awaits a solution from the British Legislature, and which is fraught with momentous consequences, religious and political, can hardly be discussed with any reasonable prospect of a satisfactory result, unless it be approached after a careful study of the History of the Church in Ireland.

On the other hand, it may be anticipated, that a calm and dispassionate examination of that History would greatly facilitate a right solution of that question.

It is with a hope of offering a contribution to so desirable an object, that the present Volume is published.

For reasons which will be readily understood, it has been thought requisite to confirm the statements contained in it by copious testimonies from authentic sources, and to present them as far as possible in the original words of the writers from whom the evidence is derived.

CONTENTS.

SERMON I.

THE CHURCH HISTORY OF IRELAND.

THE AGE OF ST. PATRICK.

Joshua ix. 8, 9. 12—16.

PAGE

“And Joshua said unto them, Who are ye? and from whence come ye? And they said unto him, From a very far country thy servants are come. . . . This our bread we took hot for our provision out of our houses on the day we came forth to go unto you; but now, behold, it is dry, and it is mouldy: and these bottles of wine, which we filled, were new; and, behold, they be rent: and these our garments and our shoes are become old by reason of the very long journey. And the men took of their victuals, and asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord. And Joshua made peace with them. And it came to pass at the end of three days after they had made a league with them, that they heard that they were their neighbours, and that they dwelt among them” 1

SERMON II.

THE AGE OF ST. COLUMBA.

Esaiah lx. 8, 9.

“Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the Doves to their windows? Surely the Isles shall wait for Me” 50

SERMON III.

INVASION OF HENRY II.

Esaiah xxx. 1, 2, 3.

PAGE

“Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of Me; and that cover with a covering, but not of My Spirit, that they may add sin to sin: That walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at My mouth: to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt! Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion” 79

SERMON IV.

INTERVAL BETWEEN HENRY II. AND HENRY VIII.

Matthew vii. 20.

“By their fruits ye shall know them” 120

SERMON V.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION UNDER KING
HENRY VIII.

2 Kings x. 30, 31.

“And the Lord said unto Jehu, Because thou hast done well in executing that which is right in Mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in Mine heart, thy children of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel. But Jehu took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord God of Israel with all his heart: for he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, which made Israel to sin” . . 155

SERMON VI.

REFORMATION IN THE REIGNS OF KING EDWARD VI. AND
QUEEN ELIZABETH.

2 Kings xxii. 2.

	PAGE
<i>"He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord"</i>	198

SERMON VII.

HINDRANCES AND HOPES OF THE CHURCH IN IRELAND.

Isaiah v. 4.

<i>"Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?"</i>	237
--	-----

SERMON VIII.

ON THE CHURCH OF IRELAND AS A NATIONAL RELIGIOUS
ESTABLISHMENT.

John vii. 24.

<i>"Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment"</i>	292
--	-----

SERMON I.

THE CHURCH HISTORY OF IRELAND.

THE AGE OF ST. PATRICK¹.

JOSHUA ix. 8, 9. 12—16.

“ And Joshua said unto them, Who are ye? and from whence come ye? And they said unto him, From a very far country thy servants are come. . . . This our bread we took hot for our provision out of our houses on the day we came forth to go unto you; but now, behold, it is dry, and it is mouldy: and these bottles of wine, which we filled, were new; and, behold, they be rent: and these our garments and our shoes are become old by reason of the very long journey. And the men took of their victuals, and asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord. And Joshua made peace with them. And it came to pass at the end of three days after they had made a league with them, that they heard that they were their neighbours, and that they dwelt among them.”

AFTER the conquest, capture, and destruction of Jericho and Ai by Joshua and the Israelites, the other cities of Canaan were filled with alarm lest they should share a similar fate. One of the largest cities in the neighbourhood of Jericho was Gibeon². Its inhabitants had heard that God had commanded Joshua to

¹ Preached at Westminster Abbey on Sunday afternoon, March 14, 1852, being the Sunday before St. Patrick's Day; and the text being from the evening's first Lesson in the Daily Calendar for March 14. Some new paragraphs are added in the present edition.

Josh. x. 1, 2.

destroy those cities of Canaan which did not surrender to him within a certain time after a proclamation of peace, and since the period for capitulation had now expired, they feared that they would be the next objects of attack. They knew that Joshua's commission from God was directed against the Seven Nations of Canaan, who had now exhausted His divine patience by their abominations³, and that it did not extend beyond their limits. Accordingly, they resorted to a stratagem. They would not appear to be Canaanites, but to come from a distant land. In order to gain credence for this story with Joshua and the Israelites, they professed *to be ambassadors, and took old sacks upon their asses, and wine bottles (or skins), old and rent; and old shoes, and all the bread of their provision dry and mouldy, and went to Joshua to the camp at Gilgal, and said unto him and to the men of Israel, We are your servants, therefore now make ye a league with us; we be come from a far country. This our bread we took hot for our provision on the day we came forth, but now, behold, it is dry and mouldy; and these bottles were new, and, behold, they be rent, and these our garments and our shoes are become old by reason of the very long journey.*

The artifice was successful. The Israelites, probably hoping, that if Gibeon was saved from destruction, they themselves would be enriched by its wealth, without any risk or toil, eagerly accepted the proposal; they *took of their victuals; and asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord. And Joshua made peace with them.*

And it came to pass, at the end of three days after they

³ Gen. xv. 16. Levit. xviii. 27, 28; xx. 22, 23.

had made a league with them, that they heard that they were neighbours, and that they dwelt among them.

I. This narrative exhibits an instructive specimen of what often takes place in the world. We are prone to judge from first impressions and external appearances, to be seduced by shows and semblances and confident assurances; to rely on our own sagacity; to be swayed by considerations of worldly expediency, and by expectations of personal advantage; and to neglect those means of ascertaining the truth which are provided for us by Almighty God.

Among the various modes in which we are thus deceived,—especially in matters of religion,—one there is which bears a striking resemblance to that in which Joshua and the Israelites were deluded by the inhabitants of Gibeon. We are often beguiled into error by specious professions of Antiquity.

II. A remarkable instance of this is supplied by the subject which now engages our attention,—the HISTORY of CHRISTIANITY in IRELAND.

If we contemplate the spiritual condition of that country at the present time, we see a numerous body of religious Teachers, bound by solemn pledges of submission to a foreign spiritual Power. We hear it affirmed, that this subjection is sanctioned by prescription, dating from the earliest ages of Christianity; that from primitive times, Ireland was dependent on the Roman See; that it was even among the temporal possessions of that

See ⁴; that he, who is justly called the APOSTLE of IRELAND, the venerable ST. PATRICK, was a devoted son of the Roman Church; that he was sent as a Missionary to Ireland by the Bishop of Rome, and that the doctrines taught in Ireland at this day, under the authority of that Church, were taught by him; that they have the sanction of his name, and that, therefore, they who renounce any of those doctrines, and especially they who abjure the Supremacy of Rome, are guilty of disobeying the divine command, *Thus saith the Lord, Ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls*⁵; that they are chargeable with presumptuous and arrogant innovation; that they revolt from the Ancient Church, and apostatize from the Faith of their Fathers, and are guilty of ingratitude and irreverence to their most illustrious Ancestors, the Saints and Confessors of primitive times, and that, having estranged themselves from their fellowship here on earth, they may not hope to be associated with them hereafter in the bliss and glory of heaven.

⁴ The Papal claim to Ireland as a fief of the Roman See is urged by Pope Hadrian IV. in his Brief to Henry II., and afterwards maintained by Archbishop Cromer, Bishop Routh (*Analecta Sacra*, i. 234), Peter Lombard in his *History of Ireland*, 1632, and Porter in his *Annals*, 1690. O'Brodin, *Descriptio Hiberniæ*, 1721. Bishop Burke, *Hibernia Dominicana*, 1762. See *Digest of Evidence on Ireland*, ii. pp. 32—34. See also SANDERS de *Schismate Anglicano*, lib. i. ad. ann. 1542. "*Hiberni statim post Christianam Religionem acceptam se suaque omnia in Pontificis Romani ditiosum dederunt*," from Polydor. Virgil. *Hist.* xiii. See too RINUCCINI *Nunziatura* (in the reign of Charles I. A.D. 1645-9), p. xxxvi, and the Papal instructions to him, "*Il regno d'Irlanda fu di antico dominio della Sede Apostolica; alla Cristiana Religione fu egli convertito sotto Celestino I. prima da S. Palladio poscia da S. Patrizio discepolo di S. Germano.*"

⁵ Jer. vi. 16.

Such statements as these are entitled to serious consideration, and are fraught with momentous consequences.

If the present Religion of Rome was indeed the Ancient Religion of Ireland, if the Jurisdiction now claimed for the Church of Rome in that country is derived from Christ, and was exercised there in primitive times, then it must be confessed that its inhabitants are bound by sacred ties to adhere faithfully to the Roman See. And since Rome affirms that out of her pale there is no salvation, and that she cannot err in matters of faith, and that resistance to her is resistance to Christ, then, it cannot be denied, they ought not to allow any considerations of civil allegiance to deter them from advancing her interests, and from endeavouring to subject their own country, absolutely and permanently, to the Supremacy of Rome.

Since, then, the assertions, which have now been recited, are reiterated with great confidence by a large body of persons, who, from their numbers and position, exercise a powerful influence; since these assertions are received by many as unquestionable; and since they are attended by important consequences, spiritual and temporal; we owe it to others and ourselves, we owe it to the cause of Religion and Truth, to inquire calmly and dispassionately, whether those claims to Antiquity are well grounded, or whether they may not, perhaps, resemble the professions of the Gibeonites, by which they persuaded Joshua that they came from a distant land.

III. With regard to the precise period at which

Christianity was originally introduced into Ireland, and to the quarter from which it came, we have no authentic record. Some general expressions of ancient Ecclesiastical authors appear to intimate that the Gospel was preached there in Apostolic times⁶. The earliest Christian writers of Ireland, who mention the first communication of the glad tidings of Salvation to that country, do *not* trace it from *Rome*, but ascribe it to the *disciples of St. John*⁷. They look back to *them* as their fathers in the faith.

⁶ EUSEB. Ev. Dem. iii. 5, τοὺς ἀποστόλους προσελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Βρεττανικὰς καλουμένας νήσους.

S. CHRYSOSTOM, tom. vi. p. 635. ed. Savil. in demonst. ὅτι Χριστὸς Θεὸς· αἱ Βρεττανικαὶ νῆσοι . . . τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ῥήματος ἦσθοντο, ibid. tom. viii. p. 111. κὰν ἀπέλθης πρὸς τὰς Βρεττανικὰς νήσους . . . ἀκούσῃ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς φιλοσοφούντων.

See also the eloquent passage of S. COLUMBANUS, Ep. ad Bonifac. § 10. “Ex eo tempore quo Deus et Dei Filius homo esse dignatus est, ac in duobus illis ferventissimis Dei Spiritus equis Petro scilicet et Paulo Apostolis per mare gentium equitans turbavit aquas multas et innumerabilium populorum millibus multiplicavit quadrigas, Supremus Ipse Auriga currus illius, Qui est *Christus*, ad nos usque pervenit.”

⁷ Cf. STEPH. Vit. WILFRID. c. 10. “Colmannus intrepidâ mente respondens dixit, Patres nostri et antecessores eorum manifestè Spiritu Sancto inspirati, ut erat Columkille, xiv. luna die Dominica Pascha celebrandum sanxerunt, exemplum tenentes *Johannis Apostoli*; et nos sicut *discipuli ejus Polycarpus* et alii celebramus, nec hoc audemus, pro patribus nostris, nec volumus mutare.”

The groups of “Seven Churches” in Ireland are supposed by some to be derived from the Seven Churches of St. John’s *Apocalypse*. The appeal to St. Columba and *St. John* is found in the words of Colman (ap. Bede, iii. 25), “Pascha quod agere soles a majoribus meis accepi, quod omnes patres nostri viri Deo dilecti eodem modo celebrâsse noscuntur. Quod ne cui contemnendum videatur, ipsum est quod beatus Evangelista *Johannes* discipulus specialiter Domino dilectus cum *omnibus quibus præerat Ecclesiis* celebrâsse legitur . . . mirum quare stultum appellare velitis laborem nostrum in quo tanti Apostoli qui super pectus Domini recumbere dignus fuit exemplo sectamur. . . . Nunquid reverendissimum *patrem* nostrum *Columbam*, et successores ejus, viros

However, it is certain, that very little was effected for the propagation of the Gospel in Ireland during the first four centuries after Christ. Paganism was still dominant. The Priests of Ireland were the Druids.

About the year of our Lord 431, a Missionary was sent from Italy to that country. His name was Palladius, and he came from Celestinus, Bishop of Rome. Whether his mission was designed to be permanent, or whether he was sent for the purpose of checking the progress of the Pelagian heresy, then prevalent in the West, is not clear⁸. But for some reason, which is not

Deo dilectos, qui eodem modo pascha fecerunt divinis paginis contraria sapuisse vel egisse credendum est?"

⁸ BEDE, H. E. i. 13. "Ut regnante Theodosio minore, Palladius ad *Scotos in Christum credentes* missus est . . ." and again, "cujus Theodosii junioris post Honorium (regnantis) anno octavo Palladius ad *Scotos in Christum credentes* a Pontifice Romanæ Ecclesiæ *primus mittitur* Episcopus." The meaning of which may be, that no *Bishop* had been sent from Rome to Ireland before Palladius, and that there were *Irish* Bishops before. And Palladius was sent, it is probable, to drive away the Pelagian heresy from Ireland (cf. Bede i. 17, and Smith's note). As Professor Hussey observes, ad loc. i. 13, "Fortasse missus est ad sanandos potius Pelagianos errores quam ad paganos convertendos, cf. Prosper. Chron. ad A.D. 429." The expression in Prosper de Cælestino, C. Collator. xi. "fecit barbaram (Scotiam) Christianam," does not intimate that there were no Christians there before, but that he diffused a knowledge of Christianity through it. The following is from Professor Hussey's note, *ibid.*, "Verisimile est fuisse fideles in Hiberniâ ante Palladii adventum quamvis prima Hibernensis Ecclesiæ origo incerta sit: siquidem tum temporis insignes erant nonnulli qui e Scotiâ, hoc est ex Hiberniâ, orti esse feruntur, quales fuere *Sedulius, Cælestius* Pelagii discipulus. Magna vero populi pars, vel etiam multò maxima, poterat adhuc pagana esse. Contrâ tradunt nonnulli, *quatuor sanctissimi Episcopi cum suis discipulis fuerant in Hiberniâ ante Patricium*, [et ante *Palladium*] scilicet *Ailbeus, Declanus, Ibarus, et Kiaranus*, &c. Auct. vitæ Declani in Usser.

"Porro Patricius de quo nihil habet Beda nisi nomen ejus in Mar-

recorded, he quitted Ireland, after a very brief sojourn, and soon afterwards died⁹.

IV. ST. PATRICK is universally recognized as the APOSTLE of IRELAND¹. The date of his arrival in Ireland has not been precisely determined. It is supposed by many writers of good authority, that St. Patrick (who had been in Ireland before as a slave) came to that country as a Missionary Bishop the year after Palladius had visited it. The Mission of St. Patrick is one of the most interesting events in Church History, and happily we possess trustworthy documents for ascertaining its character.

The principal of these records is the work composed by St. Patrick himself, in his old age, and addressed to the people of Ireland, and entitled his CONFESSIO².

tyrologio xvi. Kal. Apr. fertur ad Hiberniam venisse paulo post Palladium, qui mortuus est *quamprimum ad Pictorum fines pervenerat.*"

⁹ See NENNIUS, HIST. BRIT. (noni, ut videtur, sæculi). Haunniæ, 1777, and apud Gale, Script. xv. p. 94. See § 53 on the Mission of Palladius.

"Missus est Palladius Episcopus primitus à Celestino Papâ Romano ad Scotos in Christum converteudos, qui prohibitus est à Deo per quasdam tempestates, et profectus est ille Palladius de Hiberniâ pervenitque ad Britanniam et ibi defunctus est in terrâ Pictorum." Cf. Bishop LLOYD on Anct. Christiauity, pp. 55—57.

¹ GALLANDIUS, Proleg. de St. Patricio: "Patricium à Deo ad Hibernorum conversionem vocatum circa annum 431; post innumeros labores in eo munere apostolico perficiendo e vivis excessisse anno 491; aunos natum 120 ut communior fert sententia. Cæterum ut Pagii verbis utamur, Hiberni Patricio debent quod patria sua facta sit *Sanctorum insula* et litterarum scientiarumque gymnasium."

² Contained in Patricii Opuscula (Sc. Confessio, Epist. ad Coroticum, Synodi duæ, &c.), ed. Jac. Waræus, Lond., 1658: Dublin, ed. Villanueva, 1835: Gallandii Bibl. Patr. Vet. vol. x. pp. 159—182: Migne's Patrologia, tom. liii. p. 802. For testimonies to its genuineness, see Dr Todd's St. Patrick, p. 347.

This title is not intended to convey the meaning generally implied by that word. The Confession of

YEOWELL'S *Chronicles*, Appendix iv. p. 173, contain a translation of St. Patrick's Confession. A translation of it is also inserted in Sir W. BETHAM'S *Antiq. Researches*, Part II.

The following testimonies, from two learned Roman Catholic writers, are important, as contrasting this authentic record by St. Patrick himself with the fabulous legends concerning him which were invented in a later age, and which now, unhappily, pass current with many as if they were true.

GALLANDII *Prolegomen. de S. Patricio*. Bihl. Vett. Patr. tom. x. "Sancti Patricii res gestas Prohus, Jocelinus, alique mediæ ævi scriptores litteris consignârunt, quorum auctoritas *haud firmo talo consistit*."

"At ex beati Antistitis *Confessione et Epistolâ ad Coroticum* complura eruet lector ad ejus acta probe dignoscenda quibus alihi firmiora frustra quærat."

TILLEMONT, *Hist. Eccl.* vol. xvi. pp. 453—478, 781—787, on the Life of St. Patrick, p. 454, "Bollandus dit que généralement on n'a presque aucune vie des Saints d'Ireland qu'on puisse croire ancienne de plus de six cent ans. *Il ne faut pas se fier davantage à leurs Annales.*"

And comp. *ibid.* p. 782. "*Ne voyant rien de certain dans les vies de Saint Patrice nous aimons mieux nous contenter d'un écrit qu'on appelle sa Confession qu'on croit estre de lui-même et qui véritablement en est digne.*"

Let me add two testimonials from two of the most learned Ecclesiastical Antiquaries that Ireland has produced.

ARCHBISHOP USSHER'S *Letters*, xxxiii. "I gave him good leave to discredit, as much as he list, the ridiculous miracles which *latter writers* have fastened on St. Patrick, but in no wise to touch his credit nor to question his succession to Palladius, nor to cast him into lower times.

"Bede, making mention, both in his *History and Chronicle*, of Palladius, speaketh nothing at all of Patricius. Yet I have seen in Sir R. Cotton's library an ancient fragment written before the time of Bede, wherein St. Patrick is not only mentioned, but also made to be as ancient as hitherto we have still believed him to have been."

Sir J. WARE'S *Bishops*, pp. 3—24, on the Life of St. Patrick, "His history has been crowded with such numberless fictions, and monstrous fables, that, like the legends of King Arthur, they would almost tempt one to doubt the reality of his person; and Prohus, his biographer in the tenth century, was outdone by Joceline in the twelfth: at length came Philip O'Sullivan, who far exceeds even Joceline. He published his work at Madrid, 1629. The two latter books of O'Sullivan's

St. Patrick is not to be compared with the Confessions of St. Augustine, and other similar works; but it is to be regarded as a *Profession of Faith* indited by St. Patrick himself, and as a brief memoir of his own ministry and life, and also as a public and thankful acknowledgment to God, for His manifold mercies to him. His design in writing it was, that posterity might know what he had done and taught³; and that all might also know, that, although he had been permitted to labour in Ireland for many years, and had baptized many thousands there⁴, and had planted many Churches in that country, yet he claimed no honour for himself, but ascribed all the glory to God.

“What shall I render to God,” he says⁵, “for all His benefits? I have no strength but from Him. I am ready to receive at His hands the cup of sorrow which He delivers to those who love Him. God grant that I may never lose the flock which He has given me. May He vouchsafe me perseverance to the end and grace to shed my blood for His name’s sake! This I know will be true gain—it will be Life Eternal.”

history relate to St. Patrick’s Purgatory, which neither Joceline nor Probus have mentioned, and probably never heard or dreamt of: see also p. 25. ‘St. Patrick’s Purgatory’ is first mentioned by Henry, monk of Saltry, who wrote A.D. 1153. *Trias Thaumaturg.* 273. Joceline (*Vita Patricii*, cap. 166) and others after him assert that Patrick received the Archiepiscopal *Pallium* from Rome. But, as S. Bernard (*Vita Malach.* c. 8), and Roger Hoveden, and the Annals of Melrose testify, *no* Pall was ever sent to Ireland before A.D. 1151.” Cp. Schœnemann. *Notit. Hist. de Patricio*. “Probi et Jocelini, medii ævi scriptorum, fabulæ dudum ab omnibus explosæ sunt.”

³ Confession, § 6.

⁴ Confession, § 2. “In Domino baptizavi tot millia hominum.”

⁵ Confession, § 23.

“I protest” (he says at the close of that work), “in truth and in joy, in the presence of God and His holy angels, that it was for the sake of the Gospel and its promises, and for no other reason, that I came back to that country (Ireland) from which I had formerly escaped. I beseech all who believe in God, and who pray to Him, and fear Him, and who vouchsafe to read this book, which I, Patrick, a sinner and unlearned, have written in Ireland; let no one ever say that any little that I have done or taught there, according to God’s good pleasure, was due to me and my ignorance. But judge ye rather this, and be ye fully persuaded, that it was God who wrought by me. . . . This is my confession before I die.”

In order that this confession of God’s power and love might be more generally known, St. Patrick wrote it in Latin. For a long time he hesitated before he could make up his mind to write in that language. He had been many years in Ireland, and had little opportunity of cultivating the Latin tongue. “I feel shame and fear,” he says, “to display my own rudeness of speech; and because I cannot express clearly in that language what my heart feels, and what my spirit burns to declare ⁶.”

To the Christian believer generally, especially to the Christian Missionary, and particularly to those who are engaged in propagating the Gospel in Ireland, the Confession of St. Patrick will ever be a work of deep interest. It is written (as we have said) in Latin, in a simple and homely style, somewhat rude and rugged, as the Author

⁶ See Confession, § 4 and § 5.

himself ingenuously and modestly avows. But this fact does not detract from its intrinsic value. It shows that the Author was not tutored in schools of human learning, and that he did not come from Rome. But the record of the sufferings he endured, and of the labours he performed in the cause of the Gospel, and the spirit of zeal and courage with which he toiled in the work of Christ, in an almost barbarous country, for sixty years, affords a cogent proof that he was indeed *a good man, full of the Holy Ghost*⁷.

St. Patrick was not an Irishman⁸, nor an Italian. His baptismal name⁹ *Succath* seems to be of Teutonic or Celtic origin. He mentions the place of his birth by its Latin appellation¹. Archbishop Ussher² sup-

⁷ Acts xi. 24.

⁸ Cardinal Baronius, ad An. 431 and 491, makes St. Patrick a native of Ireland, deceived probably by the expression in the Martyrology "In Hiberniâ Natalis St. Patricii." Whereas a Saint's Nativity in the constant language of the Martyrologists is the day of his *death*. See Ware's Bishops, p. 5.

See also Dr. TODD's edit. of the Martyrol. Christ Church, Dublin, p. lvii. The notice there given of St. Patrick makes no allusion to any mission from Celestine.

MARTYROL. Christ Church, Dublin, p. 96. xvi. Kal. April. "*Natalis Sancti Patricii Archiepiscopi Scotorum qui primus eosdem Scotos de gentilitate ad Christi fidem convertit . . . Sicut in Apostolatum barbaricæ gentis Scotorum verbo predicationis per aquam et Spiritum Sanctum ex baptismatis fonte velut ex matris utero regeneravit, merito ejusdem gentis pater nominatur . . . Apostolus et predicator in convertendâ gente ad fidem constitutus Episcopus, baptizando, ungendero, chrismatizando, et Episcopos, Presbyteros Diaconosque ceterosque gradus Ecclesiæ ordinando, perfectus.*"

⁹ SCHENEMANN, Bibl. Hist. Patr. tom. ii. p. 846. "Patricius natione Britannus, nomine patrio *Succath*, uatus in oppido *Nemthur*, hodie Kirkpatrick, inter fretum Dumbrittonæ et urbem Glasguensem sito circa annum 371, patre Calpurnio diacono Potiti presbyteri filio."

¹ "Bonaven Taberniæ." See below, note, p. 32.

² See also Ware's Bishops, p. 5.

poses that this spot is Kirkpatrick, in Scotland, between Dumbarton and Glasgow, on the banks of the Clyde. It is indeed generally allowed that St. Patrick was born either in Scotland or in France³. For reasons which need not be enumerated, it seems to be more probable that he was a native of Scotland. One may be specified. In St. Patrick's age, the Slave Trade was carried on in these countries. He relates, that when he was only sixteen years old, he himself was captured by Pirates, and sold into a foreign land. The country to which he was carried was the north of Ireland. And he mentions, that⁴ *many thousands* of his countrymen were seized and taken with him. If we consider these circumstances, and recollect how small and incommodious the vessels of that age were, we cannot suppose it probable, that, if these many thousand slaves had been captured in *France*, the Pirates should have chosen to carry their cumbrous freight by so long and circuitous a voyage as to the north of Ireland; but to no place were they more likely to have carried them than to the north of Ireland, if they had captured them in *Scotland*. If this be a correct conclusion, there would be a pleasing interest in the reflection, that Scotland, which afterwards received so much of Christian illu-

³ In c. 19 of his "Confessio," he appears to *distinguish* between France and his native land. "Pergens in *Britannias* et libentissimè paratus eram quasi ad patriam et parentes, *non id solum sed eram usque Gallias*, visitare fratres." This seems to refute their opinion who would abandon the ordinary sense of "*Britanniæ*," and translate "*Britanniæ*" into 'Brittany' in *France*.

⁴ In the Confessio, c. i., he says that he was captured and brought to Ireland "cum tot millibus hominum, quia a Deo recessimus et sacerdotibus nostris non obedientes fuimus."

mination from Ireland, and even derived its name *Scotland* from that island (for *Ireland* was the primitive *Scotia*⁵, and was commonly called by that name till the tenth century), should have given St. Patrick—the Apostle of Ireland—to that country.

But not to dwell upon this point, and to consider him in his exile. He was the slave of a heathen master, in a wild country, amid savage tribes, and was sent to feed sheep. He draws an affecting picture of his own condition at that time. “Often (he says⁶) in wintry nights, I wandered as a shepherd on the mountains of Ireland. I was drenched by rains, and chilled by dews and frost.” But in his solitary hours he had communings with God, and in the school of friendlessness and affliction, and under the influence of the sky and stars, the blessed truths of Revelation, which had been planted by his parents in his mind, but had hitherto lain dormant there, awoke and stirred within him. “Often I slept on the hills and in the forests, and rose before dawn to pray.” It was *good for him to have been in trouble*. By means of servitude he became the *freeman of Christ*⁷, and banishment from his country brought him home to God. Thus his life was spent till his twenty-third year. He then escaped from captivity, and returned to his native land. But he would not remain there. He had seen the people of Ireland *scattered like sheep without a shep-*

⁵ BROMPTON. Io. p. 1071. “Erat Hibernia jam olim Britanniaë concorporata . . . p. 1072 dicta est etiam *Scotia* a Scotis eam habitantibus priusquam ad aliam Scotiam Britannicam devenerant.”

USSHER, *Antiq.* cxvi. “*Scotiaë* appellationem *Hibernia* retinuit ad seculum usque decimum.”

⁶ Confess. c. 6.

⁷ 1 Cor. vii. 22.

herd⁸, on the mountains of error and unbelief; and his heart was moved within him when he thought of their hapless condition, and he resolved, with the Divine aid, to bring them home to the fold of Christ. With a noble spirit of Christian forgiveness and of Christian self-sacrifice, he would return good for evil, and would forego the joys of home, in order to preach the Gospel, where he had been an exile and a slave.

Accordingly, after some years of religious preparation⁹

⁸ Num. xxvii. 17. 1 Kings xxii. 17. Matt. ix. 36.

⁹ Not at Rome, but probably at the hands of S. German of Auxerre in France. See the testimony of FIECH the Bard (concerning whom may be consulted O'Connor, Proleg. ad Scr. Hibern. i. p. cxv, who places him circ. A.D. 540). Ware calls Fiech Bishop of Sletty (in Queen's County), near Carlow, and contemporary with St. Patrick. See Ware's Bishops, p. 3, and Bishop Nicholson's Library, p. 50.

FIECH de Patricio—

“Profectus est trans Alpes omnes
Et mansit apud Germanum, &c.
He traversed the whole of Albion,
He crossed the Sea,
And he took up his abode with Germanus.
Far away to the South of Armorica
Among the isles of the Tuscan Sea;
There he abode, as I declare,
He studied the *Canons with Germanus*,
Thus it is that the Churches testify;
To the land of Erin he returned.”

The original of this Hymn, in Irish, is inserted in COLGAN'S Trias Thaumaturga. It describes St. Patrick's travels minutely, but says nothing of his being at Rome.

See also Mr. KING'S Primer, i. 30. The Cotton MS. ascribed to the ninth century by Dr. O'Connor, and which Ussher supposes to be earlier, mentions that “Germanus and Lupus nurtured and ordained St. Patrick, and made him the chief Bishop of their school among the British Irish.”

Cf. also NENNIUS, *Historia Britonum*; Irish Version of, edited by Dr. Todd. Dublin: 1848, p. 107. “Patrick went to the South to study, and he read the Canons with German (Germanus of Auxerre).

he received the Holy orders of Deacon, Priest, and Bishop; and about the year of our Lord 430¹, he returned to Ireland. There he spent the residue of his life—a period of sixty years. During that time, he traversed the greater part of the country, preaching the Gospel, baptizing, planting Churches, and ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Almighty God blessed his labours with an abundant harvest; he never quitted the field, and, full of labours and of years, and like a reaper with his sheaves around him, he fell asleep in Christ.

V. What, let us now inquire, was the record of his labours in Ireland?

One of the Bishops who were consecrated by him, and who appears to have been his own nephew, and whose name was Sechnall, or (in a Latin form) Secundinus, Bishop of Armagh², composed a short Latin poem, still

Pledius (i. e. Palladius) was driven from Eri Patrick came to Eri after studying, and baptized the men of Eri." The Irish Version here has "the South," where "Roman" stands in the Latin, § 53, which is not earlier than the ninth century. See Præf. ed. Haun. p. 18. "He was not ordained at Rome by Celestine," says the learned Roman Catholic Writer TILLEMONT, l. c. p. 783. See also p. 458.

Having referred in this note to the "Church History of Ireland, by the Rev. ROBERT KING," 3 vols. 12mo, Dublin, 1845—1851, let me take this opportunity of paying a tribute of respect to that valuable work, which ought to be in the hands of all students of Irish Church-History.

¹ See MONTE-FERNANDI ANNALES. (Annals of Multifernan, edited by Dr. A. Smith, Dublin, 1842: perhaps the most ancient annals of Ireland, written exclusively in the Latin language. They are carried down to A.D. 1274. Intr. p. 1. See also Bishop Nicholson, p. 18.)

In A.D. 432, the entry is, "Sanctus Patricius venit in Hiberniam;" there is no mention of his being sent from Rome. Others place St. Patrick's mission still earlier. See Dr. Todd's St. Patrick, pp. 391-6.

² Dr. Todd's St. Patrick, p. 364.

extant³, which describes the acts of St. Patrick. In it the Author says that St. Patrick was stedfast in the fear of God, and immovable in the faith of God, upon whom the Church is built, as upon a rock⁴, and that he received his Apostleship from God⁵. "God sent him forth as His Apostle," he adds, "as He sent St. Paul to the Gentiles. Humble he was, through fear of God, both in spirit and in body, and he gloried only in the Cross of Christ. Boldly he proclaimed the name of God to the heathen, and gave them the everlasting grace of the laver of salvation; and, after the pattern of Christ, he was ready to lay down his life for the flock. Therefore the Saviour exalted him to be chief among His Priests, in order that he might admonish the Clergy in their heavenly warfare. He found the divine treasure in the Sacred Volume—the Holy Scriptures—and he beheld the Saviour's Godhead in His flesh. A faithful witness of God he was in the Catholic faith, the words of which are stored up in the Divine oracles⁶. A true

³ It is a "Hymnus Alphabeticus" in rude tetrameter trochaic. It was first printed by Colgan in 1647, afterwards by Sir James Ware, 1656, also by Villanueva, "Opuscula S. Patricii," Dublin, 1835; and with a learned Introduction and notes by Dr. Todd in his "Book of Hymns of the Ancient Irish Church," Dublin, 1855, p. 11. It is a valuable companion to St. Patrick's Confessio, and Epistola ad Coroticum. It seems to have been written while St. Patrick was still living, for the verbs which refer to him are in the *present* tense. See Dr. Todd's edition, pp. 40, 41.

⁴ The original is "ut petrum;" and the reference is to the places in Scripture where Christ is called the Foundation-stone, or Corner-stone of the Church (Isa. xxviii. 16; Eph. ii. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 6); and the Rock of the Church (Matt. xvi. 18).

⁵ Hymnus S. Secundini, v. 9. 11.

⁶ A testimony from ancient Ireland to the supremacy and sufficiency of Holy Scripture.

and noble husbandman he was of the Evangelical field, the seed of which is the Gospel of Christ; he sowed that seed with divine speech into the ears of the wise, and ploughed their hearts by the help of the Holy Ghost. Therefore Christ chose him as His vicar upon earth, to deliver captives from a double bondage; from the slavery of men, and the dominion of the devil. He held the faith in the Trinity of the Sacred Name, and taught that there is One Substance in Three Persons; and by day and by night, having his loins girt with the girdle of the Lord, he prayed to the Lord his God, from whom he will hereafter receive the reward of his labours, with the Apostles of Christ."

Such is the testimony to St. Patrick from one of his own contemporaries.

That these labours were performed amid many dangers not only from the heathen tribes of Ireland but also from foreign aggression, appears from another very interesting work, still extant, of St. Patrick himself.

This is an Epistle⁷ of remonstrance which he wrote to the emissaries of a certain chieftain called Coroticus, probably of Wales⁸ or of Cornwall, who had invaded Ireland, and pillaged it, and carried captive many of the Christians of the churches planted by St. Patrick. "I do not wish," he says, "to open my mouth with words of sternness, but I am constrained by zeal for God and the truth, and by love for my friends and children in the

⁷ The "*Epistola S. Patricii ad Coroticum*," or rather "*ad Corotici subditos*," was printed by Sir James Ware in 1656, and by Villanueva in 1835 in *Opuscula S. Patricii*, p. 240.

⁸ Cp. Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 352.

faith, for whom I have given up my country and my kindred, and am ready to give up my life, if God thinks me worthy. I have made a vow to my God that I will preach the Gospel to the heathen. O Lord! what shall I do? Thy sheep are torn in pieces before my eyes by robbers, at the command of Coroticus, not fearing God nor the priests whom God has chosen, and to whom He has given power that what they bind on earth should be bound in heaven⁹. Savage wolves are devouring the flock of Christ, *that* flock in Ireland which was lately so prosperous. They have filled their houses with the spoils of Christians. But thus they reap death to themselves; all who work wickedness procure for themselves eternal death, and everlasting punishment¹. The Church," he adds, "mourns for her children, she weeps for those who have not yet been slain by the sword, but have been carried away captive. I weep for you, my most fair and loving brethren, a countless multitude whom I have begotten in Christ. I weep also for the dead. I weep for you, my beloved; but yet I rejoice also; my labours among you, and journeys have not been in vain, God be thanked; ye have believed and been baptized, and ye have passed from this world into Paradise². I see with mine eyes that ye have migrated to that place where is neither darkness, nor mourning, nor death; and ye will reign hereafter in glory with Apostles, and Prophets, and Martyrs. But where will they then be, who rebel against Christ? Where will

⁹ Epist. ad Corot. § 3. Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18.

¹ Epist. ad Corot. § 7.

² Not Purgatory. Epist. ad Corot. § 9.

Coroticus be, with his savage crew? Sinners and spoilers will perish from the presence of the Lord, but the just will rejoice with Christ, and judge the nations, and have dominion for evermore. I protest before God and His Holy Angels, that so it will be. ‘He who believeth shall be saved, but he that believeth not will be damned.’ God hath spoken it³. I entreat that this letter of mine may be read in the presence of all the people and Coroticus himself. May God touch their hearts, that they may repent! They have acted as murderers against the brethren of the Lord; but let them repent, and set at liberty the Christians whom they have taken prisoners; so they themselves may live to God and be saved for evermore. Amen⁴.”

VI. Let us now apply these things to ourselves.

The history of St. Patrick is instructive to all. Since the days of the holy Apostles, few missionary works have been so signally blessed as his labours in Ireland.

What were the causes of his success?

First and foremost must be placed his love for Christ. This feeling is beautifully expressed in St. Patrick’s Irish Hymn, probably “the oldest monument of the Irish language now in existence⁵.”

“May Christ be with me, Christ before me,
 Christ behind me, Christ within me,
 Christ beneath me, Christ above me;
 Christ at my right hand, Christ at my left hand.
 * * * * *

³ Mark xvi. 16. St. Patrick speaks here of Christ as God.

⁴ Epist. ad Corot. § 10, § 11.

⁵ King’s History, p. 40. See Todd’s St. Patrick, pp. 426—429.

“May Christ be in the heart of every man who thinks of me;
Christ in the mouth of every man who speaks to me;
Christ in every eye that sees me;
Christ in every ear that hears me.”

Next, his love for the Holy Scriptures.

His two extant works abound with references to the Word of God⁶, and they are animated throughout with its spirit. The Word of God was his Book of books; it was his rule of faith and life, it was his daily bread.

Next must be mentioned his fervency in prayer. Even when a boy of sixteen, feeding cattle on the hills of Ireland, he, like David feeding sheep in the fields of Bethlehem, had continual communings with God. His heart was in heaven. Thence he derived faith and love, joy and peace, patience, strength, and courage.

No wonder that after his return to his home in Scotland he still yearned for Ireland; he had seen her wretchedness, the wretchedness of heathen idolatry. He felt compassion for her, and longed to win her to Christ. Christ was his all in all. Burning with love of Christ, and of the souls for whom He died, and full of His Spirit, and following His example, he forgave and forgot the hard usage he had endured there; he renounced the joys of home, and came back to Ireland. He laboured there among many hardships and dangers,

⁶ The passages of Scripture are quoted from a Latin version, older than St. Jerome. A proof of the antiquity and genuineness of the Confession. The same remark applies to the Epistle to Coroticus.

Another evidence of the antiquity and genuineness of these works may be seen in the fact that the author claims no miraculous powers for St. Patrick. How different are they in this respect from the mediæval lives of St. Patrick! Cp. Dr. Todd, p. 387.

his life being often in jeopardy⁷, during fifty years, spending and being spent for Christ.

This was the Lord's doing. "Not I, but God in me and by me," was his language; "to God be all the praise." Humble he was, but courageous; meek and gentle, but resolute and intrepid. Nothing he was in his own eyes, but strong in faith in God. Therefore God gave him more grace. After a long life he died in peace, a Martyr in will, a constant Confessor of the Faith.

While we remember his zeal, we must not forget the wisdom by which it was guided. Here also he is an example to all Christian missionaries.

He had learnt the language of Ireland in his youth, in his six years' sojourn there. This was one cause of his success. Ireland was then occupied by different clans. Wisely he addressed himself first to the chieftains of the clans. He converted many of them to the faith, and baptized them and their sons and daughters. This was the seminary of the ancient Irish Church. From among the chieftains and their families he raised up a native Priesthood and a native Episcopate in Ireland⁵. He planted a native Church with a native ministry. He built houses of God, where prayers

⁷ See Dr. Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 502; and especially the words of St. Patrick's "Irish Hymn," where he prays to Christ for daily protection (p. 428):—

"Christ protect me to-day,
Against poison, against burning,
Against drowning, against wounds,
Against every hostile savage power,
Directed against my body and my soul."

⁵ Cp. Dr. Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 28.

and intercessions went up continually to heaven for those among whom he dwelt, who were won to Christ and the Gospel by holy offices of love, and the daily ministries of religion. Those daily ministries in the churches, schools, and colleges founded by him, prepared the inmates of those Christian households to become teachers of the truth⁹. Thus Ireland was supplied with priests and bishops from among her own people; and the results of this wise system were seen in the stream of Christian missions, the glory of Ireland, which flowed from her in the sixth and seventh centuries, to evangelize Britain and other countries of Europe¹.

VII. Let us now proceed to inquire—

In what relation did St. Patrick stand to the See of Rome? Was he sent to Ireland by the Bishop of that Church? Did Rome lay claim to supreme jurisdiction in Ireland in his age? and did he acknowledge that claim²?

Our Roman Catholic brethren answer² these questions in the affirmative.

⁹ The dangers to which St. Patrick and his followers were exposed obliged him to concentrate his converts for common support in conventual buildings, from which women were not excluded (“mulierum administrationem et societatem non abnuebant,” is the testimony of the ancient author of the “*Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniæ* ;” see Dr. Todd’s work, p. 88, note), and these buildings were often strongly fortified. See Dr. Todd’s *St. Patrick*, pp. 502—504, and pp. 28—38, and p. 88, note, and p. 93. Hence the Round Towers in Ireland: Dr. Reeves, *Acts of Abp. Colton*, p. 88.

¹ See the next Discourse; and the sketch of St. Patrick’s Missionary work, in Dr. Todd’s volume, pp. 502—506.

See below note A at the end, p. 41.

² E. g. in the Rev. M. J. Brennan’s *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, Dublin,

Let us examine the facts.

1. First,—Suppose we grant, for argument's sake, that St. Patrick *was* sent by Rome, it would not follow, that those whom he baptized were subject to the Church which sent him. If this argument were of any weight, then *all* Churches, and Rome among them, would be subject to the Church of *Jerusalem*. For, all the Apostles came forth from her. *Out of Zion went forth the Law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem*⁴. She was the mother Church of Christendom⁵. But *who is Paul, who is Apollos*⁶? Grant, then, that the inhabitants of Ireland were baptized by a Roman Missionary, they did not by baptism become subject to Rome—but to Christ.

2. But was St. Patrick sent from Rome? Did the Apostle of Ireland come from that city?

Was he sent by Celestine, then Bishop of Rome?

Prosper Aquitanus lived at that time. He composed Annals of the Church, and was a friend of Celestine⁷, and a notary of the Roman Sec. He does not omit to record, in his History, that Palladius, whose mission was only for a few months, and appears to have been

Coyne, 1848, p. iv, it is said, "St. Patrick repaired to Rome, Celestine being at that time Sovereign Pontiff. Upon the death of Palladius, Patrick was consecrated, and received the regular jurisdiction from the Head of the Church." "St. Patrick was sent into Ireland by Pope Celestine," says Dr. Milner, End of Controversy, p. 14.

⁴ Isa. ii. 3.

⁵ See CONCIL. CONST. (i. e. the second General Council) in Synodic. Epist. Theodoret, v. 9, μήτηρ ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. S. HIERON, in Esai. ii. "In *Hierusalem* primum fundata Ecclesia totius Orbis Ecclesias seminavit." See also Bp. BULL's Works, ii. p. 192. 199. ed. 1827.

⁶ 1 Cor. iii. 5.

⁷ Cave, Hist. Lit. i. p. 435.

almost abortive, *was* sent from Rome by Celestine⁸. But the mission of St. Patrick, who probably came to Ireland in the next year, and who preached the Gospel there with great success for half a century, is not mentioned by Prosper at all. *If* St. Patrick had been sent from Rome, Prosper must have known the fact, and knowing it, he would have recorded it. Therefore, we may infer, that St. Patrick was *not* sent to Ireland by the Roman See.

3. Again: to speak of our own records. The most ancient of English Church Historians is the Venerable Bede, who was born A.D. 672—less than two hundred years after St. Patrick's death⁹. He was supplied with materials for his History from the archives of Rome¹. And, as might naturally have been expected from what Rome then was, and from benefits which England had derived from her, and, as might also be supposed, from the influence which Rome exercised in the Anglo-Saxon Church in which Bede was reared, he composed his history with a favourable bias towards Rome, and omits no opportunity of advancing her credit, sometimes even

⁸ PROSPER AQUITANUS, Opera, Bassani, 1782, 2 vols. 4to, in Chronico ad. A.D. 431, p. 401. "Basso et Antiocho Coss. ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur à Papâ Cælestino Palladius, et primus Episcopus mittitur." Vide Ussher. Ant. Brit. c. xvi. p. 417. "A Cælestino illum missum ait Joannes Balæus Script. Brit. cent. xiv. c. 6. ut sacerdotalem ordinem inter Scotos Romano more institueret. Habebant antea Scoti suos Episcopos."

⁹ Cave, Hist. Lit. p. 613. He completed his Ecclesiastical Hist. A.D. 731.

¹ BEDE, Præfat. mentions that he had access, through Nothelm, to the Papal archives at Rome. "Nothelmus Romam veniens nonnullas ibi beati Gregorii Papæ simul et aliorum Pontificum Epistolas, *perscrutato* ejusdem sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ scrinio, invenit, reversusque nobis nostræ Historiæ inserendas attulit."

to the disparagement of the ancient British and Irish Churches.

It is a striking fact—few are more striking in Church History—that Bede, who records in his History the mission of *Palladius* to Ireland, and often refers to the affairs of the Irish Church, never mentions the name of *St. Patrick*.

What may we thence conclude?

If St. Patrick had been sent from *Rome*, Bede, who had access to the Roman archives, and who records the mission of *Palladius*, and was one of the most learned men of his age, must have known the fact, and would have communicated it to the world. Full of zeal for *Rome*, as she then was, Bede would not have failed to do honour to the glorious career of *St. Patrick*; he would have dwelt with delight on the exploits of the *Apostle of Ireland*, if the *Apostle of Ireland* had been an emissary of *Rome*.

Hence, we are again brought to the conclusion that *St. Patrick* was *not* sent by the Roman Church.

4. Here, to obviate misconception, let us observe, that it is no part of our argument to affirm, that *St. Patrick* *opposed* *Rome*. No. *As far* as he *had any* relations and communications with her, they were those of such amity and respect as were due to so great and venerable a Church as *Rome then was*; but the truth is, that, in *his days* she laid *no claim* to jurisdiction in the country where he was a Bishop, and where he planted the Church of Christ. *St. Patrick* and the Church of *St. Patrick* were independent and free².

² Cf. the very ancient catalogue of Irish Saints in *Ussher, Antiq.*

5. But to return, it may be asked, How is Bede's silence to be explained?

Our concern, let us observe, is with the *fact* of his silence, and with the inferences to be derived from it: and we are not bound to account for it. But still the question is important; and let us consider it.

The ³ Church of *Ireland* in the age of Bede concurred with the ancient Church of *Britain* ⁴ in resisting the growing encroachments of the Roman See.

c. xvii. p. 473. "*Primus Ordo Catholicorum Sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii. Et tunc erant Episcopi omnes clari et Spiritu Sancto pleni CCCL numero Ecclesiarum fundatores.*

"Unum Caput *Christum*, et unum dueem *Patricium* habebant, unam missam, unam celebrationem, unam tonsuram (ab aure usque ad aurem), sufferebant.

"Unum Pascha XIV Lunâ post æquinoctium vernale celebrabant . . . Mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant, quia super *Petram* CHRISTUM fundati, ventum tentationis non timebant."

³ GIESELER, *Eccl. Hist.* § 126. "The union was close between the *British* and *Irish* Churches: they retained many old arrangements.

"That the Britons acknowledged no ecclesiastical power of the Pope over them is proved by their opposition to the Roman regulations, an opposition which continued in *Ireland* down to the *twelfth* century."

See also LAPPENBERG'S *Hist.* i. p. 134. "The points of difference between the Roman and British Churches (established probably on the oldest direct tradition from Judea) were, the time of celebrating Easter, the form of tonsure, the administration of baptism, the ecclesiastical benediction of matrimony, the manner of ordination, but above all, the *refusal to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope.*"

⁴ BEDE, xi. 2. "Non enim paschæ Dominicum diem suo tempore observabant (Brittonum Episcopi), . . . sed et *alia plurima* unitati ecclesiasticæ contraria faciebant." *Ibid.* Augustine (from Rome) says to the British Bishops, "In *multis* nostræ consuetudini contraria geritis, et tamen si in tribus his mihi obtemperare vultis, ut pascha suo tempore celebretis, ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxtâ morem sanctæ Romanæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ compleatis, ut genti Anglorum una nobiscum verbum Domini prædictis, cætera quæ agitis, quamvis moribus nostris contraria, æquanimiter euncta tolerabimus. At illi (sc. Brittonum Episcopi) *nil* horum se facturos *neque illum* pro Archiepiscopo habituros esse respondebant."

The Independence of the Irish Church in Bede's age, and its vigorous opposition to the aggressions of Rome

Bede, ii. 4. "Successit Augustino in Episcopatum Laurentius (sent from Rome) . . ." who wrote as follows to the Bishops of Ireland:—

"Dominis carissimis fratribus Episcopis vel abbatibus per universam *Scotiam* . . . *Antequam cognosceremus* hanc insulam quæ Britannia nuncupatur, *credentes* quod juxtà morem universalis Ecclesiæ ingrederentur in magnâ reverentiâ sanctitatis tam Brittonas quam *Scottos* (the Irish) venerati sumus."

Hence it is clear that before the end of the sixth century (the date of Augustine's mission), the Ecclesiastics of Rome knew very little either of the British or Irish Churches; and that neither of them were then dependent on Rome. "*Sed cognoscentes Brittonas, Scottos meliores putavimus.*" Even then, *after* that mission into Britain, Laurentius and the other Romish missionaries had still to learn what was the character of the Church of *Ireland*. And the result of their investigation is declared as follows: "*Scottos, per Daganum Episcopum in hanc insulam (Brittanniam) et Columbanum abbatem in Galliis venientem, nihil discrepare à Brittonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus. Nam Daganus Episcopus ad nos veniens non solùm cibum nobiscum sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescebamur sumere voluit.*"

Therefore (says Bede) Laurentius wrote a letter as above to the Bishops of Ireland, to bring them into communion with them (litteras quibus eos in unitate catholicâ confirmare satagit). But, adds Bede, "quantum hæc agendo profecerit adhuc *præsentiâ tempora declarant*;" i. e. the estrangement remained to the eighth century. With regard to the Britons he says, ii. 20, "usque hodie moris est Brittonum, fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo eis *magis communicare quam paganis.*" And again, ad. A.D. 731, he says, "*Brittones maximâ ex parte gentem Anglorum et totius catholicæ ecclesiæ statum pascha impugnant.*" Cf. the verses of Taliessin chief of the Bards (A.D. 620), in the Chronicle of Wales, p. 254:—

"Gwae'r offeiriad byd
 Nys engreiffia gwyd
 Ac ny phregetha;
 Gwae ny cheidw ey gail
 Ac ef yn vigail
 Ac nys areilia;
 Gwae ny cheidw ey dbeuaid
 Rhac bleidhie Rhufeniaid
 A'i ffon gnwppa."

at that time, afford a strong presumption, that the Apostle of Ireland was not sent by Rome, and was not dependent upon Rome. The freedom of the Irish Church, founded by St. Patrick, affords a strong presumption that St. Patrick himself, its founder, was free⁵.

Bede, as was before observed, was prepossessed in favour of Rome, and viewed with coldness the independence of the Church of Ireland in his own age.

Thus Englished by Archbishop Ussher :—

“Wo be to that Priest yborn,
That will not cleanly weed his eoru,
And preach his charge among :
Wo to that Shep-heard be, I say,
That will not watch his fold alway,
As to his office doth belong :
Woe be to him that doth not keep
From Romish wolves his sheep,
With staff and weapon stroug.”

⁵ NEANDER, *Eccl. Hist.* vol. iii. sect. 1. p. 164. “If Patrick came to Ireland as a deputy from Rome, it might have been expected that in the Irish Church a certain sense of dependence would always have been preserved towards the mother Church at Rome. But we find, on the contrary, in the Irish Church afterwards, a spirit of Church freedom similar to that shown by the ancient British Church, which struggled against the yoke of Romish ordinances.”

“We find subsequently among the Irish, a much greater agreement with the ancient British than with Roman Ecclesiastical usages. This goes to prove that the origin of the Irish Church was independent of Rome.

“Again, no indication of his connexion with the Roman Church is to be found in St. Patrick’s *Confession*; rather every thing seems to favour the supposition that he was ordained Bishop in Britain itself, in his forty-fifth year.

“He intimates in his *Confession*, that some respectable Clergymen in Britain opposed his consecration to the Episcopal Office, and that his enemies turned against him the confession of a sin committed thirty years before he was chosen deacon; and from what follows it is evident that this refers to something done by him when a boy of fifteen.”

We need not pause to inquire, whether there might not have been something of too much eagerness and vehemence in the conduct of some of the Irish Ecclesiastics towards Rome in Bede's age; as, assuredly, there was too much of haughtiness and assumption in her bearing towards them. We only state the fact of the differences and disputes between them, and note the side to which Bede leaned.

This being the case, it may well be supposed, that Bede did not feel induced to go in quest of Irish Saints of an *earlier* date, and to commemorate them in his Church History. While he was too honest a man to detract from the credit of Ireland's Apostle, and to tarnish the glory of St. Patrick, yet he would not *make* any *effort* to eulogize one who had founded a Church which showed itself resolved not to admit the claims of Rome, modest as those claims were in comparison with what she advanced in a later age.

Hence, we may explain the remarkable fact, that the name of St. Patrick is not mentioned in the History of Bede.

6. And here we may add an important consideration.

If St. Patrick had been dependent on Rome,—if he had recognized any thing like the Supremacy which she now claims, it is absolutely certain that his name would *not* have been *omitted* by Bede. Few names would have occurred more frequently in Bede's history than his. For Bede gives full reports of the differences and debates between the Romish and Irish Clergy in the interval of time between St. Patrick's age and his own. Now, *if* Bede could have said—*if* the

Romish Clergy could have said, in their altercations with the Irish Clergy,—that St. Patrick was an emissary from *Rome*—*if* they could have shown that *he* was obsequious to Rome, and deferred in all things to her, can it be imagined that they would never have urged this argument against the Irish Clergy who *opposed* Rome⁶? Would they not have expostulated with the Irish Clergy thus,—You not only resist us, you are not only disobedient to the Roman See, but you are treacherous to St. Patrick; you are ungrateful to your own Apostle who obeyed Rome, and taught you, by his example, to do so. Do you not feel remorse and shame in deserting him? Will you not show yourselves faithful disciples of St. Patrick by following his steps?

Here would have been a triumphant appeal. We know what use *is now* made of this argument by those who *imagine* that St. Patrick came from Rome, and was dependent on her; and *their* use of this argument in our days affords striking evidence of the use which *would have been made* of it by Romish Ecclesiastics in the centuries immediately succeeding St. Patrick, *if* he had been dependent on Rome, and if Rome had been supreme in Ireland, in his age.

⁶ We may observe in passing, that this consideration affords also a strong argument against those who, with paradoxical ingenuity, have endeavoured to identify St. Patrick with Palladius. Palladius *was* sent from Rome; and if he had been one with St. Patrick, he was the Apostle of Ireland, and laboured sixty years in that country. His name would, therefore, have been appealed to by the advocates of Rome in England in the sixth and seventh centuries. But it is not mentioned by them, because his mission was ineffectual.

VIII. Let us now revert to St. Patrick's own account of himself, in his CONFESSIO.

1. He there informs us that his father was a Deacon, and his grandfather a Priest⁷—a sufficient proof that the Celibacy, which Rome now enforces on her Clergy in Ireland, was no part of Ecclesiastical discipline in the age and country of Ireland's Apostle.

2. With regard to Church Government, St. Patrick was a Bishop, and he ordained Priests and Deacons⁸.

⁷ S. PATRICII Confessio, i. "Ego Patricius peccator, rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium, patrem habui Calpurnium diaconem filium quondam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit in vico Bonaven Taberniæ; villulam Enon prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi. Annorum eram tunc fere sedecim, Deum verum ignorabam, et Hiberionem (see Wesseling, Antonini Vet. Rom. Itin. p. 509) in captivitatem adductus sum."

⁸ Patricii Confessio, c. 16. He mentions his labours in Ireland "ut clerici *ubique* illis ordinarentur ad plebem *nuper venientem* ad credulitatem (i. e. fidem)," again c. 17, "ut *ubique* essent clerici qui baptizarent."

c. 18. "Unde Hiberionæ, qui *nunquam* notitiam Dei habuerunt, *nuper* facta est plebs Domini?"

c. 22. "*ordinavit* Dominus clericos per modicitatem meam." St. Patrick therefore performed the office of a Bishop: and he says, Epist. ad Coroticum, c. 1. "Ego Patricius peccator indoctus scilicet Hiberione constitutum me *episcopum* esse fatcor. Inter barbaros habito proselytus et profuga . . . pro quibus tradidi patriam et parentes."

PATRICII Epist. ad Coroticum, c. 3. "in supremis temporibus Hiberione optime et benigne plantata atque instructa erat lege Dei, favente Deo."

See also Synodus Episcoporum Patricii, Auxilii, Isernini. "Gratias agimus Deo Patri, et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Presbyteris et diaconibus et omni clero Patricius, Auxilius et Iserninus episcopi salutem." WILKINS, Concil. i. p. 2.

SYNOD. Episcop. Patricii, &c. 30. "Episcopus quilibet qui de sua in alteram progreditur *parochiam* nec ordinare præsumat nisi permissionem acceperit ab eo qui in suo principatu est." This Canon intimates that there were some outlines of Diocesan Episcopacy in Ireland in the age of St. Patrick. See also Canon 34.

He acknowledged these three orders of Ministers in the Church : and he mentions no others.

3. And what was his doctrine ?

At the commencement of the same work he has inserted his own Profession of Faith⁹. It bears a strong resemblance to the Nicene Creed.

“There is no other God” (he declares) “besides God the Father and His son Jesus Christ, Whom we confess to have been from everlasting with the Father, and Who was begotten before all things, and by Whom all things were made, visible and invisible, and Who was made man, and overcame death, and ascended into heaven to the Father. And God gave unto Him all power over every name in heaven and in earth, and under the earth, that every tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord and God¹. We believe in Him, and expect that He will come again to judge the quick and dead, and will render to every man according to his works ; and He has poured out upon us abundantly the gift of the Holy Ghost, the pledge of immortality, Who

⁹ PATRICII Confessio ii. “Non est alius Deus præter Deum Patrem, ingenitum sine principio, a Quo est omne principium, et Hujus Filium Jesum Christum, Quem cum Patre scilicet fuisse semper testamur, ante originem sæculi spiritualiter apud Patrem, inenarrabiliter ingenitum ante omne principium ; et per Ipsum facta sunt visibilia et invisibilia, hominem factum, devictâ morte in cælos ad Patrem receptum. Et dedit Illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen cælestium et terrestrium et infernorum, ut omnis lingua confiteatur quia Dominus et Deus est Jesus Christus (Phil. ii. 10, 11). Quem credimus, et expectamus adventum Ipsius, mox futurus Judex vivorum et mortuorum Qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua ; et infudit nobis abunde Spiritûs Sancti donum et pignus immortalitatis, Qui facit credentes et obedientes ut sint filii Dei Patris et cohæredes Christi, Quem confitemur, et adoramus Unum Deum in Triuitate Sacri Nominis.”

¹ Phil. ii. 10, 11.

maketh us to believe and obey, and to be sons of God the Father, and to be fellow-heirs of Christ Whom we confess; and we adore One God in the Trinity of the Sacred Name.”

Such is the CREED of ST. PATRICK, set down with his own hand, at the close of his long life, in the Volume which he left as a bequest to the People of Ireland.

IX. What, therefore, shall we now say? With feelings of respect and affection, we address ourselves to our Roman Catholic brethren in the Kingdom of Ireland. Take the Creed of St. Patrick in one hand; and take the Trent Creed, the Creed of Pope Pius IV., in the other. Place them side by side. Compare the two. The Trent Creed, which Rome now imposes on all Ecclesiastics², has added twelve Articles to the Nicene Creed, which we hold; and it declares that belief in those twelve Articles is necessary to everlasting salvation. It says, “Hæc est Catholica Fides, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest².” Now, let us inquire, Do you find those twelve Articles in the Creed of St. Patrick? One of those Articles is an assertion of Roman Supremacy. Do you find that there?—No. Another is, Obedience to the Pope. Do you find that there?—No. Another is, Belief in Transubstantiation. Another is, Belief in Purgatory.

² See Libri Symbolic. Eccl. Cath. i. p. 98; ii. p. 317. ed. Götting. 1838. And she requires all converts to Romanism to say, “eos qui contrà hanc fidem venerint, cum dogmatibus et sectatoribus suis æterno. anathemate dignos esse pronuntio.” See the Roman Pontifical, p. 455. ed. Rom. 1818.

Do you find them there?—No. Another is, Communion in one kind. Is that there?—No. Do you find a single one of those twelve Articles there?—No, not one. And yet you assert, that a belief in all these Articles is necessary to salvation, and you denounce us as heretics and innovators, because we do not, and cannot, receive them. What! if all these are necessary, how is it that St. Patrick does not mention one of them? Was the Apostle of Ireland a heretic? If so, *we* are content to be heretics with him. We are satisfied with his Creed. We hold every Article of it. And we leave it to you to consider, whether, if you are not content with St. Patrick's Creed, you ought to claim St. Patrick as your Apostle,—or, if you desire to have St. Patrick as your Apostle, ought you not to be content with your Apostle's Creed?

X. Once more. As we have observed, St. Patrick's Confession is an autobiographical memoir of his ministerial career.

If now, St. Patrick had been sent to Ireland from Rome, if he had been ordained at Rome, if he had been dependent on Rome, and had supposed that Ireland was subject, either temporally or spiritually, to the Roman See, he would have intimated in his Confession that this was the case. Your Bishops now call themselves Bishops by the Grace of God and the Apostolic See, meaning thereby the See of Rome. St. Patrick, the first Bishop of Ireland, would, you say, have done the same. But now refer to his own life. Open his Confession. Does he state that he received his ministerial authority from

Rome?—No³. Does he say that he and his flock are subject to Rome?—No. What, then, does he say of Rome? He mentions the Clergy of Ireland; he mentions the Clergy of Britain; he mentions the Clergy of France; but he never mentions the Clergy of Rome. The words Roman Bishop, Roman See, are not to be found there. The name of Rome does not occur once in St. Patrick's work⁴. I leave it to you, my brethren, to draw the necessary inferences from these memorable facts.

XI. We have now been engaged in comparing the

³ He *does* mention in the Confession (c. 13.) a person who had said, "ecce dandus es tu ad gradum episcopatus:" but that person was not at Rome.

⁴ Cf. GIESELER'S *Eccl. Hist.* § 108. "Respecting St. Patrick, see particularly his *Confessio* in *Patricii Opusc.* ed. Jac. Waræns, Lond. 1658, and *Acta SS. Mart.* ii. 517, after an older text in Betham, p. ii. Appendix, p. xlix. In this work *nothing is found* about a journey to Rome, nor of *papal* authorization of a mission to Ireland, of which we find a relation *first* of all in *Hericus, Vita Germani*, i. 12, about A.D. 860. See *Irish Antiq. Researches* by Sir W. Betham, p. ii. Dublin, 1826-7."

In the ancient and important "Hymnus Alphabeticus," (in rude tetrameter trochaics) concerning St. Patrick, and ascribed to Secundinus, St. Patrick's contemporary, p. 839, ed. Migne, are the following lines:—

Constans in Dei timore et fide immobilis
 Super* Quem ædificatur, ut petrum †, ecclesia,
 Cujusque Apostolatum à Deo sortitus est,
 Sacrum invenit thesaurum in Sacro Volumine,
 Testis Domini fidelis in lege Catholicâ,
 Cujus verba sunt divinis condita oraculis;
 Christus illum (i. e. Patricium) Sibi elegit in terris Vicarium,
 Qui de gemino captivos liberat servitio.

There is no mention in this hymn of any connexion between St. Patrick and Rome.

* Muratori's MS. has quæ: *lege* quam, sc. fidem.

† Qu. "petram?" See above, p. 27, note, line 9.

present condition of Christianity in Ireland with its aspect in ancient times.

It is the duty of all to promote the cause of Truth; and they who are subjects of the same Monarchy, and acknowledge the same Saviour, are specially bound to *keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*⁵.

We do not call upon our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen and fellow-Christians to receive our statements without scrutiny. But we do earnestly exhort them—as they love the truth, as they value the peace and prosperity of the land wherein we dwell, and as they regard the eternal interests of their own souls,—to examine the evidence of the case. Let the invidious names of persons and parties be forgotten. Let us meet on the peaceful ground of Scripture and primitive Antiquity. Let us look carefully into facts,—facts very important to our common country, and to our own happiness in time and eternity.

The question at issue is—

Whether the Papal Power,—in claiming, as it now does, the sanction of Antiquity for the exercise of jurisdiction in Ireland, and in endeavouring to enlist in behalf of its own doctrines the name of St. Patrick, and in putting forward the Trent Creed as the faith of the Apostle of Ireland, and of the ancient Irish Church,—is not imitating the Gibeonites, who professed to come from a distant land to Gilgal, whereas they dwelt near it? So we now ask—Is not the religion of Rome a new religion? is not her Creed a new Creed? It professes to come from far, but is it not from near at hand?

⁵ Eph. iv. 3.

What, for example, is the doctrine of the Original Sinlessness of the Virgin—who is now to be invoked in Ireland by a new title,—what is it but of yesterday⁶?

What are the words—which Rome has so often on her lips—the “Old Religion,” “the Ancient Creed,” “the Faith of St. Patrick?” Are they not like the dry and mouldy bread, and rent bottles, and tattered garments, and clouted shoes, with which the Gibeonites deceived Joshua?

XII. Some reasons have already been stated in this discourse for believing that this is the case. And more will be adduced hereafter. And if this is indeed so, then let it be remembered, that duplicity in religion is a heinous sin. It may deceive for a time. But let all who resort to it, see their own fate, even in this world, in the history of the Gibeonites. The deception was soon detected. *After three days, the Israelites heard that they were neighbours, and that they dwelt among them; and the Gibeonites stood publicly convicted of having come to Joshua with a lie in their right hand⁷. And Joshua called them and said, Why have ye beguiled us? now therefore ye are cursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being bondmen⁸.* If this be the case with the adherents of Rome, then, however they may boast of spiritual pre-eminence, they have only the lowest place

⁶ In the Synodical Address “published by authority,” with the signatures of the R. C. “Primate and the Fathers of the National Council of Thurles,” p. 25, Dublin, 1850, are the following words: “This most Holy Mother has been long venerated by our predecessors as the general patroness of all Ireland, and it is our wish that she *shall for the future* be invoked as such under the title of the ‘Immaculate Conception.’” See the present writer’s “Occasional Sermons,” Nos. XII. and XLIII.

⁷ Isa. xlv. 20.

⁸ Josh. ix. 23.

among the people⁹. They are *hewers of wood and drawers of water*¹. Then "Servus Servorum" indeed, a *servant of servants*², shall their Head be. And, however they may overreach *men*, they cannot clude the eye of the Divine Joshua, Who is *the Truth*³, and Who will one day bring *all hidden things to light*, and *judge the secrets of all hearts*⁴, and reward all *true Israelites in whom is no guile*⁵, and condemn to everlasting punishment *whatsoever loveth and maketh a lie*⁶.

Let us be on our guard, not to be enticed by any prospects of worldly advantage to make compromises with what is false. Let us not be beguiled by specious words and fair names. Let us not be deluded by shows and semblances; but let us hold fast the truth. Let us not suppose that men come to us from afar, because they have old shoes on their feet, and mouldy bread in their hands; and let us not imagine that whoever presents himself to us, dressed up as a wayfaring pilgrim, in the guise of a venerable name, has therefore toiled and travelled from the remote regions of Antiquity.

But let us resort to those means which God gives us for our guidance. Let us compare the language and practice of those who pretend to Antiquity, with the language and practice of Antiquity itself. Above all, let us ask *counsel at the mouth of the Lord*⁷. Let us examine the Oracles of Him, Who is the *Ancient of days*⁸. If they who come to us, bring *any other doctrine*

⁹ Josh. ix. 21.

² Gen. ix. 25.

⁴ 1 Cor. iv. 5. Rom. ii. 16.

⁶ Rev. xxii. 15.

⁷ Josh. ix. 14.

¹ Josh. ix. 21.

³ John xiv. 6.

⁵ John i. 47.

⁸ Dan. vii. 9. 13. 22.

*beside*⁹ that preached by the Apostles of Christ, we know Who has said, *Let them be anathema*. If they bring any thing contrary to the Word of Him *Who is from everlasting*¹, then *they are but of yesterday, and know nothing*².

Finally, let us be sure that by cleaving to the GOSPEL of CHRIST, we have the sanction of Antiquity; we rest on the *Rock of Ages*³,—we build for Eternity. *He has neither beginning of days, nor end of life*⁴. *He is the Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and End, the First and the Last*⁵, *Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever*⁶.

*Now unto the King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen*⁷.

⁹ Gal. i. 8. It cannot be too often repeated that the original words of St. Paul here are, *ἐὰν ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίζηται ὑμῖν παρ' ὃ εἰηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω*, i. e. "if even an Angel from heaven preach to you any thing *besides* what *we* have preached to you, let him be accursed."

¹ Ps. xc. 2.

² Job viii. 9.

³ Isa. xxvi. 4.

⁴ Heb. vii. 3.

⁵ Rev. i. 8; ii. 8; xxii. 13.

⁶ Heb. xiii. 8.

⁷ 1 Tim. i. 17.

NOTE A.

On three short documents, erroneously ascribed to St. Patrick, and relating to the See of Rome.

I. IN the eighth Volume of the Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima, Lugdun. 1677, p. 875, is the commencement of a "Carta or Epistola," which is thus inscribed, "S. PATRICII Legatio à Cælestino I. Papâ, ad conversionem Hiberniæ directi, sive Epistola Sancti Patricii Apostoli ex Bibliothecâ Monasterii Glastoniæ in quo ipse Abbas fuit *antequam*¹ esset Episcopus Hiberniæ. Fuit autem Romæ, A.D. 430.

"In nomine D. N. Jesu Christi Ego Patricius humilis servunculus Dei. Anno Incarnationis Ejusdem, 430, in Hiberniam à Sanctissimo Papâ Cælestino legatus, Dei gratiâ Hibernos ad fidem converti, et *cùm* eos in fide Catholicâ *solidâssem*, tandem in Britanniam reversus sum in insulam Avaloniæ et ibi duodecim fratres inveni eremiticam vitam ducentes, et quoniam inveni eos humiles ac quietos, elegi potius cum illis abjectus esse quam in regalibus curiis habitare, sicque licet invitum in Pastorem me sibi prætulerunt, ubi in scriptis recentioribus inveni quòd sanctus Phaganus et Dervianus ab Eleutherio Papâ qui eos miserat *decem annos indulgentiæ* impetrârunt, et ego frater Patricius à piæ memoriæ *Cælestino* Papâ duodecim annos acquisivi."

This "Charta S. Patricii" afterwards received considerable amplifications, and makes its appearance in an enlarged

¹ It is difficult to reconcile this statement with that in the fourth line after it.

form in a MS. used by Sir J. Ware; e. g. “ostenderunt mihi præfati fratres scripta Sanctorum Phagani et Diruvianus, in quibus continebatur, quòd XII. discipuli SS. Philippi et Jacobi ipsam vetustam ecclesiam (i. e. at Glastoonbury) construxerant in honorem illibatæ Advocatricis nostræ per doctrinamentum beati Archangeli Gabriëlis. Necnon et in scriptis inveni, quòd Sancti Phaganus et Diruvianus perquisierant ab Eleutherio Papâ, qui eos miserat, *triginta annos indulgentiæ*, et ego frater Patricius à piæ memoriæ Cælestino Papâ duodecim annos tempore meo acquisivi,” &c. &c.

This document is proved to be a forgery—

(1) from the date *Anno Incarnationis* 430 there used, a mode of computation which was not employed till many years after St. Patrick’s death.

(2.) Pope Cælestine *died* A.D. 432, the year in which St. Patrick *came to Ireland*, where he lived sixty years, and died, and was buried.

(3.) *Indulgences*, here mentioned, did not come into use until about the eleventh century.

From a consideration of these and other anachronisms and misstatements, which occur in this document, the Editors of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* justly say², “*Carta illa seu Epistola conficta est et fabulosa.*” So Tillemont xvi. p. 785, “*Cela suffit pour en juger, sans parler des autres absurdités qui s’y lisent, et dont quelques unes sont remarquées par Bollandus.*”

“The Charter of St. Patrick,” says Ussher, *Rel. Anct. Irish*, p. 65, “is a mere figment, invented by the Monks of Glastonbury.” “*Spuria, si quæ alia,*” says Cave, i. p. 421.

But this “*Carta or Epistola*” has its uses, as reminding us that documents were *forged* in the name of *St. Patrick*, and that the authors of those forgeries endeavoured to connect him thereby with the Roman See.

² Vol. i. and vol. viii. sub. v. Patricius.

II. In the "Synodical Address of the Fathers of the National Council of THURLES, to their beloved Flock, the Catholics of Ireland," Dublin, 1850, at p. 9, are these words: "Following the invariable practice of our Church, as that of every Church connected with the centre of unity, and in particular the instructions given in one of those Synods convoked and presided over by ST. PATRICK, 'If any questions arise in this island (Ireland), they are to be referred to the Apostolic See: *Si quæ quæstiones in hâc Insulâ oriantur, ad Sedem Apostolicam referantur*'³," we laid at the feet of our present venerable and beloved Pontiff the plan of Instruction that had been proposed to us. . . . After a most searching and protracted examination of the statements and facts that were urged on either side . . . the Successor of Peter pronounced his final judgment on the subject. All controversy is now at an end. The Judge has spoken. The question is decided."

The Canon here cited will be found in the Collection of Wilkins, i. p. 6, under the following general title, "Canones S. Patricio ascripti—ex Opusculis S. Patricii, per Jac. Waræum."

It does not appear when, where, or by whom, this Canon was framed.

It is not found, I believe, in more than one or two MSS.

Archbishop Ussher, in his *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, says, "Neither do I know what credit is to be given to that straggling sentence, '*Si quæ quæstiones in hâc insulâ oriantur,*'" &c., and he adds, "If I had lived in St. Patrick's days, for a resolution of a doubtful question, I should as willingly have listened to the judgment of the Church of Rome, as to the determination of any Church in the world, so reverent an estimation have I of the integrity of that Church *as it stood in those days*. But that St. Patrick was

³ Can. S. Patric. apud Wilkins. Concil. tom. i. p. 6.

of opinion that the Church of Rome was sure ever afterward to continue in that good estate, and that there was a perpetual privilege annexed unto that See, that it should never err in judgment, that will I never believe."

So far Ussher.

Even if it were supposed, for argument's sake, that this Canon was made in a Synod convoked and presided over by St. Patrick, yet it is very doubtful whether it refers specially to Rome.

Roman Catholics, being in the habit of appropriating the term "Catholic" to themselves, and of restricting the words "Apostolic See" to the See of Rome, have been betrayed into numerous errors, and apt to *misinterpret* those expressions when they meet with them in ancient Authors.

A remarkable instance of this may be mentioned:—

S. Augustine, in his work *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, ii. 12, says, "In *Canonicis Scripturis Ecclesiarum* quamplurimum auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas illæ sint quæ *Apostolicas Sedes* habere et *Epistolas* accipere meruerunt," i. e. "in considering the question of Canonical Books, let a man follow the authority of the major part of Churches, among which let those Churches be consulted which are distinguished by having *Apostolic Sees*, and by having received *Epistles* from the Apostles," i. e. such Churches as Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, &c.

This sentence, which is clear enough, has been strangely misapprehended, and has been compelled to undergo a violent transmutation, and appears in the following form in the *Roman Canon Law* ⁴:—

"*Ecclesiarum Catholicarum* quamplurimum *divinarum Scripturarum* solertissimus indagator auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sanè illæ sint, quas *Apostolica Sedes* habere, et *ab eâ* alii meruerunt accipere *Epistolas* ⁴."

Viewed through the medium of Romish influences, all the

⁴ *Decret. I^{ma} Pars, Dist. xix. c. vi.*

“Apostolicæ Sedes” of St. Augustine coalesce into, and are merged in, *one* “Apostolica Sedes;” doubtless intended in that Roman Decretal to be *the See of Rome*.

The Irish Canon cited in the Synod of Thurles, is assigned to the age of St. Patrick, who was contemporary with St. Augustine; and it may be explained from his language, as quoted above.

The words “Apostolica Sedes,” in the Canon *ascribed* by the Bishops at Thurles to St. Patrick, do not signify *the See of Rome*, but may mean *any Apostolic See*.

Bingham rightly says that all *Primates* were called *Apostolici* (Book ii. ch. xvi.), and many Sees were called *Sedes Apostolicæ* (see Book ii. ch. ii.).

This appears further from the language employed by Irish Ecclesiastics even in the *seventh* century, and even by those who desired to conform to the Roman Easter;

Thus St. Cummian, writing about A.D. 634, concerning the Paschal controversy⁵, and proposing to refer the question to a “Sedes Apostolica,” distinctly says, that “Sedes Apostolica” is *not* “*unica*,” but “*quaterna* ;” *not single*, but *fourfold*, viz., “Romana, Hierosolymitana, Antiochena, Alexandrina.” Under the name “Sedes Apostolica” he did not appeal to *one* Church exclusively.

Again, another of the most eminent Ecclesiastics of Ireland, St. Columbanus (circ. A.D. 615), Epist. ad Bonifacium Papam, § 10⁶, avers that the Church of *Jerusalem* has *precedence* of dignity before the Church of *Rome*, and all other Churches.

Besides; observe the *title* of the Canon in question. It is not inscribed “De *Romanâ* Sede *adeundâ* ad judicandum,” but the purport of the Canon is thus expressed in the title prefixed to it, “De *alienis* *adeundis* ad judicandum.” If

⁵ Ussher, Epist. Hibernic. Sylloge, xi.

⁶ Bibl. Patrum Max., vol. xii. p. 30.

⁷ See Wilkins, Concil. i. p. 6.

the Bishops assembled at Thurles had proceeded to frame a Canon decreeing that an *appeal* should be made to *Rome*, would *they* have inscribed that Canon as follows, "On appeals to *foreigners* for judgment in controverted causes"? Surely not. The purport of the Canon is not to *recommend* Appeals to *Aliens*, but to *restrain* appeals to *Aliens*, and to *confine* them to a *domestic* tribunal.

What, therefore, I would submit now for the consideration of the learned reader is, whether, if this Canon is genuine, it does not, in fact, *prohibit* Appeals to *Rome*?

For it says, "Si quæ quæstiones in hâc insulâ *orientur*," &c. "If any questions *arise* in this island, let them be referred ad *Apostolicam Sedem*." It does not *say*,—If any questions arise—and *cannot be determined*—but simply, if any *arise*.

Now, it cannot be imagined, that *all* questions that *arose* in Ireland were to be carried *abroad* to a *foreign* Church.

Besides, the word in the title is "*de alienis adeundis*," and the very word *alienis* implies a *prohibition* rather than a *command*;

Therefore there is great probability in the opinion⁸ that by "*Apostolica Sedes*" is meant the See of *St. Patrick* himself, the principal Metropolitan *Apostolical See* of Ireland—the See of Armagh, which was called the *Apostolic City* till the eleventh century.

St. Patrick was "*Apostolus Hiberniæ*:" his Office was "*Apostolatus*"⁹; and it is certain that in his days the terms *Apostolus*, *Apostolicus*, *Apostolica Sedes*, were applied to the Chief Bishop and Chief See of each national Church¹; and Bingham quoted above says that "the names *Papa*, *Apostolicus*, *Sedes Apostolica* were applied to *other Bishops* as well as the Bishop of Rome."

⁸ See Dr. M. Mason's Testimony of St. Patrick, Dublin, 1846, p. 119.

⁹ See above, p. 48, note.

¹ See the examples, Thomassini De Beneficiis i. p. 23, ed. 1787. Gieseler, Div. i. ch. iii. § 55.

Thus this Canon would be a confirmation of the *Decreta Nicæna quæ quæcunque negotia in suis locis, ubi sunt orta, finienda decreverunt.* (See the authorities in Dupin, *De Antiq. Eccl. Disciplina Diss. Hist.* p. 80, ed. 1787, where will be found a full account of the assertions of Cyprian to this effect, and of the similar decrees of the African Church. See p. 102, 117, 145, “*oportet eos quibus præsumus non circumcursare,*”—“*unius cujusque causa illic est audienda ubi crimen commissum.*”)

III. The third document, *ascribed* by some to the age of St. Patrick, and relating to the Roman See, may throw some additional light upon the preceding. It is as follows: from VET. CODEX ECCL. ARMACH. ap. Ussher, *Rel. Anct. Irish*, p. 65. “*Quæcunque causa valdè difficilis exorta fuerit, atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium judiciis, ad Cathedram Archiepiscopi Hibernensium (i. e. Patricii) atque hujus Antistitis æstimationem rectè referenda. Si vero in illâ cum suis sapientibus facile sanari non poterit, talis causa prædictæ negotiationis ad Sedem Apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam, i. e. ad Petri Apostoli Cathedram, auctoritatem Romæ Urbis habentem. . . . Hi sunt qui hoc decreverunt, i. e. Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus.*”

The framers of this decree thought it requisite to explain what *they* meant by “*Sedes Apostolica,*” i. e. “*Petri Apostoli Cathedra, auctoritatem Romanæ Urbis habentem.*”

They introduced the name of *St. Patrick*, as subscribing the decree, in order to give it weight; but, by a strange oversight, they also introduced a word which betrays the forger’s hand. This word is “*Archiepiscopus.*” St. Patrick was “*Episcopus,*” as he designates himself in his *Epist. ad Corotic. i.*, and as he is so called in *Can. iv.* of those cited from Wilkins, but he never calls himself *Archiepiscopus*; nor was he called *Archiepiscopus* in his lifetime.

Dr. MONCK MASON, in his *Primitive Christianity* in

Ireland, p. 32, referring to this Canon, thus speaks, "There is no *genuine* Irish Canon of an ancient Irish Synod acknowledging the Supremacy of Rome. One to that effect quoted in Ussher's Religion of the Ancient Irish Church, is of a late date, for it speaks of an *Archbishop* of the Irish; while the fact is undoubted, that it was not till the beginning of the eighth century², that the title of *Archbishop* was known in Ireland."

This canon has not been admitted by Spelman or Wilkins into their collections, and even Dr. LANIGAN, the Roman Catholic historian, doubts its genuineness. (Eccl. Hist. ii. p. 391.)

This Canon, then, is a fabrication—later than the age of St. Patrick—and designed to advance the interests of the Roman See, by means of St. Patrick's name.

Therefore, we here see another reason for believing, that the previous Canon cited by the Bishops at Thurles, cannot rightly be interpreted as they interpret it, viz. as prescribing an appeal to *Rome* in all cases where questions arise in Ireland. For, if there had been any Canon, with such a meaning, in existence at the time when this latter Canon was fabricated, such a fabrication would not only have been superfluous, but it would have been unfavourable to the Church of Rome, whose interests it was intended to promote. For the *former* Canon, so interpreted, gives *more* to Rome than the *latter*. And if the meaning assigned by the Bishops at Thurles to the Canon quoted by them is the true meaning of it, then that Canon likewise is not only a fabrication, but it is also a more *recent* fabrication than that of the other Canon here adduced.

Lastly, if any Canons, framed in Ireland by St. Patrick or in his age, had enjoined that appeals should be made to *Rome* for judgment in controverted causes, these Canons would without doubt have been quoted by those persons in

² Qy. 7th. See King's History, ii. 448.

the succeeding centuries who desired to bring the Irish Church to the observance of the Roman Easter. But in the ample records of that controversy we do not find any reference whatever to any such Canons; and therefore we may safely conclude that no such Canons were made in the age of St. Patrick.

SERMON II.

THE AGE OF ST. COLUMBA¹.

ISAIAH lx. 8, 9.

*“Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the Doves to their windows?
Surely the Isles shall wait for Me.”*

THE Prophet Isaiah, addressing the Church, pre-announces the rising of the Sun of Righteousness: *Arise, shine; for thy Light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee*². He then describes the consequences of this evangelical Epiphany: *The Gentiles shall come to Thy light, and kings to the brightness of Thy rising*³. He has a vision of Nations coming from afar, with their different attributes, like troops of Pilgrims, and pressing forward with eager haste to the Temple and Altar of Christ: *The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; all they from Sheba shall come: they shall bring gold and incense. All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee; and*

¹ Preached in Westminster Abbey on Sunday afternoon, March 21, 1852.

² Isa. lx. 1.

³ Isa. lx. 3.

then Christ Himself appears, and confirms the glad tidings of the Prophet: *They shall come up with acceptance on Mine altar, and I will glorify the house of My Glory.*

The Nations just described as flowing together into the Church of Christ, are represented as coming by land. Others will traverse the sea. These are compared to flocks of birds in the heavens, hastening to their nests. *Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the Doves to their windows? Surely the Isles shall wait for Me, and the Ships of Tarshish first.*

I. Let us begin by adverting to the literal meaning of this divine prophecy,—which will be applied further, in the sequel.

The word, in the original Hebrew, for Isle is *I*, and for Islands *Im*, and the word for Dove is *Yonah*. In Scripture, the Dove is the bird of purity, peace, innocence, and love. At the Deluge, the Raven deserted the Ark, but the Dove returned to it⁴. Hence the Dove is the emblem of the Spirit of Unity which animates the Church, and by which every member of it ought to be animated. Hence also, the Dove is the Scriptural emblem of the Church herself; *My Dove, My undefiled, is one*⁵. *O deliver not the soul of Thy turtle Dove unto the multitude of the enemies, and forget not the congregation of the poor for ever*⁶. And our Blessed Lord gives a precept to all His followers, when He says, “Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as Doves⁷.”

⁴ Gen. viii. 6. 9, 10.

⁵ Canticles vi. 9.

⁶ Ps. lxxiv. 20.

⁷ Matt. x. 16.

Hence, in the prophecy before us, the maritime tribes of the earth, who dwell in the Isles, and to whom the Gospel is preached, and who, wearied with the strifes of this world, and being filled by the Holy Ghost with the spirit of peace and love, take refuge in the Ark of the Church, are beautifully compared to flocks of Doves with *silver wings and feathers like gold*⁸, glancing and gleaming in the dark clouds, and flying with haste over the sea, to escape from the *stormy wind and tempest*⁹, and eagerly repairing to the windows of their nests, for protection, warmth, and repose.

II. *Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the Doves to their windows?*

This prophetic description may be applied in a secondary sense to characterize such a manifestation of Divine Providence and Mercy as that to which we have already referred, as displaying itself at this time in that Island of the west, which is most intimately connected with our own, and in which, under the influence of God's Holy Spirit and of His Divine Word, large multitudes of persons, having their hearts stirred, as it were, by a breath from heaven, are flying to their own spiritual home—their true Ark—the ancient, Evangelical Church of their native land.

Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the Doves to their windows? Surely the Isles shall wait for Me.

This simultaneous movement of so many hearts—together with other signs of the times—has led us to the contemplation of the primitive condition of Ireland.

⁸ Ps. lxxviii. 13.

⁹ Ps. lv. 8.

We have been engaged in considering the religious state of that country in the age of its venerable Apostle, St. Patrick,—and we have seen, that the faith professed and preached by him was founded on the Holy Scriptures; and that the CHURCH of IRELAND at that time—the fifth century—was not subject to any foreign power.

Let us now proceed to inquire,—what was its condition in the subsequent age?

At the period to which we now refer—the sixth and seventh centuries,—an intimate connexion subsisted between the Churches of Ireland and Britain. Their Candlesticks, standing side by side, appear to have derived their light from the Apocalyptic Candlesticks of the beloved Disciple and Evangelist, St. John. The light of the Gospel, which he cherished in the Churches of Asia, imparted its lustre to our own Isles.

Hence, probably, it arose, that while the Churches of Ireland and Britain held friendly intercourse with each other, and agreed, not only in doctrine, but, for the most part, in ritual observances, they differed in this latter respect from some other Churches of the West.

III. What, then, was their relation to the Church of Rome?

1. Here, also, the Ancient Churches of Ireland and Britain were of one mind. They did not acknowledge that the Bishop of Rome had *supremacy*,—no, they did not acknowledge that he had any *jurisdiction*, over them. And when he began, as he did at the close of the sixth

century, to use the language of dictation towards them¹, although in a modest tone, compared with the imperious terms that he afterwards assumed: and although the matters themselves were of trivial importance, in which he demanded submission, yet the Churches of Britain and Ireland united in protesting against such an assumption of authority over them, and in asserting their own independence.

2. Nor was this all. Rome was now beginning to aspire to spiritual domination. She put forth loftier claims. Our forefathers well knew that those claims had no foundation in Holy Scripture and Primitive Antiquity. And what was the result? One deeply to be deplored. A breach of Christian Unity. A Schism². The Churches of Britain and Ireland could

¹ Gregory wrote to St. Austin in this strain: "*Britanniarum omnes Episcopos tuæ fraternitati committimus, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roborentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur.*" BEDE, i. 27. And again (i. 29), "*Tua fraternitas omnes Britannię sacerdotes habeat, Deo Domino N. J. C. auctore, subjectos.*" No wonder a separation ensued.

² USSHER, Rel. Anc. Irish, ix. "The difference between the Roman and Irish in the celebration of Easter consisted in this:—

"The Romans kept the memorial of our Lord's resurrection upon that Sunday which fell between the xv. and the xxi. day of the Moon (both terms inclusive) next after the xxi. day of March; which they accounted to be the seat of the *Vernal Æquinoctium*. And in reckoning the age of the Moon they followed the Alexandrine Cycle of xix. years (whence our Golden Number had its original) as it was explained to them by Dionysius Exiguus.

"The northern Irish and Scottish, together with the Picts, observed the custom of the Britons, keeping their Easter upon the Sunday that fell between the xiv. and the xx. day of the Moon, and following in their account thereof not the xix. years computation of Anatolius, but Sulpicius Severus his cycle of lxxxiv. years."

Bp. LLOYD, Anct. Church Government, p. 67, 68. "In Pope Leo's time the Roman Church used the Paschal Cycle of 84 years; the Scots

not renounce the liberty with which Christ *had made them free*³. If they had done so, they would have been false to Him. He alone was their Head. *He had purchased them with His own blood*⁴. *They were not their own, but bought with a price*⁵. They could not give away what was His. They therefore maintained their freedom, and withstood those who would deprive them of it. Thus, by her ambition, Rome made a rent in the robe of Christ.

These are historical facts; and very important it is that they should not be forgotten.

3. But it may be said by some, Where is the evidence of them?

This is a reasonable demand, and evidence shall be adduced from Rome herself.

At the close of the sixth century, Augustine was sent

(Irish) and Picts and Britons used the same. But about 80 years after the rending of the Roman Empire, the *Romans* adopted from Alexandria another Cycle of 19 years, and this is what they desired to impose on the Irish and Britons, who retained that Cycle which had been anciently used by the Roman Church. For this and no other reason, because they would not receive the Roman alterations, nor submit to the authority by which they were imposed, they (the Britons and Irish) were called (by Rome) the *schismatics of Britain and Ireland*."

GIESELER, Eccl. Hist. § 126. "The Britons and Irish differed from the Romish Church in the following respects,—

"(1) The time of the Easter Festival. But the Britons were by no means *quarto decimani* (for they always kept the Easter festival on a *Sunday*).

"(2) The tonsure. The *Roman* Clergy were in coronam attonsi: the British had the fore part of the head bald." The Romans called their own tonsure the "*tonsuram Petri*," that of the Britons "*tousuram Simonis Magi*."

"(3) The British and Irish had no celibacy of Priests.

"(4) A Peculiar Liturgy."

³ Gal. v. 1.

⁴ Acts xx. 28.

⁵ 1 Cor. vii. 23.

by Gregory I., Bishop of Rome, to preach the Gospel to the Saxons in England. He there founded what Bede designates as "the new⁶ Church collected from the Angli." His differences with the Bishops of the ancient British Church, and their refusal to comply with his requisitions in ritual matters, or to acknowledge him or the Bishop of Rome as having any authority over them, are notorious⁷. Hence it is clear that the British Bishops knew nothing of any right in the Bishop of Rome to dictate laws even concerning matters of discipline, and much less concerning articles of faith, to the Church of this land.

Laurentius, another missionary from Rome, succeeded Augustine in England. He wrote a letter, which may be found in Bede's History⁸, in which he describes the nature of his own reception, first from the Ecclesiastics of Britain, and next from those of Ireland.

He thus writes :—

"*Before* we entered Britain, we held the British and Irish in great esteem, supposing that they conformed to the customs of the universal Church" (by which he means the Church of Rome). "But when we had become acquainted with those of Britain, we concluded that those of Ireland must be better than they."

"However, now" (he adds) "we have learnt through a Bishop of Ireland, Daganus, who has come over to Britain, that the Irish do not differ in any respect from

⁶ "*Nova quæ de Anglis erat collecta Ecclesia.*" Bede, ii. 4.

⁷ See BEDE, Hist. Eccl. ii. 2. "Illi" (Britonum Episcopi) "nil horum" (quæ Augustinus mandabat) "facturos, neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros, respondebant."

⁸ BEDE, ii. 4. For the original words, see above, p. 28, note.

the British in their usages. For this Irish Bishop, Daganus, refused to eat at the same table with us, or even under the same roof."

Such is the testimony of a missionary from Rome itself, at the beginning of the seventh century.

It further appears from the words of Bede, that the breach here mentioned was not healed in his own age, that is, near the middle of the eighth century⁹.

⁹ He wrote his history A.D. 731, in which he says, ii. 4, "quantum hæc agendo profecerit Laurentius, adhuc *præsentia tempora* declaraut;" and ii. 20, "usque *hodie* moris est Britonum, fidei religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque *in aliquo eis* magis *communicare* quàm *paganis*." See also MS. Cod. Canon. Cotton. tit. 66, ap. Ussher, Rel. Anc. Ir. c. x. "Britones, qui omnibus contrarii sunt, *ab unitate Ecclesiæ se absciderunt*." And a decree of Saxon Bishops, DECRET. PONTIF. M.S. ap. USSHER, Relig. Anct. Irish, ch. x. p. 81. "Qui ordinati sunt a *Scotorum* Episcopis (i. e. by the Irish Bishops: see above, p. 14, note) qui in Paschâ vel Tonsurâ non sunt *adunati Ecclesiæ*, iterum a Catholico Episcopo manûs impositione confirmentur. Similiter et Ecclesiæ, quæ ab illis Episcopis ordinantur, aquâ exorcizatâ aspergantur. Licentiam quoque non habemus eis poscentibus Chrisma vel Eucharistiam dare, ni ante confessi fuerint velle se nobiscum esse in unitate Ecclesiæ."

Other Councils show the separation of the Anglo-Roman from the Irish Church, and the overbearing spirit with which the ancient Irish Church was treated by the adherents of Rome,

CAPITULUM Theodori Archiepiscopi (who came to England A.D. 668) ap. Labbe, Concil. vi. p. 1877. "Qui ordinati sunt a *Scotorum* aut *Britonum* Episcopis, qui in Paschâ et in tonsurâ *adunati* Catholicæ Ecclesiæ non sunt, iterum a Catholico Episcopo manûs impositione confirmentur."

CONCILIUM CABILONENSE, A.D. 813, Labbe, vii. p. 1281, sub Carolo Magno Imp. can. 43. "Sunt in quibusdam locis *Scoti* (*Irish*), qui se dicunt Episcopos esse, et multos negligentes absque licentiâ dominorum suorum diaconos ordinant, quorum ordinationem, quia plerumque in *Simoniacam* incidit hæresim, et multis erroribus subjacet, modis omnibus irritam fieri debere omnes uno consensu decrevinus."

Synodus ap. Celichyth (Council of Calchythe), Labbe, vii. p. 1486. Spelman, i. p. 327. Wilkins, i. p. 169. Can. 5, A.D. 816. Johnsou, i. p. 301. "Interdictum est ut nullus permittatur de genere *Scotorum* in alicujus diœcesi sacrum sibi ministerium usurpare, neque ei consentire

IV. It appears from this epistle of Laurentius—

1. That the Church of Rome could have had but very little intercourse with the Churches of Britain and Ireland up to that time, and that it knew very little of them. Otherwise, a missionary sent from Rome to Britain would not have been ignorant whether the usages of the Churches of Britain and Ireland were similar to those of Rome or no; and could not have made so great a mistake, as he himself owns he did, in this important matter¹⁰.

2. Ecclesiastical Authority is exercised by means of visible acts, of command on one side, and of obedience on the other. Such acts necessarily involve intercourse between the two parties. Ecclesiastical Supremacy exhibits itself publicly in the imposition of oaths, and other forms of jurisdiction. Where one party has no such intercourse with the other, and avows ignorance of its usages, it cannot be said that either party has Authority, and much less Supremacy, over the other.

Hence, this declaration of the Roman missionary, Laurentius, to which we have just referred, as having *liccat ex sacro ordiue aliquod attingere, vel ab eis accipere in baptismo, aut in celebratione missarum vel etiam eucharistiam populo præbere, quia iucertum est nobis unde et an ab aliquo ordinentur.*"

¹⁰ COLLIER, *Ecl. Hist.* i. p. 187. "It appears, that" (in the *primitive* times of Christianity) "the Bishops of Rome did not intermeddle with the government of the British Churches, for if they had, Laurentius and the rest of the missionaries could not have been such strangers to the condition and usages of the British Churches as to believe them conformable to the Roman, till they came hither and found it otherwise.

"It is plain, therefore, the British Churches had the spiritual sovereignty within themselves, were under no foreign superintendency, nor cared to apply to the see of Rome to get their metropolitans consecrated, or receive directions for discipline from thence." See also Archbp. BRAMHALL, *Works*, vol. ii. p. 527. ed. Oxf. 1842.

been made at the beginning of the seventh century, may be regarded as tantamount to an acknowledgment from Rome herself, that she had not exercised jurisdiction in Britain and Ireland up to that time¹.

3. It also appears from this same Epistle, that when Rome put forth a claim to jurisdiction, by requiring conformity to her own usages, the Churches of Ireland and Britain united in resisting that claim, and that it produced a rupture between them and her.

Now, it must be remembered, that the whole fabric of the *present* Religion of Rome rests on a claim to spiritual Authority over other Churches. "What is the question at issue," asks Cardinal Bellarmine², "when we treat of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff? It is" (he replies) "the sum of Christianity." *Supremaey* is the key-stone of the arch of her system; and if that stone be removed, the entire structure falls to the ground. Since then the Churches of Britain and Ireland did not acknowledge any such supremacy; since they would not submit to any authority in Rome, even in ritual matters, over themselves; since the attempt on her part to exact conformity from them led to a breach of communication between them and her, it is clear, that

¹ A similar avowal from the lips of Gregory himself, afterwards Bishop of Rome, will probably occur to the reader. His question when he saw the Anglo-Saxon captives in the slave market at Rome, "Are they heathens or Christians?" was equivalent to an acknowledgment that he knew little of the religious state of the country from which they came. But if (as is now alleged by some) Rome had exercised jurisdiction in that country for some centuries, surely the future Pontiff would have known whether it was heathen or no.

² BELLARM., vol. i. p. 189. ed. 1615. Præf. in libros de Pontifice. "De quâ re agitur, cum de primatu Pontificis agitur? Brevissimè dicam—de summâ rei Christianæ."

the *Ancient Churches of Britain and Ireland did not profess the religion now taught by Rome*, which is based on the doctrine of Supremacy.

4. Since, also, according to her *present*³ teaching, the chair of the Roman Pontiff is the centre of Unity; since, as she affirms, he is the Spiritual Head, and Ruler of all Christendom; and since, according to her present religion, communion with the Bishop of Rome is necessary to salvation; since, according to her, resistance to him is mortal sin; therefore, according to that same teaching, the Ancient Churches of Britain and Ireland, which opposed his claims to jurisdiction in these realms, and were separated from communion with him, were excluded from the favour of God, and under a ban of condemnation.

V. Is further evidence required in proof of the fact, that when the Church of Rome began to have intercourse with these countries, and demanded submission from the Churches of Britain and Ireland, the result of that requisition was that they did not communicate with her, nor she with them?

If further evidence is called for, it may easily be supplied from authorities favourable to Rome.

For example, In the middle of the seventh century

³ I say, "*present teaching*," for it might easily be shown (e.g. from the History of Bede) that in the Seventh Century, Rome had not yet propounded the doctrine that to be out of her communion is to be excluded from hope of salvation. This was a later development. But if this is a true doctrine now, it was true then. If necessary now, it was necessary then. Either then she erred in not teaching it then, or she errs in teaching it now; therefore she is not infallible; and therefore she errs greatly in claiming infallibility.

(A.D. 664), Wilfrid, who had passed many years in Italy and France, and was an adherent of the Roman Church, was nominated to the See of York. How was he to be consecrated? Of the Bishops in Britain and Ireland at that time, there was only *one* in communion with *Rome*⁴. He was a Saxon; not of the native Church of Britain. Bishops there were, many in number, of the Irish and British Churches. But (to adopt the words of Wilfrid⁵ himself on that occasion) *Rome* did *not* admit those Bishops *to communion* with her. They were severed from her. Therefore Wilfrid would not receive consecration at their hands. And the consequence was, that he went to France to be consecrated there⁶.

VI. Such was the condition of the ancient Churches of Ireland and Britain in the sixth and seventh centuries.

But perhaps it may be alleged here by the Church of Rome: True, they were not in communion with me;

⁴ See BEDE, iii. 28. This is one proof among many that might be adduced to show that the results of Augustine's Mission were not permanent.

⁵ See in USSHER, Rel. Anc. Irish, p. 79, Wilfrid's speech to the king before his consecration. "Sunt hic in Britannia multi Episcopi, quorum nullum meum est accusare, quamvis veraciter sciam quod aut quarto-decimani sunt (see Bp. Lloyd, p. 128) [aut] ut Britones et Scoti ab illis sunt ordinati, quos *nec Apostolica sedes in communionem recepit*."

MALMESBURIENS. de Gest. Pontiff. III. on Wilfrid refusing to receive "consecration from Irish Bishops whose communion Rome rejected." See Vita Wilfridi a Stephano, c. xii. p. 57. Gale Scriptorum, xv., where Wilfrid speaks of the "Scoti (Irish), quos *nec Apostolica sedes in communionem recepit*." A.D. 664.

⁶ RICARD. HAGULSTAD., p. 294: "Wilfridus episcopus eligitur et ab Alfrido *Gallias* mittitur, ut ibi, quod tunc in *Anglia* non poterat, canonicè episcopalem consecrationem susciperet."

but their practice is no rule for *others*. *If* they had been eminent for saintliness and piety; *if* they had been distinguished by erudition, then you might be guided by them. But they lived in a wild country in an illiterate age; they were little better than barbarians. Invincible ignorance perhaps might excuse *them*. However, separated from me, they could not partake in the holiness of Christ. And therefore their example is of no weight, and ought to have no influence with any.

Let us consider this objection,

1. First, as to *holiness*.

Ireland at that time was *not* in a savage state. Far from it. She was illustrious for holy men in the sixth and seventh centuries⁷. And may we not here rejoin to the Church of Rome, *Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee?* For what is the name which she herself is wont to give to the Ireland of those days? *Insula Sanctorum*, the Island of Saints⁸. *Sanctorum Patria*, the Country of Saints. And here she speaks truly. For Ireland then was the land of holy men. But when Rome is unwilling that any holiness should exist apart from herself, and when she proceeds to claim the Island of Saints as her own, then we must remind her that she

⁷ GIESELER, Eccl. Hist. § 126. "Since the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons, ecclesiastical as well as social order had been subverted among the *Britons*, who manfully strove for their freedom; but the *Irish* Church was still in a very prosperous state. See JOH. P. MURRAY, *De Britannia atque Hibernia sæculis a sexto unde ad decimum literarum domicilio*. Nov. Comm. Soc. Reg. Gotting. Comm. Hist. et Philol. p. 72."

⁸ See, for example, p. viii of the R. C. History quoted above, p. 23. Ireland was then "universally known by the splendid appellation of a Holy Land, and an Island of Saints."

does not speak truly. Ancient Ireland was the Island of Saints, but it was not the Island of Rome. Its saints were not dependent on Rome. For many years (as Rome⁹ allows) it was not even in communion with her. And therefore, if (as Rome now asserts) it is schism to be separated from her, then the land which she calls the Island of Saints was guilty of schism; it was chargeable with heinous sin.

But no (Heaven forbid!), Ireland—ancient Ireland—was the Island of Saints¹, and Rome never speaks more truly, than when she calls Ireland by that name; and we hail these words with joy, as an avowal from her own lips, that a Church may be eminent in holiness,

⁹ CARDINAL BARONIUS, Annal. ad A.D. 604, § LXV. “Eâdem plane quâ *Britanni* pariter et *Scoti* erant *schismatis* fuligine tincti, ac *discessionis* ab *Ecclesiâ Romanâ* rei . . . paucis numero Româ missis Dei sacerdotibus . . . fuit die noctuque laborandum, ad Britannos et Scotos a schismate liberandos et Catholicæ Ecclesiæ jungendos laboriosissimè insudandum.”

INETT, *Origines Anglicanæ*, 1704, fol. p. 4. “Baronius (Annal. A.D. 604) and his epitomizer, Spondanus, agree that at the coming of Austin the faith of the British Churches was Catholic and orthodox. But, as those learned writers say, those *Churches had long continued* in a state of *schism*; and, doubtless, they had done so, if it be schism not to live in communion with the Church of Rome (p. 12). Such, too, was the state of the Scottish Churches in *Ireland*; their faith and discipline were the same with the British Churches, and their friendship and communion reciprocal.”

¹ CAMDEN, *Ireland*, p. 969. “In the age following St. Patrick, Ireland was termed *Sanctorum Patria*, and the Scotch monks in Ireland and Britain were eminent for their holiness and learning, and sent many holy men into all parts of Europe, who were the founders of Luxeuil Abbey in Burgundy, Bobbio in Italy, St. Gall (named from S. Gallus, an Irishman) in Switzerland, Malmesbury, Lindisfarne, &c. in Britain. For out of Ireland came Sedulius, Columba, Columbanus, Colman, Aidan, Gallus, Kilian, Maidulph” (from whom *Malmesbury* derives its name), “Brendan, and many others celebrated for their holy lives and learning.” The name of Fursëus ought not to be omitted.

although it is not dependent on Rome, nor even in communion with it.

2. Let our Roman Catholic brethren in Ireland be affectionately and earnestly invited to consider this. They love to call their own country "the Land of Saints." And they do well.

But let them remember that those saints of God were not subjects of Rome. Let them bear in mind the remarkable fact, that although ancient Ireland was the country of saints, yet *Rome*, which pretends to have in her hands the sole power of conferring titles of Sanctity, did *not* canonize *one* of them; and that it was not till more than Ten Centuries from the birth of Christ had passed away, that the name of a single person, born in "the Island of Saints," was admitted by Rome into her Calendar of Saints². Either then the inhabitants of Ireland must cease to call their country the Island of Saints, or they must allow that a Church may be illustrious for Sanctity, although it be independent of Rome, and even be censured by her as guilty of schism.

3. Next, with regard to Learning and Intelligence. It cannot be alleged that the Church of Ireland was

² USSHER, Rel. Anc. Irish, c. viii. "This country was heretofore for the number of holy men that lived in it, termed the *Island of Saints*. Of that innumerable company of sauits, whose memory was revered here, what *one* received any solemn eanonization from the Pope, before Malachias, Archbishop of Armagh, and Laureuce of Dublin, who lived, as it were, but the other day?" See BULLARIUM ROM. iii. p. 42, A.D. 1190, "Canonizatio S. Malachiæ," by Pope Clemens III.

BULLAB. ROM. iii. p. 241, A.D. 1225. "Bulla Canonizationis S. Laurentii Episcopi Dublinensis." Both these (Malachi and Laurence O'Toole) were very zealous in eudeavouring to briug Ireland under Roman sway.

illiterate in the sixth and seventh centuries, and that when she resisted Rome she erred through ignorance.

At the present time, when Ireland is convulsed by a violent struggle with manifold afflictions, it is a great blessing to be able to look back on the glories of her earlier days, and thence to draw hope for the future. Who does not rejoice to be cheered with the brightness of her past ages, and to cherish a holy confidence, that the same pure light of the Gospel, which beamed upon her in brilliant effulgence more than a thousand years ago, may again kindle her eye, and light up a smile of gladness on her countenance, and raise her beauty from the dust?

Soon may the blessed day arrive when we may sing with joy, *Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee*³!

4. More than a thousand years ago the Church of Ireland was the *burning and shining light* of the Western World. Her Candlestick was seen from afar, diffusing its rays, like the luminous beacon of some lofty Lighthouse planted on a rock amid the foaming surge of the ocean, and casting its light over the dark sea, to guide the mariner in his course. Such was the Church of Ireland then. Such she was especially to us. We, we of this land, must not endeavour to conceal our obligations to her. We must not be ashamed to confess, that with regard to Learning,—and especially with regard to Sacred Learning,—Ireland was in advance of England at that time⁴. The sons of our nobles and

³ Isa. lx. 1.

⁴ USSHER, Syll. No. xiii. p. 37. Adhelmus Malmesburiensis (Abbas

gentry were sent for education thither⁵. Ireland was the University of the West. She was rich in Libraries, Colleges, and Schools⁶. She was famous, as now, for hospitality. She received those who came to her, with affectionate generosity, and provided them books and instructors⁵. She trained them in sound learning, especially in the Word of God.

ad Eadfridum circ. A.D. 690) expresses his jealousy, as an Englishman, on account of the superior reputation of *Ireland* for learning. "Angebar, cur *Hibernia*, quò catervatim lectores classibus advecti affluunt, ineffabili quodam privilegio efferatur, ac si fœcundo *Britanniæ* in cespite didascali Argivi, Romanive Quirites, reperiri minimè queat."

⁵ BEDE, iii. 27. "Erant eo tempore (A.D. 664) multi nobilium simul et mediocrium de gente Anglorum, qui relictâ insulâ patriâ vel divinæ lectionis vel continentioris vitæ gratiâ illò secesserant: quos omnes *Scotti* (the Irish) libentissimè suscipientes victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum, et magisterium gratuitum præbere curabant."

CAMDEN, *Britannia*, p. 730. "Anglo-Saxones in *Hiberniam* tanquam ad bonarum literarum mercaturam undique confluerunt, unde de viris sanctis sæpissimè in uostris scriptoribus legitur, 'Amandatus est ad disciplinam in *Hiberniam*.'"

NEANDER, *Eccl. Hist.* v. 54. "Many young Englishmen visited Ireland in the latter part of the 7th century, partly in order to lead a quiet and severe spiritual life among the monks of that country, and partly to become imbued with their extensive erudition. They were received by the Irish with Christian hospitality, and provided with sustenance and books."

⁶ E. g. in her Scholastic Monasteries of those days. Such, in some respects (e. g. the celibacy of their fellows), are some Colleges in our own Universities at this time. And if monasteries had retained their character, as nurseries of sacred learning, and as centres of missionary labour,—like that of a Jerome at Bethlehem, or of a Columba at Iona,—who shall say that they ought to have been dissolved? who shall deny that they were means, in their own age, under God's providence, of inestimable good?—See Mr. KING'S *History* (p. 226—245) on the literary attainments, intellectual activity, missionary zeal, and self-devotion of the ancient Irish Monks; and on the Monasteries as Seminaries of the ministry, and schools of sacred and useful learning (p. 245); also as libraries and *officinæ* for the copying of MSS., and depositories of annals; also as cathedrals, hospitals, and almshouses.

5. Nor is this all. We, my brethren, are bound to remember that the Christianity of England and of Scotland was, in a great measure, reflected upon them from the West, by the instrumentality of Irish Missionaries, especially of those who came from the Scriptural School of Iona. That School was founded in the sixth century by St. Columba⁷. He came from Ireland. He was of her ancient line of Kings. He is justly regarded as the Apostle of the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland. And if (as we have already seen to be probable⁸) St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, was a native of Scotland, both countries may find pleasure in the reflection, that Ireland repaid the debt, and sent an Apostle to Scotland in the person of St. Columba.

He preached the Gospel there thirty years before St. Austin landed in England.

Many, doubtless, who are here present, have stood on the sea-girt cliffs of Iona, and have viewed with religious interest and veneration the mouldering remains of ancient Christianity, which still survive on its solitary shore. The name of Iona has been coupled with that of

⁷ BEDE, iii. 4. de S. Columbâ, A.D. 565. "Venit de Hiberuiâ Presbyter et Abbas habitu et vita monachi insignis nomine Columba Britanniam, prædicaturus verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum . . . venit autem Britanniam Columba regnante Pictis Meilochon, gentemque illam ad fidem Christi couvertit, unde et præfatam insulam (Hii) ab eis accepit. . . Fecerat autem, priusquam Britanniam veniret, uouasterium nobile in Hiberniâ. . . ."

"Qualiscunque fuerit ipse, nos hoc de illo certum tenemus, quia reliquit successores magnâ continentîâ ac divino amore regularique iustitutione insignes . . . tantum ea quæ in *propheticis, evangelicis, et apostolicis* literis discere poterant pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter observantes;" i.e. HOLY SCRIPTURE was their Rule of Faith. Cf. USSHER, *Relig. Anct. Irish*, pp. 2, 3.

⁸ See above, p. 13.

Marathon, by one of our most celebrated English writers, in a passage familiar to all⁹; and they who are versed in the history of Christianity in their own land will gladly and gratefully confess, that the peaceful conquests achieved in our own country by the saintly armies of Iona, were far more beneficent and glorious than any that were ever gained on battle-fields like that of Marathon; for, the names of those who fought for these victories of the Gospel are inscribed—not in perishable records—but in the pages of the *Book of Life*¹⁰.

“*Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the Doves to their windows?*”

“*Surely the Isles shall wait for Me.*”

6. May we not be permitted to apply this prophetic language to them?

As was before said (p. 58), the Hebrew word for Island is *I*, and this is cognate with that by which Iona was first known. It was originally called *Hii*¹¹. The Hebrew word, here used, for *Dove* is *Yonah*. And the name of *St. Columba* signifies *Dove*. Hence it was that the Island to which we now refer, was called *I-ona*, or the *Island of St. Columba*, or of the *Dove*. And it was also, and is still, called by a word bearing the same sense, *I-Colm-Kill*, i. e. the *Island of the Church of Columba*; for *Kill*, it is well known, signifies *Church*¹.

⁹ DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON, *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, p. 261: Edinburgh, 1798.

¹⁰ Phil. iv. 3. Rev. xxi. 27.

¹¹ BEDE, iii. 3. “*Insula quæ vocatur Hii.*” See also iii. 4. Mr. KING, in his *History*, p. 83, observes, “The original name of this place was *I, Hy, or Aoi* (as written in the ancient Irish annals), a word signifying an *island*. It is now called *I-colm-kill.*”

¹ FORDUN, *Scoti-Chron.* iii. § 26, A.D. 565. “*Ex Hiberniâ venit*

When, therefore, we bear in mind these circumstances; when we recollect that the *Dove* is the Scriptural emblem of the Christian soul², and when we remember that *Iona*, in those days, was a central Church, a sacred school of the West, a refuge for the weary soul, to which many flocked from afar,—may we not say that it was like a Christian Columbarium, where the doves *found a house, and a nest where they might lay their young,—even the altar of the Lord of Hosts*³? and may we not here exclaim, “Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the *Doves* to their windows? Surely the *Isles* shall wait for Me.”

7. Yet further:—

St. Columba, having founded the missionary Church of Iona, and having preached the Gospel in Scotland and the Isles, fell asleep in Christ, in a good old age⁴, at the end of the sixth century (A.D. 597).

Sanctus Presbyter et Abbas Columba, vir vitæ non minus mirabilis quam venerabilis. Hic cum *Iona* Prophetâ (idem) sortitus est nomen, nam quod Hebraicâ linguâ *Iona*, Latinâ vero *Columba* dicitur, Græcâ vero *Peristera* vocitatur.”

NEANDER, Eccl. Hist. v. p. 11. “With regard to Ireland, Patricius had left behind him a band of scholars prepared to labour in the same spirit. Ireland was the seat of monastic institutions so renowned that they obtained for it the title of ‘*Insula Sanctorum*.’ In these retreats the Holy Scriptures were diligently read: hence arose missionary schools, as the convent at Bangor, founded by Comgall. . . . Columba, about A.D. 565, came from Ireland, and planted the Gospel in the northern provinces of the Picts, who gave him the island of Hy, . . . which became a station for Biblical literature. The island was named after him Columb-Kill and Iona, the names Columba and Iona being probably the one the Latin, the other the Hebrew, translation of an original Irish name.”

² See above, p. 51.

³ Ps. lxxxiv. 3.

⁴ BEDE, iii. 4. “Cum esset annorum LXXVII. post annos circiter XXXII. ex quo ipse Britanniam prædicaturus adiit.” He died and was buried in Iona.

*But he being dead yet speaketh*⁵.

Before the middle of the following century—the seventh century (A.D. 635)—the King of Northumberland⁶, Oswald, who had been educated in the Irish Church⁷, sent to it for Christian Teachers, that they might convert his subjects from Paganism. Accordingly⁸ Aidan, an Irish Bishop⁹, and other Irish Missionaries, went forth from the school of Columba, and were settled by the King at Lindisfarne, and preached the Gospel in Northumberland, and planted the Church there.

The happy effects of this mission from Iona were felt throughout England, from the river Humber to the Thames¹. Churches were built, the people flocked with

⁵ Heb. xi. 4.

⁶ In course of time Oswald's dominions extended over a great part of Britain and Scotland. See BEDE, iii. 6. He reigned nine years. Ibid. iii. 9.

⁷ BEDE, iii. 3.

⁸ BROMTON, Io. Chron. p. 786. "Oswaldus ut fidem Christi in suo regno auget, Scotiam, ubi exulaverat, pro AIDANO episcopo summo viro nuncios misit. . . . Veniente igitur Aidano, rex Oswaldus in insulâ Lindisfarnensi Episcopalem tribuit ei sedem, cumque fides dilatari cœpisset, pulcro spectaculo sæpè contigit, ut Aidano Episcopo, qui Anglorum linguam perfectè non noverat, evangelium prædicante, ipse rex, qui linguam Scottorum plenè didicerat, interpretis verbi cœlestis suis existeret." See BEDE, iii. 3.

⁹ BEDE, iii. 5.

¹ FORDUN, Scoti-Chron. iii. § 39, p. 645. "Per hos sanctissimos viros, Episcopos Aidanum, Finanum, Colmannum, sive per se, sive per alios, quos ipsi consecratos Anglis dederant Episcopos et sacerdotes, regna quatuor, viz. duo Northumbrorum, Merciorum, Midilanglorum, et media pars regni Saxonum Orientalium usque *Thamesis* pæne ripam, ad Christum conversa sunt, ac eorum reges cum indigenis in nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis baptizati, necnon operibus fidei docti fideliter et informati."

USSHER, Rel. Anct. Irish, ch. x. p. 86. "Aidan and Finan deserve to be honoured by the English nation with as venerable a remembrance as

joy to hear the Word of God. The Heavenly Dove—the Holy Spirit of God—brooded over the heads of many thousands baptized by these Irish Missionaries in the faith of Christ in our own land. Multitudes, wearied by the storm, and finding no rest for the sole of their feet in the wilderness of the waters of this life, took refuge in the Ark of the Church.

Then through our own island, the ear of Faith might have heard the prophetic voice: *Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the Doves to their windows?*

Austin the monk and his followers. For by the ministry of AIDAN was the kingdom of Northumberland recovered from Paganism, whereunto belonged then, beside the shire of Northumberland and the lands beyond it unto Edinburgh Frith, Cumberland also, and Westmoreland, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the Bishopric of Durham. And by means of FINAN, not only the kingdom of the East Saxons, which contained Essex, Middlesex, and half of Herts, was regained, but also the large kingdom of Mercia was *converted first* unto Christianity, which comprehended under it Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Northamptonshire, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Beds, Bucks, Oxford, Stafford, Derby, Salop, Notts, Cheshire, and the other half of Herts. The Scottish (or Irish), who professed *no* subjection to the Church of Rome, were they that sent preachers for the conversion of these countries, and ordained Bishops to govern them, viz. *Aidan, Finan, and Colman* successively for the kingdom of Northumberland; for the East Saxons, *Cedd*, brother to *Cedda*, Bishop of York; for the Middle Angles and Mercians, *Diuma* (see BEDE, iii. 3—5. 22—26). And these with their followers, notwithstanding their division from the See of Rome, were, for their extraordinary sanctity of life and painful preaching of the Gospel (wherein they *went far beyond* the other side that afterwards thrust them out and entered in upon their labours), exceedingly revered by them that knew them."

INETT, chap. iv., concerning the missionary labours of the Irish Bishops Aidan, Finan, Cedda, and Diuma, pp. 46, 47. "Aidan, sent for from Ireland by Oswald, King of Northumberland, and settled at Lindisfarne, he and the Irish Clergy established schools, and by their ministry the people north of the Humber are generally converted. The midland and southern parts of England are converted by them and their successors."

Surely the Isles shall wait for Me.

8. Let me leave it to you, brethren, to trace in your own memories the course of those zealous Missionaries. Let me only remind you, that what was done in Scotland and England by St. COLUMBA and his disciples, was done by another Irish Teacher, St. COLUMBANUS², and his followers, on the Continent of Europe. Remember also, that they were not dependent on Rome³. At this day two

² Who calls himself *Palumbus* the *Dove*, in his letter to Boniface. Bibl. P. M. xii. p. 28. There is probably a continuation of the same idea in the name of *Jonas*, his successor and biographer.

³ COLUMBANUS, ob. A.D. 615. GIESELER observes, Eccl. Hist. § 126, "His letter to Pope Gregory the Great on the celebration of Easter, as well as to Pope Boniface IV. on the three chapters, attest the free spirit of the Irish Church."

The sentiments of St. COLUMBANUS with regard to *Rome* may best be seen in his own words. Columbanus ad Bonifacium Papan, § 10: Bibl. Patr. Max. xii. 30. "Sicut magnus honor vester est pro dignitate cathedræ, ita magna cura vobis necessaria est, ut non *perdatis* vestram dignitatem propter aliquam *perversitatem* (he therefore did not regard Rome as indefectible or infallible). *Tamdiu* enim potestas apud vos erit, *quamdiu recta ratio* permanserit. Ille enim certus regni cælorum clavicularius est, qui *dignis* per *veram scientiam* aperit, et indignis claudit. Alioquin, si contrà fecerit, nec aperire nec claudere poterit." § 11: "Cum hæc igitur vera sint, et sine ullâ contradictione *ab omnibus verè sapientibus* recepta sint (licet omnibus notum est, et nemo est qui nesciat, qualiter Salvator noster sancto Petro regni cælorum contulit claves, et vos, per hoc forte *superciliosum* nescio quid præ cæteris vobis majoris auctoritatis ac in divinis rebus potestatis vindicatis) noveritis *minorem* fore potestatem vestram apud Dominum, si vel cogitatis hoc in cordibus vestris."

It is observable that Columbanus when he wrote this epistle had resided much in France, where the Papal power had made more progress than in Ireland; and his language is more striking on that account. See NEANDER, Eccl. Hist. v. 43. Another passage may be added, § 10: "Ex tunc (i. e. ætate Apostolicâ) vos (Romani) magni estis et clari, et Roma ipsa nobilior et clarior est, et, si dici potest, propter Christi geminos Apostolos, vos prope cælestes estis, et Roma orbis terrarum caput est Ecclesiarum, *salvâ loci dominicæ resurrectionis singulari prærogativâ*;" i. e. Rome is *second* to Jerusalem; and

of the Swiss Cantons, Glarus and St. Gall⁴, bear in their names the record of their zeal. Those holy men preached the glad tidings of salvation in Germany and France. They planted Churches there, and even in Italy itself⁵. Here, too, when we consider the access since Jerusalem was not imagined by Columbanus or by any one then living to have such Ecclesiastical Supremacy as Rome now claims, much less could Rome, which was *second* to Jerusalem, be supposed by them to have it.

⁴ LAPPENBERG, Hist. i. 613. "At a time when the Anglo-Saxons had scarcely begun to spread a new Paganism in Britain, Fridolin, a native of *Ireland*, had dedicated a church to St. *Hilarius*, which has given a name to the Canton of *Glarus*. At the beginning of the seventh century Columbanus, the friend of St. Columba, with his pupil, Gallus, travelled to those parts where the name of the latter is preserved in the Canton of *St. Gall*, and where his monastery may be regarded as the choicest storehouse of the learning and poetry of the middle age. From Columbanus the cloister of Luxeuil, also that of Bobbio and others, derive their origin. At a later period (A.D. 680) Kilian with his companions founded a monastery at Wurzburg, the library of which preserves the proof of its descent, in precious monuments in the Irish language. Virgilius, a Scot, contemporary with Boniface, was Bishop of Salzburg."

⁵ NEANDER, Eccl. Hist. v. p. 35. "The largest debt of gratitude was due, in regard to the missions in Germany, to the monks from England, and more especially to those from *Ireland*. The love of travelling, so common to the Irish ("Natio Scotorum, quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam pœnè in naturam conversa est." Vita S. Galli, ii. § 47), served as a means for conveying Christianity to a remote people. Much as was done by the Frankish hermits, a far *greater* work was accomplished by the *Irish* Missionaries, through their diligence in cultivating land, in founding Monasteries, which became centres of conversion and instruction, and in providing for the Education of the young.

"Columbanus first gave an example of this (missionary spirit) at the end of the Sixth Century, which incited many to follow him in the Seventh. He was a native of Leinster, and had been educated in the monastery of Bangor founded by Comgall.

"The missionary labours of Gallus,—a noble Irishman, and Scholar of S. Columbanus,—in Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, are very celebrated. He was elected Bishop of Constance, and died A.D. 540. He raised up a school of missionaries, and was followed by Fridolin, also

sion to the Church from the labours of *Columbanus* and his scholars, we may again say, *Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the Doves to their windows?*

VII. But let us return homeward, and offer in conclusion some practical reflections.

We have seen that in the early ages of Christianity the Churches of Britain and Ireland were united as sisters in Christ. Both had a native Episcopate and Clergy, whose orders were derived through Apostolic men from Christ Himself. Both these Churches professed the same faith. Both were independent and free⁶. At the end of the sixth century Rome sent a

from Ireland, who laboured as a missionary in Alsace, Switzerland, and Swabia. Another Irish missionary, Kilian, preached the Gospel in Thuringia."

⁶ USSHER, *Relig. Auct. Irish, Epist. Ded.* "As far as I can collect by such records of the former ages as have come into my hands, either MSS. or printed, the Religion professed by the ancient Bishops, Priests, Monks, and other Christians in this land (Ireland) was, for the substance, the very same with that which *now* by *public authority is maintained* therein *against the forrain Doctrine* brought in thither in later times by the *Bishop of Rome's followers*. I speak of the more substantial points of Doctrine that are in controversy betwixt the Church of Rome and us at this day: the religion then received by both (*Irish and Scotch*) was the self-same, and differed little or nothing from that which was maintained by their neighbours the *Britons*."

Archbishop USSHER shows this, as to the following articles:—

"(1) The Supremacy and Sufficiency of Scripture as the Rule of Faith. The free use of Holy Scripture in the vernacular tongue: the appeal to the inspired Originals as the Authentic Standard, and not to the Latin Version. The Canon of Scripture.

"(2) Justification and its cognate questions.

"(3) Non-acknowledgment of Purgatory; non-use of Prayers for the dead.

"(4) Non-imposition of Celibacy on the Clergy.

"(5) Non-recognition of supremacy civil or ecclesiastical in the BISHOP of ROME."

mission to Saxon England; and far be it from us to derogate from the honour of those holy men who came on that errand of love. The memory of Gregory is dear to us, the memory of Austin is dear to us, the memory of his followers is dear to us, for their missionary zeal; but the cause of Truth is dearer still. And Truth requires us to say, that Gregory, Austin, and his followers demanded more of the Churches of Britain and Ireland than they could rightly give. They demanded the sacrifice of that which was not theirs to bestow—their Christian Liberty. Hence, unhappily, a separation arose. Truth also requires us to add, that the mission of Austin and his followers, probably from ignorance of the language⁷, was comparatively sterile in England, whether we regard extent of space, or duration⁸ of time. Truth requires us to declare, that St. Austin from Italy ought not to be called the Apostle of England, and much less the Apostle of Scotland; but *that* title ought to be given to St. Columba and his followers from the Irish school of Iona⁹.

⁷ See above the contrast between Palladius and St. Patrick, p. 35, and the remarks of Dr. INETT, Church History, p. 58. "Among the many miracles said to be wrought in favour of the missionaries from Rome, we do not hear that GOD ever gave to any of them a miraculous knowledge of the Saxon language: and if the want hereof was not one of the reasons of the little success of Austin and his followers, yet there is no doubt that the knowledge of the language was of great use to Aidan and Finan, who were employed in the conversion of which we speak."

⁸ RAPIN, Histoire d'Angleterre, liv. iii. "Les conversions faites par les Moines Italiens n'ont pas été fort solides. C'est ce qu'on peut inférer naturellement de la *défection* des peuples d'Essex, d'Estanglie, et de Kent même."

⁹ Dr. M. MASON, Primitive Christianity, p. 113. "It is pleasing to find a foreigner, M. RAPIN, doing justice to the claim of Ireland. 'It

Yes, brethren, we are bound to remember, that in a great measure, we owe our Christianity to Ireland. And, alas! we may not forget, that Ireland owes her Romanism to us¹.

Here, then, a double debt is due from us to Ireland; a debt of gratitude, and a debt of reparation. A debt of gratitude for spiritual blessings derived from her, and a debt of reparation for spiritual wrongs inflicted on her. What, then, is to be done? Let us not expose ourselves to a charge of baseness by denying the debt, or by forgetting it, still less by abandoning those who have benefited us, and whom we have deeply injured. No, let us frankly acknowledge the debt, and let us endeavour to pay it. And let us remember the solemn truth, that this double debt is due, not only to men, but God. Christ's Church is His mystical body. God used the Church of Ireland, in former days, as His instrument in benefiting us. What we owe to her, we owe to Him; by injuring her, we have sinned against Him. If, then, we desire His blessing,—without which we are poor indeed,—let us make haste to pay this double debt.

is surprisingly strange,' says he (*Hist. of England*, fol. Lond. 1732, p. 80), 'that the conversion of the English should be attributed to Austin rather than to Aidan, Finan, Colman, Cedd, and Diuna, and the other Scottish' (or Irish) 'monks, who undoubtedly laboured much more abundantly than he.'"

It ought to be borne in mind, that the Literature of the middle ages in England was mainly under the control of the Anglo-Roman monks, who, for the most part, were prepossessed in favour of the Italian, and prejudiced against the Irish, Missionaries; and therefore, while we may accept the good which is recorded of the latter as not overstated, we have reason to think that justice has not yet been done to their labours.

¹ This will be seen from the facts stated in the next Discourse.

And how may this be effected? By dispelling from our own eyes, and by endeavouring to dispel from the eyes of others, the mists of ignorance and error which hang over them. By examining for ourselves, and by aiding others to examine, this subject. By remembering and publicly declaring, that, in its happiest days, Ireland was independent of Rome, and subject only to Christ; and that she derived her glory from that independence on the one hand, and from that subjection on the other. By showing that the Churches of Britain and Ireland were then united in common sentiments of affection, and in common acts of defence. By labouring to requite Ireland for spiritual blessings we have received from her, and to indemnify her for the spiritual injuries we have done her. In ancient times, Ireland performed Apostolic duties to us; let us now endeavour to perform Apostolic duties to her. She aided in evangelizing us; let us aid in evangelizing her. Let us labour and pray that all who dwell in the Island of Saints may be united in the Faith of their earlier Christian Forefathers,—in *that pure and holy Faith, which was once for all delivered unto the Saints*². Let us labour and pray, that the Candlesticks of the Churches of Britain and Ireland, shining with the light of God's Holy Word, ministered like the *oil of gladness* from God's Holy Spirit, may stand side by side, "stedfast in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity." The strongest bond of our National Unity is in the Word of God, and the Church of God; the Word giving light to the Church, and the Church diffusing that light to the world. Then

² Jude 3.

we may apply to ourselves the Vision which St. John saw of the two Churches under the two Dispensations, fed by the holy oil poured from the *Two Olive Trees*, or the *Two Testaments*. These (the *Two Testaments*) are the *Two Olive Trees*; and these (the *Two Churches*) are the *Two Candlesticks* standing before *the God of the Earth*³. God grant this may be also said of the *Two Testaments* illuminating the *Two Churches* of Britain and Ireland, and making them to partake in the immovable stability, and in the never-fading beauty and glory, of the Divine Word! *These are the Two Olive Trees, and these are the Two Candlesticks, standing* (and may they ever stand!) *before the God of the Earth.*—AMEN.

³ Rev. xi. 4.

SERMON III.

INVASION OF HENRY II.¹

ISAIAH xxx. 1, 2, 3.

“Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of Me; and that cover with a covering, but not of My Spirit, that they may add sin to sin: That walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at My mouth; to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt! Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion.”

WHEN the King of Assyria, Sennacherib, came against the fenced cities of Judah, the Jews made a confederacy, and resorted to Egypt for aid². Thus they were guilty of a double sin,—distrust of God, and abandonment of Him and His service for other rulers and false gods. And they violated also a special command, which interdicted them from intercourse with Egypt. *Your king shall not cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall no more return that way*³.

¹ Preached at Westminster Abbey on Sunday afternoon, March 28, 1852.

² 2 Kings xviii, 21.

³ Deut. xvii. 16.

The Prophet Isaiah was sent by Almighty God to reprove His people for their ingratitude, disobedience, and infatuation, and to foretell the ignominious consequences of their apostasy ;

Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of Me ; that cover with a covering (that is, who shelter themselves under a protection), but not of My Spirit, that they may add sin to sin.

Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help ; and stay on horses, and trust in chariots, because they are many ; and in horsemen, because they are very strong ; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the Lord !

He then exposes the impotence of their new allies, compared with Him Whom they had forsaken.

The Egyptians are men, and not God ; and their horses flesh, and not spirit. When the Lord shall stretch out His hand, both he that helpeth, and he that is holpen, shall fall together.

He predicts that the power, to which they had resorted for aid, would be the cause of woe.

Woe to them that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at My mouth ; to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt.

Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion.

He reminds them also of God's promise, that if they relied on Him, and obeyed His Word, they would be defended against their foes.

Thus saith the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel ; In

quietness and in confidence shall be your strength : and ye would not.

But ye said, No ; for we will flee upon horses ;

Therefore shall ye flee ; and (ye said) We will ride upon the swift. Therefore shall they that pursue you be swift. One thousand shall flee at the rebuke of one ; at the rebuke of five shall ye flee : till ye be left as a withered tree upon the top of a mountain, and as an ensign on a hill.

These prophetic warnings convey practical instruction to all Nations and individuals : and are specially applicable to all who *trust in man, and make flesh their arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord*⁴, and who endeavour to compass their ends by means of their own choice, at variance with His will.

I. They appear, also, to have a peculiar relevancy to our own condition and duties, with regard to that Church, whose History we are now considering ; and it is to their significance in this respect, that your attention is now invited.

We have seen, that for many hundred years after Christ the CHURCH of IRELAND was not dependent on any foreign spiritual power. It might readily be shown, and has, in some degree, been already proved in preceding discourses, and has been established by others, especially by Archbishop Ussher, in his treatise on the Religion of the Ancient Irish⁵, that the Church of Ire-

⁴ Jer. xvii. 5.

⁵ " Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and Scottish, showing it to be for substance the same with that which this day is by public authority established in the Church of England." Dublin, 1623, 4to, and in a revised form, Lond. 1631, 4to; and in

land, for many centuries after Christ, knew nothing of sundry Articles of Faith, which the Church of Rome would now impose upon all as necessary to salvation. And it has been shown by the same learned Prelate, that the Doctrines of the Ancient Church of Ireland were coincident in the main with that form of belief which, based on SCRIPTURE alone interpreted by the Primitive Church, has been professed and taught by the Church of England and Ireland since the Reformation.

On these articles in detail it is not necessary to enter. As was before observed, the fundamental point of difference between ourselves and Rome, is the doctrine of Papal Supremacy. *That is her rock.* Her Church is built upon it. Receive *that* doctrine, and (as recent examples show⁶) it matters little what you deny. Reject *that* doctrine, and it matters little what you believe. If you submit to the Bishop of Rome, she regards you as a sound believer; but, though you receive the Scriptures and the Creeds, yet if you do not acknowledge him to be Supreme over Christendom, you are denounced by her *as a heathen man, and a publican*⁷.

The question, therefore, at issue is:—

Did the ANCIENT CHURCH of IRELAND recognize the Roman Pontiff as having supreme authority over her?

We have been engaged in examining the History of that Church from the Introduction of Christianity into

Dr. Elrington's edition of Ussher's Works, vol. iv. p. 234. See above, p. 74, note.

⁶ This assertion is substantiated by the evidence adduced in the present writer's Letters to M. Goudon, vii. viii. ix. x.

⁷ Matt. xviii. 17.

that country in the fifth century, down to the seventh and eighth centuries after Christ; and we have found no indications of such a recognition. On the contrary, we have met with irrefragable proofs, that, when the Church of Rome *began* to put forth claims to spiritual dominion over the Church of Ireland, those claims were *not* admitted, but were resisted, and that they led to a breach of communion between the two Churches.

II. These proofs of the *non-admission* of those claims in ancient times will now be corroborated by other evidence, showing the *time* when those claims *were first* admitted, and the *means* by which they were introduced.

In order to prepare the way for this demonstration, we must take a retrospective view of the causes which facilitated that introduction of the Papal Power into Ireland.

St. Patrick, in the fifth century, had broken up the fallow ground of Ireland with missionary tillage; but he had not time to enclose the fields. He had brought many wandering sheep home to Christ; but he had not been able to mark out the sheepwalks, and to finish the work of building folds for the flock.

This work of Christian organization was not duly performed. In the age next to St. Patrick, and in the four following centuries, Ireland had many Teachers and Congregations, but it had not Parishes. It had a large number of Bishops; but during the five hundred years of which we are now speaking, it had not a system of Dioceses^s.

^s Cp. TODD'S St. Patrick, pp. 1. 3. 27. KING'S History, p. 146.

Many circumstances impeded the development of the Diocesan and Parochial system in that country. The Celtic race, warm in its affections, generous in its aspirations, has been usually less patient of rule and order, and more prone to restlessness. The History of the Celtic Churches of Galatia, as seen in St. Paul's Epistle to them, exhibits a specimen of this characteristic temperament. Celtic enthusiasm, when moulded by Christian doctrine, and regulated by Apostolic discipline, produces noble results. Ireland gladly received the truths of the Gospel, but she did not enjoy the blessings of Apostolic discipline.

At that period, the country was occupied by numerous clans, under independent Chiefs. St. Patrick had preached to some of those Chiefs, and had converted them to Christianity; but his successors did not complete the work which he had begun. They did not prevail on these chiefs and their clans to coalesce in Christian unity; and many of these chiefs and clans relapsed into barbarism, and almost into paganism.

The Irish Bishops and Clergy, not having appointed spheres of ministerial labour, and fearing the dangers incident to isolation in a wild country, formed themselves into ecclesiastical societies. Instead of adopting the *diocesan and parochial system*, the Church of Ireland developed itself in another form—the *collegiate and monastic*.

This latter system had many attractions, and produced some brilliant results. It made Ireland the University

of the West. In the sixth and seventh centuries (as we have seen) young men were sent from our own and other lands to be trained in the Schools and Colleges of Ireland. The education which they there received, was a sound and scriptural one. Their teachers were distinguished by learning and holiness, and gained for Ireland the title of the "Island of Saints."

These Collegiate Institutions were the nurseries of Christian missionaries. They sent forth St. Columba, born in the year of our Lord 521, of princely Irish blood, who founded the illustrious School of Iona.

From Iona went forth St. Aidan, the Missionary Bishop of Northumberland and other northern regions of our own land, in the earlier part of the seventh century⁹. From Iona went forth St. Finan and St. Colman, who evangelized a large part of central and southern England. Ireland sent forth other Missionaries to the continent of Europe. At the head of these stands St. Columbanus of Leinster, born about the middle of the sixth century, who preached the Gospel in France and Italy. Two Cantons of Switzerland, Glarus and St. Gall, still bear in their names the record of the zeal of Irish Missionaries. St. Kilian went from Ireland to preach Christ in Thuringia; Virgilius, from the same country, became Bishop of Salzburg¹.

Let God's Name be blessed for these fruits of the Holy Spirit, working in Ireland at that time.

But we must not be dazzled by these splendid results. True it is, that in many parts of Ireland the light of the Gospel was burring brightly. True it is, that the

⁹ A.D. 635.

¹ See above, p. 63 - 71.

andlesticks of other Churches were kindled from it. But something more was wanted. The light was burning with brilliant lustre within the Cloister and the College, but it was not diffused with a healthful radiance to the regions of Ireland around them. There the light of the Gospel was waning. The shades of barbarism and of paganism were falling thickly about them. Ireland possessed many learned and holy men in her religious houses; she had many wise teachers and zealous missionaries; but she had *not a Diocesan and Parochial system*. And by reason of that defect, even at a time when Ireland was called the "Island of Saints," and when she was evangelizing other lands, her princes and people were waging war with one another, and were lapsing into unbelief².

Here is a lesson for ourselves in our own missionary work, at home and abroad.

Christian zeal profits little without Christian order. The Christian Episcopate and Priesthood produce little permanent good, in the work of Evangelization, unless they move in the regular orbits of Diocesan and Parochial action.

What, therefore, shall we say of schemes in our own day, which, instead of improving that Diocesan and Parochial system, which has been established in Ireland, would now break it down and shiver it to atoms, and would disintegrate and decompose the Church of Ireland into a promiscuous medley of incoherent congregations? Such a Revolution as that would destroy the spiritual organization which exists in Ireland; and would bring back

² Cp. TODD, *St. Patrick*, pp. 101. 107. 109. 122.

that disorder and anarchy which marred the work of evangelization there in early times, and brought with it a train of misery, civil as well as religious, of which we feel the effects at this day.

At the period of which we are speaking, Ireland, as we have said, had not adopted the diocesan and parochial system. She had many Bishops, but those Bishops had no Dioceses. Many of them lived in Collegiate and Monastic Institutions. The spiritual pre-eminence of these Bishops was acknowledged, but their Episcopal functions were exercised under the direction of the Heads of those Institutions. Monasticism domineered over Episcopacy in Ireland. And to such a degree did this anomaly prevail, that in some instances, where a woman was at the head of the Conventual Institution, the Bishop acted as her subaltern. This was the case at Kildare³. The Bishop of Kildare was the nominee and functionary of the Abbess St. Brigit and her successors.

The Church of Ireland, having Bishops but not Dioceses, and having adopted a monastic system rather than a parochial one, could not exercise a legitimate influence on the Laity. She reaped the fruits of her neglect, in the irreverent and sacrilegious acts of her Princes and People. Even in the principal church of Ireland—that of Armagh—though the spiritual authority was nominally vested in a Bishop, or in two Bishops at once, yet the exercise of that spiritual authority was often controlled by a rude and illiterate chieftain, in

³ Dr. TODD, *St. Patrick*, pp. 9, 10. 22—24; and KING, *History*, p. 65.

whose hands the revenues were, and who claimed to be regarded as the representative of the founder of the church ⁴.

These chieftains of rival clans were guilty of many excesses. They had little regard for holy things, and profaned and pillaged the houses of God. Ireland was distracted by intestine feuds. The temporal chiefs strove with one another ⁵; and the secular power was not in harmony with the spiritual.

What were the consequences?

The Bishops became restless, and wandered forth into England and other countries, and endeavoured to exercise Episcopal functions in the Dioceses of those countries. Such acts were justly regarded as intrusive and irregular. These roving and vagrant Bishops from Ireland brought their office into contempt, and incurred the censure of English Synods in the ninth century ⁶.

⁴ Dr. TODD'S *St. Patrick*, pp. 155. 171. 172. 226. KING'S Primacy of Armagh, p. 2, folio, Armagh, 1854, in which volume is a valuable summary of early Irish Church History.

⁵ Mr. KING'S *History*, p. 454.

⁶ Especially the Synod of Calchythe, A.D. 816. See above, p. 57. See also Dr. TODD'S *St. Patrick*, p. 40. Doubtless these censures were pronounced by persons and Councils under Roman influence; and the Church of Ireland, being independent of Rome, was an object of their antipathy. But she had laid herself open to them by her irregularities. They also incurred the rebuke of such men as Lanfranc and Anselm, Archbishops of Canterbury, in the eleventh century; and of St. Bernard, of Clairvaux. Lanfranc was Archbishop of Caunterbury A.D. 1070—1093, Anselm 1093—1114. Lanfranc's censure may be seen in Abp. USSHER'S *Sylloge Epistolarum Hibernicarum*, Nos. 26 and 27; Anselm's *ibid.* Nos. 33. 35, 36. See also Mr. KING'S *History*, pp. 423—433. St. Bernard's censure may be seen in his *Vita Sancti Malachiæ* (of Ireland), c. 10.

III. Weakened by internal division, Ireland and her Church became a prey to Danish and Norse invaders in the ninth century. At that time Ireland was⁷ divided into small independent Kingdoms, which were at enmity with each other, and made no united resistance to the assaults of those fierce marauders who overran the Island, and committed violent outrages, and made great havoc, which was very injurious to Religion. They pillaged and burnt Churches, Libraries, and Religious Houses; and put many of the Clergy to the sword⁸. At length they established themselves in three principal maritime cities of the Island, Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford. In the middle of the following century—the tenth—they were converted to Christianity. But,

⁷ FORDUN, *Scoti-Chron.* iv. 6, describes the divided state of Ireland, and the consequences of those distractions. “*Hibernensis vicina nobis, ac ejusdem nostri generis, natio, nonne dudum locuples erat et fortis, legibus adhærens, justitiam sectans? Cujus audire sapientiam ex longinquis plurimi venerunt regionibus. Processu vero non magno temporis, cum ipsa, spretis hujusmodi virtutibus, desidiâ corporis vitiis vacasset, nec uno rege contenta, sed legum ac fidelitatis contemptu pluribus regibus, statim ex suis est ejecta fœcundis civitatibus ad proprii regni steriles et squalidas ultimas regiones, ubi silvis, rupibus, et locis abditis miserè latet ad diem hodiernum, victum vix habens vel vestitum.*” This writer lived in the fourteenth century.

⁸ A.D. DCCCXVIII. USSHER, *Antiq. Eccl. Chron.* p. 542. “*Dani sive Nordmanni, duce Turgesio, Norwego, Hiberniam per annos xxx. tributariam effecerunt; et gentili furore debacchantes Ecclesias ferè omnes destruxerunt, libros incendio absumpserunt, viros eruditione et sanctitate illustres in latibula compulerunt, et inventos martyrio affecerunt. Unde nova in florentissimam Insulam invecta est barbaries.*” See *ibid.* pp. 296. 425. 447. 474.

WARE’S *Antiq.* “*The Danes and Norwegians who in the ninth century subdued great part of Ireland, and held possession of Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and other maritime towns, even to the arrival of Henry II., were sometimes called Normans (Northmen) and sometimes Ostmen (Eastmen).*”

unhappily, they did not unite themselves with the ancient Church of Ireland⁹. Like the Saxons in England, and the Normans after them, they founded a separate communion. These Danish settlers in Ireland claimed affinity with the Normans¹ who had planted themselves in England, and they resorted to the Norman hierarchy in England, especially to the See of Canterbury², for

⁹ The Prince of Waterford and Bishop of Dublin, and others, requested Anselm to consecrate Malchus I. (whom they had elected) Bishop. A.D. 1096. See USSHER, Syll. xxxiv. p. 92: cf. *ibid.* pp. 118, 119.

A.D. 1122. The burgesses of Dublin requested Rodolphus, Archbishop of Canterbury, to consecrate Gregory, whom they had elected their Bishop; and added, "Sciatis quod *Episcopi Hiberniæ* maximum zelum erga nos habent, et maximè ille Episcopus qui habitat *Ardimachæ*, quia nos nolumus obedire eorum ordinationi, sed semper sub *vestro* dominio esse volumus." *Ibid.* p. 100. See USSHER, Syll. Ep. xl. King Henry I. writes to Rodolph, "tibi mando ut petitioni eorum (sc. burgensium) satisfaciens ejus consecrationem sine dilatione expleas." *Ibid.* No. xli.

It thus appears, that the Irish Primate and the "*Episcopi Hiberniæ*" were not favourable to the Anglo-Norman and Romish connexion, while the kings of England endeavoured to strengthen it.

USSHER, Ep. Sylloge, 118, has given the form of "professiones ab Ostomannorum in Hiberniâ Episcopis, Ordinationis suæ tempore, Cantuariensibus Archiepiscopis factæ."

¹ USSHER's Rel. An. Irish, p. 62, concerning the Ostman Bishops in Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. "The Ostman inhabitants of these towns, being a colony of the Norwegians and Livonians, and so countrymen to the Normans, when they had seen England subdued by the Conqueror, and *Normans* advanced to the chief Archbishoprick there, would needs now assume to themselves the name of Normans also, and cause their Bishops to receive consecration from no other Metropolitan but the *Archbishop of Canterbury*."

² O'FLAHERTY's West Connaught, p. 44. "In the reign of the two first Norman kings of England and King Stephen, the Ostmans of Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford, the reliques of the pagan Danes or Normans infesting Ireland, becoming Christians, being *aliens to the Irish*, and originally countrymen to the new Norman conquerors of England, among whom their clergymen were commonly bred, made it their interest" (to resort to Canterbury). . . . "But never a Bishop of any other see in Ireland, nor even of those Ostman sees, except five of

the consecration of their Bishops. The Anglo-Norman Church had already fallen under the yoke of Rome; and by its agency, the two ancient Churches—first that of Britain³, and next that of Ireland—were brought under Papal sway in the course of the eleventh century. The See of Canterbury was then filled by two Prelates in succession who were natives of Italy,—Lanfranc and Anselm⁴, each of whom was zealous in propagating the doctrine and discipline of Rome⁵ in England. They gladly availed themselves of the opportunity, which now presented itself, through the overture of the Danes, for the introduction of Romish influence into Ireland. In defiance of those ancient Laws⁶ of the Church Universal

Dublin, the first of Waterford, and one of Limerick, that ever owned consecration and obedience to the see of Canterbury.”

³ USSHER, Antiq. A.D. MCXV. “Hujusque omnes Episcopi Ecclesiæ Menevensis Archiepiscopali dignitate usi fuisse dicuntur, excepto Pallio, et Episcopus Walliæ tanquam suffraganeos consecravisse, *nullâ penitus alii Ecclesiæ factâ professione vel subjectione*. Henricus I. Anglorum Rex subactâ Walliâ Bernardum primum Normanuorum Episcopum constituit, qui licet Cantuariz consecrationem suscepit, jura tamen Ecclesiæ suæ publicè protestatus est.”

⁴ Lanfranc, born at Pavia in A.D. 1005, was Archbishop of Canterbury from A.D. 1070—1093. Anselm, born at Aosta in 1033, from A.D. 1093—1114.

⁵ Archdeacon CHURTON, Early English Church, p. 284. “Lanfranc began the attempt which was afterwards repeated by Anselm, of enforcing single life on the Clergy. This was done in compliance with Pope Hildebrand, who had issued his commands that all priests should quit their livings or their wives. Lanfranc was also the first teacher in this country who maintained the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The kings of the countries in western Europe had enjoyed the right of Investiture till Gregory VII. claimed it; but his decree had no effect on England till Anselm obtained the right for Pope Pascal II., after a long contest with Henry I.”

⁶ Especially those of the Council of Ephesus, Concil. General. iii. p. 802, Labb., which forbid a Bishop to consecrate Bishops in another country, where a Church already exists.

which regulate the exercise of Episcopal functions, these English Prelates did not hesitate to consecrate Bishops⁷ for the three cities of Ireland just mentioned, Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford. Thus Canterbury did the work of Rome. By means of England, a schism was introduced, and by her instrumentality, a footing was first gained for Rome in Ireland, and these three Irish cities became like Roman fortresses in that country.

IV. Rome was not slow to profit by this advantage. She stigmatized the Irish Nation as barbarous, and the Church of Ireland as schismatical and heretical, in order that she might interfere with their affairs upon the plea of civilizing and reforming them. At the close of the eleventh century, Gregory VII., Hildebrand (A.D. 1085), had invited the Prelates of Ireland to look to Rome⁸. One of the Bishops of one of these three cities, who was an intimate friend of Anselm⁹, had distinguished him-

⁷ LANFRANC, Ep. 232 (ed. Venet. 1745), on the consecration of Patrick, Bishop of Dublin, he calls King Gothrick of Dublin, "pretiosum Romanæ Ecclesiæ filium."

⁸ GREGORY VII. (Hildebrand) "in clyto Regi Hiberniæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Proceribus, omnibusque Christianis Hiberniam habitantibus," contains a claim to universal *temporal dominion*, and exhorts them,—"*si qua negotia penes vos emergerint, quæ nostro digna videantur auxilio, incunctanter ad nos dirigere studete*" (A.D. 1085), but he does not intimate any habitual communion or connexion of Ireland with Rome. See USSHER, Sylloge xxix. p. 76.

⁹ S. ANSELM, Ep. p. 417, ed. Paris, 1721. Gilleberto Lunnicensi Episcopo. "Quoniam olim nos apud Rothomagum invicem cognovimus, dilectione sociati sumus. . . . Satagite in illâ gente (Hibernicâ) quantum in vobis est *corrigere et extirpare*, et bonos mores plantare." See *ibid.* p. 447.

Anselm exhorts the *Danish* Bishops of Ireland to refer to *him*—"si quando aliquid, quod ad sacram religionem pertineat, inter vos ortum sit quod per vos canonicè nequeat definiri." USSHER, Syll. xxxiii. Another

self in Ireland by his activity in behalf of Rome¹. This was Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick. The Roman Pontiff nominated him his Legate in Ireland.

Here we see the source of the River. Here the Papal influence begins to raise its head. This was at the commencement of the twelfth century (A.D. 1106). Christianity had flourished in Ireland for more than six hundred years : but no Papal Legate had ever been seen in Ireland till that day².

V. The stream soon began to flow more boldly. Ireland had hitherto supposed that she had possessed lawful Archbishops for several centuries. But, if the modern doctrine of Rome be true, this was not the case. The ecclesiastical vestment, called the Pallium, is *now* regarded by Rome as essential to the archiepiscopal office, and she declares that no Archbishop is competent to perform even episcopal functions before he has received this vestment from Rome³. Therefore, according to her *present* principles and practice, the Archbishops of ancient Ireland were not rightful Archbishops. It is a proof that no such thing existed in Ireland, as appeals to *Rome* at that time. See above, pp. 43—47.

¹ GILLEBERT, Bishop of Limerick (A.D. 1090), writing in the interest of Rome, "ad Episcopos Hiberniæ," in the prologue to his book "De Usu Ecclesiastico," exhorts them to adopt the Roman office, "ut diversi et schismatici illi ordines, quibus *Hibernia penè tota delusa est*, uni Catholico et Romano cedant officio." See USSHER, Syll. xxx. Cf. *ibid.* 78—87. This letter contains some interesting particulars concerning the ritual of that period.

² S. BERNARD, Vita Mal. § 10. "Gillebertum aiunt *primâ* functum legatione Apostolicæ sedis per universam Hiberniam."

³ See Pontificale Romanum, p. 86. ed. Rom. 1818. "Antequam obtinuerit quis Pallium, licèt sit consecratus, . . . non licet ei ecclesias dedicare nec clericos ordinare."

bishops, and Ireland had never possessed an Archbishop till the middle of the twelfth century (A.D. 1151). For they whom Ireland had regarded as Archbishops up to that time were without the Pallium⁴. Then—and not till then—did Ireland receive a Pallium from Rome⁵.

⁴ S. BERNARDUS, Vita Malachiae (Bernard. Opera, tom. ii. p. 1464. ed. Ben. Paris, 1839. Obit S. Malachias, A.D. 1148). “Metropoliticae sedi deerat adhuc, et defuerat ab initio, Pallii usus.” § 15. And again, § 30, “agrè satis ferebat Malachias Hiberniam usque pallio caruisse.”

⁵ Yet the Romauist Bishop, Dr. MILNER (in his work entitled “End of Controversy,” p. 19, ed. Dublin, 1830) does not hesitate to say, “that St. Patrick received from Pope Hilarius the *Pallium* and the title of *Pope’s Legate* in A.D. 462,” and he refers to USSHER as his authority! . . . USSHER thus writes, Antiq. p. 452, “De legati, quo Patricius functus fuerit, officio et Pallio huc advecto, posteriorum fides haud parum labat et vacillat;” and again, USSHER, Antiq. A.D. MCXXX. Gillebertus Lunnicensis sive Limiricensis Episcopus *primus* Romani Pontificis *legatus* in Hiberniâ, pp. 452. 475. Cp. ROGER HOVEDEN, A.D. MCLI. “Ab Eugenio III. Pontifice per legatum suum Joannem Papironem quatuor Pallia transmissa sunt in Hiberniam, quo *nunquam antea* Pallium delatum fuerat,” pp. 449. 452. 500.

And again, USSHER, Rel. Anc. Irish, c. viii. “Master Campion telleth us, that ‘when Ireland first received Christendom, they gave themselves unto the jurisdiction both spiritual and temporal of the See of Rome’ (Edm. Campion, Hist. of Ireland, lib. ii. c. 2). But herein he speaketh of the spiritual jurisdiction untruly, of the temporal absurdly. For, from the first legation of Palladius and Patricius, who were sent to *plant the faith* in this country, it *cannot be showed* out of any monument of antiquity that the Bishop of Rome *did ever send any of his Legates to exercise spiritual jurisdiction* here (much less any of his deputies to exercise jurisdiction *temporal*) before Gillebertus: ‘quem aiunt *prima* functum *legatione* Apostolicae sedis per universam Hiberniam,’ saith one that lived in his own time, even Bernard himself, in his Life of Malachias” (c. 8).

Again, USSHER, Rel. Anc. Irish, c. viii. “We read of sundry Archbishops that have been in this land betwixt the days of St. Patrick and of Malachias. What *one* of them can be named that ever sought for a *pall* from Rome?”

Yet, though wanting the Pall, the Irish Primates were regarded as rightful Archbishops, even by the Sec of Rome; thus Hildebrand himself, A.D. 1085, addresses his letters “Regi Hiberniae, *Archiepiscopis*,

In order to attach the leading Prelates of Ireland to her interest, she then sent one of her Cardinals with four Palls, to the four sees of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam ⁶.

The Pallium, which was a badge of dignity, attractive to human ambition, was accompanied by the requirement of a solemn Oath of Obedience ⁷ to the Roman *Episcopis . . . omnibusque Christianis Hiberniam habitantibus.*" See USSHER's Sylloge, No. xxix.

Such are the assertions of USSHER; and it may be added that historical investigations subsequent to his time, have led to the conclusion that St. Patrick was *not* sent by Rome even "*to plant the faith;*" and this is allowed by some of the most learned Romanists. See above, p. 16.

⁶ GRACE JACOBI *Annales Hiberniæ* (circ. A.D. 1537), edited by the Rev. R. Butler, Dublin, 1842 (compare the ANNALS at end of CAMDEN's Ireland, from a MS. at Naworth; and see Bp. NICOLSON's Historical Library, p. 15).

A.D. 1148, p. 8. "*Johannes Papiron Cardinalis ab Eugenio Papâ missus, cum Christiano Episcopo Lismoriensi, totius Hiberniæ legato, in Hiberniam venit.*" The four Masters, and Ussher and O'Connor, place Papiron's arrival in A.D. 1151.

A.D. 1152. "*Christianus idem in Mell Concilium celebravit, cui interfuerunt Episcopi, Reges, duces, et majores natu veteres Hiberniæ, quorum consensu 4 Archiepiscopatus constituti sunt, Armachanus, Dublinensis, Cassellensis, et Tuanensis, quibus præfuerunt eo tempore Gelasius, Gregorius, Donatus, et Eolanus (Ædanus),*" who *received the Palls.*

The Editor here observes, p. 9, "*The Annals of Cluainednach, quoted by Keating, p. 276, and by O'Connor, place this Synod at Kells. . . . The names of the Bishops who attended this Synod are printed by Dr. O'Connor, from a MS. of Flannan McEogan, in the British Museum. Proleg. p. clix.*

IBID. A.D. 1174. "*Gelasius Archiepiscopus Armachanus primus Hiberniæ primas, moritur. Hic primus pallio usus est: alii enim ante eum solo nomine Episcopi et Primatis vocabantur in honorem S. [Patricii] tanquam ejus apostoli, quibus obederunt non modo [ecclesiæ] homines, verùm etiam ipsi principes:'*" cf. S. BERNARD, Vit. Mal. c. 10, and Archb. COTTON's *Fasti Hiberniæ*, i. 5, and iii. 11. and Bp. MANT's *History* i. p. 4-8.

⁷ TWYSDEN (Sir R.), *Vindication*, ch. iii. p. 60, on the Pallium, or Pall. "*In the eleventh century the Pall was esteemed a badge or*

See. This Oath was to be taken by all who received the Pallium. And then, when the four principal prelates of Ireland were induced to place on their shoulders the Roman Pallium, and to take the oath of vassalage, it might be foretold, that Ireland herself would soon bow beneath the yoke, and be clad in the livery of Rome.

VI. It remained for others to complete the work of subjugation.

Henry II., King of England^s, no sooner ascended the throne, which he did in the middle of the twelfth century, than, stimulated by ambition, he aimed at the conquest of Ireland. Perceiving that Rome had already gained some influence in that country, he resorted to the Roman Pontiff for aid and encouragement in this enterprise. Perhaps there was another temptation. The Papal Chair was then occupied—as it never before had been, nor has been ever since—by a native of England⁹.

livery, bestowed on such as independently did desire to live under the Church of Rome; not that it did add aught to the Episcopal function, or as if they were *less perfect* Archbishops whilst they were destitute of that plenitude.” To omit that gain came by the garment [for the Pallium was sometimes sold by Rome for vast sums of money, equal to 30,000*l.*: see Twysden], “about A.D. 1102 a new Oath, *de fidelitate et canonicâ obedientiâ* [to the Pope], was devised to be tendered to every Archbishop at the reception of it.” And this Oath, made more stringent in A.D. 1191, is now taken, and is imposed on *all Romish Bishops*; see Pontificale Romanum, p. 84.

^s Crowned 19th Dec., 1154: died 6th July, 1189.

⁹ Archdeacon CHURTON, *Early Engl. Church*, p. 345, “Adrian IV., Nicholas Breakspeare, the only Englishman who ever became Pope, was the son of a married priest, who lived at Langley, near St. Alban’s.” Hadrian filled the papal chair from the 3rd Dec. 1154 to 1st Sept. 1159.

The English Pope, Hadrian IV., readily listened to the request of the English King. He dictated a Bull, in which, relying, as it appears¹, on a grant purporting to have been made by the Emperor Constantine the Great,—but which is now confessed to be a forgery,—he affirms that all Islands², which have been converted to

¹ JOANNES SARISBURIENSIS, the friend of Hadrian IV., *Metalog.* lib. iv. cap. ult., thus speaks: “Ad preces meas illustri Regi Anglorum Papa Adrianus IVtus concessit et *dedit Hiberniam* jure hæreditario possidendam, sicut literæ ejus testantur in hodiernum diem. Nam omnes *insulæ* de jure antiquo ex *donatione Constantini dicuntur* ad Romanam Ecclesiam pertinere; annulum quoque per me transmisit aurcum smaragdo optimo decoratum, quo fieret investitura juris in regendâ Hiberniâ:” cf. GIRALD. CAMBR. in *Hibern. Expug.* ii. 6, and MATTH. WESTMON. ad A.D. 1155, who confirms this statement. The pretended instrument of Constantine, conveying a grant of all islands to the Roman See, may be seen in USSHER, *Rel. Ane. Irish*, ch. xi. p. 91. “It is universally allowed to be spurious.” See GIESELER, *Ecel. Hist.*, Second Division, chap. i. note 15.

JOANNES SARISBURIENSIS (afterwards Bishop of Chartres), was the person employed by Henry to read this bull and that of Alexander publicly many years afterwards, at Waterford. See GIRALD. CAMBR. *Hib. Exp.* ii. 6.

² HADRIAN IV. ad Henricum II. Anglorum Regem, A.D. 1155. (See this Bull in Girald. *Cambr. de Inst. Princ.* ii. 19. *Hibern. Expug.* p. 787. *FORDUN, Scoti-Chron.* xii. 33. *Bullar. Rom.* ii. p. 351. *Labbe, Concil.* x. 1143. *Rymer's Fœdera*, i. 19.) “Sane *Hiberniam et omnes Insulas quibus Sol Justitiæ Christus illuxit*, et quæ *documenta fidei Christianæ ceperunt*, ad jus beati Petri et Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ (*quod Tua etiam Nobilitas recognoscit*) non est dubium pertinere.”

It would appear, then, that, according to the Papal theory, *Islands*, while *heathen*, do *not* belong to Rome, but *become* fiefs of the Papacy, and their sovereigns become vassals of the Pope, by their *conversion* to Christianity—contrary to the true doctrine as expressed by the Irish poet Sedulius, in a hymn sung by the Church of Rome herself:—

“Herodes hostis impie,
Christum venire quid times?
Non eripit terrestria
Qui regna dat cælestia.”

(Sedul. in *Hym. de Vitâ Christi.*)

Christianity, belong to the See of Rome. He states that this right is recognized by the King himself, and he asserts it as the ground of his own act in giving Ireland to Henry.

But, let us observe, while he gave Ireland away on this plea to the King of England, he indirectly claimed England for himself. By giving away Ireland as a Christian Island, and by inducing the King of England to receive it as tributary to the Papacy on this ground³, he led him, unconsciously, to acknowledge that England itself also, as a Christian Island, was held in fee from Rome. Thus the King of England, eager for his own aggrandizement, resorted for aid to the Papacy; by which he was overreached. Thus he prepared the way for bringing his own crown and kingdom into vassalage to the See of Rome. The staff of Egypt on which he leaned was a broken reed, which went *into his hand and pierced it*⁴.

The movement against Ireland originated with England and Henry II. "Significasti nobis" (says Hadrian), "te Hiberniæ insulam, ad *subdendum* illum populum legibus, et vitiorum plantaria inde extirpanda, velle intrare, et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii beato Petro *velle solvere* pensionem." See also MATTH. PARIS, ad A.D. 1155. Hadrian thus proceeds; "Nos itaque *pium tuum* et laudabile desiderium cum favore congruo prosequentes gratum et acceptum habemus, . . . ut insulam *illam ingrediaris*, . . . et illius terræ populus honorificè te recipiat, *et sicut dominum veneretur*:" cf. MATTH. WESTMON. ad A.D. 1155, "Rex Anglorum Henricus nuncios solennes Romam mittens *rogavit* Papam Adrianum adhuc novum, cujus gratiam obtinere speravit utpote Anglum, ut liceret ei Hiberniam hostiliter intrare, et eam sibi subdere, et homines illos *bestiales* ad fidem Christi decentius revocare, *Ecclesiæque Romanæ* fidelius inclinare; quod Papa Regi gratanter annuit."

³ He required of the King, that if he subdued Ireland, he should take care that a tax should be paid on every house in it to the Papal sec.

⁴ Isa. xxxvi. 6.

Then, if there had been a Prophet in England, he might have taken up the words of Isaiah,—

Woe to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of Me ; that cover, but not with a covering of My Spirit.

Woe to them that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at My mouth ; to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt.

Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion.

It deserves to be recorded to the honour of the king's mother, the Empress Maude, that, for reasons which may well be conjectured, she dissuaded her son Henry from availing himself of this Papal grant. And for many years it remained inoperative⁵. In the mean time Henry became embroiled with that zealous advocate of the Papacy, Thomas Becket, whom he had imagined to be devoted to himself, and whom he had advanced as such. But he was not made wise by experience, and was blinded by ambition. An event occurred which revived Henry's desire for the conquest of Ireland. An Irish Prince, driven from his dominions

⁵ It was confirmed to Henry by a bull of Hadrian's successor, Alexander III., who was elected on the 7th Sept., 1159, and died Aug. 30th, 1181. "Concessionem Adriani Papæ super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto, salvâ beato Petro et Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ sicut in Angliâ, sic et in Hiberniâ de singulis domibus annuâ unius denarii pensionem, ratam habemus et confirmamus, quatenus *eliminatis terræ illius spurcitiis barbara natio*, quæ Christiano censetur nomine, vestrâ indulgentiâ morum induat venustatem et redactâ in formam *hactenus informi* finium eorum Ecclesiâ, gens ea per vos Christianæ professionis nomen cum *effectu* de cetero consequatur." See USSHER, Syllog. xlvi. Three other bulls of Alexander, on the same subject, will be mentioned below. See p. 117.

for tyranny and adultery, resorted to Henry for aid. The King of England received him, and promised to reinstate him in his throne, and sent some of his nobles⁶ to Ireland with a military force for that purpose. They restored the fugitive⁷, and gained so much wealth and fame for themselves by their prowess, that they excited the jealousy of Henry. His mother was now dead⁸. Becket had just been murdered. The king, whose honour had been tarnished in his struggles with that Prelate, was eager to retrieve his credit by some bold feats of arms, and by some accessions to his dominions.

In the autumn⁹ of the year 1171, he passed over to

⁶ Especially Richard de Clerc, Earl of Pembroke and also of Strigal and Chepstow, called "Comes Ricardus" and "Strongbow."

⁷ WARE'S Antiq. p. 60. "Dermod Mac Murrough, who was called Ni-gall, i. e. a friend or champion of the English, because in aid of him the English in the reign of Henry II. invaded Ireland. . . . *Gall* was the common Irish name for a foreigner." Ibid. p. 61.

CAMDEN'S Ireland, p. 970. "Henry II., King of England, seeing the difference among the petty kings of Ireland, took this opportunity, and in the year A.D. 1155 moved the conquest of Ireland to his Barons. . . . However, by advice of his mother Maud, the Empress, this design was put off. Not many years after, *Dermicius*, the son of Murchard, *Dermic Mac Morrog*, who governed the east of Ireland, in Latin *Lagenia*, commonly *Leinster*, for his tyranny and extravagant lusts (for he had ravished the wife of O'Rorke, petty king of Meath), was driven from his country, and obtained aid from King Henry. He made this contract also with Richard, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed *Strongbow*, that if he would assist him, he would give him his daughter to wife. . . . The Earl forthwith raised a good army, and not only restored *Dermicius*, but made such progress in the conquest of Ireland, that the King began to grow jealous, so that he required the said Earl to return from Ireland. Hereupon the Earl made over to the King all that he had in Ireland. After this, King Henry the Second raised an army, and sailed to Ireland in the year 1171, and obtained the Sovereignty of that Island."

⁸ She died A.D. 1167.

⁹ 17th Oct., 1171.

Ireland with a large army; and landed near Waterford¹. Ireland was then divided into five separate principalities, which were distracted by rancorous rivalries and intestine feuds. The Chieftains of these small Kingdoms were exhausted by international conflicts, and perceived that there was little prospect of peace among themselves, except from the intervention of some superior power. Hence, when Henry appeared in Ireland, they promptly submitted to him².

The Hierarchy and Clergy of Ireland had been oppressed by their princes and nobles, who had seized the revenues of their Churches, and had invaded some of the Episcopal sees, and other Ecclesiastical dignities and benefices. The secular Power had tyrannized over the spiritual; and the spiritual Power was estranged from the secular. It looked elsewhere for aid. Thus it ever is. Oppression produces disaffection. Sacrilege

¹ BROMTON, IO. Chron. p. 1070. ad A.D. 1171. "Eodem anno Hibernia, quæ nunquam prius externæ subjacuit ditioni, sequenti modo subdita est regis Angliæ potestati." . . The historian then recounts the appeal of "quidam regum terræ" to England—the invasion of "Comes Ricardus" (Strongbow) exciting the envy of Henry—and the King's arrival in person, "xvi Kal. Nov. circa horam diei nonam in loco qui dicitur Croch, qui a Waterfordiâ octo milliaria distat."

² GULIELM. NEUBRIG. ii. c. 26. "Hibernia nunquam externæ subjacuit ditioni usque ad A.D. 1171: qui fuit Regis Henrici II. octavus decimus. . . . Quomodo autem Hibernici, incidendo in potestatem Regis Anglorum, longam et nunquam a sæculo interruptam finierint libertatem exposito facile est. . . . Hibernia in plura se regna conscindens, et consucta Reges habere plurimos, iis plerumque discrepantibus discerpebatur et propriis visceribus in mutuam cædem ruentibus eviscerabatur. . . . Rex Anglorum Reges Hiberniæ adventu ejus pavefactos sine sanguine subjugavit." See also, *ibid.* iii. c. 9.

WALSINGHAM, T. Hypodeigma Neustriæ, p. 447, on the subjection of the Irish Chiefs, "ut in virtute regis pax fieret in diebus suis, cum patres suos mutuò cædibus interfectos sæpissimè doluissent."

engenders superstition. An Erastian policy has often smoothed the way for Hildebrandine domination.

It would be an error to suppose that the evils which were now breaking in upon Ireland, were not brought upon her by any sins of her own. God does not so rule the world. As we have already seen, she had neglected those rules for the evangelization and pacification of her people which were prescribed by the great Head of the Church. Discord, Bloodshed, and Sacrilege were the sins of her Nobles. Her Pastors were not faithful and vigilant. They had *left their first love*³. One heinous sin they publicly confessed. A Synod was convened, in which it was proposed as a question for deliberation, Why had it pleased God to afflict Ireland, and to bring her into bondage to English strangers? It was declared, in reply, by the Council, that these calamities had fallen upon her as a chastisement for her iniquities in encouraging the Slave Trade, especially by the purchase of Slaves stolen from England⁴. This traffic had been carried on for many years. St. Patrick himself, in his youth (as we have seen), had been kidnapped and sold into Ireland as a slave, probably from Britain. It was a righteous retribution of Divine Providence that they who had enslaved others should be reduced to slavery, and that they should be enslaved by that Nation whose children they had bought as slaves.

³ Rev. ii. 4.

⁴ See the Acts of the Council of Waterford, A.D. 1158. Labb. Concil. x. p. 1183, and those of the Council of Armagh, A.D. 1171. Ibid. p. 1452, and Girald. Cambr. Hib. Exp. i. 18.

VII. But to return.

The Princes and Prelates of Ireland submitted to Henry without a struggle. They did him homage, took oaths of fealty to him, and tendered indentures of subjection, sealed with their own seals⁵. Having received

⁵ ROGER HOVEDEN, ad A.D. 1171. "Venerunt ad Regem Angliæ (Henricum II.) omnes Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Abbates totius Hiberniæ et receperunt cum in Regem et Dominum Hiberniæ, jurantes ei et hæredibus fidelitatem et regnandi super eos potestatem in perpetuum. Exemplo autem clericorum prædicti Reges et Principes Hiberniæ receperunt simili modo Henricum Regem Angliæ in Dominum et Regem Hiberniæ, et homines sui devenerunt, et ei et hæredibus fidelitatem juraverunt contra omnes homines." Compare the account of Roger Wendover and Matth. Paris, A.D. 1171.

See also RAD. de DICET. A.D. 1172, p. 514. "Rex intravit Hiberniam XVI Kal. Novembris. Lismorensis Episcopus et Apostolicæ sedis legatus, Archiepiscopi et Episcopi receperunt eum in regem et in dominum et fidelitatem ei juraverunt Regulus de *Limelie*, Regulus de *Chore*, Regulus ille qui dicebatur *Monoculus*, fecerunt ei homagium. Rodericus autem Regulus de *Connat* supersedit occurrere. Rex faciens pacem cum Hiberniensibus transfretavit in Angliam et statim quâ festinatione potuit transvectus est in Normanniam. Ibid. p. 559. Hibernienses sub edicto vocati convenerunt ad Regem rogantes quæ ad pacem sunt. Et quoniam inter eos publica potestas constituta non fuerat, quæ metu pœnarum impunitatem minimè repromitteret, eum patres suos mutuis cædibus interfectos sæpissime doluissent, ut in *virtute regis pax fieret in diebus suis*, ei et in eum jus suum transtulerunt et potestatem. *Archiepiscopi, et Episcopi* plebis sibi commissæ plurimum et in plurimis attendentes errorem, sed in his maxime quæ circa matrimonium a majoribus definita noscuntur, quæ Anglia recepit et observat se firmiter amplexuros et inviolabiliter executuros promittunt. Et ut in singulis observatio similis regnum colligaret utrumque, passim omnes *unanimi voluntate, communi assensu, pari desiderio regis imperio se subjiciunt.*"

See also BROMTON, Io. Chron. p. 1070. "Venerunt ad Regem (Henricum) omnes alii reges præter regem Cognactæ, et se ipsos ei subjicientes illius homines devenerunt. Præterea venerunt ad eum omnes *Archiepiscopi et Episcopi* Hiberniæ et eum in Regem susceperunt. Et recepit ab unoquoque literas cum sigillis suis regnum Hiberniæ sibi et hæredibus suis confirmantes. Sunt autem in Hiberniâ Archiepiscopi IV qui XXIX suffraganeos sub se habent."

these acts of obedience, he summoned a Council⁶ in the city of Cashel, at which it was decreed, that from that time forth the Church of Ireland should be conformed to that of England. Thus, both temporally and spiritually, Ireland became subject to England, and,—through England,—to Rome.

The facility with which this conquest was achieved

⁶ BROMTON, Io. Chron. p. 1071. “Rex misit Nicholaum capellanum suum et Radulphum archidiaconum de Landaf clericum suum, qui cum Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Hiberniæ apud Cassellensem civitatem, volente Papâ, magnum Concilium celebrarent;” which the annalist describes. It does not appear that the king was present at the Council.

LABBE, Concil. x. p. 1453. “Concilium Cassiliense in Hiberniâ habitum A.D. 1172, præsidente Christiano Lismoriensi Episcopo et Romanæ sedis legato.” The acts of this Council are transcribed from Roger Hoveden, Pt. ii.; and Girald. Cambr. Hib. Exp. c. 33.

“i. Ut fiant legitima matrimonia nec inter cognatos et affines.

“ii. Ut infantes catechizentur, et in sacro fonte in ipsis baptismalibus ecclesiis baptizentur (‘sub trinâ mersione a sacerdotibus,’ adds Roger de Hoveden).

“iii. Quod universi fideles Christi decimas animalium, frugum, cæterarumque proventionum ecclesiæ cujus fuerint parochiani, persolvant.

“iv. Ut terræ ecclesiasticæ ab omni sæcularium exactione sint immunes.

“v. Ut quando aliqui componunt pro homicidio, clerici, licet cognati, nihil persolvant.

“vi. Ut omnes faciant testamentum.

“vii. Ut extrema officia mortuis reddantur.

“viii. *Ut divina officia ritu Anglicano fiant.*

“Octavo itaque omnia Divina ad instar sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ, juxta quod Anglicana observat Ecclesia, in omnibus partibus Ecclesiæ amodo tractentur.

“*Dignum enim et justissimum est ut, sicut Dominum Regem ex Angliâ sortita est divinitus Hibernia, sic etiam exinde vivendi formam accipiat meliorem.*”

“Ipsi namque Regi Magnifico tam Ecclesiam quam Regnum Hibernia debet, quicquid de bono pacis et incremento religionis hætenus est assecuta. Nam ante ipsius adventum in Hiberniam, multimoda malorum genera a multis retro temporibus emergerunt, quæ ipsius potentiâ et munere in desuetudinem abiere.”

No mention is made of the Pope.

has sometimes been regarded with surprise. By some it has been ascribed to the influence of the Papacy in Ireland, and to the effect of the Bull of Hadrian IV. But this notion appears to be erroneous. For reasons which have been already specified, the Princes and Prelates of Ireland looked for tranquillity and order from the power of the Conqueror⁷. They regarded Henry as a Pacificator. There is no evidence that the Papal rescript was even read at the Council of Cashel. It is not mentioned in its Acts⁸. And it must be remembered that at the time when Henry landed in Ireland, and when the Princes and Prelates of Ireland made submission to him, he was under the ban of a Papal anathema for the murder of one whom Rome regarded as a Saint and a Martyr, and who in the following year was canonized by her as such, Thomas of Canterbury. They acknowledged Henry as their Liege when he was denounced as a rebel by Rome. It was not therefore *in consequence* of the Papal influence in Ireland, but may we not rather say, it was *in defiance* of that authority that he was received there as its Lord⁹?

⁷ GIRALD. CAMBR. Hibern. Expugnata, i. c. 34. "Anglorum rex Hiberniæ triumphator insulam acquisivit."

⁸ LABB. Concil. x. p. 1453.

⁹ Some annalists affirm that Henry, when thus under the displeasure of Rome, was *invited* to Ireland in order to deliver it from the oppression of Strongbow and his soldiery. See GERVASII Chron. p. 1420 (ap. Twysden, Script. x.): "Reges et incolæ terræ irritati crebris insultibus eos (sc. Ricardum comitem suosque) propellere gestierunt . . . et legatos miserunt ad Regem Angliæ ut in Hiberniam veniret eosque contra importunitatem Ricardi comitis succurreret." The analyst then describes the submission of the Irish Princes and Hierarchy to Henry; "cum primò fuit in Hiberniâ post martyrium Sti Thomæ," p. 1421.

VIII. The imagination might here rejoice in portraying a picture of the happy results, which would then have been effected by England, if she had duly appreciated the blessings of true religion. Her sovereign was now recognized as sovereign of Ireland. If, then, he and his adherents, instead of looking to Rome, had looked to God—if, instead of leaning on her, they had relied on Him—if they had asked *counsel at the mouth of the Lord, and had covered with a covering of His Spirit*—if they had endeavoured to revive and to maintain the primitive independence and scriptural purity of the ancient Irish Church, how much glory would they have gained, how much misery and ignominy would have been averted from England and Ireland, how much blood would never have been spilt, how many wars and assassinations, massacres and rebellions, sieges and conflagrations, would never have taken place, how many blessings spiritual and temporal would have been poured down from heaven upon them, and how blessed would England and Ireland now be, bound by the sacred ties of the same holy faith, and *dwelling together in unity*!¹

IX. But England chose a different course. She was under the influence of a mysterious fascination. She was spellbound by Rome.

Soon after his return from the conquest of Ireland, Henry repaired to France², in order to meet the Papal

¹ Ps. cxxxiii. 1.

² LELAND'S History, i. p. 86. "Henry embarked at Wexford on the feast of Easter, 1172, where it was the first care of this prince, *who lay under the displeasure of the Church*, to march on foot to the cathedral of St. David, and there perform his devotions. Hence he proceeded

legates, and to clear himself from a charge of having been accessory to the murder of Becket. He promised to do penance, and received absolution from them³. The event appears to show that he had an ulterior object in view. No sooner was he reconciled to the Papacy, than he obtained from the Pontiff Alexander III., to whom he had communicated the deeds of submission sealed by the Irish Hierarchy⁴, three Bulls⁵. One of these Papal rescripts was addressed to Henry himself, congratulating him on the conquest of Ireland, and exhorting him to extend the power of the Papacy, and, even *if it* possessed *no* rights in Ireland, to confer them upon it. Thus Rome avowed her own doubts concerning her own claims. A second of these Briefs is to the Princes of Ireland, commending them for having acknowledged Henry as their King, and exhorting them

to meet the cardinals in Normandy. Their first requisitions were so haughty and exorbitant that Henry broke up the assembly, declaring he would return to Ireland and leave them to execute their legantine commission as they might (R. Hoveden). This spirited answer produced another congress and another treaty on terms less unreasonable. And when the articles of accommodation were adjusted, the king's submission accepted, and his absolution pronounced (Bromton, p. 1081), Pope Alexander consented to seal this reconciliation by confirming the grant of Ireland made by Hadrian."

³ The "*Carta Absolutionis*" (which is in Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. p. 27, and Hoveden, 529) recites that Henry is to pay a fine, to go on a crusade, and to allow freely appeals to Rome in ecclesiastical causes. See GIRALD. CAMBR. i. c. 36, on the Absolution of Henry, and MATTH. PARIS, ad A.D. 1172.

⁴ ROGER HOVEDEN says, "*Rex Angliæ misit transcriptum chartarum (of submission) universorum Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum Hiberniæ ad Alexandrum Papam et ipse confirmavit illi et heredibus suis regnum Hiberniæ.*"

⁵ See the most important portions of the originals of these three Bulls, in the Note A below, p. 117.

to remember their oaths of allegiance, and to be dutiful subjects to him. The third is directed to the Papal legate and four Archbishops of Ireland, and enjoins them to make a suitable return for the promises of Henry, and for the regard he had shown to their interests, and to support his authority in Ireland by inflicting ecclesiastical censures on all who disobey him.

The King, by his submission to the Papacy, procured these missives from Alexander III., and he sent to Ireland another brief obtained from the same Pontiff, which he commanded to be recited at a national council at Waterford, together with the Bull of Hadrian IV.⁶, dictated twenty years before, and claiming all Christian islands for the Papacy, and authorizing Henry to subdue Ireland, and to hold it as feudatory from Rome.

Then, indeed, if a Prophet had been present, when the Bull of Hadrian was read by the royal command in a Synod of Ireland, he might have exclaimed,—

⁶ GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS (in his *Hibern. Expug.* c. 6) speaks of Hadrian IV. as reigning Pontiff at the date of the Synod of Cashel, 1172. “*Literis in Synodo Cassiliensi per industriam quæsitis, directis ad curiam Romanam nuntiis, ab Adriano Papâ de Angliâ oriundo tunc præsidente privilegium impetravit, ejusdem auctoritate et assensu Hibernico populo dominandi.*” This oversight probably arose from the fact that Hadrian’s Bull, obtained by Henry in 1155, was not published till 1172.

The facts are stated more correctly by the same author, GIRALD. CAMBR., in his work *De Inst. Princ.* ii. 19. “*In Hiberniam privilegio transmisso, convocatâ apud Guaterfordiam Episcoporum Synodo, in publicâ audientiâ cum universitatis assensu solemniter recitata facta fuit, necnon et alterius privilegii per eosdem transmissi, quod idem rex Henricus ab Adriano Papâ Alexandri prædecessore antea perquisierat.*” The Author there inserts the brief of Alexander, mentioned above p. 99, note 5; but expresses a suspicion that this brief is a forgery. Dr. HANMER’S *Chronicle*, ad A.D. 1172, says that both Bulls were read at Waterford.

Woe to them that go down into Egypt, to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt.

Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion.

This was soon signally verified. Henry had not put his trust in God, Whose minister he was; he had, for his own aggrandizement, made himself the vassal of Rome, and he was first chastised in his own family. To quote his own mournful exclamation,—“I am compelled to conceive mortal hatred against my own flesh and blood. My friends have departed from me, and those of my household seek my life⁷.” His sons, stirred by ambition, rebelled against him. And what was his resource? He was like the unhappy Saul, forsaken by God Whom he disobeyed, and resorting to a *familiar spirit*⁸. He who had forfeited his dignity as a King by appealing to Rome for aid, next acknowledged his helplessness as a Father, by imploring the Roman Pontiff to excommunicate his own children!

X. Yet more:—A few years passed away. Henry, broken in spirit, and imprecating maledictions on his own unnatural offspring, breathed his last, and was

⁷ See his letter to Pope Alexander III., inscribed “Rex Angliæ querens de rebellione Henrici reliquorumque filiorum contra se, auxilium Papæ implorat,” in RYMER’S *Fœdera*, i. p. 29, and in *Bibl. Patr. Maxima*, vol. xxiv. p. 1048. This letter to the Pope was written A.D. 1173, the next year after the conquest of Ireland. See also MATTH. PARIS, ad A.D. 1173. In it the King uses the following humiliating words; “Vestræ jurisdictionis est regnum Angliæ; et quantum ad feudatarii juris obligationem, vobis duntaxat obnoxius teneor.”

⁸ 1 Sam. xxviii. 7.

gathered to the dust in a foreign land. In ten years after his death, his youngest son, John, came to the throne. The Bishop of Rome, in giving Ireland to Henry, had claimed all Christian islands as his own, and Henry had received Ireland on these terms⁹. He had imagined that he could employ the Papacy as his own instrument for aggrandizing himself. He had gone down to Egypt for help, and had trusted in the shadow of Pharaoh. He had commanded the Papal brief to be publicly read as his own patent of Royalty.

And now came the day of retribution. In Henry, the father, the King of England had received Ireland from the Pope. In John, the son, the King of England knelt before a Papal legate, and received England as a fief of Rome¹.

Woe unto them that go down into Egypt, and strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and trust in the shadow of Egypt.

⁹ R. DE HOVEDEN, p. 654.

¹ The form of resignation may be seen in the "Carta Regis Ioannis per quam Regnum et Coronam Angliæ" ("et totum Regnum Hiberniæ") "Innocentio III. Papæ resignat, atque homagium et fidelitatem facit coram domino Pandulpho diacono suo." RYMER, i. p. 111. Also, in it he promises to pay, besides Peter-pence, 1000 marks annually (700 for England, 300 for Ireland) to the Roman See.

This was A.D. 1213. At the same time the Papal legate says, in another instrument (ibid. p. 112), called "certificatio absolutionis," that the King "Angliam et Hiberniam sanctæ matri Ecclesiæ Romanæ subjugavit," "et terras suas Papæ dedit ad tenendum eas de domio Papæ," and is therefore restored to the communion of Rome. See also Bulla Inuocentii III. A.D. 1213, p. 117, in which the Pope takes the King under his protection, and permits him to hold his kingdoms as a fief from Rome, "nos personam tuam sub nostrâ protectione suscipimus, tibi supradicta regna concedentes in feudum." Innocent III. was Pope from 9th Jan., 1198, to 17th July, 1216.

Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion.

The Barons of England obtained Magna Charta from King John.

It is sometimes alleged by adherents of Rome that the Barons of England were Romanists, and that therefore we owe Magna Charta to Rome².

But what is the fact?

After the submission made by King John to the Papal legate, the Pope, Innocent III., claimed England, as well as Ireland, as his own³. The King had bound himself by an oath to the Barons that he would observe Magna Charta. But the Pope absolved him from that oath.

To cite the Pope's own words, in a Bull still extant, "We utterly reprobate and condemn this compact, and we forbid the King to observe it under pain of anathema⁴."

Rome condemned Magna Charta; she absolved the King from his oath to keep it; she interdicted him from observing it. And yet it is said by some, that England owes Magna Charta to Rome!

Here then, also, we see, that the *strength of Pharaoh is our shame, and the shadow of Egypt our confusion.*

² Mr. C. BUTLER'S Book of the R. C. Church, p. 168.

³ Innocent. III. Bulla (ap. Rymer, i. p. 135) "Rex Angliæ regnum suum tam Angliæ quam Hiberuæ beato Petro et Ecclesiæ Romanæ concessit, recipiens illud a nobis in feudum sub annuo censu mille marcarum, fidelitatis nobis inde præstito juramento."

⁴ Ibid. p. 136. "Compositionem ejusmodi reprobamus penitus et damnamus, sub interminatione anathematis prohibentes ne dictus Rex eam observare præsumat, aut barones cum complicibus suis ipsam exigant observari." A.D. 1215.

XI. Let us now pause, and recapitulate briefly what has been said.

At the present day, Rome exercises great influence in Ireland. *But from the beginning it was not so*⁵. We have seen from evidence adduced in previous Discourses, that Christianity, in a pure Apostolic form, was planted in Ireland early in the fifth century; and that for many centuries afterwards the Church of Ireland was free; and that it resisted all encroachments on its Christian liberty. We have seen, that during that period, the Church of Ireland was one of the brightest luminaries⁶ of western Christendom; that Ireland was then illustrious for piety and sanctity; that it was the seat of literature and learning, and flourished in prosperity and peace. We have also seen that she evangelized Scotland and England by her devoted and intrepid missionaries. We have seen that her independence was first undermined by the influence of England yielding to the solicitations of the Danish invaders of Ireland, and that England introduced a rival Episcopate in schismatical opposition to the native Episcopate of Ireland. We have seen how

⁵ Matt. xix. 8.

⁶ See above, p. 65, and cp. SCHOELL. de Eccles. Brit. et Scot. p. 78. "Medio VI sæculo dilucescit (historia Hibern. Eccles.) Columba eum A.D. 565 Diarmarchense cænobium (*Durrough*) condidit. Hinc igitur inceptit *ætas secunda* a med. VI—IX med. sæcul. quâ Scotorum Ecclesia floruit ut *neque Britannica unquam, neque alia tunc usquam terrarum.*"

USSHER, Epist. Syll. Præf., shows that ancient Ireland was the School of Europe. "De Sulgno, qui sub annum 1070 episcopus Menevenis fuit, ipsius filius Johannes hunc in modum cecinit,

*Exemplo patrum commotus amore legendi
Ivit ad Hibernos, sophiâ mirabilè claros,
Famosam gentem Scripturis atque magistris."*

that intrusive hierarchy became an instrument in the hands of Rome. We have seen how it opened the door to the first Legate from Rome that ever set foot in Ireland. We have seen that it made a way for the introduction of the Pallium—the *covering, not of God's Spirit*—the badge of vassalage to Rome.

We have also seen that in the twelfth century a king of England—not from any love of Rome, but to gratify his own ambition—resorted to Rome for aid against Ireland: and that Rome, assuming a power which she did not possess, gave him Ireland; and thus gained Ireland and England for herself. And so, while the infatuated Monarch vainly imagined that he was using Rome as an instrument for himself, the fact was, that she was employing him as her agent in the ignominious and unholy work of riveting the chains of temporal and spiritual bondage on England, and was employing England to make Ireland the serf of Rome.

Woe unto them that go down into Egypt, to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt.

Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and the trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion.

So it has been from the twelfth century even to this day. The strength of the Papacy has been, and is, our shame; and the trust in the shadow of Rome has been our confusion. Especially so in Ireland. There the shadow, in which we have trusted for shelter, has hung over the land like the deadly shade of some dark tree which chills life, and checks vegetation beneath it. Thus we have reaped the fruits of our own acts. A

mysterious example of the power, justice, and severity of God !

XII. From these memorable facts it is evident that for a *thousand years after Christ the Church of Ireland was free*. We can point to the time and place in which her chains were forged. Our own hands bear witness to the work. England, which had received manifold spiritual benefits from Ireland in the seventh and eighth centuries, was mainly instrumental in bringing her into bondage in the twelfth ; and the present condition of Ireland, especially in spiritual respects, proves that England has not yet made amends for the wrongs which she inflicted upon her. She owes to the Church of Ireland a debt which has been accumulating for seven hundred years. We then enslaved Ireland, and we ought now to emancipate her.

By the merciful Providence of God, a spiritual resuscitation seems to be taking place in Ireland, and a glorious opportunity is now afforded us of making reparation. Let it not be thrown away. It may be the last. We at this day have far greater responsibilities than those of our forefathers in the twelfth century. They lived in a dark age. They knew not that the islands of Christendom had never been granted by Constantine to the Bishop of Rome. They were deceived by a forgery. They had not the Scriptures in their hands. They had not free access to the records of primitive Christianity. But these resources are open to us. We therefore have no excuse, if we imitate them. Let us therefore take heed to ourselves. Let us endea-

your to perform the holy work of Restitution and Reformation, not by the earthquake or the storm of sudden and violent Passion, but by the voice of Truth, and Peace, and Love. *In returning and in rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and confidence shall be your strength*⁷.

The work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever.

Let us endeavour to drive away error and superstition, not by discordant opinions and various *psalms and doctrines*⁸, but by the true Faith, and a holy worship. Let us have the armour of the Scriptures, the standard of the Creeds, and the divine strength of the Sacraments. Having renounced for ever the infatuated policy—born in a disastrous hour—of endeavouring to rule Ireland by Rome, let us endeavour rather to reform Rome by means of Ireland, and to revive Ireland by means of herself. Let us point to her spiritual Ancestry, her pristine piety, her former glory, her ancient prosperity. Though the Lord *hath given her the bread of adversity, and the water of affliction, her eyes shall see her Teachers*—her genuine ancient Teachers, her true Saints and Confessors—and she *shall hear a word behind her, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it. And she shall cast away her molten images and say unto them, Get ye hence*⁹. Let us show her the fair image of her former self. *Antiquam exquirite Matrem.* Let us inspire her with zeal and love for what she was, when she was free. Let us engage her imagination in behalf of pure Religion, and let us enlist her best sympathies, and noblest

⁷ Isa. xxx. 15; xxxii. 17.

⁸ 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

⁹ Isa. xxx. 20, 21; xxxi. 7.

aspirations, and tenderest affections, in the cause of a sound Faith. Let us awaken the voice of Antiquity. The beloved and time-honoured names of St. Patrick and St. Columba, St. Columbanus and St. Aidan, have been too often permitted by us to be pressed into the service of error; let them be watchwords of Truth. Those names have been made too often the ministers of spiritual bondage; let them be champions of spiritual liberty, and heralds of an evangelic jubilee, and preach the *acceptable year of the Lord*¹. Let us excite the Ireland of the nineteenth century to emulate the Ireland of the sixth century; and let the England of the nineteenth century now make some amends for the deeds of England in the twelfth century; and England and Ireland will be united in Christ, and be blessed by God. We shall no longer *go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses, and trust in chariots, and strengthen ourselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and trust in the shadow of Egypt*; but we shall be safe under the *shadow of His Wings*², Who smote Pharaoh and Egypt with plagues, and *overthrew him and his host*³, and brought out His people from Egypt with a *mighty hand and outstretched arm*⁴; and we shall be strong in the strength of Him, Who divided the Red Sea, and rode through the deep upon *His horses and chariots of Salvation*⁵, and *Who maketh the clouds His chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the Wind*⁶.

¹ Luke iv. 19.³ Ps. cxxxvi. 15.⁵ Habak. iii. 8. 15.² Ps. xvii. 8.⁴ Ps. cxxxvi. 12.⁶ Ps. civ. 3.

NOTE A.

Extracts from the three contemporaneous Bulls of Pope Alexander III. on the Conquest of Ireland by Henry II.

SEE RYMER'S Fœdera. The edition of Rymer's Fœdera referred to here and elsewhere in this Discourse, is that by Clarke and Holbrooke. Lond. 1816, i. p. 45.

No. I. to Henry II. "De gente illâ Hibernicâ, quæ, divino timore postposito, Christianæ fidei religionem abjicit, . . . mirabiliter et magnificè triumphâsti. Nam ut alias enormitates et vitia, quibus eadem gens, omissâ religione Christianæ fidei, satis irreverenter deservit, omittamus, sicut venerabiles fratres nostri Christianus Lesmorien. Episcopus, Apostolicæ sedis legatus, archiepiscopi et episcopi terræ, suis nobis litteris intimarunt, &c., novercas suas publicè introducunt, frater uxore fratris, eo vivente, abutitur, unus duabus se sororibus concubinis immiscet, et omnes passim in quadragessimâ vescuntur carnibus, nec solvunt decimas, nec sacras Dei ecclesias et personas ecclesiasticas, prout debent, aliquatenus reverentur.

"Unde quia . . . coadunato tuo navali et terrestri exercitu ad *subjugandam* tuo dominio gentem illam, et ad extirpandam tantæ *abominationis spurcitiæ*, tuum animum erexisti, gratum sicut debemus gerimus omnimodis et acceptum.

"Et quia, sicut tuæ magnitudinis excellentia agnoscit, Romana Ecclesia aliud jus habet in *insulâ* quàm in *terrá* magnâ et *continuâ*, nos eam tuæ devotionis spem fiduciamque tenentes, quòd jura ipsius ecclesiæ non solum conservare

velis sed etiam ampliare, et *ubi jus nullum habet*, id debes sibi conferre, magnificentiam tuam rogamus et sollicitè commonemus, ut in præscriptâ terrâ jura beati Petri nobis studeas sollicitè conservare, et, *si etiam ibi non habet*, tua magnitudo eidem ecclesiæ eadem jura *constituat et assignet*, ita quod exinde Regiæ Celsitudini gratias debeamus exsolvere copiosas, et tu primitias tuæ gloriæ et *triumphi* Deo videaris afferre.

“Datum Tuscul. XII. Kal. Octobr.”

No. II. “ALEXANDER III. Papa. Bulla ad reges et principes Hiberniæ destinata” (Rymer, i. p. 45, same date as preceding). “Ubi communi famâ certâ relatione nobis innotuit, quòd vos carissimum in Christo filium nostrum H. Regem Angliæ illustrem, in vestrum Regem et Dominum *suscepistis*, et ei fidelitatem jurâstis, tanto ampliorem lætitiâ in corde concepimus, quanto per ejusdem Regis potentiam in terrâ vestrâ major pax erit atque tranquillitas, et gens Hibernica, quæ per *enormitatem et spurcitiâ vitiorum* adeo videbatur longius recessisse, divino cultui propensiùs informabitur, et melius Christianæ fidei suscipiet disciplinam.

“Unde super eo, quod tam potenti et magnifico Regi et tam *devoto Ecclesiæ filio*, vos *voluntate liberâ* subdidistis, providentiam vestram dignâ laudis commendatione prosequimur; monemus itaque et mandamus quatenus fidelitatem, quam tanto Regi sub juramenti religione fecistis, ei cum debitâ subjectione firmam et inconcussam servare curetis.”

No. III. “ALEXANDRI III. Papæ Bulla ad Christianum Lesmoren. Episcopum, apostolicæ sedis legatum, et ad Archiepiscopos Hiberniæ, et eorum suffraganeos.

“Quantis *vitiorum enormitatibus* gens Hibernica sit infecta, et quomodo, Dei timore et Christianæ fidei religione posthabitâ, ea sequatur, quæ pericula pariunt animarum, ex vestrarum serie literarum nobis innotuit.

“Inde est utique, quod nos ex vestris literis intelligentes, quòd per potentiam carissimi in Christo filii nostri H.

illustris Anglorum Regis, qui gentem illam barbaram et incultam et *divinæ legis ignaram*, suo dominio subjugavit, ea, quæ in terrâ vestrâ tam illicitè committuntur, incipiunt jam desistere, gaudio gavisus sumus, et Ei, Qui jam dicto Regi tantam victoriam contulit et *triumphum*, immensas gratiarum actiones exsolvimus, prece supplicii postulantes ut gens illa disciplinata et indomita [ad] cultum divinæ legis incitetur, et vos ac cæteri ecclesiastici viri honore et tranquillitate debitâ gaudeatis. . . .

“Et si quis Regum, Principum vel aliorum hominum ipsius terræ contra juramenti debitum et fidelitatem prædicto Regi exhibitam ausu temerario venire tentaverit, si, ad commonitionem vestram celeriter, sicut debet, non resipuerit, eum auctoritate apostolicâ freti, omni occasione et excusatione posthabitâ, censurâ ecclesiasticâ percellatis, ita mandatum nostrum diligenter et efficaciter executuri, ut sicut præfatus Rex nos tam *in decimis quam in aliis ecclesiasticis justitiis* vobis restituendis, piè et benigniter dicitur exaudisse, ita etiam vos sibi ea quæ ad regiam respiciunt dignitatem conservetis firmiter et quantum in vobis est faciatis ab aliis conservari.”

Dat. Tuscul. XII. Kal. Octobr.

Concerning the vituperative language in which the Roman Pontiff here speaks of Ireland, and its spiritual condition, see above, p. 92.

It is observable that Pope Alexander III. does not ascribe the conquest of Ireland to the influence of Hadrian's Bull; nor does he mention that document, in any one of these three Bulls; but he ascribes that conquest entirely to Henry's arms.

SERMON IV.

INTERVAL BETWEEN HENRY II. AND HENRY VIII.

MATT. vii. 20.

“By their fruits ye shall know them.”

IN the Gospel for this Day¹ our blessed Lord warns His disciples that false Prophets will *arise and deceive many*². They will appear, disguised in a garb of sanctity. *Beware, He says, of false Prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves*³.

But,—it may be said,—if they are masked in this specious attire, how are they to be discerned? Christ supplies the test by which they are to be tried,—*Ye shall know them by their fruits*⁴.

I. How are we to understand this?—Do we not sometimes find that good deeds are done by evil men? Have not Charitable Institutions been founded by vicious persons? Have not Hospitals been erected, and Alms-

¹ This Sermon was preached in Westminster Abbey on the Eighth Sunday after Trinity, August 1, 1852.

² Matt. xxiv. 24.

³ Matt. vii. 15.

⁴ Matt. vii. 16.

houses endowed by some who have led godless lives? Is it not evident from the annals of the Church, and particularly from those of the Church of Ireland, whose History we are now considering, that Religious Houses (as they are called) have been built by irreligious men; that some of them owe their existence to persons who made no scruple of committing robbery, murder, and sacrilege⁵? Were they not even built in consequence of those acts,—and as an atonement for them? And were not religious exercises, such as Fasting, Alms-giving, and Prayer, performed of old with scrupulous punctuality, and superstitious precision, by the Pharisees, whom our Lord denounces as children of the Evil One⁶? And does not St. Paul warn us that false Teachers often exhibit a dazzling display of holiness, *transforming themselves into Apostles of Christ; and no marvel, for Satan himself is transformed into an Angel of Light*⁷?

Hence it is obvious that the *fruits*, of which our Lord speaks,—*by their fruits ye shall know them*—cannot be *external acts alone*. If, indeed, an action is *evil*, the agent cannot be good. But the converse does not hold. An act, apparently good, may be done by a vicious man; it may be done for the purpose of palliating his vice, and of rendering it more pernicious. Religious acts may be the sheep's clothing in which the Wolf wraps himself, when he would make havoc with the sheep. The *fruits* therefore indicated by our Blessed Lord, are *not* so much the *acts of the Teacher*, as the necessary *results of his*

⁵ See the evidence in KING'S History, pp. 565—589, and PHELAN'S Policy, A.D. 1315, p. 53.

⁶ Matt. xxiii. 14.

⁷ 2 Cor. xi. 12, 15.

Teaching. Is the *doctrine*, which he teaches, a *doctrine according to godliness*⁸? Are the fruits, which it brings forth, the *peaceable fruits of righteousness*⁹? Are they the fruits of the Spirit¹, *goodness, truth, love, joy, and peace*? Does the doctrine tend, by a natural process, to render those who imbibe it, more holy, more devout, more peaceable, more charitable, more sober, more humble? Does it make them more obedient to Magistrates, Civil and Ecclesiastical, more zealous for the welfare of the Land in which they dwell, and for the peace of the Church?

If the doctrine taught produces these results, then they who inculcate it are entitled to respect. *By their fruits ye shall know them*—know them to be true Teachers. But if it does not bring forth these fruits, then,—whatever may be the professions made by the Teacher, however saintly or angelic he may appear in his life and conversation,—he is a *false Teacher*, a *Wolf in sheep's clothing*, and to be shunned as such.

This, doubtless, is the true meaning² of our Saviour's words; and when we consider them in this light, we may derive very salutary instructions from His warning, “*By their fruits ye shall know them.*”

II. Let us apply this admonition to the subject now before us—the CHURCH HISTORY of IRELAND.

We often hear it alleged, that, if Ireland were placed under the influence of the Church of Rome, the discord

⁸ 1 Tim. vi. 3.

⁹ Heb. xii. 11.

¹ Eph. v. 9. Gal. v. 22.

² Cp. Bp. SANDERSON'S Sermon on 1 Tim. iii. 6.

which distracts that unhappy Country would cease. They who profess the tenets of Rome do not hesitate to declare, that one thing is needful; namely, that her religion should be dominant there. Then, they confidently predict—a golden age would dawn upon it. They regard the cause of Rome as the cause of Christ; in their eyes the Church of Rome is the Church of the Living God. Hence, inasmuch as it is confessedly the tendency of Christianity to diffuse blessings, temporal and spiritual, wherever it is received, and since the Church of Christ is indeed the nurse of Civilization, and the mother of Peace, therefore they unhesitatingly affirm, that if the Church of Rome were allowed free scope for her agency in that country, the evils, which now afflict it, would disappear; a glorious change would follow; a moral regeneration would be effected; and that Ireland would bloom, as it were, with vernal beauty, and would teem with rich fruits of peace and plenty; *the wilderness and solitary place would be glad, and the desert would rejoice and blossom as the rose*³.

Such are their anticipations; and it is not surprising that they who cherish them, should eagerly invite all persons, in the name of Christ and His Church, and on behalf of a suffering Nation, to assist them in uprooting the present Church of Ireland, and in reducing that country under the supremacy of Rome.

Many who make this appeal, display a fair show of holiness; many among them abound in almsdeeds, fastings, and prayers; and Rome, they say, is the source of sanctity; and thus they fascinate the eye by

³ Isa. xxxv. 1.

their pretensions and hers, and win favour to her cause.

III. A very important question therefore is here opened to our view; and the present aspect of our Country, and of Europe at large, renders the consideration of this question a matter of great urgency at this critical juncture.

How shall we deal with it?

Happily for the cause of Truth, we need not here resort to abstract speculations. We are enabled to determine the question by reference to historical facts.

Contemplate the History of the Church in Ireland in former ages. We can point to the time and place in which Romish domination was planted in Ireland⁴; we can show the precise time in which it first budded and sprouted, and put forth tender leaves, and at length bore fruit. No signs of it were visible in Ireland, in the first century after Christ; no signs of it were visible in the second century; none in the third; none in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh centuries after Christ; and then Ireland bore fair flowers of learning, and rich fruits of holiness. Then was her summer of Christianity; and Rome had not, then, any stray sprigs of supremacy to show in Ireland. "*Evolvant origines Ecclesiarum*,"—let the advocates of Rome unroll the archives of our Churches. Wherever Rome has power, she sends her Legates. But St. Bernard informs us (and he was a friend of a Pope, and lived in the twelfth

⁴ For proof of the facts stated in this and the next pages, see above pp. 92—96.

century), that the first Legate sent by her to Ireland was Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick; and when was that? Not till the twelfth century after Christ. Again, where Rome has sway, she summons Synods, and directs them; And what Council of the Church in Ireland was ever summoned and presided over by an Emissary from Rome before the same period?—None. Where Rome rules, she sends her Palls; Was any Pall ever worn by an Irish Archbishop before the middle of the twelfth century?—No. Where Rome sways, she imposes Oaths; Was any Oath of obedience to Rome taken in Ireland till that time?—No. Where Rome rules, she canonizes Saints; Was any Saint, in the Island of Saints—for so Ireland was called even by Rome herself—was any Saint canonized in Ireland⁵ by Rome before that time?—

⁵ The following important summary of facts is commended to the attention of the reader (see KING'S History, p. 579):—

The *first* persons instrumental in drawing the Church of Ireland under the dominion of Rome were the *Danes*.

Their second Archbishop of Dublin, A.D. 1074, was the *first* Bishop resident in Ireland who acknowledged subjection in spiritual matters to any but an Irish Primate.

The *first* assertion of the Pope's supremacy as extending to Ireland was that made by Pope Gregory VII., A.D. 1084.

The *first Romish legate* for Ireland was Gillebert, Bishop of the Danes in Limerick, A.D. 1106.

The *first Irish Council* at which a Pope's legate presided was that of Rathbreasil, in A.D. 1118.

The *first Episcopal appointment* in Ireland in which any influence of the Pope can be traced is one made by St. Malachy as legate, in the nomination of a Bishop for Cork, A.D. 1140.

The *first Saints* of the "Island of Saints," who were elevated to the dignity of that name by a Papal sanction, were Malachy and Laurence, who died A.D. 1148 and A.D. 1180.

The *first palls* bestowed on any Prelates of the Irish Church were sent over A.D. 1151.

The *first Council* in Ireland which gave an order for regulating the

No. In a word, it was not till the close of that century,—the twelfth,—that the Church of Ireland became subject to Rome⁶.

If, therefore, Ireland prospered before the tenth century, that prosperity could not be due to Rome. And in former Discourses it has been shown that she prospered in an eminent degree from the sixth to the ninth century. And we confess, also, that her prosperity was due to Religion. And what was that? Not the

Church ritual or discipline uniformly with that of Rome, as carried into practice in England, was the Synod of Cashel, A.D. 1172.

The *first primate* of Armagh appointed by a Pope was Eugene Mac Gillivider, A.D. 1206.

⁶ The following recapitulation is from PHELAN'S Policy, p. 47:—

A few facts acknowledged by the most learned Roman Catholic writers are discernable amid the darkness which overhangs our early history. It appears—

1. That the Irish Ecclesiastics took no oaths to the Pope (O'Conor, Columbanus, iii. 160).

2. That they never applied to the See of Rome for bulls of nomination, institution, or exemption (Charles O'Conor, sen., Dissert. on Irish History, p. 203).

3. That they never appealed to Rome for the decision of Ecclesiastical causes.

4. That the Bishop and other prelates of a tribe were appointed by the Chieftain either directly or with the previous form of an election by the priesthood (O'Conor, Columbanus, v. 45).

5. That Papal Legates had no jurisdiction in Ireland until the twelfth century; and that after that period their jurisdiction was limited to the English settlements (O'Conor, Hist. Address, i. 10).

6. That in general the discipline of the Irish Church had so little correspondence with the Roman, that it received several hard names from the papal writers of the twelfth century, e. g. Pope Alexander, Cambrensis, Auselm, Gilbert, and S. Bernard.

A new order of things was introduced by Henry II., and kept pace with the advance of the . . . Papal power. See also HUME, Hist. i. c. 9. Till the twelfth century "the Irish followed the doctrines of their first teachers, and had never acknowledged any subjection to the See of Rome."

Religion of Rome,—but the Religion of Christ. The Gospel,—the Gospel pure and undefiled, planted in Ireland, in earlier days, and watered by the dews of the Holy Spirit, and tended by the pious hands of Priests and Bishops, who won for Ireland that glorious title,—the “Island of Saints.”

Her prosperity was the fruit of the Gospel; and if she is ever to prosper again (which may God in His mercy grant!) she will prosper by means of the Gospel. And in order that this may be so, the Gospel must be emancipated from the trammels which now check its growth in Ireland. It must be permitted to put forth to the breath of heaven its *leaves which are for the healing of the Nations*⁷, it must be able to *stretch forth its branches unto the sea, and its boughs unto the river*⁸, so that all may sit beneath its shade. The Word of God must not be withheld from the people of Ireland; the Bible must not be trampled under foot, and cast into the flames by Priests of Rome; but it must be read and revered by all, high and low, rich and poor, young and old, prince and peasant; so that every one, even from a *child, may know the Holy Scriptures, which are the things that are able* (such is the meaning of St. Paul's words) *to make us wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus*⁹.

IV. Still further. The Church of Ireland, as has been also proved in former Discourses, was independent of Rome in the sixth and seventh centuries; and not only so, but she was then treated by Rome as a schis-

⁷ Rev. xxii. 2.

⁸ Ps. lxxx. 11.

⁹ 2 Tim. iii. 15.

matical Church; and then Ireland prospered. If, then, Ireland is to prosper again, it cannot be necessary that she should be subject to Rome. Rather, to reason from the past, she ought to desire to be severed from her, as long as Rome remains what she is. And, alas! Rome herself affirms that she is unchanged and unchangeable; and that, therefore, what she is now, she will never cease to be. Therefore, to judge from the past, the Church of Ireland may not repine (as far as she is herself concerned), even if she be denounced by Rome as guilty of heresy and schism, provided that, while thus denounced, she is careful to maintain the ancient Apostolic discipline, and that pure and primitive *Faith*, which was *once for all delivered to the Saints*¹.

V. This truth may be still more strongly enforced by the following argument:—

Till the middle of the twelfth century Ireland was independent of Rome;

But in the twelfth century she became subject to Rome; and she remained dependent on Rome for three hundred and fifty years in succession, namely, from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the sixteenth century, that is, till the Reformation.

The experiment of Romish ascendancy in Ireland *has*, therefore, *been fully tried*; and if,—as we are now assured by some,—the remedy for the present evils of Ireland is to be sought in Roman domination, then we might expect to find, that, when Ireland was subject to Rome, she enjoyed prosperity and peace.

¹ Jude 3.

But what were the facts of the case?

Let us not indulge in theories, but consult the annals of Ireland during that period. What do we see there?

1. First, we are struck with one great deficiency.

Before the twelfth century Ireland had been celebrated for holiness and learning. In the history of Ireland from the fifth to the ninth century we see a bright constellation of Irish names, illustrious for sanctity and learning. But after the twelfth century, for more than three centuries in succession, we look for such luminaries in vain²; scarcely a single memorable name can be cited from that period. The sky was dark; it was an age of gloom. It seems as if the rise of the Papal power had been the signal for a general eclipse—intellectual, literary, and religious. We hear no more of strangers flocking to Ireland to study the Scriptures. Instead of this, we behold a noxious cloud of legendary fables rising up, and darkening the air with a murky exhalation, and veiling the pure light of the Gospel; and instead of Scriptural Schools, which had formerly abounded in Ireland³, we see a large number of Monastic Houses, built with the spoils of violence, and designed as an expiation for sin, and deluding men with the notion that a holy life is not necessary to salvation, and that heaven may be purchased by posthumous and vicarious repentance, and leaving few traces of godliness; and we behold the

² See KING'S *Hist.*, pp. 596, 597. PHELAN, p. 12.

³ See Sir J. WARE'S *Antiq.* ch. xxxvii.; on the Ancient Schools and Universities in Ireland, especially at Armagh (existing till the twelfth century), Clonard (St. Finian's), near the Boyne in Meath (of the sixth century), at Ross, in Carbery, in the sixth century (St. Fach-nan's).

people sunk in the depths of ignorance, barbarism, and superstition.

By their fruits ye shall know them. Such were some of the results of Roman ascendancy in Ireland.

In the period to which we are referring, the Church of Rome had the fairest opportunity of benefiting that country. She had free scope for the development of all her energies. The Crown of England, the Princes, the Prelates, the People of Ireland had been brought under her sway, and so they remained for three centuries and a half. If then the religion of Rome is the religion of Christ, if Roman Supremacy is the Supremacy of Christ, then how blessed would have been the condition of Ireland at that time! All Christian graces would have flourished there. Peace and Prosperity would have prevailed. Ireland would have been like Paradise.

But, again we ask,—what was the fact?

2. Rome, being supreme in Ireland, sent her Legates thither, but as History shows, those Legates were more eager to amass wealth⁴ for themselves and for her⁵,

⁴ LABBE, Concil. x. 1739.

Concil. Dublin. A.D. 1183, a Viviano Cardinale, Apostolicæ sedis legato, celebratum, qui “cum in ecclesiis barbaricæ simplicitatis” (ait Gulielm. Neubrig. lib. iii. c. 9) “*agere morem vellet Romanum, denunciatis præfectis regiis, ut vel abscederet vel secum militaret, auro Hibernico quod multum sitierat, minus onustus in Scotiam remeavit.*”

⁵ Acts Irish, 28 Hen. VIII. c. 19, against dispensations purchased from Rome, “pensions, cences, Peter-pence, procurations, Suits for provisions and expeditions of Bulls, rescripts in appeales, faculties, &c. &c., by which your subjects, by many years past, have been, and yet be, greatly decayed and impoverished by intolerable exactions of great summes of money taken out of this Realm by the Bishop of Rome.”

Sir J. DAVIES’s Discovery, p. 82, ed. Lond. 1612. “The Bishop of Rome drew away all the wealth of the Realme by their Provisions and

than to diffuse the doctrine or maintain the discipline of Christ. Their course⁶ was marked by cruelty and infinite exactions, whereby the Kingdom was so impoverished as the King was scarce able to feede his own household and train, much less to ourish armies."

⁶ See GULIELM. NEUBRIG. iii. c. 9, on the duplicity and rapacity of Cardinal Vivian, who excited the men of Ulster to fight against John de Courcy, and gave them his benediction at Down, and afterwards held a council at Dublin, where he excommunicated those who took up arms against the King. See GIRALD. CAMBR. lib. ij. cap. xvii.

ANNALS of MELROSE, A.D. 1176. "Vivianus Cardinalis, Apostolicae sedis legatus, Scotiam intravit, couculcans et comminucens obvia quæque, expeditus capere, nec impeditus rapere."

HANMER'S Chronicle, ad A.D. 1177. "The Irish men of Dunc (Down) aske counsell of Viviau, the Legate, whether they should fight against Sir John de Courcy (to whom Henry II. had granted all that he could conquer with the sword, and who overran Ulster), or yeeld unto the English nation. He gave counsell, forgetting what Adrian 4 and Alexander 3 had formerly granted, and said, '*fight for your country.*' This Legate, craftily preventing all mishaps, took the Church of Dunc for his sanctuary, and had in readines the Pope's commission and the King of England's Passe unto the Captains of Ireland for safe conduct. From thence he went to Dublin, called the Prelates, held a counsell, and filled his bagges with the Sinnes of the people. In the book of Howth it is further alleged how that this Prelate shewed and published openly the King of England's right to Ireland with the Pope's grant, and accursed all those that gainsaid the same."

HANMER'S Chronicle, A.D. 1229. "One Stephen, Chapplen and Nuutio to Pope Gregory, came to King Henry with the Popc's Apostolic Mandates, requiring of spirituall and temporal throughout England, Ireland, and Wales, the tenth of all their moveables, to the maiteuance of his warres against Fredericke the Emperor. . . . Ireland sent likewise after their moucy Irish curses, for they were driven at the worst hand to selles their coves, hackneys, caddoes, and aqua vitæ to make present payment, and were driven in that extremetie to pawne and sell their cups, chalices, copes, altar-clothes, and vestments."

A.D. 1240. HANMER'S Chronicle, p. 391. "Petrus de Supino came from Pope Gregorie into Ireland with an authentic papall mandate, requiring, under paine of excommunication, the twentieth part of the whole land, besides donations, where he extorted one thousand five hundred markes and above . . . he that will reade the story more at large let him repaire to Matthew Paris," who calls it an "exaetio omnibus sæculis excrabilis," p. 360, ed. 1644.

extortion; even the houses of God were sacrilegiously stripped to minister to their cupidity⁷. They resembled those rapacious Prætors of ancient Rome, who pillaged her Provinces, and plundered their Temples—and yet they professed themselves Ministers of the Prince of Peace.

3. The Bishop of Rome claimed the right of Investiture⁸ in Ireland, and in the period of which we are speaking he often nominated to Episcopal⁹ sees and Ecclesiastical dignities in that country. And how was this Power exercised? If he had been indeed the suc-

HANMER, A.D. 1247, p. 395. "After that Henry the third and the Clergie of England and Ireland found themselves mightily grieved at the Pope's exaction and intolerable extortions in England, Wales, and Ireland, Innocentius the 4 devised that instead of a greater summe they should give him at that time but 11,000 markes. Then Master Johannes Rusus was sent as Legate, yet not clad in scarlet, lest the Pope should offend the King, who hath this privilege, that no Legate set foote on this laud unless he be licenced; but the said Legate, plying the papall mandate, and his own private gaine, extorted out of Ireland about 6000 markes."

A.D. 1270. "About this time the Bishop of Rome sent to Ireland requiring the tithes of all spirituall promotions for three years to come."

MARLEBURROUGH'S Chronicle of Ireland, A.D. 1342. "Clement VI. would bestowe upon his Cardinals Church livings in England. For which cause the King (Edward III.), about A.D. 1344, disanulled the provisions so made by the Pope, interdicting, upon paine of imprisonment and death, that none should bring them."

⁷ See the evidence in KING'S Hist. pp. 602, 603. 620. 1053; and Bp. MANT. i. p. 10.

⁸ See the Evidence in KING, p. 1140-4.

⁹ Pope Alexander IV. de electione Abraam archiep. Armachan. A.D. 1257. Bull to Henry III. RYMER, i. p. 367. "Præsentatâ nobis electione archipresbyteri Abraam, quæ a capitulo ecclesiæ Armachanæ celebrata extitit, et eâ cassatâ pro eo quod in ipsâ formam generalis concilii non inveniimus observatam, dietum A. eidem ecclesiæ in pastorem præficimus de *nostræ plenitudine potestatis*." See *ibid.* p. 368.

cessor of the Apostle to whom Christ said, *Feed My Lambs, Feed My Sheep*¹, if he had been indeed the Vicar of Him Who is the *Good Shepherd*, and who came to *seek and save what was lost*², if he had been the deputy of Him Who came to *preach the Gospel to the Poor*³, he would have appointed faithful men to *feed the flock of God*⁴, taking the oversight thereof, and being ensamples to it. But how did he act in this matter? In many cases the spiritual dignities of Ireland were lavished on Italians⁵, who did not understand the language of the people⁶,

¹ Johu xxi. 15—17.

² John x. 14; Luke xix. 10.

³ Luke iv. 18.

⁴ 1 Pet. v. 1.

⁵ LELAND, i. p. 232. "The demands of the Roman See in Ireland (in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) were intolerable. The Laity were stripped of their necessaries, the Churches of their ornaments, to supply the rapacious demands of Legates and Nuncios. King Henry III., however solicitous to secure the favour of Rome, yet sometimes found it necessary to yield to the general clamour, and control them. Legates were refused admission into Ireland. . . . Sometimes attempts were made to overspread the Kingdom with Italian Ecclesiastics. The boldest remonstrances were made by the King against this scandalous abuse of investing proud and luxurious foreigners with the revenues of the Irish Church, who refused to engage in the duties of their function, and to reside in the country which they pillaged by their extortion." The edition of Leland referred to is the 3rd; printed at Dublin, 1774, 3 vols.

The same was the case with regard to England. At the Council of Lyons, A.D. 1245, the benefices of *Italians* in England were found to amount to the annual value of 60,000 marks: "a sum," says Hume (c. xii. § 34), "which exceeded the revenue of the Crown." Cp. MATTH. PARIS, p. 451.

⁶ ACTS OF PARLIAMENT. Irish. 36 Hen. VI. c. 1. A.D. 1458. An act that beneficed persons shall keep residence. "Whereas divers persons advanced to benefices within the land of Ireland do absent themselves out of the said land in other lands."

ACTS OF PARLIAMENT. Irish. 7 Ed. IV. c. 2. A.D. 1467. That none shall purchase benefices from Rome. "At the request of the Commons. Whereas of ancient times all maner of Parsons and Vicars having competent benefices did keep hospitality to the honour of God

and never visited their cures. In some cases they were given to children⁷.

4. Again. Rome professes to be the Centre of Unity, and she has tremendous instruments for reducing Nations to obedience. The Ministry of the Confessional, Excommunication, Anathemas, and Interdicts—these are the weapons with which she subdues them, and these are more powerful than any arms which were ever wielded by Imperial Rome when she held the world in fee. If the Church of Rome had been identical with the Church of Christ, Who is the Lover of Unity, then assuredly she would have joined the Princes, Prelates, and People of Ireland, in a holy bond of Christian concord; she would have united the English and Irish, who professed her doctrines, in a happy alliance of brotherly affection. Faction and Rebellion would have been unknown. Peace and Love, and the other fruits of the Spirit, would have abounded more and more.

But what was the case?

The whole period of Roman ascendancy in Ireland,—that is to say, the interval between Henry II. and Henry VIII.—was a period of deadly feuds. The History of these three centuries and a half presents an almost uninterrupted succession of savage rebellions and sanguinary wars. The State was torn by discord, and

and to the profit of poor people, and now of late divers men of holy Church suing to the *Court of Rome* have purchased Bulls to have Abbeys, &c. in commendam, to the final extinguishment of Divine service and Hospitality, &c.” The act forbids such purchase under penalty, and no pardon from the King to be available.

⁷ See COX, Hist. p. 271; ed. Lond. 1689; LELAND, ii. 181.

the Church was rent asunder by schism. Nominally, there was one Church in Ireland—the Church of Rome. But, in fact, there were *two Churches*⁸ in Ireland, though both owned the supremacy of Rome. These were the native Irish Church, and the Anglo-Roman Church: and these regarded one another with feelings of mortal hate⁹. The native Irish Church¹ refused to admit the English to her Ecclesiastical dignities. And in the fourteenth century, the native Irish Princes addressed an indignant remonstrance to Rome, setting forth, in the strongest terms, the evils which they suffered from the Anglo-Roman Church². And the Anglo-Roman Church proscribed the Irish³. And the

⁸ PHELAN'S Policy, p. 64. "It is unquestionable that in those early times (the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) there were *two Churches* in Ireland, the one the Church of the Parliament (and the Pale, and the English), the other the Church of "the Irish Clergy and People." See the evidence of this in the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII. (Feb. 8, 1481) for the erection of a Collegiate Church at Galway, and in the answer made to Wolsey by his agent in Ireland: "The Irish question his Grace's authority in Ireland, especially outside the Pale."—COX, p. 210.

⁹ There are two very important documents for elucidating this fact, and for the illustration of this period generally, viz.—

1. The REMONSTRANCE of the IRISH MAGNATES to Pope John XXII. in 1318, expressing the sentiments of the native Irish Church; see Appendix A. to this Discourse, and
2. The STATUTE of KILKENNY, A.D. 1367, embodying the principles of the Anglo-Roman Church. See the Appendix to the present Discourse, B.

¹ GRACE, *Annales Hiberniæ*, p. 13, with Mr. Butler's note. By a record of 1321 it appears that no person was admitted into the Abbey of Mellifont unless he made oath that he *was not of English* descent. In 1324 King Edward II. complained to the Pope that the Irish refused to admit Englishmen into their monasteries. RYMER, ii. p. 554. In 1337 Edward III. ordered that no Irishman should be admitted into any English monastery.

² See Appendix A. below, p. 149.

³ See Appendix B. below, p. 152, and GRACE, *Annales Hiberniæ*, p. 12,

Roman Pontiff generally aided the English against the Irish. He does not appear to have thought that Ireland existed for her own children.

VI. Here we may observe in passing, that many persons are accustomed to ascribe the civil and religious discord which prevails in Ireland to the Reformation in the sixteenth century, and they seem to think that if the acts of the Reformation were rescinded, Peace would be obtained for Ireland. But these assertions betray an extraordinary ignorance of History. These animosities date from a much earlier period⁴, even from the twelfth century, and they raged at that time, and for some centuries in succession after it, with the greatest virulence.

VII. But to proceed. At the period which we are now describing—from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the sixteenth century,—while Ireland was distracted by the civil and religious warfare of Princes and Prelates, of Race against Race, and Church against Church, two important elements in the social fabric were reduced to a state of bondage ;

First, the English Crown ;

Secondly, the Irish People.

with Mr. Butler's note there, p. 12, on the exclusive spirit of the Anglo-Roman and Irish Churches toward each other, as evinced in records dated A.D. 1321, A.D. 1324, A.D. 1366, A.D. 1380.

⁴ BURKE'S Letter to Sir H. Langrishe, vi. p. 336, ed. Lond. 1826. "The Statutes of Kilkenny show that the spirit of the Popery Laws and some even of their actual provisions, as applied between Englishry and Irishry, had existed in that country *before* the words *Protestant* and *Papist* were heard in the world."

1. In the person of Henry II. praying for Bulls of investiture from Popes Hadrian IV. and Alexander III., the Sovereigns of England had unhappily consented to receive the seigniory of Ireland as a boon from the Papacy; and they were even so infatuated as to refer to the Bull of Pope Hadrian IV.⁵ as the Charter of their royalties in Ireland. Here was the secret of their weakness. The bauble Crown of peacock's feathers which Pope Innocent III. sent as a gift to King John, was an apt emblem of their sway in Ireland. The English Sovereign was regarded by the Pope as little better than a Roman Procurator for the collection of Peter-pence⁶ in Ireland for the benefit of the Roman see. He was cooped up like a lion in his cage, within the narrow

⁵ Irish Act, Stat. of 7 Edw. IV. c. 9. "Whereas our holy father Adrian, Pope of Rome, was possessed of all the Seigniory of Ireland in his demesne as of fee in right of his Church of Rome, and to the intent that vices should be subdued and virtue encouraged, he aliened the same land to the King of England for a certain rent to be received in England to hold to the King of England and his heirs for ever; by which grant the Subjects of Ireland owe their obedience to the King of England as their Sovereign Lord, as by the said Bull appears, it is therefore ordered that all Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland shall, upon the monition of forty days, proceed to the *excommunication of all disobedient subjects.*"

This Irish Act, 7 Edw. IV. A.D. 1467, in which Hadrian's grant is recited as the grant of the claim of the English Crown to Ireland, is to be found printed in part for the first time in Mr. Hardiman's ed. of the Statute of Kilkenny, p. 3. See LELAND, ii. 56, and PHELAN, p. 74, who observes that "the miserable effort at vigour in this enactment only renders more manifest the subjection of the civil power to the hierarchy."

⁶ O'SULLIVAN, Hist. Cath. Hiber. Compnd. Ulissip. 1621, 4to, p. 59, expounds the grant of Hadrian IV. to Henry II. to amount to this—that the Pope appointed the King of England his deputy to collect Peter-pence, "*præfectum causâ colligendi tributi Ecclesiastici.*"

limits of the English Pale in Ireland⁷. And though he sometimes gave vent to his feelings of indignation by Parliamentary Statutes against Papal Bulls, Appeals, and Provisions, yet these fell feebly to the ground, and betrayed the impotence of his rage. It is true that when the English Sovereign was assailed by rebellions raised by Irish Ecclesiastics and Irish Nobles, he was generally aided by the Pope, who threatened to excommunicate the Insurgents⁸. But why was this? Because the Crown was weak, and dependent on the Papacy, and because it was expedient for Rome that Ireland should be under a weak Government. The Papacy was strong in Ireland by the weakness of the English Crown. And

⁷ Sir J. DAVIES, p. 121, ed. 1612: "The English Laws were executed only in the English Colonies of Ireland, Leinster, and Munster, i. e. Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Uriel, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Tipperary." "The countries possessed by the Irishry contained two-third parts of the kingdom at least."

¹³ Henry VIII. c. ii. "There are only 4 shires where the King's laws are occupied in this land—Dublin, Kildare, Mieth, Uriel, or Lowth."

PHELAN, p. ix. "A level district round the capital containing the small shires of Louth, Meath, Kildare, and Dublin, limited the range of English law. The conscious weakness of royalty took refuge in a ludicrous but humiliating fiction. In Court language the *land of Ireland* was synonymous with the *Pale*."

These statements must be received with some qualification. See *De Concilio Hiberniae*, in *Miscellany of Irish Arch. Soc.* Dublin, 1846, circ. A.D. 1295, and Notes *ibid.* by Rev. R. BUTLER, p. 25: "During the reigns of Henry III. and Edw. I. the English had greater power in Ireland than in some subsequent centuries, and the King's writ ran through the greater part, if not the whole, of Ireland." *Ibid.* p. 31: "The English Pale never formed the limit of the English Power in Ireland."

⁸ In those days the Pope ruled the People of Ireland by means of the English Crown.

In the present times he endeavours to rule the English Crown by means of the Irish People.

the Pope took care that the Crown of England should not grow strong. Therefore, whenever its power seemed to be increasing⁹, and it was likely to become independent, the Roman Pontiff played off a foreign Power against it; or, on the plea of Religion, excited its subjects in Ireland to rise up in rebellion against it¹; or sent the Sovereign of England from home, to wander in the East on a Crusade of vagrant piety in the Holy Land²,

2. Another slave was the Irish People. At the period to which we are adverting, the *English* in Ireland were subject to *English* Laws; but the Code of Law received among the *Irish* was what was called the Brehon Code.

⁹ LELAND, i. 184; ii. 161, and *passim*.

¹ HANMER'S Chronicle, p. 375, A.D. 1213. "The French King, by instigation of Innocentius III., Bishop of Rome, prepared to invade England. In the same yeare also, King John being mightily distressed through the practices of his Archbishop, &c., and the Barons of his kingdom revolting, was driven to surrender his crowne from his head, and to subject his kingdomes of England and Ireland tributarie to the See of Rome."

Strictures on Plowden: Loud. 1804. "From the moment that Elizabeth ascended the throne, and declared for the Reformation, the graud Irish Popish conspiracy, in concert with Spain and Rome, was formed against her, which afterwards, when England was threatened with invasion by Philip, burst forth into two violent and organized rebellions, which were aided by the zeal of ecclesiastical missionaries from abroad. . . . Don Matthew Oviedo, a Spanish missionary, who brought O'Neil a consecrated plume from the Pope; Sauuders, the English fanatic; Allen, an Irish Priest, sent from Rome; Owen Mc Egau, scut as Apostolic Vicar from Spain; aud Owen Mc Owen, another Apostolic Vicar, who (as far as he was able) caused every Irishman who served the Queen, after being confessed and absolved, to be executed."

² See BULLAR. ROM. iv. p. 177. Bull of John XXII., A.D. 1319, requiring the English Bishops to excommunicate all who invade Ireland; in order that the King may have leisure to go to the Holy Land.

According to this Code, murder was not punishable by death, but only by fine levied on the relatives of the murderer, and called an Erick. Hence bloodshed was frequent; and no Irishman's life was safe³. The unhappy Irish peasantry, being oppressed by their nobles and prelates, whose tyranny was upheld by the Brehon Code, addressed many piteous appeals for redress to the English Crown, imploring it to grant to Ireland the benefit of English Laws. And the English Sovereigns were desirous of doing so⁴. Indeed, they⁵ promulgated declarations, enjoining the reception of those laws in Ireland. But the English Crown, though nominally supreme in Ireland,—was not strong enough to concede to the Irish the use of its own laws. It waited on the will of others. The Romish Prelates and Princes of Ireland desired that the People of Ireland should remain serfs, and they resisted the attempt. They thought that their own power would be impaired, if the People of

³ See the researches of LELAND, i. 223—245.

⁴ On the different *efforts* of Kings of England to give English Laws to Ireland, see the learned Summary in Sir John Davies's *Discovery*, p. 100—102, ed. Lond. 1612.

But these attempts were frustrated, and the “mere Irish were not only accounted aliens, but enemies and rebels,” p. 102. 108. 111, “though the Irishry did desire to be admitted to the benefit of the Law” of England. See the evidence of this, *ibid.* pp. 115—118. The observations of Sir John Davies on these points deserve attentive perusal.

⁵ Henric. III., “*justiciario suo Hiberniæ, A.D. 1216.*” RYMER, i. p. 145, “*Volumus ut eisdem vos et ceteri fideles Hiberniæ gaudeant libertatibus, quas fidelibus nostris de regno Angliæ concessimus, et illas vobis concedemus et confirmabimus.*” See also *ibid.* p. 145, where he lauds the fidelity of Ireland to his father. EDWARD I., A.D. 1277, states, “*Quod leges, quibus utuntur Hibernici, Deo detestabiles existunt, et omni juri dissonant.*” See also RYMERI *Fœdera*, i. p. 540.

Ireland were free. They, therefore, thwarted the laudable designs of the English Crown to impart the benefit of English laws to Ireland, and to abrogate a Code which imperilled the life of man, and outraged the Law of God⁶. Under its unhappy influence many of the English nobles were Hibernicized—and few of the Irish were Anglicized.

Here was a glorious occasion for the intervention of Rome. If she had been zealous for the Divine Honour, and for the Divine Law; if she had loved to be the Champion of the weak against the cruelty of the strong; if she had been animated with a sincere desire for the happiness of Ireland, she would not have permitted her own Prelates to interpose as they did between the People and their Sovereign, and to deprive them of the simplest blessing of civilized society,—protection of life. But no; Rome had, indeed, spiritual censures and spiritual interdicts to fulminate against all who resisted her own power; but in this most righteous cause her thunders slept. She was deaf to the entreaties of the People, and to the just desires of the Crown⁷. The Romish Prelates of Ireland triumphed⁸; the Brehon Code survived. It

⁶ The poet SPENSER in his *View of Ireland*, p. 7, says on Brehon Law: "In many things repugning quite both to God's Law and Man's, as for example in the case of murder." See also *ibid.* on Tanistry, p. 10; and on the perjury of Jurors, pp. 34—36, of the Dublin reprint, 1809.

⁷ Concerning the evils inflicted by the Irish Laws on the Irish peasantry, and the desire of the English Crown to impart English Law to them, and the resistance of the Irish Nobles to that desire, see some valuable notices in the Rev. R. BUTLER'S edition of "*De Concilio Hiberniæ*," p. 32; and of GRACE'S "*Annals*," pp. 83, 84. See also *ibid.* p. 171.

⁸ See LELAND, i. 223—230. 245—250. 279. 289. 355. PHELAN'S

remains even to this day. Like the *Pestilence that walketh in darkness*⁹, it skulks in the ambush of secret societies. Its baleful shadow broods over Ireland; and beneath its deadly influence the charities of social life are blighted, and the blessings of Christianity strive in vain to emerge and flourish¹. The Decalogue fades beneath it. Trial by Jury is blighted by it. For what can be expected from witnesses or Jurors, whose consciences are already entangled by the secret spell of another Code which regards bloodshed as expiable by money? Hence it has come to pass that this unhappy country has been called *Acelanda*, that is to say, *the field of blood*; and so remains unto *this day*².

Such was the state of Ireland, ecclesiastically and civilly, under Roman sway.

And yet (strange to say) it is now affirmed by some, in defiance of these facts, that Roman sway is necessary for Ireland,—in order that she may have peace!

Policy, pp. 31—37. “It would seem that in those days the spiritual Lords outnumbered the Lay-Peers:” and, therefore, as Dr. Phelan observes, “the Prelates might, by a vote, have arrested the progress of centuries of desolation.”

⁹ Ps. xci. 6.

¹ Of which a full account may be seen in the “Historical Relation, or a Discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never subdued,” by Sir JOHN DAVIS, Attorney-General in Ireland in the reign of King James I., London, 1612, p. 165—182.

See also DYMMEK’s Treatise of Ireland, circ. A.D. 1600 (in Irish Archæol. Soc. Trans. Dublin, ed. Butler, 1842): “The government of the Irish is mere tyrannicall, as may appear by their ancient lawes, as Brehon Law, Coyng, Lyvery, &c.” (see these explained, *ibid.* p. 8). “So that the mightiest oppresse the poorest. The mere Irish, degenerate English, and Scott are grown into one faction, by reason of the division of the English race, continuing till within these few yeares.”

² Matt. xxvii. 8; Acts i. 19.

VIII. Let us briefly review what has been said.

For more than a thousand years after Christ Ireland was independent of Rome. And for some centuries of that time, that is, from the sixth to the ninth centuries, Ireland was distinguished by her love of the Holy Scriptures, and by the maintenance of that Faith, which was professed by the primitive Church; and she was called the "Island of Saints."

By their fruits shall ye know them. At that time Ireland prospered.

Such were the fruits produced by the Gospel in Ireland, when independent of Rome.

In the twelfth century she became subject to Rome; and she remained in subjection to Rome for three hundred and fifty years.

By their fruits shall ye know them. Those three centuries and a half are the darkest³ period of the

³ This is confessed by the Roman Catholic Historian of Ireland, the Rev. M. J. BRENNAN, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, *Dubl.* 1848, p. 62. Describing the condition of Ireland in the fourteenth century, he says: "In giving even an outline of the deplorable condition of Ireland during the administration of Alexander de Bicknor (Archbishop of Dublin) and his predecessors language becomes almost useless. Fraud, murder, and rapine were crimes of just as ordinary occurrence as the rising sun. An Irishman had no law, redress, or protection. Property and life became insecure and almost worthless."

Ibid. p. 105: "The infamous Statute of Kilkenny (A.D. 1367) may enable us to contemplate the ungenerous, mercenary, domineering spirit so strikingly characteristic of this age. . . . To exclude a man from a benefice merely because he was an Irishman, was much the same as placing the Sword of Persecution on the Altar. Scenes like these were never before witnessed in the Church of Ireland. An impious monopoly of the Christian Sanctuary was a scandal to which the sainted Fathers of the Irish Church had been strangers."

But where was the Bishop of Rome, that all these things should be, when he was lord paramount in Ireland?

History of the Irish Church, and of the Irish Nation.

IX. Hence we arrive at certain important results—

1. We are placed on our guard against the specious allegations of those who would now persuade us that if Ireland is to flourish, she must be left to the influence and domination of Rome.

But to this we reply, Why speak to us of what *might* be? All these things that you desire, *have been*. We do not ask for ideal dreams of the future; we know—know too well—the stern realities of the past. Rome, indeed, would beguile us by shows and semblances of sanctity. She has fastings, and prayers, and processions, and pilgrimages, litanies, and jubilees, religious houses, and confraternities;—she comes to us wearing a halo of holiness on her head, and thus dazzles our eyes. But what says Christ? *By their fruits ye shall know them*. By her fruits *we have known her*. And now we need only say to enthusiastic advocates of Roman domination in Ireland, who would regenerate that country by means of the Papacy, Look back first to the most glorious period of Irish History; and then look back to the gloomiest period of Irish History. Ireland knew nothing of Rome in the first period; she knew much of Rome in the second, and then her *gold became dim, and the fine gold was changed into dross*⁴. *How did the faithful city become an harlot! it had been full of judgment; righteousness had lodged in it; but now murderers. Her princes were rebellious, and companions of thieves: they*

⁴ Lam. iv. 1.

*judged not the fatherless, neither did the cause of the widow come unto them*⁵. These were the fruits of Roman ascendancy. Enough of these fruits yct remains to satisfy you; for the tree still survives. And if it be permitted to strike deeper root, and to stretch its branches more widely, these fruits will abound more; and we know too well from the past what will be the harvest in the future.

2. Further, it will hence appear, that the Religious Reformation in the sixteenth century, was not (as some would represent it) an act of schismatical innovation. No. The Reformation ought not to be regarded as an isolated event; it ought never to be considered without reference to the period which preceded it. And when so viewed, the Reformation in Ireland, in the sixteenth century, will be seen to have been extorted by the force of circumstances. It was necessitated by the rigid compulsion of three centuries and a half of oppression and violence, perpetrated by the Papacy, which had almost extinguished the light of the Gospel in that country, and had reduced the Irish people to a Nation of bandits and of slaves.

3. From the past we may infer the future. If Ireland is to be again prosperous, she must be emancipated from the thralldom of that spiritual tyranny, which brought such misery with it, and which still presses heavily upon her, and she must be restored to the glorious liberty of the Ancient Faith, under which she once flourished.

Thanks be to Almighty God, she still has the means

⁵ Isa. i. 21. 23.

of temporal and religious regeneration in the Word and Sacraments of Christ, ministered in her national Church.

If, indeed, that Church has had justice done her, then, looking at the present condition of Ireland, we might well doubt whether she could be instrumental for such a purpose. But we do not hesitate to say, that since the Twelfth Century, the Church of Ireland has never had free scope for her energies. Many things have embarrassed her. The power of Romanism, withholding the Scriptures from the people, and stirring them up to insurrection, and strong by the weakness of England,—relying upon Rome, and invigorated by foreign aid, and cherished by many from within, acting on the same infatuated Policy which blinded Henry II.—has checked and thwarted the growth of the Irish Church. Puritanism—the natural fruit of Popery (for men ever rush from one excess to another)—has sapped her strength, and blighted her beauty. Zeal without knowledge, in some of her most enthusiastic friends, has damaged her no less than the violence of her most inveterate foes. The vastness of her Parishes, the paucity of her Churches and of her Church-Schools, the spoliation of her revenues by those who ought to have defended her⁶,—the *wounds*

⁶ First at the Reformation, and on various subsequent occasions. See Dr. NEWLAND'S Letter to Lord Mount-Cashel, pp. 36—67. 55. 89. 233. KING'S Hist. p. 1063-64. "There is at this moment scarcely an Irish nobleman inheriting an ancient property who does not owe the bulk of it to the lands of the Church." See Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland, p. 341: "In 1735 the tithe of *agistment*, to which the Clergy were entitled by common law and statute, was virtually taken away by vote of the Irish House of Commons." Hence the necessity of Unions of Parishes to provide any thing like a maintenance for the

she has received in the house of her friends⁷; the lack⁸ of Clergy, the inadequacy of endowments, and the sacrilegious abuse of Church-Patronage by the Civil Power, appointing unworthy Pastors to her Chief dignities; the scourge of Famines, Pestilences, and Civil Wars, (chastisements due to National Sins,) desolating the Land, and exhausting her spiritual energies, have restrained the Irish Church from bringing forth her fruit in due season.

But, when we consider the circumstances of the case, the marvel is, not that the Church of Ireland has not brought forth more fruit, but that she hath brought forth so much; and that when so many different voices have been joining in the cry of extermination, "Down with it, down with it to the ground," the Church still survives. But what she has brought forth, under severe trials, is enough to show what she would bring forth, if justice were done her. And this is clear also from her own constitution. For, examine her doctrines, they are Scriptural; try her form of Church Government,

Clergy. See Primate BOULTER'S Letters, ii. p. 183. Again, see Past and Present Policy, p. 341: "Since 1830 the Tithe Commutation gave the Landlords 25 per cent. of the amount of the tithe. The abolition of Church cess was indirectly beneficial to them. And the power of converting ecclesiastical leases into fee simples has turned out so good a bargain for the lessees, that it has been calculated to be worth generally not less than 50 per cent."

⁷ Zech. xiii. 6.

⁸ The BISHOP of CLOYNE thus described the state of the Church of Ireland in 1808, p. 50: "In Ireland there is but *one* Clergyman to *twenty-three square miles*." P. 51: "From the want of Tillage in Munster and Connaught, it has become necessary to unite sometimes from *five to nine Parishes*, in order to furnish even a scanty maintenance for one Minister."

it is Apostolical; test her Liturgy, it is sound and pure; prove her lineage, it is not foreign but national, not Italian but Irish. She is the Church of St. Patrick and St. Columba; she is the Church of the Apostles and of Christ. Her fruits, her genuine fruits, are obedience and quietness on earth, and everlasting happiness in heaven. Therefore, let the Church of Ireland be cherished, and she will be like a tree planted by the water-side, whose leaf shall not wither; and let us pray to God, with one heart and voice, *O Lord, look down from heaven, behold and visit this vine*⁹.

⁹ Ps. lxxx. 14.

APPENDIX A.

THE REMONSTRANCE of the NOBLES of IRELAND to POPE John XXII., A.D. 1318, on the evils of Anglo-Roman influence, civil and ecclesiastical, in Ireland. The original is contained in FORDUN'S Scoti-Chron. Lib. xii. c. 26. tom. ii., p. 259, Edinb. 1759: "Scripserunt omnes Reguli Hiberniæ domino Papæ unam literam pungitivam, tyrannidem et falsitatem Anglorum continentem, in hæc verba:" he then inserts the letter.

It appears from it that the "Reguli Hiberniæ" knew nothing of any claim to Ireland on the part of Rome; for they affirm that Ireland had been an independent Kingdom for 3500 years; and that Pope Hadrian IV. was influenced by his English prepossessions, and gave Ireland illegally to Henry II. "Adrianus Papa (they say) non tantum origine quantum affectione et conditione *Anglicus*, A.D. 1170" (there is a slight error in chronology here, see above, pp. 97, 98), "ad *falsam et plenam iniquitate* suggestionem Henrici Regis Angliæ, dominium Regni nostri contulit *indebitè*, ordine juris omisso omninò; . . . sicque *nos privans* honore regio, . . . crudelioribus omnium bestiarum dentibus tradidit lacerandos."

"Ab illo tempore quo *Anglici* occasione collationis prædictæ sub *quâdam sanctitatis ac religionis specie*, regni nostri fines nequiter intraverunt, totis viribus, *omnique perfidâ quâ poterant arte*, gentem nostram delere penitus et exstirpare radicitùs sunt conati. Et per turpes ac fraudulentas astutias in tantum contrà nos prævaluerunt, quòd ejectis nobis de spatiosis habitationibus nostris et hereditate paternâ, montana, silvestria, ac paludosa loca, etiam petrarum

cavernas petere, et ad iustar bestiarum in eisdem habitare cœgerunt.

“ . . . Unde propter hæc et multa similia inter nos et illos *implacabiles inimicitiae et guerræ perpetuæ sunt exortæ*, ex quibus *exortæ sunt occisiones mutuæ, deprædationes assiduæ, rapinæ continuæ* . . . Pro firmâ veritate tenemus, quòd occasione prædictæ suggestionis falsæ, et donationis inde secutæ, *plusquam quinquaginta millia hominum*, præter consumptos fame et afflictos carcere, gladio ceciderunt.

“Hæc pauca, de generali progenitorum nostrorum origine, et *miserabili in quo ROMANUS PONTIFEX statu nos posuit*, sufficiant istâ vice.”

Such was the language, in the fourteenth century, of the Roman Catholic Princes of Ireland, writing to a Pope, concerning the then condition of Ireland, and concerning the nature and consequences of Pope Hadrian's act, in pretending to give Ireland to an English King.

This document is so important, and has been so rarely printed in its original form, that the reader will not regret to see a few more extracts from it in this place.

The change of the Irish character consequent on English intercourse, is thus described: “*Populum Hibernicum, quem bonis moribus informare ac legibus subdere promiserant (Anglici) taliter informant, quod sancta et columbina ejus simplicitas ex eorum cohabitatione et exemplo reprobo in serpentinam calliditatem mirabiliter est mutata.*”

They then complain of English Legislation and Judicature:

“In curiâ Regis Angliæ in Hiberniâ istæ leges inviolabiliter observantur, quòd omni homini *non Hibernico* licet super quâcunque indifferenter actione convenire Hibernicum quemcunque, sed Hibernicus quilibet, sive clericus, sive laicus, solis prælatis exceptis, ab omni repellitur actione, eo ipso.

“Item, sicut plerumque accidere solet, quando aliquis

Anglicus perfidè et dolosè interficit hominem Hibernicum . . . etiam si *prælatus Hibernicus* interfectus fuerit, nulla correctio fit in curiâ, quinimò quanto melior est occisus, et majorem inter suos obtinet locum, tanto plus occidens honoratur et præmiatur ab Anglicis, non solum popularibus, sed etiam religiosis et *Episcopis Anglicis.*"

Such were the mutual relations of the English and Irish Episcopate, both in communion with Rome, in the fourteenth century.

And yet we are assured that the Church of Rome, to which they belonged, is the Mother of Unity.

Let us now see something of Ecclesiastical Legislation at that time (*ibid.* c. 29).

"Per commune consilium regis Angliæ, neonon et per quosdam episcopos Anglicos, inter quos principalis exstitit vir parvæ prudentiæ et nullius scientiæ, Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus¹, quoddam iniquum statutum in civitate² S. Keynici in Hiberniâ nuper fuit factum, sub hâc informi formâ, concordatum est quod inhibeat omnibus religiosis, qui maneant in terrâ pacis inter *Anglicos*, quod non recipiant in ordine suo nec religione suâ (i. e. monastic rule) nisi illos qui sunt de natione *Anglorum*. Et si aliter fecerint, dominus Rex capiet ad illos, tanquam ad illos qui sunt præcepti sui contemptores, et eorum fundatores et advocati capient ad eos, sicut ad illos qui sunt inobedientes et contrariantes isti ordinationi factæ commune per consilium totius *terræ Hiberniæ inter Anglicos.*"

Next we may learn something from this document concerning the state of morals and doctrine (*ibid.* c. 30) in Ireland at that time.

"Dogmatizant hæreticè non solum illorum (Anglicorum)

¹ Roland Jorse, Archbishop of Armagh, A.D. 1311. See KING'S History, p. 646.

² Kilkenny.—This act is not to be confounded with the famous "Statute of Kilkenny" made A.D. 1367. But its tendency was the same.

laici et sæculares, sed etiam quidam religiosi illorum, quod non magis est peccatum *interficere* hominem *Hibernicum*, quàm *unum canem* aut quodlibet aliud animal brutum."

And they add that the English regular *Clergy* affirm that the murder of an Irishman does not disqualify them from saying mass after it. *E.g.* Simon de ordine Minorum, Conorensis Episcopi frater germanus in hujusmodi prædicationis verba impudenter prorupit: "Quòd non est peccatum Hibernicum interficere, et, si ipsemet istud committeret, non minus ob hoc missam celebraret."

For these, and other reasons, the Irish Princes inform the Pope (John XXII.), that they will no longer obey the English Crown, and that they have chosen Edward Bruce for their King: "Totum jus quod in dicto regno ad nos, tanquam ad ipsius veros hæredes, pertinere dinoscitur, eidem dedimus et concessimus per literas nostras patentis . . . et ipsum Regem ac dominum nostrum constituimus ac præfecimus in regno nostro unanimiter supradicto;" another proof that the Irish Nobles of the fourteenth century, did not acknowledge that the Roman Pontiff had any right to exercise any temporal sway in that country.

These Irish Remonstrants gained little by this appeal to the Pope.

In RYMER'S *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 321, is a Papal sentence of excommunication to be used by the English King against the Irish who adhere to Bruce³.

APPENDIX B.

KILKENNY STATUTE of A.D. 1367 (due to Anglo-Roman influence in Ireland, and indicating its principles and practice),

³ GRACE, *Annales*, A.D. 1317, p. 88. Two Cardinals came from Rome "Bullamque tulerunt excommunicationis omnium qui pacem turbarent," i. e. against Bruce and his followers. See also, A.D. 1319, "venerunt bullæ ad excommunicandum Robertum Brusium."

first printed from the Lambeth MS. by JAMES HARDIMAN⁴, M.R.I.A., Dublin, 1843.

§ xiii. "No *Irishman* is to be admitted to any Cathedral, Collegiate Church, or Benefice among the *English* in Ireland.—It is ordained that no Irishman of the nations of the Irish be admitted into any Cathedral or Collegiate Church, by provision, collation, or presentation by any person, or to any benefice of the Holy Church amongst the *English* of the land, and that if any be admitted, it be held void, and the King shall have the presentation."

§ xiv. "Religious Houses not to receive any *Irishmen* to their profession, but may receive Englishmen without any consideration," p. 46.

In p. 47, the Editor, Mr. Hardiman, refers to the Act 2 Rich. III., A.D. 1485, reciting that "divers benefices of the diocese of Dublin are situated among the *Irish enemies*; and as no *Englishman can inhabit* the said benefices, and divers *English* clerks who are *enabled* to have cure of Souls, are inexpert in the *Irish* language, and such of them who are expert disdain to inhabit among the Irish people, and others *dare* not inhabit . . . it is *enacted* that Walter Fitz-Symond, Archbishop of Dublin, for two years do collate *Irish* clerks to the said benefices, without any *impeachment* from the King."

By the last clause of this Statute of Kilkenny, p. 119, it

⁴ "This Statute," says Mr. HARDIMAN, p. vi, "was an effort on the part of the English Government, and of the English Pale (see its limits *ibid.* p. xxviii) to quell the spirit of the Irish lords," p. xiii. It was confirmed by most of the Parliaments of the Pale in the succeeding century, and even in the 10 Henry VII., see p. xiv.

Sir J. DAVIES'S Discoveries, p. 123.

"By the Statute of Kilkenny, enacted in the 40th year of King Edward III., the Brehon Law was condemned and abolished; and the use and practice thereof made high treason, but this law extended to the *English* only (being enacted for the Reformation of the Hibernicized colonists or 'degenerate English' as they were called), and not to the Irish."

is declared that "Our Lord the Duke of Clarence, lieutenant of our lord the King in Ireland, the council of our said lord the King there, the earls, barons, and commons of the land aforesaid, at the present Parliament assembled, have requested the *Archbishops and Bishops*, Abbots, Priors, and other persons of religion, that they do cause to be *excommunicated* and do *excommunicate* the persons contravening the statutes and ordinances aforesaid, and the other censures of Holy Church do fulminate against them. . . .

"And we Thomas Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Archbishop of Cashel, John Archbishop of Tuam, Thomas Bishop of Lismore and Waterford, &c., being present in the same Parliament, at the request of our most worthy Lord the Duke of Clarence, lieutenant of our Lord the King in Ireland, and the lords and commons, do fulminate the sentence of excommunication against those contravening the Statutes aforesaid, and do excommunicate them by this present writing."

Thus it appears, that, when Rome was dominant in Ireland, the Anglo-Roman prelates of Ireland excommunicated those who admitted Irish Ecclesiastics to Benefices among the English colonists in Ireland.

SERMON V.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION UNDER KING HENRY VIII.

2 KINGS x. 30, 31.

“And the Lord said unto Jehu, Because thou hast done well in executing that which is right in Mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in Mine heart, thy children of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel. But Jehu took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord God of Israel with all his heart: for he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, which made Israel to sin.”

THE sinfulness of man is seen in the perversion of good into evil, and the goodness of God is manifest in overruling evil for good¹. Few can say that they have done good merely from good motives, and in a good manner; and therefore few human actions—o: rather none,—however beneficent in their results, can bear the searching scrutiny of the all-seeing Eye of God. And many actions there are which, by the transmuting influence of God’s Wisdom, Power, and Love, have been made productive of inestimable benefits, although the agents themselves were liable to grave censure, and

¹ S. AUGUSTINE, Serm. xv. “Malorum est malè uti bonis, Dei benè uti malis.”

would be in peril of heavy retribution, if God were *extreme to mark what is done amiss*².

The Patriarchs of old are found to have sometimes attained their ends by questionable means, and yet God allowed their acts to stand³, and to be ministerial to His gracious purposes; and, in His compassion for human infirmities, He did not cast them off from His favour. The Israelitish midwives in Egypt deceived Pharaoh by an untruth; and yet, on account of their kindness to the women, at the risk of their own lives, God *made them houses*⁴. Rahab eluded the questions of the King of Jericho by deceit; and yet, on account of her faith and charity, God saved her and her house⁵. Not that we are to imagine that He could in any case have approved duplicity or equivocation (Heaven forbid!); but in His great long-suffering and commiseration for the weakness and blindness of those who lived under a less perfect dispensation, before the Gospel was revealed, He was pleased, as it were, to overlook what was marred by human infirmity and corruption, and graciously to accept the gleams and glimpses of goodness⁶, which glimmered in the dark cloud of humanity in those earlier ages, and to illumine them by the

² Ps. cxxx. 3.

³ See S. AUGUSTIN. de Mendacio, c. 7—9; and Bp. SANDERSON, Prælect. ii. § 19. iii. § 7.

⁴ Exod. i. 21.

⁵ Josh. vi. 25.

⁶ What CICERO calls ‘significationes virtutis.’ Læl. c. 14: “Si qua *significatio virtutis* eluceat;” and, De Officiis, i. 15, “Quoniam vivitur non cum perfectis hominibus planèque sapientibus, sed cum iis in quibus præclarè agitur, si sunt simulacra virtutis, etiam hoc intelligendum puto, neminem omnino esse negligendum in quo aliqua *significatio virtutis* appareat.”

gracious beams of His mercy, and with the merits of Christ.

We recognize a remarkable example of this mild and merciful disposition in the language of Holy Scripture concerning a person whose name holds a prominent place in the portion of Scripture read to us this afternoon⁷; *Jehu, the son of Nimshi* (said God to the Prophet Elijah), *shalt thou anoint King of Israel*⁸. In subsequent chapters, we shall hear that in performing his work of Religious Reformation, Jehu was guilty of duplicity and cruelty. And he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam. Yet Almighty God did not altogether withhold His approval even from him, and from his acts. *Thou hast done well in executing that which was right in Mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in Mine heart.* And therefore God promised a reward—a temporal one—even to Jehu: *Thy children of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel.*

I. Let us now proceed to apply these observations to the subject before us.

1. They who are not favourably disposed to the Reformed Church of Ireland, are often heard to allege, that it *dates its origin* from recent times⁹. What need

⁷ This Sermon was preached in Westminster Abbey on the Ninth Sunday after Trinity, Aug. 8, 1852.

⁸ 1 Kings xix. 16.

⁹ See, for example, a work entitled "Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland, Lond. 1845," p. 335: "the Irish Protestant Church and its History present a melancholy subject of contemplation. *Founded in proscription and violence*, it has been from first to last the

have we,—they say,—of any other argument against her? She is not a divine Institution; she is a new Church, and therefore she is no Church. She is a mere invention of yesterday. We can point to the time at which she rose into being, and to the person who gave her life. She must take her place among the schismatical communities which grew up like rank and noxious weeds in the sixteenth century. She was created by the hands of one who sullied his royal name by deeds of tyranny, libertinism, and sacrilege. The Church of Ireland is the creature of Henry VIII. The taint of his evil deeds clings to her; and such as her origin was, such will her destiny be.

✦ 2. What shall we say here?

We are not of those who derive the Church of Ireland from the sixteenth century. We do not allow that she was founded by Henry VIII. Nor are we of those who imagine that she was not *visible* till that time¹⁰, and

source of an incalculable amount of moral and political evil." What follows is unhappily true, and may serve to account for some of the evils which the writer deploras: "The Irish Church has been regarded by (English) Statesmen and Governments rather as a secular and political instrument than a spiritual Institution."

¹⁰ Let me be allowed to submit very respectfully the following important statements of the learned and judicious RICHARD HOOKER, to the careful consideration of some Protestant controversialists in Ireland, who appear to admit that the Church of Christ was *not visible* in Ireland during Papal times, and thus give an occasion of triumph to their Romish opponents, who justly argue that a Church which is *not visible* is *no* Church, and that therefore, by conceding that the Church of Christ was not visible in Ireland in the fifteenth century, they have conceded that Henry VIII. *set up a new Church* (instead of *reforming the old*), and that therefore the present Church of Ireland is his creation, and is a novel creation, and is *no Church* at all, and that no one can be guilty of schism in separating from it; and that the Church of Rome is

that she lurked in some obscure cave or den of the earth till she was brought forth to the light by his hands.

the only true, ancient, Church in Ireland, and ought to be submitted to by all as such. HOOKER thus writes :—

“GOD hath ever, and ever shall have, some Church visible upon earth.

“When the people of God worshipped the calf in the wilderness; when they adored the brazen serpent; when they served the gods of nations; when they bowed their knees to Baal; when they burned incense and offered sacrifice unto idols—true it is, the wrath of God was most fiercely inflamed against them, their prophets justly condemned them, as an adulterous seed and a wicked generation of miscreants which had forsaken the living God, and of Him were likewise forsaken, in respect of that singular mercy wherewith He kindly and lovingly embraced His faithful children.

“Howbeit, retaining the Law of God and the holy seal of His covenant—the sheep of His *visible* flock they continued, even in the depth of their disobedience and rebellion.

“Wherefore not only *amongst* them God always had His Church, because He had thousands which never bowed their knees to Baal; but whose knees were bowed unto Baal, even they were also of the *visible* Church of God.

“Nor did the prophet (Elijah) so complain, as if that Church had been quite and cleau extinguished; but he took it as though there had not been remaining in the world any besides himself that carried a true and an upright heart towards God, with care to serve Him according unto His holy will.

“For the lack of diligent observing the difference, first between the Church of God mystical and visible, then between the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes less, the *oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed*. This deceiveth them, and nothing else, who think that in the time of the first world the family of Noah did contain all that were of the *visible* Church of God.

“What is but only the selfsame error and misconceit, wherewith others being at this day likewise possessed, they ask us, ‘Where our Church did lurk, in what cave of the earth it slept for so many hundreds of years together, before the birth of Martin Luther?’ As if we were of opinion that Luther did erect a *new* Church of Christ! No, the Church of Christ, which was from the beginning, is and continueth unto the end; of which Church all parts have not been always equally sincere and sound.

“We hope, therefore, that to reform ourselves, if at any time we have

She was, it is true, in the wilderness, persecuted by evil men. But let us remember, the Church in the wilderness is represented in the Apocalypse as clothed with the Sun, and crowned with Twelve Stars, and is therefore visible¹, as the Sun and Stars are visible. So the

done amiss, *is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were of before.* In the Church we were, and we are so still. Other difference between our estate before and now, we know none but only such as we see in Judah; which having sometime been idolatrous, became afterwards more soundly religious by renouncing idolatry and superstition. 'If Ephraim be joined to idols,' the counsel of the prophet is, 'let him alone' (Hos. iv. 17). 'If Israel play the barlot, let not Judah sin' (Hos. iv. 15). 'If it seem evil unto you,' saith Joshua, 'to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom you will serve; whether the gods whom your fathers served beyond the Flood, or the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye dwell: but I and my bouse will serve the Lord' (Josb. xxiv. 15).

"The indisposition, therefore, of the Church of Rome to reform herself, must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God; even as desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse if we did not perform that duty.

"Notwithstanding, so far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold fellowship with them. For even as the Apostle doth say of Israel, that they are in one respect enemies, but in another beloved of God (Rom. xi. 28), in like sort with Rome we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations; yet touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is,² that being conjoined so far forth with them, they may at the length (if it be His will) so yield to frame and reform themselves, that no distraction remain in any thing, but that we 'all may with one heart and one mouth glorify God the Father of our Lord and Saviour, *whose Church we are.*'

"As there are which make the Church of Rome utterly no Church at all, by reason of so many, so grievous errors in her doctrines; so we have them amongst us who, under pretence of imagined corruptions in our discipline, do give even as hard a judgment of the Church of England itself.

"But whatsoever either the one sort or the other teach, we must acknowledge even heretics themselves to be, though a maimed part, yet a part, of the Church."

¹ Rev. xii. 1.

Church of Ireland in the wilderness was visible, visible in the Word and Sacraments of Christ.

The Church of Ireland was not founded by Henry VIII., King of England, any more than the Church of Judah was founded by Jehu, the son of Nimshi, King of Israel. The two cases are similar. The Jewish Church was born amid the thunder and lightnings of Mount Sinai, many hundred years before the reign of Jehu; and the Church of Ireland was born amid the golden shower of fiery tongues which streamed down from heaven on the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. Like every other true Church of Christendom which ministers the Word and Sacraments of Christ by the hands of a duly called and rightly ordained Priesthood, the Church of Ireland is no other than an emanation from the splendour of His Glorious Countenance, Who is *the Light of the world*², and Who, when He had ascended into heaven, shed down that gracious effusion on the Apostles to illumine their minds and to guide them into all truth. The first of its beacon lights is therefore on Mount Sion. From thence the light traversed Europe and passed into Ireland, and has been continued, as it were, in a luminous chain of telegraphic signals from age to age, shining with different degrees of purity and lustre at different times, sometimes burning brightly, sometimes dimmed and obscure, sometimes almost eclipsed, and then beaming forth with fresh radiance, till we see it what it is at this day.

3. Let us trace more closely the resemblance between the Jewish Church and the Church of Ireland.

² John viii. 12; ix. 5.

At various periods of its history, before the reign of Jehu, the Jewish Church was torn by schism, and desecrated by idolatry. Even in the wilderness of Sinai the people of Israel worshipped the golden calf, and adored the host of heaven³. But yet retaining, as they did, the *Law of God* and the *Priesthood*, they remained a *Church*—a *Church Visible*—and are called a *Church* in Holy Writ⁴. In the period immediately preceding the reign of Jehu, they had fallen far from God, first by schismatical defection under King Jeroboam, and next by heathenish idolatry under King Ahab. But Almighty God did not cast them off. He did not altogether withdraw His blessing from them. To *man's* eye, indeed, it seemed that the case was desperate, and even Elijah's heart fainted within him, and he said, *I, even I only, am left*⁵. But what did God reply? *Yet I have left Me seven thousand in Israel, which have not bowed the knee unto Baal*⁶. So the Church remained visible—like the bush burning in the wilderness of Horeb—burning, but not consumed⁷. And when all seemed about to be lost, God raised up Jehu to commence the work of Reformation: and He was pleased to say of him, *Thou hast done well in executing that which is right in Mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in Mine heart.*

4. So it has been with the Church in Ireland.

The light of the Gospel was first kindled there in Apostolic times. For some time it glimmered feebly.

³ Exod. xxxii. 1. 2 Kings xvii. 16. Amos v. 25.

⁴ Acts vii. 38.

⁵ 1 Kings xix. 11. 15.

⁶ 1 Kings xix. 18.

⁷ Exod. iii. 2.

But in the fifth century it shone forth with a clear and steady light, and that light waxed brighter and brighter, till it illumined the West with its beams. In the ninth and tenth centuries it waned, and in the twelfth and following centuries it was clouded with the mists of Papal darkness; still the light was not quenched. Even in that *cloudy and dark day*^s the Church of Ireland held in her hand the true Canon of Holy Scripture; she still recited the Decalogue and Lord's Prayer and the three Creeds in her public assemblies, still she ministered the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, though marred or mutilated, still she retained a lawful Ministry of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, though subject to a tyrannous Power, and perverted often to unholy ends. And so she was still a Church⁹, still a Church visible—

⁸ Ezek. xxxiv. 12. *

⁹ See the words of MARTIN LUTHER, in S. Joann., c. xvi., and contra Anabaptistas, tom. iv. p. 409. "Nos fatemur sub Papatu plurimum esse boni Christiani, imò omne bonum Christianum, atque etiam *illinc ad nos advenisse*; quippe fatemur in Papatu veram esse *Sacram Scripturam*, verum Sacramentum Altaris, veras claves ad remissionem peccatorum, verum prædicandi officium, verum Catechismum, ut sunt *Oratio Domini, Decem Præcepta, Articuli Fidei.*"

See also CALVIN, Instit. iv. 11, 12. "Hinc patet nos *minimè negare* quin sub Romani quoque Pontificis tyrannide *Ecclesiæ* maneant." See also, concerning the *English Reformers*, NEAL, History of the Puritans, part i. ch. iv. "It was admitted by the Court-Reformers" (by which the writer means Abp. PARKER, Bps. JEWEL, GRINDAL, &c.), "that the Church of Rome was a *true Church*, though corrupt in some points of doctrine and government; that all her ministrations were valid, and that the Pope was a true Bishop of Rome, though not [Supreme Head] of the Universal Church." And, finally, Rome is called a Church in the XXXIX ARTICLES, Art. xix., on which Dr. HEY,—“The Church of Rome is here allowed the *essence* of a true Church.” IV. xix. 8, tom. ii. p. 373, ed. 1841, and in the CANONS (Canon 29) it is said, “So far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and neglect the *Churches of Italy,*” &c.

though in a very corrupt state¹. She had indeed varied in her outward condition from time to time,—as a man varies in health and sickness; but in the essentials of a Church she was the same Church, as a human being does not lose his identity by the accidents of his physical condition. So, then, the Church of Ireland continued the same Church, as she had been from the first. And in the darkness of the sixteenth century (let us observe this merciful dispensation), *before* the Council of Trent² had met, and on the eve of the convention of that ill-omened Conclave, in which the Church of Rome forged new fetters for herself, and bound *her-*

¹ For a view of the condition of Religion in Ireland under the Papacy, see STATE PAPERS (ed. Lond. 1834, part iii. vol. ii. p. 15), circ. Ann. 1515. “There is no Archebysshop ne bysshop, abbot ne pryor, parson ne vycar, ne any other person of the Church, h^{igh} or lowe, greate or smalle, English or Iryshe that useyth to preache the word of Godde savinge the poor fryers beggers. And wher the word of Godde do cesse ther cannot be no grace, and without the specyall (grace) of Godde this land can never be reformed.” “Also the Churche of thys land use not to lerne any other scyence but the Lawe of Canon for covetyce of lucre transytory. All other scyence whereof growe none such lucre the parsons of the Church doth despyse.” This was written by a Roman Catholic.

The Friars or Regulars do not seem to have been much more zealous; Archbp. BROWNE (of Dublin), in his letter to Cromwell, A.D. 1535 (in WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 349), says, “This island had been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish Regulars, and that the Seculars were as ignorant as the People, being not able to say mass or pronounce the words, not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue. That the Reliques and Images of both his Cathedrals took off the commou People from the true worship, but that the Prior and Deans found them so sweet for their own profit that they took no notice of his commauds.”

² Henry VIII. died Jan. 28, 1547, two years after the opening of the Council of Trent (13th Dec. 1545), which did not terminate its Sessions till 4th Dec. 1563.

*self in those chains of darkness*³ in which she is still enthralled, a King arose, who commenced the work of Religious Restoration, and so far as he did that, was approved by Almighty God.

5. But, it may be asked, Do you then deny or extenuate the sins of Henry? Is it not notorious that he is chargeable with flagrant crimes—sacrilege, cruelty, and licentiousness? Is it not unquestionable that he was stimulated to the work of Reformation (if such it may be called), not by zeal for God, or by love of His Gospel, but by passionate emotions of pride, lust, resentment, and avarice? and can it be imagined that a work so begun and so pursued, could be otherwise than offensive to God?

Far be it from us, my brethren, to flatter or palliate vice wherever it be found. We are no apologists for sin in Prelates, Nobles, or Prinees; rather, we are bound to confess that the more exalted the station of him who commits sin, the more pernicious his sin is, and the more hateful to God. *Mighty men shall be mightily tormented*⁴. And we are not able to deny that sins of a dark dye did sully the character of that Monarch, and of many among his courtiers, ministers, and favourites, and that some of the worst crimes were committed by them on the plea of Religion.

6. What then shall we say?

First we would turn to our Roman Catholic Brethren and ask, May not their own argument haply recoil upon themselves? You affirm that Rome is the “Mistress of Churches,” and that the Roman Pontiff is “Universal

³ Jude 6. 2 Pet. ii. 4.

⁴ Wisdom vi. 6.

Bishop." But by *whom* were those titles conferred? By the Emperor Phocas⁵. And who was he? a murderer,—another Zimri—who slew his master, the Emperor Maurice. And why were those titles bestowed by Phocas on the Roman Bishop and his see? From resentment against the Patriarch of Constantinople, and from ambitious desires to gain the favour and countenance of Rome to his own enormities. They were given by a sanguinary tyrant for a wicked purpose. Reproach us not therefore with the sins of Henry VIII., whom we do not recognize as Founder of the Church in Ireland, lest we remind you of the vices of one from whom the titles were derived, on which you claim the homage of the world.

Again, let us desire you to recollect, who first subdued the Church of Ireland to the sway of Rome? King Henry II. And by whom was he invited to Ireland? By an adulterous Prince⁶, Dermot Mac Murrough⁷. And what was the character of Henry II.? You yourselves charge him with murder—the murder of one whom you have canonized as a Saint and a Martyr, Thomas of Canterbury. We know also that he was a faithless husband and a bad father. And you assert that he was brought to Ireland, not by any love of the

⁵ See THEOPHYL. SIMOCATTA, PAULUS DIACONUS *Rer. Rom.* lib. ii. and lib. iv. c. 37, de gestis Langobard. ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS in vitâ Bonifacii iii. PLATINA in vit. Ponifacii iii.

⁶ "The profligate and tyrannical King of Leinster, Dermot Mac Murchard, or Mac Morogh," as he is called by the Roman Catholic Church Historian of Ireland, LANIGAN, iv. p. 184. "Yet," says he, "Dermot had founded religious houses." He is called by GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS (who was favourable to the invasion of Henry his master), "nobilium oppressor, infestus suis, exosus alienis." *Hib. Exp.* 1. 6.

⁷ See above, pp. 99, 100.

Church, but from personal ambition⁸. Strange it is that the subjugation of Ireland to Rome by such a prince as Henry II. should be a laudable work, although, as you admit, it was effected by evil men, acting from the worst motives, and yet you should not allow us to deny that the emancipation of the Irish Church from the thraldom of Rome by Henry VIII. was evil, because the agent employed by God to effect it was not a religious King, and was not swayed by holy desires.

7. Again: to say something concerning the character and acts of Henry VIII.

We must not judge him from the clearer light of the Holy Scripture which, partly, let us remember, through his agency, and through the Reformation which he commenced, Almighty God has been pleased to shed upon us in this happier age. But we must place ourselves in his age, and if we are to judge him at all we must pronounce sentence accordingly. We must imagine ourselves living in the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time the tone of morals and religion was very low. This remark is not to be confined to Henry and his court, but we fear it must be extended to the nobles, princes, and prelates of his age generally. And let us bear in mind the process by

⁸ "See *Querímonia Magnatum Hiberniæ*, above, p. 149, and LANIGAN'S (Roman Catholic) *Ecl. Hist. of Ireland*, iv. p. 158, who exclaims in a tone of sarcastic and scornful indignation, "What an apostolical and exemplary sovereign was Henry Plantagenet!" (iv. p. 158. Dublin, 1822.) And the Historian does not spare the Pope himself: "Adrian's bull is of so unwarrantable and unjustifiable a nature, that some writers have endeavoured to prove it a forgery; but their efforts were of no avail."

which this degeneracy had been produced. It proceeded from vicious example, and especially from the prevalence of profligacy in that Court and Church, to which the world then looked with mysterious awe—the Court and Church of Rome. *The Priest and Prophet were profane*⁹. *The Priests had polluted the Sanctuary, and done violence to the law*¹⁰. Here was the source of the evil. As in pagan Rome, Vice was not regarded as heinous, because the Deities whom Rome worshipped were vicious, and thus Vices themselves, were divinized, so it was at Papal Rome in the age of Henry VIII.

What could be more profligate than the Court of that very Pontiff, Leo X., who conferred on Henry VIII. the title—"Defender of the Faith"? How is it described by those who knew it best? Did not Hadrian VI., who succeeded Leo X. in the Papacy, use these memorable words¹, "*Scimus in hâc sanctâ sede aliquot jam ab annis multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus*

⁹ Jer. xxiii. 11.

¹⁰ Zeph. iii. 4.

¹ See the "Instructio" of Hadrian to the Princes of Germany, in WOLFII Lect. Memorab. Cent. xvi. GRATIUS, Fascic. Rerum Expet. Colon., 1535. PALLAVICINI Hist. Concil. Trident., ii. 7. LAUNOY, Epist., iv. 7.

In the 15th century, NICOLAS de CLEMANGIS, eminent for his learning and exemplary character, who had been Secretary to the Pope (Benedict XIII.), and had ample opportunities of observing the Roman Court and Church, thus wrote: "*Sunt in Curiâ Romanâ velut in abyssu innumeræ fraudes, doli, calumniæ contra omnium innocentium jura. . . Jurisdictio in istâ curiâ tam violenter et tyrannicè exercetur, ut homines magis eligant tyrannorum immanissimorum quàm Ecclesie judicia subire. Cardinales avaritiâ tam insatiabili sunt, ut nñus ex eis beneficia possideat non quidem tria, decem, aut viginti, sed centena, etiam ducenta, nec ea tenuia sed omium pinguissima et optima.*

"*Nec enumerare volo adulteria, stupra, fornicationes, quibus Romanam curiam infestant.*" NICOL. CLEMAN. de corrupto Statu Eccles., c. 9—12. Cp. HEIDEGGER, Historia Papatûs, pp. 207—210.

in mandatis, et omnia denique in perversum mutata. Nec mirum si ægritudo a capite in membra, a summis Pontificibus in alios inferiores Prælatos descenderit"? "We know (he says) that for several years there have existed in this Holy See many abominations, abuses in spirituals, excesses in edicts, and that all things have been perverted to wrong. Nor is it wonderful that the disease should have descended from the Head to the Members—from the Supreme Pontiffs to inferior Prelates." Such is the confession of a Roman Pontiff who was contemporary with Henry VIII. No wonder that the disease should have propagated itself from Popes to Prelates, and from Prelates to Kings. Vices, practised in a Church calling herself the Mother of Sanctity, were almost consecrated. Sins, committed by him who was venerated by Kings and Nations as the Father of the Faithful, and was adored² as the Vicar of Christ, and was almost worshipped as a God³, might be said to be canonized. Thus at that period Europe and the World were demoralized by the Papacy. No wonder that such Popes as Leo X. should have produced such Kings as Henry VIII.

² On the 'Adoratio Pontificis,' see the passages quoted in the Author's Lectures on the Apocalypse, p. 399, 2nd edit.

³ In the Lateran Council, Session ix., Leo X. allowed himself to be addressed in these blasphemous terms, as "Leo de tribu Juda," "Omnis potestas tibi data est."

"At his Court," says RANKE (Popes, p. 22, ed. Lond. 1843), "they spoke of the institutions of the Catholic Church, of passages of Holy Scripture, only in a tone of jesting; the mysteries of faith were held in derision. It was a characteristic of good society to dispute the fundamental principles of Christianity." Historians record a sceptical, scoffing speech by Pope Leo to Cardinal Bembo, which may be seen in VALER. V. Leonis X. See also CRAKANTHORPE'S *Vindiciæ*, c. 2.

In the name therefore of Justice and of Truth, let Henry be judged by reference to the Standard—calling itself Infallible—of his own age. Let the English King be placed by the side of the Bishop of Rome. We do not disguise his vices. No: but we trace them to their source—the Church of Rome. And however flagrant they are, we affirm that they were the fruits—the natural fruits—of that system of doctrine and morals, under which Henry was reared, and to which he clung even to his death. For Henry VIII., be it remembered, was no Protestant, in articles of religion bearing on practice. He was no Protestant on the subject of Masses. He was no Protestant in the doctrine of Indulgences, Purgatory, and works of Satisfaction. In these and similar⁴ respects, he was a rigid Romanist, and persecuted Protestants. Thus the charges of Romanists against Henry fall back upon Rome. Thus even the vices of Henry prove the need of the Reformation, to which he gave the first great impulse, under the mysterious and merciful Providence of that All-wise and

⁴ The Roman Catholic Historian of the Irish Church, Mr. BRENAN, thus writes, p. 152: “Henry VIII., with all his impiety, never attempted to espouse the heresy of Luther. He was a Schismatic, but there is no proof that he was ever a heretic. In 1539 he caused an Act to be passed, called the Six Articles, in which it was made criminal to deny the Real Presence, the Administration of the Eucharist under one kind, the celibacy of the Clergy, the obligation of vows of Chastity, private Mass, and Auricular Confession. The King gave his sanction to these Articles, and *death was the punishment of those who should oppose them obstinately.*”

By 31 Henry VIII. c. 14, all oppugners of Transubstantiation, Communion in one kind, celibacy of clergy, private masses, and auricular confession, were declared heretics. See BROWN'S Laws against the R. Catholics, p. 9.

All-powerful God, Who sometimes brings the best good out of the worst evil, and turns the *fierceness of man to His own praise*⁵.

Here then we revert to our parallel—the Reformation of the Church of Israel by King Jehu. The motives by which he was actuated, the subtlety and treachery of which he was guilty, in carrying on his work of Reformation, were doubtless offensive to God. Yet God approved his Reformation. *Thou hast done well in executing that which is right in Mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in Mine heart.* So we may say with regard to Henry—who resembled Jehu, of whom we read that he *drave furiously*⁶,—whatever sins were committed by Henry were, doubtless, displeasing to God; but our inquiry is, not with regard to his motives, nor to his personal character,—but whether there was any thing effected by his instrumentality in Ireland, which might deserve the name of a Religious Reformation, and so be acceptable to God?

II. What, then, was the fact?

In his reign, and mainly by his influence, Ireland cast off the Papal Supremacy, ecclesiastical and civil.

Was this a righteous act?

Against it, it is alleged that it was

(1) schismatical, and

(2) done in an irregular manner.

Now, if it can be shown that Christ had given Supremacy to the Bishop of Rome over the Church of

⁵ Ps. lxxvi. 10.

⁶ 2 Kings ix. 20.

Ireland, then indeed the act in question was an act of Schism.

1. But this can never be proved. Indeed this proposition may be refuted by the language of Rome herself. As we have already seen, ancient Ireland was commonly called by Rome, "the Island of the Saints." Now it is certain—and has been shown before⁷—that Ireland was not subject to Rome for a thousand years after Christ. If subjection to Rome was necessary in the sixteenth century, it was necessary in the sixth century; and so ancient Ireland was not the Island of *saints*, but the Island of *schismatics*. But, no; Ireland, ancient Ireland, as Rome herself declares, was the Island of Saints. And the act to which we refer, by which she emancipated herself from the thralldom of Rome, and asserted her own independence, was a return to that ancient spiritual liberty which she had enjoyed when she was justly called by Rome herself "the Island of Saints."

2. But it has been said, that the Irish Reformation in the age of Henry VIII. was not a recovery of ancient Spiritual Liberty, but rather a subjugation of the Church to secular tyranny; that it was, in fact, an exchange of the spiritual headship of the Bishop of Rome for the secular Papacy of an English King.

We are no advocates of that Herodian policy which profanely and sacrilegiously would subject the things of God to the will of Cæsar⁸. Nor do we deny that some of the acts of Henry are taxable with that sin. Especially, too, would we deplore, that when the Religious Houses of Ireland were dissolved by him, their

⁷ See above, pp. 23—36, 60—64, 81—84, 124—128. ⁸ Matt. xxii. 21.

revenues and impropriate tithes were not restored to the Parishes from which they accrued, for the sustentation of a Parochial ministry throughout the land, and for the spiritual benefit of the Poor, but were lavished on court-favourites, and alienated to secular uses⁹. But let us not condemn what was right in those acts, because all in them was not right, and much was wrong. Jehu extirpated the worship of Baal with craft, and destroyed the worshippers with cruelty¹⁰; and he *took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord with all his heart*. He still retained the sectarian priesthood and schismatical altars of Jeroboam, *who made Israel to sin*¹. Yet God did not deny him some meed of praise and reward for what he did right: *Because thou hast done well in executing what was right in Mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in Mine heart, thy children of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel*.

Suppose, then, for argument's sake, that Henry transferred the Ecclesiastical power to his own hands, and set up himself in place of the Pope; yet it would not therefore follow that the extirpation of the Papal tyranny and Papal usurpation in Ireland was not acceptable to God.

Suppose also that all is true, which is alleged by our

⁹ See Dr. NEWLAND'S Apology for the Church of Ireland. Dublin, 1829, p. 36, "The Abbey lands thus alienated (by Henry VIII.) have continued the property of individuals either aliens to this country, absentees," &c.

See also Bp. MANT, i. p. 168, on dissolution of Monasteries and contemporaneous lay impropriations of Church property, for the enrichment of court-favourites.

¹⁰ 2 Kings x. 19.

¹ 2 Kings x. 31, 32.

Romanist brethren concerning his violent rule of the Church of Ireland, especially in the appointment of Bishops; yet the Church of Ireland did not thereby lose her spiritual identity, or forfeit her spiritual inheritance; and though he was guilty of sin, and she suffered evil at his hands, yet she was able to minister good, even the Word and Sacraments of Christ.

3. To illustrate this by a parallel. Consider the case of the Jewish Church in our Lord's age. A resemblance may here be seen to the supposed state of the Irish Church in the time of Henry VIII.

Our Blessed Lord is the Great High Priest of the Church, and was zealous for His Father's House, and drove the buyers and sellers from the outer courts of the Temple². Doubtless He viewed with sorrow the sacrilegious contempt³ of holy things, when the High Priests of the Hebrew Nation were intruded into their sacred office by the Heathen power of Rome during His own Ministry on earth; yet He did not despise the High Priest's office, nor did He forsake the Temple in which they ministered to God. Our Great High Priest, while upon earth, used the ministry of High Priests appointed by a Heathen Power. He offered sacrifice to God by their hands. And even after that He Himself had been killed by them, His Apostles did not forsake the Temple wherein they ministered. And why? Because their Office was of God's appointment; and, though the Persons who ministered were nomi-

² Matt. xxi. 12. John ii. 14.

³ There were *thirteen* different High Priests in our Lord's age, made and unmade at the pleasure of heathen Rome. See the First Series of the present Writer's Occasional Sermons, p. 200.

nated by a heathen power, yet their Ministry was divine, and the Word, of which they were the keepers, was the Word of God, and the Temple, in which they ministered, was the Temple of God.

So in the Church of Ireland in the days of Henry VIII. Bishops were nominated by him, and he who nominated them was not guiltless of sacrilege; yet their Bishopric, or Episcopal Office, was not from him, but from Christ. Their consecration was not from him, but from Christ. What they ministered was not from him, but from Christ. They were not his ministers, but the ministers of Christ. And the people of Christ received the things of Christ through their means. And thus the continuity of Christ's Church in Ireland was not broken.

III. But further: we do not hesitate to say, that many of the charges against Henry which we have recited, are due rather to a love of Rome, than to zeal for Truth.

1. As to the Royal Supremacy in matters Ecclesiastical, the sense in which it was claimed by Henry has been cleared by his royal daughter, Elizabeth, in our Thirty-seventh Article, and in her Injunctions⁴ to which

⁴ In the Admonitions prefixed to those Injunctions, Queen Elizabeth thus speaks:—

“And further, Her Majesty forbiddeth all manner of her subjects to give ear or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which most sinisterly and maliciously labour to notify to her loving subjects, how, by the words of the same Oath (viz. of Supremacy), it may be collected, the kings or queens of this realm, possessors of the crown, may challenge authority and power of ministry of divine offices in the Church, wherein her said subjects are much abused by such evil-disposed persons. For certainly Her Majesty neither doth nor ever will challenge any other authority than that was challenged and lately used by the said noble

that Article refers; and, explained in that sense, it may be affirmed to be not contrary to Holy Scripture and the practice of the ancient Church.

2. With regard to Ecclesiastical appointments by the Crown in that age, it ought not to be forgotten that a Work, approved by the King, and published in 1536, with the title of the "Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man," and intended by the King for the instruction of his subjects, teaches the following doctrine on this important subject:—"The jurisdiction committed unto *Priests and Bishops* by the authority of God's law is, to *approve* and *admit* such persons as, being nomi-

nings of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, and King Edward the Sixth, which is and was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm, that is, under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them."

And for the confirmation of this sense (says Bp. BEVERIDGE on the Thirty-nine Articles, ed. Oxon, 1845, vol. vii. p. 558, "Of the Civil Magistrate") put upon the Oath of Supremacy, and so the king's sovereignty, there was a proviso also established by Act of Parliament to this purpose: "Provided also that the oath expressed in the same Act made in the first year shall be taken and expounded in such form as is set forth in an admonition annexed to the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, published in the first year of Her Majesty's reign; that is to say, to confess and acknowledge in Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, none other authority than that was challenged and lately used by the noble King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth, as in the said admonition may more plainly appear."

"By which (says Bp. BEVERIDGE on Art. XXXVII.) we may see how vain and groundless the scandal is which is usually cast upon the Oath of Supremacy, as if we there acknowledged the king to have the keys as well as the sword committed to him, and that he might administer the word and sacraments in spiritual, as well as justice and judgment in secular, affairs; whereas the same power that asserted the king's supremacy hath still *denied it to extend to the exercise of any spiritual function.*"

nated, elected, and presented unto them to exercise the office and room of preaching the Gospel, and of ministering the Sacraments, and to have the care and jurisdiction over these certain people within this parish or within this diocese, shall be thought unto them meet and worthy to exercise the same, and to *reject and repel* from the said room such as they shall judge to be unmeet therefore. And in this part ye must know and understand, that the said presentation and nomination is of *man's ordinance*, and appertaineth unto the Founders and Patrons, or other persons, according to the laws and ordinances of men provided for the same. As, for example, within this Realm, the presentations and nominations of the Bishopricks appertaineth unto the Kings of this Realm; and of other lesser cures and personages, some unto the King's Highness, some unto noblemen, some unto Bishops, and some unto other persons whom we call Patrons of the Benefices, according as it is provided by the order of the Laws and Ordinances of this Realm. And unto the *Priests and Bishops* belongeth, by the authority of the *Gospel*, to *approve and confirm* the person which shall be, by the King's Highness or other Patrons, so nominated, elected, and presented unto them, to have the cure of these certain people, within this certain Parish or Diocese, or else to *reject him*, as was said before, from the same, for his demerits and unworthiness⁵."

⁵ The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man, p. 109, ed. Oxf. 1825. This work was drawn up by Archbishop CRANMER. It was afterwards commented on by the King, seriatim, and the passage here cited was sanctioned by him. The King's notes are printed in Jenkyns' collection of Cranmer's Works, i. pp. xvii—xx, vol. ii. p. 43

These are sound words: they were promulgated under Henry's authority. Let not envy deprive him of the credit due for this declaration of the Truth.

3. Again, let it be remembered that among Henry's Ecclesiastical Edicts issued in Ireland one was as follows: "that *laymen* and *boys* should *not* be admitted to Ecclesiastical preferments⁶." This is enough to show the miserable state to which the Church of Ireland had been then degraded by the power of Rome. It is not wonderful that English Kings should have exceeded the proper limits of their just authority with regard

To this may be added the following important Declaration of Abp. CRANMER and of other members of the hierarchy appointed by Henry, concerning the different functions of Clergy and Laity in Councils of the Church, which may be read with special interest at the present time:—

STATE PAPERS, tcmp. Henry VIII. (ed. Lond. 1831, pt. ii.), A.D. 1535-8. "In all the auneynt Counsaillies of the Churche in matters of the *Faith* and Interpretacion of the Scripture, no man made *definitive* subscription but Busshopes and Preistes, for so muche as the declaration of the Word of God pertainyng unto them.

"The words of John in his 20 chapter, '*Sicut misit Me Pater et Ego mitto vos,*' &c., hath *no* respect to a *Kynge's* or *Prince's* power, but only to shewe how that the ministers of the Word of God chosen and sent for that intent, are the messengers of Christ to teach the trueth of His Gospell, to loose and to bynde synne, &c. The words also of Saynet Paule in the 20 chapter of the Actes, '*Attendite vobis et universo gregi in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei,*' were spokyn to the Busshoppes and Preistes to be diligent Pastores of the people, &c. Other places of Scripture declare the highnesse of Christen *Princes* authoritic. The *Busshopes* and *Prestes* have charge of sowles within ther own cures, power to minstre Sacraments, and to teache the Worde of God; to the which Worde of God Christen *Princes* knowledge themselves subject. And in case the Bushoppes be negligent, it is the Christen *Princes'* office to see them do ther dutie."

Signed, THOS. CANTUARIEN., JOANNES LONDON, and seven other Bishops.

⁶ LELAND, ii. p. 181.

to things Spiritual, when the Spiritual Power of the Papacy had set such a vicious and profane example, by appointing laymen, and even children, to Benefices and Bishoprics in the Church. The government of Henry in Spirituals, might in this respect be called a Reformation when compared with that of Rome⁷.

⁷ DAVIES' *Discovery*, &c., p. 242: "In the Council Book of Ireland, 33rd Hen. VIII., the chief Points registered were, That King Henry should be accepted, reputed, and named KING of Ireland; the title previously had been LORD of IRELAND.

"That all *Arch-Bishops and Bishops* should be permitted to exercise jurisdiction throughout the land.

"That *Children* should not be admitted to Benefices."

See also Dean COMBER, *Companion to the Temple*, A.D. 1675, vol. v. A discourse upon the Office of Consecrating Bishops, chap. i. sect. ii. p. 291 to p. 292: "In the ages before our Reformation, this neglect had brought the Clergy into extreme contempt, which I choose to express in the words of an honest Romish author * then living, who says of *Bishops* of his time: 'They thrust men into holy orders that are like a company of jackdaws, infamous, boys, and illiterate, such as are not fit for any thing else, and are not called by God, contrary to the rules of our forefathers: yet if any suffer a repulse, he flies to Rome, where the most holy fathers admit hostlers, cooks, and idiots, to the altars of the great God: surely they must have evil thoughts of religion and themselves, or design to abuse Christian people, who do such things; the work shows the artificer, the tree is known by its fruit; may Christ save us; St. Peter is asleep, and the other Simon, not to say Antichrist, hath got the dominion.' Thus, alas! it was then, and no doubt it hastened the Reformation."

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland (Archbp. INGE), and Lord Chief Justice BERMINGHAM, thus wrote to Cardinal Wolsey in 1528: "Your Grace heareth the sorrowful decay of this land, as well as in good Christianity, as in laudable manners, which hath grown for

* AVENTINUS, *Annales* ii. p. 118, ser. circa A.D. 1500. "To this may be added a very interesting and important document, on the need of Reformation, from the University of Oxford to the Crown, A.D. 1414, printed in WAKE'S *State of the Church*, pp. 89—97: "Prælati nepotulos et imberbes ad animarum curam assumere non verentur"—and even those who were rejected by English Bishops, "Romana sæpe Curia quantumlibet inscios et ignaros ordinatos remittere consuevit."

Besides, let it not be forgotten that the Church of Ireland owed to his appointment such Prelates as Archbishop Browne of Dublin, and Staples, Bishop of Meath.

Still further, and generally, the acts of Henry ought to be construed in accordance with the declaration of that memorable Statute made in the twenty-eighth year of his reign (A.D. 1536) by the Parliament of Ireland⁸: "Provided always that this Act, nor any thing therein mentioned, shall not be interpreted that your Grace, your Nobles, and Subjects intend by the same to decline or varie from the Congregation of Christ's Church in

lack of good Prelates and Curates in the Church." State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 126. See also *ibid.* p. 196: "The Bishop of Rome hath commonly preferred, by his provisions, in Ireland to the administration and governance of Churches, not only vile and vicious persons, unlearned, being murtherers, thieves, and of other detestable disposition, as light men of warre, who expell the rightful incumbent."

⁸ See IRISH ACTS, 28 Hen. VIII. c. 19, "Your Majestie is Supreme Head of the Church of England, as the *Prelates and Clergie* of your Reahn, representing your said Church in their Synodes and Convocations have recognized." . . . By this Act the Archbishop of Canterbury could give such dispensations as the Pope did, if not repugnant to the law of God.

"Provided always that this Act, nor any thing therein mentioned, shall *not* be interpreted that your Grace, your nobles, and subjects, intend by the same to decline or varie from the congregation of Christ's Church in any things concerning the *verie articles of the Catholicke faith* of Christendome, or in any other things declared by *Holy Scripture*."

See Archbp. BRAMHALL, ii. 393. "The Acts of Henry VIII. follow ancient customs of the realm" (See 25 Henry VIII. c. 21, § 19). "There was *no* ancient custom for the abolition or translation of power purely spiritual. They profess all conformity to the Holy Scriptures; but the power of the Keys was evidently given by Christ in Scripture to His Apostles and their successors, *not to Sovereign Princes*. If any thing had been contained in this law for the abolition or translation of power merely and purely spiritual, it has been retracted by this proviso at the same time it was enacted."

any thing concerning the verie Articles of the *Catholicke faith of Christendome, or in any other things declared by Holy Scripture.*" The Word of God, interpreted by the Church Universal, was there recognized as the Rule of Faith, and the Standard of Reformation. And if any thing was done by Henry or his Parliaments in contra-vention of that Word, it was there condemned and retracted by them that did it. And building on this Divine foundation, they built on a Rock; and though hay and stubble built upon it will not abide the fire⁹, yet the foundation standeth sure, unmoved and immovable¹.

⁹ 1 Cor. iii. 12.

¹ See also the important statement made in the letter written, in the name of King Henry VIII., by TUNSTALL, Bishop of Durham, to Cardinal Pole, July 13, 1536. (Bp. BURNET, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. iii. pt. ii. Records, No. 52, p. 163, ed. Oxf. 1829.) "Ye presuppose the King's grace to be *swerved* from the *unity* of Christ's Church: and that in taking upon him the title of supreme head of the Church of England, he intendeth to *separate his Church of England from the Unity of the whole body of Christendom.*

"His full purpose and intent is, to see the laws of Almighty God purely and sincerely preached and taught, and Christ's faith, without blot, kept and observed in his realm; and *not to separate himself or his realm anywise from the unity of Christ's Catholic Church, but inviolably, at all times, to keep and observe the same*; and to *redeem* his Church of England out of all captivity of foreign powers heretofore *usurped* therein into the Christian state that all Churches of all realms were at the *beginning*, and to abolish and clearly put away such *usurpations* as heretofore the Bishops of Rome have, by many uodue means, increased to their great advantage. So that no man therein can justly find any fault at the King's so doinge, seeing he reduceth all things to that estate, that is conformable to those auncient decrees of the Churche, which the Bishop of Rome (at his creation) solemnly doth profess to observe himself.

"Wherefore since the King's grace goeth about to reform his realm, and reduce the Church of England into that state, that both this realm and all others were in at the *beginning* of the faith, and many hundred years after; *if any prince or realm will not follow him, let them do as they list*; he doth nothing but stablish such laws as were in the

5. One other objection remains to be considered.

It has been alleged that Henry's Acts concerning Religion in Ireland were not done in a regular manner by Ecclesiastical Synods, but by Parliaments, and are therefore of no authority.

To this it may be said, that although all Acts concerning the Church ought to be done by persons authorized for that purpose, and according to canonical order, yet it does not follow that whatever is done otherwise is invalid, although the doer is culpable. "Fieri non debet, factum valet." Moses ought not to have smitten the rock at Meribah with his rod, and he was punished for smiting it², yet the rock, when smitten, gushed forth with *water abundantly, and the congregation drank, and their beasts also.* Jehu's Reformation was not wrought with the spiritual instruments of peace, but by fire and sword; but God, though not sanctioning the doer of the work or the manner of his operation, was pleased to approve the work. Parents ought not to carry their infants to be baptized by schismatics or heretics, yet we cannot say that all baptisms so administered are null and void. And while we are far from affirming that Kings or Parliaments have any power *against* the Truth, yet *for* the Truth they have, and the Truth, so vindicated and maintained, is to be accepted and embraced as coming from the Divine Author of all Truth. Further, we may consider that acts concerning Church Polity, though not

beginning, and such as the Bishop of Rome professeth to observe. *Wherefore neither the Bishop of Rome himself, nor any other prince, ought of reason to be discontent therewith."*

² Num. xx. 10—12. Ps. cvi. 33.

promulgated originally by adequate sanction of Church Authority, yet, if subsequently *received* and *put in use* by the Church herself, do in fact thus acquire, *a posteriori*, Ecclesiastical validity, and so become Laws of the Church.

6. Thus it was with the Reformation in Ireland, in the reign of Henry VIII. This Reformation, as commenced, or rather renewed³, by him, consisted mainly in the *rejection* of the *Papal Supremacy*, and in establishing that of the *Crown*.

This work was performed in the year 1536, by the Irish Parliament⁴, which was a mixed assembly, partly lay and partly spiritual.

³ For this had been often attempted in previous Parliaments in Ireland in Papal times. See ACTS OF IRISH PARL. 32 Henry VI. c. 1, A.D. 1454. "That all Statutes made against Provisors to Rome, as well in England as Ireland, shall be had and kept in force." (See also Irish Statutes, 7 Edw. IV. c. 23. 10 Henry VII. c. 5, A.D. 1495. English Statutes, 25 Edw. III. c. 22. 13 Rich. II. c. 2. 16 Rich. II. c. 3. 2 Henry IV. c. 3. 7 Henry IV. c. 8. 3 Henry V. c. 4.) "That all the Acts, Ordinances, and Statutes made against the Provisors (in the court of Rome) 'as well in England as in Ireland, be had and kept in force within this land of Ireland;' and if any Provisor do sue any provision upon any such benefice within this land of Ireland, then the party grieved may recover treble damages."

⁴ ACTS OF IRISH PARL. A.D. 1536. 28 Henry VIII. cap. 2 (May, A.D. 1536. On the date, see STATE PAPERS, vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 316). *Act for the Succession*. "The Bishops of Rome, contrary to the great and inviolable graunts of jurisdictions given by God immediately to Emperours, Kings, and Princes, have presumed to invest who should please them to inherit another man's kingdoms, which thing *we*, your most humble subjects, both *Spiritual* and temporal, *doe most abhor and detest*;" and they affirm that "no mau of whatsoever estate, degree, or condition whatsoever he be, hath power to dispense with God's lawes, as all the Clergie in the realme of *England* in the Convocations *doe affirm*." See IRISH STATUTES, 28 Henry VIII. c. 13. An Act (which recites that divers good laws *have been made* for the extirpation, abolition, and extinguishment out of this land of the pretended power and usurped

And here let us observe, that Ireland had been brought under Papal rule by similar assemblies. Indeed the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland had been often transacted, from time immemorial, in mixed assemblies—consisting of Princes, Prelates, and Nobles—much resembling Parliaments⁵. And if Parliaments could *subjugate*

authority of the Bishop of Rome) against the authority of the Bishop of Rome, “which did obfuscate and wrest God’s Holy Word and Testament a long season from the true meaning thereof, to his worldly and carnal affection, as pompe, glorie, avarice, ambition, and tyranny; excluding not only Christ out of His kingdom and rule as much as they might, but also other temporal Kings and Princes out of their dominions, and spoyled this land of Ireland of innumerable treasure,”—the Act making it penal, under the Statute of Premunire, made in 16th year of King Richard II., to uphold the Pope’s authority heretofore claimed, used, or usurped within this land of Ireland; or attribute any manner of jurisdiction therein to the See of Rome; and it establishes the Oath of Supremacy.

⁵ The Synod of Aengus, A.D. 1112, is called *Concilium magnum Episcoporum et omnium Magnatum Hiberniæ* a Mauritio Lochlin Rege Hiberniæ convocatum. See Dr. O’CONOR, Hist. Address, pt. ii. p. 75. At it were present “50 Bishops and 300 Presbyters, with the Chiefs of Southern Ireland, to establish Rules and Ordinances for all Ireland, both secular and Ecclesiastic.” See ULSTER ANNALS, p. 374, ed. O’Conor.

Sir J. WARE’S Bishops, p. 52: “In the year 1112 or 1111, according to the Ulster Annals, a Synod was held at Usneach, at which assisted Cellach (Celsus, otherwise called Celestine), with 50 Bishops, 300 Priests, and 3000 of the Ecclesiastical Order, to prescribe Rules for the Lives and Manners of the Clergy and Laity. Moriartach O’Brien, King of Ireland, is said to have been present at this *Synod*, together with the Nobles of Legamoa or South Parts of Ireland.”

COUNCIL of KELLS, A.D. 1151, Labbe, tom. x. p. 1130, quoting from an author contemporary with the Council, “cui interfuerunt Episcopi, Abbates, Reges, Duces, et majores natu Hiberniæ, quorum consensu Archiepiscopatus constituti sunt quatuor.” See O’CONOR, Hist. Address, ii. 80, who observes that this was the Synod at which the Cardinal Paparo was present.

Sir J. WARE’S Bishops, p. 59: “Gelasius held in A.D. 1157 another Synod, which I take to be an adjournment of that of 1152. Two Kings and two Princes of Ireland were present.”

The Council of Athboy, A.D. 1166 or 7, was summoned by Roderic

Ireland to the Papacy, surely they might *emancipate* her from it.

Besides, in the Council of Cashel⁶, which brought the Church of Ireland under the rule of Rome, in the reign of Henry II., in 1172, it had been decreed that the Church of Ireland should follow the order of the Church

O'Connor, with the chiefs of the north of Ireland, as well Clergy as Laity, and "many ordinances were there enacted touching the privileges of Churches and Clergy." See ANNALS of iv. MASTERS ad A.D. 1166. "This Synod," says O'Connor, "composed of spiritual and temporal persons, somewhat resembled the Witena-gamote of the Saxon Kings." O'CONNOR, Hist. Address, ii. 86.

WARE'S Bishops, p. 60. "In 1167, a great Assembly of the Clergy and Princes was convened at Athboy by Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, at which Gelasius, Archbishop of Armagh, Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin, and many other Bishops and Princes assisted; wherein they made many laws for the public peace and the discipline and government of the *Church*."

WARE'S Bishops, p. 67. "The Synod of Drogheda, 1271, was attended not only by the Prelates of Ireland, but by the Lord Justice and principal men of the kingdom."

The earliest Irish Parliament on record (circ. A.D. 1289—1303) is called *Concilium Hiberniæ*, and consisted of Archbishops and Bishops, &c., and Lay Peers, &c. See Irish Arch. Miscellany, vol. i. p. 23.

Archbp. BRAMHALL, v. 229: "The Parliaments of England were not merely temporal Courts, or conventions only of secular men . . . but by the fundamental Constitution of England, did evermore consist of secular and ecclesiastical persons, who conjointly did manage all the great affairs both of Church and Commonwealth. (See also the Editor's notes.) Let S. N. cast his eyes upon the old Britannie and Saxon Councils or Parliaments, published by Sir Heury Spelman, and he shall see this clearly verified. He shall find the Nobles, together with the Bishops, making Laws and Constitutions for the Church and subscribing them. He shall find these Acts of theirs ratified by the King, and published in his name, by his authority, as his Laws."

⁶ WARE, Antiq. c. xiii. p. 78, concerning the Synod of Cashel, "Whether this synod may be considered as merely ecclesiastical, or as a *mixed* assembly convened for civil as well as religious purposes, is not clear from history, though I am inclined to look upon it in the latter light, and the words of Cambrensis seem to imply as much."

of England⁷. Now in the reign of Henry VIII. the Church of *England* in her Ecclesiastical Synod, as well as the Nation in Parliament, rejected the Papal Supremacy. Was it not fit that the Church of Ireland, which had been formerly forced into conformity with that of England in bondage and error, should follow it also in recovering Liberty and Truth?

When the Parliament of Ireland had rejected the Papal Supremacy, the Princes⁸ of Ireland pledged them-

⁷ See above, p. 104, Art. viii. of Synod of Cashel. The Council of Cashel enjoined that Ireland should follow the laws and ordinances of England: let us see what they were. In the words of Archbishop BRAMHALL, ii. 501, "Let him trust the verdict of our Universities, 'We are all agreed unanimously in this sentence, and were of one accord, that the Roman Bishop hath no greater jurisdiction given him by God in Holy Scripture in this kingdom of England than any other foreign Bishop. The same sentence was given in our laws, canons, or Synods; the same sentence was given in our Parliaments.' And p. 245: 'And in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, for divers years there were no recusants in England until Papists were prohibited by a Bull from joining with us in our public form of serving God,' " &c.

See also the form of bidding prayers in Ireland in 1538 (MANT, i. 145): "Ye shall pray for the universal Catholic Church, both quick and dead, and especially for the *Church* of England and Ireland." This phrase, "the Church" (identifying the Churches of England and Ireland), &c., occurs five times in this prayer. See Appendix to this Discourse, p. 194.

⁸ Sir JOHN DAVIES's Historical Relations, p. 104 of the Dublin edition, by S. Hyde, MDCCXXIII. :—

"This Parliament (28th year of Henry VIII.) being ended, the Lord Leonard Grey was suddenly revoked, and pnt to death in England; so as he lived not to finish the work of reformation which he had begun; which notwithstanding was well pursued by his successor, Sir Anthony Saint Leger, unto whom all the Lords and Chieftains of the *Irishry*, and of the degenerate *English*, throughout the Kingdom, made their several submissions by indenture (which was the fourth general submission of the Irish, made since the first attempt of the conquest of Ireland), whercof the first was made to King Henry II., the second to

selves by solemn covenants to annihilate and extirpate that Supremacy as an unrighteous usurpation: and many of the Bishops and Clergy of the Irish Church took the Oath of Supremacy to the King. They swore allegiance to a King whom the Bishop of Rome had excommunicated and endeavoured to dethrone, and against whom he had commanded the people of Ireland to rebel⁹.

King John, the third to King Richard II., and the last to Sir Anthony Saint Leger, in 33 Henry VIII.

“In these indentures of submission, all the *Irish Lords do acknowledge King Henry VIII. to be their Sovereign Lord and King*, and desire to be accepted of him as subjects. *They confess the King's supremacy in all causes, and do utterly renounce the Pope's jurisdiction*, which I conceive to be worth the noting; because, *when the Irish had once resolved to obey the King, they made no scruple to renounce the Pope*: and this was not only done by the mere *Irish*, but the chief of the degenerate *English families* did perform the same, as *Desmond, Barry, and Roche, in Munster, and the Bourks*, which bore the title of *Mac William, in Connaught*.”

STATE PAPERS, Henry VIII., vol. ii. 316, A.D. 1538: “At Clonmel was with us five Arch-Busshoppes and two Busshops, in whose presenee my Lord of Dublin preached. His Sermon fynyshed, all the *busshoppes* in all thopper audience toke the othe (i. e. of Supremacy).”

Dr. O'CONNOR (Roman Catholic), ii. 278.—“The Oath of Supremacy was approved of and taken by the Bishops and Clergy in 1532—1534, before any (other) Reformation was talked of. Lynch of Galway says it was taken by the Irish chiefs in 1542—1544. O'Donnel's indenture is dated 6th August, 1542. “*Quod annihilabit posse suo usurpatam auctoritatem et Primatiam Romani Pontificis.*” Most of the Irish Chiefs followed his example in 1543.

⁹ See the Pope Paul III.'s Bull of Excommunication against Henry VIII., 30th Aug., A.D. 1535. BULLARIUM ROMANUM vi. p. 125, ed. Rom. 1744. The Bull is entitled “*Damnatio et excommunicatio Henrici VIII. Regis Angliæ ejusque fautorum et complieum cum aliarum pœnarum adjectione.*” The execution of this Bull was suspended for a time, but it was iterated in 1538, Dec. 17.

See the letter of Archbishop Browne to Sir Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal to Henry VIII., 1535, before the Act of Supremacy was passed.

When we consider the sanguinary weapons which Rome employed in Ireland in order to advance her power

“My most honoured Lord,—Your very humble servant receiving your mandate as one of his Highness’s Commissioners, hath endeavoured almost to the danger of his temporal life to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience, in owning of his Highness their supreme head as well spiritual as temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Ardmagh, who hath been the main oppugner; and so hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and jurisdiction; he made a speech to them, *laying a curse on the people whosoever should own his Highness’s Supremacy; saying, that this isle, as it is in their Irish Chronicles, Insula Sacra, belongs to none but to the Bishop of Rome; and that it was the Bishop of Rome’s predecessors gave it to the King’s ancestors.* There be two messengers by the priests of Ardmagh, and by that Archbishop now lately sent to the Bishop of Rome. Your Lordship may inform his Highness that it is convenient to call a Parliament in this nation to pass the Supremacy by Act; for they do not much matter his Highness’s commission which your Lordship sent us over. This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders, and as for their secular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say Mass, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue. The common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness than the Saints and Martyrs were in the truth at the beginning of the Gospel. I send to you, my very good Lord, these things, that your Lordship and his Highness may consult what is to be done. It is feared O’Neale will be ordered by the Bishop of Rome to oppose your Lordship’s orders from the King’s Highness—for the natives are much in numbers within his powers. I do pray the Lord Christ to defend your Lordship from your enemies.—Dublin, 4 Kalend. Septembris, 1535.

“GEORGE BROWNE.”

See also the same Prelate’s letter, in 1538:—

“Right Honourable — My duty premised, it may please your Lordship to be advertised, sithence my last there has come to Ardmagh and his Clergy a private commission from the Bishop of Rome, prohibiting his gracious Highness’s people here in this nation to own his Royal Supremacy; and joining a curse to all them and theirs who shall not within forty days confess to their confessors (after the publishing it to them) that they have done amiss in so doing; the substance, as our Secretary hath translated the same into English, is thus:

“‘I, A. B., from the present hour forward, in the presence of the

there, placing it under an Interdict, exciting the Princes of Europe to join in war against Henry, cutting him off

Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin mother of God, of St. Peter, of the Holy Apostles, Archangels, Angels, Saints, and of all the holy host of Heaven, shall and will be always obedient to the Holy See of St. Peter at Rome, and his successors, in all things, *as well spiritual as temporal*, not consenting in the least that his Holiness shall lose the least title or dignity belonging to the Papacy of our Mother Church of Rome, or to the Regality of St. Peter.

“ I do vow and swear to maintain, help, and assist the just laws, liberties, and rights of the Mother Church of Rome.

“ I do likewise promise to confer, defend, and promote, if not personally, yet willingly, as in ability able, either by advice, skill, estate, money, or otherwise, the Church of Rome, and her laws, against all whatsoever resisting the same.

“ I further vow to *oppugn all Hereticks, either in making or setting forth edicts or commands contrary to the Mother Church of Rome; and in case any such be moved or composed, to resist it to the uttermost of my power, with the first convenience and opportunity I can.*

“ I count and value all Acts *made or to be made by heretical powers of no force or worth, or to be practised or obeyed by myself, or by any other son of the Mother Church of Rome.*

“ I do further declare him or her, *father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friends, or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil authority above the authority of the Mother Church; or that do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of her the Mother Church's opposers or enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here sworn unto. So God, the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy Evangelists help, &c.*

“ His Highness's Viceroy of this nation is of little or no power with the old natives, therefore your Lordship will expect of me no more than I am able. This nation is poor in wealth, and not sufficient now at present to oppose them. It is observed, that *ever since his Highness's ancestors had this nation in possession, the old natives have been craving foreign powers to assist and rule them: and now both English race and Irish begin to oppose your Lordship's orders, and do lay aside their national old quarrels, which I fear, if any thing will cause a foreigner to invade this nation, that will. I pray God I may be a false prophet, yet your good Lordship must pardon mine opinion, for I write it to your Lordship as a warning. Your humble and true ser-*

from Christian burial, commanding his subjects to rebel against their Sovereign, to expel him from his kingdom, and requiring children to curse their own Parents, if they did not uphold her Supremacy, we cannot feel much surprise that the Crown should have resorted to summary measures in order to extirpate a Power which resorted to such godless means for attaining its unlawful ends.

7. Further, let us observe that the Acts of the Parliament and Princes of Ireland rejecting the Pope's Supremacy and acknowledging the Supremacy of the Crown, afterwards received full Ecclesiastical sanction (as will be shown in the next Discourse), in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when they were authorized and ratified by

vant, George Browne.—Dublin, May 1538." See WARE'S Antiquities, p. 152. COX, Hist. i. p. 257. MANT, i. p. 139.

The following letter was written by the Bishop of Metz, in the name of the Council of Cardinals, to O'Nial; and a Franciscan friar was despatched into Ireland as the bearer of it:—

"My son O'Nial,—Thou and thy fathers were ever faithful to the Mother Church of Rome: his Holiness Paul, the present Pope, and his council of holy fathers, *have lately found an ancient prophecy of one St. Lazerianus, an Irish Archbishop of Cashel; it saith, that 'the Church of Rome shall surely fall, when the Catholic Faith is once overthrown in Ireland:'* therefore, for the glory of the Mother Church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own security, suppress heresy, and oppose the enemies of his Holiness. You see that when the Roman *faith perisheth in Ireland, the See of Rome is fated to utter destruction.* The Council of Cardinals have therefore thought it necessary to animate the people of the holy island in this pious cause, being assured, that whilst the Mother Church hath sons of such worth as you, and those who shall unite with you, she shall not fall, but prevail for ever in some degree, at least, in Britain. Having thus obeyed the order of the sacred Council, we recommend your princely person to the protection of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Peter, St. Paul, and all the host of Heaven. Amen." See LELAND, p. 172, vol. ii.

the IRISH CHURCH in her Synods, and by the Bishops and Clergy of that Church in their own persons.

8. Yet more, even if it could be proved that the Reformation in Ireland, as commenced under Henry the Eighth, were null and void, through want of adequate authority (which has never been shown, and never will be), yet the present position of the Church of Ireland would not be impaired thereby, for she does not rest her claims on the Acts of that Sovereign or of Princes and Prelates of that time,—nor even on those which were subsequently performed under his daughter, Queen Elizabeth, and which had full Ecclesiastical authority,—nor does she build on any human foundation; but she rests her claim on the Word of Christ, explained by the Voice of Antiquity, and by the practice of the Irish Church in its earliest and best times.

IV. We have seen in the present and preceding Discourses, that, although from the Twelfth Century, for more than three hundred years in succession, the Bishop of Rome, aided by the Crown and Hierarchy of England, had endeavoured by all means in his power to make Ireland a fief of the Papacy, yet in the sixteenth century¹ the Princes of Ireland did not recognize the

¹ Archbp. BRAMHALL, Works, i. p. 122. “We find that in Ireland, in the 33rd year of Henry VIII., not the Irish only, as the O’Neals, O’Reillys, O’Birnes, O’Carrols, &c., but also the English families, as the Desmonds, Barries, Roches, Bourkes, did make their submission by indenture, to Sir Anthony Sellenger, the chief governor of that kingdom, whereby they acknowledged King Henry to be their Sovereign Lord, and confessed the king’s jurisdiction in all causes, and utterly renounced the jurisdiction of the Pope (Council Book of Ireland, 32, 33, 34 of Henry VIII.)”

Bishop of Rome as having by law, human or divine, any authority, civil or ecclesiastical, in that land; but they reprobated and rejected the Supremacy, which he claimed, as a tyrannical usurpation, and bound themselves to exterminate it as such.

The Reformation in Ireland, under Henry VIII., was limited to this one point—that of *Supremacy*. This course of events may be regarded as providential, for that article was thus brought prominently before the eyes of the world. And on this point, let us remember, the fabric of Romanism rests. This was a subject which did not require abstruse theological learning. It resolved itself mainly into a question of fact. What was the verdict of History? Had the Roman Pontiff been Supreme in Ireland from the beginning? This was a question which could be answered by the Princes and Nobles of Ireland. And they did answer it. Though they had been trained in Romish schools, and were still adherents, in most respects, of Romish doctrine, they gave judgment against the claims of Rome to Supremacy in Ireland. They pledged themselves to liberate their country from her yoke².

Lord Chief Justice BRABAZON, May 1536. “The Commons House (in Ireland) is marvellous good for the King’s cause, and all the learned men within the same be verie good.” This refers to the Irish Acts cited above, 28 Henry VIII., State Papers, vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 316.

² See Dr. PHELAN’S Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland, &c. p. 82. “When Henry VIII. asserted his claim to the sovereignty of the island, all the nobles arrayed themselves on the side of the Crown. They abolished the subordinate title of *Lord*, the only one which the Pope had permitted to be assumed, and proclaimed him *King* of Ireland,

After a lapse of three centuries, it would appear, this question is now to be argued again in our own day, and the emergencies of the times require that we should carefully examine it, involving, as it does, momentous consequences, public and private, temporal and eternal.

If the claim of the Bishop of Rome to exercise spiritual Supremacy in Ireland is founded on divine Law, and on primitive practice, then let us not oppose it, lest we be found to fight against God. Let Ireland again become—what she was from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the sixteenth century—a province of Rome.

and Supreme Head of the Church. In their written indentures of submission, they bound themselves utterly to deny, and promised to forsake, the usurped primacy and authority of the Bishop of Rome, and to resist all that should uphold it—to ‘annihilate his usurped primacy, and eradicate all his favourers.’

“All these deeds are drawn up nearly in the same terms. See LELAND, ii. 178. 182. COX, Hist. p. 268. 271. O’CONNOR, Hist. Address, ii. 279. State Papers, Henry VIII., A.D. 1541, vol. iii. pt. iii. p. 353. 422.

“These chieftains had learned from the early annals of their country, and from the more recent usages of those districts which had struggled to maintain their internal economy against the encroachments of Rome and England, that the pretended right of Popes to nominate to Church dignities, to demand first-fruits and other taxes, to exempt churchmen from secular tribunals, to enforce canons independent of, sometimes contrary to, the law of the country, had *been unknown in Ireland*, until the Popes claimed it as a province of the royalties of their Sec.

“This unanimity is more remarkable (p. 91), as being in defiance of the denunciations of the Vatican. Henry had been excommunicated by Paul III., who pronounced him dethroned, and doomed to eternal curse and damnation; and curses had been denounced against all who should acknowledge his claim.”

But if this claim have no such foundation, let us manfully resist it, as a corrupt and novel usurpation, contrary to the Word of God, and derogatory to the dignity of our Divine Head, and to the just claims of our earthly Rulers whom He hath set over us. . . And may God defend the Right!

APPENDIX.

STATE PAPERS, vol. ii. p. 564. Henry VIII. Pt. III.
A.D. 1538.

The Fourme of the Beades (before Sermons).

YE shall praye for the Universall Catholicke Churche, both quicke and ded ; and especialye for the Churche of Inglande and Ierland.

Furste, for Our Soveraine Lorde the Kinge, Supreme Hedde in yerthe immediate under Godd of the saide Churche of Inglande and Ierlande. And for the declaracion of the truthe thereof, ye shall understande, that the unlauffull jurisdiction, pour, and autoritie, of longe tyme *usurped by the Bisshop of Rome*, in Inglande and Ierlande, who then was called Pope, is now by Goddis Law justelie, lauffullie and upon good groundes, reasons, and causes, by autoritie of Parliament, and by and with thole consent and agremente of all the Bisshopes, Prelates, and both the Universities of Oxforde and Cambridge, and also thole Clergie both of Inglande and Irelande, extincte and ceasid for ever, as of no strenght, vawew, or effect, in the Churche of Inglande or Ierlande. In the whiche Churche, the said hole Clergie, Bisshopes, and Prelates, withe the Universities of Oxforde and Cambridge, have accordinge to Goddis Lawes, and upon good and lauffull reasons and groundes, knowleged the Kinges Highnes to be Supreme Hedde in yerth, immediate under Godd, of this Churche of Inglande and Irelande ;

Whiche ther knowlege confessede, being now by Parliament established, and by Goddis Lawes justifiable to be ustelie executed, so ought everie trew Christen subjecte of this lande not onelie to knowlege, and obedientlie recognise the Kinges Highnes to be Supreme Hedd in yerth of the Church of Inglande and Ierlande, but also to speak, publishe, and teache their children and servantes the same, and to shew unto theym, how that the saide Bisshop of Rome hathe heretofore usurped not onelie uppon Godd, but also upon our Princes.

“Wherefore and to thentent that ye shulde the better beleve me herein, and take and receyve the truthe, as ye ought to doo, I declare this unto youe, not onelie of myselff, whiche I know to be trew, but also declare unto youe that the same is certified unto me frome the mought of my Ordinary, the Archbisshopp of Dublyn, under his seale, whiche I have here redy to, shew youe; so that now it apperithe playnelie that the *saide Bisshop of Rome hath nother autoritie, ne pour, in this lande, nor never had by Goddis Lawes.*

“Therefore I exorte youe all, that ye *deface him in all your primars, and other bokes, where he is namyd Pope,* and that ye shall have, from hensforthe, no confidens nor truste in hym, nor in his bulles or letters of pardons, which, beforetime, with his jogelinge castes of bynding and losinge, he solde unto youe for your money, promysinge youe therefore forgyvenes of your synnes, where of trewth no man can forgyve synnes, but Godd onelie; and also that ye fere not his greate thunder clappes of excommunicacion, or interdiction, for they cannot hurte youe:

“But lett us put all our confidence and truste in our Savior, Jesus Christe, which is gentill and lovyng, and requyrith nothings of us, when we have offendid Him, but that we shulde repente and forsake our synnes, and beleve stedfastelie that He is Christe, the Sonne of the Lyving Godd,

and that He died for our synnes, and so forthe, as it is conteyned in the *Credo* ; and that through Hym, and by Hym, and by non other, we shall have remission of our synnes, a *pena et culpa*, accordinge to His promises made to us in many and dyvers places of Scripture.”

SERMON VI.

REFORMATION IN THE REIGNS OF KING EDWARD VI.
AND QUEEN ELIZABETH.

2 KINGS xxii. 2.

“He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord.”

IN the inspired history of the successive Religious Re-formations, conducted under the direction of the Princes of God’s ancient People, the Jews, we see divers characteristics of human action, and different degrees of divine approbation.

Thus it is recorded of Jehu king of Israel that he professed *zeal for the Lord*¹. But it is also said that he acted with *subtilty*², and slew the worshippers of Baal with treachery, and that *he took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord with all his heart*; for though he destroyed the idolatrous worship of Baal which had been introduced by Ahab³, yet, from motives probably of State-Policy, in order that his subjects might not resort to Jerusalem and return to the unity of the Church, he clung to the heretical and schismatical religion set up by King Jeroboam⁴.

¹ 2 Kings ix. 20.

³ 1 Kings xvi. 31.

² 2 Kings x. 19.

⁴ 2 Kings xi. 29.

Still, as has been observed on a former occasion⁵, Almighty God vouchsafed to award even to Jehu a certain meed of approbation; *Because thou hast done well in executing that which is right in Mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in Mine heart, thy children of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel*⁶.

The Reformations in the Church of Judah were of a better character than those in Israel. King Asa destroyed idolatry, and made a covenant with God, and removed his mother from being queen because of idolatry. But the high places still remained⁷. Yet it is said of Asa that he did that *which was right, even as David*, and that his *heart was perfect all his days*⁸.

King Jehoshaphat proceeded further in the work of Reformation. He sent Levites throughout the cities of Judah with the Word of God in their hands⁹. He took away the high places and groves out of Judah¹. Still some remained². Yet of him it is said that he did that *which was right in the sight of the Lord*³.

The Reformation carried on under King Hezekiah was of a still more comprehensive character. He re-opened and purified the Temple; he re-organized its sacred services; he exhorted and encouraged the Priests and Levites to sanctify themselves; he convoked the

⁵ See Serm. V.

⁶ 2 Kings x. 30.

⁷ 1 Kings xv. 14. 2 Chron. xiv. and xv.

⁸ 1 Kings xv. 14. 2 Chron. xv. 17.

⁹ 2 Chron. xvii. 6.

¹ 2 Chron. xvii. 6.

² 1 Kings xxii. 43. 2 Chron. xix. 2; xx. 33. i. e. he removed those which had been used for idolatrous purposes only.

³ 2 Chron. xx. 32.

people of Judah, and all the remnant of Israel, to a solemn act of National Repentance; he summoned them from Dan to Beersheba to appear before the Lord at Jerusalem, and celebrate the Feast of the Passover⁴. Of him it is written, he wrought that which was *good and right and truth before the Lord his God, and in every work that he began in the service of the house of God, and in the Law, and in the Commandments, to seek his God, he did it with all his heart, and prospered*⁵.

Yet something still remained to be done. The altar at Bethel, which Jeroboam had built, and the high place where he offered incense, still stood. They were thrown down by the youthful king, Josiah⁶. The people had fallen into great ignorance and contempt of the Holy Scriptures, in the reign of Manasseh, who succeeded Hezekiah. Josiah recovered and restored the Word of God⁷, and caused it to be read in the ears of all the people. He celebrated a Passover, *such as no Passover was ever kept since the days of Samuel the Prophet*⁸. And *like unto him was no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose any like him*⁹.

Thus we see a great diversity of character in these successive Reformations. Scarcely any of them was free from blemish; yet each of them is noticed with some

⁴ 2 Chron. xxx.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxxi. 20, 21.

⁶ 2 Kings xxiii. 15. 1 Kings xii. 28. 33.

⁷ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 17—30.

⁸ 2 Chron. xxxv. 18.

⁹ 2 Kings xxiii. 25.

mark of approval in Holy Writ. And though the Church and Nation for which these princes laboured, did not escape God's fierce retribution, yet doubtless they had their reward even upon earth, in the increased happiness of their people, consequent on national repentance, in their own age; and their names are recorded with praise, and their examples are proposed for our imitation, by the Holy Spirit Himself in the pages of Holy Writ.

Hence we may learn to cherish a spirit of forbearance and charity in reviewing the successive acts of religious REFORMATION in our own country, especially in IRELAND.

The Reformation in that land was commenced and carried on by human instruments, subject to human infirmities. Some of those who were engaged in it were actuated by vicious motives; and the fruits of the Reformation, it must be confessed, have not been so abundant as could be wished. We shall hereafter have occasion to show that this was due, in a great measure, to the unscrupulous arts of Rome, refusing to be reformed, excommunicating the Sovereign of Ireland, and stirring up the people to Rebellion¹, and lighting up the flames

¹ BUTLER, C. (Roman Catholic), *Memoirs*, ii. p. 358. "The [deposing] Bull of Pius V. was communicated to the Irish by Dr. Saunders, who in 1579 was sent by the Pope as his nuncio into Ireland. The Earl of Desmond was encouraged [to rebel] by a Bull of Pope Gregory XIII., dated 13th May, 1580, and the insurrection of Hugh O'Neil was encouraged by Pope Clement VIII. by a Bull dated 16th April, 1600. The Bulls of Gregory bestow on the insurgents the same indulgences as the Pope's See usually bestows on those who make war against the *Turks*."

The same writer says (i. p. 193), "The claim of the Popes to temporal power by divine right has been one of the most calamitous events in the History of the Church. Its effects on the Irish and English

of Civil War, by which Churches were destroyed, and the growth of the Gospel checked, and Religion blighted and withered.

The fact is confessed: the work of Reformation in Ireland is still incomplete. Much, very much, yet remains to be done,—done by us and our posterity. And may God enable us to do it! But are we, therefore, to forget what was done by our forefathers? Are we to look coldly on it? Are we to denounce it? No.—Heaven preserve us from such a sin of injustice and ingratitude to God! If the work itself deserves, in any respect, the name of a Religious Reformation,—if it was, in any degree, a rejection of what was false, and a restoration of what is true,—if it has unsealed the Word of God, and opened it to the eyes of the people; if it has liberated the Worship of God from the prison-house of a dead language,—then let its defects be ascribed to its human agents, and let Almighty God be thanked for the good which He effected by their agency. Let us learn wisdom and charity from the Holy Spirit Himself, Who, in recording the various processes of Reformation operated under different princes in the Ancient Church of God, is not *extreme to mark what was done amiss*, or to note what was left undone, but concedes praise to a

Catholics have been dreadful.” Of Pius the Fifth’s Bull, *Regnans in excelsis*, deposing Queen Elizabeth, he says, p. 195, “Such was this celebrated Bull, ever to be condemned, ever to be lamented.” P. 197: “When the Armada was in preparation and almost ready to sail, Pope Sixtus the Fifth, by a Bull which he directed to be published as soon as the Spanish army should land in England, renewed the Sentence of Pius V. and Gregory XIII. concerning the deposition of Queen Elizabeth, declaring her illegitimate, and an usurper, and discharging her subjects from all obedience to her.”

Jehu as well as to a Josiah. And if we desire that our names should be written in the Book of Life, let us not be blind to what was good, and mark only what was evil, but let us endeavour to correct and purify what was evil, and to confirm and amplify what was good.

Having already reviewed the commencement of Reformation in Ireland in the reign of King Henry VIII., at which period the question of Supremacy, which is the whole main question of the controversy, was agitated and determined in Ireland, we are led to consider whether the acts of the Irish Church and Nation, in the reigns of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, are entitled to the name of a Religious Reformation.

They who censure those acts allege that they have no just claim to such an honourable designation, because—

- I. They were done in an *irregular manner*. And,
- II. Because they were *vicious in matter*.

I. First, then, as to the *manner* of their performance.

It has been objected against the Reformation in Ireland that it was not effected, as in England, by the counsel and sanction of the *Bishops and Clergy* in *Convocation* assembled, but merely by *Acts of Parliament*;—that it was a work of the *civil power* alone, acting independently and in contravention of the lawful Ecclesiastical authority; and is, therefore, destitute of spiritual validity, and ought to be condemned and rejected as an irreligious invasion of the rights of the Church, and as an encroachment on the prerogatives of her Divine Head.

Let us examine the grounds of this allegation.

The Réformation in England, it is true, was conducted by the instrumentality of the Bishops and Clergy in Convocation assembled, as well as by the Parliament and the Crown; and with good reason; for, in England, the Ecclesiastical body, called the CONVOCATION, which grew up in the reign of King Edward I.², gradually attained the position which had been formerly occupied, and executed some of the functions which had formerly been discharged, by Provincial Synods, consisting of Bishops. Thus, in England, at the era of the Reformation, the Convocation, consisting of Two Houses, Bishops and Clergy, was, indeed, as one of our Canons of 1603 expresses it, "The true Church of England by representation³." And such it has remained even to this day. Therefore what was done by the Convocation was done in a regular and constitutional manner by the Church herself.

Such was the case with *England*; but such was *not* the case in *Ireland*. *There*, no such body as a Convocation, consisting of two houses, existed at the Reformation, nor till fifty years after it. The Church of Ireland was governed, in spiritual affairs, according to the ancient practice of the Universal Church,—by Synods, or Councils of Bishops. Not that Ecclesiastical matters were not occasionally considered and concluded in mixed⁴ Assemblies, which were sometimes called

² See Archbp. WAKE'S *State of the Church*, pp. 238—244. Lond. 1703, folio.

³ Canon cxxxix.

⁴ See above, p. 183. On the *mixed character* of ancient Irish Parliaments, see the remarks of Archdn. STOPFORD, *Irish Eccl. Journal*, No. 67.

Councils, and sometimes termed Parliaments; and at these, Nobles and other Laymen, as well as Prelates, were present, and gave their assent to what was propounded by Bishops.

But what we would observe is, that at the epoch of the Reformation, the Irish Church had no such body as the English Convocation⁵. And it is indeed preposterous to censure the Irish Reformation, as some ignorantly have done, because it was not conducted by means peculiar to England, and because it was not transacted by a body which did not exist!

II. But, it may be asked,—

Was, then, the IRISH REFORMATION, in the reigns of King EDWARD VI. and Queen ELIZABETH, carried on in a regular and orderly manner, by lawful Synods of the Church?

⁵ ELRINGTON, Dr. R. C. (in Irish Eccl. Journ. No. 69.) “There never was a Convocation in Ireland before 1614. We are so in the habit of identifying the Convocation with the voice of the Clergy, that we forget that their interference in ecclesiastical matters was (originally due to) an usurpation. . . . To the *Synods* of the Clergy, and *not* to the *Convocation*, belonged of right in England, from the earliest times, the framing of Articles and Canons, and arranging other ecclesiastical matters,—a power which was insensibly transferred to the Convocation.

“In *Ireland*, the necessity had never existed of forming a *Convocation* for arranging the civil matters connected with the Clergy. And therefore the *Synod* remained the only ecclesiastical Assembly. . . . It was this legitimate Assembly of the Church which confirmed the change (the Reformation in Ireland). Well might Archbp. Bramhall express his approbation of the mode in which the Reformation (in this respect) was established in Ireland, and state the important fact, that, in consequence of the unanimity among the Bishops, not a shadow of a doubt had ever been thrown on the legitimate succession of our Church.”

That no *Convocation* then existed in Ireland is also evident from the fact that the Clergy were taxed with other subjects of the Crown by Parliament.

To this question we reply, deliberately and unhesitatingly,—Yes.

In the year 1551⁶, a Synod of Irish Bishops received and authorized the English Liturgy, in place of the Latin Service Book⁷.

This was the main Act of Reformation in Ireland, under King Edward VI.

In the year 1560-1, the third of Queen Elizabeth, a Synod of Irish Bishops was held for “establishing the Protestant Religion⁸.”

And what was determined in this Synod of Bishops?

It sanctioned the Reformation.

⁶ WARE'S Bishops, p. 350. “The King Edward VI. sent over an order dated Feb. 6, 1550, for the reading of the Liturgy and Prayers in the mother tongue: which was first observed in Christ Church, Dublin, on Easter-day, 1551. *Before* the Proclamation for observing this Order was issued, the Lord Deputy convened an assembly of the *Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy*, and signified to them the King's order, and the opinions of the Bishops and Clergy in England who adhered to the same there.”

⁷ See Dr. ELRINGTON'S *Life of Ahp. Ussher*, p. 40. “In 1551, Edward VI. sent an order that the Liturgy of the Church of England should be read in Ireland. Before this order, Sir Anthony St. Leger is *not* reported to have summoned a *Convocation* ;” “but,” says Cox, “before he issued a proclamation for the observance of it, he called an *Assembly* of the *Archbishops* and *Bishops*, with others of the then *Clergy* of Ireland, to propose the matter to them.” On this Synod of Bishops and Clergy, held 1st March, 1551, to receive the English Liturgy, which was put in use on Easter-day, 1551, see Bp. MANT, i. p. 195.

The English Book of Common Prayer was the first book printed in Dublin. MANT, i. p. 204. A copy of this edition is preserved in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin.

⁸ WARE'S *Annals of Ireland*, p. 3, A.D. 1560. “The Earl of Sussex having been in England some months, returned again, and took his oath as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Within three weeks after which came letters from Her Majesty to him signifying her pleasure for a *general meeting of the Clergy of Ireland* and the establishment of the Protestant Religion through the several dioceses of this kingdom.”

And how does this appear?

As follows:—

The Synod consisted of Bishops⁹. Now it is well known that Twenty Irish Bishops¹ were present in the

⁹ See Dr. ELINGTON'S Life of Abp. Ussher, p. 40. "In the second year of Elizabeth (A.D. 1559-60) [Queen Elizabeth came to the throne 17th Nov., 1558] a Parliament was held, and no mention is made of a *Convocation*, though acts with respect to the Church were passed. There is indeed a passage in the MS. Collections of Dudley Loftus which has been adduced as a proof of a Convocation having been held in 1560. 'This year was held a Convocation of *Bishops*, at the Queen's command, for establishing the Protestant Religion.' But he must have used the word 'Convocation' merely to express a meeting of the *Bishops*, and would have adopted a very different phraseology, had he intended to describe the assembling of a Convocation of Bishops (and Clergy).

"In the third year of Elizabeth (A.D. 1560-1) there was not any Parliament, yet she signifies her pleasure to Lord Sussex, the Lord-Lieutenant, for a general meeting of the Clergy, and the establishment of the Protestant Religion.

"This was an order to summon *not a Convocation*, but the *Ancient Synod* of the Clergy, which had the power of settling all matters concerning religion.

"In *England*, the Convocation, originally instituted for the purpose of managing the temporal concerns of the Clergy (see BURN, Art. *Convocation*), had gradually usurped the power of the Provincial Synod; in Ireland the Provincial Synod had not been superseded; and by their *consent*, given at *three* different times (in the reign of Edward, when summoned by Sir A. St. Leger; in the third Elizabeth, when called together by Lord Sussex; and in 1565, by Sir Henry Sydney), the Clergy received the use of the English Liturgy, and expressed their conformity to the doctrines of the English Church.

"The Reformation then in Ireland was carried on by the regular assembly, to which the affairs of the Church ought canonically to be entrusted."

¹ Mr. HARDIMAN, in his edition of the Statute of Kilkenny, Appendix, p. 135, has printed, for the first time, a list of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, &c., of the first Irish Parliament held at Dublin A.D. 1560, 2nd Eliz., January the eleventh, "coram Thoma Comite de Sussex, Deputato Regni Hiberniæ." It contains the names of *three Archbishops and seventeen Bishops*.

Mr. Hardiman has also printed a similar list of the Lords Spiritual

Irish Parliament in 1559-60 (the year before that in which this Synod was held), when the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome was renounced, and when Acts were passed for "restoring to the Crown its ancient jurisdiction," and for "uniformity in religious worship," and wherein it was provided that all Ministers of the Church in Ireland should "use the English Liturgy as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer²."

and Temporal in the Parliament holden before the Rt. Hon. Sir John Perrot, Knight, Lord Deputy General of the realme of Ireland, 26th April, A.D. 1585.

The list contains *four Archbishops and twenty-two Bishops*. These lists are preserved in the Rolls' Office, Dublin.

² 2 Eliz. c. 1 (Irish Acts) recites, that good laws were made in the reign of Henry VIII. for the utter extinguishment of all usurped foreign powers out of the realm, and for restoring to the imperial crown of the realm its ancient jurisdiction, by which laws it was disburdened of divers great and intolerable exactions, revives the said laws; and enjoins that the Oath of the Queen's Supremacy be taken by every Ecclesiastical Person and by lay officers; and imposes a penalty for maintaining any foreign jurisdiction in the Realm; declares what is and what is *not* to be adjudged heresy.

ACTS IRISH PARL., 2 Eliz. c. 1, "An Act for *restoring* to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same," establishes Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, A.D. 1560, to be taken by every Archbishop, Bishop, and all Ecclesiastics, and all civil Magistrates, on pain of deprivation.

ACTS IRISH, 2 Eliz. c. 1, A.D. 1560, provides that "no person, nominated by the Crown, have power to adjudge any matter to be *heresie* onlly such as heretofore hath beene determined to bee heresie by the authoritie of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the first four General Councils, or by any other general Council wherein the same was declared heresie by the express and plain words of the said Canonical Scriptures, or shall be judged heresie by the High Court of Parliament of this Realme."

2 Eliz. c. 2, An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer and Service of the Church, and administration of Sacraments, in every Cathedral and Parish Church, or other place, according to the use of the Church of England, within the Realme of Ireland, in the English

All the Bishops of Ireland took the Oath of Supremacy, and conformed to that Liturgy, *except two*, who had been placed by Queen Mary in the Sees of Meath and Kildare, from which the lawful Prelates had been ejected³ by her because they were married men. Those two intruders whom Queen Mary had appointed were displaced, in their turn, in the following reign of Queen Elizabeth, and their rooms were filled by two Bishops, who took the Oath of Supremacy, and conformed to the English Liturgy⁴.

tongue. In places where the Priest hath not the knowledge of English, it shall be lawful for him to say it in Latin.

The Oath of Supremacy, by 2 Eliz. c. 1, is as follows:—"I, A. B., doe utterly testifie and declare in my conscience that the Queen's Highnesse is the only Supream Governor of this Realme, and of all other her Majesties dominious aud countries, as well in all Spiritual aud Ecclesiastical things and causes as temporall, and that no forreine prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, holds, or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realme; and therefore I doe utterly renounce and forsake all forrein jurisdiction, power, superiorities, and pre-eminences."

³ WARE'S Bishops, p. 92. "In April, 1554, a commission arrived from Queen Mary to Archbishop Dowdall, and to William Walsh, elect Bishop of Meath, and others, empowering them to deprive the married Bishops and Clergy. On the 29th June they deprived Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath; and about the end of the same year, or the beginuing of the following, Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, Lancaster, Bishop of Kildare, and Traverse, Bishop of Leighlin, met the same fate." Bishop Staples writing to Sir W. Cecil, A.D. 1558 (SHIRLEY'S Collection, p. 87), says, "After my services of 35 yeres, I was dryven almost to begging, thrust out of my house, cast from estimation, nor any cause why was laid against me, but for that I did marry a wife, they did put an Irish monk (William Walsh) in my place."

⁴ See KING'S History, p. 758, A.D. 1560. "Nineteen or twenty of the Prelates were present in the Parliament which restored the Queen's supremacy, aud of the whole body two only were dissentient, Walsh aud Leverous; these two are the only Irish prelates that appear to have been deprived during Queen Elizabeth's reign:" p. 761, "All the

Thus the Irish Episcopate accepted the Reformation.

Nor did they accept it only; they authorized and propagated it in Synod and singly.

In the year 1566, Twelve "Articles of Religion" were published in Ireland⁵. These Articles were put forth by the *Irish Episcopate*, and were subscribed by the *Irish Clergy*.

The terms of these Articles are very important, as indicating the Scriptural and Catholic spirit of the Irish Reformation, not only in rejecting the errors and usurpations of Rome, but in professing the true Faith. And they deserve to be better known than they appear to be. Let me therefore recite some portion of them. They may not be unseasonable at the present time.

These Twelve Articles are entitled, "Articles set forth for the unitie of the doctrine to be holden and taught by all Parsons, Vicars and Curates;" and are to be read by them at "fyrste entrie into their Cures, and also after that yerely at two several tymes of the yere."

In them the Parson reading them says, "I, having other Bishops remained in their several sees, and from them the present bishops have derived their order, heing the true successors of the Prelates of the ancient Irish Church."

Walsh and Leverous had been commissioners under Queen Mary, and had identified themselves with the Papacy by depriving the Protestant prelates in her reign.

⁵ "A hrefe Declaration of certein Articles of Religion set out by order and auctoritie, as well of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Sydney, Knight, &c., and General Deputie of this Realme of Ireland, as by the Archebishops, and Byshopes, and others, her Majesties Hygh Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall in the same Realme. Imprynted at Dublin, hy Humfrey Powel, the 20 of January, 1566." See Dr. ELINGTON'S *Life of Ussher*, p. 42, where they are printed in full. Appendix iii. Only one contemporary copy is known to exist. See Elrington, p. 42.

before my eyes the feare of God and the testimonye of my conscience, doo acknowledge for my selfe and doo require you to assent to the same."

In the Second Article it is said, "I beleve whatsoever is contained in the holy Canonical Scriptures, in the which Scriptures are contained all things necessary to Salvation. I doo most firmly beleeve and confesse all the Articles contained in the three Credes,—the Nicene Crede, Athanasian Crede, and our Common Crede; for these doo brefely contene the principal Articles of our Faith, which are at large set foorth in the Holye Scripture.

"I acknowledge also the Church to be the Spouse of Christ, wherein the Word of God is truly taught, the Sacramentes orderly ministered, according to Christ's institution, and the authoritye of the keyes duely used.

"I doo acknowledge the Queen's Majesties prerogative and superioritie of Government of all estates and in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, within this Realme, to be agreable to God's Word.

"Touching the Byshope of Rome, I do acknowledge and confesse, that by the Scriptures and Worde of God he hath no more authoritie than other Bishops have in their Provinces and Dioceses, and therefore the Power which he now challengeth, that is, to be Supreme Head of the Universal Church of Christ, and so to be above all Empérours, Kings, and Princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and Worde of God, and contrary to the example of the Primitive Church, and therefore is for most just causes taken away and abolished within this Realm.

“I do graunt and confesse that the Boke of COMMON PRAYER and Administration of the Holye Sacraments is agreeable to the Scriptures, and that it is *Catholyke, Apostolyke*, and most for the advancement of God’s Glorie and the edifynge of God’s People, both for that it is in a tongue that may be understood by the people, and also for the doctrine and forme of ministration conteyned in the same.

“I do not onely acknowledge that private Masses were never used amongst the Fathers of the Primitive Churche, but also that the Doctrine which mainteineth the Masse to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quicke and deade and a meane to delyver soules out of Purgatorye, is neither agreeable to Christ’s ordinance, nor grounded upon doctrine Apostolicke, but contrarywise most ungodly and most injurious to the precious Redemption of our Saviour Christ and His onely sufficient sacrifice offered once for ever upon the altar of the cross.

“I am of that mynde also that the Holy Communion or Sacrament of the body and bloude of Christ, ought to be ministered unto the people under both kyndes, and that it is avouched by certaine Fathers of the Church to be a playne sacrilege to robbe them of the mysticall cup, for whom Christ hath shed His most precious blood, seeinge He Himself hath said ‘Drinke ye all of this.’ Consyderynge also that in the tyme of the auncient doctours of the Church, as Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Gelasius, and others, VI hundred years after Christ and more, *both* the partes of the Sacramente were admynistered unto the people.

“As I do utterly disallowe the extollynge of Images,

Relicks and fayned miracles so, I do exhorte all men to the obedyence of Gode's lawe and to the workes of Faith, as charytie, mercy, pitye, almes, devout and fervent prayer with the affection of the hart, and not with the mouth only, godly abstinence and fastynge, chastitie, obedience to the Rulers and Superior powers, with such lyke workes and godlyness of lyfe, commanded by God in his worde, which as Sainte Paule saith, hath promises both *of this lyfe, and of the lyfe to come*⁶."

II. Such were the Doctrines put forth by the Authority of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland in the year 1566, for general acceptance and public recital by the Clergy of that kingdom.

It is well known that the Laity of Ireland at that time generally resorted to the Churches⁷ in which these

⁶ 1 Tim. iv. 8.

⁷ See CARTE'S Ormond, i. p. 33. "In Ireland, the Bishops complied with the Reformation, and the Roman Catholics in general resorted to the churches in which the English service was used."

See PHELAN'S Policy, p. 216, on the general Conformity of the Bishops and Clergy of Ireland to the Reformation till the Bull of Pius V. and the introduction of the Jesuits and other seminary priests into Ireland. Memoirs of Panzani, pp. 15. 19. Concerning the manner in which the penal laws against recusancy were administered, or, rather, left in abeyance, see LELAND, ii. 381.

The Oath of Supremacy was generally taken by Roman Catholics. PHELAN, p. 251. The following avowal is by a celebrated Roman Catholic writer, SANDERS de Schismate, p. 342: "Ita factum est, ut maxima catholicorum pars hostibus paulatim cederet, ut schismaticorum Ecclesias, conciones, communionem ac conventicula aliquando publicè adire non recusarent Regina et sui ab initio præclarè scenam agi existimabant quod cum tot essent antiquæ fidei in regno cultores, *plerosque* tamen scirent ritus a se præscriptos publicè vel amplexari, vel præscutiâ suâ utcunque exterius approbare."

Articles were recited and in which the Holy Scriptures were read, and the Reformed Liturgy was used: and that they continued to do so from the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the year 1570, when that Sovereign was excommunicated by Pius V.⁸

It has indeed been asserted that the Reformation in Ireland was obtruded on an unwilling people by acts of coercion, and by a severe penal code. This is not the fact. It is true that the Oath of Supremacy was required as a qualification for office, civil and ecclesiastical. And this Oath was generally taken without scruple⁹. It is true also that the Act of Uniformity

The author of this history, N. SANDERS, the Pope's envoy in Ireland, endeavoured to put an end to this conformity by writing his dissuasive, "De sacris hæreticorum non adeundis."

Sir W. PALMER on the Church, ii. 553. "Two Bishops only out of the whole number of Irish Bishops, were expelled from their sees in the reign of Elizabeth, and these two had both intruded into their sees, the legitimate pastors being still alive. The remainder of the Irish Bishops remained in the possession of their sees. The inferior clergy also generally concurred, and the laity continued subject to their pastors."

⁸ PALMER, ii. p. 553. "The people were induced to forsake the communion of their legitimate pastors by those foreign emissaries, who came at the Pope's instigation to found a new sect in Ireland." •

⁹ Dr. O'CONNOR (Romanist), ii. 302. "It is notorious that the Oath of Supremacy did not exclude the Catholic members from the Parliaments of 1613, 1614, 1615, 1639, 1640, or 1641. Catholic lawyers practised in courts as freely as Protestants; they were the active managers of the prosecution against Strafford."

See also, PLOWDEN (Romanist), History of Ireland, book ii. c. iv. "During the whole reign of Elizabeth, in Ireland we read of no imprisonment, banishment, or execution, of any priest for the sake of his religion."

On the other hand, in Queen Mary's time in England, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, had been executed—not for *civil* offences, but—for their *religion*.

See BURLEIGH'S (Lord) "Execution of Justice, not for Religion but for Treason," Lond. 1583, p. 4, on the effects of Pius Fifth's Bull

prescribed attendance at Divine Worship. But this requisition was not rigorously enforced¹. The penal statutes in question are of a later date; they owed their origin to Papal interference in Ireland, and were defensive measures against it².

These facts suffice to show, that the Reformation in Ireland was not conducted in an irregular manner. It was indeed sanctioned by the civil power. The work was begun by King Henry VIII., whose "son and successor," says Richard Hooker³, "was Edward the saint, who though he departed this world soon, yet against the Queen, and the practices of those who laboured to execute the Bull: and on the erection of Seminaries for the nursing of a mission against her royal dignity and power.

BURLEIGH, p. 7. "Those who have suffered death, have not suffered by force of any new law, established for Religion, or against the Pope's Supremacy, but by the antient temporal laws of the Realm, and, namely, by the laws made in King Edward the Third's time."

BURLEIGH, p. 20. Faculties were given to Parsons and Campion by Gregory XIII. in 1580, stating "that the Bull always binds the Queen—not them." See FOULIS, Treasons, p. 337.

¹ *Obtestatio Catholicorum in Desid. Curiosa*, i. p. 398, from O'SULLIVAN'S *Hist.* p. 245. "Secundo Regina Elizabethæ auno edicta proderunt ad incutiendum recusantibus metum; executioni minimè mandata in oblivionem abierunt." See also "Important Considerations by the Secular Priests." Lond. 1601.

² See BUTLER, C. (Romanist), *Memoirs of English Catholics*, i. p. 192. "The reasons assigned to justify the penal laws of Queen Elizabeth against Roman Catholics, were—

1. "The deposing Bull of Pius V., and its renewal by Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.
2. "The maintenance of the deposing doctrine by Romish missionary Priests in England.
3. "The establishment of the foreign seminaries for Romish Missions in England.

"The laws of which we are speaking were also defended by saying that the Priests who suffered were not executed for their religion but for treason."

³ See Hooker, iv. xiv. 7.

fulfilled he much time." He showed a pious love for Christ's Church in Ireland⁴.

But what ensued?

"That work" (adds the same venerable writer) "was in short space so overthrown, as if almost it had never been, till such time as that God, whose property is to show His mercies then greatest, when they are nearest to be despaired of, caused in the depth of discomfort and darkness a most glorious star to arise, and on her head settled the Crown." Queen Elizabeth was zealous for the Word of God, and worship of God; and Ireland would have flourished in godliness and peace under her sway, if Rome had permitted it⁵. The example of the

⁴ See Mr. SHIRLEY'S Original Collections of Letters and Papers concerning the Reformation in Ireland, p. 39. Lond. 1851.

K. EDWARD SIXTH'S Instructions, A.D. 1551: "Our Deputie shall set forth God's service to be administered within our said realme of Ireland in the *English* tongue in all places where the inhabitants, or a convenient number of them, understand the English tongue; and where they understand *not* the England tongue they to cause the *English to be translated* truly into the *Irish*."

K. EDWARD VI., 1551, to the Lord Deputy Croft (Shirley, p. 53): "Your motion for the Bishop of Clonfert seemeth not to us convenient, for a good pastor cannot nourish two flocks at once; and it agreeth not with our religion." This letter of King Edward is remarkable for its pious and wise spirit.

⁵ See QUEEN ELIZABETH'S Instructions to the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1559, that "in all their doings they set the Service of Almighty God before their eyes, and prefer the same in all cases; and that the said Deputy, and such others of the council that be native-born subjects of the Realm of England, do use the rites and ceremonies of the Service of God at the least in their houses."

QUEEN ELIZABETH to the Earl of Sussex, Lord-Lieutenant, A.D. 1564: "We have thought R. Dale very meet to be preferred to the Bishoprick (of Kildare), and the rather because he is well able (as we heare saye) to *preach in the Irish tongue*, and is well commended for his good name" (Shirley, p. 150).

Oct. 27, 1567 (State Paper, Shirley's Letters, p. 317): "Item, where

Sovereign was followed by Parliaments not only summoned from the English Pale (as some have alleged), but from all other parts of Ireland⁶. The Irish Reformation, therefore, was accepted and ratified by the temporal powers of Ireland.

No one, we imagine, will cavil against such an act on their part. No one will allege, we trust, that the Sovereign and Lords and Commons of Ireland were culpable, because they did not uphold error, and encourage usurpation. Who will venture to say that they ought to have remained passive and indifferent spectators of that great struggle in the sixteenth century, in which the Rights of the Crown, and the Liberties of the People, and their eternal interests, and the Truth of God were at stake,—a struggle on which the Angels themselves might have looked down from heaven with feelings of sympathy and hope? Did it become any one to be mute at that great crisis? What! were the Princes and Nobles of God's ancient People of Israel and Judah guilty of profane meddling, when they overthrew idolatrous altars, and cut down idolatrous groves, and repaired the Temple of God, and rebuilt its altar, and restored its worship, and summoned the tribes to a Passover, and exhorted them to renew their Covenant with God, and to hear the Word of His Law? What shall we

her Majesty hath paid lxxviii^l xiii^s iiij^d to the Bushoppes there, for making of caracts for the Testament in *Irishe*; that unless they do presently put the same in print her Majestie may be repaid xc."

Queen Elizabeth's desires in this respect may be gathered from 5 Eliz. c. 28, which requires the Welsh Bishops to provide a Book of Common Prayer in Welsh for every Church in Wales.

⁶ See the Roll of its Members (A.D. 1560), Spiritual and Temporal, in Mr. HARDIMAN'S Statutes of Kilkenny, pp. 134, 135.

say of Josiah, Hezekiah, Jehoshaphat, and Asa, and even of Jehu? Shall we condemn them, or disparage their acts? Heaven forbid! If we do, we resist the Holy Ghost. He has pronounced a glorious eulogy upon them in Holy Writ. As far as they did those things which we have mentioned, they did that which was *right in the eyes of the Lord.*

And so with regard to our own Princes and Parliaments. As far as they rejected what was novel and false, and restored what was ancient and true, may we not say that their panegyric is written in heaven—*they did that which was right in the eyes of the Lord?*

They did their part; and it was well they did so. But their part was not the only one. Another important part, in the Work of Reformation, was to be performed by others—namely, the Spiritual Rulers of the Church; and that was done also. It was done by them, not only as forming one of three Estates of the Realm in the Parliaments of Ireland which gave their sanction to the Reformation, but as convoked and assembled in Synods of the Church.

Thus the Church of Ireland reformed herself.

III. So much for the *manner* in which the Irish Reformation was transacted. Let us now consider the *matter*. What was that Reformation? Was it the introduction of any thing new? Or was it the Restoration of what was old?

1. A sufficient reply to these questions is contained in those Articles of Religion, adopted and promulgated

by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, to which your attention has been already invited (pp. 210—213).

Are those Articles chargeable with innovation? No. They appeal to Holy Writ—to the Canon of Scripture, as sealed in the primitive age of Christianity—to it, and to it alone they refer as the Rule of Faith. This is no new principle. It is the principle of the Apostle who said that the *Holy Scriptures are the things which are able to make us wise unto Salvation through faith that is in Christ Jesus*⁷: and that if even an *Angel from heaven preach to us any thing else besides what the Apostles preached he is to be anathema*⁸.

Those Articles teach that the Scriptures, *rightly interpreted*, are the Rule of Faith. They who framed these Articles knew well, that the exercise of private judgment (as it is called)—that is to say, the exercise of that rational faculty with which Almighty God has endowed us, is not only the *right* of all, but the *duty* of all. They knew also, that it is not only our duty to exercise it, but it is also our duty to exercise it *well*; and that the *right* exercise of it consists in using all the helps which God has given us for its guidance; and that one of the most valuable of those helps is the Authority of the Church of Christ Universal, to which He has promised His Presence and His Spirit. When, therefore, they had laid down as their basis, that the Holy Scripture is the Rule of Faith, they wisely taught the *right method of using that Rule*. And how is this? By listening to the voice of the Church Universal speaking in the

⁷ 2 Tim. iii. 15.

⁸ Gal. i. 1.

Creeds. "I do most firmly beleave," they say, "and confesse all the Articles contained in the *Three Creeds*; for these doo briefly containe the Principal Articles of our Faith which are at large set forth in the Holy Scriptures."

And wherefore did they reject those Articles of Romanism which they condemned? Because they could prove that they were not ancient, but novel; because they were unknown to the Fathers of the Church, and contrary to the doctrine of Scripture as interpreted by the Primitive Church.

Thus then in matters of doctrine, the Church of Ireland did not innovate, but restore; she cleared away the *wood, hay, and stubble*⁹, with which her foundation had been overlaid, and she stablished and settled herself more firmly on that One True Foundation, which is unmoved and immovable, the Rock of ages, which is the same *yesterday, to-day, and for ever, Jesus Christ*¹⁰.

⁹ 1 Cor. iii. 12.

¹⁰ Heb. xiii. 8. Archbp. BRAMHALL, i. p. 199: "We do not arrogate to ourselves a new Church, or a new religion, or new Holy Orders. Our religion is the same it was, our Church the same it was, our Holy Orders the same they were, *in substance*, differing only from what they were, as a garden weeded from a garden unweeded; and, therefore, as we do not presume to make new articles of faith, much less to obtrude such innovations on others, so we are not willing to receive them from others, which hath given occasion to some to call our religion a *negative* religion, not considering that our positive Articles are those general truths about which there is no controversy. Our negation is only of human controverted additions." See also ii. p. 206: "Doth he believe that errors are essentials of a Church? Would he persuade us that weeds are essentials of a garden, or that they become no weeds, because they are called 'pretended' weeds, or because they are called essentials? . . . It was their obstinacy to incorporate

2. With regard also to Church Government. The Church of Ireland did not set up Altar against Altar, or Bishop against Bishop. She made no rupture in the line of succession. The Episcopate of Ireland before the Reformation, was the Episcopate of Ireland at the Reformation, and after the Reformation. It was one and the same Episcopate; for the Episcopate of Ireland accepted the Reformation¹, and effected the Reformation. And having thus effected the Reformation, the Irish Episcopate ordained other Bishops in Ireland, to continue the work of Reformation, in their respective sees, the ancient sees of Ireland. Thus the Episcopate of that Church has been preserved in an unbroken line of succession unto this day. We can trace the chain backwards, link after link, till it passes through the hands of Apostolic Churches, even into the hand of Christ.

their errors into their Creeds, and to matriculate their abuses among their sacred rites. 'In vain do they worship Me' (saith God), 'teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.' Their old essentials, which were made essentials by Christ, we do readily receive them; their new essentials, which were lately devised by themselves, we do as utterly reject, and so much the rather, because they have made them essentials."

¹ Bishop MANT, Hist. i. p. 276: "In consequence of the Act of Supremacy (1560), or rather through their own conduct in defiance of it, two Bishops were deprived, Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, who refused the oath, and Walsh, Bishop of Meath, who preached against the Supremacy, and against the Book of Common Prayer." P. 278: "These are the *only two* Bishops who appear to have been deprived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. . . . All the rest (p. 279) either saw cause to approve the recent alterations, or contentedly acquiesced in the existing order of things." See also p. 743, and p. 285. "These were the legitimate prelates of the Church of Ireland, and of these the genuine successors, both by law and due course of episcopal descent, are the Prelates who now constitute the Irish hierarchy in the United Church of England and Ireland."

IV. Thus the Church of Ireland reformed herself, as it was her duty to do. This she did in a regular manner, without any breach of Church Unity. And when the Church of Rome would not also reform herself, but instead of doing so, denounced and anathematized the Church of Ireland, because she did her duty to herself and to Christ, then the Church of Rome made herself guilty of the schism which has rent the Church of Christ, and of all its mournful consequences. She imitated the Pharisees who excommunicated the man that confessed Christ²; and so far she severed herself from Him Who is the Divine Head of the Church; and the Church of Ireland may cheer herself with the joyful assurance that they who suffer for Christ are blessed by Christ, and that as Christ came and found the man who was put out of the synagogue for confessing Him, and spake to him words of comfort, so while she confesses Christ by the profession of a pure Faith, and by the maintenance of Apostolic Discipline, she will never be deserted by Him, but will enjoy His presence and protection.

V. Let us now turn to our Romanist brethren. They are accustomed to affirm that the present Church of Ireland is a novel creation, dating from the Reformation in the sixteenth century. We have met this assertion with a direct denial, resting on a circumstantial proof that the Church of Ireland does not derive its origin from recent times, but from the primitive age; that it is the Church of ancient Ireland, the

² John ix. 11.

Church of St. Columba, and St. Patrick, the Church of the Apostles, the Church of Christ. But we think that there is reason for saying that the allegations brought against the Church of Ireland by the adherents of Rome may haply recoil upon those that bring them³.

1. Can the Romish Hierarchy of Ireland clear themselves from the charge of teaching new doctrines, doctrines unknown to the ancient Church of Ireland; doctrines not found in Scripture; doctrines contrary to Scripture? To specify one among many. Have they not expressed a desire in one of their Synods⁴, that the Blessed Virgin should be invoked as "the Patroness of Ireland" under a new title—the title of the Immaculate

³ See Archbp. BRAMHALL, i. p. 97. "(1) Protestants were not the authors of the late great separation from Rome, but Roman Catholics themselves. (2) In abandoning the Court of Rome, we did not make any *new* law, but only declare and restore the *old* law of the land to its former vigour. (3) The ancient British, Scottish, and Irish Churches were exempted from the Patriarchal jurisdiction of the Roman Bishops. (4) The King and Church of England had both sufficient authority and sufficient grounds to withdraw their obedience. (5) The Sovereign Princes and Republics in Europe of the Roman Communion, whensoever they have the same occasion to reduce the Pope to reason, do either practise or plead for the same right, or both. (6) The Papacy itself (*qua talis*), as it is now maintained by many, with universality of jurisdiction, or rather sole jurisdiction, *jure divino*, with superiority over General Councils, with infallibility of judgment, is become by rigid censure, and Creeds, and exorbitant decrees, in a great part actually, and altogether casually, *guilty of this and all the greater schisms in Christendom.*"

Bp. SANDERSON, Serm. xi. 9. "The Bishops of Rome by obtruding their own inventions both in faith and manners, and those inventions to be received under pain of damnation, became the *authors*, and still are the *continuers*, of the widest *schism* that ever was in the Church of Christ from the first infancy thereof."

⁴ The Synod of Thurles. See the present writer's Occasional Sermons, No. 12, p. 95.

Conception? And did they not also utter a hope that the time might arrive when this doctrine of the Immaculate Conception might *be made* an Article of Faith? And has not that time arrived? Has not the Bishop of Rome promulgated that new dogma⁵, as an article of faith to be held by all, on pain of Damnation? What is this but to declare that now in 'this eventide of the world, now in the middle of the nineteenth century after Christ, new Articles of Faith may be made, and doctrines may be added to the One True Faith preached by Christ and His Apostles in the first century, and by which all the ancient saints were saved?

What other proof need we, that they who thus speak and act do not hold the Faith once for *all delivered to the saints*⁶, that they would supplant the Old Faith by a New Creed, and are therefore a New Church?

2. Again, with respect to Church Government. They assert that the present Reformed Church of Ireland dates its origin from the middle of the sixteenth century; that it is a New Church, and, therefore, No Church.

But not only do we deny this, but we desire them to look at themselves. According to the decrees of the Ancient Church⁷, there can be but one Bishop in a Diocese, and one Archbishop in a Province; and he who intrudes into a See already occupied by another, is

⁵ Dec. 8, 1854. See the present writer's Occasional Sermons, No. 43.

⁶ Jude 3.

⁷ Conc. Nicæn. can. 8; Conc. Constant. can. 2, can. 6. See also Conc. Ephes. and Conc. Chalced. can. 12; Conc. Antioch. can. 5. 13. 19.

guilty of schism, and is no lawful Bishop. Now, therefore, let us ask the present Romish Bishops in Ireland,—Who sent them? Who gave them authority to execute the Episcopal office in Ireland? Let them trace back their succession, if they can, even to the middle of the sixteenth century. Grant, for argument's sake, that they can do this, which is dubious⁸. But, if they arrive there, there they must stop; they cannot go a single step further back. Their Ecclesiastical ancestors of that period were *not consecrated by Bishops of Ireland. The hands of the successors of St. Patrick were never laid upon their heads.* They started up without predecessors, uncalled and unlooked for. They were not of Irish creation; they came from foreign lands⁹, from Italy and Spain; some of them sent *under a curse from the Pope, if*

⁸ See Sir W. PALMER'S Letters to Cardinal Wiseman, p. xxvi. 3rd ed. 1851.

KING'S History, p. 903. "In A.D. 1621, all the Irish Sees were filled with Protestant Bishops. There were then but four Irish Bishops (with titles) connected with the Romish Church,—two living in Ireland, two in foreign parts. These were emissaries from the Pope, and intruders in our Church and Realms; and their followers could be justly regarded only as separatists from the Church of Ireland. Such too are their descendants, whose ecclesiastical authority, appointment, and order, are derived from the usurped power of a foreign Prelate. None of them have ever been ordained by any bishops of the ancient Church of Patrick and Columkille."

⁹ PERCEVAL, Hon. and Rev. A., On Apostolical Succession. Lond. 1839, p. 236. "The Bishops and Clergy of the Roman Church in Ireland, who have intruded into the Irish dioceses, derive their orders from Spain and Portugal (and Italy), and not from the Irish Church."

PALMER, ii. p. 567. "The regular and ancient succession of Bishops from St. Patrick had descended continually on the Church of Ireland to the present day. The Romish Society derived its mission and succession from the Pope of Rome in the reign of Queen Elizabeth."

*they refused to go*¹. And wherefore did they come?—To seize upon Episcopal titles worn by rightful owners; to invade Episcopal offices executed by lawful rulers; to intrude into Irish Dioceses occupied by Irish Bishops. Thus they set up a new altar against the true altar; they raised up a new Priesthood and a new Episcopate against the ancient Priesthood and ancient Episcopate of Ireland; they were spiritual usurpers; they followed in the way of Jeroboam, and walked in the *gainsaying of Korah*.

And by what means and instruments did they prosecute their work? Not by the arms of the Spirit, but by fire and sword. During the first ten years of Queen Elizabeth, Ireland was comparatively peaceful. It seemed as if she had now, at length, a promise of happiness. The Word of God had been made more accessible to the people. Many thousand printed copies of the Holy Scriptures were now, for the first time, circulated in Ireland². The Queen had given commands that the Bible should be translated into the Irish tongue. Alas! her commands were not obeyed, on account of the subsequent confusions of the times. There seemed to be One Church and One People. Then it was that the Bishop

¹ RICHARD CREAGH states (Original Letters, Shirley, p. 173), "March, 1564-5, he was charged upon the *Pope's curse not to refuse the Archbishoppricke of Armagh, and he was consecrated by Lonelinus and another Bishoppe in the Pope's chapel, and so came from Rome.*" See also *ibid.* p. 177: "I was *commanded under pain of cursyng to take that Archbishoppricke.*" Let this fact be borne in mind by those who have been moved by some recent publications on this subject.

² LOFTUS MS. A.D. 1559. "It appeared by the accompt of John Dale, bookseller for the Stationers of London, that within two yeares were sold in Dublin 7000 Bibles."

of Rome interposed and confounded all things³. He excommunicated the Queen. Thrice⁴ he fulminated his anathemas against her. He pretended to dethrone her, and to give her dominions to a foreign power, and sent the Spanish Armada against her⁵. He excited her sub-

³ PHELAN'S History. "In 1568 the patience of Rome was exhausted,"—or rather, we should say, her exasperation at seeing Ireland rescued from her grasp knew no bounds,—“and the spiritual sword was unsheathed. Elizabeth was excommunicated, and her subjects absolved from their allegiance by four successive Popes; her life was assailed by numerous conspiracies; her kingdom given up to Spain, at that time the greatest power of the Continent, and to the intrigues of the new order of Jesuits. Consecrated plumes and banners, men, money, arms, and ammunition, were poured into Ireland: special indulgences, and pledges of absolution to the third generation, were granted to all who would rise in rebellion.”

⁴ E. g. Popes Pius V. 1570, Gregory XIII. in 1577, and Sixtus V. 1588. See FOULIS, Trcasons, pp. 334—351.

⁵ See Disputatio Apologetica de jure regni apud Hibernos. Frank. 1645, 4to, p. 38. Auctore C. MAHONY, Hiberno, Artium et Sacræ Theologiæ Magistro. “Gregorius XIII. non semel hortatus est Catholicos Hibernos ad bellum movendum contra hæreticos Anglos, tribuens indulgentiam plenariam et remissionem peccatorum omnibus qui Jacobum Geraldinum et Joannem duces Hibernos secuti fuissent.” See his Bull, 13th May, 1580, in O'Sullivan's Hist. Cath., ii. lib. iv. c. 17. The Bull promises “peccatorum veniam et eandem quæ ad hellum proficiscentibus contra *Turcas* per Romanos pontifices impertiri solita est.” See also *ibid.*, p. 41, “Clemens Octavus, A.D. 1603, misit in Hiberniam legatum suum fratrem Matthæum Ovetensem, vel de Oviedo, Hispanum, Archiepiscopum Dublinensem, cum bullâ indulgentiarum omnibus qui pro fide Catholicâ in Anglos arma caperent.” See again MAHONY, *ibid.*, p. 41. “Urbanus VIII., A.D. 1642, indultum concessit Eugenio Onello, strenuissimo et nobilissimo duci Hiberno, et cæteris Catholicis qui in Hibernia bellum *contra hæreticos Anglos promoverent.*” This Author, *ibid.*, p. 99, thus writes: “Catholici Hiberni, qui bellum pro religione catholicâ cum hæreticis Anglis gerunt, non sunt rebelles, ut hæretici adversarii impudenter mentiuntur.” And he thus excites his fellow-countrymen to murder the Protestant Churchmen of Ireland: p. 125, “*Hiberni mei, agite, perficite opus defensionis et libertatis vestræ; jam interfecistis centum quinquaginta millia hostium his quatuor vel quinque annis, ab anno scilicet 1641 usque ad hunc annum*

jects to rebel, and despatched emissaries into Ireland, who fanned the flame of civil war, and brought consecrated plumes, and banners, and beads, and Agnus-Deis, from Rome, and promised the same indulgences to those who fought against their Queen as he gave to those who warred *against the Turks*. Thus Ireland became the scene of a religious war⁶. So it continued for near forty years. Churches were burnt and pillaged, and the work⁷ of Reformation was arrested. Such were the circumstances under which the predecessors of the Romish Hierarchy in Ireland were introduced into that country.

Let those who derive their origin from them be earnestly entreated to remember the judgments which

1645, in quo hæc scribo; . . . et ego *plures hæreticos occisos* fuisse credo, et *utinam omnes!* Restat ut *cæteros hæreticos occidatis . . .*" p. 129. "*Agite ergo, Catholici Hiberni, et felicem finem imponite operi quod incæpistis!*"

This volume, written by a Roman Catholic theologian, with a pen dipped in blood, was put forth, as its title tells us, "Superiorum permissu"! And let us remember,—and take warning from the remembrance,—that Rome, which authorized and instigated such savage words and deeds as these, boasts that she is unchanged and unchangeable. What she was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that she will be again, if she can, in the nineteenth century.

⁶ See Appendix, below, p. 232-6.

⁷ USSHER, Rel. An. Irish. On the representations of O'Sullivan, and the Doctors of Salamanca and Valladolid (A.D. 1603), concerning the alleged duty of Roman Catholics to rise up in arms against an English Protestant Prince, and that, under these circumstances, the English ought to be exterminated as if they were Turks; since this doctrine had been sanctioned by Popes Gregory XIII. (A.D. 1580), and Clement VIII. (A.D. 1603). "Cum Pontifex dicat '*Anglos adversus Catholicam Religionem pugnare,*' eosque non minus ac *Turcas* oppugnari debere, eisdemque gratiis eos oppugnantes prosequatur, quibus contra *Turcas* pugnantes prosequitur." See O'SULLIVAN'S History, lib. iv. c. 17; lib. v. c. 12; and lib. viii. c. 7.

fell on Jeroboam and Korah. Let them not say that their followers are many, and that they therefore are safe. Numbers are no test of truth. The Harlot of the Apocalypse sits upon many waters, which are *peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues*⁸. Thousands perished with Korah⁹. Those who joined in the schism of Jeroboam far *exceeded in numbers* those who elave to the house of David, and to the Temple and Worship of God. There were *Ten Tribes* on one side, and only *Two Tribes* on the other. And they appealed to their *numbers*. But what did Abijah, King of Judah, say to them? "Hear me, Jeroboam, and all Israel, Ye think to withstand the Kingdom of the Lord in the hand of the sons of David; and *ye be a great multitude*, and there are with you golden calves, which Jeroboam made you for gods. And have ye not cast out the Priests of the Lord, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made you priests? But as for us, the Lord is our God, and the Priests which minister unto the Lord are the sons of Aaron, and the Levites wait upon their business. And they burn unto the Lord the daily sacrifice. The shewbread, also, set they in order upon the pure table; and the candlestick of pure gold with the lamps; for we keep the charge of the Lord our God; *but ye have forsaken Him*. And, behold, God Himself is with us for our captain, and His Priests with sounding trumpets to cry alarm against you. O children of Israel, *fight not against the Lord God of your fathers; for ye shall not prosper*¹."

⁸ Rev. xvii. 15.

⁹ Numb. xvi. 41—49.

¹ 2 Chron. xiii. 12.

And what was the result?

“*The children of Judah prevailed, because they relied upon the Lord God of their fathers* ².”

So now the Clergy and Laity of the Reformed Church of Ireland may address the Romish hierarchy in that country: *Ye be a great multitude.* You boast of the crowds of worshippers which throng your churches and press to your altars. You speak of your Six Millions. Alas! you who *have so often numbered the people,* and *have so often vaunted their numbers,* have also seen them mowed down by Pestilence ³. And you taunt us with the paucity of our numbers. We are inferior to you in numbers; but are we inferior in Truth? Ye have forsaken the Lord your God. Ye have severed yourselves from Him by new Articles of Faith and by idolatrous objects of worship. Ye have made a rent in the robe of Christ. But with us are the Word and Sacraments of Christ freely ministered to all. With us is the true Priesthood; with us is the true Shewbread and the Golden Candlestick of His Church, and the incense of evangelical Prayer offered in the golden censer of Christ’s merits. With us are the Tables of the Covenant and the Book of His Law read in the ears of all His people—the Holy Scriptures. Christ Himself is our Captain: and His Priests with sounding Trumpets cry alarm against you, *Fight not against the Lord God of your Fathers, for ye shall not prosper.*

Rather in Christ’s name, Who is the Prince of Peace, let this schism be healed, and let this contention cease. Let not *Ephraim any longer envy Judah, nor Judah vex*

² 2 Chron. xiii. 18.

³ 2 Sam. xxiv. 10—15.

Ephraim. Three hundred years of religious warfare are enough. Let a religious amnesty be proclaimed, and let us embrace one another as brethren in Christ. Let us meet together in the courts of the same Jerusalem, in the same Temple, at the same Altar. Let us all be joined together in the profession of *One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism.* Then Ireland will prosper. She will be once more the "Island of Saints." *Peace will be within her walls, and Plenteousness within her Palaces*⁴. *She will be like a city that is at unity with itself;* and will prepare her children upon earth to dwell with Saints in Paradise, and to sit down with Apostles and Evangelists, with Prophets and Patriarchs, in the Kingdom of God.

⁴ Ps. cxxii. 7.

APPENDIX.

SIR H. SYDNEY'S *State Papers*. Lond. 1746. 2 vols. folio.

THE state of barbarism to which Ireland had been reduced under the previous three centuries of Roman sway, and the results of the civil feuds, and of the religious wars stirred up in Ireland by the influence of Rome, are described by Sir HENRY SYDNEY, then Lord Deputy, in the most affecting terms, especially in regard to their effects on religion. See p. 20 of his Letter to Queen Elizabeth, 1567:—

“The depopulacion of so many of your Highnesses subjects, partelie by slaughter, partelie by banyshement, and a great nomber throughe famyn, as it was too lamentable to heare or behold, with the subversion of so many villages, *ruyne of Churches, and vacancy of any kinde of Ministrie in the same, as any Christian would lament to heare and see it.* The prophanacion, also, of the Cathedrall Churches partelie growing for want of Bisshopps, is a thing not a little to be bemoaned.”

Ibid. p. 24: “From Youghal to Corke, and towards Limerick, like as I was never in a more pleasaunt countrey in my life, so never saw I a more waste and desolate lande; and there hearde I such lamentable complaints of poor people which are left, who hardly escaping the fury of the sword and fire of their outrageous neighbours, or the famyne with the same, which their extortious lordes have driven them unto, either by taking their goodes from them, or by spending the same by their extorte taking of coyne and liverie, make demonstracion of the miserable state of that

countrie. Besides this, such horrible and lamentable spectacles there are to beholde, as *the burning of villages, the ruyne of Churches, the wasting of* such as have been good townes and castels,—yea, the view of the bones and skulls of dead subjects who, partlie by murder, partlie by famyn, have died in the fields, as, in troth, hardly any Christian with dry eies could behold. Not long before my arrivall there, it was credibly reported there that a principal servaunt of the *Erl of Desmond*, after that he had *burnt sundrie villages* ——” The rest of this recital is too horrible to be transcribed.

See also *Ibid.* p. 76, 77. 83. 105: “*Armagh Church all down; the towne miserable. O’Neil’s wife came to me; she hath a great desire to have her husband live like a good subject.*”

Sir H. SYDNEY (*State Papers*, p. 109) says, “*The hedds*” (of things to be done) “*are these:—*

“*The first is, the Church, so spoyled, as well by the ruine of the Temples, as the dissipacion and imbeaseling of the patrimonie, and most of all, for wante of sufficient Ministers; as so deformed and overthrowen a Churche there is not, I am sure, in any region where Christ is professed; and preposterous it seemeth to me to begin Reformation of the Politique part, and neglect the Religious.*”

Sir H. SYDNEY thus writes to Queen Elizabeth, from Dublin, 28th April, 1576 (*State Papers*, i. p. 112):—

“*May it please your most Excellent Majestie,*

“*I have in four severall discourses, addressed unto the Lords of your Highness most honorable Councell, certified them howe I found this your Highness’ Realme on myne arrival in the same. . . .*

“*And now most deare Mistress, and most honoured Sovereigne, I solely address myself to you, as to the only sovereign salve given to this your sore and sicke realme, the lamentable estate of the most noble and principall lym there-*

of—the Church I meane—as fowle, deformed, and as cruelly crushed as any other part thereof, by your only gracious and religious Order to be cured or at least amended. I would not have believed, had I not for a great part viewed the same, throughout the whole Realme, and was advertized of the particular estate of eche Church in the Bishoppricke of Meithe, being the best inhabited Countie in this realme, by the honest, zealous, and learned Bishopp of the same, Mr. Hugh Bradye, who went from Church to Church himselfe and founde that there are within his Diocess 224 Parish Churches, of which number 105 are impropriated to sundrie possessions nowe of youre Highness, and all leased out for years, or in Fee farmed to several Farmers, and great gayne reaped out of them above the rent which your Majestie receiveth, no Parson, or Vicar resident upon any of them, and a very simple or sorry Curate for the most part appointed to serve them, among which number of Curates only 18 were found able to speake English, the rest Irish Priests, or rather Irish Roges, having very little Latin, less learning or civilitie. All these lyve upon bare Altarages, as they tearme them, which God knoweth are very small, and were wont to lyve upon the gayne of Masses, Dirges, Shryvings, and soche lyke trumperye, goodlye abolished by your Majestie. No one Howse standing for any of them to dwell in. In many places the very walls of the Churches downe, very few Chauncells covered, wyndowes and doores ruyned or spoyled. There are 52 other Parishe Churches more, residue of the first number of 224, which pertaine to dyvers particular Lordes, and these though in better Estate than the rest commonly are, yet farre from well. If this be the Estate of the Church in the best peopled Dyoces, and best governed cuntrye of this Realme (as in troth it is), easy it is for your Majesty to conjecture in what case the rest is.

“ If I should write unto your Majestie what spoyle hath

beene and is of the Archbishoppricks, whereof they are fower, and of Bishoppricks whereof they are above 30, partly by the Prelates themselves, partly by the Potentates their noysome Neighbours, I should make too long a lybell of this my Lettre. But your Majestie may believe it, that upon the Face of the Earthe where Christ is professed there is not a Church in so miserable a case; the misery of which consisteth in these 3 Particulars—the Ruine of the very Temples themselves, the Want of Good Ministers to Serve therein when they shall be reedified, competent Lyvinge for the Ministers being well chosen.

“For the first let it lyke your most gracious Majestie to write earnestly to me, and to whom else it may please you, to examine in whom the fault is that the Churches are so ruinous. If it be found in the Countrie or Fermors, to compel them speedily to go about the amendment of them: if the fault for the Churches of your Highness Inheritance be nor in the Fermors, nor they bound to repair them (and the most ruined of them are such as are in your possession), it may lyke you to grant warrant that some Portion may yerelye of the rent of every Parsonage be bestowed on the Church of the Same.”

The same noble writer thus speaks in another letter to Queen Elizabeth, i. p. 112:—“So profane and heathenish are some parts of this your country become that it hath been preached publickly before me that the Sacrament of Baptisme is not usual amonge them, and truly I believe it.” P. 24: “Surely there never was a people that lived in more misery, nor, as it should seeme, of worse mindes, for Matrimonie amongst them is no more regarded in effect than conjunction between unreasonable beastes. Perjurie, Robbery, and Murder counted allowable. Finally, I cannot finde that they make any conscience of Synne and I doubt whether they christen their children or no.”

In his Instructions to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland,

15 Sept., 1577, Sir H. SYDNEY also says, p. 222, "You shall put Her Majestie and the Lords in remembrance that the delivering of Justice universally thorough the Realme is the sole and only maner to reforme this disjointed State and barbarous Countrye, and *how glad the common and poorer sort* are to embrace it, and that none but the Great Ones under-hand repine at it; and what sweetness her good Subjects feele by the benefit of Her Majesties Lawes administered to them, wherebye they are nowe of *late yeares* not onely delivered from the exactions and oppressions of their Lords who tyrannized over them, but also live in hope of more ease and greater Wealth from day to day, if the course of Justice may duelye take place and be planted among them.

"You shall further declare unto Her Majestie and the Lords how many wayes and devices are used to ease the People of their grieves and burden of cesse (which in troth is heavy), and howe maney tymes we offered to have joyned with the Lords in advise for redresse of the matter, which they from tyme to tyme refused to doe."

See also REPORT to Lord Deputy, 1565. COX, i. 319. MANT, i. 289. "As for religion, there is small appearance of it; the Churches uncovered: the Clergy scattered; and scarce the beeing of a God known to those ignorant and barbarous people." They describe the country as distracted by internal feuds among rival chiefs.

SPENSER'S View of Ireland, 1596, p. 137: "They are in their religion so blindly and brutishly informed, for the most part, that not one amongst a hundred knoweth any grounde of religion, or any article of faith, but can, perhaps, say his *Pater Noster*, or his *Ave Maria*, without any knowledge or understanding what one word thereof meaneth."

These are the bitter fruits of Romish domination for 400 years (i. e. from the twelfth to the sixteenth century) in Ireland; and of Romish opposition to the Reformation in that country in the sixteenth century.

SERMON VII.

HINDRANCES AND HOPES OF THE CHURCH IN IRELAND.

ISAIAH v. 4.

“Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?”

IT was my endeavour, in two former discourses, to show that the religious Reformation in Ireland in the sixteenth century, is not chargeable with innovations in Doctrine or Discipline; that it was a rejection of what was novel and erroneous, and a restoration of what is ancient and true.

1. Here a question arises. How then can we account for the present condition of Ireland? *If* the Irish Church is indeed the true Church of Christ in that country; if its Doctrines are Scriptural, if its Discipline is Apostolical; if the Reformation in the sixteenth century was an act of religious Restoration, how are we to explain the fact, a fact as evident to the eye as it is distressing to the mind, that now, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the condition of Ireland is greatly to be deplored? How is it, that violence and murder often escape unpunished there, and that feuds and fac-

tions prevail? How is it that the Country itself appears to be the victim of God's wrath, that its population¹ has greatly decreased; that it is frequently withered by blight, exhausted by famine, and ravaged by pestilence; and that, in the prophetic language of one² who knew Ireland well, she seems to "be reserved by Almighty God in this unquiet state, for some secret scourge which shall come by her to England"?

Surely it may now be said, if the Church of Ireland is a Divine institution, and if the Reformation was a work of God, the state of Ireland would be very different from what it is. That Church and Reformation have been tried for three centuries. So long a time for probation is enough. They have been tried and found wanting. May not the great Lord of the vineyard Himself now say of the Irish Church, *Behold, these three centuries I come seeking fruit on it, and find none. Therefore cut it down: why cumbereth it the ground?*

2. This is an important question, and deserves serious consideration.

¹ The amount of depopulation in Ireland in recent years may be seen in the following figures:—

Population in 1841 . .	8,175,124
" " 1851 . .	6,515,794.

² EDMUND SPENSER (the Author of the *Faery Queen*, who lived many years in Ireland), in his *View of the State of Ireland*, 1596: "There have been divers good plottes devised, and wise counsels cast about for reformation of that realme of Ireland, but they say it is the fatall destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good, will prosper and take good effect, which, whether it proceed from the very genius of her soyle or influence of the starres, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her Reformation, or *that Hee reserveth her in this unquiet state still for some secret scourge, which shall come by her to England; it is hard to be knowne, but yet much to be feared.*"

First, then, it is undeniable, that the present condition of Ireland, social, civil, and religious, is deeply to be lamented. It is a cause for public humiliation. It suggests feelings of shame for the past, sorrow for the present, and apprehension for the future. We cannot congratulate ourselves on the progress which the Reformation has made in that country. Doubtless they who engaged in that work in the sixteenth century anticipated that the result of their labours would be far more prosperous than it has proved to be; and if they were now to arise from their graves, they would be bitterly disappointed, distressed, and dismayed by what they would see in Ireland; and they might feel some misgivings whether the work on which they had been engaged, believing it to be a holy cause, but which had borne so little fruit, could have been a work of God,—or was it not rather a struggle against Him?

What shall be said here?

3. Shall we allow it to be doubtful, whether the principles, embodied in the Irish Reformation, are sound principles or not? No: we cannot do this. For (as has been already shown) the principles of that Reformation are the principles of Christianity. If we surrender them, we sacrifice the Gospel itself.

4. Next, we would proceed to say, that principles confessedly sound,—principles promulgated by God Himself, may, through the weakness and wickedness of man, be almost barren of fruit. *Sir, didst not Thou sow good seed in Thy field,—whence then hath it tares?* The

answer is, *An enemy hath done this*³. God's best gifts may be abused. His most loving designs may be thwarted and frustrated. His most tender cares may be made abortive. *O inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah—judge I pray you betwixt Me and My Vineyard—judge between Me and My Church—What could have been done more to My Vineyard that I have not done in it? Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes? And yet the Church is of God. The Vineyard of the Lord of Hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah His pleasant plant; and He looked for judgment, but behold oppression,—for righteousness, but behold a cry*⁴!

5. This then is our assertion.—The Reformed Church of Ireland is the true Church of Christ in that country. It is the Vineyard of the Lord of Hosts. The Reformation was a blessing from heaven. God has done His part. What could have been done for His Vineyard which He has not done in it? He has given it His Word, His Sacraments, and His Ministry, and He has mercifully preserved and rescued them. *He* has done His part. But *man* has failed—miserably failed—in *his* part. And the question may now be asked by God Himself, *Wherefore, when I looked for grapes, brought it forth wild grapes; when I looked for judgment, behold oppression, and for righteousness, but behold a cry?*

6. But, brethren, if it can be shown that the Church of Ireland has been beleaguered by powerful and inveterate foes from without, and betrayed by faithless or injudicious friends from within; yet still is now in a

³ Matt. xiii. 27.

⁴ Isa. v. 5—7. See also Jer. ii. 21.

more efficient state than it has been for a thousand years; if it can be shown that the cause of the Reformation has been assailed by incessant violence for three centuries, if it has been mismanaged, deserted and paralyzed by some who ought to have defended it, and if it yet survives, nay exhibits more vigour, and displays more promise, than it has done for many hundred years—then let us take courage—the Church of Ireland is a Church of God, the Reformation was His work.

7. If, then, for no other cause,—yet for this,—to justify the ways of God to man, and to show that He has done His part for the Irish Church and Nation, and that the miseries which Ireland now suffers are due to man's failings, and to man's transgressions,—let me now invite you to consider the *hindrances* which have checked the growth of the CHURCH in IRELAND, and have obstructed the progress of Reformation in that country.

8. The contemplation of this subject will also be very beneficial, in supplying strong motives for contrition and self-abasement before God, and for earnest prayer to Him that He would not remember our iniquities, nor the iniquities of our forefathers, and would avert from us and from our children the evils we have deserved. It will enable us to interpret aright the language of the terrible judgments with which Ireland has been visited from time to time, for many years: it will enable us to read the Writing traced on the wall of our National house by the Divine Finger: it will make us fall on our knees, and pray to God that He would spare us, and would give us grace to rectify what is amiss,—to

strengthen the things that remain, and to attain the blessing promised to those who *build up the old waste places, and who will hereafter be called by the tongues of Angels, the repairers of the breach, the restorers of paths to dwell in*⁵.

Besides; a knowledge of past and present hindrances and failings will suggest the requisite remedies, and best measures of improvement for the future.

The Impediments of the Church and Reformation in Ireland have been, and are, of two kinds,—

I. *External*;

II. *Internal*.

I. *External*. Among these must be placed, first, the bitter hostility and powerful antagonism of Rome.

At the very dawn of the Reformation in Ireland, Rome directed her weapons against it.

In the year 1535, Pope Paul III. commanded all Ecclesiastics to quit Ireland until she should repent of having rejected his Supremacy, and he denounced an anathema on all who did not acknowledge it, and stirred up her people to rebellion.

In the year 1570⁶, Pope Pius V. excommunicated

⁵ Isa. lviii. 12.

⁶ See above, p. 215, note. As these Acts of the Papacy have been recently attributed by Romish writers to cruelties practised by the government of Queen Elizabeth on the persons of Roman Catholics in Ireland, it may be well to refer to contrary avowals from Romanists themselves of a former period; see above, pp. 214, 215. Thus, even in the *Papal Instructions* to the Nuncio in Ireland, Rinuccini, it is said :—

RINUCCINI, Papal Instruction to, p. xxxvi. “*Non furono eseguite con molta violenza verso di loro quelle leggi, che contro i Cattolici si pubblicarono in Inghilterra.*” P. xliii. “*Poco a poco si vedeva lacri-*

Queen Elizabeth for favouring the Reformation, and declared her to have forfeited her Throne, and absolved the Queen's subjects from allegiance, and excited insurrections against her.

In 1580⁷, Pope Gregory XIII. renewed the sentence of Pius V., and appointed an Irish Chief to head a revolt against the Queen, and promised the same indul-

mevolmente divenire tutta l' isola Protestante" (sotto Elisabetta). On the *Cause* of these Penal Laws in Ireland, see Archbp. BRAMHALL, ii. 124. "I justify (those penal laws) on this undeniable ground, that no kingdom is destitute of necessary remedies for its own conservation. A law which was justly enacted may be over-rigorously executed when that necessity, which was the only ground of the law, is abused. I wish the *necessity had not been so great* as to require laws written in blood, and that a lesser coercion could have sufficed then as a remedy. . . . I wish that all seditious opinions and over-rigorous statutes were buried in oblivion." Again: "We (the Lord Deputy Strafford and I) did our work by more noble and more successful means than penal laws. By building Churches, and mansion-houses for ministers, by introducing a learned Clergy, by enjoining their residence, by affording them countenance, and protection, and means of hospitality, by planting and ordering schools for the education of youth."

"To look after the ecclesiastical regimen was the care of particular bishops. To look to the public safety of the kingdom, and to free it *from sedition masked under the vizard of religion* was the care of a Sovereign Magistrate."

So far Abp. BRAMHALL. "It must also be remembered that by 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 6, the acts of Richard II. Henry IV. and V., *de hæretico comburendo*, which had been *repealed* under Edward VI., were *reinforced*, and the 1st of Elizabeth *restrained the punishment* of heresy within those bounds which the laws of her brother Edward had wisely ordained." See BROWN'S "Laws against the Catholics," Lond. 1813, p. 6.

Again; in the 7th of William III. "An Act was passed to *take away* the writ *de hæretico comburendo*, which had been *revived* in Ireland" under James II. See *Strictures on Plowden*, p. 67.

Which therefore of the two, Romanists or Anti-Romanists, have most reason to complain of "Penal Statutes for Religion"?

⁷ See WILKINS, Concil. iv. 296. "The Bull is dated May 13, 1580." See also KING, p. 1262—1272.

gences to all who would join in the rebellion, as he gave to those who fought against the Turks.

In 1587, Pope Sixtus V. reiterated the same edict, and encouraged the Irish to join the Spanish Armada which he sent to fight against their Queen and country.

Why should we refer to the subsequent similar acts of Pope Clement VIII., in 1600⁸? of Pope Paul V., in 1606⁹? of Pope Urban VIII., in 1626¹? and to the sanguinary Rebellion in 1641², fomented by the Papacy, wherein thousands, and tens of thousands, of those

⁸ April 18, 1600. See WILKINS, Concil. iv. 362. He gives to the Irish rebels "plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum veniam et remissionem, ac eandem quæ proficiscentibus ad bellum contra Turcas, et ad recuperationem terræ sanctæ, per Romanos Pontifices concedi solita est, misericorditer in Domino concedimus."

⁹ KING, pp. 1313—1318.

¹ May 30, 1626. See WILKINS, Concil. iv. p. 2471. MANT, i. p. 418. Bull of Pope Urban VIII. A.D. 1625, wherein he exhorts the subjects of the King "rather to die than take the oath of allegiance."

² CLARENDON, Lord Chancellor, on Fanaticism, Lond. 1674, p. 71. "Was not the Irish rebellion begun and carried on by the King's Roman Catholic subjects? Was there one man but Roman Catholics who concurred in it? Was not the secular and regular Clergy equally engaged to support it? And did not the Pope contribute to it, if not contrive it? And was not himself in the person of his Nuncio, Rinuccini, General of the Rebels both by sea and land?"

The massacre took place in Oct. 1641, and not long after it the Roman Catholic Bishops and Clergy claimed all the revenues of the Irish Church. See the "Propositiones a Clero formatæ et oblatæ Comitii Generalibus;" as follows,—

"Ut Primates, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Decani, Præbendarii, Rectores, Vicarii et alii Pastores *Romani Catholici* Cleri et illorum successores habeant, teneant, et fruantur omnibus Ecclesiis et Ecclesiasticis beneficiis in tam amplo et largo modo quam nuperus Protestans Clerus respectivè illis fructus est prima die Octobris 1641, unà cum omnibus fructibus, emolumentis, &c." See the document in the papers of RINUCCINI, the Papal Nuncio in Ireland at that time, and recently printed at Florence, p. 472.

who adhered to the Church and the Reformation were massacred?

Listen to the language of savage exultation uttered at the time by a champion³ of the Papacy, and speaking with Papal authority: "You have already slain one hundred and fifty Thousand in these four or five years, dating from the year 1641 to the year 1645, in which I write these words; and I believe that more of your heretical enemies were slain by you. *Would that you had slain them all!* It remains now for you to slay the rest."

Thus we see, that at the Reformation in the middle of the 16th century, Rome unfurled the banner of Civil War in Ireland. She placed the Cross—the divine symbol of peace—on the baleful standard of Discord. She consecrated Invasion into a Crusade. She pronounced blessings on Rebellion, and imprecated curses on Loyalty. She promised the joys of heaven to those who would subvert the Altar and the Throne, and she denounced the pains of perdition on all who rose up to defend them. Then, indeed, might it be said of the Lord's Vineyard in Ireland,—*The wild boar out of the wood doth root it up, and the wild beasts of the field devour it. It is burnt with fire and cut down*⁴. And what was the result? Villages

³ In the publication above mentioned, p. 227, note, where he thus addresses his brother Romanists of Ireland: "Jam interfecistis centum quinquaginta millia his quatuor vel quinque annis ab anno scilicet 1641 usque ad hunc annum 1645 in quo hæc scribo, ut ipsi adversarii in suis scriptis demugientes palam fatentur *et vos non diffitemini: et ego plures hæreticos hostes occisos fuisse credo, et utinam omnes! Restat ut cæteros occidatis!*" This was written by an Irish R. C. Ecclesiastic, and published *superiorum permissu*. The book from which this extract is taken is now very scarce.

⁴ Ps. lxxx. 13. See the evidence of desolation, social and religious, produced by Rome, above, pp. 232—236.

and towns smouldering in ashes; Churches pillaged and destroyed; the Clergy put to flight; the People reduced to penury and barbarism.

Thus, when the Spiritual builders in Ireland—the Bishops and Pastors of the Church—would have restored the Temple of God, Rome arose—like another Sanballat⁵—and harassed and vexed them by day and by night, both in body and soul, for a hundred years. We need not trace her course further. But, we fear, that what she was then, she still is, and will again show herself to be⁶. And yet she sometimes taunts us with the feebleness of the Church in Ireland, and with the failure of the Irish Reformation. Is this, she asks, a Church of God? Can that be His work? So weak, so unprosperous! A fox may leap over the walls⁷! So might Cain have insulted over the dead body of his brother Abel—whom he had slain! If Christ's Church

⁵ Nehem. iv. 7; vi. 9.

⁶ See for example the following evidence in the Bp. of CLOYNE, "State of Church of Ireland," 1800, p. 22: "The Papal Legate (and Nuncio, Thomas-Maria) *condemns* as *intolerable* certain clauses in our Oath (of Allegiance) which contain a declaration of abhorrence of the doctrines that 'Faith is not to be kept with heretics,' and that 'Princes deprived by the Pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects; because,' says he (the Legate), 'those doctrines are defended and *contended for by most Catholic Nations*, and the *Holy See has frequently followed them in practice.*' The Legate's words are, 'Notam debet esse doctrinam hanc, quæ detestabilis asseritur in hoc juramento, defendi et propugnari a plerisque Nationibus Catholicis, eandemque in praxi pluries secutam fuisse Apostolicam sedem.'" This remarkable Letter is dated 14th Oct., 1768, and is addressed to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. It is printed in extenso by the Bishop of Cloyne. This document from the Papal Legate is called by the Roman Catholic Historian and Bishop, Burke, "*Literæ verè aureæ, cedroque dignæ.*" See *ibid.* p. 22.

⁷ Nehem. iv. 3.

in Ireland were dead—if the Reformation in Ireland were extinct—then we might point to their lifeless corpse, and say to the Church of Rome—Behold thy work!

Here, then, we see one reply to the question—Why have the Church and Reformation in Ireland been less prosperous than might have been anticipated? And, if the doctrines taught by that Church, and vindicated by that Reformation are true; if they are the doctrines of Christ's Holy Gospel (as we maintain they are), then—since the Gospel is the main source of happiness to a People—since *Righteousness exalteth a Nation*⁸—and since ignorance and neglect of the Gospel is a main cause of vice and woe—we see abundant reason also, why Ireland—in which the doctrines of the Gospel have not been suffered to take root—should be now in that miserable condition, which we all behold and deplore.

II. But, we should be taking a partial view of this subject, if we were to ascribe those evils to *external* causes alone. *Other* influences, from *within*, have contributed to give greater power to enemies from without. Let us specify some of these.

One of the fundamental principles of the Reformation is, that the HOLY SCRIPTURES are the Rule of Faith⁹. Hence it follows that the Scriptures ought to be read openly in Churches in the ears of the People, in their *native tongue*; and that copies of the Scriptures, *translated* into their native language, should be made accessible to all.

⁸ Prov. xiv. 34.

⁹ See XXXIX Articles, Art. vi., and Irish Articles, above, p. 211.

This principle was proclaimed by the Holy Spirit Himself on the day of Pentecost. The miracle of that day was *not* wrought on the *ears* of the *People*, but on the *tongues of the Apostles*. The tongues of fire streaming down from heaven,—from one sacred source, and then gushing off, as it were, like the spray of a fountain, and baptizing the heads of the Apostles, and communicating through them with the ears and hearts of the vast assembled multitude from every Nation under heaven,—were a sacred symbol, a divine precept and a prophecy, that the ONE DIVINE WORD, which had come down as an emanation from heaven, should be translated into all languages of all people; that its *sound should go out into all lands, and its words unto the ends of the World*¹.

Another principle of the Reformation was, that, as the Holy Ghost teaches by the mouth of St. Paul², men should pray with the spirit, and pray with the *understanding also*; and that “it is therefore a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, to have public prayer in the Church, in a *tongue not understood by the people*.”³

Such, we say, were two fundamental principles of the Reformation.

First, the principle of *vernacular Scriptures*;

Secondly, the principle of a *vernacular Liturgy*.

But now let us ask, Were these two great principles carried out in practice in Ireland?

On Easter-day in the year 1551, the Latin service of the Church of Rome was discarded; and the English

¹ Ps. xix. 4.

² 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

³ Art. xxiv.

Liturgy (which was the first book ever printed in Ireland) was received in its place. So far well; this was a happy change, because many more persons in Ireland understood English, than Latin.

But something more remained to be done. Many there were, especially among the lower orders, in some districts of Ireland, to whom the *English* tongue was as much a foreign tongue as *Latin* was.

And how were they provided for?

The reply is indeed a sad one. More than fifty years elapsed, before the Liturgy was supplied to the Irish in the Irish tongue. *No edition* of the Book of *Common Prayer* in *Irish* appeared before the year 1608, *more than seventy years after* the commencement of the Irish Reformation.

During all that period a great part of the Irish nation was excluded from the means of obeying the Apostolic precept on public worship; they *could not pray with the spirit, and pray with the understanding also.*

Nor was this all. In the year 1560 it was enacted that "where the minister of an Irish Parish did not understand English he might say the Common Prayer" not in Irish, but in Latin!

So much for Public Prayer⁴: let us now consider the question, with reference to the Word of God.

The Reformation in the middle of the sixteenth century had proclaimed the Supremacy of Scripture. Happily, it is true, at the commencement of the Reformation many copies of the Holy Scriptures⁵ in *English* were disseminated in Ireland, for the benefit of those

⁴ Bp. MANT, i. p. 293.

⁵ See above, p. 226.

who understood that language. Here again was a blessed change from what had been.

But, alas! *no portion* of Holy Scripture was printed in *Irish* during the *whole* of the *sixteenth century*.

At length the NEW TESTAMENT appeared in that language, in the year 1603.

But still the OLD TESTAMENT was wanting. Another half-century passed away, and still that want was not supplied. And it was not till the year 1686⁶, that is, *a century and a half* after the commencement of the Reformation, that the Scriptures of the Old Testament were made accessible to the Irish in their own tongue⁷.

Nor is this all. From the year 1687 even down to our own days, even to the year 1816, *no second* edition of the Old Testament in Irish was produced. And in the whole of that period, only two editions of the New Testament in Irish were printed: and (which is almost incredible) during the whole of the *last* century, the *eighteenth* century, *not a single copy* either of the Old or New Testament in Irish was printed, no portion of

⁶ See NEWLAND'S Apology, p. 78. "Bp. Bedell lamented in 1630 that the Reformed Ministers had no means, from the want of Bibles in the Irish language, to convert the people. This evil he *endeavoured* to remove by the publication of the Scriptures in that tongue. But half a century after, an *objection* was started (to this) by the *landed Proprietors of Ireland*; and the efforts of Dr. Sall, and the Hon. Robert Boyle, were unsuccessful, though they had reprinted a great part of the Scriptures in the Irish tongue. See Bp. BURNET'S Life of Bedell, and BOYLE'S Works, vi. pp. 43. 592-9, pp. 601. 610."

⁷ It ought to be mentioned, that both King Edward the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth made some efforts for the communication of a Vernacular Liturgy and Vernacular Scriptures to the Irish people. See above, p. 217; but, unhappily, they proved abortive. Doubtless this failure is to be attributed in some degree to the disquietude of the times—especially in the reign of Elizabeth.

the Holy Scriptures in Irish was provided by England for Ireland, or by Ireland for herself⁸!

In the years 1703 and 1711, the CONVOCATION of the CHURCH of IRELAND made a humble representation on the necessity of disseminating the Scriptures in the Irish tongue, and of raising up an Irish-speaking Ministry; but these proposals were overruled by the temporal Power as unfavourable to “the English interest in Ireland⁹.”

Such is a brief account of the BOOK of COMMON PRAYER in Ireland, and of the treatment which HOLY SCRIPTURE has received there since the Reformation to our own day¹.

⁸ See Mr. CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON's *Native Irish*, ed. Lond. 1846, pp. 190—193, for the statistics of the impressions of the Holy Scriptures in Irish.

In the <i>sixteenth</i> century, was printed	<i>Nil.</i>
In 1603, New Test.	500 copies.
1681, New Test.	750
1686, Old Test.	500
In the <i>eighteenth</i> century	<i>Nil.</i>
1811, New Test.	2000
1813, New Test.	3000
1817, Both Test.	5000
1826, Both	5000
„ New Test.	29,018
1828, Both	5000
„ New Test.	20,170
1829, Both	7000
„ New Test.	4000.

Of these only 5000 were in the Irish character; so that “if every copy of the Bible in *Irish* character were in use” (says Mr. ANDERSON in 1846, p. 194), “this would be no more than *one* Bible to *Six Hundred* of the Population.”

⁹ See Bp. MANT, ii. 164.

¹ It is remarkable, that of the four persons mainly concerned in translating the Book of Common Prayer and the Holy Scriptures into Irish, three were strangers to Ireland by birth, and educated at the University

May we not say that during that period there has been a *famine of hearing the Word of the Lord*²? Need we wonder, that they who had provoked God by neglect and contempt of the Bread of Life, should have been scourged by famines and pestilences, and by other visitations of His wrath? Need we wonder, that Ireland has been chastised in herself, and that England has been punished through her, since both Nations, England and Ireland, have sinned against God in slighting and withholding His Word? And ought we not all, from the highest to the lowest, to imitate the good King Josiah, who, when the Book of the Law, which had been lost, was brought to him, rent his clothes and said, *Great is the wrath of the Lord that is poured out upon us, because our fathers have not kept the Word of the Lord to do after all that is written in this Book*³?

Here then we have another answer to the question, *Wherefore when I looked that My Vineyard should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?* Why does crime abound in Ireland? Why does that country seem to be under a curse? Why is the Church feeble? Why has the Reformation made little progress? Are these calamities to be ascribed to the principles of the Church and Reformation? No, they are to be ascribed to a *neglect* of those principles; they are to be ascribed to a *betrayal* of those principles; they are to be ascribed to the inconsistency and infatuation of pretending to conduct the Reformation on principles which the Reformation of Cambridge—John Kearney, Nicolas Walsh, and the venerable Bishop Bedell. The last of the three did not begin to learn Irish till his fifty-seventh year.

² Amos viii. 11.

³ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 19—21.

tion abhorred; they are to be ascribed to the cruelty and impiety, which, in defiance of the principles of the Reformation, and as if to insult the Reformation, buried Public Prayer in the sepulchre of a strange language, and which did not place the glorious light of God's Holy Word on the Candlestick of His Church, so that it might be seen of all, but hid it beneath a bushel; they are not to be ascribed to the principles of the Reformation renouncing the practices of Rome, but they are to be ascribed to our own adoption of some of the practices of Rome, subverting the principles of the Reformation.

III. Let us pass to another point. At the commencement of the Reformation, the Monasteries of Ireland were dissolved by King Henry VIII. These religious houses were possessed of a large portion of the Tithes in that country. These Tithes ought to have been restored to the parishes from which they accrued, for the maintenance of a Parochial Clergy to be resident in them, and for the relief of the Poor, and for pious and charitable uses. But no: they were taken from God, from His Church, and from the Poor, and were bestowed on Laymen, and were profanely alienated to secular uses. Those who were guilty of this act forgot the curse denounced in Scripture on those *who say, Let us take the houses of God in possession. 'O my God, make them like unto a wheel⁴; and as stubble before the*

⁴ On the temporal calamities which have overtaken those who have fallen into sacrilege, see Sir H. SPELMAN'S Tract, "De non temerandis Ecclesiis," 6th edit. 1704; and "On the History and Fate of Sacrilege."

*wind*⁵. The taint of this Sacrilege still cleaves to a large portion⁶ of the property⁷ of Ireland. It eats it like a canker.

Still further, in the year 1735⁸, the Church of Ireland was despoiled of the Tithe of agistment⁹ by the Irish Parliament, consisting mainly of nobles and gentry professing themselves Protestants: and other acts of depre-

Lond. 1698. Pref. p. 44, by Clem. Spelman, "*Bitter streams,*" says he, "*flow from sacrilegious wells; and they that fill their cisterns from thence cannot expect to drink sweet water.*"

⁵ Ps. lxxxiii. 12, 13.

⁶ See NEWLAND'S Apology, p. 233. A.D. 1829. "How many Benefices (in Ireland) does your Lordship suppose to be in the possession of laymen? Five hundred and sixty-five impropriate rectories, and one hundred and eighteen parishes wholly impropriate, making in all six hundred and eighty parishes. What does your Lordship suppose to be the amount derived from tithes by laymen in Ireland—three hundred thousand pounds per annum" (this I apprehend is not the case now); "and they are also become possessed of one thousand four hundred and eighty glebes belonging to the Church." See also Bp. MANT'S Hist. ii. p. 775.

⁷ Dr. RYVES, Poor Vicar's Plea, p. 1, ed. 1704. "The Church of Ireland lies buried under a heap of impropriations." See above, p. 146, and note. KING, Hist. p. 1064. On Impropriations in the Irish Church. See MANT, ii. 66. 152. 238. 300. 346. 353. 479. "The total amount of tithe rent-charge payable to ecclesiastical persons, bishops, deans, chapters, incumbents of benefices, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, is 401,114*l*. The rental of Ireland, as estimated by the valuers under the Poor Law Act, is 13,738,967*l*.; and this rental, being about a third part of the estimated value of the annual produce of the land, it would appear that the tithe rent-charge possessed by ecclesiastical persons is less than a hundredth part of the annual produce of the soil." This is from a recent official return.

⁸ Charge of the late LORD PRIMATE, 1846, p. 21. "The resolutions passed by the Irish House of Commons in the year 1735 to resist the *Tithe of agistment*, produced such a diminution of the incomes of the clergy in most parts of Ireland, then greatly devoted to pasturage, that several parishes had to be joined together to make out a sufficient subsistence for a minister."

⁹ See above, and Bp. MANT, ii. 308. 555.

dation have been committed upon it in more recent times,—committed by those who ought to have protected the Church.

And what have been the consequences? Parishes, bereft of endowments, have been amalgamated into wretched combinations, commonly called *Unions*, comprising large tracts of country, to be superintended by a single Pastor, to whom they often supply but a very slender pittance¹. The Churches in the several Parishes thus conglomerated, could not all be served by one Minister, and therefore some were allowed to fall silently into decay². In many cases the Parishioners were thus deterred and debarred from coming to Church, for there was no Church left for them to enter, and no Minister to officiate, nor glebe-house for the residence of a pastor³. Thus Christ's flock, for which He shed His blood,

¹ Dean SWIFT's Works, vol. iv. p. 71. "The clergy having been stripped of the greatest part of their revenues, the glebes being generally lost, the tithes in the hands of laymen, the Churches demolished, and the country depopulated, it was necessary to unite small vicarages." Quoted in NEWLAND'S Apology, p. 89: see also Bp. MANT, ii. 288. 299—306.

² DUDLEY, Rev. H. B., Short Address, p. 27, A.D. 1808. "In the 16th century there were 2436 parishes in Ireland with cure of souls, and nearly 3000 clergy appertaining thereto. These are now (A.D. 1808) reduced to 1100 benefices, having but 1000 churches, and requiring only the care of 1300 clergy. Much of this falling off may be imputed to the combination of several parishes into what is called a *union*, a measure which has led to the dissolution of all churches therein except one."

³ PRIMATE BOULTER to the Duke of Newcastle, A.D. 1730: "I am desirous to procure glebes for the clergy to live on. The *greatest part of the livings* here having neither house nor land belonging to them." I am informed on good authority that there was "no such thing as a glebe-house in the diocese of Cashel before 1720." In a Visitation made by Royal Commissioners in that diocese in 1615, "not more than six or so of the incumbents are said to be resident."

were scattered abroad like sheep without a shepherd; they were left to wander on the mountains of error and unbelief; they dwindled away; they perished from spiritual hunger, or fell into the pit, or were torn by the prowling wolf. And how could the erring be reclaimed? Therefore the Great Shepherd of the sheep may now ask the Church of Ireland, *Where is the flock that was given thee, thy beautiful flock* ⁴?

Nor have some Ecclesiastics of Ireland been free from offence in this matter.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as we have seen already ⁵, the Prelates of the Irish Church accepted the Reformation. But, whether from fear of a reverse in religion, or from whatever cause, many of them were tempted to demise their Episcopal Estates for large fines ⁶, on very long leases, at very small or merely nominal reserved rents ⁷; the consequence of which was,

⁴ Jer. xiii. 20.

⁵ See above, Sermon. VI.

⁶ Bp. JEREMY TAYLOR, Sermon on Archbp. Bramhall,—Bramhall's Works, i. p. lix, describes how at the Reformation the Romish Bishops conformed, but dilapidated the reveuues of their sees by long leases, and large fines, and small reserved rents.

⁷ See Bp. MANT, i. p. 280: and the words of Lord Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland, A.D. 1633, to Mr. Secretary Coke; State Papers, i. p. 151.

"I will be careful to viudicate the Church from the fraud and covetousness of ill Bishops and sacrilegious Lords combining together to carry away the patrimony of the Church, and by that means leaving God's portion naked and desolate to posterity. I speak this upon the general, finding daily that the Church hath been impiously preyed upon by persons of all sorts, that I dare say you would be amazed and astonished at it, by means whercof the clergy here are reduced to such a contempt as is a most lamentable and scandalous thing to see in any Christian commonwealth." See also *ibid.* pp. 156. 171. Unhappily, this sacrilege was encouraged by some in high places. See the Letter of ARCHBP.

that their Sees were impoverished, and much of the Church property of Ireland was alienated by fraud or neglect, and passed imperceptibly into lay hands, and

LAUD to the Lord Deputy Strafford, A.D. 1635, "I have lately understood of some practising on the Queen's side" (i.e. Romanists,—co-religionists of Henrietta Maria, see *ibid.* p. 505), "about portions of tithes to keep them still alienated from the Church." See EARL STRAFFORD'S Papers, i. 431.

The wishes of KING CHARLES I. were favourable to their restoration.

EARL STRAFFORD'S State Papers, i. p. 82, ed. fol. Lond. 1739. Abp. LAUD to Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland, A.D. 1633. "In the great cause of the impropriations which are yet remaining in His Majesty's gift, and which he is most graciously pleased to give back to God and His service, you will do whatsoever may justly be done for the honour and service of our two great masters, God and the King."

A Petition of Archbishops, and Bishops, and Clergy of Ireland, in CONVOCATION assembled, A.D. 1634 (see STRAFFORD, State Papers, i. p. 382),

"Sbeweth,

"That in the whole Christian world the rural clergy have not been reduced into such extremity of contempt and beggary as in this your Highness's kingdom, by the means of so frequent appropriations, commendams, and violent intrusions into their undoubted rights in times of confusion, having their churches ruined, their habitations left desolate, their tithes detained, their glebes concealed, and by inevitable consequence an invincible necessity of non-residence imposed upon them, whereby the ordinary subject hath been left wholly destitute of all possible means to learn true piety to God, loyalty to their Prince, and civility one towards another, and whereby former wars and insurrections have been originally both procreated and maintained; whereas by settling a rural clergy endowed with competency to serve God at His altar,—besides the general protection of the Almighty, which it will most surely bring upon your Majesty and this kingdom,—barbarism and superstition will be expelled, the subject shall learn his duty to God and to his Sovereign, and true religion be propagated.

"Our most humble suit is that your Highness would be pleased to perfect the pious intention of your blessed Father, and your sacred Majesty, by establishing upon a rural and resident clergy those appropriations which are yet in the Crown undisposed." See *ibid.* further, pp. 383—386.

hence also the abuse of numerous commendams to Episcopal Sees⁸.

Here then it must be repeated that a very great part of the property in Ireland is blighted by sacrilege.

⁸ See the EARL of STRAFFORD'S State Papers, p. 172. "Commissions for the repairs of the churches are issued over the whole kingdom, and all the life shall be given it that possibly I can." A.D. 1633, but "as yet there is hardly to be found a church to receive, or an able minister to teach, the people." See also, p. 187, where the Lord Deputy describes the state of the Church, "An unlearned clergy, which have not so much as the outward form of churchmen to cover themselves with, nor their persons any way revered or protected; the churches unbuilt; the parsonage and vicarage-houses utterly ruined; the people untaught through the Non-Residency of the Clergy, occasioned by the unlimited shameful numbers of Spiritual promotions with Cure of Soul which they hold *in commendam*; the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church run over *without all decency of habit, order, or gravity* in the course of their Service; the *possessions of the Church to a great proportion in lay hands*; the Bishops alienating their very principal houses and demesnes to their children (or) to strangers; farming out their jurisdiction to mean and unworthy persons (see also on this point the details in MANT, i. pp. 445, 446); the Popish titulars exercising meanwhile a jurisdiction much greater than theirs; the Schools either ill-provided or ill-governed, in the most part, or, which is worse, applied sometimes underhand to the maintenance of Popish Schoolmasters; Lands given to those charitable uses, and that in a bountiful proportion, especially by King James I., dissipated, leased forth for little or nothing, concealed contrary to all conscience and the excellent purposes of the Founders; the College here, which should be the Seminary of Arts and Civility in the elder sort, extremely out of order."

CHICHESTER, Lord Deputy, A.D. 1612—1615. "The churches I found all ruinous, and many utterly defaced—a spectacle grievous to the sight."

See Desid. Curios. Hibern. i. p. 252, and CARTE'S Life of Ormond, i. p. 17, ed. Lond. 1736. "In Ulster (in King James I.'s time), most of the churches in the country had been destroyed by the troubles, or fallen down for want of covering; the livings were very small; and either kept in the Bishop's hands by *way of commendams or sequestrations*, or else filled with ministers as scandalous as their income, so that scarce any care was taken to catechize the children." Cp. below, APPENDIX, p. 287.

Princes, Prelates, Nobles, and Gentry have robbed Almighty God. He may now say to them, *Even from your fathers' days ye are gone away from Mine ordinances, and have not kept them. Return unto Me, and I will return unto you, saith the Lord of Hosts. But ye said, Wherein shall we return? Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed Me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed Thee? In Tithes and Offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed Me, saith the Lord*⁹.

In our own days, Ten Episcopal Sees of Ireland, some of them dating from a time prior to the Conquest, were suppressed by the British Legislature¹.

In the year 1838, the Tithe Rent-charge of the Church of Ireland was reduced 25 per cent.; which was given to the Landlords of that country.

Such were the wounds she has *received* in the *house of her friends*.

Need we be surprised that the Church of Ireland should be weak, and the Reformation have made little progress, when these things are so? Need we wonder that crime should abound, and that God should smite the earth with plagues, and wither the harvests, and that estates should be encumbered, and Landlords should be poverty-stricken², and the earth mourn? Rather the

⁹ Mal. iii. 7. 9.

¹ By 3 and 4 William IV. c. 37.

² Sir H. SPELMAN, l. c. p. 88. "I might take just occasion to remember what hath happened to many in this kingdom that became unfortunate after they had meddled with Churches and Church livings. Let those men and their families consider, whether themselves, their fathers, or some of their ancestors have not been fettered in this snare, and let the proprietaries of parsonages well consider these things, for if Uzzah died that did but touch the Ark to save it, what shall

wonder is, that God has not hid His face altogether, and withdrawn His Gospel. *It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed, and because His compassions fail not*³. And must we not expect, that, till reparation shall have been made for these sins against Him, the Divine Judgments will hang like a dark cloud over that unhappy country? *The curse causeless shall not come*⁴. *It is a snare to devour things that are sanctified*⁵. *And Them that honour Me I will honour, but they that despise Me shall be lightly esteemed*⁶.

When, therefore, we consider these things, do we not see manifold reasons for recognizing God's Justice, even in those miseries which at first stagger and confound us? *Who would not fear Thee, O King of Nations? Just and true are Thy ways*⁷. And do we not discern strong motives for fervent prayer, that He would pour out the Spirit of grace and supplication from heaven upon all orders among us,—for repentance and amendment, and for the attainment of those blessings, of peace and happiness, virtue and godliness, piety and loyalty, which we cannot expect to be ours without the favour of God⁸.

become of them that stretch out their hands against Churches to destroy them? If the stick-gatherer was stoned for so small a profauation of the Sabbath, what shall they look for that by destroying the Churches, destroy in a manner the Sabbath itself? And if Corah, Dathan, and Abiram offended so heinously in meddling with the offices of the Levitical priesthood, what have they not to fear who usurp the things of the Gospel?"

³ Lam. iii. 22.

⁴ Prov. xxvi. 2.

⁵ Prov. xx. 25.

⁶ 1 Sam. iii. 20.

⁷ Jer. x. 7. Rev. xv. 3.

⁸ For the encouragement of all who labour in the work of Restoration, let me insert the following from Abp. Bramhall's Life, by Bp. Vesey. (See MANT, i. p. 508.) "Bp. Bramhall obtained for the Clergy

IV. Let us now advert to another hindrance of Religion in Ireland.

It is the common infirmity of humanity, to imagine that the best cure of an evil is to be found in its opposite extreme. Religion has greatly suffered from this excess of reaction⁹. In Ireland, Popery has given rise to Puritanism, and has kept Puritanism alive; while Puritanism, in its turn, has strengthened Popery. Besides, England finding herself vexed by Puritan Teachers, endeavoured to rid¹ herself of their turbulence by transporting them to Ireland. Thus she created a Puritan school in Ireland, which, by a remarkable retribution, has reacted, and still reacts, on this country. Hence, for a time, the Church of Ireland was almost severed from the communion of the Church of England. For, in the year 1615, the Convocation of Ireland² (the first

some few impropriations by power of reason and persuasion; more by law, but most by purchase. The king's example was of great influence. He had by his letter restored all impropriate tythes" (in the hands of the Crown), "as fast as the leases should expire. The Lord Deputy Strafford in pursuance thereof, restored several livings kept by his predecessors for their provisions. This noble precedent had its influence on some of the nobility and gentry. The Archbishop of Canterbury countenanced the work, and lent him both his hand, head, and purse, having designed 40,000*l.* for it. By these and other prudent methods, Bp. Bramhall regained to the Church in the compass of four years, 30,000*l.*, some say 40,000*l.*, per annum. Many poor Vicars now eat of the tree which the Bishop of Derry planted."

⁹ What St. Basil well calls *ἀβολκῆς ἀμετρία*.

¹ Thus Travers, the antagonist of Hooker, was advanced to the high post of Provost of Trin. Coll. Dublin. For other evidences on this subject, see the learned note in the last edition of Bramhall's Works, i. p. cxiv, and generally concerning the various causes which led to the dissemination of Puritanism in Dublin (Trinity College particularly), and the North of Ireland, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., see Dr. ELLINGTON'S Life of Ussher, p. 44, and Bp. MANT, i. p. 367.

² Dr. ELLINGTON'S Life of Ussher, p. 38. "In the year 1615, a

Convocation that ever was held in that country) adopted those high Calvinistic Articles³, commonly known as the Lambeth Articles, which had been reprobated by the wisest Divines of the English Church.

Happily this difference was not of long duration. In a Convocation holden in Ireland twenty years⁴ after-

Convocation of the Irish Clergy, formed after the model of the *English* Convocation, met at Dublin. This seems to have been the *first Convocation held in Ireland*. . . .

“The only business that is recorded to have been transacted, the formation of the (Irish) Articles, was not concluded in proper form. They were not signed, as in England, by all the members, but by Archbishop James, Speaker of the House of Bishops, and the Prolocutor of the House of Clergy, in their names.”

Dr. Elrington argues from 28 Henry VIII. c. 13 (where the Irish Proctors in the Irish Parliament are compared to the *English* Convocation), that there was no Convocation in *Ireland* at that time, and the argument seems conclusive.

The Irish Articles of 1615 were not ratified by Parliament.

³ See Bp. MANT, i. pp. 383—389, concerning the Irish Articles, comprehending the nine Lambeth Articles of 1595, suppressed by Queen Elizabeth, and refuted by Bps. Overall and Andrewes, and rejected at the Hampton Court Conference.

See Bp. MANT, i. 381, and on the evil effects of their adoption in Ireland, p. 387; and my Occasional Sermons, 1st series, pp. 77, 122. See also ELRINGTON'S *Life of Ussher*, p. 47. “The effect of them upon Ireland was most injurious to the progress of true religion. Several of them gave great offence to the Roman Catholics, and hindered their conversion; and others of them gave as much encouragement to the Puritans brought out of Scotland into Ulster, and both made their advantage of them to the prejudice of the Church of Ireland.” CARTE'S *Ormond*, i. 78.

⁴ CANONS of the Church of Ireland, 1634, Canon 1. “For the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England in the confession of the same Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments, we do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden in London in the year of our Lord God 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinion, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion. And therefore, if any hereafter shall affirm that any of those Articles are in any part superstitious or

wards, the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were received; and they are the only Articles which are now subscribed in the Irish Church⁵; and the English Liturgy, and no other, is to be used. Still,

erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not be absolved before he make a public revocation of his error." WILKINS, Conc. iv. 498.

CANONS of the Church of Ireland, Canon 3. "That form of Liturgy or Divine Service, and no other, shall be used in any Church of this realm, but that which is established by Law, and comprised in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments."

On Ussher's abandonment of the doctrines contained in the Lambeth Articles—"Bishop Overall is in the right," he said, "and I am of his mind"—see ELBRINGTON'S Life of Ussher, i. pp. 291—295.

Bp. JEREMY TAYLOR, Funeral Sermon on Archbp. Bramhall, Taylor's Works, vi. p. 431. Bramhall's Works, i. p. lxii. "He was careful, and he was prosperous in it, to reduce that divine and excellent Service of our Church to public and constant exercise, to unity and devotion, and to cause the Articles of the Church of England to be accepted as *the rule* of public confessions and persuasions here, that they and we might be *populus unius labii* of one heart and lip, building up our hopes of Heaven on a most holy faith, and taking away that Shibboleth which made this Church lisp too undecently, or rather in some little degree to speak the Speech of Ashdod, and *not the language of Canaan.*"

⁵ Dr. ELBRINGTON'S Life of Ussher, p. 177. "It is certain that after the Restoration no attempt was ever made to enforce subscription to the Irish Articles, and that for admission to Holy Orders the only subscription required has been the signing of the first Canon, which enforces the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England."

On the Convocation of 1634, and the Canon then passed, see BRAMHALL'S Works, i. p. xx, and v. pp. 80, 81. "The *truth* or *untruth* of the two several sets of Articles was not so much as questioned then, but the *authority*, whether of them should be acknowledged for the future to be the Articles of the Church of Ireland, and the public seal and standard of our doctrine. There were no thoughts of *two* distinct standards at that time. And if any Bishop had been known to have required any man to subscribe to the Irish Articles after the English were received, and authorized under the great seal of Ireland, he would have been called to an account for it." See also the notes of the learned Editor, v. p. 80.

however, seeds of discord remained. And the Church of Rome has been active in disseminating them more widely. She sent emissaries into Ireland to assume different religious characters with Proteus-like versatility⁶; to personate Puritans, Independents, and Anabaptists, and to weaken Protestants by intestine feuds, that she might triumph in their divisions. "Divide, et impera,"—this is one of her Satanic arts (I cannot call it by a milder name), by which she has sought, and still seeks, to disorganize and rend asunder the Churches of England and Ireland; and to excite suspicions in the minds of the

⁶ On Papists personating Presbyterians and Puritans, in order to destroy the Church and Monarchy of England and Ireland, see Bp. BRAMHALL'S Letter (from Brussels?) to Abp. Ussher, July 20, 1654, Works, i. p. xevi. "They have many yet at Paris fitting to be sent over who twice in the week oppose one the other, one pretending Presbytery, the other Independency, some Anabaptism," &c. "Myself would hardly have credited these things, had not mine eyes seen sure evidence of the same." See also CAMDEN, Ann. ad A.D. 1568; HEYLIN, Hist. of Presbyt. Bk. vi.; Bp. STILLINGFLEET on Separation, Preface; WALL on Infant Baptism, ii. p. 372; and the note in the late Dr. WORDSWORTH'S Eccl. Biog. iv. 64, on Bp. Jewel's expression, "Popish Priests in the masquerade of Puritan Preachers," and the authorities in Dr. ELRINGTON'S Life of Ussher, i. 263; WARE'S Foxes and Firebrands, ii. p. 86, Lond. 1682. On the endeavour of Romanists to divide Protestants, pp. 7. 39, Pt. ii. 29, the Papal dispensation to that effect, and p. 40. The rescript is from Pius V., dated Rome, 6th ides of May, the first year of his Pontificate: "We authorize *the wise and learned of our Ecclesiastics to devise all manner of devices . . . that a perpetual infamy may be brought upon heresies and on their posteritie by a perpetual discord among themselves.*" See also Irish Eccl. Journal, i. pp. 145. 181.

There is too good reason to believe that this manœuvre is now practised in our own days, and indeed carried further, by some of the same class, who, to advance the cause of Rome, not only wear the mask of Puritans, but do not scruple to personate Infidels. See the remarks in Irish Eccl. Journal for Aug., 1852, and the late Dean GOODE'S recent pamphlet entitled "Rome's Tactics."

People against their Pastors, by traducing them, and to alienate their affections from the Church, which these Popish emissaries represent as a mere congeries of discordant and heretical opinions, and which they endeavour to *make* such by all means in their power.

Miserable were the consequences of this Puritanism reared in Ireland—fostered by England—and cherished by Rome. Many persons were repelled by the cold and ungenial aspect, in which, under Puritan influence, the Church of Ireland was made to appear; many were offended by the squalid and slovenly attire in which she was presented to their eyes; many were shocked by the gloomy dogmas of Calvinism broached in her communion; many were distressed by the lack of unity; many were distracted by conflicting opinions, each professing to be true. Thus they were tempted to fall: and while they were wavering and tottering, the Church of Rome came forward; and fascinated their senses, and charmed their imaginations, and captivated their affections, by a splendid ritual, ardent devotions, sharply defined dogmas, and a semblance of unity. Then the work was done. Puritanism had been the pioneer of Popery, and Popery conquered by it. Thus the Reformation was imperilled by some who professed to be its friends: and the Church of Ireland was in danger of falling by means of herself.

V. Let me remind you further, that during the greater part of the last century, her chief dignities⁷

⁷ See the statements of BISHOP MANT on this subject, *History*, ii. 424. 568, and PRIMATE BOULTER'S *Correspondence*, Oxford, 1769, 2 vols.

were bestowed from considerations of State Policy, and with little regard to the advancement of God's glory, and the good of His Church.

Yet more. When England had thus been paralyzing the strength of the true Church in Ireland, and so crippling her own vigour in its most vital part, she was induced to found and endow a Seminary^s for the intrusive and usurping Church in Ireland; a seminary in which hundreds of young men—now constituting the Romish Priesthood in Ireland—have been trained to regard the Irish Reformation as a schism, and to abhor the Irish Church as an imposture and a curse, and to revere as infallible—and almost to worship as divine—the Papal power which excommunicated the Queen of England, and declared her to have forfeited her throne, and stirred up her subjects to rebellion, and sent a foreign foe to invade her dominions. Since these things were done by the Vicar of Christ, therefore to exterminate Protestants is in their eyes an act of religion⁹. These things they are taught in order that they may teach them to others—in the name of Christ. Need we wonder, that the Gospel has made little progress in Ireland, that the Church is feeble, that the Reformation has not prevailed? Must we not, alas! confess that England has betrayed their cause? Need we be surprised that Ireland should be a scourge

^s The College of Maynooth was founded in 1795.

⁹ The feelings there engendered may be seen represented in the evidence of a former student of Maynooth, Rev. T. W. Dixon, given before the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry, 25th Oct., 1826, p. 331. See below, Appendix B, p. 288.

to her? We have made it such for ourselves. *We have sown the wind, and must expect to reap the whirlwind*¹.

VI. What, then, is to be done? Are we to sit down in despair? Heaven forbid!

True, the present condition of Ireland, social and religious, is such as to create anxiety and alarm. The evils which it suffers, and which we suffer with it, are indeed manifold and great. They are almost enough to dismay us. But, let us remember, though the evils themselves are great, yet the evils, social and religious, attendant on *despair of a remedy* for those evils, are infinitely greater. Therefore let us not despair.

Again, let us recollect that these evils are trials of our Faith. Adversity was the cradle of Christianity, Persecution is the school of the Church. Danger and difficulty are the elements in which great minds are reared; they are nursed amid storms.

Let us also remember that our difficulties are God's opportunities. Our midnight is His noon. If we are toiling and rowing in the ship of Christ's Church,—then, the darkness of the night, when the winds are boisterous, and the waves run highest, is the season in which He most loves to appear to us and say, "*It is I, be not afraid*"²."

Yet more,—*If the Church and Reformation in Ireland*

¹ Hosea viii. 7.

² Matt. xiv. 27. Mark vi. 50. John vi. 20.

had *not* been impeded and obstructed; if ample justice had been done them; and if, such being the case, Ireland were still in the state which we now see and deplore; then indeed we might have cause to despair,—not only of Ireland and its Church, but even of Christianity itself.

But, since the Church and Reformation have *never* had free scope for their energies; since they have been assailed and embarrassed from without and within, therefore there is room for hope and expectation, that *if* these hindrances are *removed*, then, by God's blessing, the condition of Ireland, civil and religious, will ere long be as glorious and as happy, as it is now ignominious and miserable.

How then are those hindrances, which now beset her, to be removed? How can free course be given to this glorious work of national regeneration?

1. It cannot be done, except by an earnest endeavour on our part, to realize in our own mind the great importance and dignity of this subject.

This is not only a question of civil government, and temporal felicity. Even in *that* respect it is unspeakably momentous. England must be weak, as long as Ireland is miserable. And Ireland will be miserable, till these hindrances are removed. Ireland is the most vulnerable part of the British Empire, and if ever we are assailed by a foreign foe (which God forbid!), it will very probably be there. Therefore, on mere secular grounds of temporal peace and domestic happiness, one of the most important works that can be conceived, is to bring Ireland into conformity with England in the profession

of the true Faith³. He that promotes this work will not have lived in vain⁴.

³ See the EARL of STRAFFORD'S State Papers, i. p. 367. The LORD DEPUTY to the KING, A.D. 1634. "I judge it without question far the greatest service that can be done unto your Crowns, on this side, to draw Ireland into a conformity of Religion with England; which, indeed, would set your Majesty in greater strength and safety within your own dominions than any thing now left unaccomplished to make us a happy and secure people within ourselves." Cp. ii. 63. "The great, excellent, and necessary work of bringing this people to a conformity in religion; *till which is effected the Crown of England may not trust, nay, indeed, ought not to hold itself secure of this Nation, which, how peaceable soever we may think them, are in an instant to be blown up by the Romish Clergy into a Tempest, not only to the disquiet, but great hazard of this State, especially if they perceive this Crown embroiled in war, and be emboldened by promise of foreign succours. All the services put together that are to be done on this side, are not comparable to this one.*"

On this topic, see the able and important Speech of the late Rt. Hon. SPENCER PERCEVAL, published in 1844, by Mr. D. M. Perceval, with other interesting documents bearing on this subject.

⁴ The following is from STORY'S History of the Wars of Ireland, A.D. 1693, last chapter. "As to the people of England in general, one should think it's their business to promote and encourage the trade and prosperity of Ireland, that thereby it might not only support itself in time of peace, but defend and maintain itself in war, which nothing but promoting its trade and wealth will do. For what Ireland cannot do in order to its safety, England must supply to prevent its own danger, since, *if ever a foreign enemy surprise and possess Ireland, especially the French*, then England must maintain a greater standing force to secure themselves, than would have secured Ireland, if employed in its defence, it being no groundless saying of some old-fashioned poet,

*'He that wou'd England win,
Must with Ireland first begin.'*

For though, in former times, when little or no shipping appeared upon these narrow seas, and France and other countries knew not what it was to have a fleet, and there was but small commerce even between England and Ireland themselves, yet in this active age of the world, it would go very hard with England if the French should possess Ireland, who have all the harbours from Dunkirk to Brest, and if they had Cork, Baltimore, and Bantry, where would our western trade be? Besides, by possessing

2. But, important as this view is, it is by no means the most important view of this subject.

the eastern coast of Ireland, they would surround three parts in four of England, and a great part of Scotland, and could invade either when they pleased, which would necessitate England to be always at the charge of a considerable standing army, and then farewell both their wealth and long enjoyed liberty.

“I pretend not to meddle with any particular methods for promoting the English interest in Ireland, only it’s worth the knowledge and care of every one, especially those in places of authority, and trust, what was in my Lord BARKLEY’S instructions (dated May 12, 1670), relating to matters of Religion: ‘that *forasmuch as all good success doth rest upon the service of God, above all things you are to settle good orders in the Church, that God may be better served in the true established religion, and the people by that means reduced from their errors.* But whilst the Irish are in the power of the Romish Clergy, they keep them in such awe and ignorance, that they scarcely dare or can enquire into the differences in religion, nor read the Scriptures, nor yet confer with any Protestant Divine, so that all they generally know of religion (I speak of the vulgar sort) is some fabulous legends of the Priests’ invention; or that their fathers and families were of that persuasion, and so must they be also.

“There are a great many very learned, pious, and devout Clergymen of the Protestant Church in Ireland, discharging the duties of their functions with such religious and godly sincerity, as becomes the messengers of Christ; but there being *a great many impropriations in that kingdom, and by this means half a score parishes, in some places, not able to afford one hundred pounds per annum to a Minister: this has given occasion to the union of several parishes, and not only so, but for frequent pluralities, and that in several places very much to the disadvantage of the Church, by which means there are a great many parishes inhabited only with Papists, which for that reason are generally called sinecures, as if the Minister had no business there at all.* But this I can by no means subscribe unto, since to me they seem to be the clear contrary, and not impossible to remedy, by finding out some means to allow each Minister a competency, and then oblige him to reside upon it, whether his parishioners be Papists or Protestants, since the living among those people, and the frequent conversation with them, would be of more force than all the penal laws in Christendom.”

Surely such words as these ought not to be lost on legislators of the present times.

Our life is but a span; and the time is coming when Thrones and Kingdoms will be no more, and the Earth on which we live will be dissolved. Let us then arise to a higher point of contemplation, for a right estimate of this subject. If the evidence adduced in the previous discourses is authentic, then the Reformed Church of Ireland is the true Church of Christ in that country. Let us then carefully consider, *What a Church is?* It is not a civil association; it is not only a Divine Institution, but it is “no other than the Spouse and Body of Christ.” When Saul persecuted the Christian Church, Christ did not say to him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou My Church?—but, “Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou *Me?*” He that persecutes a Church persecutes Christ. Wrongs done to a Church are wrongs done to Christ: they are wrongs done to Him, by Whom *kings reign, and princes decree justice*; done to Him *Who is King of kings, and Lord of lords*⁵; done to Him Who is Ruler of all, and Judge of all.

Can it be imagined,—that, if these solemn truths had been duly considered, the grievous injuries which have been inflicted on the Church of Ireland would ever have been committed? And if they were engraven on the hearts of all, would not speedy reparation be made for those injuries? And then we might look for Christ’s blessing, and might rely upon His aid. And we might hope for rewards, infinite and eternal, from His hand, at the great Day.

3. This being duly understood, let us now proceed to observe that the foremost of the *hindrances* which we

⁵ Prov. viii. 15. Rev. xvii. 14; xix. 16.

were constrained to specify as impeding the course of true Religion in Ireland, was the inveterate enmity and violent antagonism of Rome.

4. How may this be removed?

Not, certainly, by concession. The only concession which will ever satisfy Rome is the surrender of our Church and the sacrifice of our Monarchy—and the concession of ourselves, soul and body, to be hers,—instead of being Christ's. This is clear from the History of the Past,—especially from the History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of Ireland. And (as far as regards claims to Supremacy) such as Rome was in the sixteenth century, in the days of Pius V., such she is now in the nineteenth century, in the days of Pius IX.⁶ Indeed she publicly avows,—and exults in the avowal,—that she is unchanged and unchangeable. And it is also evident from the sure word of prophecy, in the Scripture before us—the Book of Revelation—that Rome *will not repent of her deeds*⁷—she will continue to be what she is,

⁶ Rome has identified herself in a special manner with Pius the Fifth, who excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, and endeavoured to dethrone her; for he has been canonized by Rome, and she now worships him as a saint. And the present Pontiff, Pius IX., publicly declared on his accession, that he took Pius V. as his patron and his pattern. See his letter, dated July 5, 1847, to M. de Falloux, author of the *Vie et Pontificat de S. Pie V.* “*Nous l'avons choisi pour patron au premier jour de notre souverain pontificat, de même nous continuons à lui adresser nos instantes supplications afin que sous ce patronage le courage ne nous fasse jamais défaut.*”

That the claims of the Papacy of the present day go even beyond those made by it at the time of the Council of Trent, has been shown in the present writer's Address “*On the proposed Council at Rome*” (to be held December 8, 1869), pp. 16—23. London, 1868 (Rivingtons).

⁷ Rev. xvi. 9. 11.

even unto the end. We must therefore reckon on her hostility; and must provide accordingly.

This is a melancholy fact. But still even here we have hope. Though we have reason to fear that a spirit of evil will remain in the Church of Rome herself,—and that it will act with terrible energy even till the day of her doom, and perhaps act more fiercely as that day approaches more nearly,—yet we have also a divine assurance from St. John that her *empire will be divided*⁸. Many will perceive that she has overlaid the True Faith with errors, novelties, and corruptions; and since she will not allow any in her communion to hold the True Faith without holding also those errors, novelties, and corruptions; and since, therefore, they cannot communicate with *her* without communicating *in her sins*, they will therefore hearken to the Voice of God, which says, *Come out of her, My People, that ye be not partakers of her Sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues*⁹.

We cannot allow ourselves to doubt that in the Romish Priesthood in Ireland there are many who would receive the Truth, if it were presented to them, not with scornful bitterness, and not with supercilious pity, but with wisdom, gentleness, and love. True, they have strong prejudices against us. But are their prejudices against us stronger than those entertained by the Jews, especially the Priests and Pharisees, against Our Lord and His Apostles? There may be among them—doubtless there is—many a Nicodemus, many a Gamaliel, many a Nathanael—yes, some who now persecute, as Saul, may hereafter evangelize as St.

⁸ Rev. xvi. 19.

⁹ Rev. xviii. 4.

Paul. *A great company of the priests may be obedient to the faith*¹. Would to God that any words of ours could reach their hearts! Would to God that the Holy Spirit would soften their minds, and fill us all with charity, without which our light is darkness, and all Intelligence a dream!

Would that they might be brought “so to frame and reform themselves, that no distraction might remain, and that we might all with one heart and mouth glorify the Father of our Lord and Saviour, Whose Church we are²,” and that they might join with the true Pastors of Ireland in feeding His Flock in that country! There is ample room, and abundant work for all. Let the *strife between the herdmen* cease³. Let there be but One Fold, and One Shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord⁴!

5. Here, then, we read our own duty,—*To contend earnestly for the Faith*⁵; *but to speak the Truth in love*⁶. Not to wage war with the erring, but with their errors. *To restore the erring in the spirit of meekness*⁷. To have before our eyes the example of the first Martyr, who prayed for those who stoned him,—*Lord, lay not this sin to their charge*; and of Him Who, *when He was reviled, reviled not again*,—and said, *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do*⁸. Let us therefore pray for them. Human reason will have little effect without divine grace; but let well-tempered arguments be winged with fervent prayer, and they will pierce the soul.

¹ Acts vi. 7.

³ Gen. xiii. 8.

⁵ Jude 3.

⁷ Gal. vi. 1.

² HOOKER, iii. 1. 10.

⁴ John x. 16.

⁶ Eph. iv. 15.

⁸ Acts vii. 60. Luke xxiii. 34.

Here another ray of hope beams upon us. We refer with thankfulness to the fact, that, within the last few years, many persons in Ireland have renounced the errors of Rome. A great missionary work is now going on in Ireland. Every thing depends on the *manner* in which that work is conducted: a single false step may damage the whole. For, let us recollect, it is one thing to renounce error, and another thing to embrace Truth: many do the one without ever doing the other. It is well known, that, at the present time, a very large number of persons in Italy, and even at Rome itself, especially in the middle and upper classes, have discarded all reverence for the Church of Rome. In this sense, *Italy* itself may almost be called *Protestant*. In this sense, a great part of the population of Rome herself is Protestant. But, in rejecting error, have they espoused the Truth? For the most part, it is to be feared, not. Rather, in rejecting the errors of Rome, they have rejected also the truths of Christianity. They have passed from Rome to Infidelity.

Again: let us contemplate some of the countries where the Reformation of the sixteenth century made great progress for a time, and seemed to promise the most happy results. Where now is the Church of Geneva? Where are the Churches of Zurich, of Frankfurt, and of Basle? Alas! they have become a prey to Socinianism and Rationalism; they are distracted by wild and fanatical opinions; and the form of Christianity, taught by our Lord and His Apostles, and displayed in the Primitive Church, is scarcely visible among them.

Here is a solemn warning to us. It teaches us the need of calmness, caution, and wisdom, at this critical period. Zeal alone will not serve our purpose. Unless it be well directed, it may mar all. You well know that the Church of Rome imputes all divisions in our Churches to one cause,—separation from herself. If we may so speak, she looks on the Reformation as a huge avalanche, which has fallen off from the Rock of the Church, and has devastated Europe with its ruins. Let us endeavour to show that men can reject her errors, and yet be united in the Truth. And for our guidance here, let us contemplate the Vision of the Apocalypse⁹—the Woman in the Wilderness. The Church is represented by the Woman,—that is by *one* person—to show its *Unity*. Let us *be of one heart and one mind, and speak the same thing*. Let us *endeavour to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*¹. That woman is *clothed with the Sun*—Christ, and She is represented as borne onward upon the Wings of His Word. She is clothed with the Sun. Let us not divest her of her glorious apparel. Let us not separate Christ from the Bride. Let us never separate the Church from Christ, nor Christ from the Church. *What God hath joined together let not man put asunder*. And let us not sever the Church of God from the Word of God. She is *borne on the Wings of the Great Eagle*, which is Christ. Let us, therefore, be careful to repair the neglects and sins²

⁹ Rev. xii. 1—15.

¹ Eph. iv. 3. 1 Cor. i. 10.

² See above, pp. 250, 251, and p. 94 of “Short History of the Attempts to convert the Popish Natives of Ireland, by the Rev. JOHN RICHARDSON, Rector of Annah, diocese Kildare,” Lond. 1712; whence it appears that the plans then conceived for disseminating the Scriptures among the

of former generations, and to disseminate the Word of God in the tongue of the people. But let us remember, this is not enough. The Bible is sometimes made to be a book merely for controversy and debate—a book for the head and not for the heart; a book for the lips and not for the life. Let us avoid this error. And how may we do this? The Word of God, let us remember, will profit little without the grace of God. In hearing and reading the Word we need the help of the Spirit Who wrote it. And how is that grace to be obtained? Through the regular means of grace—Prayer and the two Sacraments, and by the teaching of the Holy Spirit, speaking by the voice of the Church of Christ Universal, to which He has promised His presence and His Spirit, and which He has set up in the world to be *the Pillar and Ground of the Truth*³, and has commissioned to declare the true sense of Scripture to the world; and which has declared that sense in her Creeds, and preaches it by a ministry

Irish in their own language, and for planting an Irish-speaking Ministry among them, were obstructed (and were defeated) on the ground that they “would be very destructive to the English interest in Ireland.” See *ibid.* p. 66.—“The principal cause, in all probability, why the Reformed Religion hath all this time made no greater progress among the Natives of *Ireland*, is, that the most fit and effectual, or (to speak in other terms) the evangelical means, have not been universally and steadily used to that end: there hath not due care been taken, to *perform the offices of religion to them constantly in their own language*. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that other causes have concurred to keep up Popery in that kingdom; but the first and greatest is, that the Light of God’s Word (*which converteth the soul*, Ps. xix. 7) hath not been sufficiently communicated to them. Politic methods have been depended upon for accomplishing this work, and the means of the Gospel have been neglected; as if we knew better than Christ and His Apostles, how religion is to be propagated in the world, or as if the methods used by them were not seasonable or convenient now!”

³ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

deriving its commission, through the Apostles, from Christ Himself. And therefore the Church in the Apocalypse wears on her brow the diadem of the *twelve stars*—not the Papal tiara—not a crown of *one star*—but of *twelve stars*—not of one Apostle, but of all—the diadem of an Apostolical Ministry teaching Evangelical Truth. Let not the Church of Ireland forfeit that crown. Let adequate provision be made for the spiritual wants of that Country by erecting additional churches, and by supplying endowments for additional pastors who may minister to the people in their own tongue, which is the key to their hearts; so that every parish in Ireland may reflect as in a mirror the image of the primitive Church, which *continued stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers* ⁴.

VII. But it may be said, How is this great work to be effected? *The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few.* How is the Church of Ireland to be in fact what she is in name? How is she to become commensurate, in presence and efficiency, with the whole extent of the country?

In reply to this inquiry, let it first be allowed and clearly understood, that with her present scanty band of spiritual pastors the Church of Ireland cannot execute her proper work ⁵. But then, let it be remembered, that almost all the soil of Ireland is owned by *Protestants* ⁶.

⁴ Acts ii. 42.

⁵ Cp. above, p. 274.

⁶ "I have shown" (says Dr. DUIGENAN, Fair Representation, p. 152, ed. 1799) "that of the property of the Nation thirty-nine parts out of forty (qu. nine tenths?) are in the hands of Protestants."

Let it also be recollected, that a large portion of the Tithes of Ireland are in the hands of *Protestant Laymen*⁷. It is an incontrovertible axiom, that all property, and especially all Tithe property, is held under a moral obligation to provide for the spiritual needs of those parishes from which it accrues; and, thanks be to God, facilities have been afforded by the Imperial Parliament⁸ for the accomplishment of this great work in Ireland. And now,—with due deference be it said,—can we imagine, that if an earnest and respectful appeal were made to the landed proprietors of Ireland, and especially to the proprietors of Tithe, in behalf of the numerous parishes of Ireland which are without a Pastor and a Church, this appeal would be in vain? We do not, we cannot, suppose it. Can we imagine that some there who profess zeal against Popery, and smart under its evils, will perpetuate, without mitigation, one of the worst relics of Popery—the curse of Impropropriations? *Thou that*

⁷ See above, pp. 254 and 257. Sir THOS. RYVES, Poor Vicar's Plea, p. 9, ed. 1704, says, "Of all the kingdoms of the Christian World, I suppose that never any was so surcharged and ruined with this heavy burden of Impropropriations as this poor kingdom of Ireland was and is." This arose in the first instance, as he shows, from the immense multitude of Monasteries in Ireland, which engrossed the Tithes in that country; which at the Reformation were transferred to Laymen instead of being restored to their rightful uses. He specifies one case of an Irish Monastery (St. Thomas near Dublin), which in a few years after its erection had procured fifty-nine Livings in part, or whole, to be appropriated to their uses.

"By means of which practice it came to pass, that a man shall there find few Churches served by other than poor Vicars and stipendiary Curates, men of such coarse stuff," &c.

⁸ In the Acts 14 and 15 Vict. caps. 72, 73, 74 (Aug. 7, 1851), due mainly to the exertion of an eminent person whose strenuous and successful labours afford a pledge of fresh hopes to the Church of Ireland.

*abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege*⁹? We do not, we cannot, believe it. Even worldly considerations would enforce the appeal. Ireland can never expect peace, till this suit is granted. The property and persons of Landlords and Tenants will never be safe, till this prayer is heard. And then let us look higher. This is no other than a plea of the Church, who is the Spouse of Christ. It is no other than a plea of Christ Himself in behalf of the souls for whom He shed His blood. Will they shut their ears against HIM? No: it is not possible. And then let it be added, this is a plea—not so much for a boon—as for *restitution* of a due, for restitution to God and the poor¹. Till this plea is

⁹ Rom. ii. 22.

¹ Many of these impropriate Tithes are (as has been observed already) the spoils of dissolved Monasteries, and Sir T. RYVES has shown that in Papal times poor Vicars had an action against Monastic Houses for competent maintenance, and that Bishops had power to levy such maintenance in their behalf. See Poor Vicar's Plea, p. 47, see also pp. 11. 29. 33, ed. 1704. "Salvâ sustentatione Vicariorum eidem Ecclesiis deservientium," "without this or the like clause have I not seen any appropriation."

Sir THOMAS RYVES (who was a Judge in the Prerogative Court, Dublin, in or about 1620) argues that this claim has never been cancelled, and, indeed, presses much more strongly on *Lay Impropriators*, than it ever did on Monastic Foundations, which were of an ecclesiastical character; "res transit cum suo onere," p. 66, and he observes that "the laws of the kingdom have left unto the Church, especially to this of Ireland, this only board whereby to save itself from the miserable wreck which it suffered by the overflowing deluge of Unions and Impropriations in the time of Popery." "The law is of force already, and wanteth nothing but a fit and willing hand to put it in execution." See pp. 59—70.

See also p. 115. "All have robbed and must make restitution. The Vicar or daily Minister of the Church must have sufficient allowance out of the Tithes of his own Parish,—or else GOD our Father is dishonoured, and our Mother the Church is wronged. If no course be

heard, we must expect that plots and conspiracies, murders and riots, famines, pestilences, and wars will recur in an endless train. But *when* that plea is granted (may God hasten the day!) then we shall see with gladsome eyes the promise of God Himself fulfilled to those who have granted it, in their persons, their estates, their families, and their country. *Bring ye all the Tithes into the Storehouse, that there may be meat in Mine house, and prove Me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room to receive it. And all nations shall call you blessed: for ye shall be a delightful-land to Me, saith the Lord of hosts*².

VIII. Here let us notice an argument which seems to retard the approach of this blessed consummation. "In many parts of Ireland," it is said by some, "the members of the reformed Church are very few: we wish they were more, but we can do little for them, being so few as they are: in other parishes there are only Romanists, and we have nothing to do with them."

And so it comes to pass that many Parishes are left to themselves: and no effort whatever is made in their behalf.

But let us be allowed to ask, What language is this? Can it come from the lips of a Christian? If this reasoning were just, would there ever have been such a thing as Christianity? When Christ looked down taken for this end, in this miserable kingdom, then farewell Religion! And what can then ensue, but the abomination of desolation in the highest places of the kingdom? Which God forbid!"

² Mal. iii. 10—12.

on the world from heaven before His Incarnation, what did He see? Did He see Churches? Did He see Pastors? Did He see Christians? No; He came down from heaven to *make* them. *He left the ninety and nine*, in order to seek the *One*³. And does He say that He is *absent* from men because they are *few*? Does He care little for the souls of a few? No; “where *two* or *three* are gathered together in My name, there,” He says, “I am in the midst of them⁴.” And “there is joy among the angels of God over *one* sinner that repenteth⁵.” And *he which converteth a sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins*⁶.

Therefore let not *one* be left to perish, because he is alone. Let not any be lost, because they are few. Rather let them be sought more carefully, and cherished more lovingly, *because* they are *few*, and in order that they may be *more*. The single ear may grow into a Harvest. The single grape may produce a Vineyard. *The new wine is found in the cluster, and one saith, Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it*⁷.

IX. Let us therefore regard the Church of Ireland as a Missionary Church. Such is her true character. And to us, we need not hesitate to declare, the Church of

³ Luke xv. 4.

⁴ Matt. xviii. 20.

⁵ Luke xv. 7. 10.

⁶ James v. 20.

⁷ Isa. lxxv. 8.

See STRAFFORD'S State Papers, i. p. 254. “I am glad,” says Archbishop LAUD to Strafford, “you will soon take order that Divine Service may be read throughout in the Churches, be the company that vouchsafe to come *never so few*. Let GOD have His whole Service with reverence, and He will quickly send more help to perform it.”

Ireland is the most important Missionary Church in the world. She is nearest and dearest to us. We owe her the deepest debt, both of gratitude for the benefits we received from her in ancient times, and of reparation for the injuries we have done her. And yet, in the present age, an age of fervent sympathy for distant Colonial Churches, for which Heaven be praised, we seem to look coldly and carelessly on the Church of Ireland. We should feel more zeal for her if she were at the Antipodes. And because she is not in some remote island in the Pacific, but lies at our door, and we can visit her to-morrow if we please, we appear to be almost indifferent about her. But let us awake to a sense of her real dignity and value. The great spiritual conflict which seems to be approaching,—for ourselves, for Europe, and for the World,—may begin in Ireland. *There* may be our noblest triumph; *there* may be our greatest shame.

The Church of Ireland is a *Missionary* Church. She is also the Ancient Church of that country. Let this never be forgotten. The evidence of this truth has been already laid before you on former occasions, and let me now only remind you, that the fact itself, and the proof of the fact, are very necessary to be borne in mind, especially in these days, when so many persons are deluded by those specious words, “the Ancient Church,” “the Ancient Religion.” Most men are prepossessed in favour of the Ancient Institutions, especially the Religious Institutions, of their own country. The feeling is laudable and patriotic, and it ought to be

respected, loved, and cherished. Therefore it is due to others, especially to our Roman Catholic brethren in Ireland, it is due to ourselves, it is due to the cause of Truth, that we should be able to show, that they who forsake the errors of Rome and communicate with the Church of Ireland, do not quit what is old, and embrace any new opinions of a new sect, but that they reject what is new, and *return* to the *Ancient Faith* of the *Ancient Church*.

X. Finally, let us now thank God for His mercies to us, even in the midst of our sins. Notwithstanding the assaults from without, continued for many centuries, notwithstanding her perils from within,—the Church of Ireland still survives. To adopt the language of the Apocalyptic⁸ vision,—still the Woman stands, *clothed with the Sun*; still she is nourished by manna from heaven; still she rides on the wings of *the Divine Eagle*; still she wears *the twelve Stars* on her crown; she is Apostolic in her origin; she holds the Scriptures in her hands; she ministers the Sacraments of Christ. Long may she continue to do so! She has been tried in the furnace of adversity, and even her bitterest foes have lauded her patience and her love. And she not only survives, but we do not scruple to add, that now in the nineteenth century, after so many difficulties and afflictions, the Church of Ireland bears more tokens of vitality and shows more signs of efficiency than she has done for a thousand years. Let her have room for her energies,—let her be duly fostered, and she will bring

⁸ Rev. xii.

forth more fruit in her age⁹. Far, therefore, be it from any of us to despond on account of her present condition. Rather in that condition let us recognize proofs of her divine origin, and read auguries of her future extension. Her existence, her increased vigour, after so long and severe trials, declare that God is with her¹. Therefore

⁹ Ps. xcii. 13.

¹ See the evidence in Bp. JEBB's eloquent Speech in the House of Lords, June 10, 1824, and in the Charge for 1846 of the late Archbishop of ARMAGH, p. 23. "Within the last eleven years fifty-three Unions have been dissolved in the Province of Armagh, although the value of *Church property* has been diminished by more than one quarter of its former amount."

P. 25. "Within the last twenty years the number of stipendiary Curates has been increased by 185."

P. 27. "Within the last twelve years upwards of 100,000*l.* have been contributed out of private funds, for the building and enlarging of Churches. In this diocese (Armagh) we have erected within the last twelve years thirteen additional Churches, and fifteen old ones have been enlarged."

See also Bp. MANT's History, ii. pp. 775, 776. "In 1801, Ireland consisted of 2436 *Parishes*, which were so distributed as to constitute only 1125 *Benefices* with cure of souls;" compare NEWLAND's Apology, p. 134, where it is stated that—

"In the year 1762 there were only 543 Churches in Ireland.

"	1792	"	643	"
"	1800	"	689	"

P. 136. "From May, 1801, to Jan., 1829—

Churches built	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	258
Rebuilt	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	242
Building, 1829	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	54
Enlarged	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	99
Ordered to be built, 1829	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	64
Total between May, 1801, and Dec., 1830	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	618

"Thus in the *thirty* years since the Union with England the Churches in Ireland were *nearly doubled*."

In the same volume, p. 155, it is stated that—

In the year 1726 there were only 141 Glebe Houses in Ireland.

"	1800	"	295	"	"
"	1820	"	768	"	"
"	1829	"	1018	"	"

[Ibid.]

we are full of hope. For if *God be for us, who can be against us*²? *Some put their trust in chariots and some in horses, but we will remember the Name of the Lord our God*³. And let us look forward to that glorious time, when the strifes of earth will cease, and when the Sun and Moon shall be no more, and then the Church of Christ Universal, which is now the Woman in the Wilderness, will become the Bride in heaven.

Ibid. pp. 156—161.

	Resident Beneficed Clergy.	Curates.	Total.
In the year 1806	693	560	1253
” 1819	882		
” 1828	about 1200	750	1950

Ibid. p. 162 (A.D. 1829). “In twenty-one years, 697 resident Clergymen have been *added* to the Church of Ireland. In twenty-one years the increase in *resident* Clergy has exceeded the *whole* Clergy of Ireland in 1792, by 153.”

“In thirty-six years, from 1792 to 1828, the number of resident Clergy in Ireland has been *doubled*.”

“In 1819 the number of resident Clergy in the province of Armagh alone was equal to the *whole* resident Clergy in 1792; and the number of Glebe Houses in that province, in 1819, exceeded the number in the *whole* island, in 1726, by *two hundred*.”

NEWLAND’S Apology, p. 54. “In Bishop Bedell’s time, A.D. 1630, there were but sixteen resident Clergymen in the two Dioceses of Kildare and Ardagh. Now (1829) there are nearly *one hundred* resident.”

The following table is from Dr. A. T. LEE’S valuable publication, “Facts concerning the Church of Ireland;” 1868.

Progressive increase of Clergy, &c., in Ireland from 1730 to 1863.

	Clergy.	Churches.	Benefices.	Glebe Houses.
1730	800	400	. .	141
1806	1253	1029	1181	295
1826	1977	1192	1396	768
1864	2172	1579	1510	978

² Rom. viii. 31.

³ Ps. xx. 7.

APPENDIX.

A.

The following Representation of the State of Religion in Ireland, was drawn up by both HOUSES of CONVOCATION in Ireland, and presented to HER MAJESTY, A.D. 1712.

“AMONG the causes why the Reformation hath in all this time made no further progress in this kingdom,—

“I. Is the dependence which the Papists have always had upon Foreign Princes. The Pope’s Supremacy and Infallibility being the principal point of their religion, they are apt to imagine, that all the States of Europe which are of the Communion of the Church of Rome must be in their interest; and that therefore a time may happen, when *by their assistance they may root out Protestants, and shake off the subjection to the Crown of Great Britain*; and accordingly they have been all along fed with these hopes from the beginning of the Reformation, which happening about the time when England was in war with Spain, they were taught by their Priests to make Religion a pretence for Rebellion. . . . Their *dependence is now chiefly upon France for being restored to their Estates*, which they think they forfeit all hopes of, if they should turn Protestants.

“II. Another cause, is the great want of a sufficient number of Clergy in most parts of the kingdom. The reason of which is, that upon the Dissolution of Abbeys and Monasteries, *the Tithes then appropriated for their support were granted to Laymen*, either in Fee-farm, or Leases, many of

which Leases, though now expired, are continued in the same hands as if they were Fee-farms. These impropriations being a considerable part of the Tithe of the whole kingdom, make it necessary for the Bishop *to unite several adjoining Parishes, to make up a small provision for the Minister.* This, together with there being no Glebe (in more than) one Parish in ten, and most of these but small and often in scattered parcels, together with the want of Churches and Manse Houses, makes the local residence of the Clergy in many cases impracticable. YOUR MAJESTY has been graciously pleased to lay a foundation for the buying in of impropriations, by your Royal Grant of the First Fruits for that purpose.

“ III. Another ground of their hatred to our Church, and no small hindrance to their conversion, and which they themselves assign and frequently object to us, is the *great variety of schismatics and sectaries among those that call themselves Protestants*, though many of them are of their own making. This creates in them an invincible prejudice against us. Seeing so many different Communions, they are apt to conclude us all equally erroneous, and stick to their imaginary Infallibility. This is the great stumbling-block, and rock of offence, that lies in their way, and upon which so many souls are lost and shipwrecked.”

B.

Extracts from the Examination of the Rev. T. W. Dixon, 25th October, 1826, formerly Student of the R. C. College of Maynooth.

“Do you mean that those persons who spoke to you in this manner had themselves been engaged in rebellion against

England?—I do not mean that they really had; but I really at the time felt that it would be a noble cause to engage in rebellion, and to rid my country of the chains of a foreign government unjustly imposed.

“Although you had taken the oath of allegiance?—Although I had taken the oath of allegiance; such was the impression on my mind, that it was my duty to break the yoke of England.

“Was it contemplated that such a rebellion as you describe could by possibility be successful—was that question considered?—Certainly.

“State what were the feelings towards the established Church among the students.—That the members of it were heretics, cut off from the possibility of salvation in a future life, unless they repented and became reconciled to the Church of Rome.

“The question has a reference to the clergy rather than to the laity, to the constituted authorities of the Church.—We had more animosity against the Protestant clergy; the orangemen, and general run of Protestant laymen, we certainly considered as people that fully deserved our animosity and hatred, but the persons in particular who had robbed us of our possessions, we considered ought to be more peculiarly the objects of our indignation.

“What do you mean by robbing you of your possessions?—By possessing the church property, which devolved to them subsequently to the Reformation.

“Did you ever hear the question discussed as to the right they have to the churches they now occupy?—Yes, that formed a part of our subject betimes. We thought that they were intruders, and had no right whatever, except by the strong arm of power; we did not consider that they had any spiritual character—that they were either bishops or priests; we considered them mere laymen; but that

at the same time they were in the possession of our properties.

“What do you mean by your properties?—The present church property of Ireland, we considered to be the property of the Roman Catholic Church.

“Did you ever discuss at all what was to become of that property, in the event of the separation you have spoken of?—Of course the Church was to be reinstated in the possession of it.

“How far did you imbibe all those notions, that you describe yourself as possessing, before you came into the college?—It is possible that I might have imbibed the general disposition to them before I came to the college: but when I came to the college, those arrangements used more fully to be canvassed among the students; and I learned more as to their right to the church possessions after I came there, and that the Protestants were heretics, and already condemned to eternal torments.

“Did nobody ever suggest, upon the occasion of those discussions, that those notions were a little at variance with the oaths of allegiance, which all the persons present must have taken?—Possibly; but we thought that those oaths were required of us, in order to save appearances.

“Was the dispensing power of the Pope ever discussed upon those occasions?—Certainly, it was fully established that the Pope could dispense with the obligations of the oath; nor were we ignorant that he had actually carried into effect that power, by absolving Queen Elizabeth's subjects in Ireland, and depriving Henry the Eighth of his Crown.

“At what time were those discussions in the habit of being carried on?—When we went out into the fields for recreation, we generally congregated together into groups, and discussed those matters.

“Did none among you take the part of the Protestants, and of the established order of things, upon the occasion of any of those discussions?—Certainly not, except for argument’s sake.

“Do you mean that not a single individual among you seriously took that side?—Certainly not.”

SERMON VIII.

ON THE CHURCH OF IRELAND AS A NATIONAL RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENT¹.

JOHN vii. 24.

“Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment.”

AFTER reviewing, in previous discourses, the history of Christianity in Ireland, we are now brought to the following question, viz. :—

Ought the Church of Ireland to be maintained as the religious Establishment of that country?

The question is *not*—

Whether any other form of religion should be established in its place? The most powerful adversaries of the Church in Ireland, who have made an alliance with Romanism for the subversion of the national Church, are not arrayed against it on account of its doctrines, but because it is a religious Establishment; and they would not consent to the setting up of another form of religion, especially such a form as Romanism, as a religious Establishment in its place. Romanism disqualifies itself by

¹ Preached in 1866. Some additions have been made to the present edition of this Sermon.

its principles for being accepted as a religious Establishment, especially in an Empire like our own². And

² The Church of Rome, by her worship of the Blessed Virgin, and (to adopt her own term) by her "*adoration*" of the Roman Pontiff, is undermining the religion and worship of Jesus Christ, which is the surest foundation of Governments, and the best safeguard of the peace and prosperity of states, and of the true liberty of nations.

By strange superstitions and religious impostures, she is revolting the intelligence of the Laity in Roman Catholic countries from Christianity itself, which they identify with Romanism—being the only form of Christianity with which they are acquainted—and is thus preparing a triumph for Infidelity; which—unless God in His mercy restrain it—will burst forth with antichristian fury, in civil anarchy and social confusion, and will sweep with a fierce hurricane and terrible tornado over Europe, and produce ruin and desolation.

The Church of Rome lays claim to spiritual supremacy, domineering over all other power in a nation, and establishing an empire of her own, paramount to all other authority. She brings that supremacy to bear with mysterious energy on every social relation of life. By means of her Confessional, and by her theory of the non-obligation of Oaths, if prejudicial to her interest (of which she is to be the judge), and by her assertion of power to absolve from their obligation, she claims a right to exercise a dominant sway over the Conscience. She arms subjects against rulers (as has been recently seen in Italy), and soldiers against their sovereigns. By means of the Oath which she imposes on every Bishop in her communion, requiring them "*to maintain the royalties of St. Peter*"—that is, the claims of the Roman Papacy—"against all men," and "*to persecute and to wage war against all heretics and schismatics*" (that is, all who will not bow down to her), she has rendered her system almost intolerable even in Roman Catholic states, and much more in Protestant countries. This oath may be seen in the "*Pontificale Romanum*," printed by authority at Rome, p. 62, ed. 1818.

By such principles as these, the Church of Rome has disqualified herself from being accepted as the religious instructress of nations; especially of a people subject to a Protestant throne, like our own, which she denounces and anathematizes as heretical and schismatic. And the larger the population is, which is committed to her influence, the more danger will be incurred by those who strengthen that influence, by accepting the Church of Rome as the national teacher of religion.

If, therefore, Romanism is not accepted by the United Kingdom of

Romanism itself, which hopes to be one day dominant in Ireland, now waives all claim to State-endowment there, as well knowing that they who are now leagued with it for the subversion of the national Church, and whose aid it desires for that purpose, would become its strenuous opponents, if it aspired to be the religious Establishment of that country.

The question also is *not*—

Whether the Established Church of Ireland should be deprived of *a portion* of its revenues, in order that they may be applied to other purposes?

Formerly, indeed, it assumed that shape: but after careful inquiry it was found, that if the Church of Ireland is to be maintained as the religious Establishment of the country, its revenues are not too great for the purpose³, and ought to be increased rather than diminished⁴.

Therefore, the question is now simplified, and presents itself in this form⁵—

Great Britain and Ireland as the national religion in Ireland, the Church of Rome ought not to ascribe that non-acceptance to any sectarian antipathies on our part, but simply and solely to her own avowed principles.

³ The average income of the Clergy—of the beneficed Clergy—is not 250*l.* a year.

⁴ The evidence as to the slender provision for the Irish Clergy, may be seen in the Archbishop of ARMAGH'S Charge for 1865, p. 10; and in the Right Honourable Sir JOSEPH NAPIER'S valuable paper on the Position of the Church in Ireland, p. 13.

⁵ See the history of what is commonly called the Appropriation Clause of 1834, as related by Mr. JUSTICE SHEE, "On the Irish Church," London, 1852, pp. 17—20, and the statement there quoted of Mr. GEORGE LEWIS SMYTH,—“To suppose that so unequal a state of things was to be composed by diverting some 50,000*l.* or 100,000*l.* a year from the Irish Church to the *purpose of education* or any thing

Ought Ireland to have a national religious Establishment? Ought the Church of Ireland to be preserved as the religious Establishment of that country? or ought it to be deprived of its revenues, and to be degraded from its position⁶?

That national Establishments of True Religion are pleasing to Almighty God, and bring down His blessings, spiritual and temporal, upon those who maintain them, is evident from His Holy Word. *All power is given unto Me*, says Christ, *in heaven and in earth*⁷. He is *King of kings, and Lord of lords*⁸. *All Kings shall bow down before Him, all Nations shall do Him service*⁹. He is the Arbiter of the destiny of Nations. And therefore the royal Psalmist says, *Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings*¹; *be instructed, ye that are judges of the earth; Kiss the Son* (that is, do homage to Christ), *lest He be angry, and so ye perish*

else, was a childish dream," and the still more important declaration of Sir GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS, "Irish Church Question," 1836, p. 351: "The objections of the Roman Catholics to the Established Church of Ireland would not be removed by the abolition of a few bishoprics or the paring down of a few benefices; they lie against its very existence." This applies still more strongly and more generally to the advocates of the voluntary system, the members of the Liberation Society. Cp. Sir J. NAPIER's paper on the Position of the Irish Church, p. 10.

⁶ Some there are who seem to think that the Church of Ireland may cease to be an *establishment* and yet retain her *endowments*. But is this probable? The essence of an Establishment seems to be that it is maintained by law, which secures the payment of its endowments, accruing from the soil, or produce of the country. And if a Church ceases to be established, these endowments will be imperilled. And in fact, they who have contended for the *dis-establishment* of the Church of Ireland, have begun with an attack on its *endowments*.

⁷ Matt. xxviii. 18.

⁸ Rev. xix. 16.

⁹ Ps. lxxii. 11.

¹ Ps. ii. 10.

from the right way, when His wrath is kindled but a little. And the promise of Christ to His Church is, *Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and Queens thy nursing mothers*²; and the song of triumph will one day sound on high through the vault of heaven, *The kingdom of this world is become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ*³.

Assuredly, it must be a blessed thing for men and Nations to do, what Christ Himself commands to be done, and which, when done, will be celebrated with praise and thanksgiving by the angels of God.

From such passages of Scripture it is evident that every Country which has not a national Establishment of True Religion ought to endeavour to have one, if it desires to enjoy God's favour; and that every Country which has such an Establishment, ought to endeavour to improve it; and that any Country which has such an Establishment, and does not maintain, but destroys it, falls away from God, and forfeits His blessing, without which there can be no peace in this world, and no happiness in another.

1. But it is said, even by some who acknowledge the truth of these principles, that the Church of Ireland ought not to be maintained as the religious Establishment of that country.

The Church of Ireland, they allege, is comparatively a *new Institution*; it was founded, they say, on proscriptio and violence, and was forced upon a reluctant people three centuries ago, by the power of England, at the Reformation; it is regarded "as a *grievance* and as

² Isa. xlix. 23.

³ Rev. xi. 15.

a *badge of conquest*” by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, who form the majority of the population; and it therefore ought not to be maintained as the religious Establishment of Ireland.

To this allegation we reply, that the Church of Ireland is not a new Institution; its doctrines are the doctrines of Holy Scripture, and of the primitive Church; its form of Church government is that of ancient Christendom; its religion—as we have already shown—is that which was preached by St. Patrick⁴, the Apostle of Ireland, more than 1300 years ago. The Reformation in Ireland was not an introduction of any thing new, but a restoration of what was old. The Bishops of the Church of Ireland at that time accepted it⁵. The Bishops of the present national Church of Ireland are the legitimate and only successors of St. Patrick and his followers in Ireland. The present Romish Episcopate in Ireland was schismatically intruded by the Papacy into Ireland, from Spain and Italy, about 250 years ago, in opposition to the true successors of St. Patrick and of the Apostles of Christ.

These are facts which cannot be gainsaid. With regard to the other plea, that the Church of Ireland is regarded as a *grievance* and a *badge of conquest*, it may be reasonably doubted whether this allegation is well grounded.

The Clergy of the Church of Ireland have shown themselves the most faithful friends of the whole population of Ireland—irrespective of creed or race—in times of severe trial; and if they were to be dispossessed of

⁴ Above, Sermon i.

⁵ Above, pp. 203—222.

their revenues and their influence, this would ere long be a subject of great regret to the vast majority of the people—especially the poor.

The reformed Church of Ireland is not a *badge of conquest*. Its doctrines, as we have shown, are the same as the doctrines of the *Ancient Church of Ireland*—the Church of St. Patrick and St. Columba,—the Church of the Irish People till the twelfth century after Christ.

But there is a Church in Ireland which *is a badge of conquest*. That Church is the *Roman Catholic Church* in Ireland. It was introduced by the arms of England in the twelfth century ⁶.

There are also some other things which are regarded by many in Ireland as *grievances* and as *badges of conquest*: and these are the possession of a great part of the land of Ireland by English Nobles and Gentry, and the supremacy of the English Monarchy.

And if the Church of Ireland is to be sacrificed to the plea that some regard it in that light, it is certain that this sacrifice would soon be followed by others, which they who have given an impetus to the plea would be among the first to deplore.

2. But it is rejoined, that “the *Reformation* has been *rejected by Ireland*; it has *failed in Ireland*;” and, therefore, the Church of Ireland, which teaches the doctrines of the Reformation, ought not to be upheld as the religious Establishment of that country.

To this allegation a reply, in part, has been already given ⁷. The Reformation has *not been rejected* by Ireland; for it has *never yet been fairly offered* to Ireland.

⁶ See above, pp. 96—116.

⁷ Above, pp. 247—268.

The Reformation has not failed in Ireland. The Reformation was a restoration of God's Truth. God's Truth has not failed; and cannot fail. But those persons failed who managed its concerns in Ireland. England failed, miserably failed, in her duty to God's Truth and to Ireland at that time. England had been the first to introduce Romanism into Ireland in the twelfth century⁸, for the sake of her own temporal aggrandizement. And we have shown that at the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, England, who had then chief rule in Ireland, denied to Ireland the use of God's Word and of Public Prayer in the Irish language. England, Protestant England⁹, imitated the practice of Papal Rome, and refused to the people of Ireland the Scriptures and a Liturgy in their own mother tongue.

In order to promote—as she fondly imagined—her own political interests, she proscribed the use of the Irish language in the worship of God. To serve her own worldly ends, she was untrue to God, to Ireland, and to herself. She made severe, but abortive, laws against Irish Roman Catholics, which made them more obstinate, but she did little to win them by milder measures to a purer faith.

England also failed in her duty to God and His Church in Ireland in another respect. At the Reformation, Tithes were taken from the dissolved Monasteries, but they were not restored, as they ought to have been, to the parishes from which they accrued. They were given to English noblemen and other laymen, and to the English crown. Two English Sovereigns, King

⁸ Above, pp. 92—96.

⁹ Above, pp. 248—252.

James I. and King Charles I., set a bright example to lay impropiators, by restoring impropriations to the Church, and succouring the poor Clergy; but the evil still remains; through the unhappy policy of England, the Church of Ireland still groans under the burden of lay impropriations¹.

Besides, England failed in her duty to God, to the Gospel, and to Ireland in another important respect also, especially in the eighteenth century. She used the Church of God in Ireland as a secular engine of her own State-policy. She discouraged the native Irish Clergy, and she checked the supply of faithful and zealous Pastors in Ireland, by bestowing Irish Bishoprics on English Ecclesiastics, who knew nothing of the Irish language, and cared little for the Irish people; and who were not qualified by piety and learning for their sacred office, and whose chief recommendation was, that they were eager political partisans of what by a strange misnomer was called "the English interest in Ireland"—as if the interest of England could be promoted by treachery to God. Some of these English Prelates never resided in their Irish dioceses; and they gave the best benefices to their English relatives, who were also non-resident.

England also failed in her duty to God's Church in Ireland in another matter. She took little care to provide a resident Clergy for that country. In the year 1710, there was no residence for one Pastor in ten in Ireland. And this state of things continued for the greater part of the eighteenth century².

¹ See above, pp. 253—258, 279.

² Abp. of DUBLIN'S Charge, 1865, p. 26. Cp. above, p. 255.

With such evidence as this before us, are we not bound to say, that it is not the Reformation that has been rejected in Ireland? No, but its principles have been rejected by England, and it has never been fairly offered to Ireland. It is not the Reformation that has failed in Ireland, but we have failed, lamentably failed, in our duty to Ireland and to God. And when we consider how much we have failed in our duty to God, to the Reformation, and to Ireland, the wonder is, not that the Church of Ireland should not be more prosperous than it is, and that the Reformation should not have made more progress. Rather we may be surprised that, notwithstanding the failings of England, and the hostility of Rome, and the sacrilegious covetousness of some of Ireland's own children, encouraged by the example of England, and robbing³ God and His Church, and forcing many of her members to emigrate to foreign⁴ lands, and thus thinning her ranks, and impoverishing the Christian Ministry, and necessitating the union of many parishes in one benefice; and notwithstanding the culpable neglect and disorderly licence and irregular extravagance of others, even among the Clergy themselves, breaking the unity of the Church, and making her a scorn and byword to her enemies, the Church of Ireland should exist in her present efficiency, and be advancing steadily on as she is⁵.

³ Above, pp. 253, 256.

⁴ See PHELAN'S Remains, ii. 45, 46.

⁵ "Our churches have well-nigh trebled in number within the last century, and are yearly multiplying: the ministers of our Church have increased in like proportion." Archbishop of ARMAGH'S Charge, 1865, p. 22. Cp. above, pp. 285, 286.

And yet,—strange to say,—there are some persons in England who impute to God's Truth the consequences of England's sins. Many there are in England, who taunt the Church of Ireland with the fewness of her members, which is due to England's unfaithfulness; and they would even punish her by spoliation on account of that fewness, which, alas! we ourselves have caused! King Herod of Jewry might as well have insulted the mothers of Bethlehem for their childlessness, after he himself had massacred their infants. He might as well have pillaged their houses, and dismantled the walls of Bethlehem, and sold their stones by auction, on the plea that because of its depopulation by his murder of the Innocents, they were no longer necessary to be kept up!

Rather let us confess and amend our faults. We owe a debt to God and His Truth. We have hindered its progress in Ireland, we ought to accelerate it. We received the blessings of the Gospel from Ireland in ancient times⁶. And we have inflicted many wrongs upon her. Let us not aggravate our sin by despoiling her. We owe a debt of reparation to Ireland. We were the first to Romanize her, we ought now to do all in our power to evangelize her.

3. But it is objected by some, that the past cannot be undone, and that we must deal with facts as they are. Look (they say) at the last census of Ireland. Ireland contains about five millions and three-quarters⁷ of

⁶ Sermon ii. pp. 66—71.

⁷ Authentic reports of the results of the census of Ireland are

inhabitants. Of these, four and a half millions are Roman Catholics. The Established Church of Ireland does not number a million of souls. Is it not (it is asked) a monstrous injustice, that a Church so barren of fruit should be allowed to cumber the ground, that it should even be maintained as the Established Church of that country; and that they who do not derive any benefit from it, and who reject its ministrations, should be compelled to assist in maintaining it?

What is to be said here?

We do not disparage the evidence derived from Tables of Population. Blessed is the Church of God which preaches His Truth to willing ears, and can say, pointing to a large and loving offspring, *Behold I and the children whom the Lord hath given me*⁸.

But we deny that Tables of Population afford any adequate test and right criterion, whether a Church

quoted in the Rev. Dr. ALFRED T. LEE'S publication, "Facts respecting the Present State of the Church in Ireland," 1865, p. 7.

	1834.	1851.	Decrease.	Increase.	Per Cent.
Established Church	853,160	693,357	} 114,404		13·4
including Methodists	—	45,399			
Roman Catholics	6,436,060	4,505,265	1,930,795		30·4
Presbyterian	643,058	523,291	119,767		18·6
and other Protestant Dissenters ...	21,882	76,661	...	54,839	251·3
	7,954,160	5,798,967	2,164,966	54,839	...
Corrected return of Pro- testant Dissenters..... }	21,882	16,990	4,892	...	22·4

⁸ Isa. viii. 18.

ought to be established, or whether, when established, it ought or ought not to be maintained.

Time was, of old, when the visible Church of God on earth dwindled down to one small family. It floated on a wilderness of waters in the Ark, which contained only eight souls. But no one will say that the religion of that small household was not true, or was not to be accepted as the religion of the World. Time was, of old, when the visible Church of God was reduced to a despised remnant, and was represented by the burning Bush in the silent solitudes of Horeb—burning, but not consumed; for the Angel of the Lord was in it. Time was, of old, many centuries after the delivery of the Law from Sinai, that the visible Church of God seemed to have scarcely any living form and utterance except in the prophet Elijah; but no one will say that the religion which Elijah taught was not to be the national religion of Israel. The fire which came down from heaven on Carmel avouched it, and the people themselves owned it,—*The Lord, He is the God; the Lord, He is the God*⁹. In the days of Christ upon earth, the Gospel was like a grain of mustard seed; but it was to overshadow the Earth. It was like a little leaven, but it was to leaven the World. The Church was a little flock, but all nations of the World are to become one fold under one Shepherd.

On the other hand, we see in Holy Scripture a dark picture, which ought to be a warning to ourselves. In the Book of Revelation we behold the portraiture of a false and corrupt Church, beguiling men by her allure-

⁹ 1 Kings xviii. 39.

ments, and destroying their souls by her idolatries, and whose destiny it is to be burnt with fire. And of this false and corrupt Church it is expressly said, that it contains large numbers in its Communion. Multitudes are enrolled in its Census. Myriads upon myriads swell its Tables of Population. *The waters which thou sawest, upon which the harlot sitteth*, enthroned as a Queen (we read), *are* (that is, they represent) *peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues*¹. Of this, therefore, we may be sure, that Tables of Population are very fallacious, when applied to the question before us.

Besides, what are Tables of Population? What is a Census? It is an enumeration of human beings. And what are human generations? Their breath is in God's hand. They are like leaves on the trees in autumn, quivering on the bough for a while, eddying in the air, and then falling to the earth and strewing the ground. God can wither them in a moment. He often sweeps them away by Plague, Pestilence, and Famine; or they disappear by emigration. By one breath of His mouth He disturbs all our calculations which are grounded on Tables of Population.

Look at Ireland herself. In the year 1851, her Population was *not so large as it had been thirty years before*². Twenty-five years ago, Ireland contained more than

¹ Rev. xvii. 15.

² Population of Ireland :

In 1821	6,801,827
1831	7,767,401
1841	8,175,124
1851	6,515,794
1861	5,798,987

eight millions of souls. But in 1861 she numbered *only five millions and three-quarters.* She *lost more than two millions* of her people *in twenty years.* In 1834 there were about *six and a half millions* of Roman Catholics in Ireland; but in 1861 they had dwindled down to *four and a half millions.* And it is doubtful whether there are as many. It is notorious (as Romish Priests themselves complain)³, that as soon as they cross the Atlantic many of them cease to profess that religion. *Romanism has lost two millions* in Ireland in about *twenty-five years.* And it is certain, that though all classes of religionists have decreased greatly in Ireland during the last quarter of a century, yet the members of the Established Church have decreased *less* in proportion than those of any other religious communion.

These Tables of Population ebb and flow like the rolling billows of the restless sea. Will any wise man build his reasonings concerning religion on the fickle fluctuations of such an Euripus as that? Are its wavering undulations to be set against that which has no ebb and flow, but remains for ever crystallized in a pure, deep, eternal calm,—the Word of God? Is the ship of the State to be drifted about by veering gusts and shifting currents, and not to be steered with a firm hand, by the unerring chart and compass of God's Word within her, and by the light of the fixed stars above her? If this be the case, alas for her and for her crew!

³ As the *Dublin Review* says, July, 1865, p. 228, "We fear that there can be little doubt that in the United States the [Roman Catholic] Church loses more souls than it gains. In the second generation the faith of the [Roman] Catholic immigrant is constantly lost."

She must split and founder upon rocks, or else be stranded on quicksands. There is no surer sign of moral decline in statesmanship, and of religious degeneracy and degradation in nations, than when men's minds are enslaved by the gross materialism of Numbers, Time, and Space, instead of holding spiritual commerce and communion with the unseen world. There is no surer sign of decay in Governments and States, than when men, who ought to lead others, begin to gauge moral Truths by mechanical standards, and set themselves to measure holy things—such as the existence of national Churches—by the capricious ciphers of Time, and not by the unchanging truths of Eternity. And there is no surer sign of a great and noble mind, than to cling loyally to Truth, when it is scorned, forsaken, and persecuted by the world.

4. But we are not yet allowed to have done with Tables of Population.

It is objected by the opponents of the Church of Ireland, that there are many Parishes in that country, where the members of the Established Church are *very few*, and that therefore she ought not to be maintained as the national Church.

This objection involves many fallacies.

(1) There is scarcely a single benefice in Ireland where there are no members of the Established Church⁴.

(2) Though there are some benefices in which the members of the Church are few, it by no means follows that the Church should be despoiled of her revenues, to

⁴ See Dr. LEE'S "Facts," &c., p. 16.

the detriment of her people who dwell in benefices where her members are not few^s.

5 SUMMARY OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN IRELAND.

United Dioceses.	* Area in Statute Acres.	Average of each Benefice.	Benefices.	Churches.	Parochial Clergy.			Church Population.	Population to each Benefice, 1861.	Net Revenue of Benefices.	Average net Value of Benefices.
					Incumbents.	Curates.	Total.				
Province of ARMAGH.	1. Armagh and Clogher	1,758,852	170	179	170	75	245	150,778	867	£50,432	£296
	2. Derry	1,945,896	109	113	109	48	157	65,951	605	36,874	338
	3. Down and Connor	1,429,974	145	170	145	56	201	153,467	1,058	32,663	225
	4. Kilmore	1,959,620	118	136	118	84	202	53,196	450	30,095	255
	5. Meath	1,264,995	105	111	105	27	132	16,289	155	24,505	233
	6. Tuam	2,686,705	72	76	72	29	101	17,157	238	17,411	241
Province of DUBLIN.	7. Dublin	1,282,160	165	171	165	88	253	112,766	683	34,781	210
	8. O sory	1,745,247	171	171	171	83	254	35,663	209	43,853	256
	9. Cashel	1,405,769	107	94	107	45	152	13,853	129	31,112	281
	10. Limerick	1,770,017	93	81	93	33	126	15,103	162	21,717	233
	11. Cork	1,744,260	170	160	170	71	241	43,228	254	48,801	287
	12. Killaloe	1,707,851	85	89	85	23	108	25,906	187	20,156	237
Average in each Diocese . *		20,701,346	1,510	1,551 ¹	1,510	662	2,172	693,357		£392,400	£257 ²
			126	129	126	55	181	57,779	459	£32,700	

¹ Including 28 Licensed Buildings, 1,579 ² This average makes no deduction for 1,070 Livings out of 1,510 under £300 a year.

The above Table is compiled from *Parliamentary Returns, and Thom's Official Directory for 1866.*

(3) Is it any where revealed in Scripture that God does not care for a few? Christ left the ninety and nine, to seek and to save the one⁶. *There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth*⁷. A single soul is worth more than worlds of matter. If the Church of Ireland is not a true Church of Christ, then, in heaven's name, let her perish! But, if she is, then Christ is with her; and no congregation can be called small where Christ is. No persons are to be despised as few, who enjoy the presence of Him who is Infinite and Eternal. Hear His own words: *Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them*⁸. We do not hesitate to say, that the two or three faithful worshippers—be they aged men or women, or poor children—joining together in prayer to God, and offering to Him a reasonable service, and listening to the pure Word of God preached to them in the parish churches of Ireland, are far more pleasing to God than large and crowded congregations which offer prayer and praise to other objects of adoration besides Him; and they may avert from a nation His wrath, which is provoked by creature-worship and idolatry; and they may bring down His blessing upon it.

If the Church of Ireland preaches the Gospel of Christ, if she dispenses His Sacraments by an Apostolic Ministry, do not, I entreat you, anger God by despising and despoiling those few worshippers, because they are few. Remember Christ's fearful malediction: *It were better that a millstone were hanged about a man's neck,*

⁶ Matt. xviii. 12.

⁷ Luke xv. 7.

⁸ Matt. xviii. 20.

and he cast into the depths of the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones⁹. Rather cherish them the more, because they are few. Their fewness is due, in a great measure, to our sins. *Destroy not the cluster on the vine, for a blessing is in it*¹. And you will be blessed by Him who said, *Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me*².

5. But we may go further. If the Church of Ireland is a true Church of Christ, as we have shown her to be; if she holds and teaches the true faith; if she is the rightful representative of the ancient Church of Ireland, then we do not hesitate to say, that there is not a single person in Ireland, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, who does not in a certain sense belong to her.

Let us not be betrayed into the fallacy of deciding questions of Church-membership by Tables of Population, and not by the Word of God, and by sound principles of Theology. *Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment.*

Consider, What is a true Church? She is no other than the "Body of Christ"³. All His members are hers. Some may be sounder members than others. But, so far as they hold the true Faith, and receive the Word of God and His Sacraments, so far they belong to her; so far as they are Christians, they belong to Christ; and so far as they belong to Christ, they belong to Christ's Church. Is the Church of Ireland a true Church? Is she the true Church of that country, or

⁹ Matt. xviii. 6.

² Matt. xxv. 40.

¹ Isa. lxx. 8.

³ Eph. i. 23. Col. i. 24.

is she not? Doubtless she is. Are Roman Catholics Christians, or are they not? If they are, then we do not scruple to affirm, that, as far as they are so, they belong to the true Church of Ireland. There is no way of becoming a Christian except by the Word and Sacraments of Christ. And the Word and Sacraments of Christ are the dowry of His Church. By whomsoever they are administered, they are hers, because she is Christ's body and Spouse. It is notorious that many of the Roman Catholic peasantry of Ireland look to the Protestant Pastor of the Parish as their best friend. But even if it were true that the Roman Catholics of Ireland ignore the Church of Ireland, and even though they may reject her ministrations, and desire her destruction, yet still the truth remains, they are her children; she owes motherly love and motherly care to them, and they owe a filial duty to her⁴.

6. But again; it is alleged to be very unjust, that the Church of Ireland should be maintained by payments of Roman Catholics who *derive no benefit* from her.

What shall we say here? Our reply is,—

(1) That a large portion of the endowments were given to her by Protestants⁵, and,—

(2) That almost all the property in Ireland from which tithe is paid, is in the hands of Protestants, and not of Roman Catholics.

⁴ These principles have been further confirmed and illustrated from Holy Scripture and the ancient Fathers of the Church, in "Theophilus Anglicanus," part iii. chap. iii.

⁵ See above, p. 278, and Dr. LEE's "Facts," pp. 19, 20.

But we do not rest on such arguments as these ;

We do not hesitate to affirm that *no tithe at all* is paid from *Roman Catholics* to the *Church of Ireland*. Our assertion is this: Tithe may be paid in some cases *through* them, but in no single instance is it paid *from* them. They may in some cases be the *channels through* which the payment is made; but they are not the *sources from* which that which is paid springs. The *Tithe-payer* is not the *Tithe-owner*. All this is perfectly clear from the single consideration, that if all the Tithes of the Church of Ireland were taken away from her to-morrow, not a shilling of them would be given to the *Tithe-payer*. A few years since, it was proposed to despoil the Church of Ireland of part of her revenues, but no one ever dreamt that the supposed surplus, of which she was to be robbed, should be given to Roman Catholic or any other *Tithe-payers*, but it was to be applied to general instruction in Ireland. And at this present time also, when some Roman Catholic leaders have thought fit to combine with a very different class of religionists in an endeavour to deprive the Irish Church of her tithes, it is not proposed by any one that any of those Tithes should be given to Roman Catholic *Tithe-payers*; which surely ought to be the case, *if* Tithes are really *owned* by those through whom they are *paid*⁶.

The fact is,—the overthrow of the Church of Ireland, as a national Establishment, is desired by Romanists, because she is the strongest bulwark against Romish

⁶ On this point compare the Rt. Hon. Sir JOSEPH NAPIER'S observations in his paper on the Position of the Irish Church, 1865, pp. 9, 10.

dogmas and Romish domination; and her subversion is aimed at by others of a very different character, as a preparation to the destruction of all Church Establishments. And if these two parties should gain their purpose, then, when they have done so, they will tear one another in pieces, and distract the country by deadly feuds.

7. And here we come to another count of the indictment against the Church of Ireland.

She ought not, it is said, to be maintained as the national Church of that country, because so many persons there are alienated from her, and *derive no benefit* from her.

If this argument were sound, then no religious national Establishment could ever be maintained. The argument which is good against the Church in Ireland to-day, will be equally good against the Church in Wales to-morrow, and against the Church of England the day after.

There is not a national Christian Establishment any where, to which a large portion of the people are not indifferent or even hostile. Christ Himself and His Apostles have foretold this⁷. The latter days—the days before His second Coming—will be days of worldliness, unbelief, and apostasy.

But if the Church of Ireland is, as we affirm, a true Church of Christ, then we do not scruple to say that she is a blessing, not only to those who love her, but to those who would destroy her. She is a blessing to the Nation at large.

⁷ Matt. xxiv. 4—12. 21—24. 37. 2 Thess. ii. 3. 2 Tim. iii. 1. 2 Pet. iii. 3. 1 John ii. 18. Jude 18.

What does Holy Scripture say here? The men of Sodom hated Lot, and reviled him, saying, *This fellow came in to sojourn, and he will needs be a judge*⁸. But if there had been nine other men in Sodom like Lot, then Sodom would not have been destroyed⁹. The house of Potiphar prospered, because Joseph was there¹. The presence of the Ark of God brought a blessing on the house of Obed-edom². God gave to St. Paul the lives of all them who were with him in the ship³. So we doubt not that the presence of the Church in Ireland, preaching the pure Gospel of Christ, and ministering His holy Sacraments, is—whether men own it or no—a source of inestimable blessing to Ireland; and the destruction of that Church as a national Establishment would be a public calamity.

Consider also this. It is true that the Bishops, and Clergy, and Laity of the Church of Ireland are a small minority as compared with those Bishops, and Clergy, and Laity in that land who own the supremacy of Rome. But what is the first duty of a Church? To diffuse the Light of God's Word. And therefore a Church is symbolized in Holy Scripture by a seven-branched golden candlestick⁴. And what is the use of the candlestick of a Church, if the wicks of its lamps are clotted and fungous, and if its pipes are clogged up with the sediment and dregs of corrupt traditions, and if the liquid oil of Scriptural truth does not flow freshly and freely through them, and it does not dispense spiritual

⁸ Gen. xix. 9.

¹ Gen. xxxix. 3.

³ Acts xxvii. 24.

⁹ Gen. xviii. 32.

² 2 Sam. vi. 11.

⁴ See Rev. i. 12, 13. 20.

light, and if the atmosphere around is gloomy, murky, and fetid? Its doom is, to be removed by Christ, Who walks among the golden candlesticks and observes them⁵. And what has the Church of Rome in Ireland done for diffusing the light of God's Word there? With her superior number of Bishops and Priests, and with the vast crowd of hungry multitudes needing to be fed, she might reasonably be expected to have done much. But is it so? Has she promoted the spread of God's Truth? Has she not hindered it? Has she encouraged the circulation of the Scriptures? Has she not obstructed it? Can the Church of Rome in Ireland, with her boasted majority of Bishops, Priests, and people, point to a single theological work of acknowledged celebrity which she has produced in Ireland for the elucidation of Holy Scripture? What then would be the condition of Ireland, if she were to be left, for a supply of spiritual light, to the candlestick of the Church of Rome? She would be plunged in darkness.

On the other hand, the national Church of Ireland, despised though she be by many, as a puny and paltry minority (and the fewer her numbers are, "the greater share of honour"), has never been wanting, and God grant she never may be, in bright spiritual luminaries. She has had her Usshers, her Bedells, her Bramhalls, her Jeremy Taylors, her Boyles, her Berkeleys, her Edmund Burke, and her Alexander Knox. She has had her Hales, her Graves, her Magees, her Jebbs, her Elringtons, her Phelans, her Archer Butlers, her M'Cauls, her Brinkleys, and her Robinsons; and she

⁵ Rev. i. 13.

has many others, whose names will occur to you—and in them it has been clearly proved that there is *no restraint to the Lord to save by many or by few*⁶. And of late years she has been zealous in her endeavours to diffuse the spiritual light of the Holy Scriptures throughout the land.

In the days of old, Egypt was much larger and far more populous than Goshen. But who, that had eyes to see, would prefer the darkness of Egypt to the light of Goshen? In comparing the Church of Ireland and her claims with those of the Church of Rome in that country, do not be deluded by Tables of Population. Do not contrast their numbers; but place the two Candlesticks side by side, and ask yourselves this question,—Which of the two Candlesticks diffuses more light around it? And be assured that the Church which shines most brightly, is most pleasing to the God of Light and Truth, and ought to be maintained by man.

8. Once more. The Tithes and Endowments of the Church of Ireland do not belong to the State of England, nor do they belong to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, nor do they belong to the Protestants of Ireland, nor do they belong to the Church of Ireland, except as their usufructuary and trustee. But they belong to ALMIGHTY GOD. They have been solemnly dedicated to Him. This act of dedication has been confirmed in the most sacred manner by the English nation. That confirmation is engrafted on the Coronation Oath, taken by her Sovereigns, speaking in God's presence, in His house, before His altar, and

⁶ 1 Sam. xiv. 6.

holding His Scriptures in their hands. It utters its voice in the legislative Act of Union with Ireland. It speaks in oaths of abjuration. If there is such a thing as a solemn pledge upon earth, if there is such a thing as a holy vow registered in heaven, it is that which the British nation has taken, to maintain inviolate that property which has been consecrated to Almighty God, for the use of His Church in Ireland.

Are we prepared to rob God? Are we prepared to commit sacrilege? Are we prepared to imitate the sin, and to incur the penalty of Achan in the Old Testament, and of Ananias and Sapphira in the New? Are we prepared to imitate Herod Agrippa, who *stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church*⁷, and was smitten by an Angel, and was eaten up of worms and died⁸? Are we prepared to make war against God?

It is said indeed by some who would take away the Tithes and Endowments from the Church of Ireland that they will “respect *vested interests* ;” by which it is meant that they will not disturb the present Incumbents, and will give compensation to the Lay Patrons of livings.

But let us ask this question—Are the Patrons and the present Incumbents the only persons who have “vested interests” in these things? Have the Protestant Laity no vested interest in them? Have the Poor no vested interest? Is it a small thing for cottagers and peasants to be deprived of the ministration of Pastors for themselves and households, in the Church, and School, at the sick-bed, the death-bed, and the grave? And can

⁷ Acts xii. 1.

⁸ Acts xii. 23.

they who rob the Poor of these their most precious privileges, be said to respect vested interests? And has God no vested interests in His Church? Are we prepared to leave Him out of the account, and to deprive Him of the produce of His own soil? Are we prepared to take up arms against Him, Whose armies are Plagues and Pestilences, Famines, and Wars, civil and foreign? If so, hearken to His words, *Ye have robbed Me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed Thee? In Tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse. Ye have robbed Me; even this whole nation*⁹. God sent a three years' famine on Israel¹. And why? because Saul their king had killed the Gibeonites. And who were the Gibeonites? The meanest of God's ministers; the hewers of wood and drawers of water in His Tabernacle. And will He not much more punish those who dare to rob Him in His Church? Will not they be made to feel the wrath of Christ, who is KING of kings and LORD of lords², and Who said to him who persecuted His Church, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou ME*³?

9. Consider the signs of the times.

An effort has long been in progress in Roman Catholic Countries, to bring about the declaration of a new dogma, and to impose it on Christendom. This is the dogma of the personal Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff⁴.

⁹ Mal. iii. 7. 9.

¹ 2 Sam. xxi. 1.

² Rev. xvii. 14; xix. 16.

³ Acts ix. 4.

⁴ It is not improbable that an endeavour will be made by a certain powerful party to obtain the promulgation of this dogma at the Council to be held in St. Peter's at Rome on Dec. 8, 1869. The official organ of Ultramontanism, the *Civiltà Cattolica*, which is published at Rome with the Papal sanction and encouragement, asserts that the Church of Rome is about to proclaim in the approaching Council the doctrine

These efforts are forcing a great part of society onward into two hostile camps,—Infidelity on one side, and Ultramontaniam on the other. They are repelling many from Christianity (which is presented to them in that extravagant form), and are inspiring others with hopes of seeing the spiritual monarchy of the Roman Pontiff aggrandized and exalted so as to be supreme upon earth.

Let us therefore look forward. Suppose a personage, deemed to be invested with Infallibility, to issue his mandates from Rome, and suppose those mandates to be received in Ireland by ardent votaries and daring enthusiasts, who revere that Potentate as a God upon earth, what imaginable deed is there, however atrocious, that they would scruple to perform at his bidding, especially against a Protestant power and heretical dynasty? The more terrible the crime, the more glorious and meritorious it would appear in their eyes, as an act of unflinching courage, and of unwavering faith in him. Assassinations, poisonings, secret conspiracies, open rebellions (if likely to be successful), would become the ordinary events of the day. Rome will repeat in Ireland the horrors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁵. And if the Church of Ireland is to be separated from

of Papal infallibility. "The infallibility of the Roman Pontiff," says the *Civiltà Cattolica*, "is at this day a *certain doctrine* of the Church Catholic;" and, joining example to precept, the same review adds, in another number, "The bishops convoked to the approaching council at Rome are the same prelates who by their instant prayers implored and obtained (on Dec. 8, 1854) from this same Pontiff who now convokes them, that he should declare *by his infallible decision* the unique privilege of the *Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God.*"

⁵ See above, pp. 227, 228. 243—245.

the State, and the State to be secularized there; and if no religious organization is to exist for the defence of the Monarchy and the Nation; and if party-strife is to become more bitter, and faction to be more rife (which would be the inevitable consequence of such a separation), what is to resist the domination of a Power, which, as history shows, has ever been ready to combine with revolutionists and regicides for its own spiritual and temporal aggrandizement?

The disestablishment of the Church of Ireland will be the exaltation of the Roman Papacy, and the humiliation of the English Crown.

The days in which we live are days of severe trial. And times of severer trial await us. The present times prove what men really are. They sift men through and through. They show whether they have faith in God. They prove whether men believe that God is the Governor of the world, and the Judge of human actions, and that His Truth will finally prevail.

Let us not be perplexed by what we see around us. Let us not be staggered by the power and prosperity of evil. Christ Himself *came to His own, and His own received Him not*. He was rejected by the World, and crucified. But He raised Himself from the dead, and ascended in triumph into heaven; and He will come again with great glory to judge the quick and dead, and to reward His faithful servants, and to put all enemies under His feet. The course of Christ in this world was a foreshadowing of the course of His Word and of His Church upon Earth. The Word of God, the Church of God, they also will have their Geth-

semane and their Calvary. But they too, like Christ, will have their day of Resurrection, and their day of glorious Ascension. *They who suffer with Him on earth, will reign with Him for ever in heaven.*

Therefore, *judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment.* Prefer not popular fallacies to unpopular truths. Look forward, and look upward. Remember the end. In this great question concerning the Church of God in Ireland, and in all similar questions which are now trying the faith and moral courage of many among us both in Church and State, ask not yourselves what men think, or what men say; but ask yourselves what is in accordance with the Will of God, and with the Word of God. Men will not be our judges at the bar of Christ; but all men will be judged by Him. *Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but His Words will not pass away. And the Word which He hath spoken, that will judge us at the Last Day*⁶. Even in this present world, as we have seen in tracing the history of Christianity in Ireland, the violation of great principles is followed by severe retribution. And it needs no gift of prophecy to foretell, that if the measures should be adopted which are now devised against the Church of Ireland, some of those who eagerly abet them may be the first to rue their result⁷.

⁶ John xii. 48. Luke xxi. 33.

⁷ Especially the English Nobility and Gentry who possess landed estates in Ireland. Let me be allowed to insert here a record of a personal incident at Paris which may throw some light on this point. It is taken from the present writer's "Diary in France," published by him in the year 1844:—

"Went in the afternoon (Aug. 31, 1844) to the *Collège des Irlandais*,

The Church of Ireland is the true Church of Christ in that country. She is a faithful teacher of religion and of loyalty. She is the best safeguard of order and law. A Christian Church with an open Bible and a Scriptural Liturgy is the best defence of a nation. And if she is overthrown, then it is greatly to be feared that we may see a war in Ireland of race against race, of Democracy against Monarchy, of Socialism against property, of Turbulence against Law, of Anarchy against Order, and, it may be, eventually of Fanaticism and Infidelity against Christianity itself. And then England may see Ireland converted into a hostile fortress against her, from which a foreign foe may one day spring upon us, and assail us in our homes.

Almighty God now speaks to us and says, *Sow not the wind, lest ye reap the whirlwind.* Dismantle not your own fortress. Pluck not down your own house with your own hands. Snap not the golden chain asunder which binds Ireland to England. Discourage not your best friends, alienate not your most faithful allies. Bestow not prizes on faction, and give not a triumph to sedition. But cherish, improve, and strengthen the true Scriptural, Primitive, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of Ireland.

Rue des Postes, with Sir R. A. Chermiside, who introduced me to one of the Professors and to the Principal. The College, as I was told by the former, was founded 'in the time of the persecution' in Queen Elizabeth's reign. It now contains about a hundred students; this is vacation time, but nearly half the number still remain here. In the Principal's room is a *Map of the estates of Ireland as they were in olden time*, before they came (by confiscation, &c.) into the hands of the present English and other landed proprietors. He pointed out to me the estates which had belonged to his own family."—*Diary in France*, pp. 184—186, 2nd ed. Lond. 1845.

Have faith in God. He now tries us by difficulties. Our difficulties are His opportunities; our midnight is His noon. Have faith in Him. Obey Him. Then He who said, *One man of you shall chase a thousand*⁸, and who would not use the 32,000 men of Gideon in order to vanquish the countless myriads of Midianities, but who winnowed them down to 300, and by those 300 gained the victory, will add fresh glory to England by means of the Church of Ireland, and will unite the two countries for ever, by the hands of Christ Himself, in the indissoluble bonds of Truth, and Love, and Peace.

Lastly, whatever may be the issue in this short and fleeting world, yet of this we may be sure, that no labour in the cause of God can be in vain. It is above chance, and beyond failure. When all earthly Empires shall have passed away as a dream, *when the Earth itself shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat*⁹, when the visible Church on earth shall have finished her course, and Christ Himself shall appear on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory, and call all men from their graves; then all who have been true to Him in times of trial and defection, will have their portion for ever in the Church triumphant, and will be enrolled as citizens in the everlasting census of the heavenly Jerusalem, and will receive from His hands a palm of victory, and a crown of glory which fadeth not away.

⁸ Josh. xxiii. 10.

⁹ 2 Pet. iii. 10.

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