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M.J. Thompson: *The High Church Tradition in Ireland, 1800-1870, with particular reference to John Jebb and Alexander Knox.* (Thesis for the M.A. Degree, 1992)

ABSTRACT

This is a critical enquiry into the widely held belief that the doctrines of pre-Tractarian High Church Anglicanism have exercised a specially tenacious hold on the Church of Ireland. Chapter 1 surveys the tradition as developed in the 17th and 18th centuries, but also examines the peculiarity of a Church established by law in a land the majority of whose people adhered to other Christian bodies. Chapter 2 outlines the careers of Knox as the forerunner and Jebb as the principal embodiment of 'Old High Church' feeling, pointing to their relations with Methodism and Roman Catholicism, and their dependence on the legal status of the Church. Chapter 3 contrasts diverse attempts to confront the problems that arose from decreasing support for that legal status on the part of the British Government, culminating in the Irish Church Temporalities Act of 1833: the trigger of the Oxford Movement. The lineaments of High Church thought at that moment, notably its patristic emphasis, are traced in Chapter 4, and its limitations exposed in an account of a contemporary ecumenical venture. It becomes clear that the Tractarians owed a debt to Irish old High Church thinking, but developed their theology well beyond even Knox and Jebb. Chapter 5 depicts Irish hostility towards Tractarianism, exemplified in the career of J.H. Todd, and various endeavours to maintain the High Church tradition such as the foundation of S. Columba's College. At the same time, the cornerstone of traditional Irish High Church thought is removed by the Irish Church Disestablishment Act of 1869. Chapter 6, in recounting the speed and ferocity with which Low Church Evangelicals, chiefly amongst the laity, captured the commanding heights of the disestablished Church, seeks to throw retrospective light on the inherent weakness of the old High Church tradition. Indeed, as Chapter 7 also aims to show, it was only through imported Anglo-Catholicism that any elements of the earlier tradition were to survive. The conclusion reached in these two final chapters is that the historical situation of the Church of Ireland was never favourable to an indigenous traditionalist High Church movement capable of widespread lay support.

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THE HIGH CHURCH TRADITION IN IRELAND

1800 - 1870

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE

TO JOHN JEBB AND ALEXANDER KNOX

BY

MICHAEL JAMES THOMPSON

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

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DECLARATION

In accordance with the Regulations for Theses, I declare that none of the material contained in this thesis has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or any other University, nor is this work based upon joint research. I also certify that my thesis does not exceed the limit of 50,000 words.

M. J. T.

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To Dr Sheridan Gilley, my tutor when I was an undergraduate at S. Andrews and a generous and patient supervisor in this enterprise, I owe a particular debt. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster and the Fathers of the London Oratory have kindly supported me in many ways throughout the course of this work, and I am grateful to them. It is, however, to the unfailing kindness and rigorous professionalism of my typist that I shall remain most indebted. The errors alone are entirely my own.

CHAPTER I : INTRODUCTION

The period with which this enquiry is principally concerned opens in an Ireland overcast with the storm clouds of the impending Act of Union of 1800 with the consequent extinction of the Irish Parliament and the amalgamation of the English and Irish Churches. These were the two most significant Protestant institutions in Ireland at a time when Protestantism and political power were inseparable. The period ends with the abandonment of the ecclesiastical establishment and her disendowment in 1870 by the Irish Church Disestablishment Act. History is a seamless robe. With hindsight we can see what only the acute observers of the time recognized: that disestablishment was the first major indication of the death of the old order in Ireland. The historical conditions which had shaped that old order sustained an atmosphere in which the Irish High Church tradition could subsist, and even occasionally flourish. The wreck of the old order spelt the doom of that tradition.

J.C. Beckett has written that disestablishment was 'the first clear and unmistakable step towards the British government's abandonment of the Anglo-Irish'.¹ The story of the Church of Ireland both in relation to the majority Catholic population of Ireland and to wider Anglicanism, especially that of the sister island, is the story of the Anglo-Irish and the planters; and the story of the Irish Church reflects the ambiguous position of the bulk of her membership vis-à-vis the rest of the nation. When Olivia Manning referred to her childhood years in Ireland before the second world war, she wrote of acquiring the usual Anglo-Irish sense of belonging nowhere. Again, another twentieth-century Anglo-Irish novelist, Elizabeth Bowen, remarks that 'the existences of Anglo-Irish people ... like those of only children, are singular,

1. J.C. Beckett, *The Anglo-Irish Tradition* (Belfast, 1982), p. 110. In the interests of concision, the names of publishers of printed books are given in the Bibliography only.

independent, and secretive'.² Members of the Irish Church share this sense of being 'other', estranged from the world around them and misunderstood by it, with a haunting sense of being viewed as rude cousins by their supposed co-religionists of England.

The very term 'Irish Anglicanism' has a faintly awkward ring to many Irish ears. That awkwardness points to an age-old dilemma. Ireland is a place where 'Protestant' could within living memory be applied in its older usage to mean only the adherents to the formerly established National Church (where 'Church of Ireland' has become the norm); a place where 'Anglican' can sound too English and by implication, perhaps, too dangerously close to 'Anglo-Catholic' and therefore to betrayal, both legislative and doctrinal. For to be Protestant in Ireland has a negative sense which precedes any positive one: to be Protestant is above all to be not Roman Catholic; and, although no longer necessarily a badge of Britishness as formerly, it still means being different. The memory of disestablishment has faded, and in the South there seems no articulated nostalgia for the comfort of British rule; but perhaps there, as church life slowly weakens, the sense of betrayal lingers in the unconscious of the Protestant people, 'sacrificed to the conservative party'³, abandoned by the English Church.

F.R. Bolton has shown that no Irish writer before Edmund Burke appears to have used the term 'Anglican'.⁴ However, Irish divines from before the Act of Union and right up to disestablishment almost invariably used the term 'Church of England' to denominate the ecclesiastical establishment on either side of the Irish Sea, a usage shot through with ambiguity. Archbishop James Ussher (1581-1656), whilst zealous for the independence

2. Quoted by Hermione Lee in her introduction to Elizabeth Bowen, *Bowen's Court and Seven Winters, Memories of a Dublin Childhood* (London, 1984), p. ix.

3. William Connor Magee, quoted in R.B. McDowell, *The Church of Ireland, 1869-1969* (London, 1975), p. 48.

4. F.R. Bolton, *The Caroline Tradition in the Church of Ireland with particular reference to Bishop Jeremy Taylor* (London, 1958), p. 54.

of the Irish Church as expressed in her own Articles of 1615 and Canons of 1634, used 'Church of England' and 'Church of Ireland' interchangeably.

Ussher was from a Dublin family, members of the Corporation of the City and one of the few who had conformed to the Established Church wholeheartedly enough to send him to the newly erected and Protestant Trinity College, the sole college of the Elizabethan Dublin University. For the most part conformity seems to have been formal, and many young Dubliners travelled to the Catholic colleges at Saint-Omer and elsewhere in France and Spain.⁵ Ussher was at pains to establish the credentials of the Established Irish Church and her continuity with that of the past, and in so doing asserted the doctrine of Apostolic Succession. A Calvinist rather than a Laudian, a lover of his native land and yet a firm believer in the benefit of English rule and influence in Ireland, he might be said to be the archetype of Desmond Bowen's nineteenth-century 'High Church Evangelicals'⁶ who were Protestant in doctrine, missionary-minded, but convinced that they were the sole heirs of the tradition of true gospel Christianity held by the purest believers in every age of religious history. Sadly for Ussher and his successors, this has never been a claim acknowledged by the overwhelming majority of Christians in Ireland.

Ussher and his contemporaries were well aware of the success of the Jesuit missionaries, seminary priests and mendicant friars in confirming and recalling adherence to the Old Religion among the mass of the population. From the first, those who sought to vindicate the claims of the Irish Church found themselves apologists for a minority, and they knew themselves to be dependent for support upon the secular arm to a degree not known by the English sister Church. Throughout her history, the Irish Church has carried the stigma of being an English Church in Ireland. In later years this would

5. For a full account of the persistence of the Old Religion among Dublin families see Colm Lennon, *Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation* (Dublin, 1989).

6. Desmond Bowen, *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland 1800-1870, A Study of Protestant-Catholic Relations between the Act of Union and Disestablishment* (Dublin, 1978).

mean being viewed as serving, and being part of, the garrison of a foreign power. In the days before the emergence of radical nationalism, when the absence of English government and influence was unthinkable, she was rightly perceived to be the Church of the ruling ascendancy.

The pressure of being a minority gave a dimension to Irish apologetic not found in the English Church. It accounts in part for Ussher's enthusiasm for the Celtic Church and Irish history and again, towards the close of the period, for the like enthusiasm of William Reeves, of James Henthorn Todd and the founders of S. Columba's College, and of Henry Hogan of Grange-gorman. We have noted that it disposed the minority Church to the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, of which one of the principal seventeenth-century exponents was Archbishop Bramhall, Ussher's post-Commonwealth successor at Armagh and formerly his suffragan at Derry. It was a means of laying claim to legitimacy on the part of an Episcopate often composed of men with few Irish connections operating as strangers in an alien environment.

Of course, throughout the Middle Ages English kings had worked to secure non-Irish appointments to sees inside and outside the Pale; but the Reformation had given the Catholic Church back to the Irish, and the Established Church suffered from the stupidity and prejudice of external rule. In Queen Elizabeth's reign the Prayer Book was to be read in English or in Latin, but not in the language of the people. Whereas in England the twenty-fourth of the Thirty-nine Articles rules that:

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have public prayer in the Church or minister the Sacrament, in a language not understood of the people

in Ireland the Prayer Book was not translated and published in Irish until King James's reign.

When Ussher declared:

We bring in no new faith, no new Church. That which in the time of the ancient Fathers was accounted to be truly Catholic, namely, that which was believed everywhere, always, and by all, that in the suc-

ceeding ages hath evermore been preserved and at this day professed in our Church.⁷

he was already an apologist for a religious system which had a fifty year history of Englishness, and was addressing a majority which had already judged it so. Even the eighth of the Irish Canons of 1634, heavily influenced as these were by Ussher, merely directs that, at the opening Morning Prayer, the Confession and Absolution 'where the people all, or most, are Irish shall be used in English, first, and after in Irish', making it clear that English was to be the normative language and, by implication, that the Church and her worship were English and agents of English influence in Ireland.

Not only was the Irish ecclesiastical Establishment increasingly to be seen as an imposed minority and an instrument of anglicisation within Ireland, but also the imposed Royal Supremacy and subsequent ill-handled and inflexible Reformation ensured that any remaining association of the Roman See with the granting to Henry II of the Lordship of Ireland vanished. The Catholic Church was acknowledged as the champion of the culture and dignity of the Irish over against the intruding English influence and Protestant power. There were of course further sophistications to the delicate synthesis of Irish society, then as now. There were various strands which composed it. To the original native Irish were added the English of the Pale, with whom they intermarried, together with a stream of English officials and others who came to and remained in Ireland. From Henry VIII's self-proclamation as King and the distribution of ecclesiastical property to beneficiaries in and out of Ireland through to the seventeenth-century planters, particularly but not solely Scottish, to the arrival of Cromwellian and Restoration baronets and grantees, the French Huguenots and the Palatine Germans, external influences increased. All these, at various social levels, strengthened the Established Church, particularly in a Low Church Protestant colour. The Huguenots were perhaps the most disposed to a Calvinistic Anglicanism; and it is interesting to note

7. Ussher, *Works*, ed. C.R. Elrington, vol. 2, p. 493, quoted in Bolton, *Caroline Tradition*, p. 55.

names like Chenevix, Maturin and LeFanu occurring later as ecclesiastical dynasties in the Church, some of whom, having renounced the Calvinism of their forefathers, became pioneers of Tractarianism.

That group which constituted the 'Ascendancy' in eighteenth-century Ireland comprised the wealthier professional and landowning section of the Protestant community. Those who sat in both Houses of Ireland's Parliament who rallied to Henry Grattan regarded themselves as 'of Ireland' - indeed, they believed themselves to be Ireland. In this they were the successors to an established position. As Beckett has said of the earlier colonists and planters, they were

'the English of Ireland', 'the English nation of this land'; and, as such, they had rights of their own, with which the 'English of England' could not interfere. Like other colonists they were suspicious of authority claimed by the mother country; and they were particularly jealous of newly arrived officials who, being English by birth, might look down on those who were merely 'English by blood'.⁸

For the Church in Ireland, as for the rest of the Ascendancy, this Englishness was on one level natural and acceptable, if something of a handicap in relation to the other Ireland. When however this Englishness extended to the imposition of ecclesiastics from the sister island and their advancement to the most prestigious and best endowed offices of the Church, it was a grievance. The Church, while undoubtedly rich, repeatedly suffered the usurpation and alienation of her endowments; her churches stood, if at all, in ruin or poor repair; her clergy were frequently non-resident and the native-born Anglicans were often overlooked.

In 1714 the Archbishop of Dublin, William King (1630-1729), wrote, with reference to the Northern Province of Armagh - that part of Ireland where the greatest density of Protestant population occurred:

There has been but one bishop resident at a time in that province for several years. There are now two in it [i.e. out of eight]. I can't count

8. *The Anglo-Irish Tradition*, pp. 24-25.

the Bishop of Derry resident or any other that only gets there to settle his rents or make visitation.⁹

The same prelate wrote of himself that he was ashamed to stay for any length of time in London, for it was already so full of Irish Bishops.¹⁰

Of the greater names of the Church of Ireland, many were of other than Irish stock. Archbishop John Bramhall (1594-1663) of Armagh was from Pontefract; Bishop Jeremy Taylor (1613-67) of Down and Connor and Dro-more was a native of Cambridge. Of other seventeenth-century prelates, cited by Bolton as the founders of the Caroline High Church Tradition, Bishop John Maxwell, translated to Killala in 1640, was Scottish, as was his predecessor there, Bishop Adair, who went to Waterford and Lismore. Griffith Williams of Derry and Lancelot Bulkeley, Archbishop of Dublin, were Welsh. Bolton himself admits that the best of the Bishops, Bramhall for instance when at Derry, were often suspected as acting as Laud's suffragans rather than as those of the native Irish Archbishop Ussher.¹¹ All of this did little to dispel the air of an alien polity which enveloped the Irish Church.

Dean Swift (1667-1745) of S. Patrick's was born in Dublin of English parents, but espoused the cause of the land of his birth. He was a fierce opponent of the appointment of careerist English prelates to Irish sees. He was a High Churchman for whom the Apostolic Succession was a prominent dogma. He found his views compromised by the quality and behaviour of the successors of the Apostles on the Irish bench of his day. As Wyse Jackson puts it:

Such is the contrast between the stark facts and Swift's ideal of Apostolic Succession in fact as well as in name, that we cannot be surprised at his vigorous enmity towards nearly all the prelates of his day.

He once went so far as to describe Satan as the bishop to whom the rest of the Irish bench were suffragans. He professed to believe that all the new Irish bishops were murdered by footpads on Hounslow

9. Quoted in W.A. Phillips, *A History of the Church of Ireland from the earliest times to the present day*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1933-34), vol. 3, p. 168.

10. Robert Wyse Jackson, *Jonathan Swift, Dean and Pastor* (London, 1939), p. 67.

11. *The Caroline Tradition*, pp. 20-21.

Heath on their way to Dublin, and that those same highwaymen stole their robes and patents and usurped the Irish sees.¹²

This is far from being an isolated voice, nor was such criticism heard only at that time. The condition of the Church of Ireland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was lamentable. Later we shall see that the Scottish Archbishop Stuart of Armagh had as bad to say and worse to experience à propos of the appalling episcopal appointments made about the time of the Union, appointments denounced by John Jebb, who right up to his death was critical of the grounds on which the selection was made. In particular, Jebb lamented the arrogance and misplaced zeal of even some of the best appointees, Mant for example, as we shall see.

The alternatives to the occasional zealous Englishman were often men like Hugh Boulter, who in 1724 had been translated from Bristol to Armagh. Although his memorial in the North Transept of Westminster Abbey assures us that he was further translated 'thence to Heaven', that is an assertion not shared by all who knew him, not least George Berkeley - later the Philosopher-Bishop of Cloyne - whose appointment to the Deanery of Down Boulter blocked in 1731. The Archbishop was

a fanatical Whig; ... immediately he declared war on Archbishop King and the Bishops of Irish birth, requesting that none but Englishmen be put into great places in Ireland ... He distrusted Trinity College as a nursery of the Irish faction or a potential 'seminary of Jacobitism'.¹³

He was largely responsible for securing the appointments of Englishmen such as John Hoadly and George Stone to the Irish bench, Whiggish Latitudinarians both. Hoadly succeeded Boulter in the Chair of S. Patrick, and was himself succeeded by Stone. In his youth, Stone had tossed a coin to decide whether he would take a commission or Holy Orders; if Lady Luck favoured him, she spurned Ireland.

This was the condition of the Church into which Knox and Jebb were born: an ascendancy minority, strong only in the North and found in numbers

12. *Jonathan Swift, Dean and Pastor*, p. 79.

13. Bolton, *The Caroline Tradition*, p. 49.

only around Dublin, Cork and the larger towns; heavily presbyterianised by the Scottish influence of Ulster, with the German and French Protestants of the South gradually assimilated but retaining something of their character in their new communion. It was an inefficient Church, badly organised and plagued by a non-resident and often appalling hierarchy. Undoubted High Churchmanship was to be found. In such a setting, to be resident, reverent, and to attempt the basic standards required by the formularies of the Church would have been High Church in itself. It is often forgotten just how clericalised the High Church tradition was between the end of the seventeenth and the middle of the nineteenth centuries. Out of this mass of conflicting pressures and traditions besetting a powerful, yet desperately vulnerable, minority Church, Knox and Jebb sought to draw the pure gold of Catholic truth and to assert that the Irish Church, after 1800 the United Church of England and Ireland, professed the undifferentiated Catholicism of the first centuries, purified by the Reformation of later errors and novel accretions. Yet on every side they, and those like them, who made these claims were compromised.

Bolton, in his *Caroline Tradition in the Church of Ireland* is an eloquent witness to the existence and worth of the High Church tradition; and in like manner P.B. Nockles in his 1982 Oxford D. Phil. thesis 'Continuity and Change in Anglican High Churchmanship in Britain, 1792-1850' has pointed to the survival of the tradition right up to the radical renewal of High Churchmanship by the Oxford Movement. Both writers tend to lament the overwhelming of the older tradition by the Oxford School. They do not fully acknowledge the failure of that tradition to root itself in Irish Church life. The Church of Ireland was never the National Church for, although by law established, she was the Church of the minority whose ethos was anti-Catholic or non-Catholic, an old-fashioned puritanism jealous of its rights.

The particular crisis for Irish High Churchmen throws light on the dilemma of all High Church Anglicanism when it is vulnerable to the interference of the secular arm, dominated by the appointees of a State concerned with issues of expediency rather than doctrine, of comprehension or latitude

rather than Catholic truth. High Churchmen must believe that theirs is the right expression of the faith of the Church. It cannot stand as one among many views, for Catholicity is not comprehension. All High Churchmanship needs to effect a double escape: from the National Church theology of Laud and the clerical academicism which was its expression. In Ireland, where the strains were more profound, Jebb and Knox proved particularly creative.

Their peculiar circumstances brought together many elements of the later Oxford generation: Knox the layman, Jebb the cleric; Knox the friend of Wesley who introduced his protégé Jebb to the English Evangelicals; the good relations the two enjoyed with Roman Catholics like Dr Everard, later Archbishop of Cashel, and Thomas O'Brien Costello, Parish Priest of Murroe; Knox's connection with Maynooth born of the new fraternity which resulted from the Revolution in France, binding the forces of the Right. This fusion spelt a renaissance in their thinking and writing to which later generations looked back.

The practical constraints of Irish life were, however, inescapable. Before the production of accurate census information in the middle of the nineteenth century, the true and full extent of the numerical weakness of the Irish Church was easier to ignore. Even so, the most optimistic observer on the Protestant side knew that the overwhelming majority espoused the Roman Catholic faith. Before the panic of despair, Knox and Jebb looked for a quiet and consistent renewal of their Church which would ultimately promote the union of the Christian community under their Communion. They were to be defeated from without and from within. The following pages seek to plot that double death. Paradoxically, the Irish Church was probably better organised and staffed by 1869 than at any time since her inception; but that had been the victory of a vibrant Low Church Evangelicalism of which the High Churchmen were sometimes the unwitting catalysts. When in 1870 the Church was disestablished it was they, not the High Churchmen, who had the hearts and votes of the laity.

CHAPTER II : 'A SOCRATES AND A PLATO'

It may seem odd to look to the small and increasingly beleaguered Church of Ireland for the origins of the Oxford Movement which, as its very name suggests, was at once local and academic. But it was within that brilliant circle of Irish society led by Alexander Knox and his friend and erstwhile protégé Bishop John Jebb, and in their attempt to articulate stricter and more primitive Church principles in a country in urgent need of ecclesiastical reform, that Professor Stokes, for one, saw the emergence of a restored High Churchmanship qualitatively different from that which had preceded it - so much so, in fact, that he seems to match in hyperbole Henri Pirenne's assertion that, without Mohammed, Charlemagne would not have existed. Stokes made his case public in 1887,¹ and immediately attracted the hostility of Dean Church who could not allow the suggestion that Knox was the 'begetter' of the Oxford Movement.² Liddon took a like view to Church.³

Newman's reaction is more complex. True, he seems stiff and cold in his letter to James Hornby,⁴ who had pleaded Knox's zealous High Church sympathies; but the *Apologia* makes frank acknowledgement of the importance of Knox and of his prediction of the reaction.⁵ After the Cardinal's death, his brother F.W. Newman could say: 'Puseyism did not begin with my brother, but with old Alexander Knox.'⁶ What remains unchallenged is that John Jebb and Alexander Knox were far from insignificant as exponents of

1. G.T. Stokes, in the *Contemporary Review*, August 1887, pp. 184-205; and in *The Guardian*, 14 September 1887.

2. R.W. Church, *The Guardian*, 7 September 1887.

3. H.P. Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, 4 vols (London 1893-5), vol. 1, pp. 260-262.

4. J.H. Newman to J.J. Hornby, 8 May 1840, quoted in Nockles, 'Continuity and Change', p. 379.

5. *Apologia pro vita sua* (London, 1897 edition), p. 97.

6. F.W. Newman, *Contributions chiefly to the early history of the late Cardinal Newman* (London, 1891), p. 42.

High Church ideas in the years leading up to the publication of the Tracts for the Times.

That Jebb and Knox can be dealt with together needs some justification. Whilst both were, in their lifetimes, well known to English churchmen, especially in Evangelical circles, the sermons and writings of Jebb were widely read. It was only with the death of Knox and the subsequent publication of the thirty years' correspondence and of Knox's Remains that the extent of the debt Jebb owed to his friend and mentor became apparent. 'If Mr Knox be Socrates,' says Forster, 'Mr Jebb is Plato.'⁷

The conditions and circumstances which gave rise to this fruitful and extended relationship are important. Something mysterious clings to the person of Alexander Knox, whose name appears so frequently in Tractarian writings. His origins are to be found in Derry, where he was born on 17 March 1757, the son of a well-to-do merchant and a member of the Corporation of Derry. John Wesley was received by the Knox family during the course of his 1765 Irish tour, and one of his first converts was the young Knox, 'Alleck' as he is referred to in Wesley's journal. Their friendship is testified to by their correspondence which continued until the death of Wesley in 1791.

Knox entertained the greatest respect for Wesley throughout his life, and was markedly influenced by him; but his enthusiasm and respect does not imply unqualified approbation or discipleship. Knox thought for himself. 'I neither exactly owe to Mr Wesley what he thinks I do, nor, I trust, am I ungrateful for what I do owe him.'⁸ And in that statement is glimpsed something of the character of Knox, a somewhat morbid, introspective and sickly youth, whose lack of physical stamina had excluded him as a child from the company of his peers, denied him a regular education at school or university, and left his obvious and considerable mental powers to develop in a distinct and

7. C. Forster, *Life of John Jebb*, 3rd edition (London, 1851), p. 66; hereafter cited as Forster, *Life*.

8. Letter from Knox to Butterworth, 25 September 1807, in A. Knox, *Remains*, ed. J.J. Hornby, 4 vols (London, 1834), vol. I, p. 70.

somewhat idiosyncratic manner. His great knowledge and learning were accumulated as a result of his own disposition and by his own choice.

The particular conditions of his development and education marked Knox with a distinctive eclecticism which is an important mark of his contribution to pre-Tractarian thought. There is a sense in which he is an extreme representative of the old breadth of thought which radical Oxford High Churchmanship was to find unacceptable. Keble, whilst professing a profound admiration of Knox's *Treatise on the Eucharist*, had grown completely out of sympathy with Knox's breadth of vision:

surely it is rather an arrogant position in which Mr Knox delighted to imagine himself, as one on the top of a high hill, seeing which way different schools tend (the school of Primitive Antiquity being but one among many) and passing judgement upon each, how far it is right, and how well it suited its time - himself superior to all, exercising a royal right of eclecticism over all. It does not seem to accord very well with the notion of the faith 'once for all delivered to the saints'. I speak the more strongly because I know I myself was inclined to eclecticism at one time...⁹

Keble's remark represents the shift of High Church method, and the espousal of an increasingly rigid and defined orthodoxy. Even by 1838 the Oxford Tractarians had passed far from the temper of eighteenth-century Anglicanism with its tolerance and depth. The 'New Reformation' spoken of in Tract 41 was their response to a departure from Catholicism in favour of a radicalism in Protestantism both puritan and latitudinarian, which they saw not only as antipathetic to the traditional *via media* consensus of Anglicanism, but as having rendered it untenable.

Knox, the child of an earlier age and one who had come under the influence of Wesley, was suspicious of the seeming security of a lulled and careless establishment, both religious and secular, particularly in Ireland. For here was a creature of curious contradictions and conversions. He had entered politics, one of the minefields of eighteenth-century Irish life. His one period of enthusiasm was marked by his advocacy of parliamentary

9. John Taylor Coleridge, *A Memoir of the Rev. John Keble* (Oxford and London, 1869), p. 242.

reform and some of the causes of the United Irishmen, but their revolutionary schemes soon alarmed him. His recoil was complete; not only did he condemn the United Irishmen but he openly identified himself with the Conservative panic, as his essays bear witness.¹⁰ The conversion was indeed so complete and convincing as to permit Knox to become Private Secretary to Lord Castlereagh, a position he held through the rebellion of 1798 and until just before the Act of Union.

Knox's perceptive assessment of the changing conditions of Ireland included a sympathetic understanding of the new rebellious spirit of the Roman Catholics, and recognised the need to address their developing aspirations.¹¹ Castlereagh was anxious for his Secretary to accept his offer of a seat in the new Union Parliament as representative of his native Derry. Knox pleaded ill-health, and seems to have distanced himself from political public life, although continuing to advise Castlereagh on domestic issues in a private capacity. It is to be regretted that he failed to accept Castlereagh's invitation to write an historical account of the Union.¹²

On relinquishing his position as Secretary to Castlereagh, Knox moved to lodgings in Dawson Street, Dublin, near to Trinity College. It was here that he was to remain for the rest of his life, something of a recluse with a limited circle, in a capital whose inhabitants increasingly suffered the decay of her prestige and the depletion of her society.

10. *Essays on the political circumstances of Ireland, written during the administration of the Earl of Camden, with an appendix containing thoughts on the will of the people, and a postscript, now first published. By a Gentleman of the North of Ireland* (Dublin, 1798). This anonymous edition was followed a year later by a second edition published in London in which Knox is named on the title-page as the author.

11. 'When the multitude had once tried the strength of their own brawny arms, can we think that tropes and figures of speech would still keep them in subjection?', *Ibid.*, p. 62.

12. See *Remains*, vol. 4, p. 539.

We have a contemporary description of Knox, which affords us a vivid impression of the man, from one of his acquaintances, Mr D. Parken, Editor of the *Eclectic Review*:

His person is that of a man of genius. He is rather below the middle size, his head not large, his face rather long, narrow and more rectangular than oval, his features interesting rather than pleasing, his forehead high but not wide, his eye quick, his eyebrow elevated, his nose aquiline, his under-lip protruded. His muscles are very full of motion, his complexion pale, apparently from ill-health, but susceptible of a fine glow when the conversation becomes animating. His expression of face not unlike Cowper's. He is small-limbed, and thin, and wears spectacles which very much become him. When interested, his countenance is full of action, his eye is piercing, his cheek suffused, his gestures profuse and energetic, his whole form in motion, and ready to start from his seat. His manner of expression is natural and easy, fluent in general, but not very fast; he hesitates occasionally for a word and encumbers his diction with long explanatory parentheses, from which, however, he returns duly to his proper topic: his language is commonly appropriate, and almost invariably pure - sometimes exquisitely elegant - very suitable and mostly well made out: occasionally it is quite sublime. His voice is clear and pleasant, with a very little of the Irish tone.

We sat from three, to half past eight. Too much of the afternoon was occupied with controversy between Mr. Knox and Dr. Adam Clarke on certain topics connected with the Methodist institutions. Mr. K. [sic] maintained the necessity of Episcopal ordinations, as the only mode of constituting ministers of religion: but acknowledged the value and necessity of the labours of Methodist and other teachers.¹³

Jebb testifies to the brilliance of his friend when he records that Mr Gratton was not so good a natural conversationalist as Knox.¹⁴

Knox's was a life of piety, the piety of a disciple of Wesley with his emphasis on holiness; of the Evangelical school as becomes a friend of Wilberforce and Hannah More. But, whilst sharing their discipline and their piety, he was not constrained by their simple evangelical theology. Perhaps a better comparison would be Coleridge, the sage of Highgate. But, as Newman remarked, Knox so 'outstrips Scott and Coleridge, that he realizes his

13. As recorded by Jebb at East Hill, Wandsworth, December 6, 1832. T.C.D., Jebb MSS 6396-7. No. 480.

14. Forster, *Life*, p. 127.

own position, and is an instance in rudiment of those restorations which he foresaw in development'.¹⁵

And so it is a man of extraordinary if highly individual learning who was to exercise so profound an influence upon the Dublin ecclesiastical scene and beyond, not least among the ranks of the leading Evangelicals of the day, especially those of the English sister Church. These were the days of the United Church of England and Ireland, a union which itself facilitated intercourse between the islands. The presence of all the Irish Bench, by turn of Session rather than by seniority of consecration, in the upper house of the post-Union parliament, the Imperial Parliament of Westminster, indeed heightened their profile, for good and ill, and brought a provincial episcopate from the sister Church and Kingdom more within the eye and orbit of great men of affairs. Within this framework, the influence of Knox was particularly to be articulated by Jebb. Evangelical in sympathy, yet able to move beyond partisan limitations, not least by that anti-Calvinistic pursuit of holiness which is so attractive a characteristic of Wesley and his school; nurtured on a thoroughly scriptural devotional tradition, yet steeped in the writings of the Fathers; heir to the Reformation, yet following the seventeenth-century High Church divines in deeming purity and antiquity to be the motive (if not always the fruit) of the reformers; touched by the romanticism of their age: this is the religious temper of Knox and Jebb. Knox might well have spoken for both when in 1806 he wrote:

Now I am a Churchman in grain: not a Tory Churchman, for that is a disease in the Church, not its constitutional turn; nor yet a Whig Churchman, for they did not value enough the distinguishing features of our Establishment. But, if I may use the term, I am a primitive Churchman; prizing in our system, most cordially, what it has retained from Christian antiquity, as well as what it has gained from the good sense of the Reformers in expurgating it from later abuses. But the truth is, I am not one whit puritanic: I love Episcopacy, the surplice, festivals, the communion table set altar-wise, antiphonal devotions, i.e. versicle and response; and I am somewhat un-puritanic in doctrine too,

15. 'State of Religious Parties', *British Critic*, xxv (1839), pp. 396-426 (p. 401).

- being much more engaged by the sublime piety of St. Chrysostom, than by the devotional dogma of St. Austin or any of his followers.¹⁶

John Jebb, that Plato to Knox's Socrates, came early into contact with his mentor in a friendship and association in which Jebb later discerned the hand of God.¹⁷ Born in Drogheda, Co. Louth, on 27 September 1775, the youngest son of Alderman John Jebb and his second wife Alicia Forster, he had three sisters and an elder brother, Richard. His family, known to be of Mansfield and Woodbridge, Nottinghamshire, in the late Tudor period, settled in Co. Louth in the early seventeenth century.¹⁸ Cousins to John Jebb of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and Sir Richard Jebb, Bt., Physician-in-Ordinary to King George III, the Drogheda Jebbs were a respectable merchant family.

But the illness of his mother and the crash of his father's business affairs did not make for a settled and comfortable childhood. At the age of two the infant Jebb was entrusted to the care of his aunt, Miss McCormick, at Rostrevor, Co. Down, whilst his mother sought the cure in Bordeaux, where she remained until her death in 1782. Aunt McCormick's household was representative of the piety of the day, and it was in this atmosphere of daily prayers and devotional reading that his early years were spent and the foundations of his piety laid.

In the year of his mother's death Jebb joined his father in Leixlip, Co. Kildare, whither he had removed in the intervening years, following the collapse of his affairs in Drogheda. At the age of eleven he attended a local school, of which little is known save that the schoolmaster was, surprisingly, one John Bagnall, a Roman Catholic. This unsatisfactory arrangement ended in 1788 when Richard, on inheriting the estate of their father's cousin, Sir Richard Jebb, Bt., undertook responsibility for his brother's education and upbringing. This act of fraternal generosity not only marked the beginning of

16. Knox, Letter to the Revd. Thomas Stedman, March 1806, in *Remains*, vol. 4, pp. 206-7.

17. Forster, *Life*, pp. 17-18.

18. *ibid.*, pp. 1-3.

a warm-hearted friendship between the two sons, but was to bring about the particular friendship we are concerned with here:

to Derry School¹⁹ and to Horace, I have other and far higher obligations. They were the means of introducing me to the notice of Alexander Knox, Esquire, who was fond of hearing me repeat lessons from that most felicitous of authors; he afterwards became my guide, philosopher and friend. From him, in the course of a long intimacy, I derived principles which I trust will never die.²⁰

Jebb's mature view recognizes the Derry years as fruitful and pleasant. His initial reactions had been more hostile, and certainly it must have been painful at first to find himself, along with twelve or fourteen other boarders, far from the environs of a home with which he had had but two years to be familiar. However, his schoolmaster, the Reverend Thomas Marshall, M.A., was kind and he soon warmed to the study of the Classics, as we have seen him testify. Marshall may indeed have been too kind, perhaps a deficient disciplinarian, for in later life Jebb was to regret the ease with which his instructor had accepted the pupil's instance on his own 'insuperable difficulty in committing tasks to memory', and proclaimed aspects of his education 'on the whole ... most defective'.²¹ Marshall was civilised and gregarious man who attracted to his society men of learning and scholarship. It was at Marshall's table that the fifteen-year old Jebb was to meet the thirty-three-year old Knox. Marshall died in the autumn of 1790 and by Christmas Jebb had left his school, returning to his brother before entering Trinity College, Dublin, in July 1791. And so the two separated: Jebb to his studies, Knox to his work as Lord Castlereagh's Secretary.

Jebb's was a brilliant academic career: a scholar, a prizeman many times over. He was a prominent member of the Historical Society and a frequent speaker before them; and his Eulogy, delivered to them in 1798 on the death of two friends and fellow members, went through two editions. The

19. The Diocesan Endowed School, Londonderry.

20. Forster, *Life*, p. 17.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

friendship with Knox was renewed in 1797 whilst the latter was in Dublin, and it was at this time that Jebb confided his intention to take Holy Orders and Knox offered to use his influence on his friend's behalf. Knox's frequent absences from Dublin with Castlereagh would seem to have frustrated the exercise of this influence, for it was only a chance meeting of the two, one week before Jebb's ordination to the diaconate in February 1799, which renewed the friendship - and then on the deepest basis, resulting in Knox becoming a virtual spiritual director to his young friend. An immediate and practical advantage of this fresh intimacy to the young ordinand was the securing by Knox, from his friend Charles Broderick, then Bishop of Kilmore, of the curacy of Swanlinbar for Jebb. Bishop Young of Clonfert ordained Jebb to the diaconate on 24 February 1799 in the newly consecrated Chapel of Trinity College, and he subsequently moved to Swanlinbar in the August of that year.

What is today the declining country town of Swanlinbar had, at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, acquired prominence amongst those who sought the cure: it was a spa. As such it was not the last to figure in the life of Jebb, though undoubtedly the least famous. But, although not Leamington, Cheltenham or Bath, the sulphurous waters did attract the 'Society' of the fashionable and genteel of the area. The convivial social pursuits and engagements of provincial Cavan life may strike the present-day reader as innocent if not plainly dull. For the young Jebb, however, the contrast between such pursuits and his own ideal of the parish clergyman in study, prayer, and pastoral duty challenged his tender conscience and proved a turning-point. Forster quotes him as fearing his religion was 'defective in depth and extent',²² and he renounced these social pursuits, as if fearful, one imagines, of being a further inspiration and model for Miss Austen's Mr Collins.

22. *Life*, p. 47.

At this time his correspondence with Knox began in earnest, and provides for us an important source of information on Jebb's development and Knox's direction. We should, perhaps, be particularly attentive to the new note of earnestness in the piety of Jebb at this time, and hand in hand with his scruples about participating in the social life of Swanlinbar goes his contact with Methodism. Here is almost a reconversion in the face of the danger of becoming a 'social clergyman': the favourite of the Bishop and well-placed men, and welcome in the fashionable entertainments of the gentry as a result. In this we see more of the undergraduate whose pastimes were membership of the 'Literati'²³ and the Historical Society; the young man who, before the active patronage of Knox and Broderick, had been warned by his brother that the path into the Church ensured that he would 'live and die a curate'.²⁴

For Jebb, as in the subsequent departure of Knox from the political world, the conversion seems complete; and in retrospect he could say of his early days at the spa 'I had not the least conscientious scruple against playing cards, frequenting balls and joining in scenes both of morning and evening dissipation,' just as, in his later address to the young clergy of Cashel in February 1808, he identified in fashionable amusements a 'general tendency to unspiritualise the mind'.²⁵ In Methodism he saw an earnestness and a pursuit of holiness which evoked many resonances; in Knox he found the similar sympathies of one who, as we have seen, was a fellow-traveller if not a disciple as such of Wesley. Like Knox, Jebb was eager to emphasize the positive nature of Methodism as a movement within the Established Church in Ireland, as a 'powerful resuscitator'.²⁶ It is, he asserts, an English perspective which sees otherwise, and an English influence in Methodism itself which

23. A literary society with Messrs Reid, Sargint, Macklin, Sandiford, Kinshella, and Jebb.

24. Forster, *Life*, p. 30.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

26. Letter to Southey, 26 December 1817, quoted *ibid.*, p. 135.

encourages the Irish school to tend to Dissentism whilst the bulk are attached to the Established Church in the primitive Methodist tradition.²⁷

Bishop Broderick had ordained Jebb priest on the Fourth Sunday of Advent, 1799; and in 1801 he proceeded to the degree of Master of Arts at the Shrove Tuesday Commencement, preaching, indeed, the sermon on that occasion in the College Chapel at the invitation of his former tutor, the High Churchman Dr William Magee. With the translation of Broderick from Kilmore to the Archbishopric of Cashel in 1802 Jebb was not forgotten. Indeed, his generous patron recognized his mental abilities and his redoubled moral earnestness and virtue in his continued favour of Jebb, first when, together with Dr Magee, he secured an invitation for Jebb to preach before the Lord Lieutenant, and secondly in 1804 by taking him from Swanlinbar to his own diocese to a curacy of Magorban. This was a virtual sinecure: it involved being *de facto* chaplain to the Godfreys of Beechmount and officiating in their house.²⁸ Soon after, in July 1805, he was made Rector of Kiltinane, Cashel, a parish with no resident parishioners but £250 per annum. This sinecure he held with the position of Residentiary Preacher at the Cathedral,²⁹ and he gave assistance to the Archbishop in the running of the diocese.

Here, in the Cathedral library, Jebb was able to steep himself in the writings of the Fathers, Anglican and ancient; here he was to become an Examining Chaplain, fostering an early interest in and disposition for the formation of the clergy. The intimacy and close alliance of thinking with Knox grew and, indeed, their temperament and influences, tastes and interests do seem singularly parallel. Although distanced by age, their lives bear a distinctively similar stamp, their characters a marked identity, as I hope this chapter

27. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

29. The office of Residentiary Preacher is common to many of the Irish cathedrals, e.g. S. Patrick's, Dublin and S. Fin Barre's, Cork, where the Canons were for the most part non-resident and often unable to perform their preaching turns.

has shown. One can understand Knox's assertion, made in a period of particular ill health: 'I cannot, and I believe neither can you, look back on the entire retrospect of our connection, without feeling, that Divine providence, and not ourselves, brought us, and kept us together'.³⁰ And that Divine Providence, if such it was, was to keep them together until death.

The winter of 1807-08 found John Jebb in that poor state of health and spirit which was too often to characterise his later years. It was in this condition that, in the company of Knox, he embarked upon the first of their many journeys together to England. The visit, itself delayed by Knox's resolve to exert what influence he might at the summer conference of the Irish Methodists in Dublin, was to take them to the Spas and to London: the former for the cure, the capital for intellectual exchange and social intercourse.

This time in England was remarkable chiefly in that it saw the first of those mutually fruitful encounters between Jebb and his travelling companion's Evangelical friends, Wilberforce, Hannah More, and their circle. Wilberforce records in 1809

My Irish friend Knox, of whom you must, I think, have heard me speak, passed two days with us at Battersea Rise with a reverend fellow-traveller of his, Mr Jebb, who has a non-cure in the diocese of Cashel - a man of superior taste, acquirement, and piety. Knox is a wonderful creature, and so eloquent that you scarcely know how to refuse your assent to the strangest propositions which he pours forth most copiously concerning the Roman Catholics.³¹

Wilberforce's comment at once identifies for us that further powerful influence which so coloured and heightened the thinking of the two: their direct encounter with the faith of the overwhelming majority of their fellow Irishmen, Roman Catholicism. The isolation of their position as Irish Anglicans must account in part for the distinctiveness of their reaction, as it was to impress its stamp on later generations of Irish Churchmen, but with so markedly opposite a result.

30. *Thirty years correspondence*, ed. C. Forster, 2 vols (London, 1834), vol. 2, p. 375.

31. Quoted in J. Baird Ewens, *The Three Hermits, Short Studies in Christian Antiquity, Methodism and Tractarianism* (London, 1956), p. 58.

The companions returned to Ireland in the Spring of 1810, as Jebb was engaged to preach the Charity Sermon at the Magdalen Asylum³² in Dublin. In June of the same year, Archbishop Broderick appointed Jebb to the Rectory of Abington, in the diocese of Emly some ten miles from Limerick. The reader may at first manifest some surprise that Jebb went to a living 'worth, I believe, 1000l per ann., with an incomparable house, &c.'³³ as to a 'dreary wilderness'³⁴, but should bear in mind that as adherents to the Established Church number no more than forty-five, and that the collection of tithes was far from easy, the attractions of the benefice were, perhaps, somewhat less than may at first appear.

These were unsettled times in Ireland. Jebb wrote to Knox from Abington Glebe of his 'spirits often affected, and weighed down, by the horrors of our troubled country; teasing, embarrassing, and uncomfortable details, daily growing out of my relation to the poor barbarians of this parish'.³⁵ Paradoxically, it was the isolation of the parish and the degree of loneliness which it afforded that together provided the creative edge to Jebb's thinking. Knox was to visit Abington only once, and then as part of a visit to Archbishop Broderick, in January 1813. The correspondence was the vehicle of their intellectual dialogue. The arrival of the Revd Charles Forster, subsequently Jebb's chaplain and very likely a connection of Jebb's mother, Alicia Forster, provided him not only with a curate-assistant but also with a neophyte of his own, and mitigated the want of equal company. Parochial duties were slight and therefore very generously met by two Clerks in Holy Orders in residence. Jebb was thrown from a gig in 1812 whilst out and about in the parish. He dislocated his left shoulder, an injury made worse by the inexpert attentions of the village bonesetter. The injury, which was to dog

32. Lower Lesson Street, founded in 1765.

33. *Thirty Years Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 591.

34. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, note on pp. 8-9.

35. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 271.

him throughout his remaining years, did perhaps provide further justification for an assistant. The Glebe House of Abington was a house of study and prayer. There was a chapel where the daily offices were said. The vestry books of the parish (now in the Library of the representative Church Body in Dublin) show that Jebb kept the Saints' Days, Fasts and Festivals in the Parish Church itself. Charles Forster's mother presented a fine set of Communion silver.³⁶ The library was extensive and well stocked. Jebb set a high value on the acquisition of books, later when he was a bishop commending to the poorer clergy of his diocese the priority of bookbuying over food and clothing: counsel which happily he was never called upon to practise himself.

It would be mistaken to imagine that this period of his life saw Jebb's permanent residence upon his benefice. His fame as a preacher was such as to ensure many visits to the Cathedral at Cashel and to Dublin to preach for Charities. Broderick, Knox and Jebb were, for example, the prime movers in the building of the chapel of the Female Orphan-House on the North Circular Road in Dublin.³⁷ Later named Kirwan House, this was Jebb's favourite ecclesiastical building, and expressed the artistic preferences of the three sponsors of the project. It was in the Gothick taste, to a design by Francis Johnson, who was himself the favoured ecclesiastical architect of the late and munificent Lord Rokeby, Archbishop Robinson of Armagh.³⁸ The chapel perished in the 1950s, but was known to many yet living. Although not as sumptuous as the surviving Chapel Royal at Dublin Castle, also by Johnson, it was of the same basic plan, boasting fine stalls and fittings and a plaster-vaulted ceiling painted with gold stars on an azure field.

Jebb's taste for the Gothic style was to show itself again in the altar-piece which he provided for Limerick Cathedral, now also, alas, vanished. This is a preference which should not surprise us. We know of Knox's love of

36. Now in the possession of the Revd Cecil Kerr of Rostrevor.

37. Forster, *Life*, p. 169.

38. Richard Robinson, 1st Baron Rokeby, Archbishop of Armagh 1765-95.

‘Episcopacy, the surplice, festivals, the communion table set altar-wise, antiphonal devotions...’. Nor should we forget that not only was their mutual High Churchmanship infused with a ‘warm-heartedness, a depth of spirituality and devotion, which were distinctly Evangelical in tone’³⁹, but also that this was the age of Walpole’s *Castle of Otranto*, of Maturin’s⁴⁰ *Melmoth the Wanderer*, and of *Northanger Abbey*. The stirrings of the Romantic Movement brought with it, as Geoffrey Rowell has said, a concomitant ‘exploration of the subjective and the place of imagination and deep feeling in relation to both faith and reason’.⁴¹ And it is the era of the Revolution in France.

The traditional High Churchmanship of Knox and Jebb was not simply combined with the earnestness of Wesley’s pursuit of holiness or the enthusiasm of the Evangelicals, but also with that influence which Wilberforce had been quick to observe, Roman Catholicism; and all of these strands in a world deeply shaken by the French Revolution. Here we are dealing with a Roman Catholicism which now wore, at least partially, a cloak of respectability, a Roman Catholicism which seemed less deserving of dismissal out-of-hand, a system from which the taboo, as it were, had been lifted by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and by regicide. It was the Church of refugee religious who were perceived by the British establishment, as the Revolution unfolded, to be the victims of an atheistic mob in lawless rebellion against established order.

The Revolution, arguably the most important event of our era, is generally acknowledged to have been both an early inspiration of Romantic idealism and a subsequent cause for despair on the part of idealists and conservatives alike as it made its descent through the Terror to the Consulate and the Empire. One significant consequence was the effect it had upon the religious temperament of these islands, particularly so in the early years of the

39. G.W.O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (London, 1948), p. 210.

40. A forebear of William Maturin of All Saints, Grangegorman, of whom later.

41. *The Vision Glorious. Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism* (Oxford, 1983), p. 6.

nineteenth century. Not only were men of influence moved by the plight of the suffering royalist French clergy, but they identified the need to ensure the fostering of suitable influences, and to exclude unsuitable ones, among the Catholic clergy - above all in Ireland.

The Maynooth Grant of 1795 was an attempt to guarantee that the correct ethos prevailed in the training of seminarists, avoiding the potential danger of exposing them to the 'contagion of sedition and infidelity' and through them the entire nation to the 'pernicious maxims of a licentious philosophy', i.e. the principles of the French Revolution.⁴² The first generation of (mainly émigré) professors at the Royal College of S. Patrick, Maynooth, were clearly pro-establishment in outlook, among them Louis Delahogue, Francis Anglade, Andrew Darré, and Peter Delort. These were men with whom Knox came to enjoy friendship; and through them he and Jebb came to the notice of the 'Castle Bishops', particularly Bishop Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, who sought to foster a Gallican strain within Irish Catholicism. Indeed Knox, described as 'a Protestant gentleman connected with the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth',⁴³ was for a time secretary of the college and left them his 'Fathers' in his will.

Of the two, Knox was perhaps on balance the better disposed, both politically and theologically, to the Roman cause, although the passage of the years saw the retreat of their vision of a Catholic community guided by indigenous 'Gallican' clergy imbued with a spirit of royalist loyalty and identifying themselves with the landed Establishment. Jebb could not follow his friend in his support for the cause of Catholic Emancipation. Indeed, as a

42. Maurice O'Connell, 'The Political Background to the Establishment of Maynooth College', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, lxxxv (1956), pp. 325-34 (p. 331).

43. *Letters on a re-union of the Churches of England and Rome from and to the Rt. Rev. Dr Doyle, R.C. Bishop of Kildare, John O'Driscoll, Alexander Knox and Thomas Newenham, Esquires*, (Dublin, n.d.), p. 26 n. This is a collection of pamphlets of uncertain dates and editions, c. 1824, in the British Library (B.L. T. 1192 (6)); hereafter referred to as *Letters on Reunion*.

bishop in a later, profoundly altered and much more confrontational climate, he was to lead the opposition of his clergy to the proposals of the Bill of 1829:

Toward my Roman Catholic fellow-subjects I have ever felt and acted with kindness and good will: but, my conviction is unalterable, that the worst consequences, civil and political, to England, and to Ireland, must arise, from admitting, under any modifications, the Roman Catholic body, or any part of it, to political power.⁴⁴

Both were to change their position. Knox's analysis of the religious situation was to shift in the light of developments of the kind discussed in the following chapter. Jebb was to counsel his clergy not to undervalue the contribution of the Roman Catholic clergy whilst agreeing to differ and refusing to countenance Roman claims. He urged them 'with all charity', to 'endeavour to maintain unity of spirit in the bond of peace'.⁴⁵ This was counsel which was to become harder to practise in the tense and increasingly disturbed and violent times which lay ahead.

Even for the well-disposed Jebb, whose relations with his Roman Catholic neighbours were noted for their warmth, conflicts were seemingly unavoidable. For example, when a local magnate, Lord Cloncurry,⁴⁶ proposed the establishment of a school in Murroe, within Jebb's benefice, the failure of Jebb to reach a *modus vivendi* with Thomas O'Brien Costello the Roman Catholic priest sealed the fate of the project.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, relations between Jebb and Costello were respectful, indeed cordial. Costello obtained the permission of his ordinary, Archbishop Bray, to read Jebb's sermons. In the troubled conditions which increasingly beset the Irish countryside, their friendship made possible a most remarkable example of co-operation in the maintenance of peace when all about was strife and violence.

44. Quoted in Forster, *Life*, p. 267.

45. Jebb, *A Charge to the Clergy of the diocese of Limerick* (Dublin, 1823), pp. 43-44.

46. Valentine Browne (Lawless), 2nd Baron Cloncurry in the Peerage of Ireland, b. 19 August 1773, d. 28 October 1853..

47. 'But the differing opinions of the two clergymen, Jebb and Costello, rendered the school abortive', Mark Tierney, *Murroe and Boher* (Dublin, 1966), p. 148.

Jebb had already involved himself in the work of road improvements for which he obtained funds from the London Committee. The improvement to the Cashel-Limerick road benefited not only the whole neighbourhood but the Glebe House and Abington and the Parish Church, both of which found themselves included on the new road. He had worked strenuously to improve the linen industry, but with little success. 1821 and 1822 witnessed growing social unrest and widespread famine in Leinster and Munster. The sharp fall in agricultural prices hand in hand with the poor harvest of 1821 led to insurrection in many areas. On 17 November 1821 Jebb wrote to Major Woodward of the local Militia: 'You must be well aware that Prevention is easier and safer than the putting down of actual insurrection'.⁴⁸ Jebb acted in union with Costello to capture the hearts of the local peasantry while playing on the interests of the local gentry and tax-payers who sought relief from the burdensome provisions of the Peace Preservation and Insurrections Acts.⁴⁹ The following resolutions were of his inspiration, if not his authorship:⁵⁰

At a general meeting of the Inhabitants and Landholders of the Parish of Abington, held at Murroe, on the 16th of December 1821,⁵¹ the following Resolutions, proposed by the Rev. Archdeacon Jebb, Rector, and seconded by the Rev. T.O.B. Costello, Roman Catholic clergyman, of Abington, were unanimously agreed to.

RESOLVED, that we, his Majesty's loyal subjects, the inhabitants and Landholders of the Parish of Abington in the County of Limerick, are animated by a lively sense of gratitude to our benignant Monarch, for his late paternal visit to, and kind approbation of, his Irish subjects.

RESOLVED, that we unfeignedly lament, that any portion of our fellow-countrymen can have so soon forgotten the kindness of their sovereign, and contributed, by violation of the laws, to dim those prospects of future beneficence which his Majesty's gracious deportment, while among us, opened to our view.

48. Quoted *ibid.*, p. 55; Jebb's underlining.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

50. I quote this text from the 1st edition of Forster's *Life of Jebb* 2 vols (London, 1836), vol. 1, pp. 216-18. However, there exists Jebb's own manuscript account sent to Archbishop Broderick, and dated 18 December 1821 (National Library of Ireland, Broderick MSS, Ms. 8866).

51. The MS. account here reads 'Major General Bourke, C.B., in the Chair'.

RESOLVED, that we altogether disapprove of those secret associations, and private meetings, which, in opposition both to the letter and the spirit of our free and glorious constitution, have for some time past unhappily prevailed, in different parts of this country.

RESOLVED, that we consider it a gross offence against the laws of God and man, to administer, or to take, those oaths which, under the seal of secrecy, have been tendered, and still are tendered, by designing persons to many of our deluded fellow-countrymen.

RESOLVED, that we have learnt with deep sorrow, and hold in utter abhorrence, those barbarous atrocities which, in consequence of such oaths and meetings, have been lately committed, in this, and the adjoining counties.

RESOLVED, that we rejoice in the peace and tranquillity hitherto maintained in this parish of Abington: and are determined by every means in our power, to preserve to ourselves this honourable distinction.

RESOLVED, that we do hereby pledge ourselves to each other, in the presence of God, to use our best exertions, toward preventing the introduction among us of any unlawful oaths, or secret meetings: and we do, one and all, hereby promise and engage to discountenance, and if so practicable, bring to public justice, any seditious emissaries from other quarters, who attempt to disturb this peaceful and loyal parish.⁵²

These resolutions, although not unique to Abington, were important nonetheless, and the more so because of the unique participation of the Anglican clergyman acting in concert with his Roman Catholic colleague.

Jebb described the proceedings thus to Knox in a letter of 21 December, 1821:

this spot, among all the horrors and atrocities which surround us, is still tranquil: almost the single tranquil spot, in the county of Limerick ... at the meeting after Mass (we came over from the church, and found the R. C. congregation in readiness) [Mr Costello] introduced me to his flock, as 'the clergyman of the parish, who would address us from the altar', a transaction the like of which I suppose never occurred, since

52. Jebb's MS. account continues: 'signed Richard Bourke, Chairman. General Bourke having left the Chair, and Archdeacon Jebb having been called thereto, the following resolution, moved by Jeremiah Ryan, Esq., and seconded by the Rev. Charles Foster, was unanimously agreed to:

'Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be presented, and are hereby presented, to Major General Bourke, C.B. for his dignified and proper conduct in the Chair.

'The inhabitants and Landholders present, then affixed their signatures to the Resolutions: and the meeting was dissolved.'

the Reformation. On the liberality, and honourable confidence evinced, in thus inviting a Church-of-England clergyman to preach to his popish flock, I need not enlarge; no-one can appreciate it more fully than yourself. I addressed the people, I dare say, for a full half hour, and so far as I myself and others near me could judge, was heard with breathless attention and real sympathy. The people, when the resolutions were to be sanctioned by a show of hands, raised their hands to a man: and the little children immediately in front of the altar strained their little arms, that *their* hands too might be seen. Several persons, at the same instant, cried out 'La! the very children are lifting their hands'. It was truly an affecting sight. The farmers and peasantry flocked within the rails of the altar, to subscribe their names; and I hardly ever witnessed a scene of such cordial unanimity. Chapel was the only place, at which we could reckon on a full and effective meeting: and I am glad that the place was Chapel and the day Sunday. By this arrangement, it was not a political but a religious meeting; and the act was felt to be a solemn engagement, in the presence of God.⁵³

Archbishop Broderick's reaction was, however, far from enthusiastic; and it was that very 'religious' rather than 'political' nature of the meeting, of which Jebb had been so positive in his letter to Knox, which alarmed His Grace of Cashel. The Archbishop, whilst admitting that he was not in full possession of the details and circumstances, was dubious that 'an Archdeacon of the Established Church' should be found addressing Roman Catholics 'in their unrecognised house of worship'; and he also doubted whether such actions would lead to any 'permanent and extensive benefit'.⁵⁴

Broderick, the traditional High Churchman, was shocked, and Jebb wrote at once to allay his fears. His letter to his ordinary conveyed a strikingly different impression to that given less than a week before to Knox. He asserted that, had time permitted, he would have sought his superior's counsel and, indeed, asked if he might 'entreat permission to say that I did consider, and do consider, it merely as a civil act'; and he assured the Archbishop that 'the Service of the Chapel was altogether closed before a single Protestant went in'.⁵⁵ This is more than a difference of tone or emphasis.

53. *Thirty Years Correspondence*, ed. Forster, vol. 2, pp. 455-57.

54. Broderick to Jebb, 22 December 1821, quoted in Tierney, *Murroe and Boher*, p. 60.

55. Jebb to Broderick, 26 December 1821, quoted *ibid.*, p. 160.

The temper of High Churchmanship was essentially anti-Roman, and as such could not admit of this kind of liaison. Jebb's more tender disposition wrong-footed him, and he sought at once to counterbalance his unpopular move by a profession of faith in the established order. He concludes his letter thus:

There is not in the Empire, an individual more strongly attached to the Church of England in its essence, and in its adjuncts, in its citadel, and in its bulwarks, than myself.⁵⁶

Plainly this was an embarrassing incident, and cannot show Jebb in an entirely favourable light. Whilst none would deny the immense value of the resolutions in winning peace and stability in that area when all about was disturbance, we must go at least part of the way with Tierney when he seeks to make plain a mixture of motives behind Jebb's actions: a desire to make peace, and to be seen to be a peacemaker, and thereby to gain esteem both locally and more widely. He was, after all, a child of his time, and preferment was often sought after, as indeed it is now and perhaps at all times. If he suffered an uncomfortable Christmas as a result of archiepiscopal displeasure, Easter was to bring him consolation enough.

Jebb's inter-church activities touched a nerve in the ecclesiastical establishment, but at the same time evoked a very different response from the secular arm, and greatly to his advantage. Already noted as a preacher, his publications - not least his *Sacred Literature* (London, 1820),⁵⁷ of which the Prince Regent accepted a copy, made his name more widely known. On a subsequent visit to Dublin as King George IV, the royal recipient thanked Jebb for his gift. We have no evidence of his having read it.

Whilst the *Sacred Literature* had popular appeal in its day, it strikes us as unremarkable, and holds little interest, especially compared with the *Practical Theology*, the *Charges*, the *Sermons*, and of course the *Appendix*. The

56. *Ibid.*

57. This work follows the critical approach of Bishop Lowth, that prelate who, on meeting Wesley, refused to be seated at table with a higher honour than him, and of whom Wesley recorded that his whole behaviour was worthy of a Christian Bishop.

Protestant à Kempis, a book of devotion, has a warmth of spirituality redolent of Evangelical and Methodist piety, as well as inheriting the spirit of earlier High Church 'companions' and collections of devotions. But these works had established (or would further confirm) Jebb's scholarly and religious credentials. They are indicative of the 'high summer' of his and Knox's thinking before (as we shall see) the constraints and pressures of a troubled world made them retrench. The Murroe incident, the Abington Resolutions, crowned these achievements - and perhaps deliberately. Tierney asserts that Jebb

made certain that the Murroe Resolutions were published in the right quarters; and in fact the meeting became so famous that it was mentioned in a speech in the House of Commons on 2 April 1822 by Charles Grant, and also in a debate in the House of Lords on 10 February 1824 by Viscount Althorp. The meeting and Resolutions certainly brought the Rev. Mr Jebb into the public view, and that was precisely what he wanted.⁵⁸

Forster casts no shadow of question over the incident, but recognizes the powerful effect of public approbation. If we are to believe him, the King himself declared as a result that had he but more of Jebb's calibre, he 'should need neither troops, nor Insurrection Acts, in Ireland'.⁵⁹

Reward was swift and significant. Jebb was appointed a chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant and, in the same year, 1822, whilst in waiting at the Chapel Royal, was summoned to Vice-Regal Lodge and offered the Bishopric of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, in succession to Dr Elrington who had been translated to Ferns. He accepted the offer.

Whilst a mixture of motives might have inspired his peacemaking attempts, there is no doubt as to the affection and respect in which he was held by the local people of all denominations. This esteem was attested by a most charming demonstration of good will performed by the local Catholics. On hearing of the return of their Rector from the Vice-Roy, they met his

58. *Murroe and Boher*, p. 58.

59. Forster, *Life of John Jebb*, 3rd edition (London, 1851) , p. 165.

carriage as the boundary of the parish and, dispensing with the horses, drew it themselves to the parsonage - along the very road which he had been instrumental in causing to be built.

A single year, and a curious conjunction of influences, had brought Jebb from archiepiscopal disfavour, through political patronage, to the Episcopate and vastly greater prominence and influence. That year had also seen the death of Dr Broderick, and so it was to Archbishop Lawrence that Jebb went, on 12 January 1823, to seek consecration in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Cashel.

CHAPTER III : THREE PRIMARY CHARGES

With that most excellent gift of hindsight, the year 1822 can be claimed as marking a watershed in the life of the Church of Ireland. It was of course the year of John Jebb's appointment by Letters Patent to the see of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe.¹ His advancement had, it must be said, been something for which he had looked eagerly. The collected correspondence with Archbishop Broderick of Cashel, his Ordinary, is not lacking in suggestions of advancement to more active fields of ministry. He had long had his eye on the Deanery of Cashel, not alas vacant, and was plainly bored in Abington. Ambition, in others, is rarely attractive. In his defence it should be said that the years in Abington, even with the society of a curate and the extra responsibility of the Archdeaconry of Emly, cannot have been demanding or stimulating.

The Irishman Broderick (he was a son of the 3rd Viscount Middleton) would have found nothing blameworthy in these aspirations, even if he felt that Jebb lacked patience and, in the Murroe affair, judgement. That affair was nonetheless a risk which paid off handsomely, for it was his pacifying of civil unrest, rather than his scholarship or piety, which constituted the proximate cause of his advancement to the episcopate. It was indeed the ever increasing pressure of domestic and political events which were to dictate the course of action of the Establishment, civil and ecclesiastical.

1822 was also the year which had seen the accidental poisoning, by his wife, of the Lord Primate, Archbishop Stuart. A Scot, son of the powerful 3rd Earl of Bute, he had come to Armagh from S. David's in 1800. Perhaps he

1. The appointment of bishops in Ireland was not, as in the sister Kingdom, by formal election by the cathedral Chapters, but by royal provision in Letters Patent.

accounted his death a happy one, for the 'egregious folly'² of permitting the public eye to focus clearly upon the Irish Church had been entered upon. The avoidance of such folly had been the abiding principle behind all of Stuart's attempts at internal reform. He had been hampered in this laudable work by the episcopal appointments made by successive administrations. These were governments determined, or indeed duty bound, to pay off the debts to the Irish families and others who had sold the native parliament at the Union for just such favours. Even Jebb, himself a Unionist, accounted thus for the miserable state of affairs in the Church and the professions in Ireland in a letter of 1831 to J.J. Hornby:

Union engagements, (the heavy tax which went to fine down a yet heavier rent of corruption) continued to tie up the hands of government, from doing its duty, either by the Church, or by the Bar.³

When, later in the same letter, he continued that 'scarcely an appointment' since 1822 had been made on the grounds of piety or scholarship, he may have taken some comfort from the knowledge that the appalling scandal of 1822 had neither been repeated nor equalled.

The scandal referred to is the incident which provided the low-water mark in the reputation of the Irish episcopate and which caused a sensation throughout all ranks of society. The discovery of the Hon. and Rt. Revd. Percy Jocelyn, a son of the Earl of Roden, formerly Bishop of Ferns and since 1820 Bishop of Clogher, *in flagrante delicto* with the guardsman John Moverly in the White Hart Inn, Westminster, testified eloquently to the appalling calibre of much of the Irish Bench. For whilst Jocelyn's offence was singular and of profoundly greater degree, there were many of his episcopal brethren far from qualified to cast the first stone.

2. Stuart to Broderick, 24 March, 1808; quoted in Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 47.

3. Quoted in Forster, *Life*, 1st edition (London, 1836), vol. 2, p. 480.

When the government had pressed the claims of George de la Poer Beresford, Bishop of Clonfert and cadet of the House of the Marquis of Waterford, for the more important northern see of Kilmore, Archbishop Stuart had felt impelled to declare that 'Mr Beresford is reported to be one of the most profligate men in Europe', and

I have six bishops under me. Three are men of tolerable moral character but are inactive and useless and two are of acknowledged bad character. Fix Mr Beresford at Kilmore and we shall then have three very inactive bishops and, what I trust the world has not yet seen, three bishops in one district reported to be the most profligate men in Europe.

and further

Profligate bishops never fail to produce a profligate clergy. They ordain the refuse of society and give the most important places to the most worthless individuals.⁴

Almost as noteworthy as this catalogue of bad patronage and corruption is the perceived consequence for northern relative to southern bishoprics in Ireland. If this has already suggested itself in the constant jockeying for Translation to which the above is but a very partial witness, it becomes explicit in further remarks of Primate Stuart. While it was perhaps inevitable, given the nature of early nineteenth-century society in these Kingdoms, that successive governments should have been so well disposed to the claims of aristocratic candidates for appointment, Stuart did expect them to possess, at least in some degree, competence for their appointment. He appealed against the advancement of Robert Ponsonby Tottenham Loftus⁵ as against one who was 'utterly unacquainted with his profession', and urged that he should be given a southern diocese;⁶ he got Killaloe and Kilfenora. Again

4. Stuart to Hardwicke, 27 November, 1801; quoted in Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 41.

5. Born 5 Sept. 1773, died 26 April 1850; he was the second son of the 1st Marquis of Ely, advanced thus in the peerage for services in securing the Union.

6. Stuart to Hardwicke, 27 September, 1804; quoted in Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, pp. 40-41.

in reference to Beresford, the Archbishop wrote to Addington insisting that he should remain 'in the Catholic part of Ireland where he could do little mischief'.⁷

When, indeed, Richard Mant was deemed ready for advancement to the purple, albeit in Ireland, he was at first offered the diocese of Waterford and Lismore, the intention being to translate the then incumbent of that see, Richard Bourke, to Killaloe and Kilfenora. On reflection, however, and after enquiry and investigation, Bishop Bourke, discovering that none of his predecessors as Bishops of Waterford and Lismore had been so translated, but rather *vice versa*, declined to go. Perhaps he was awaiting a northern diocese or a province: he died in office in 1832, having reigned for twenty years. Interestingly, Bourke and Mant joined with Archbishop Lawrence in consecrating Bishop Jebb.

If these troubled political circumstances struck fear into the hearts of Protestants and laid bare the abuses and corruptions within the Irish Church to the eager gaze of political commentators in both Islands, the very attempts which were made by the best Churchmen at reform themselves greatly heightened tensions. Indeed, it proved almost more dangerous to attempt to re-assert Church principles than to keep mum and seek for peace and quiet.

When Richard Mant did finally go to Archbishop Broderick of Cashel for consecration as Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora early in 1820, he did so firm in the belief that he had been sent to Ireland precisely because he would 'assist in infusing a more professional spirit',⁸ and he claimed that he had gained this impression from no less a personage than the Archbishop of

7. *Ibid.*, p. 327, n.59.

8. Walter Mant, *Memoirs of ... Richard Mant ... Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, and Dromore, with an introductory sketch of the history of those Dioceses, from the beginning of the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin, 1857), p. 144; hereafter cited as Mant, *Memoir*.

Canterbury. The briefest examination of his career and publications would seem to confirm the picture of a High Church reformer.

From a clerical family, he had left Oriel to serve as his father's curate. Throughout his early career, he was in contact with the whole of the High Church party. He preached for Archdeacon Watson at Hackney in 1804 and 1805, teaching that the Holy Ghost was not irresistible and that the safest indication of the presence of the Holy Ghost in the soul was good works. His appointment, in 1810, to the living of Coggeshall in Essex was influenced by Norris of Hackney. Here he set about recalling his parishioners from Dissenting meeting-houses and seeking out the unbaptized.⁹

The Bampton Lectures of 1812 brought him to greater prominence, and had a distinct High Church timbre, especially in defence of baptismal regeneration. They were entitled 'Introductory Discourse' [Rules for the interpretation of Holy Scripture]; 'Christian works a necessary condition of Salvation'; 'Calvinistic predestination not the Doctrine of the Gospel'; 'Calvinism inconsistent with the Divine attributes and the Conditions of the Gospel Covenant'; 'Operations of the Holy Ghost neither irresistible nor perceptible'; 'Regeneration the spiritual grace of Baptism'; 'A special and instantaneous Conversion not necessary for Christians'; 'Assurance of Eternal Salvation, and unsinning perfection, not the privileges of a true Christian'; and 'General Remarks'. Their intention was stated to be the defence of the doctrine of the Established Church; and Mant had steeped himself in the writings of Andrewes and Beveridge, Barrow and Joseph Meade.

So acceptable and seasonable did these discourses prove that Mant was appointed Domestic Chaplain to Charles Manners Sutton, the Archbishop of Canterbury. And further preferment was added: the

9. Edward Berens, *A Memoir of the Life of Bishop Mant* (London, 1849), pp. 55-58; hereafter cited as Berens, *Memoir*.

incumbency of S. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, in 1815, worth £2,500 *per annum*, and in 1818 East Horsley, held in plurality and worth but £250. But, as Berens informs us, 'any accession of income was, to the new Rector, most acceptable; and a country parsonage gave a retreat during some of the summer months from his residence at S. Botolph's in the very heart of the City'.¹⁰

The publication, jointly with Dr George D'Oyley, of *The Family Bible* in 1817 and his own *The Prayer Book Noted* in 1820 further enhanced his reputation. Lord Liverpool, as Master of Trinity House, invited him to preach before the Corporation in 1818, and in February 1820 offered him an Irish Bishopric. It would appear that among the motives which prompted his acceptance duty was to be found, together with a sense of important work to do. Berens, perhaps the more objective of his two biographers (the other was, after all, his son) records this exchange between the Bishop-elect and a friend:

'I am going to Ireland,' he said; to which this friend replied, 'I do not congratulate you.' 'No,' said he, 'it is not a subject of congratulation.'

and Berens concludes 'I think he would never have gone to Ireland had he not been impelled in the first instance by a sense of duty'.¹¹

Having taken possession of his dioceses, Mant began at once on his work of renewal and reform, or attempted to. His consecration took place on 30 April, 1820, at Cashel. His Primary Charge he delivered at Killaloe on 3 August. It was a manifesto, a combination of a High Church assertion of the claims of the Church by law Established and a denunciation of the errors of Popery: volatile elements indeed.

You will not, I am sure, my reverend Brethren, regard it as an idle or gratuitous assumption, that the removal of the errors of the Romish Church from the minds of our parishioners, and the substitution of that

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

reformed code of Christian truth which we of the United Church of England and Ireland profess, is a task, which, as far as we have power and opportunity, it is our duty to perform. [The Romanists should be led to] adopt the opinion of our reformed Church in favour of the real, but not the corporal, presence of Christ in the Sacrament.¹²

These were sentiments guaranteed to offend Roman Catholics and Low Churchmen alike. Certainly the Charge won him no friends among the Roman Catholic majority of the community, and his behaviour in general was ill-informed and ill-judged, most unsuitable in the delicate situation of south-west Ireland.

John Jebb was still at this time Archdeacon of Emly and Rector of Abington and lived within easy reach of Killaloe. He wrote of Bishop Mant to his own diocesan, Archbishop Broderick, in terms which brilliantly sum up the embarrassment and irritation of the Anglo-Irish clergy at the activities of even the better kind of English cleric:

This week Mr Forster and I went over to wait on the Bishop of Killaloe:- from his house, we were directed to the parish school: and there we found his Lordship initiating 100 Boys into the mysteries of the National System. In this he seemed immersed: so deeply indeed that we made our day very short - and were not invited to sit down, or rest ourselves for five minutes - much less to return to Claresfort [*sic*] House. Your Grace has doubtless seen the Bps [*sic*] Charge breathing theological warfare against the Papists. To the National School System, he is clearly looking as an instrument of Proselytism: and I fear he may engulf the south of Ireland in flames.

I wish people would have the discretion, and modesty, to acquaint themselves with the circumstances of the Country before they practise upon it. Of all sorts of quackery theological quackery is the most desperate and deadly.¹³

Reports of the Charge had evidently spread like wild-fire and may have spurred Jebb and his curate to pay the call, one which they did not repeat. If Jebb reacted as he did, it is difficult to believe that the story of the Charge had not circulated among the Catholic population, doubtless losing nothing in the

12. Mant, *Primary Visitation Charge* (Dublin, 1820), pp. 25 and 52.

13. Jebb to Broderick, 6 October, 1820; Broderick MSS, N.L.I., MS 8866.

telling. Mant's domestic circumstances were also an affront to the local populace.

He naturally took with him his English servants, on whom he depended for much of his future domestic comfort and convenience. The employment of English servants, however, gave so much umbrage and dissatisfaction to the Irish, and that dissatisfaction was shown in a manner so little ambiguous, that most of them, in a short time, were compelled to leave him.¹⁴

In the event, Bishop Mant panicked. Having received a warning note telling him not to stray too far into the demesne of Clarisford House, the episcopal palace, as 'certain men' had pledged to kill him 'because he abuses our religion while he eats our bread',¹⁵ he fled the diocese, to Dublin then to London. He was perhaps, in this action at least, wise, for disturbances erupted in the area, coming to a head in the late autumn of 1821. Archdeacon Berens, writing as a friend, certainly attributed these local disturbances in no small part to the Bishop's ill-judged actions and words. Mant's son, the more indulgent biographer, is at pains to vindicate his father by pointing to the fact that the Charge was printed in August and that the Bishop did not flee until the following year. He declares that 'The occurrence is more reasonably to be looked on as a part of the system of intimidation under the Whiteboy or Ribbon conspiracy'.¹⁶ To the objective eye the prelate's actions were from the first self-evidently insensitive and, as time went on, downright provocative. His Charge was one thing; his attitude towards the local populace and his Nation School antics proved far too much. He had sown the wind and the whirlwind had overtaken him.

More distressing to the Bishop than his fear and his flight with his family to England were the letters of frosty civility and plainspoken rebuke

14. Berens, *Memoir*, pp. 89-90.

15. *Ibid*, p. 96.

16. Mant, *Memoir*, pp. 135-6.

from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Government; for these relied on the Lord Lieutenant. The ecclesiastics counselled immediate return to Ireland and a speedy return to Clarisford. This having been accomplished, it was Mant's application for Translation to a northern diocese which brought him civil censure.¹⁷ Stung, he remarked in a letter of 26 July, 1822

I shrewdly suspect, that, if I had acquiesced in a state of professional torpor, and, like Gallio, 'cared for none of these things' which I thought my duty, and which, to say the truth, I supposed I was sent hither to look after, I might have been at this moment in a very different situation from that which I now hold.¹⁸

But his exile was not to be too long. Either from a desire to find a more suitable sphere of influence for one of acknowledged ability, or, having let him cool his heels, to remove him from a now fraught situation, Mant was translated to the Diocese of Down and Connor on 22 March 1823 - in which see, Dromore being subsequently added, he continued until his death. The iron had, however, entered into his soul. He might rejoice 'that I shall be a successor to Jeremy Taylor'; but he was an altered man.

Mant had come from England a zealous High Churchman of the old type, anxious to assert the claims of the Established Church. He knew nothing of Ireland, however, and acted with the hauteur and assurance of an English Bishop seemingly unaware of the hostile environment in which the Irish Establishment subsisted. By English standards, his words on the Church of Rome were acceptable. 'There was here no *railing accusation* against members of the Church of Rome, beyond what was contained in the quotations from the Articles of the Church of England', but 'it was made an additional ground of offence'.¹⁹ The hostility of his Roman Catholic neigh-

17. Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 86.

18. Quoted in Mant, *Memoir*, pp. 143-4.

19. Berens, *Memoir*, p. 95.

hours made a profound impression upon him, and his anti-Romanism was steeled by his experience of emergent Catholic nationalism. He had been made painfully aware of the total dependence of the Established Church upon the secular arm in Ireland, to the degree of having his palace at Killaloe garrisoned by protecting militia.

The uncongenial Presbyterian atmosphere of his new jurisdiction did little to soften his attitude towards Romanism. Indeed, having so markedly offended the majority population of his former see, he may well have temporized to avoid offending the larger Protestant presence in his new one. In short, his High Churchmanship was at best cautious, and he joined increasingly in the panic of the old High Churchmen which we are to see unfold. He whose early teaching on baptismal regeneration must have provided an inspiration to the Oxford men was to declare openly against them. By 1842 he attacked Tract 75, condemning prayers for the dead, a commemoration of Bishop Ken on 'Ken's Day', Tract 90, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, 'forbearing all rash attempts at visionary judgement on the side of either Romanism or Puritanism'.²⁰ While remaining a friend to Todd and lamenting his failure to gain the Deanery of S. Patrick's on the grounds of Puseyism, he could nonetheless write of the Oxford men:

But the errors of the Church of Rome have of late years taken a modified form, and, as such, have found a receptacle in the bosom of our National Church; having been at first put forward by some, and subsequently adopted by others, of those intrusted with her ministry. I know not any single term, by which fitly and unobjectionably to denominate this form of semi-Popery.²¹

20. *A Charge intended for delivery at the Visitation of the Clergy of Down and Connor, by their Bishop, June 1842, in The Laws of the Church. The Churchman's Guard against Romanism and Puritanism in two Charges addressed to his Clergy in June and July 1842 by the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor and Dromore, reprinted from the Irish Ecclesiastical Journal (Dublin, 1842), pp. 7; 10; 13; 33.*

21. Quoted in Mant, *Memoir*, pp. 438-9.

In Mant we see the attempt of the English High Church reformer to address the underlying problem of the Church of Ireland - and one felt the more particularly by a High Churchman and an Englishman - namely that the Church of Ireland was not Ireland's Church. Convinced of the rightness of his position and the benefits of the English government and the English Church to the Irish nation, Mant set out to harness all available resources in an effort to transform the sister island into a mirror of his native land. In so far as he wished to reform the internal life and workings of the Church of Ireland, others such as Jebb and the new Primate Lord John George Beresford would esteem him. He did go to a Church so decayed that not only had confirmations not been held for many years but he had actually confirmed a Clerk in Holy Orders retrospectively who had received ordination without it.²² Had he contented himself with the reduction of non-residence and the fostering of a professional spirit among the clergy, he would have enjoyed respect. But whilst he of course did want an educated and professional clergy to perform the civilizing mission of resident gentlemen, he also wanted to win Irishmen for his Church. His was an aggressive and imperialistic venture neither conscious of, nor concerned by, the conditions of Ireland.

Alongside this particularly imperialist approach must be set the similar tactics of one who was Irish and knew Ireland well, William Magee, newly enthroned Archbishop of Dublin in succession to Beresford, who had himself succeeded Stuart at Armagh. Already in 1819, Magee had succeeded Beresford as Bishop of Raphoe as the latter made his inexorable rise via Clogher to Dublin and Armagh. It will be recalled that, when he was a Fellow of Trinity College Dublin, Magee had been the mentor, friend and patron of John Jebb. Archbishop Magee had been well placed to view the changing

22. Berens, *Memoir*, p. 106. This state of affairs was true of both his sees: in Down and Connor no confirmation had been held for fourteen years.

conditions, both in Ireland and in the Church of Ireland. He was a zealous old-fashioned High Churchman and High Tory, and he could identify the forces which might well threaten those things which he held dear. It is not surprising that Donal Kerr should call him an Evangelical in spite of his Churchmanship²³ and that Desmond Bowen should talk of High Church Evangelicalism and associate Magee with the establishment of a strategy for the Evangelicals,²⁴ although both should be carefully understood. They are undoubtedly correct in identifying Evangelicalism as firmly established and flourishing in the soil of an increasingly embattled Protestant population. The long Puritan tradition combined with emerging Catholic nationalism to produce ideal conditions for the Low Church Evangelicalism of Ireland; in fact, the Irish Church was slipping from an unarticulated old Puritanism into a more vocally tyrannical and Low Church Evangelicalism. By the early 1820s there was a profound shift in a Calvinistic and Evangelical direction. The Protestant struggle was a struggle against the ascendancy of Rome in the State and the Church, and was thus a tragedy for those Irish High Churchmen who were seeking a spiritual renaissance of Catholic truths within the Church.

In an attempt to claim the ground being won by the Evangelicals, the new Archbishop launched his counter-offensive in his first Charge to the Diocese of Dublin in 1822. Nockles, in his masterly survey of old High Churchmanship, is quick to recognize Magee in his true colours. The Charge was 'deemed particularly "High Church",' he says, and quotes a passage from a letter of Charles Elrington which captures the situation in which the Irish High Church tradition was increasingly to operate as the century progressed, indeed into our own day. Elrington wrote:

23. Donal Kerr, *Peel, Priests and Politics. Sir Robert Peel's Administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1841-1846* (Oxford, 1982), p. 56.

24. *Protestant Crusade*, p. 83.

The language of his first charge is very high church indeed, and had not the Catholics taken offence the Evangelicals would. I heard one of their leaders returning home from the cathedral say that there had not been such a charge since the days of Laud.²⁵

It is not hard to find statements in the Charge which would have exercised the Evangelicals, and many passages are indeed redolent of the seventeenth century. How the Low Churchmen must have squirmed when he upheld

this very system, which we derive from Apostolic authority, and adjust to Apostolic standard, but which will not satisfy those, who love only what is new, or who are unwilling to conform to any rule, but what they have made for themselves.

and again

Its *adoption* by the State does not affect its origin, or its title. These are of a higher nature, than any human constitution can reach.

and, further,

the *apostolical origin and succession of the Christian ministry*: the only ground on which the just rights of the Church can be maintained, and on which the duty of strict communion with it can be legitimately enforced.²⁶

Magee is even-handed in his assertion of the claims to superiority of the Established Church over against both Popery and Dissent. Of the former, he says it is 'a church, without what we can properly call a religion', and of the latter that it is 'a religion, without what we can properly call a church'.²⁷ Whilst the Evangelicals could identify at once the criticisms that were implied against them for their espousal of pan-Protestantism and their joint efforts in Bible and Missionary Societies, the majority population, the Catholics of Ireland, were enraged at the attack made upon them. In attempting to steal the initiative from the Evangelicals, Magee had gravely miscalculated. Once again, internal reform would have been a course of operation deemed

25. Nockles, 'Continuity and Change', p. 349 and note.

26. Magee, *Primary Visitation Charge*, 2nd edition (Dublin, 1822), pp. 23-25.

27. *Ibid.*

respectable by all sides, but it would have had to be shorn of the High Church assertions. Magee was spared the fury of the Evangelicals because he attacked the Roman Catholics and thereby blessed by implication the crusade against them. Certainly it was understood as a declaration of war by the Catholics. Magee had not only failed to capture ground from the Low Churchmen, he had appeared to countenance their cause, and his pronouncements inflamed the political situation.

His words were strong, but they contrasted in tone rather than in substance with those of Jebb published seven years earlier:

The Church of Rome, fetters the judgement by implicit submission to authority. Foreign branches of the reformation, give unbounded licence to the fancy, by the unrestricted exercise of private interpretation. But our National Church, inculcates a liberal, discriminative, yet undeviating reverence for pious antiquity: a reverence alike sanctioned by reason, inspired by feeling, and recommended by authority.²⁸

This is entirely consistent with Jebb's principle that 'to innovate is not to reform', and his belief that the Reformers had refused to cast away 'the gold of Christian antiquity' simply because it was mixed with the 'adscititious dross of later times'.²⁹ Jebb's vision of Church reform was neither that of Mant nor that of Magee. It was instead rather akin to that of the new Primate, Beresford. Bowen describes the sort of renewal for which Beresford had looked:

The Primate hoped ... that, given enough time, the Church of Ireland could reform itself. Then through its spiritual authority it could persuade enough of the Irish population to conform so that its numbers as well as its sanctity would justify its establishment status.³⁰

Whilst the Primate concentrated on education and shoring up the Establishment, Jebb sought to develop the self-understanding of the Church

28. *Sermons on Subjects chiefly Practical, with an Appendix* (London, 1815), pp. 357-8.

29. Jebb, *Practical Theology*, quoted in Bolton, *Caroline Tradition*, pp. 57-58.

30. *Protestant Crusade*, p. 279.

as an apostolic institution. There was with Jebb no radical departure in substance from, say, the position of Magee; but he and Knox did show a markedly greater sensitivity towards Roman Catholicism and a recognition of the gold which Jebb perceived to be inherent in much of that communion's teaching, although bound up in his view with the dross of innovation. There was even a marked difference in temper between his writings and those of Knox on this point, for though he would affirm against the Roman Catholics that 'we reject the domination of the Pope' and against the Dissenters 'but we do not, with them, erect 50,000 Popes in his room', he also asserted that the 'voice of *antiquity, universality, and consent*, to which we listen' is 'not ... the voice of man, but the voice of God'.³¹

When it came, in 1823, to Jebb's own Primary Visitation Charge, he was careful to concern himself, not with the position of the Roman Catholics, but with raising the standards of observance within his own communion, somewhat in the spirit of a Counter-Reformation bishop. His special concern, for example, comes across as to the quality of those admitted to Holy Orders, and he tightened up the process of examining and selecting candidates. He would only accept graduates, who had to know some basic New Testament Greek in addition to the Ordinal's requirement that they be 'skilled in the Latin tongue'. He laid great stress on the conduct of worship, on private prayer, devotion, and study: in all a careful observance of their ordination promises.

Whilst he in no degree gave ground to the particular doctrinal assertions of the Roman Catholics, he referred to them appreciatively in his Charge, and went so far as to include a forthright statement of his belief that

31. Jebb to Nash, 2 May, 1816; quoted in Forster, *Life*, 1st edition, vol. 2, p. 245.

the Roman Catholic clergy were 'a band of valuable co-adjutors'.³² The entire Charge contains no hint of hostility or of the combative attitudes of Mant. Jebb undoubtedly shared Knox's view, expressed in a letter to J.J. Hornby:

It appears to me that, in our estimate of that Church, we must not confound the body of that Church (that is, the assemblage of bishops, presbyters and baptized persons which it contains) with the papal power which holds that mass in captivity. That power, I am convinced, is the Apocalyptic Babylon; but the subjugated body, I cannot doubt, is 'the Holy City' which the Gentiles were to tread for 'forty and two months'³³

Jebb and Knox share the approach of Archbishop Beresford as mentioned above, but they develop it. With Beresford they reject Evangelicalism, but they do recognize the need for more than the reform of abuses in the Church of Ireland: they seek a spiritual restoration. Certainly the mission of the Established Church was to all Ireland, but it must begin by internal reform, interior renewal. Her mission was not to be that of a proselytizing army fighting for conversions among those of the majority religion. They were convinced that progress was to be attained only by making explicit in the life of the Church of Ireland the undifferentiated Catholicism, the faith of antiquity, which they believed to be her true inheritance, and to which she was the principal, if admittedly not the sole, heir. The luminosity of the truth of this position, when revealed as it should be, would be so compelling as to liberate those who had been captivated by the accretions of Rome.

In this breadth of vision, they went well beyond all of their contemporaries. Jebb, for example, discerned the hand of divine providence active even within the erroneous enthusiasms of the Roman system. He wrote of transubstantiation that it

32. Jebb, *Primary Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Limerick*, 1823, in *Pastoral Instructions* (London, 1831), p. 215.

33. Knox to Hornby, 1 and 2 January, 1828, in *Remains*, vol. 4, p. 484.

may have served as a check and counter-poise to that impious heresy [Unitarianism]. For the adoration of the mass, cannot, by any plausibility of argument, be rescued from the charge of a twofold idolatry, except on the supposition of the full divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ.³⁴

This flexibility, united with the sensitive valuation in which both he and Knox held the Roman Catholic veneration of the Fathers, set them apart from other High Churchmen and pointed towards Todd, Maturin, and the Oxford Tractarians. It also commended them above all others when talk of *rapprochement* between the Churches began to be heard. Perhaps Knox put it best when he wrote:

The respect for the Fathers, in particular, gives the person who defends vital piety an unspeakable advantage. If the Roman Catholic religion had answered no other purpose, than to keep up this respect, there would be indemnification for all its crudities.³⁵

Neither Jebb nor Knox could remain untouched by the rapidly deteriorating prospects for the Church of Ireland as the century unfolded and witnessed an increasingly strident Catholic nationalism. Whereas Knox had written to Hannah More in 1806 that he had 'little doubt that a time will come when the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland will, in a body, propose to conform to our church' and welcomed the restorations which they would bring with them from their acquaintance with the Fathers - 'strengthening,' he said, 'the original characters of our church when they might be in danger of being effaced'³⁶ - alas, with the burgeoning power of Low Church Evangelicals on the one hand and the rise of Catholic nationalism on the other, his optimism fell entirely away. In its place there grew the suspicion and hostility of the threatened and embattled.

34. *Practical Theology*, vol. 1, p. 134.

35. *Thirty years correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 35.

36. *Remains*, vol. 3, p. 188.

Magee, Mant and Jebb had each been consecrated bishops of a Church of profound divisions, problems and contradictions. All attempted reform, all were engulfed by the battle for her survival when they had dreamt of her improvement and enlargement. It is true that ecclesiastics like Mant and Magee, Jebb and Beresford, were far removed from the Jocelyns and the de la Poer Beresfords, the Loftuses and the Bourkes; but they inhabited the same world, and we should not expect them to have been untouched by many of the same attitudes and *mores*: creatures, as are all of us to some degree, of prevailing conditions.

Quite naturally, High-minded Churchmen rejected the idea that the Church was merely a parallel hierarchy to that of the State, providing ecclesiastical peerages in her bishops, baronetcies in her cathedral dignitaries, and an often much needed resident gentry in her parish clergy. Of course the Church of Ireland was more; but she was also indeed just that. To read Jebb's speech before the House of Peers³⁷ is to appreciate how deeply engrained was that role. More and more, as danger threatened from within and without, High Churchmen saw the Establishment as their principal bulwark, if only to buy them time for their programme (if it can be so dignified) of reform. They were mistaken.

In the rapidly changing conditions of the age, to rally to Establishment was to defend the indefensible; and the move to uphold it and reform it actually accelerated this fall. The very reforms which better men sought for the Irish Church, the raising of standards of clerical education at Dublin University, the reduction of non-residence, even the attempts to awake zeal and foster devotion, merely served to expose the weakness and decay of that body. The Church of Ireland was revealed increasingly as an alien imposed

37. On the Irish Tithe Composition Amendment Bill, delivered 10 July, 1824; reprinted in *Practical Theology*, vol. 2, pp. 323-437.

Establishment, the Church of a privileged minority, burdensome and offensive to the majority off whom she lived. By 1822 it had become clear that, because of her numerical weakness, she could not escape imposed reform with its consequential confiscations and inevitable diminution of her prestige. Increasingly the winning of more adherents dominated the zealous. 'In truth,' said Archbishop Magee to a committee of the House of Lords, 'with respect to Ireland, the Reformation may, strictly speaking, be truly said only now to have begun'.³⁸ We cannot know how soon the fond hopes of the High Church reformers would have faded, or indeed if they might have met with success in fostering a professional and active clergy and a well instructed and devoted laity. Their beacon of light to their Roman Catholic fellow Christians, eager to embrace 'truth', never shone. The Low Church Evangelicals were unstoppable. They even claimed a sort of death-bed conversion on the part of Knox so as to harness the power of his name whilst discarding what they disapproved of in his works.³⁹ But reform was no less unstoppable. Trevelyan sums up the crying need with the remark that 'twenty-two Protestant bishops drew £150,000 a year and the rest of the church £600,000 more, very largely from the Catholic peasants'.⁴⁰ What may at times strike the late twentieth-century mind as picturesque grew increasingly offensive to our forbears of the nineteenth with their 'growing belief in the virtues of economy, fairness and efficiency'.⁴¹ With the development of Catholic and Nationalist aspiration no government, of what-

38. Evidence to the Lords' Committee on the State of Ireland, 1825; quoted in Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 92.

39. For details of their claim, and a full denial of it, see J.J. Hornby's preface to vols 3 and 4 of Knox's *Remains*.

40. G.M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century and after* (London, 1922), p. 288.

41. R.B. McDowell, *The Church of Ireland, 1869-1969*, p. 7.

ever colour, could continue to tolerate such a situation remaining unaddressed.

Jebb, seized with paralysis at Limerick in 1827, sought to recuperate at Leamington with Forster his chaplain. 1829 saw a second stroke which confined him to a chair. He moved permanently to East Hill, Wandsworth, Surrey. Still able to read and write, he exercised a considerable influence over the Z's, propagating his and Knox's views with them as with his earlier circle with whom he maintained contacts.⁴² He was the spiritual director of Walter Farquar Hook's wife. Alexander Knox died in 1831. John Jebb followed him to the grave in December 1833. The Assize Sermon had been preached on 14 July, but Jebb had been in very poor health with jaundice for almost twelve months before his death. He had been too ill to take any effective part in the struggle to resist the first major parliamentary reform of the Irish Church, the Temporalities Act of that year. The passing of the Act ensured that, for his beloved Church, the writing was no longer on the wall but on the Statute Book; nor was that the end.

42. The Z's, the Old High Churchmen of the Hackney Phalanx, identified with the National Society, the Societies for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and of the Propagation of the Gospel. The nickname is Hurrell Froude's.

CHAPTER IV : A SEARCH FOR APOSTOLICITY

Ours is an age in which the search for visible unity of the various Christian denominations seems a commonplace. This ideal has captured the minds of Christians and of others who have even the most tenuous links with organised religion. Western man, living as he does in a society in which liberal consensus and the tolerance of diversity of view is held up as an ultimate orthodoxy to be striven for, sees the ecumenical movement as one with it. It was not ever thus. The proposal that the Catholic and Protestant Churches in Ireland should be united, made in Parliament in 1824, broke upon a very different social order from our own, and was born of motives widely differing from those we would expect today.

The suggestion, made in the context of a discussion on the troubled state of the sister island, came from the lips of the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Frederick Robinson (1782-1859), Member of Parliament for Ripon since 1807. Before taking his English seat, in the interest of his kinswoman Miss Lawrence, whose borough it was, he had gained much experience of Ireland, sitting as Member for Cavan in 1806-7,¹ having previously been private secretary to another kinswoman, the third Earl of Hardwicke (then Viceroy of Ireland), from 1804. Robinson's interest was that of a politician in government, not of a churchman. If any 'scandal of disunity' exercised him, it was that of State rather than Church, constituted by agitation and unrest, threatening the stability of the Realm.

For Robinson, the solution to the social unrest of the sister Island was the removal of religious strife. Such motives may ill accord with our pre-conceptions of ecumenism; but we should recall - as doubtless Robinson himself was well aware - that similar principles had moved William III of Prussia to effect by statute the union of the Lutheran and reformed Churches of his

1. For which seat he paid Lord Charleville in excess of £2,000. See *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1790-1820*, ed. R.G. Thorne, vol. V, Members Q-Y (London, 1986), pp. 26-28.

country, placing in 1817 an Evangelical *Landeskirche* under the authority of a *Kultusministerium* solely for the convenient execution of royal power.² Together with this we should recall that contemporary politicians were aware of the degree to which such Catholic monarchs as the Kings of Spain and the Habsburg Emperors exercised their rights of sanction in ecclesiastical appointments, often to defend local against papal interests. The Papacy itself had come to terms with the unilateral remodelling of the French Church by Napoleon.

Bishop Doyle rallied to the cause of local interests. Standing as he did in an older Gallican tradition within Irish Roman Catholicism, and attached to the *ancien régime*, he sought to foster a stable and loyal Catholic State in Ireland as opposed to 'the ephemeral goals sought by some of the nationalists of the age'.³ As was often to be the case, Doyle, whilst seeking in his words and actions to serve the interests of his fellow-countrymen and co-religionists according to his lights, constituted something of an embarrassment to many of them. In particular, subsequent and more zealously nationalist Catholics found his stance uncomfortable. The proposal for the union of the Churches they in the main found inexplicable, as well they might. It is hard to see in his motives much more than an appeal to expediency.

Doyle's answer to Robinson was brilliant: his appeal at once political, social and religious. It was with Robinson the member of the government, the practical politician, that he must have been most telling. He wrote asserting that the union of the Churches was 'the best mode of pacifying Ireland and of consolidating the interests of the Empire'.⁴ Of his own Church he wrote:

2. Inspired, perhaps, by events in Prussia, Samuel Wix (1771-1861), Vicar of S. Bartholomew-the-Less, one year later, in 1818, published his own proposal for union. See George Tavard, *The Quest for Catholicity* (London, 1963), p. 149.

3. Bowen, *Protestant Crusade*, p. 10.

4. W.J. Fitzpatrick, *Life, Times and Correspondence of the Rt. Revd. Dr Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1861), vol. 1, p. 321.

This clergy, with few exceptions, are from the ranks of the People, they inherit their feelings, they are not, as formerly, brought up under despotic governments, and they have imbibed the doctrines of Locke and Paley, more deeply than those of Bellarmin, or even Bossuet on the divine right of Kings; they know much more of the principles of the Constitution than they do of passive obedience.

He continued:

The time is favourable, for the Government is powerful and at peace; the Pope is powerless, and anxious to conciliate; the Irish Catholics are wearied and fatigued, exceedingly desirous of repose; the Established Religion is almost frittered away, and the Monarchy, a thing unprecedented in a Christian state, is left, in one Country with only one Staff of the Church, to use an expression of Mr Hume, and in the other with less than a moiety of the people attached to the Hierarchy. Add to this the improvement of men's minds during the last century, the light and liberality which distinguish the present, the revival of Christian purity since the overthrow of the French Revolution, and the disposition of even Religious disputants to conciliate and explain.⁵

Doyle's political and social aspiration for his nation are made yet more explicit in further assertions. Could but the Churches unite, 'The Aristocracy would become what it has never been in Ireland - a link between the Prince and the peasant' (p. 8). Emancipation, although urgently needed, would never, in itself, be sufficient for it alone could not produce an active Catholic/Native aristocracy, nor abolish resentment. It would not 'allay the Fervor [*sic*] of religious zeal - the perpetual clashing of two Churches, one elevated, the other fallen, both high-minded, perhaps intolerant' (p. 6). As for doctrine, Doyle dismissed it, at first, as being the least difficulty. He spoke of Leibnitz and of Bossuet, of Wake and Tillotson, blaming the failure of Catholic schemes on state affairs and the necessities of government. He identified a different situation, and indicated that the time was ripe for a conference to effect the union:

It appears to me that there is no essential difference between Catholics and Protestants; the existing diversity of opinion arises, in most cases, from certain forms of words which admit to satisfactory explanation, or from the ignorance of misconceptions which ancient prejudice and illwill [*sic*] produce and strengthen, but which could be removed. (p. 8)

5. *Letters on reunion*, pp. 4-7. Page references of subsequent quotations are placed in brackets in the text.

The full correspondence was conducted by means of open letters,⁶ and caught the imagination of Dr Thomas Newenham (1762-1831), then resident in Gloucester, a gentleman of Irish antecedents whose life was devoted to making the affairs and situation of Ireland better known to the British public at large. Newenham suggested the calling of a conference with divines from each side who would formulate 'articles of primary importance and obligation as the groundwork for a new catechism'.⁷ He suggested Jebb to Doyle as a suitable member:

Doctor Jebb, Bishop of Limerick, stands eminently conspicuous for erudition, piety, benevolence, and a disposition to think favourably of the religion of the Church of Rome. Between his Lordship's religious sentiments and those of the justly-venerated Fenelon, I have reason to believe that almost as little difference would be found, as between their respective moral characters.... (p. 13, note)

As for the supremacy of the Pope, it seems not improbable that a large majority of the Church of England would readily concede to him such an authoritative primacy among Christian Bishops as should not, in any respect, be inconsistent with the existing laws of the land, the spirit of the constitution, or the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical concerns of a temporal nature. (p. 15)

These remarkable statements are far from the world of the mainstream Anglicanism of the time. Samuel Wix had at least been realistic enough to say of his own call for reunion that 'The unpopularity of the proposal is manifest'.⁸ The very idea that those who had left Archbishop Magee's Charge fearful of a new Laudianism, and those who had found Mant's Bampton Lectures on Baptismal Regeneration too strong a meat for their Protestant appetites, would accept any form of papal power beggars belief. And indeed, what power or position could there have been in the face of every piece of anti-papal legislation from the Henrician reform onwards? We are dealing with wishful thinking and a fanciful political expediency. Here was no true

6. See chapter 2, note 43 (above, p. 30).

7. *D.N.B.*, vol. 40, p. 335.

8. Tavad, *The Quest for Catholicity*, p. 150.

meeting of minds. For Doyle, in order to produce civil peace, sought a conformity, by formula, to a different system and method.

It is, indeed, very likely that by 1824 even such as Knox and Jebb were moving away from their earlier disposition to Rome, their attitudes tempered by what they perceived as the ever-growing threat to the Established Irish Church. Knox's assertion that 'the Romish Church is like a garden overrun with weeds, ... but then there are in this garden some old fruit-trees, which bear fruit of extraordinary mellowness',⁹ as with most of the positive remarks made by both, dates from his early writings. Indeed, their positions had been perceived to have changed to such a degree that the Evangelicals claimed Knox as a convert to the cause in his last days on earth: a claim challenged, as we have seen, by J.J. Hornby, the editor of his *Remains*.¹⁰

For Jebb, it is the Appendix which marks the high point of his teaching, with its emphasis on the Vincentian canon, together with a justification of prayer for the dead, the sacramental system, and the real presence, all of which made him the darling of the early Oxford men. The Tractarians were, however, suspicious of Knox, the lay theologian. Keble suspected him in particular for his underlying eclecticism (as we have seen in Chapter 2), and for his 'liking the church better for want of discipline',¹¹ and Copeland wrote of 'the intrepid optimism of his theory of providential dispensations'.¹² Newman and Froude both likewise exercised caution, and were never unreserved in their valuation of Knox's writings.

Jebb, although mentioned by Newenham, did not become directly or openly involved in any discussions. Archbishop Magee took a serious interest in furthering the idea, promoted though it was by one who had so violently called him to account over his Primary Charge. Provost Sadleir of Trinity

9. Letter to Hannah More, 27 December, 1806; *Remains*, vol. 3, p. 111.

10. See chapter 3, note 39 (above, p. 56).

11. Letter to Ogilvie, 6 March, 1833, quoted in Nockles, 'Continuity and Change', p. 377.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 378.

College, Dublin, arranged an interview with Dr Daniel Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. Their often quoted exchange is indicative of the distance between them. Dr Murray remarked: 'I fear it is not easy: we have seven sacraments while you have only two'. 'Ah,' replied Dr Sadleir, 'that would be the least difficulty.'¹³

Knox, who was himself an active contributor to the *Letters*, had a clearer vision of the two communions. He could see the lack of knowledge each had of the other, that each side played on different terms, that they were in some sense at cross purposes. Knox, and by inference Jebb, could both discern the subtleties. Whilst each side might appear to use the same language and resort to the same sources, very disparate principles inspired them.

Jebb and Knox were most notable for their love of the Liturgy, their veneration of tradition, their espousal of the Vincentian canon, and (at least in their earlier years) for a good disposition towards Roman Catholicism, and that to a degree remarkable for their age. They were, however, exponents of the *Via Media* and their valuation of Tradition was that of those who sought to return to the rock of their quarrying, not to the living tradition of Roman ecclesiology. It was in this difference that the great gulf fixed between the two sides became clear.

The Vincentian rule itself was susceptible of widely varying interpretation and application. In the *Appendix* Jebb had written:

the Church of England above all other communions, not excepting that of Rome, has adopted the precise rule of Christian antiquity: a rule peculiarly adopted in that period when knowledge and purity were most perfectly united.... To the period here designated we are indebted for a writer who, above all other writers, has settled the rule of Catholic interpretation, Vincentius Lirinensis, a resident of the Isle of Lerins, a presbyter of the Christian Church, flourished in the fifth century.... He proceeds to define those instances of evidence, which must concur, to warrant confidence, and afford us some direction. 'We must be peculiarly careful, to hold that which hath been believed, IN ALL PLACES, AT ALL TIMES, BY ALL THE FAITHFUL [QUOD UBIQUE, QUOD SEMPER, QUOD AB OMNIBUS CREDITUM EST].... Catholics and true sons of the Church will make it their espe-

13. Fitzpatrick, *Life of Doyle*, vol. 1, p. 328.

cial care to interpret the Divine Canon by the traditions of the universal Church and according to the rules of Catholic theology.¹⁴

A further elucidation of the principle was deemed so significant as to be included in the *Tracts for the Times* (N° 78):

I cannot at present feel any difficulty in applying Vincentius's rule. If a doctrine is propounded to me, as vitally essential, that is, to speak technically, as a matter of Faith, before I can receive it as such, I must go to the Catholic succession and ascertain whether that doctrine has been held *semper, ubique, ab omnibus*; convinced, if it has not been so held, my assent is not due to it as a matter of Faith. If, again, a doctrine which I hold is impugned as Heretical, next the scripture and as interpretative of Scripture, I must go to the Catholic succession; and if I find this doctrine universally assented, I cannot believe that it is any other than the sincere truth of the Gospel.¹⁵

Knox is with him. 'Here are, self-evidently, two authorities,' he comments after quoting the Athanasian Creed

- the Christian verity and the Catholic religion. The former can mean neither more nor less than the manifest import of the written Word. What then means the Catholic religion? Can it be otherwise understood than as the concurrent and continuous voice of Tradition? What Vincentius Lirinensis calls the *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus* ...¹⁶

It is true that Knox and Jebb are not the first to appeal to this 'Vincentian canon'. Earlier High Churchmen had cited S. Vincent. John Donne exhorts his readers to

Love thou those things wherein she [the Church] is Catholic and wherein she is harmonious, that is, *quod ubique, quod semper*, those universal and fundamental doctrines, which in all Christian ages and in all Christian Churches, have been agreed by all to be necessary to salvation; and then thou art a true Catholic.¹⁷

which, as Tavad remarks, presumes a common core of orthodox Catholic doctrine at the heart of all Christian communions, but without examining the relationship of tradition to scripture as to how this common core is authoritatively to be discerned and articulated.

14. Jebb, *Sermons on Subjects chiefly Practical*, pp. 368-70.

15. *Tracts for the Times*, vol. 4 (1836-7), p. 113.

16. Quoted in Tavad, *The Quest for Catholicity*, pp. 150-151.

17. Quoted *ibid.*, p. 48.

Contemporaries, or near contemporaries, of Jebb and Knox seem to follow a similar course. The High Churchman William Van Mildert, Prince Bishop of Durham, had such an exalted regard for the Fathers and tradition as guides to the interpretation of sacred scripture, not least because of their closer proximity to the events of the Gospels. Such advantageous circumstances added weight to their judgement and required especial consideration of their understandings. He, too, was deemed suitable for inclusion in Tract 78. He did, however, hold back somewhat from the position taken by Jebb and Knox. Contrast his words with Jebb's. Van Mildert writes:

It is, therefore, with no common reverence that these authorities are to be regarded; nor can we detract from their just pretensions without hazard to some of the main foundations of our Faith. 'No man,' says Bishop Bull, 'can oppose Catholic consent, but he will at last be found to oppose, both the Divine oracles and sound reason.' Nevertheless, we do not claim for them any infallibility, any commission to make further revelations of the Divine will, or any absolute authority as Scripture interpreters. The appeal still lies from them, as from all other religious instructions, to that Word itself, which was no less their Rule of Faith than it is ours: and the highest degree of deference that can be due to them may be paid without any infringement of that inviolable maxim, 'If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God'.¹⁸

The voice of the Fathers, the witness of antiquity, valuable and to be revered as they are, cannot be equated with the voice of God. This is without doubt a form of '*sola Scriptura*', the interpretation of which remains to the individual; though the individual does well to draw upon the experience of those Fathers of past ages who, admittedly equally fallible, were closer to the saving events.

Jebb, as has already been noted, would not seem to have it thus, for he writes:

we reject the domination of the Pope: but we do not with them [the sectaries] elect 50, 000 Popes in his room; and the voice of *antiquity*, *universality* and *consent*, to which we listen, we take not to be the voice of man, but the voice of God.¹⁹

18. *Tracts for the Times*, vol. 4 (1836), pp. 117-8.

19. Forster, *Life*, vol. 2, p. 245.

This is not, for Jebb, in any sense an abrogation of the duty of each Christian to seek after truth. In order that they may be led into all truth, they are to appeal from the exceptionable dictates of the present age to the recorded belief of purer times and to the concurrent voice of pious antiquity, even in the face of errors 'strenuously urged by existing authorities'²⁰.

Herein lies the dilemma, for if 'existing authorities' do not themselves recognize the pure truth from antiquity, which authority, if any, does proclaim it and how is it discerned? Surely private judgement yet remains as the ultimate key?

Jebb himself had declared, à propos of his assertion quoted above,

The universality here mentioned is not, of course, a *mathematical* but a *moral* universality; the universality, to use Vincentius' own words, of those, 'Qui, in fide et communione catholica, sancte, sapienter, et constanter viventes, vel mori in Christo fideliter, vel occidi pro Christo feliciter meruerint'. And here, I may observe that Vincentius himself has anticipated your great objection; a very fair one, no doubt, and which requires, and deserves, an answer; .. namely, 'that true christianity, far from being diffused *ubique*, or received *ab omnibus*, was sometimes confined to a very narrow channel: when the great majority of bishops were Arians, what becomes of the rule?' Let Vincentius answer 'Quid si novella aliqua contagio, non jam portiunculam tantum, sed totam pariter Ecclesiam commaculare conetur? Tunc item providebit ut *Antiquitati inhæreat*.' Nor, be it thought, that, by this means, the *quod ubique*, and *quod ab omnibus*, are idly absorbed in the *quod semper*; they are, as above hinted, to be taken, not mathematically, but morally: and so taken, they are an effectual guard to the *quod semper*. From the beginning, or, at least, from very remote antiquity, worthy individuals have frequently held, some one, or more, unsound opinions; and, looking to individuals merely, the *quod semper* might be alleged, as it has been alleged, in favour of every opinion: it is to be rectified, however, by looking to *universality* and *consent*: not *universality without exception* .. for such is not to be found: but *the concurrent, and consistent sentiments, of the most, and greatest, doctors, in the whole body of the Church; not at any given period, but throughout the whole succession*.²¹

Whilst this may account for the world awaking to find itself Arian in an earlier period and returning to a 'moral universality' implicit in 'the whole succession', it cannot account for present error. This is because, for Jebb as for

20. Quoted in Tavad, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

21. Letter to the Revd. Dr Nash, 2 May, 1816; quoted in Forster, *Life*, vol. 2, pp. 250-51.

Knox, there was a closing point for the golden age of pious antiquity. Knox wrote:

the body of Catholic tradition could not but be completed: from after ages it might receive additional confirmation and perhaps elucidation; but it clearly could not receive legitimate enlargement.

And Jebb gave a date of closure, the Council of Chalcedon, when

A point of time is fixed, previously to which the Church of England unreservedly recognizes the guidance of the Catholic Church in the interpretation of Christian verities.

Furthermore, if we are to follow Tavad, Jebb saw this 'point of time' as determining membership of the Catholic Church:

The Protestant communions on the continent have not so much as pretended to revere antiquity. The Church of Rome has not been wanting in the pretension; but instead of revering antiquity she has idolized herself. The Church of England alone has adopted a middle course; moving in the same delightful path and treading the same hallowed footsteps with Vincentius and the Catholic bishops and ancient Fathers; proceeding as far as they proceed; and stopping where they stopped.²²

The dilemma remains. Why do not all within the Church so regard this deposit of truth, and who is to say what constitutes the deposit? To this we must add the further question, why does the 'point of time' fall at Chalcedon, or indeed at any other moment within the life of the Church? Rome's 'idolizing of herself' is surely an implicit recognition of that understanding of tradition which is her hall-mark: that there is an identity of the Church of Rome with the Catholic Church, at all times, in all places, herself the living form of the apostolic succession, with the Petrine office at its centre. It is here, it is asserted, that the biblical revelation is lived and interpreted, in a way that binds. For the Roman Church, tradition refers not only, and not even in the first place, to the permanency of ancient doctrines or texts which have been handed down, but to a certain way of co-ordinating the living word of the Church and the decisive written word of Scripture. This Knox and Jebb fail to do for they cannot, and even perhaps do not wish to, identify a living

22. All three quotations in Tavad, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

voice of external authority within the Church - external, that is, to the individual. For them there are the valuable resources from the Christian past and there is private judgement. The difference between their position and that of Van Mildert is one of degree.

Doyle's recognition of the difficulties was more frankly acknowledged when he was confronted with the indifference of the secular establishment and the active hostility of ecclesiastics of his own communion. Bishop Milner, Titular Bishop of Castabala and Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District of England, wrote concerning Doyle's call for re-union in the *Catholic Miscellany* for June, 1824:

True it undoubtedly is, that it will be disavowed by the clergy in general, and particularly by the Episcopal brethren of the proposer; still it is a lamentable dissention, that one Catholic prelate should be found differing from the rest of them on points of such incalculable importance as those involved in the proposal. But as among the laity there must unavoidably be many persons ill-informed, or comparatively indifferent about the doctrines and interests of their religion, a proposal of the present nature, accompanied with a prospect of great civil benefits attending it, cannot fail of setting them at work to devise what parts of the Catholic religion they can respectively give up, and what parts of the Protestant system they can adopt in consideration of such temporal advantages, with the certainty of producing internal enmities and divisions among themselves, and with the great danger of their stepping into the fatal gulph [*sic*] of heresy, or schism.²³

As Milner's biographer remarked:

The visionary scheme which had failed in the hands of Bossuet and Tillotson, and Leibnitz, and Dupin and Wake, and Wix, was not likely to succeed even under the able encouragement of Bishop Doyle.²⁴

In the face of such criticisms, Doyle began to distance himself from his earlier remarks. He who had earlier spoken of 'forms of words' was surely on firmer ground when he wrote to Newenham: 'Mr Knox is right on the first subject. Transubstantiation is essentially "included" in the doctrine of the real

23. Letter, dated Henley, 6 June, 1824, to the Editor from Bishop Milner writing as 'A Catholic Pastor', *The Catholic Miscellany*, iii, 30 (1824), pp. 264-66.

24. F.C. Husenbeth, *The Life of the Rt. Revd. John Milner D.D., Bishop of Castalba* (Dublin, 1862), p. 497.

presence, and so is that of the sacrifice of the Mass'. We might think that this fell under his heading of a 'form of words'; but he continues:

and as to the right of private judgement, that entirely depends on the nature and extent of the authority of the Church. The English, in regulating the authority of their Church and the right of private judgement, have made that a principle which, in the order of nature, is a consequence. ... The English people will have the Bible to be each man's property - and so it is; and they will have Bishops to rule their Church, without a power to regulate its discipline: they will have them to teach the faith, but not to define what it is; to excommunicate for heresy those who err, and who err because they follow their private judgement which these Bishops tell them they are bound to exercise. All these absurdities follow because the authority of the Church of England is made subservient to the right of private judgement.²⁵

The recognition of difficulties was far from one-sided. Knox concludes his contribution to the correspondence on re-union thus:

in my judgement, no other union between the church of England and that of Rome is possible, but such as would involve a complete re-subjugation of the former to the latter. The Church of Rome must part with its essence as *an ecclesiastical polity*, before it would admit us to communicate with it on any other condition....

There is a deference to the Catholic Church, which I consider as the only sure barrier against religious eccentricity, and the only adequate guaranty [*sic*] of pure Christian faith and piety. ... It is a recognition of God's providential guidance of the Church, as rationally apprehended in the '*quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*'.²⁶

Just how sure that barrier was is very much open to question. It was, indeed, its very *insecurity* and the uncertainty of authority which had exercised, and has continued to exercise, High Churchmen through history even to our own day. The conditions in which Jebb and Knox worked and wrote must have made such conflict cruelly apparent; and yet surely one is not unjust in seeing an air of unreality in Knox's pronouncement? An atmosphere of detachment hangs about so much of their writing. They inhabited, as it were, a theoretical world, removed from the attitudes and actualities of the majority of their co-religionists. There is an unattractive arrogance, an unassailability, an implicit

25. Fitzpatrick, *Life of Doyle*, vol. 1, p. 337.

26. *Letters on re-union*, pp. 26-27.

assertion of moral superiority which too often finds expression in their correspondence and writings.

The threats to the Establishment and the growing Evangelicalism of Ireland manifested themselves in retrenchment and withdrawal, not helped by Jebb's ever more marked incapacity due to failing health. Increasingly, theirs was not the Church of Ireland; indeed it had never truly been so. Now it was the Bible Societies and Evangelicals who were to hold the field, proselytizing and of a Low Church hue.²⁷

Doyle, for his part, recognised the singularity and the weakness of a position like Jebb's, in his own concluding correspondence on the scheme. In two important remains recorded by his biographer, the clearest views are expressed. Of Jebb, in relation to the Protestant clergy as a whole, he wrote:

But though I think Dr Jebb could scarcely find one amongst them, except himself, to suit his character of an Irish clergyman of the Establishment, and consider them as oppressive by the nature of their tenure and income, rendered odious to us by their tithes and detestable Church rates, yet I respect them generally as a class of men eminent, many of them, for their domestic virtues as well as for their literary acquirements.²⁸

One can only wonder if, given this description, S. Vincent of Lérins would have identified such men as with him 'treading the same hallowed footsteps'.

Doyle lamented the burgeoning of the Bible Societies and their 'missionary' activities, supported increasingly by many of the clergy of the Established Church,²⁹ and he deprecated their lack of deference to the express opinion of better men. He shared the view of Sir Thomas Wyse, who

27. Jebb had enthusiastically encouraged William Phelan's *The Bible not the Bible Society*, published in Dublin in 1817. Phelan was a convert from Roman Catholicism, a friend of Knox and Jebb, and a protégé of Archbishop Beresford. Jebb wrote the Biographical Memoir included in Phelan's *Remains* (London, 1832). See *Thirty years correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 321.

28. Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 312.

29. Between 1806 and 1837, the Hibernian Bible Society alone issued 314, 899 Holy Bibles and 466, 812 New Testaments. Over a similar period, the British and Foreign Bible Society issued 95, 417 Holy Bibles and 397, 558 New Testaments, and the London Hibernian Bible Society 3, 117 Holy Bibles and 22, 976 New Testaments. See Kerr, *Peel, Priests and Politics*, p. 57 n.

had asserted that 'Primate Steward [*sic*], Archbishop Magee, Bishop Jebb, Bishop Mant, and many other learned prelates have stated it as their opinion that note and comment are absolutely essential to the right understanding of the sacred volume.'³⁰ However, this 'opinion' was but one among many, and what should lead men to accord it greater weight? As for all High Anglicans, it was easier for Knox and Jebb and the Irish High Churchmen to explain why they did not accept the Roman model of authority than to put another in its place and define its workings, identifying its source and delineating the range of its content.

The power of Establishment and the National Church, actual and - more importantly - as an Ideal, cannot be over-estimated. No matter how firmly Caroline divines, old High Churchmen, or even Tractarians emphasised the Apostolic Succession, venerated tradition and antiquity, or exalted the sacramental system, one essential feature of the Church of England remained: the Royal Supremacy. Increasingly, Roman gibes that they were merely a State Church were more painfully felt, because they were painfully true.

We have already seen that the abiding nightmare of men such as Stuart had been the intervention of the government by imposing reform, and I have recorded the attempts to avert disaster by internal measures. The granting of Catholic emancipation and, even more, the constant concession of new legislation, including more particularly the 1833 Irish Church Temporalities Act and - as its culmination, the Irish Church Disestablishment Act of 1869, left Irish High Churchmen traumatised. It was an irreversible and unstoppable process, as Lord John George Beresford had recognised in his speech against Catholic Emancipation in April 1829:

Are you prepared, My Lords, to go the length to which you will be urged, after you have conceded all that is now demanded? Are you prepared to sacrifice the Irish Church Establishment and the Protestant institutions connected with it - to efface the Protestant character

30. Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 521.

of the Irish portion of the empire - to transfer from Protestants to Roman Catholics the ascendancy of Ireland?³¹

His analysis was perfect and, as Beckett says, 'the power of the Protestant ascendancy, fatally undermined in 1829, withered away'.

In England, the response to the Temporalities Act made by those who were to lead the Oxford Tractarian Movement serves only to highlight the difference of their position from that of the Irish High Churchmen and the radicalism implicit in Tractarian thought. It is not simply that they were called upon to defend the indefensible - an over-staffed, over-rich oppressive minority Church - for there they were at one with their Irish brethren. Whilst the Irish looked to royal and governmental power to maintain their Establishment, it was the exercise of just such power (albeit against the Church) which offended the Oxford men. Newman's desire to show the *Via Media* to be no cloak for division and disunity under the fraudulent banner of a much lauded diversity but rather as a system 'one, intelligible, and consistent', would inevitably bring the Oxford men into conflict with imposed and 'external' reform; with the royal (i.e. Lord John Russell's) imposition of Hampden; and with a host of other causes.

The Tractarians were, of course, as much as all men, creatures of their age. Yet in them we see an attempt to think themselves into the situation of the Church in earlier ages, in order to apply that same mind of the Church to their own day. This is a dynamic, if overly historical, view of tradition. It was not quite so with Knox and Jebb, whose views echoed the particular demands and interests of their own social climate. Not for nothing did Keble prefer Knox's Tory politics to his theology.³²

It almost seems at times that for Knox and Jebb and their contemporaries even their beloved Apostolic Succession is merely their proof of

31. Quoted in J.C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland* (London, 1966), p.304.

32. Letter to Charles Ogilvie, 6 March, 1823: 'I think your friend Mr Knox sounder in his politics than in his divinity.' And he wonders 'now how Bishop Jebb should have held him up as a guide in delicate points'. Quoted by Nockles, 'Continuity and Change', pp. 377-78.

legitimacy rather in the terms of a patent of nobility than a spiritual commission - a cast of mind to be found among High Anglicans into our own day. Jebb and Knox, in common with the old High Churchmen from whom they differ only in degree, stand firmly in that tradition (which begins with Hooker and Bancroft) of justifying what they find in the Church. In the same way, but from the opposite tradition, puritan-minded Elizabethan bishops found themselves operating a system which they disliked, enforcing disciplines and customs of which they disapproved.

There is an *a priori* assumption on the part of Knox and Jebb that the Church of England, as she was interpreted by themselves, is the ideal of the Catholic Church, superior to any other manifestation of it. When Knox expresses his admiration for the Russian Church, he does so in terms of a fatherly interest, and hope that they might be perfected by contact with the English Church. Their view of the Church and of authority, like their love of the Establishment, was rooted in a veneration for the past; and also, perhaps especially in the case of Knox, in a taste for things antique. He could never have been said, with Keble, to hate 'instinctively ... heresy, insubordination, resistance to things established, claims of independence, disloyalty, innovation, a critical, censorious spirit'.³³ Jebb's was a more cautious approach and his episcopal office ensured for him a more lasting favour from the Oxford High Churchmen. For his part, he could not have said, with Knox,

As far as I know I am an eclectic. ... I am certainly more rational and sober than my old friend [Wesley] though much loving and liking him on many great accounts; and I am scarcely less philosophical (*pro meâ tenuitate*) than the Latitudinarians, as they were called. So that I seem to myself to enjoy a most pleasant liberty of mind, ranging without restraint

'apis marinæ
More modoque
Grata carpentis thyma'

33. Newman, *Apologia* (1897 edition), p. 290.

but still, keeping the light of scripture in my view, as the polar star of truth and safety.³⁴

Yet even for Jebb there is an avoidance of definition and an acceptance of his own views as normative in deeming what constitutes 'orthodox, unwavering Catholicity', 'a substantive religion. The faith of the Catholic Church'. This is an exalted role for his conscience; a role which he would have been unwilling to concede to the adherents of the Bible Societies. It is a theological method which also presumes considerable historical equipment, since we must, to inform our conscience, exercise historical judgement as curators of static truths, frozen and completed. For Jebb, we observe and we record, and indeed emulate. It is a 'retrospective unity with the Church of old', a

unity of spirit, a blessed unity of mind and head with the whole Catholic Church, not merely with existing communities of Christians, but with that countless multitude which has passed on before.³⁵

Tavard sees a dynamic in the eschatological thrust of their writings; and this is entirely consistent with their conviction that the existing Church of England is the perfect type of the Church Catholic, of which Church she is but the first fruits, and to which others will be led. Knox envisages the re-union as a summons supposing

a *terminus ad quem* as well as a *terminus a quo*. It supposes a Jerusalem to which these emigrants from Babylon betake themselves.

To the question, where is this 'Holy City at unity in itself, whither the tribes may go up?', he replies:

'the form, the spirit, and the singular history' of the Anglican Church show her to constitute this token of future Catholicity.³⁶

Jebb and Knox believed their Church, as they interpreted it, to be the prefiguration of the ultimate re-united Catholic Church. This also helped them to set aside those pronouncements of early Anglican divines or statements of faith and practice from the early Church which conflicted with their

34. Letter to George Schoales, 21 February, 1804, in *Remains*, vol. 4, p. 147.

35. Jebb, *Appendix*, quoted in Tavard, *The Quest for Catholicity*, p. 152.

36. Quoted *ibid.*, pp. 152-3.

own interpretation. Nockles is surely correct in seeing the old High Church tradition as believing itself to be both the fruit of the Reformation and at the same time drawing on the treasures of the early centuries, the Anglican formularies remaining normative. He cites, as an example of such a tradition, Lord Adare, writing in 1840 - a good three years before embracing full-blooded Tractarianism. The views are expressed in a letter to Sewell concerning Newman:

as far as I have read of our divines, and of the Nicene Fathers, I should say that Newman's views coincided more with the latter than the former, ... [that] in some of the later Tracts and writings of the Oxford Divines, there is a tone of deprecation of our liturgy, and there is a very general elevation of Nicene principles over Anglican, where they differ, which I should think many churchmen much dislike, as tending to set up one period of the church's history, as too much the pattern to be followed.³⁷

In their heyday Jebb and Knox would certainly seem to have strayed to the early centuries in preference to the later. Their veneration of the Fathers and their application of the method they selected out of S. Vincent of Lérins is not the only witness to this. Knox's *Remains* testify to a marked selectivity in dealing with the English Reformation writers. The *Treatise on the use and import of the Eucharistic Symbols* makes it plain that Knox saw Ridley as the father of an Anglican eucharistic theology more in harmony with the early Fathers than with the doctrines of Cranmer, of which he was critical. Clearly, in such an approach Knox does also manifest his eclectic temperament and easy self-confidence. Nonetheless, he had the full concurrence of his more conservative friend and pupil. In the *Treatise*, Jebb wrote in 1824, Knox had 'compressed more good sense and sound theology than are contained in any ten bulky volumes of former writers on the subject'.³⁸

37. 'Continuity and Change', pp. 387-8.

38. Quoted by Knox in a letter to Miss Ferguson, 30 September, 1824; in *Remains*, vol. 4, p. 409.

Knox was critical of the formularies as such. He openly acknowledged his preference for the Scottish Liturgy of 1637,³⁹ recognising that as much as was deemed practical and expedient to the troubled conditions of the times had been included in the 1662 Book, to its 'manifest enrichment'. When he asserted, against Waterland, that the eucharistic species are 'actual vehicles through which that blessing is conveyed', he declares his own doctrine to be 'as the old Church taught'. And we have evidence of this same attitude in William Palmer, one of Jebb's first ordinands and his protégé, who echoed his mentor when he declared in his *Treatise on the Church of Christ* (1838) that the Anglican Church is not in the slightest degree committed to the particular opinions of Archbishop Cranmer⁴⁰ - an attitude which is common to both the Irish Apostolics and the new Oxford men.

How then are we to assess Jebb and Knox, the Bishop and the Lay Theologian, in relation both to the older High Church tradition of their forefathers and contemporaries and to the new movement which was to be Tractarianism? Under any rule-of-thumb headings we find a difference which is one of degree but not of essence. In Jebb and Knox we discern an approach and a spirituality which is warmer and their opinions are held more definitely, and certainly with great assurance. They are less narrow than their predecessors. One would not accuse them of advocating or practising a 'cold, barren and lifeless system', to use Todd's description of much of the old High Churchmanship in Ireland.⁴¹

As for their rule of faith, it was far from *sola scriptura*. Their veneration of tradition was intellectual and temperamental and held to a degree, and in a form, unpalatable to many of their day. Yet, in their exercise of their

39. The work of Bishops Maxwell and Wedderburn. Maxwell was translated from Scotland to Killala in 1640. Jebb praises it in his Appendix (*Sermons on Subjects chiefly Practical*, p. 383). Knox's comments here are quoted from Bolton, *Caroline Tradition*, p. 119.

40. Quoted by Bolton, *ibid.*

41. Quoted in Nockles, 'Continuity and Change', p. 354.

rule, private judgement and a self-assured eclecticism coloured any attempted objectivity. Too many *a priori* assumptions were left unchallenged, not least their view of the essential corruption of truth in the Church of Rome. None the less, they were clear that the sacred texts, the Inspired Word of God in the Canonical Scriptures, were to be interpreted in the light of tradition, restricted though that tradition was to a closely defined past era. The reason applied was to be an educated reason, steeped in the Fathers and earlier formularies.

Their sacramental theology was dynamic and incarnational, emphasizing the divine initiative and insisting that the fruit of the sacraments was not only a sanctified life but the imputation of justification: the imparting of grace which flowered in a lively faith. Jebb believed the sacrament of Baptism to take 'the great work of salvation entirely out of the hands of men, and [place] it altogether in the hands of God'. The inward Baptism 'with the Holy Ghost, imparts a virtue altogether super human; a regeneration which is the power of God alone'. Knox declared that 'In the judgement of the Church (ancient and Anglican) everyone baptized in infancy commences life in a justified state'.⁴² Each of these pronouncements is firmly in the spirit of Archbishop Lawrence and Bishop Mant, who as the leading figures in the early nineteenth-century controversy on baptismal regeneration attracted the fury of the Low Churchmen. Baptismal orthodoxy was to remain the essential test of High Churchmanship for the Tractarians, to Gorham and beyond.

On the subject of the Holy Eucharist, I have already noted Knox's strong commitment to the real presence, and his assertion that the principle is found in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, although condemning the methodology of that doctrine as distorting the true meaning. He maintains that the elements are 'instruments of divine power', implying, as Bolton says, 'the presence of the Almighty agent'. The eucharistic presence is the parallel of the mystery of the Incarnation; and in the *Treatise* he writes:

42. Both statements quoted in Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

The same spirit of meek majesty, which veiled its transcendent brightness in the mystery of the Incarnation, as still continuing the like gracious condescension, in the mystery of the Eucharist⁴³

In their veneration of Episcopacy, their high interpretation of the Apostolic Succession as a guarantee of Catholic order, and their assertion of the identity of their Church with the Church of the past, they stand with Broderick and Magee in a tradition known in the Irish Church from the time of Bramhall and the Caroline divines. Here, as in their sacramentalism, the temper of their assertions won the attention of the early Oxford men. The fact that some forms of High Church reformation through episcopal initiative had been attempted in the early 1820s in Ireland witnesses to action in a tradition too often seen reposing only in words.

Of greater significance than is often noted is the concern they showed for external observances. Their building, restoring and beautifying of churches, chapels and cathedrals foreshadowed the enthusiasm of the Victorians. The interest which Jebb and Knox had shown in the chapel of the Female Orphan House, Kirwan House in Dublin, has been noted, as has Jebb's enrichment of Limerick Cathedral with altar-piece and furnishings. These, together with Archbishop Beresford's costly and munificent restoration of Armagh Cathedral at the hand of Lewis Nockalls Cottingham, complete with stone altar, anticipating many of the ideals of the Cambridge Camden Society, and Mant's patronage of the Architectural Society of his diocese, all manifest stirrings of the ritual revival which was soon to break upon the realm. The revival of cathedral music, the compilation of translations of ancient hymnody, charges on the importance of reverent and prepared reading and performance of the liturgy, reverence for antiquity, the observation of feast-days and fast-days: all served to bring life to a theological system which many had come to perceive as merely a badge of Toryism, seeking the preservation of privilege and ease.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find Rose and Palmer early participants in the Oxford Movement, for their mentors had laid the foundations; the ground was well prepared. Nor should their subsequent hesitation surprise us, for this is also characteristic of the inheritance they received from their Irish patrons. The power of Establishment in the mind of the Irish Anglican cannot be over-stressed. The older ethos clung to Palmer as it did to W.F. Hook and the younger Jebb, but they lacked the dynamic of Knox and the Bishop. The tradition had moved on.

The question, in the end, is one of authority. It was not to the sacramental theology of the Irish High Churchmen that a new generation would turn, glad though they were to find it so vigorously expressed. Nor was it even to the Apostolic Succession, although a name like Jebb's carried weight and respectability in the controversial use to which that doctrine would be put: the assertion of the intrinsic authority of the sacred establishment. And as Jebb and Knox had gone further, or pointed further, than many before, the Tractarians valued them the more. But it was the Tractarians who were to ask the unasked questions, to push to the unconcluded conclusions as their altered circumstances required of them; and it was in Oxford that the fullest development and the greatest departure would take place.

CHAPTER V : APOSTOLICALS IN OXFORD AND DUBLIN

Oxford, in 1832, meant the University, and by implication the Church of England. She stood for Toryism and Tradition in a kingdom rapidly changing in the face of economic and industrial development. Innocent of the manufacturing industry which now engulfs her, Oxford seemed old-fashioned and removed; but her causes were less certainly lost. The ultra conservatism of the University was explicit in the unseating of Robert Peel from his university constituency: punishment for supporting the Bill for Catholic Emancipation. The relief of Papists had little appeal to an institution so heavily clerical and so exclusively Anglican.

Oxford was not, however, utterly conformist, uniformly monochrome, or dull. Many interesting and provocative characters were to be found in her houses of learning, some holding extreme views. Perhaps, in every sense, the most colourful was Richard Whately of Oriel who, although a Fellow and therefore a Clerk in Holy Orders, wore a pea-green coat, white waistcoat, stone-coloured shorts, flesh-coloured silk stockings. His hair was powdered.¹ He led the most progressive group in the most progressive College in the University. Known as the 'Noetics', the group were questioning of authority and liberal in outlook. John Henry Newman arrived at Oxford a strict Evangelical, and it was Whately and his circle who were the first to influence him away from the narrowness of his position. Newman was, by his own admission, 'awkward and timid'² when, in 1822 Whately took him up and opened his mind, teaching him to think and use his reason: an acquirement which was to lead to their separation. Not only did Whately teach the young Newman to use his mind and think for himself, he taught him first to think 'of the existence of the Church as a substantive body or corporation independent of the

1. J.W. Burgon, *The Lives of Twelve Good Men*, 2 vols (London, 1888) vol. 1, p. 385.

2. *Apologia pro vita sua* (1897 edition), p. 11; subsequent quotations are taken from pp. 12-15 of the same edition.

State and endowed with rights, prerogatives and powers of its own'; those 'anti-Erastian views of Church polity, which were one of the most prominent features of the Tractarian movement'. The Evangelical began to move towards High Church views, although he had first to overthrow the temptation to 'disdain antiquity by preferring intellectual excellence to moral'. Keble was at hand as a High Churchman, a member of the Oriel common room under whose influence Newman increasingly fell. The Peel bye-election gave Newman full opportunity to express his profound sense that the Senior Burgess was betraying the University from motives 'dictated by liberalism'. That Peel had accepted as a pragmatist that the only immediate means to avert civil war in Ireland was Catholic Emancipation cut no ice with the high-principled idealist Newman, who was unprepared to swallow such medicine whatever the ailment. Early in 1829 the Convocation had adopted a petition against this surrender to Irish agitation, and Peel had felt it his duty to resign his seat and seek re-election. Within a week Newman had become a leader of the opposition to such re-election and he quickly learned his power as a leader, ironically in opposition to the Church in which he would die a Cardinal. The subsequent defeat of Peel and the election of Sir Robert Inglis committed the University not only to opposing Catholic Emancipation but placed her in the company of those who opposed parliamentary reform and Poor Law relief. 'We have achieved a glorious victory,' wrote Newman to his mother, 'It is the first public event I have been concerned in, and I thank God from my heart for my cause and its success. We have proved the independence of the Church and of Oxford.'³ This optimism was soon to be dispelled by the realization that only the first skirmish of a great war had been won. It established clearly, however, the principles on which the war would be waged: the Church was to be acknowledged as an independent spiritual

3. *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman*, ed. A. Mozley, 2 vols (London, 1891), vol. 1, p. 202. Henceforth cited as *Letters*.

authority distinct from the secular Establishment and by no means subservient to it.

Newman's activities naturally distanced him from his patron and superior Whately, and the distance was to develop into a breach. When, two years later, Whately was appointed Archbishop of Dublin, Newman still felt close enough however to expect that Whately would want him in Dublin and agonised over the wreck of his research on the Arians and the demands of the dank Irish climate: the summons never came. The eccentric Hiberno-Spanish convert priest, Blanco White, alone among the Oriel circle made the journey. His liberalism resulted in his ultimate abandonment of faith.

The appointment of Whately to Dublin drew guarded reactions from the High Churchmen of the University. Tom Mozley wrote 'I am sure I should never have guessed Whately for a bishopric anywhere, least of all in Ireland',⁴ doubtless thinking of his anti-Erastian, anti-Evangelical temper. There was uncertainty about Whately's commitment to the defence of the Church in the face of government reform. Newman, although at first dubious, had come with the bulk of the University to believe that the anonymous and never claimed *Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian* was the work of Whately; a work containing a high assertion of Apostolic Succession, a position which in maturity Whately certainly totally disavowed. Keble was most uncertain as to his stance. He wrote to Newman on hearing of the appointment:

I am quite astonished at what you tell me about Whately, and can only say I hope he and the Irish Church may be the better for it this day six months. It will be a step in that direction if they have made no truckling bargain with him to sacrifice the temporalities to a reformed Parliament, if such be their good pleasure.⁵

His words were prophetic for, as is now famous, it was an assault on Irish Church temporalities which was the recognized beginning of the movement.

4. T. Mozley, *Reminiscences chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement*, 2 vols (London, 1882), vol. 1, p. 267.

5. *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 247.

'No time was to be lost,' Newman was later to write, 'for the Whigs had come to do their worst and the rescue might come too late; Bishopricks were already in course of suppression; Church property was in course of confiscation; Sees would soon be receiving unsuitable occupants.'⁶

The protest was very much more than the cry of a handful of revenue-jealous High Churchmen against the interference of the secular arm. As Mozley wrote in his *Reminiscences*:

The suppression of Irish sees gave immediate prominence to the doctrine of the Apostolic succession, which it was said to set at nought. This of course could not be the aspect in which Apostolic succession is generally regarded, which is that certain gifts of the Spirit are, ordinarily, only communicated by officers appointed for that purpose by the Apostles, and successors occupying their place in the Church. The aspect now regarded was that insisted upon by some of the Non-juring Bishops, not by all. It was that each see, and each local succession, must be perpetual. The Roman Church, it is well known, makes a point of preserving every episcopal succession, even though the see has long since ceased to have any visible existence.⁷

If, as Keble said, the nation was 'a part of Christ's Church, and bound, in all her legislation and policy, by the fundamental rules of that Church',⁸ then the nation that denied this was in a state of apostasy and, whatever the consequences, such a direct disavowal of the sovereignty of God must be implacably resisted. Although Whigs could argue that a very large proportion of the people of Ireland were not members of the Established Church at all and cared not a fig for her belief, formularies, or claims to divine authority, the Tractarians were dismissive. This, they asserted, was an irrelevance. The legally established Church of the two kingdoms was so established by human authority, the King in Parliament, but it was by divine appointment by right of uninterrupted Apostolic succession that she was the Apostolical Church of

6. *Apologia*, pp. 43-44.

7. vol. 1, p. 309.

8. *National Apostasy considered. A Sermon preached before His Majesty's Judges of Assize on Sunday July 14th 1833*, ed. with an introduction by Alan Stephenson (Abington, 1983), p. 16.

Christ in England and Ireland alike. To deprive her of her worldly goods was seen as an act of sacrilege, not to be justified by any act of expediency.

The Oxford men sought practical ways to address the crisis. Newman wrote to Keble asking

Do you know enough of the ecclesiastical law to decide what the clergy of Waterford should do? If you can shew that they ought not to obey the Bishop of Cashel, ought we not to do our part in stirring them up, or in stirring up the bishops to consecrate a Bishop of Waterford?

A friend of mine is eager on this point, and has been writing to a clergyman in Ireland on the subject. Palmer, I hope, is preparing for Rose a digest of the Primitive Canons. I am anxious to see a paper in the Magazine from you on the subject of virtual excommunication, such as you gave us reason to look for. Really it would be of great use.

... As to your proposal about the Discipline question, unless it turns out to be very formidable, I should like to do it. I do not know Bishop Jebb's argument, but it seems so open to common sense that a Church must have a discipline (else might a figure exist without outline) that it seems as if our business was rather to accustom the *imagination* of men to the notion than to convince their reason.⁹

The first practical step towards realizing this elevation of the imagination of their fellow subjects to behold their lofty vision of Christian society was taken not by an Oxford but by a Cambridge man, Hugh James Rose. A conference was held in Rose's Rectory at Hadleigh, resulting in the *Tracts for the Times*.¹⁰ Newman was not inspired by the suggestion

I fear they did not get on very well at Hadleigh. Froude wants you to give your friend Arthur Perceval a bit of advice, which I think Froude himself partly requires. We shall lose all our influence when times are worse, if we are prematurely violent. I heartily wish things may keep quiet for a year or two, that we may ascertain our position, get up precedents, and know our duty. Palmer thinks both Froude and Perceval very deficient in learning, and therefore rash.¹¹

Keble, whilst dismissing Palmer's caution, was characteristically humble: 'I feel myself terribly unlearned; but with all deference to Palmer is it so

9. *Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 439-40.

10. Richard Chenevix Trench, Rose's assistant, later Archbishop of Dublin, was present at this conference: 'I was but a young curate and only *listened*'. See S.L. Ollard, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement* (London, 1932), p. 31 n.

11. *Letters*, vol. 1, p. 440.

much a matter of learning?'.¹² Newman was in later years to admit Palmer to have been 'the only really learned man among us',¹³ and Mozley wrote of him that

He came from Trinity College, Dublin, to pursue inquiries for which Oxford was a more congenial as well as convenient place... Mr Palmer brought out his '*Origines Liturgicæ*' ... in 1832, the year before the appearance of the 'Tracts for the Times' ... It was a great addition to our national literature. To most Oxford men it was like an incident of continental travel before railways - the sudden view of a vast plain full of picturesque objects and historical associations... After residing some years at Oxford ... Palmer left for a remote country living, and died, it may be said, in obscurity. Reward he wanted not, but he had not even recognition.¹⁴

Palmer, the only Irish contributor to the *Tracts*, was the most conservative man in the movement. Ordained by Bishop Jebb, he had followed Jebb's ordination course, and it may have been the bishop who awakened Palmer's liturgical and historical interests. He never sympathised with Newman's later Rome-ward swing and, together with his friend Rose, continued to stand as a firm representative of the High Churchmanship of the earlier generation. Whilst Keble, Froude and Newman proclaimed their dissatisfaction with the Church as they found her, Palmer and Rose were less critical. Rose, although not Irish, was a correspondent of Bishop Jebb; and it was to Jebb that Rose dedicated his *Christianity always Progressive* of 1830. In turn, Jebb commended the book in his own *Pastoral Instructions* of the following year.

The Hadleigh conference resulted in action upon two different lines. The conservatives Rose and Palmer wanted an association, and Palmer travelled the length and breadth of the kingdom untiringly gaining support. However, the Association, having presented its petition to the Archbishop of Canterbury, came to nothing. In the meantime, Newman's plans for tracts had been put into execution, and they caused an immediate sensation.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 442.

13. *Apologia*, p. 40.

14. *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, pp. 320-22.

The Tractarians spoke for churchmen of all schools from all parts of the land. Clergymen with no fixed or articulated doctrine of the Church, and perhaps ignorant of the conditions which called for reform of the Irish Church, were united in their fears for the future. These were probably the majority of the clergy. The Tractarians had a theory of ecclesiastical authority to impel them and even to blind them, consciously or not, to the Irish situation. Their strongest weapon and rallying-point was, however, the fearful uncertainty of the clergy, who found themselves clutching at the life-raft of apostolic authority.

The Tractarian method was to concentrate on a single article of the Christian faith - 'I believe in One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church' - and to unearth its forgotten meaning. Jebb and Knox had urged this twenty years before. The Tractarians began in a very limited way by emphasising the provocative doctrine of the 'Apostolic Succession'. It is hard for us to equate lawn sleeves and episcopal wigs with Polycarp of Smyrna, but surely no more so than the jewelled mitres and palatinate jurisdiction of earlier bishops. The Lords Spiritual of the reign of William IV may well have been bewildered by the suggestion that as successors of the Apostles they might welcome martyrdom or, as Newman wrote on the first page of Tract I, 'We could not wish them [the Bishops] a more blessed termination of their course than the spoiling of their goods and martyrdom'. True, there was little in the early nineteenth-century Church of England to suggest her identity with the Church of the New Testament. None the less, the holders of ecclesiastical - especially, perhaps, episcopal - office did suppose themselves to be the continuation in their own age of the few followers who first constituted the apostolic band, the fathers of the Church. The re-assertion of spiritual worth within the Established Church cheered many enormously. The Revd C. P. Golightly, as yet still a loyal disciple of Newman, wrote to him in August 1833:

I cannot but think that something may yet be done to rouse the Irish clergy. There are only 2,000 of them. I have had a letter from my Irish correspondent. 'If the clergy,' he says, 'will not make a decided stand, the Church is gone, both in England and Ireland. I fear the bishops

never will do so; and if not we can do nothing. Though there is a noble spirit in the Church of Ireland, yet it is not easy to bring a body of men to act in a way that might interfere with temporal interests. The step you mention would subject those engaged in it to a *Præmunire*; the whole body of bishops and clergy ought to brave it and then let the Government take their remedy.¹⁵

It was a vain hope. Though by November of the same year Keble could rejoice that 'the clergy of Dromore and Carlow are making a stand and calling on us for aid',¹⁶ the Irish Church manifested no high principles. Practicalities and necessities had overridden theories; in Ireland the tract movement had resulted in insufficient actual support.

The idea of a propaganda movement such as this was not novel in an age which thrived on pamphlets and to people who were still deeply influenced by religion. If the Tractarians chose an excellent medium, they fought over poor ground. Whilst one can affirm their assertion of the spiritual authority of the Apostolic Church, one cannot support their espousal of the Irish Establishment. What happened in Ireland was painful to Churchmen, but was inevitable. The Irish Church Temporalities Act was destined to pass onto the statute book sooner rather than later, as the subsequent history of Ireland makes abundantly clear to those of us who view with hindsight; it was abundantly clear to most contemporaries who could not so view it. Irish church rates were withdrawn, two Archbishops reduced, and a number of sees amalgamated - as sees had been united before. Superfluous ecclesiastical dignities were suppressed. It was a matter of necessity in the face of the failure of internal reform; and, as we have already noticed, in general the Bishops acquiesced.

Whately voted for the measure in the House of Lords and, for his honest action, incurred the lasting contempt of Newman, his former Oriel disciple. Newman wrote bitterly to him:

15. *Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 445-6.

16. Keble to Newman, 6 November, 1833; *ibid.*, p. 474.

I wish I could convey to your Grace the mixed and very painful feelings which the late history of the Irish Church has raised in me - the union of her members with men of heterodox views, and the extinction (without ecclesiastical sanction) of half of her candlesticks, the witnesses and guarantees of the truth and the trustees of the Covenant. I willingly own that, both in my secret judgement and my mode of speaking concerning you to my friends, I have had great alteration and changes of feeling. ... [They] rose against my utter aversion of the secular and unbelieving policy in which I consider the Irish Church to be implicated.¹⁷

The letter marked the end of what remained of Whately's friendship for Newman. If one deserted, however, others were rallying to Newman's cause. 'Gladstone is turning out a fine fellow. Harrison has made him confess that the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession is irresistible.'¹⁸

It was at this time that the same Benjamin Harrison wrote that Rose in his *British Magazine* wanted a review of Knox's *Remains* which had just appeared (1834). He added: 'Pusey read Knox very attentively I know'.¹⁹ Newman, in his review for the *British Magazine* gave both Knox and the *Remains* praise, but he had a reservation: he thought Knox too tolerant.

I suppose Knox is tempted to say what he says about schism from a wish *to see* what is good in everything. This he seems to be seeking in other cases: and it does not argue that he would, if interrogated, have defended what happens to have been overruled for good. Yet he is not to be excused altogether, certainly to judge from what I have read of his letters.

He is a remarkable instance of a man searching for and striking out the truth by himself. Could we see the scheme of things as the angels see it, I fancy we should find he has his place in the growth and restoration (so be it) of Church principles.²⁰

Surely it was ultimately tolerance, not the indefiniteness of Knox's principles which made him *persona non grata* with the Tractarians? Whilst welcoming so much of his thinking, not least from an Irish churchman, they were suspicious. Ireland and the Irish held a fascination for them, perhaps because it seemed faintly exotic; it was the spur into activity for the move-

17. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 70.

18. Newman to Froude, 18 November, 1834; *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 76.

19. Harrison to Newman, 3 September, 1835; *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 133.

20. Newman to Rickards, 9 February, 1835; *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 92-3.

ment; her problems were involved; she had a definite unpredictability. S.F. Wood, one of Newman's disciples, went on an expedition to investigate firsthand the conditions of Ireland. He reported back:

We landed at Cork and have since traversed the South-Western coast and the wilds of Connemara pretty completely. We are now returning home by way of Dublin. Thus the portion we have seen is almost exclusively Roman Catholic, and the Anglo-Irish Church throughout this district offers a very grievous spectacle to the mind and to the eyes. You see in many villages ruined churches unroofed and covered with ivy, and within a few yards of them R. C. chapels newly and neatly built; and in the towns, where there are Protestant congregations, we have heard nothing but *Peculiar* sermons, and found nothing but Bible Christians, co-operating with Dissenters and giving up everything but the name of Churchman for fear of Popery. What a miserable reflection it is, that there should be an Apostolical society composed of persons, whose conduct is such as to confirm (one might almost say to justify) the Romanists in their errors. ... Wherever there are Protestants they have their own schools, and reject the National Board aid and system; not, however, at all on Church, but on ultra-Protestant, principles.²¹

Such experiences, to our own day, increased the dislike and suspicion of English Tractarians towards the Irish Church. The Tractarians did, none the less, have supporters in Ireland who were willing to stand up for the maintenance of orthodoxy in the face of burgeoning Calvinistic Evangelicalism; and the greatest of these supporters was to be found, not surprisingly, in the sister University of Dublin.

It was Newman who made firm overtures to possible allies across the Irish Sea. He rightly identified James Henthorn Todd as the man most sympathetic and most able to contribute to the cause. A letter of Newman to Todd, written in March 1838, reveals the former's intentions.

My dear Mr Todd,

I have long been meditating a letter to you, first to thank you for a sermon which you sent me of yours - but chiefly for a more selfish reason - I believe that in the course of a few months I shall have the management of the *British critic*, and I am looking for writers - it struck me that you and Mr Crosthwaite would not be unwilling to assist if you liked our ways of going on; and then I thought that, if so, perchance the department of Romanism was the one which you would not object to

21. Wood to Newman, from Athlone, 29 August, 1836; *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 209-10.

engage in. But I am reckoning without my host in all this, and so I will rather go back to the previous question.

It is best in all these arrangements to be very candid, and I know that I can be so with you without being thought impertinent; and I will try to say what I mean as simply as I can. We wish of course that the Review should speak with one voice, and not write against itself in its separate articles - Now as far as I know, I do not think you would disapprove of anything we are likely to say. The point on which, judging at a distance, disapproval on your part was most likely, was the Revolution question, but from what I have read or heard you say, I think you are not bigoted to King William. We are as strongly opposed to the Romanists as an *existing system* in these countries, as you can be; though we do not like abusing them. I am not aware that you are especially attached to Luther either, as we are not. We do not praise Cranmer, or Jewell; but we keep silence; and I think ever should. We have perhaps very high views of the abstract power and position of the Church as a ruling body; but then considering it to be in captivity, we hold it a Christian duty to obey our Masters as the Jews obeyed Nebuchadnezzar. Is there any point, will you let me ask, on which there is likely to be any serious difference between us? And now pray pardon me if I have gone beyond the limits of candour.

Your friend Mr Sherlock is a very pleasing man indeed, and I have got a good deal of information from him. I wish there was any chance at present of availing myself of your kind proposal to visit you which would be a great treat: I do not like to give up the notion of doing so some time or other but I see no prospect at present. My engagements are so numerous. It is indeed a very tempting offer; but we are short of hands here as yet. Is there any chance of your passing through this place on your way to London? Always in Vacation time and sometimes in Term time too I could give you a bed.

I keep by me your valuable notes about the corruptions of the Fathers by the Romanists for future use. Some friends of mine are sceptical on the point i.e. that the Romanists have done more (which is enough in all conscience) than the Tract society does with Milner's works etc. etc. Would you think of a paper on this subject for the *British Critic*, reviewing Mr Gibbing's book? Could Mr Crosthwaite be tempted to take Palmer's new work on the Church as the subject of an article? I think if we disagree on any point, perhaps it is (you see I am doing my best to find some ground of quarrel) about the Church Establishment. Certainly some of us have gone lengths on this subject.²²

We should not be surprised by the air of conspiratorial intrigue and the enthusiasm of this letter. The movement needed action, and Newman had indeed 'gone lengths' by 1838. In Todd he had correctly identified a staunch ally with the deepest sympathy for and commitment to the cause for which the Tractarians fought.

22. Newman to Todd, 19 March, 1838; Todd MSS., T.C.D., MS. 2214, No. 65.

James Henthorn Todd was born in Dublin in 1805. Only a year after graduating from the University of Dublin at the age of nineteen, his father's death left him, as the eldest son, responsible for the support of fourteen brothers and sisters. He took pupils at Trinity College and edited the *Christian Examiner*, a somewhat controversial but none the less learned ecclesiastical journal. From the first he manifested a zeal for putting religious debate upon a firm basis of learning and the judging of controversial issues from the point of view of historical experience. By 1831 Todd was a Fellow of the College, and in Holy Orders. Hugh James Rose had encouraged him to contribute to the *British Magazine*, drawing him to the centre of theological controversy for the *Magazine* was ill-favoured in Ireland. 'I am aware,' wrote Rose to Todd, 'that the British Magazine bears a bad character in Ireland as being too high church for anybody but Dr Elrington, Mr Todd and one or two such. This was the account given by a great bookseller in Dublin to a friend of mine. Will not the same objection apply to anyone started by you? I fear very much that so many of your clergy are poor churchmen that they will not endure *sound doctrine*. Could you not get any hold over the Dublin University Magazine which must have some circulation and use it for your object?'²³

In the event Todd established his own *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* in 1842, whilst at the same time producing Articles and tracts for the *British Magazine* and the *British Critic*, and generally rallying to the Tractarian cause: quite a testimony to the reserves of his stamina and the range and depth of his scholarship. In 1837 he had helped to organise a petition to restore the suppressed sees, although he was in no doubt as to the calibre of the organisers - as opposed to the tract-writers for whom, although not uncritical of them, he had greater fellow feeling and respect. To the Bishop of Cork he wrote:

23. Rose to Todd, 24 March, 1836; *ibid.*, No. 19.

By the way, have you seen the Oxford Tracts for the times? On this point of connexion with the State they seem to go all the way with the old non-jurors, but they are men of learning and know what they are talking about. Traill and the people who are getting up this agitation are a set of ignorant self-sufficient - you may finish the sentence yourself - I have not the patience.²⁴

Todd's comments to Bishop Kyle contrast with the more measured tone of his assessment of the Oxford men when writing in the previous year of the departure of Hugh James Rose from the *British Magazine* as a 'sad loss'. There 'are not many now so sound'.²⁵ At that time (he tells Bishop Kyle) he feared that the Oxford men were forever 'smelling low churchism, even where it does not exist'. Rose, 'sound' though he seemed to Todd, had been cool towards the Irish Church; Newman was more so, his questioning and doubts going hand-in-hand with his growing disillusionment with Anglicanism, his doubt as to whether the *Via Media* had ever been (indeed could ever be) lived out. Newman, when rejecting Traill's scheme, had written: 'I cannot trust the present body of the Irish Church and would rather trust liberals as I would trust bishops'.²⁶

Todd remained loyal to Newman and his circle, and did what he could to advance their views and take their part. Perhaps his least well judged action was in 1836. The Tractarians having bitterly attacked Hampden, whom Lord Melbourne had proposed for the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford, on the grounds of his rationalism, Newman issued a pompous work entitled *Elucidations of Hampden's Theological Statements*. This gave rise to a witty riposte from Dr Dickinson, Archbishop Whately's chaplain, in the form of an anonymous *Pastoral Epistle from His Holiness the Pope to some Members of the University of Oxford*. At just this time Whately himself was promoting the national system of education, to the horror of the Tractarians who saw it as favourable to Roman Catholics. Todd, seeing his chance for

24. Todd to S. Kyle, March, 1838; *ibid.*, No. 64.

25. Todd to Kyle, 11 August, 1837; *ibid.*, No. 55.

26. Newman, letter of 20 July, 1838; quoted in Nockles, 'Continuity and Change', p. 393.

revenge against the Whately party, entered the fray with an anonymous *Sanc-tissimi Domini Nostri Gregorii Papæ XVI Epistola ad Archiepiscopos et Episcopos Hiberniæ*, translated from the original Latin. To compound his error, Todd sent a copy of the supposed Papal letter to the Revd Robert James McGhee, Chaplain of the Harold's Cross Chapel-of-Ease in Dublin, a raging Evangelical of whom Bowen writes 'his bombastic and sometimes hysterical attacks on the Church of Rome' had wide influence.²⁷ The 'Papal' letter commended the education policy of the Board of Commissions and their National School system, and purported to urge the Roman Hierarchy to support the appointment of men 'who are zealous advocates for unbounded licence of opinions and words' to the Established Church, thereby speedily effecting 'the destruction of the Anglican sect'.²⁸ It caused a sensation. McGhee took it off to the Protestant Preachers of Exeter Hall, taking it as genuine, and Lord John Russell gave it publicity.²⁹ Todd was forced to emerge from his anonymity. The Evangelicals, enraged by their own gullibility, used distinctly un-Evangelical language about him, the Editor of the *Christian Observer*, Mr Wilkes, being particularly vehement. Rose wrote generously to Todd:

I am exceedingly glad to find that you are about to give a 2nd E^{dn} of your pamphlet and I do most particularly beg you *not* to be sparing to Mr Wilkes. I can assure you that I do not speak as a rival ed^{tr} but on all occasions that I have seen anything of the *Xⁿ Observer*, I have found T.C.W. a dirty, shuffling, mean person, who w^d say anything to your face and another behind your back.³⁰

Undeterred, Todd did indeed publish, and included a curt letter from T.C. Wilkes with it. The primate, Lord John George Beresford, on seeing the second edition with its signed preface and an explanation maintaining his basi-

27. *Protestant Crusade*, p. 113.

28. J. McHugh, *Real Character of the Rev. Robert McGhee ... with Remarks upon the Todd-McGhee Forgery* (Dublin, 1836), quoted by Bowen, *ibid.*, p. 115.

29. G.O. Simms, 'James Henthorn Todd', *Hermathena*, cix (1969), p. 9.

30. Rose to Todd, 27 September, 1836; Todd MSS., T.C.D., MS. 2214, No. 38.

cally honourable intention, decided that Todd had written 'with good taste and judgement', and assured him that it was enough to 'vindicate your character'.³¹ Bishop Kyle of Cork wrote to Todd confident that he would continue to oppose Whately's schemes:

Do you ever hear from the Bishop of Exeter? He has not written to me since I returned. He is stout on the Irish Education point - *entre nous* I am not so sure of him as I once was on the Irish Church question. We must keep him up - Of anyone who failed or quailed in 1829 I cannot but have a lurking doubt.³²

Later Todd conveyed to the Bishop of Cork the news of Rose's impending death, and lamented the certainty of the passing of one 'so sound and sober and withal so uncompromising' among a party who, although sound, were 'always smelling low Churchism', a party he judged to be 'too theoretical', but nevertheless 'almost our only hope'.³³

With the death of Rose Newman became the undoubted master of the movement, and the friendship between him and Todd developed hand in hand with his increasing influence. Todd would seem the obvious lieutenant in Ireland, the more so in view of his Donnellan lectures of 1838 and 1839 attacking the then current view of the Irish clergy, that the Pope was Antichrist. 'Bold and seasonable', was Newman's supportive comment amidst the furore;³⁴ and Todd was equally loyal when, in the February of 1841, Newman published his sensational Tract 90. Todd wrote enthusiastically to him:

I wrote you a note a couple of days ago to introduce you to a very promising young clergyman, Mr Lloyd, who has been ordered to relax a little for the benefit of his health, and intends to spend a few days in Oxford. I did not know anything of the wonderful attack made upon you about Tract No. 90, nor had anything of what has occurred reached my ears or eyes, for I am out of the way of seeing newspapers and have scarcely anybody here to speak to on such matters. However

31. G.O. Simms, *art.cit.*, p. 9.

32. Kyle to Todd, 31 October, 1836; Todd MSS., T.C.D., MS. 2214, No. 42.

33. Todd to Kyle, 11 August, 1837; *ibid*, No. 55.

34. Newman to J.W. Bowden, 5 January, 1840; in *Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and others, 1839-1845*, ed. at the Birmingham Oratory (London, 1917), p. 49.

I was this day sent from Oxford a copy of the resolution of the Vice Chancellor and Heads of Houses of the 15th inst., and by the same post a copy of your letter to Dr Jelf. I cannot say how much I sympathise with you although I trust that is unnecessary - nothing can be more true than what you say, that men's minds seem drawing towards a higher standard of Christian feeling than could satisfy the last generation: and that this seems going on quite independently of individuals to promote it. Better views seem springing up in different places without any connection with others who held them before, as if the hearts of men were stirred by some superior power, and a yearning created for Catholic truth, even before it is known what Catholic truth in practice is.

I trust and pray you may be guided in this crisis, and that the result may be for His glory and the permanent good of this unhappy and divided Church, for I am more and more convinced that (humanly speaking) our only safety against the two streams of Popery and Puritanism is a return to what you truly say is our native spirit. If the enemies of the Truth should succeed now in extracting from the Prelates or Universities any very strong condemnation of Church principles, the consequences may be very formidable.

One of my reasons for troubling you with these lines is to tell you that the four gentlemen who have raised this storm seem to be making every exertion to effect their object. I have just heard that they have sent their protest, together with a copy of your tract, to our Primate - and I presume they have done the same to the other bishops. I do not know whether you would think it right to send copies of your letter to Dr Jelf to the Bishops in the same way. The Primate I have no doubt favours you in his heart, although he is very cautious about committing himself, and there is a large body of sound clergy in the diocese of Armagh. The Bishop of Elphin is also, I think, disposed to favour Church principles; and his son who has a great deal of influence over him. The Bishop of Cork is also very much in our favour, but he is timid, and greatly alarmed lest some people should go too far. He is also tremblingly afraid of the so-called Evangelical party, and labours to keep them quiet. The Bishop of Kildare is sound but cautious, and the rest I need not speak of. You know the Bishop of Down yourself. How far it would be wise to appeal to the Bishops even so far as by sending them your letter, may admit of discussion, and I can hardly venture to advise you, but there can be no harm in sending a copy to the Primate, as I know he has been appealed to by your opponents.³⁵

The Evangelicals, ignoring their own equivocal position with regard to the Book of Common Prayer and the Articles, raised the hue and cry. Newman asked 'how had I done worse', and laid bare the inconsistencies of Evangelicals and liberals alike when he challenged them to explain away the plain words of the absolution from the Visitation of the Sick in a manner 'consistent with their sentiments, which shall be less forced than the most objectionable

35. Todd to Newman, 18 March, 1841; *ibid.*, p. 91.

of the interpretations which Tract 90 puts upon any passage of the Articles'.³⁶ In March 1841 a debate took place in the House of Commons about Maynooth College, in which Lord Morpeth made a savage attack on Oxford, calling for a debate on that institution rather than the Irish seminary. Sir Robert Inglis disclaimed all responsibility, on behalf of the University, for the *Tracts for the Times* and O'Connell said that the Puseyites were breaking their oaths.³⁷

Todd betook himself to Oxford on the pretext of collecting manuscripts and felt keenly, as Palmer had found before him, the very much greater breadth of the senior sister. There were, in 1841, many in Oxford who approved of the Puseyites as they were increasingly known, whereas in Dublin Todd found himself more and more isolated, mistrusted, and misunderstood. In 1837 Todd had been nominated to the dignity of Treasurer of S. Patrick's Cathedral, although not having already held a prebendal stall. The Dean had nominated him, but so strong was the antipathy of the other members of the capitular body that he was excluded and the Lord Lieutenant withheld his signature from the deed of appointment, suspending the appointment indefinitely.³⁸ It was only Todd's determination and the threat of a lawsuit which made the authorities give way some eleven years later, and Todd was at last installed as Treasurer in 1848. He was later promoted to the Precentorship;³⁹ but the Deanery, which he might have been expected to receive, was never to be his. Librarian of Trinity from 1834 until his death, he transformed the library, taking fuller advantage of her copyright privileges, and he re-catalogued the collection. He ransacked the auction rooms of Europe in search of

36. *Apologia*, pp. 87-88 and notes. This very absolution was to be excised from the Irish Prayer Book upon disestablishment.

37. R.W. Church to F. Rogers, 14 March, 1841; in *Letters*, vol. 2, pp. 327-8.

38. The appointment to the dignity was suspended by an Order in Council of 9 July, 1837; this suspension was removed on 26 June, 1848. H.G. Lawlor, *The Fasti of St. Patrick's, Dublin* (Dundalk, 1930), p. 73.

39. In August, 1864: *ibid.*, p. 59.

Irish manuscripts, and secured for the collection the *Book of Dimma*. He was the founder of the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society. He served his College as Junior Dean, Senior Dean, Registrar, Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Senior Fellow. He was President of the Royal Irish Academy. Archdeacon Cotton styled him 'the *sine qua non* of every literary enterprise in Dublin'.⁴⁰ He had every qualification for preferment had he not suffered from the impediment of Oxford sympathies. Anglo-Catholicism was his Achilles' heel. It was Todd's repeated refusal to deny his support for Newman and the Oxford men and to compromise his principles which gave rise to such disappointments. He remained openly committed to the ideals of the movement and loyal to its leaders in the face not only of suspicion and criticism at home but also of the inept conduct of some of the principal actors. The actions and behaviour of some of the Oxford men did much to try his loyalty and further to undermine his support in Ireland.

Pusey in particular caused Todd much anxiety. The Pusey family spent the summer of 1841 in Ireland, staying in a cottage in Sandycove. Pusey was of course particularly anxious to meet Todd, whom Liddon describes in his *Life of Pusey* as 'one of the leading Churchmen in Ireland'.⁴¹ Pusey was not seeking a pleasant seaside holiday. He was certainly more anxious than many of the Oxford men to foster closer relations with Ireland and 'establish a connection with them'.⁴² His attitude was such as to make Todd fearful that he might cause considerable upset. The Archbishop of Dublin inhibited his former Oxford colleague from preaching except 'upon any sudden emergency', on the grounds that the Heads of Houses had doubted his orthodoxy; and consented to his officiating only if he did not 'introduce novelties'.⁴³ Pusey

40. Supplement to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, 24 July, 1876, p. 224; in Todd MSS, T.C.D., N^o 2214/227a/37.

41. H.P. Liddon, *Life of E.B. Pusey*, 4 vols (London, 1893-95), vol. 2, p. 243.

42. Nockles, 'Continuity and Change', p. 394.

43. Liddon, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 245 and note on p. 244.

was anxious to gain information on the practice of the religious communities of the Roman Church in Ireland. He was convinced of the value of restoring the religious life in the Anglican Church, and had but one month previously admitted Miss Marion Rebecca Hughes to her religious vows. His expedition had the further sanction of Newman:

Everyone goes to see the sights in Dublin. I don't see any harm in your going with Lucy to see the taking the veil. Of course anything you do will be talked of, anyhow.⁴⁴

The following month, September, Mozley wrote to his sister saying:

Pusey is back from Ireland. I accompanied him to his house from the Cathedral this morning and had a long talk. ... The Dublin [priests] were courteous and civil, but with nothing remarkable about them mentally. ... He saw Dr Murray who admitted - the only one who did - some faults in their religious books. ... He was interested, however, with some convents into which he went.⁴⁵

Another, more detailed, account relates that

Among them at one time was Dr Pusey. ... He expressed a wish to witness the ceremony of a religious profession, and Mrs Aikenhead ... willingly made an exception in his favour, and invited him to a profession in Stanhope-street, on which occasion his respectful demeanour and recollected manner much struck those who observed him.⁴⁶

It was not, however, his reverence which struck the press. The evening papers ran headlines on the event, and Pusey was vilified by Irish Churchmen, and Todd was understandable discomfited. He wrote to Elrington in August:

I am afraid Pusey has done mischief by going to nunneries in Dublin; or rather by letting it be known that he went there. ... They may reckon upon the whole of the low Church party, and a considerable portion of what has hitherto passed for the high Church in our church joining them in the cry.⁴⁷

and again in September:

44. M. Trench, *The Story of Dr Pusey's Life* (London, 1900), p. 184.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

46. *The Life of Mrs Mary Aikenhead, by a Member of her Congregation* (Dublin, 1879), p. 257.

47. Letter 'begun Feast of S. Bartholomew, finished 26th'; Todd MSS, T.C.D., Ms. 2214, No. 121.

Pusey's nunnery doings are certainly very provoking - the more so because I cautioned him expressly on the subject before I left Dublin. I told him that they would certainly get up a scene and then blazon him in the newspapers: a prophecy that has literally been accomplished. But the worst of all is that we shall have to suffer for his doings. *Delirant reges - plectuntur Achivi.*⁴⁸

Lord Adare suggested that Pusey had been misunderstood, and that he had sought, in going to the profession, to dissuade a convert from proceeding - an explanation which smacks of wisdom following events. Whatever his motives, Pusey's actions constituted a great embarrassment and a frustration of Todd's strenuous labours to advance his dearest and most lasting work, the foundation of S. Columba's College, developing the initiative of Lord Adare and William Monsell at Ventry.

Lord Adare sought help towards the foundation of such a college from William Sewell, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. An early disciple of Newman's, he was zealous for the rights and dignity of the Established Church. He visited Ireland in 1840 at the invitation of Adare, and identified the need for a school on English lines, imbued with Church principles, where the Irish language would be taught and a proper pride in Ireland fostered. The young men thus instructed might be encouraged to take Holy Orders and be the better equipped to carry the teachings of the National Catholic Church to those in both Roman and Dissenting error, and to recall from laxity those who had fallen into that vice. Together with Todd, Aubrey de Vere, and William Monsell (later Lord Emly), plans were drawn up and subscriptions sought. Three of the founders, De Vere, Emly and Adare, later seceded to Rome.

Todd, with his High Church principles, his veneration for antiquity, his respect for education, and his natural espousal of the cause of the Irish language and things Irish, fitted naturally as a driving force in the project. If Sewell was an essential player in the foundation of the College, Todd was to take over as its advancer and guardian. The College, as envisaged under Sewell and explained to the Primate, was to convert Irishmen to the Church and provide a refuge for converts from Romanism. Beresford, who favoured

48. Todd to Elrington. 6 September, 1841; *ibid.*, No. 122.

Todd, endorsed the scheme. Donations were received from, amongst others, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Queen Adelaide, Dr Routh of Magdalen and the Primate himself. Some considerable correspondence passed between Todd and Sewell before Pusey's subscription was accepted. The very association with Oxford made the project unacceptable to many Irish Churchmen, and Sewell's attack on Tract 90, his letter to Pusey and withdrawal from the inner ranks of the movement may well have saved the project. Nockles certainly believes that the gesture cannot be underrated and that it was recognized as a distancing by the Oxford men themselves.⁴⁹ Todd remained true.

The College was installed in a temporary home, Lord Boyne's house, Stackallan near Navan, and opened on 26 April, 1843. Sewell gave an address, Todd officiated, using the Litany and prayers from the Baptismal Office, ending with the Grace in Irish. Sir William Rowan Hamilton came bearing the *Mioseach* of S. Columba.⁵⁰ Dr Maturin had been chosen as Warden, but did not take up office; and a Mr Singleton was appointed in his place. For years the College was branded as a jesuitical seminary, an accusation which the departure of some of her founders to the Church of Rome can have done little to dispel. Todd's continued championing of the cause saw her through the difficult years of financial worries and the withdrawal of archiepiscopal support in the Jerusalem Bishopric dispute through to her permanent home at Rathfarnham, as the premier Irish public school. The College's historian writes of Todd:

From December 1840, when he joined the Founders, he had a unique place among them as the only one regularly resident at the centre of things in Dublin, and he was from 1841 to 1853 the main channel of communication with Beresford, who trusted him. ... When Beresford withdrew his support at the end of 1853, there can be little doubt that only Todd's courage saved the College from despair and dissolution ... possibly without Sewell the energies of the Founders would never have been canalized into the creation of a public school, but for the fact that

49. 'Continuity and Change', p. 403.

50. A manuscript bought by Adare which Petrie the antiquarian identified as 'a genuine relic of your S. Columba'. Quoted in G.K. White, *A History of St. Columba's College, 1843-1974* (Dublin, 1980), p. 28.

S. Columba's survived till 1869 we owe gratitude to nobody to the same degree as we owe it to James Henthorn Todd.⁵¹

Todd relinquished his editorship of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* to Crosthwaite, leaving himself free to advance his studies and his legendary work as Librarian. He published, jointly with William Reeves, his edition of the *Martyrology of Donegal* in 1864; and his work on Irish manuscripts in general was extensive. It confirmed his views on the nature of the Catholic Church. 'Did you ever hear,' he wrote to F.B. Woodward from Rome,

of the ancient Irish manuscripts formerly in the Ambrosian Library but removed by Cardinal Neri to Rome and afterwards given on his application to Dr McHale, who instead of publishing (as he intended) suppressed them on finding that they represent the ancient religion of Ireland as *Puseyism* not Romanism?⁵²

The storm clouds did not retreat from the sky over the Church of Ireland, however. Todd's determination to harness the dynamic ideas of the Oxford Movement and imbue the Church of Ireland with a deepened recognition of her identity with the Celtic and pre-Reformation Church met with little success. The old High Churchmen were infatuated with Establishment and suspicious of Romanism, fearful of the Evangelicals, uncertain of the end towards which the Oxford men were pushing. The Irish Church Temporalities Act may have provided the spur to the Oxford men to rally to the cause of ecclesiastical independence; but the Irish Church was soon forgotten, and indeed increasingly mistrusted. Pusey confessed that he no longer thought

that we can call the Romanists altogether schismatics in Ireland. I think Palmer etc. use the argument too drily. Before we can call them schismatics, we must have something more than the succession. We have no right to condemn them for not recognising us, as the Church of St Patrick, when we are so little like it.⁵³

When, in 1844, Crosthwaite was appointed to a London living and resigned the editorship of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, Todd ensured the appoint-

51. *Ibid.* pp. 87-88.

52. Letter of 9 February, 1846; Todd MSS, N.L.I., MS. 2252.

53. E.B. Pusey to J.C. Crosthwaite, 1 October 1841, quoted in Nockles, 'Continuity and Change', p. 408.



ment of Lee, later Archdeacon of Dublin, a man of his own views and sympathetic to the Oxford line.

New troubles now arose to beset the Irish Church. The spectre of disestablishment was ever more apparent. Todd wrote from London in the Spring of 1844 to Dr Elrington:

I had an interview with Gladstone on Saturday which, I am sorry to say, was highly unsatisfactory as regards the feeling of the High Church party here towards the Church in Ireland. I cannot pretend to give you an account of all that he said, but the sum and substance of it was this - that the Irish Church was an anomaly, supported by the power of the state, against the will of the great majority of the Irish people, and even without any very decided feeling in its favour on the part of its own members - that the Irish clergy had failed to make any impression on the Romanism around them and had cast off all distinctive marks of the Church, and amalgamated with the dissenters - that the power of the State to support the Church in Ireland was every year becoming less and that churchmen in England were every year becoming less inclined to make any effort or sacrifice for its support - they are beginning to feel that the Irish clergy had been for a long time casting off all the distinctive marks of a Church and had openly advocated such doctrines representing the sacraments, and essentially baptism, as were essentially heretical and that in short the Irish Church seemed hardly worth preserving.

He disclaimed these sentiments himself and said that he would always feel it was his duty to support the Irish Church as far as he could, but he said that this was by no means the feeling of the great mass of English churchmen. ...

He is very anxious to get information about the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. He has the idea that the Bishops who are members of the Commission are awful robbers (and I fear he is not far out) and was disposed to resist on that account the measure which I mentioned as one of the remedies viz. to have every Bishop a member.

On the whole the prospect before us seems gloomy in the extreme - Gladstone is the type of man whom we ought naturally to look to for support and yet he almost seems to give us up as hopeless. I gave him my mind on the infatuation of English Churchmen throwing Ireland overboard under the notion that they were themselves safe - and I asked him how he could expect our clergy to assume a better tone when our bishops are such as they are - or what hope could there be for Church principles in Ireland, when you were almost markedly passed over and men made bishops who had spent their lives in opposition to episcopal authority and whose boast it was that they had stood on the same platform with dissenters. He seemed rather struck with this, and asked me a great many questions about various bishops. He said that he never read anything more weak and puerile than the Bishop of Cashel's charge.⁵⁴

54. Todd to Elrington, Easter Monday, 1844; Todd MSS., T.C.D., MS. 2214, No. 142.

We should note that this letter was written but five years after the publication of Gladstone's *The State in its Relations with the Church* which had prompted Macaulay to describe the author as 'the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories'.⁵⁵ The tide was indeed turned and advancing upon the Irish Church. She could hope for no aid from the English High Churchmen. Members of the older school such as W.F. Hook and the younger Jebb would still rally to her cause, but even many of that school thought her sacrifice inevitable. To the more advanced and radical she was hopelessly compromised and fatally flawed - as, arguably, she has remained over the subsequent century and a half: for the most part unknown; and, if known, suspect, neglected or forgotten.

55. G.W.E. Russell, *The Rt. Hon. William Ewart Gladstone* (London, 1891), p. 59.

CHAPTER VI : DISESTABLISHMENT AND DEFEAT

In 1814 Jebb had written to Knox

I have good hope, that, even now, some beneficial effect has been produced, among those who wish well to our hierarchical establishment. ... And perhaps too, a little of persecution ... may be providentially permitted, to train up men with an attachment towards the church, as a hierarchy; as distinct from the State; and as dignified only by its intrinsic excellence, by its venerable antiquity, and by its apostolic institution.¹

Later, in 1819, he wrote to Archbishop Broderick on reading Hawkins's² *Dissertation on Tradition*:

A seriously practical school, with Church of England principles, and with a spirit altogether uncontroversial, is getting up at Oxford. ... One cannot but indulge the hope that Providence has in store for us, at no distant date, the revival, or perhaps more properly, the creation of a more intelligently pious Christianity than the world has yet witnessed.³

Both remarks, from the Indian summer before ill-judged High Church crusades against popery, rampant Evangelicalism and increasing government intervention, seem prophetic. Particularly significant is the suggestion that a return to primitive standards and methods might flower in ways not yet witnessed in the life of the Anglican Church.

These reflections are not far removed from those of Newman, two decades later, writing in his *Lectures on the Prophetical Office of the Church*

it still remains to be tried whether what is called Anglicanism, the religion of Andrews [*sic*], Laud, Hammond, Butler and Wilson, is capable of being professed, acted on, and maintained on a large sphere of action and through a sufficient period, or whether it be a mere modification either of Romanism or of popular Protestantism, according as we view it.⁴

1. *Thirty years correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 199.

2. Edward Hawkins (1789-1882), Fellow and later Provost of Oriel. He delivered the dissertation in sermon form in 1818. It profoundly influenced Newman; see *Apologia*, p. 9.

3. Jebb to Broderick, 29 May, 1819; Broderick MSS, N.L.I., MS 8866.

4. (London, 1837), p. 21.

Dissatisfaction with the Church is part of the common ground between Knox and Jebb on the one hand and Todd and the Oxford 'Apostles' on the other. Although increasingly dependent upon it, Knox and Jebb did not admire the Establishment for its corruptions, rather the reverse, for its possible power to uphold truth. Similarly Todd and Newman bewailed the deficiencies of the Establishment a generation later. They prayed that the Church would become more deeply aware of apostolic origin and truth, and looked to the Bishops as the instruments of that work. When the Bishops failed to live up to these hopes, Newman seceded; but the Anglo-Catholic movement survived him and continued to assert the claims of Catholicity, unquestionably bringing about a profound change in the Church's life and practice.

It is sometimes implied that it was Romanizing Tractarianism which compromised the tradition and spelt its failure in Ireland. We should acknowledge that it was precisely that radical Tractarian High Churchmanship which succeeded in capturing and enlivening more of the Church of England than had ever been touched before by the older school. It came close to providing a faith capable of 'being professed, acted upon, and maintained on a large sphere of action' than anything done by Laud or Andrewes, Butler or Wilson, or indeed by Bramhall or Jebb or Knox. It could be said of the entire movement as has been said of Newman, that 'He was giving orthodoxy the notoriety and excitement of revolution and heresy, and thereby multiplying his followers'.⁵ Those who lament the eclipse of the older school must acknowledge the increasing impotence of a tradition which had never succeeded in holding the clergy, let alone capturing the popular mind.

The promotion of High Churchmanship in Ireland had been frustrated by Establishment, by unworthy and unsympathetic appointments, and by the conditions in which the Church was set. Yet the tradition itself was not compelling; and in troubled times the dependence of the old High Churchmen upon the Establishment for the survival of their influence became greater and

5. Sheridan Gilley, *Newman and his Age* (London, 1990), p. 165.

greater. With the disappearance of the Confessional State, religion in general, and the High Church tradition as part of it, would have to survive without the external bolster of privilege and legal status. The numerical weakness of the High Churchmen was exposed with the removal of such safeguards at Disestablishment; and the Low Churchmen and Evangelicals came fully to prominence and power. For there can be no question that their victory coincided with disestablishment and disendowment. 'The Church of Ireland, as a Reformed and Protestant Church', begins the third paragraph of article one of the *Preamble and Declaration* adopted, from the first, by the General Convention of the Church of Ireland in 1870.⁶ They are words the careful use and obvious import of which would have sounded disagreeably in the ears of Knox and Jebb. Todd was spared hearing them by his death a few months before. The battle for the soul of the Church of Ireland was joined. It cannot but be providential that the Low Church mob, sometimes aided by the Broad Churchmen, stopped short of the total disavowal of all Catholic principle and the raising up of an inflexible Bible Calvinism, the simplicity of which commended itself to the lay mind.

The battle, led by Archbishop Trench of Dublin and Bishop Alexander of Derry, was first fought in the Lords. Neither man was untouched by direct contact with the Oxford school. Of Trench Todd had written to his nephew in 1863:

Our new Archbishop of Dublin is likely to be a success. He is high Church, which will be a great change - I already see symptoms of a turning tide among the clergy of Dublin and I have little doubt that in a year or two they will all come over the high church views. The new Archbishop paid Dublin a visit last week. He called upon me the first thing he did and has appointed Dr Lee his examining chaplain, so that our star is in the ascendant.⁷

In fact, Trench was deeply unhappy in a Dublin on whose walls were chalked 'Puseyite Trench' in accusation against him. Irish born, he had been educated

6. *The Constitution of the Church of Ireland*, ed. E.C. Micks (Dublin, 1960), p. 4.

7. Letter of 25 November, 1863; Todd MSS., T.C.D., MS. 2214, No. 166.

in England, at Trinity College, Cambridge. He had been Hugh James Rose's curate at Hadleigh and, as noted earlier, was present at the conference there. He left the Deanery of Westminster for the Archbishopric of Dublin and Primacy of Ireland.⁸ Because of his High Churchmanship he found himself out of sympathy with the Irish Church. As a friend of Canon Liddon and Dr Pusey, and a protégé of Bishop Wilberforce, he was suspect from the first. Todd's heroically optimistic expectation of a High Church renaissance was not fulfilled.

The strained relations between the Archbishop and the Evangelicals gave much cause for concern to another Irish High Churchman, William Connor Magee who, having as Dean of Cork held out against the worst excesses of his Low Church Bishop, John Gregg, had been advanced by Disraeli to the English episcopate - perhaps with the thought that his brilliance in oratory would be harnessed in the coming disestablishment debate should Gladstone win the day. Magee's analysis of the situation in Dublin was brutally honest:

I am sincerely sorry to hear ... of Archbishop Trench and the Evangelicals. Trench is our last hope for the Irish Church. If he seriously estranges himself from the Evangelicals before he can reform and elevate them, we shall have to encounter a fierce Puritanical reaction making the Irish clergy, if possible, more Calvinistic and Low Church than they are now, and utterly alienating the Irish Ultra-protestant laity.⁹

The Evangelicals knew their strength. In 1866 the Revd W.G.C. Carroll, of S. Bride's, Dublin, introduced a choral service. He was hissed. The mob cried 'No popery', and 'Go to Rome'; and eventually the police had to clear his church and escort him home.¹⁰ Just how committed Carroll, the 'irrepressible controversialist' as McDowell describes him, was to Tractarian principles is doubtful, as it had only been in the Spring of that same year that

8. The Archbishop of Armagh is Primate of *all* Ireland, though often loosely referred to as *the* Primate.

9. Quoted in John Bromley, *The Man of Ten Talents: a Portrait of Richard Chenevix Trench, 1807-1886* (London, 1959), p. 169.

10. McDowell, *Church of Ireland*, p. 59.

the Archbishop had ordered him to desist from that most objectionable of Low Church practices, evening celebrations of the Holy Communion. Nonetheless, the Protestants were quick to spot any shift of ground in a Tractarian direction.

The Protestant mob were on firmly Tractarian territory when they concerned themselves with S. Bartholomew's, Clyde Road, Ballsbridge and with All Saints in Grangegorman. S. Bartholomew's was, in the words of its first vicar, 'A church where the old-fashioned principles of the Prayer Book, at present little valued in Ireland, have been openly preached and practised'.¹¹ Not only did Archbishop Trench consecrate the church, on 23 December, 1867, but he gave the pulpit as an earnest of his support and approval. It was one of the few ornaments in the new building, which was innocent of stained glass, mosaic, wall paintings, cross, candles or screen, all of which were to come later. Nevertheless the Protestants were alarmed, and the *Express* in a leading article declared:

Much distrust and alarm have already been excited by the architectural features of the church, while the general character and tendency of the services evince a more open sympathy with practices and doctrines altogether foreign to the spirit of our reformed church.

and, worse,

whenever the clergyman approached the altar ... he deported himself with great solemnity, and in a subdued and reverential manner.¹²

Whilst the use of 'altar' for 'Holy Table' might have alarmed some of the paper's readers, the Protestants were grateful to be alerted. Plain-clothes policemen mixed with the regular congregation as the mob flocked to denounce the insolent popery of 'a gaudily coloured cloth in front of and flowers on the communion table, and a ledge at the back of the table', to say nothing of intoned services.

11. Arthur Dawson, Vicar 1864-71, quoted in Kenneth Milne, *S. Bartholomew's, a History of the Dublin Parish* (Dublin, 1963), p. 5.

12. *Ibid*, p. 12.

All seats at S. Bartholomew's were free. This, as so much else, was in imitation of the centre of Dublin Tractarianism (and therefore controversy), All Saints, Grangegorman. The tradition there was the work of William Maturin (1806-87), vicar from 1843 until his death. His colleague and successor as incumbent was Henry Hogan (1838-1923), assistant curate from 1861 to 1887, and vicar until his death. Both were Tractarians, and All Saints bore their stamp. Dr Maturin, from an Irish ecclesiastical and literary family, had graduated from the University of Dublin in 1831, and at once took Holy Orders on a title to S. Stephen's, Upper Mount Street. The church was at that time joined to S. Peter's, which itself formed the core of the endowment of the Archdeaconry of Dublin. John Torrens, the Archdeacon, was then a busy man who left much to his able assistant. In 1842, the Trustees of S. Columba's College, attracted by Maturin's learning but more especially by his decidedly Tractarian theology, appointed him Warden of the College. Todd can hardly have been unaware of his intention to marry Todd's young niece, but the bulk of the Trustees, favouring a celibate Warden and Fellowship, asked him to withdraw. All was resolved amicably, and whatever loss was suffered by the College, All Saints - and by extension the High Church cause in Ireland - were strengthened by his preferment there. April 1843 saw his appointment to the Perpetual Curacy of All Saints by the Patron, William LeFanu, Rector of S. Paul's, North King Street. On 14 May, 1848, his name first appeared in the service register, and by April 1844 daily service had been introduced at 7 a.m.. Afternoon service followed in December of that year. Soon the pattern of the future ministry was fully established: the offices daily, the Eucharist twice each Sunday and on feast and fast days. Some attempts at a daily Eucharist are evident from the service register.

Todd, Maturin and Dawson founded the Irish Church Society 'to defend and maintain unimpaired the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Ireland as laid down in the Book of Common Prayer and other authorised

formularies of the Church'.¹³ It was an attempt to unite all High Churchmen with an Irish connection in defence of their position in the looming emergency. John Jebb's nephew (also John Jebb), although by now in the English Church, was also a member and travelled over to read a paper. Evelyn Shirley, M.P., and the Earl of Limerick were among the members. Of Maturin's address, entitled *Unfaithfulness the true source of the Church's danger*, given to the inaugural meeting in 1868, Raymond Jenkins, sixth vicar of All Saints, writes:

He castigates the Church for infrequent celebrations of the Holy Communion and neglect of Holy Days. He asks if the Church is faithful to the Book of Common Prayer. He warns that attempts are being made to explain away the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. He fears that the ministry is being undermined. He regrets that the daily offices are not read publicly.¹⁴

The position of the High Churchmen before the Disestablishment was difficult enough, but it was not until the passing of punitive legislation after 1870 that they could be taken to court. Instead they were subjected to intimidation. Even the Archbishop of Dublin faced constant indignity, for the hearts of Irish Churchmen were hardened against him. It is a tribute to him that his unflinching courage and constant integrity won for him, over the long years of his reign, the affection and respect of many. The portraits in the two volumes of the semi-official *Letters and memorials*¹⁵ tell their story. The first is a portrait of him on arrival from Westminster, the second a photograph taken in 1880. The striking difference is not of the sort wrought by the passage of the years; the first shows a pleasant, open-faced and sympathetic man, the second a hounded, suspicious and embittered one. He writes of one of many incidents:

13. Minutes of the Irish Church Society, 1866; in the Library of the Representative Body of the Church of Ireland.

14. R.G.F. Jenkins and G.O. Simms, *Pioneers and Partners: William Maturin and Henry Hogan* (Dublin, 1985), p. 7.

15. Richard Trench, *Letters and Memorials*, ed. Maria Trench, 2 vols (London, 1888).

A row is to be attempted at St. Mark's and afterwards at St. Jude's, at both of which churches I preach to-morrow; for the purpose, no doubt, of showing that there is no 'appetite for outrage' in a Dublin Orange mob. Printed papers have been circulated for the last day or two, summoning them to attend.¹⁶

The Protestant storm troopers, 'Gregg's Lambs' as these zealots were ironically named after the Evangelical Bishop of Cork, attacked Trench at All Saints, Grangegorman, in 1868. Magee summed them up as 'the ruffianly disciples of Gregg, who insulted an Archbishop to show their piety and hissed his daughters to show their manliness'.¹⁷

Increasingly beleaguered, and often reliant on a police presence, the High Church party in Dublin began to show the strain of their position. The unpredictable Carroll of S. Bride's, who had withdrawn pale from his experience, capitulated to the demands of the protesters. So intimidated was Archdeacon Lee of Dublin by the fury of the Protestant anti-ritualists that he sought tactical concessions to attempt to salvage something. He went so far as to withdraw his support from his friend and nominee to the living of S. Bartholomew, Arthur Dawson, who wrote to his successor that the Archdeacon had become 'angry at the standard of ritual adopted at S. Bartholomew's - moderate enough in all conscience'.¹⁸

The 'Terrible Old Doctor', as George Tyrrell described Dr Maturin, was not easily flustered or put down. J.P. Mahaffy, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, heard him on one such occasion 'crush by his fiery words a mob of young men who had come to disturb his service on Protestant principles, and drive them cowed and slinking from his church. They had victoriously broken up a service in another church the previous Sunday'.¹⁹ But that was in 1866. In 1872, armed with the new Canons Ecclesiastical of the disestablished

16. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 48..

17. Quoted in Bromley, *Man of Ten Talents*, p. 169.

18. Quoted in Milne, *S. Bartholomew's, a History of the Dublin Parish*, p. 16.

19. Quoted in Jenkins and Simms, *Pioneers and Partners*, pp. 8-9.

Church, Joshua Nunn and Thomas Gilbert, Protestant stalwarts, saw their case against the Doctor brought to the Diocesan Court.

Archbishop Trench had foreseen this course of action:

I see that one of the points which we shall have to fight, and a most important one, will be to resist the setting up of Diocesan Church Courts, for the more prompt and easy worrying of clergy with ritualistic or Puseyite proclivities. I propose to stand, and, as present advised, will consent to do nothing else, to the maintenance of the Bishop's Court, as it now stands, with him and the Chancellor, as his legal assessor, the sole judge in this Court.²⁰

From England, Wilberforce, Canon Liddon and Dr Pusey looked to Trench and Alexander to preserve the Catholicity of the Irish Church and to expand the influence of what they took to be sound doctrine. It is hardly surprising that they should view the bishops as, in a sense, missionaries to a Church fallen into error. Dr Pusey wrote to Trench not to be disheartened:

Your Grace went (I always supposed) as a missionary for Catholic truth amid a clergy and laity who had lost so much of it. ... It is God's cause, not yours. To leave the post which God in his Providence gave you would be to expose the Church to apostasy.²¹

The news was not, however, at all heartening. On 25 March, 1868, Bishop Wilberforce wrote:

I am very sorry Gladstone has moved the attack on the Irish Church. ... It is altogether a bad business, and I am afraid Gladstone has been drawn into it from the unconscious influence of his restlessness at being out of office. I have no doubt that his hatred of the low tone of the Irish branch has had a great deal to do with it.²²

and in November of that year:

The returns to the House of Commons leave no doubt of the answer of the country to Gladstone's appeal. In a few weeks he will be in office at the head of a majority of something like a hundred, elected on the distinct issue of Gladstone and the Irish Church.²³

20. *Letters and Memorials*, vol. 2, p. 115.

21. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 129.

22. G.W.E. Russell, *The Rt. Hon. William Ewart Gladstone*, p. 200.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

The battle for the Church of Ireland in the House of Lords need not detain us long. Lord Plunket, later Archbishop of Dublin, an Evangelical with an eirenic spirit, felt that

many who ought to be our friends are wholly indifferent - others who mean well will not apply themselves to master the really difficult intricacies of the bill - others look on the bill merely with a view to the fulfilment of their own hobbies.²⁴

Having trusted themselves to Establishment, the position of the High Churchmen was the least enviable, and their defeat potentially the more disastrous.

Bishop Alexander of Derry, who as an undergraduate had 'removed his name from his college books and set off for Birmingham'²⁵ (to the Oratory), before changing his mind describes thus the defeat of his hopes to ward off the Bill:

I can never forget the summer night just after the division when I reeled out into the cool almost hearing the crash of a great building.

A kindly touch was laid upon my arm. I turned and saw a Roman Catholic bishop of my acquaintance who had obtained a place to listen to the debate. 'I cannot pretend not to be pleased,' he said, 'though personally I am sorry for you and others.'

Then he patted my arm again, and added 'Now, my dear lord, you see what these English are.'²⁶

He continued to look back to

those simple days of the Established Church of Ireland [when] most of us learned to call ourselves members of the Church of England, a confession which we have unlearned, some of us with sinking hearts and bitter tears.²⁷

He would have echoed the words of Archbishop Bernard, Archbishop of Dublin 1915-19; 'Irish Churchmen of the last generation never quite forgave

24. Quoted in McDowell, *Church of Ireland*, p. 50.

25. Gilley, *Newman and his Age*, p. 244.

26. E. Alexander, *Primate Alexander, Archbishop of Armagh: a Memoir* (London, 1913), p. 173.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

England the Act of Disestablishment'.²⁸ Bishop Alexander's wife, the celebrated hymnodist, summed up her feelings on the betrayal without and the infidelity within which had borne bitter fruit in Disestablishment in her hymn for New Year's Day, 1871:

Look down, Lord of Heaven, on our desolation,
Fallen, fallen, fallen is our country's crown.
Dimly dawns the New Year on a Churchless nation.
Ammon and Amalek tread our borders down.

Lord, we have sinned. Kneeling down before thee,
Make we full confession, the people and the priest.
In our day of plenty, little fruit we bore thee.
Oh, the fast forgotten! Oh, the songless feast!

The Church of Ireland faced a crisis of greater magnitude than the close of 'the day of plenty', namely the loss of the major part of her endowments and her privileged status. Painful as all these losses were to a Church so interwoven with the governing and landed classes, they did not strike at the heart of what it was to be the Church: 'A hierarchy as distinct from the State', as we have heard Jebb say, 'and as dignified only by its intrinsic excellence.' Without the mantle of Establishment, however, and the weight of conservatism that went with it, the widely differing traditions within looked set for a battle to the death. Writing over forty years later, Archbishop Bernard lamented the narrowing of the Church's sympathies:

It is just because the Church of England is not 'free' that it can afford to be so comprehensive. Archbishop Temple once said that 'the connection with the State compels an amount of toleration which could not otherwise be maintained'. That is a maxim which experience has abundantly verified in Ireland.²⁹

There was an immediate display of the internal divisions, and the narrowing of the horizon began at once.

Although the full effect of the Irish Church Act was operative only from 1 January, 1871, provisions relating to the preparation of a new constitu-

28. Quoted in McDowell, *Church of Ireland*, p. 50.

29. Quoted in R.H. Murray, *Archbishop Bernard, Professor, Prelate and Provost* (London, 1931), p. 194. Bernard, on resigning the Archbishopric of Dublin, was Provost of Trinity, 1919-27.

tion came at once into effect. No Royal Licence was needed, for example, to assemble the Convocations and enact legislation relative to the life of the newly disestablished Church. So it was that on 10 September, 1869, the Convocation of Armagh and Tuam, the provincial synod of the two united northern provinces, met in S. Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh. There they agreed to an invitation to assemble in joint session with the Convocation of Dublin and Cashel. The joint session gathered in S. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, on 14 September. This meeting was the best hope of the High Churchmen. Comprising the bishops as an Upper House, with the Deans, Archdeacons *ex officio*, and elected Proctors of the beneficed clergy constituting the Lower House, they first registered their protest against the Act. Then Lee, Archdeacon of Dublin, induced them to subscribe to a preamble which declared their identity with the pre-Disestablishment Church as 'one of the most ancient churches in Christendom'.³⁰ This was the last victory for the conservatives. The traditional *ex officio* representation was set aside. A further motion was proposed by Archdeacon Lee in relation to the proposed convention, which would not include the dignitaries but would include lay representatives. Anxious to guard against too radical a temper, he moved that each order (bishops, clergy, laity) should sit in separate Houses, and further that any matter of doctrine or discipline should be reserved to the House of Bishops and the House of Clergy alone. The motion was ruled out of order. The Revd William Sherlock, the eminent canon lawyer, was quick to identify the aspirations of the Low Church laity. 'Nothing,' he said, 'would so damage the Church as a widespread fear of a revival of clerical domination.'³¹

The laity were indeed suspicious of the clergy. At a meeting of influential laymen it was proposed that the Dukes of Leinster and Abercorn be approached and asked to summon a lay conference to determine how the

30. McDowell, *Church of Ireland*, p. 51. For the remainder of my account, see pp. 52-62.

31. W. Sherlock, *The Constitution of the Church in the United States of America, in Canada, and in New Zealand* (Dublin, 1868), p. vi.

laity should be represented in future Church Assemblies. Instead the Archbishops were asked to convene the meeting, which they did; and the duly appointed parish representatives met on 12 October in the Molesworth Hall, Dublin. The suggestion that the two principal Protestant peers should, after the manner of the Sovereign in Parliament, summon representatives testifies to the underlying belief on the part of very many of the laity that they were assembled to defend an essential institution of the Protestant nation. Bence Jones, a landowner of County Cork, declared: 'I believe a lot of northerners were ready to abolish bishops' - a view shared by not a few in the south, amongst them the highly critical, and influential, Evangelical Lord James Butler, uncle of the Marquess of Ormonde.

Whilst the Primate played a steady role advising caution and circumspection, it was to Trench and Alexander that episcopal leadership fell. They continued in the Convention and Synod that which they had begun in the Lords and struggled to retain for the Irish Church her spiritual inheritance now that her temporal was lost. Already unpopular, Trench was further compromised when the curate of S. Stephen's, Dublin, was denounced by Mr L.F.S. Maberley for giving to his Protestant maidservant a devotional manual entitled *Short Prayers for those who have but little time to pray*. Compiled by the Revd George Raymond Portal, Rector of Albury, Surrey, the manual was innocent enough. Mr Maberley asserted that it fostered the practice of examining the conscience, a practice which might tend to the Confessional. Auricular confession was the *bête noire* of Irish Low Churchmen. The Archbishop read the manual and refused to censure it or the curate. His action was deplored in a public open letter signed by eighty-two clergy of his diocese.

Trench's position was not enviable. Not only were many of his clergy hostile, but the laity had made it clear, by their requirement of two lay representatives for every one clerical representative in the new synod, that they meant to rule. The Archbishop thought it a 'very nasty' requirement,

'indicating the desire of a petty triumph'.³² The bishops were further humiliated by the challenge, on the very first day of the Convention, to their right to vote as a separate order or House, and by a further amendment to remove their veto and provide for a two-thirds majority of the House of Representatives over-riding the episcopal will. Only an amendment by the Duke of Abercorn saved the episcopal veto, and then only if two-thirds of the bishops negated the motion and gave an explanation in writing for their action.³³

The revision of the Prayer Book and Canons was the principal battlefield of the new Synod. William Brooks, a Master in Chancery, was appointed to convene a committee 'to check the spread of doctrines and practices opposed to the principles of our reformed church'. Master Brooks's committee, as it was called, sought to stamp out ritualism by striking at its root, 'the assumption to the priesthood of powers which do not belong to that office'.³⁴ Trench and Alexander were increasingly beleaguered in the House of Bishops. As Archdeacon Lee and Dr Maturin had washed their hands of the Convention and Synod, Richard Travers Smith of S. Bartholomew's was left almost a lone voice in the House of Representatives. The bishops and the representatives (clergy and laity) generally sat together in joint session. It was however a pitifully unbalanced Chamber. William Reeves was another High Church Synod member, but rarely spoke.³⁵ The achievement of the tiny group and their sympathisers was to limit the damage done to a degree which made it just possible, if far from pleasant, for High Churchmen to remain within the Church. The results may have been providential: their persuasiveness, however, has been over-played. The restraints of pragmatism were at

32. Gabriel Daly, 'Church renewal, 1869-1877', in M. Hurley (ed.), *Irish Anglicanism, 1869-1969* (Dublin, 1970), p. 26.

33. McDowell, *Church of Ireland*, p. 56.

34. *Ibid*, pp. 60-61.

35. 'A true and sincere Churchman of the older type, he loved her formularies, and held the Book of Common Prayer in the highest reverence, was a great authority on its history, and opposed every attempt to alter it.' Lady Mary Ferguson, *Life of the Rt. Revd. William Reeves, D.D.* (Dublin, 1893), p. 107.

least as important in preserving the Church of Ireland within the tradition of a wider Anglicanism.

Horror of auricular confession has already been noted. There was no trace of Knox's valuation of the practice as giving the priest a deep knowledge of interior piety - the piety which nourished a S. Francis de Sales.³⁶ It was just such a ministry which the synod sought to exclude when it turned its attention on the Ordinal with its offensive formula for the Ordination of Priests, 'whose sins thou dost remit they are remitted'. The Primate, Archbishop Marcus Gervase Beresford, warned the Synod that 'If we alter our Ordinal, we separate ourselves in a vital point from the great Anglican Communion'.³⁷ The lawyer Judge Warren told the Synod that if the Ordinal were altered to any significant degree he would advise any son of his with a vocation to take Holy Orders in England. Pragmatism was victorious. The assault on penance and priestcraft was not however completed. The form of absolution of sins from the Visitation of the Sick (in which the priest, having declared the power to forgive sins to have been given to the Church, continues 'by the authority committed unto me, I absolve ...') was excised and replaced by the absolution from the Order of Holy Communion.

Baptismal regeneration, the doctrine upheld by Mant in his Bampton Lectures, was not one to commend itself to the Synod but, after much discussion, the principle of reciprocity with the Church of England saved the Baptism service from a Protestant re-casting; and 'seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate' was suffered to remain. The Athanasian Creed was rescued from revision and mutilation by the clever expedient of removing the rubric ordering its use and not making any provision for it to be recited at any other time. It could be found in the Prayer Book, but presumably not used, merely perused.

36. *Remains*, vol. 1, p. 81.

37. Daly, 'Church renewal, 1869-1877', p. 32.

Many were the attempts to eliminate any doctrine of sacrifice or real presence in the Eucharist, especially by revision of the Black Rubric. In the end the reformers had to be satisfied by the rigorous ritual Canons and distinctly receptionist addition to the Catechism.³⁸ The difficult and unpalatable phrases which remained in the revised Prayer Book were dealt with in the new preface, which explained that 'controversial phrases in the liturgy which remained unchanged could be interpreted in a way acceptable to Low Churchmen'.³⁹ The purpose of the preface might be summed up in the words of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette* for April 1871:

One of the most objectionable features of the Revision Movement has always seemed to us the specious, hollow - we might even say dishonest - alliance, it has produced between the extreme Broad Church party, weak in numbers, but strong in intellect and debating power; with the very Low Churchmen, deficient in both, but strong in numbers and popular sympathy. The one party has been seeking to eliminate dogma from the Prayer-Book, the other to narrow our dogmatic basis.⁴⁰

The preface offended the High Churchmen. Travers Smith was unquestionably correct when he said that it sought solely to exclude High Church principles, and that no other party in the Church was circumscribed by it.⁴¹ But the revised book was saved from the worst excesses of Protestant zeal by a fear of being separated from the Anglican Communion, effectively the family of Churches of the Empire. Further, the Evangelicals did not wish to risk the establishment of English-rite mission churches in Ireland, doubtless of a High Church nature. Such would have been the inevitable result of being out of communion with Canterbury.

38. *Question*: After what manner are the Body and Blood of Christ taken and received in the Lord's Supper?

Answer: Only after a heavenly and spiritual manner: and the means whereby they are taken and received is faith.

39. McDowell, *Church of Ireland*, p. 64.

40. Quoted in Daly, *art. cit.*, p. 35.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

All the revisions which occurred were nonetheless of a Low Church nature. The Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical which were printed in all prayer books, where they might readily be consulted, were determinedly Protestant. They banned candles, crosses, processions, vestments, stoles, wafer-bread, incense, the elevation of the host, the mixed chalice, the sign of the cross (except in Baptism), reverencing the altar (which was called a table, and had to be movable and of wood), and the eastward position. They sought to enshrine the principles of Protestant practice in the Church of Ireland. Not only were all the ceremonial enrichments of the Oxford Movement, and older customs and uses, banned; readings from the Apocrypha were removed from the lectionary, and the obligation on the clergy to recite Morning and Evening Prayer daily was removed. This was not the spirit of Jebb.

The Protestants lost no time in using their new armoury of ecclesiastical penalties. All Saints and Dr Maturin were the first to suffer. Definitely Tractarian, All Saints was hardly a hot-bed of ritualism. George Tyrrell found the choral services a relief from 'the unutterable prosiness of other places'; but they were free from 'any sign of that sham-Romanism and unreality which makes any sort of ritualism perfectly intolerable to me'.⁴² If Tyrrell, as a consequence of worshipping at All Saints, could, in Archdeacon Jenkins's words, feel 'instinctively that the difference between an altar and a communion table was infinite', so could Gregg's Lambs. The degree of their intolerance of all Catholic teaching and practice becomes clear from a longer account, also by Tyrrell, of All Saints in the 1860s and 1870s.

My mother made no objection, especially because old Dr Maturin had been one of the few preachers to whom my own father could listen without blaspheming afterwards; for which reason she often went there in the fifties, for the sake of peace. He was a High Churchman of the Laudian type or early Tractarian school; not the least of a ritualist, with a good solid dislike of popery. So backward, however, was Irish Protestantism, that the most moderate ecclesiastical decencies of his Church (they had not even unlit candles on the altar) seemed sheer Romanism; and more than once the place had been wrecked by aggrieved Orangemen, one of my own uncles having led the fray on

42. Quoted in Jenkins and Simms, *Pioneers and Partners*, p. 8.

one of these occasions. The enormities complained of were, besides the ordinary choral service, an altar-like communion table with a coloured frontal and a few vases of flowers - Holy Communion twice every Sunday, and the eastward position (which was voted bad manners, the doctrinal significance entirely escaping notice).

Doctrinally, there was a fairly advanced eucharistic teaching, and a very moderate advocacy of seeking absolution in exceptional crises. Many connected with the Church went much farther in doctrine and practice; but the terrible old Doctor snuffed out everything either more or less than he himself approved. He maintained that at the first synod of the disestablished Irish Church, when the Prayer Book was expurgated and the lectionary altered, the whole of that Church had gone into schism, and that he alone was left, a solitary Jeremiah to weep over the fallen city.⁴³

That such standards of Churchmanship were unacceptable not only illustrates the temper of the Protestant majority, the bulk of the lay-people of the Church of Ireland, it also seriously calls into question the repeated claims made for the vibrancy of and support for the old High Church tradition in Ireland. Maturin, it should be remembered, was ordained while Jebb was still Bishop of Limerick. Similarly, Bishop Alexander's mentor, William Archer of Trinity College Dublin, had been an admirer of Knox and had introduced Alexander to his *Remains*. Samuel Kyle, Bishop of Cork until 1848, had been at school and university with Jebb, and was a friend of Todd's. What is evident is that, although occasionally found in places of importance, they failed to influence the mind of the Irish Church. The existence of the tradition cannot be doubted, but it was never numerically strong. It never had the heart of the Church of Ireland. The Irish High Church tradition, particularly as expounded by Jebb and Knox, represented a unique fusion of influences akin to those which produced the Oxford Movement; but without numerical strength or the paradoxical protection of a sometimes uncompromising Establishment they were doomed. Even among the more conservative clergy who might have supported them, their cause was weakened. These were men who, if High Church, were so in the manner of Trollope's Barchester. Their religion

43. M. Petre (ed.), *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrell*, 2 vols (London, 1912), vol. 1, pp. 97-98.

had escaped the taint of any extreme rigour of church doctrine. ... Though very well inclined to promote high-church principles, privileges, and prerogatives, [they] had never committed themselves to tendencies which are somewhat too loosely called Puseyite practices.⁴⁴

Too many disposed to High Church principles in Ireland had confused the defence of such views with promoting privileges and prerogatives. Disestablishment was their ruin, and in crisis a call to spiritual integrity founded upon the steady contemplation of tradition, a delicate synthesis of the past, was not a banner around which to rally troops.

Evangelicalism, better indeed anti-Catholicism, had the power to enlist those who felt their entire position in Church and State to be at risk. It was a cry to rally that little group of poor southern Protestant peasants and the lower middle class who had only the badge of Protestantism to set them above their neighbours, the surrounding Catholics, and offer hope of access to improvement and education. It could rally the tenantry of Northern Ireland, who flourished under the Ulster custom and who feared a descent into poverty should any form of 'Rome Rule' be allowed to establish itself. It could rally the middle and professional classes, anxious to identify themselves with the Empire, the gentry and aristocracy, and Protestant Britain. Finally, it could rally the landowners and magnates who, with the rise of Catholic nationalism, found themselves increasingly side-stepped and even (in the case of their Church) sacrificed. J.C. Beckett has pointed to one reason why the Synod was taken up with such enthusiasm and busied itself in so many areas: it was a forum for the Anglo-Irish at a time when other avenues were closing. The Synod, with its quasi-parliamentary procedure and the prestigious authority it exercised within the Protestant community, attracted them. As Beckett puts it: 'a roll-call of the general synod is reminiscent of a roll-call of the old Irish parliament. Once again, the Anglo-Irish had an assembly of their own'.⁴⁵

44. *Barchester Towers*, chapter 6.

45. *The Anglo-Irish Tradition*, p. 108.

Irish High Churchmen found it expedient to emphasize their anti-Romanism; but the religion which they had to offer was not only suspect but, in its older form, it was lifeless and dry. It seemed antiquarian and dusty - an activity of the library rather than the pulpit. The particular emphasis of Jebb and Knox, their openness to the best of Romanism, their esteem for the enthusiasm of Methodism, all led them to criticize the fear of the emotional and mystical element in religion which gave it life, made it a faith to be professed. In 1816 Knox had written that 'Those monuments of piety, which belong to mind and heart, have been rather suspected and discountenanced than explained and cultivated'.⁴⁶ The Oxford Tractarian High Churchmen were at one with Knox and Jebb in not being fearful of these elements in Catholic religion; in fact, they went beyond the two Irishmen in positively harnessing it. In addition to pressing on with the questions of authority, tradition and methodology which Knox and Jebb had embarked upon, they expanded the old tradition and breathed life into it. But whereas Irish Evangelicalism had vigour and a goal, and the small group of Broad Churchmen had inherited intellectual respectability from their Latitudinarian forebears, the High Churchmen of the old type were dejected and defeated. Their defeat was a long time in coming, but it had always been inevitable; for their Church had never been the Church of the Nation, and they had always been a minority within a minority. Their position was at the antipodes of classic old High Church teaching from Hooker onwards, asserting as that teaching did the oneness of Church and State. As George Addleshaw put it, for the classic High Churchman 'the Church is visible *per partes*: each group is under a Christian sovereign, the inheritor of Christ's kingly powers'.⁴⁷ This presumed the participation of the nation. And while this was certainly not fully the case

46. *Remains*, quoted in A.B. Webster, *Joshua Watson: The Story of a Layman, 1771-1855* (London, 1954), p. 22.

47. G.W.O. Addleshaw, *The High Church Tradition, a Study in the Liturgical Thought of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1941), pp. 158-59.

in post-Restoration England, it was arguably never the case in Ireland. To quote Addleshaw again:

It would be idle to pretend that, apart from in the age of Andrewes and Laud and to a lesser extent that of Queen Anne, High Churchmen were ever within measurable distance of attaining their ends. After the Restoration the growth of nonconformity, of secularism, of latitudinarianism, made it impossible for them to build up their ecclesiastical polity. The oneness of Church and Society became a mere fiction; society drifted away from the Church, and the retention of the theory of the oneness between the two made the Church an Erastian body.⁴⁸

One might argue that it had been precisely Jebb's and Knox's attempt to free themselves of an all-pervading Erastianism which had significance for later Tractarian thought. However, they had been held back by their fear of the dangers besetting the Church and the paucity of their support. The conditions of Ireland had remained uncondusive to a High Church ascendancy throughout the post-Reformation period. The Revd Charles Osborne, one-time tutor and life-long friend of George Tyrrell and the biographer of Father Dolling, also a Grangegorman ordinand, identified the principal reasons for the failure of High Churchmanship to gain the hearts of Irish lay-people. Writing in a supplement to part one of Tyrrell's *Autobiography*, he says:

Ireland is living in the sixteenth century, as far as theological and sectarian antagonisms are concerned. There is no neutral zone, and the Oxford Movement has made few, if any converts from among the children of the Reformation. Everyone is either bluntly a 'Protestant' or a 'Catholic', (*i.e.*, Roman Catholic). Half shades are practically unknown, and notwithstanding the existence of a broad-minded and learned type of Churchman among the clergy, not of the Puritan school but rather holding sacramental principles, the great body of the laity of the Irish Church are still, as far as they are religious, Puritan to the core in their rejection of 'sacerdotalism', *i.e.*, the historic type of religion prevalent in Christendom from the second to the sixteenth century.⁴⁹

From first to last, the search for apostolic truth within the setting of the Irish Anglican Church was dogged by the expediencies of the age. At the Reformation itself, when attempts were made, albeit flawed attempts, to

48. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

49. In *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell*, vol. 1, pp. 144-5.

return to the primitive Catholicity of the early Fathers, that work was eclipsed by the need to encourage a zeal for the conformity and Anglicization of Ireland. In the Seventeenth Century, the massive influx of Scottish Presbyterian planters to the North of the Kingdom not only produced political friction but permanently coloured the Churchmanship of that area. The Catholic Rising and the Cromwellian regicides further tore the nation apart. In the Eighteenth Century High Churchmanship, compromised in its essence, was further embarrassed by the related accusation of Jacobitism and by the Non-juring schism. This too was the time of the advent of English journeymen to high office and the episcopate, an abuse which extended, as we have seen, into the Nineteenth Century when emerging Catholic nationalism sealed the fate of the ecclesiastical Establishment. Ireland has not had sufficient leisure for dispassionate enquiry. Yet for a moment with Knox and Jebb, for all that they were flawed and of their time, an advance was made, and the irrepressible strain of the Catholic tradition manifested itself in the palsied limbs of that part of the Body of Christ which was the Church of Ireland.

For the prophetic vision of Knox and Jebb stands apart from the similar traditions of their time. Though they still upheld the ideal of the National Church, they did not foresee a 'Second Reformation' like Magee, nor did they like Mant come with a ready-made solution in ignorance of the particular circumstances in Ireland. Whilst yearning for the hearts and minds of the nation, they came to a deepened evaluation of the 'intrinsic excellence' of the Church and, like Beresford, sought to win Ireland through the evident rightness of their theology manifested in the evident excellence of the life of their communion. Beresford, the friend of Joshua Watson, was a High Churchman of the old school. The Archbishop, like his Hackney Phalanx fellows, saw education as the key to renewal and, like Joshua Watson, expended vast sums in great generosity. But this was, as Knox had said, a school fearful of emotions and of devotion who upheld and used the liturgy 'without feeling it', preaching

'dull moralising sermons' which were 'the result of a kind of intellectual pumping: there is no gushing from the spring'.⁵⁰

Certainly the prophetic vision of the Church which Knox and Jebb moved towards was not fulfilled as they might have desired. The Oxford Tractarians took their ideas, as they took the entire tradition, and by re-interpretation pushed them to conclusions which might have struck their originators as alien. Indeed, the Tractarians attracted much criticism for the older school. Their intention was to strive for the fulfilment of the principles which motivated the tradition, and they felt the earlier constraints of an older social order much less. They sought that 'more intelligently pious Christianity' of which Jebb mused, but in a form which would have surprised him.

Those who moved on, both within and without the Church of Ireland, were then in a sense the exponents and practitioners of the tradition of Knox and Jebb, and to some degree their heirs. Those who did not move on remained as custodians of an apparatus of the purpose of which they had only a partial recollection. The latter's cautious and fearful High Churchmanship never escaped the Rectory study. Like Nicodemus, they held their views 'secretly, for fear of the Jews'.

50. Quoted in A.B. Webster, *Joshua Watson*, p. 22.

CHAPTER VII : THE AFTERMATH

Bishop J.W.C. Wand, writing of the Anglican Communion in his book of that name, made the now often repeated claim that 'the Church of Ireland is a unique combination of high-church teaching with low-church ceremonial'.¹ This has become a sort of unchallenged orthodoxy when outsiders talk of that Church. It is, to say the least, misleading. The mind and ethos of the Irish Church has never been so, least of all in the period of this enquiry. It is true that Ireland has throughout her history produced High Churchmen of exemplary piety and learning, and that they have been ornaments of their Church. From the imported High Churchmanship of Bramhall and Jeremy Taylor to the home-grown holiness of the lately dead George Simms, High Churchmen have arisen. They have not at any time won the hearts and minds of the people. This assertion of Irish High Churchmanship is the product of a type of corporate wishful thinking. Both the High Church survivors in Ireland and well disposed observers from without are assured that what they wish to find can be found; for, whether Catholic or Protestant, the Irish are a nation which does not care to disappoint.

That the Church of Ireland is Low Church in ceremonial is unsurprising, for *lex orandi est lex credendi*, and the draconian Ritual Canons were enacted to ensure that no flight of emotion or imagination might tempt souls from the reformed faith in its Protestant purity. Any relaxation in the rigour of the Ritual Canons in recent years should not lead the outside observer to suspect a rebirth of Catholic spirituality. The shift has rather been wrought by a triumvirate of liberalism, indifference, and the persistent High Church rump. Those of the latter school who have survived the wilderness years are, in an echo of an earlier situation, mainly to be found in southern dioceses, where Protestants are even fewer and where religion has not the same seemingly fatal bond with politics which it once possessed. But even in the South,

1. Quoted by Michael Hurley in the Preface of his *Irish Anglicanism, 1869-1969*, p. viii.

High Churchmanship is not strong: it chiefly affects the clergy, and only by extension their sometimes unwilling flocks, who often find the eucharistic emphasis unfamiliar and uncomfortable.

The bulk of the adherents of the Church of Ireland live in those six of the Ulster counties which constitute Northern Ireland. The anti-Catholicism of that area, from the Act of Union onwards, is a commonplace. There has never been fertile ground in this part of Ireland to sustain the High Church tradition; and if Ulster soil was poison to it, all Irish soil was poor. It is against this background of (primarily lay) reactions that we should set claims that the tradition was ever to any marked degree a popular movement. By its very nature, indeed, old High Churchmanship was barely capable of being popular, for it was academic and subtle and unenthusiastic.

Old High Churchmanship has survived in a quiet way in Ireland since the crash of disestablishment; but it was not that tradition which fought to sustain a Catholic consciousness in Ireland. It has always been too cautious, too ready to retreat. It was, as we have seen, those touched by the radicalism of the Tractarian movement who led the struggle inside and outside Parliaments, Conventions, and Synods. The High Churchmen of the older school were too fearful of the hostile mob. As Todd, often claimed as one of them, wrote of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* (the mouthpiece of the older High Church view), if

the Ecclesiastical Journal, instead of labouring to convince the public that it was not an organ of Pusey, would boldly stand forth as an organ of the Church against Calvinism and low church irregularities, much good might be done.²

That was written in the days leading up to the crisis of the Irish Church Act. John Jebb had hoped, earlier in the century, that something akin to persecution would attach Irish Churchmen to their Church as a divinely erected body independent of the State; but the Low Church and democratic ethos of her legislature and its hastily passed Constitutions and Canons produced a Church

2. Todd MSS., T.C.D., MS. 2214, No. 64.

more conscious of being a voluntary society than the Body of Christ called out from the world.

Dr Maturin had experienced the change to his cost. In common with one or two others he thought that they could continue, unaffected by the new Synod and its arrangements. In 1872 Joshua Nunn and Thomas Gilbert, whose attempts before disestablishment to disrupt his services we have already seen, proceeded against him in the newly constituted Diocesan Court. Maturin declared *in absentia* that

the Court was not one 'existing by the law of the Church or created by lawful authority'. But it having been pointed out that the Church of Ireland was now a voluntary society the rules of which were binding on its members, Maturin was tried and admonished.³

He continued in his parish and, under the trying constraints, continued the tradition with the assistance of Henry Hogan. The routine of their services has already been described⁴. They used Gregorian chant and *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and the parish contained many guilds and devotional societies. The ceremonial was moderate, the ethos unmistakably Tractarian. A chancel and north aisle added by Maturin in 1856 and 1867 respectively testify both to the Churchmanship of the parish and to the loyalty of its parishioners.

Hogan added the great east window and decorated the chancel with painted figures of SS Columba, Comgall, Columbanus, Finnian, Patrick, Brigid, Kevin and Furser. Around the top of the chancel were placed the words from the *Sancti venite* of the seventh-century antiphoner of Bangor: 'Draw nigh and take the body of the Lord'. The altar reredos, erected before the enactment of the Canons, had statues of the four Evangelists and a cross forming a structural part of the design. Canon 32 forbidding such ornamentation was thus pre-empted, and the chancel formed a perfect Tractarian interior. The subject-matter of the decoration is as significant as the decoration itself. The choice of early medieval Irish saints and liturgical texts, whilst

3. McDowell, *Church of Ireland*, p. 60.

4. Chapter 6, above p. 110.

emphasizing the Irishness of the Church, also represents that rediscovery and sense of oneness with the Church of the Middle Ages which was part of the inspiration of Tractarianism. It is fully in the spirit of Todd. The tradition was not only implicit but explicit. The faithful were to remember 'the one and only Christian standard in the community life, namely weekly communion', and that 'rising early for Holy Communion is in itself an earnest of the Christian life'.⁵

Throughout the ministry of both Maturin and Hogan the Low Churchmen kept watch. In the early 1890s Hogan wrote of 'passing through a fearful struggle for the truth',⁶ and there were frequent accusations of ritualism and irregularities. Tasteless cartoons ridiculing the church were produced, and nasty anonymous leaflets. There were appeals to the Diocesan Council against All Saints in 1900, and the select vestry appeared before them three times in one year (1902). But Hogan stood firm in the Tractarian tradition - as indeed the Anglo-Catholic *Church Times* had from the first been confident that he would.⁷

Another Tractarian who believed himself immune from the new Canons was a country parson, the Revd A.B.R. Young of Ballybay, Co. Monaghan. His modest ritual, frequent services, and beautification of his preaching-box church by the addition of a chancel attracted the unwelcome attentions of the Low Church mob and of his fiercely Low Church bishop, Dr Stack of Clogher. Stack had joined in the consecration of a Protestant bishop for Spain in Madrid in September 1894, to the fury of Lord Halifax and the English Anglo-Catholics. But whilst determined to export Low Churchmanship to Iberia, the Bishop would not tolerate any weakening towards the Whore of Rome at home. Young wrote of his situation: 'I never subscribed to

5. The first remark of Hogan's is quoted by G.O. Simms in *Pioneers and Partners*, p. 27; the second in a letter from Simms to the author.

6. Quoted in *Pioneers and Partners*, p. 25.

7. 'This appointment is a guarantee that the teaching and work of the parish will be continued on thoroughly Catholic lines.' Quoted *ibid.*, p. 6.

the revised Prayer Book and therefore could not be prosecuted under its "panic" Canons. Hence the only way to get rid of me was starvation.' Legally, of course, he was on very thin ice. Nonetheless, he was correct in identifying the tactics of his Father-in-God who wrote to the principal landowner and benefactor of the living, a connection of Sir Shane Leslie, 'endeavouring to persuade Mr Leslie to withdraw his contribution to the stipend fund of the parish, and by that means starve me out! ... It was as ignoble a trick as the reply was noble and generous.'⁸ The offending chancel at Ballybay had been dedicated by Bishop Alexander, then of Derry, in 1881. As a High Churchman, Alexander was delighted with the work, and wrote to Young: 'that day of winter's bitterest blast and torrents of chilling sleet and rain will always have a sunny corner in an old bishop's memory'.⁹ It was indeed one of the rare stirrings of an earlier vision in the wintry world of Low Church Ireland.

Not all Tractarian clergymen felt so secure in their benefices as Young of Ballybay. He may have been over-confident of his legal standing, but his stipend was protected by the esteem of his church's principal benefactor. Disestablishment had done away with private and episcopal patronage, and the appointment to livings now hinged on powerful parochial and diocesan 'nominators', elected, of course, and with a lay preponderance. If in an earlier generation Jebb had felt keenly (and he did) his abandonment to a ministry in the depths of the diocese of Emly, the bulk of his successors in Jebb's tradition found themselves unwanted and suspect and without prospect of rescue by Crown, patron or bishop.

It was those of avowed Tractarian sympathies who attracted the greatest opposition and attention in the years immediately after 1870; but we should not accept uncritically the suggestion that the more moderate or old-fashioned High Churchmen were suffered to continue unmolested. This has

8. A.B.R. Young, *Reminiscences of an Irish Priest, 1845-1920* (Dundalk, n.d.), p. 151.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

been the implicit thesis of Bolton and Nockles and Wand. It does not bear closer examination.

Take for example the cathedral service, far removed from eucharistic theology and Romanizing customs. It had long been valued and supported by old High Churchmen. Dr Cotton, Dean of Lismore in the 1840s, who had been opposed to compulsory fasting at S. Columba's College, alarmed by Tract 90 and the new direction of the Oxford Movement, had devoted great efforts to re-establishing the choral service at his Cathedral of S. Carthage. Jebb's nephew, John Jebb Jr., whom the Bishop had appointed a prebendary in Limerick Cathedral, had not only worked to improve standards there but had produced *The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland* in 1843. Archbishop Lord John George Beresford had re-established the daily choral service in the newly restored Armagh Cathedral, where 'Day by day the matins are sung with a precision and reverence which leaves Armagh Cathedral second to none in England. Anyone who knows the ecclesiastical spirit and tariff of observance of our Communion as it is in Ireland, will appreciate the importance of this fact.'¹⁰ These are but three examples, and none of them deemed by Nockles or Bolton radical or Tractarian High Churchmen. The post-disestablishment Church was hostile even to these moderate and definitely Anglican practices.

Bishop Maurice Day, the first prelate elected by popular suffrage in the Diocesan Synods of Cashel and Emly and Waterford and Lismore is described by Gabriel Daly as a 'moderate revisionist' whose 'election and consecration, in April 1872, translated theory into fact and helped to still any remaining apprehension there may have been about an intransigent episcopal bloc'.¹¹ There is little wonder that his election stilled the apprehension of the Evangelicals, for his intransigence was shown rather in his dealings with other

10. Anonymous article entitled 'Armagh Cathedral', *The Ecclesiologist*, xv [new series xiii], no. 106 (February, 1855), pp. 8-15 (p. 14).

11. 'Church renewal, 1869-1877', p. 28.

than Low Churchmen. At Waterford Cathedral he rode roughshod over the Choral Foundation, the Dean and Chapter, and the Cathedral Select Vestry in his determination to stamp out cathedral worship. In a memorial of November 1872 to the Bishop, the Lay Vestry sought to stem the dismantling of the choral service by pointing to its popularity; the Dean and Chapter, having agreed to abandon the choral service on Sunday evenings, complained that his Lordship's interference was *ultra vires*; but the Low Church crusader held his ground.¹²

Even at Kilkenny, where the Bishop was tolerant of cathedral music, the morning service was declared parochial, Evensong alone being choral.

On every Sunday morning, to the great astonishment of visitors and the deep regret of all lovers of the Anglican choral service, there is to be seen a surpliced choir of 24 voices performing the duties of an ancient parish clerk, whilst the bulk of the congregation are passive spectators.¹³

At Cork, it was the evening service that was abandoned, but

to appease a vociferous low church lobby it was agreed, first, that all 'ordinary' (i.e. non-Festal) celebrations of the holy communion should be non-choral, the attendance at these services of the choirmen and boys not being compulsory.¹⁴

It is in this context that we need to view Bolton's claim that 'The fact that the Eucharist was sung in Irish cathedrals later in the nineteenth century when fear of Puseyism was greatest may suggest that the practice had been traditional from Caroline times'.¹⁵ It is evident that the Low Church ascendancy in the post-disestablishment Church cared not a fig what was old or new High Church: they wanted none of it.

It is true that at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, a weekly Sung Eucharist was established from at least 1878.¹⁶ This was due rather to the

12. W.H. Grindle, *Irish Cathedral Music* (Belfast, 1989), pp. 108-9.

13. *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette*, quoted *ibid*, p. 111.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

15. *Caroline Tradition*, p. 159.

16. *Ibid.*, note.

munificence of the High Churchman Henry Roe than to the inclination of the Chapter. Roe agreed to add a further £20,000 to endow the Choral Foundation, having already paid for the restoration and partial rebuilding of the cathedral and the erection of the Synod House beside it as a home for the General Synod. His stipulation, however, was daily choral services and a Sung Eucharist on all Sundays and Holy Days. It is sobering to note that a suspicious and ungrateful laity refrained from electing Roe to a seat in the Synod House his generosity had provided; for he was High Church. Such was the mood of a Church of Ireland supposedly the heir of a Caroline tradition, 'high in doctrine, low in ceremonial'. Closer to the truth is the remark by Archbishop Bernard's biographer that 'the Church of England is freer than the Church of Ireland because it contains within its bosom the three great schools of thought whereas the Church of Ireland contains one, the Evangelical'.¹⁷

It was the centres, few though they were, of Tractarian Churchmanship, of Anglo-Catholicism, that kept the vision of Catholicity alive within the Church of Ireland, not a surviving Caroline tradition. Only the radical polemical zeal of Anglo-Catholicism could take on the fight within the fortress of Protestantism. The static ideals of old High Churchmanship did not win many hearts. Osborne writes:

The Oxford Movement formed for itself some curious little eddies in Dublin intellectual life, especially among some of the undergraduates of Trinity College. ... The excesses of St Bartholomew's Dublin (mild indeed compared to English ritualism) and similar features, a little more pronounced, at Grangegorm, attracted small knots of young people, some from genuine interest and earnestness, some from affectation and a desire to shock Protestant parents. The novelty has since worn off, and the threatening murmurs of the wave of impending Home Rule have left but little space for the sound of lesser and purely theological squabbles.¹⁸

Nonetheless, Tractarianism has survived the political and social upheavals of this century. Where the lines of battle have remained more evidently drawn, in the Orange North, its strength and influence have naturally been least, and

17. Murray, *Archbishop Bernard*, p. 194.

18. *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell* vol. 1, p. 145.

the utmost caution has been exercised. The eclectic congregation of S. George's, Belfast has maintained a choral service and a Tractarian ethos. Like the All Saints, Grangegorman of George Tyrrell's experience, the worship and teaching have not always fully represented the aspirations and beliefs of its adherents, although its clergy has always been firmly Tractarian and, therefore, closely watched. In the rich suburbs of the Malone Road, S. John's has sustained a mildly Tractarian tradition with an ethos of Englishness perhaps indicative of the delicate balance of the social climate in which it is set.

Elsewhere in Ulster, Tractarianism has had fitful manifestations. The choral service has survived in Armagh, Derry and Belfast Cathedrals; but, as Dr Grindle has said, there have been many occasions when 'devotees of Cathedral music (long since a minority in a minority church) must have feared for its preservation in the prevailing climate'.¹⁹ The Confraternity of S. Patrick sought in the 1950s to foster Catholic teaching in the North. Their meetings were often by invitation only, with mildly clandestine celebrations of 'The Holy Eucharist' in Lord Clondeboy's private chapel or other such venues. The Warden, the Revd Hector Love, then an Armagh clergyman but himself a son of S. Bartholomew's, Dublin and an avid Anglo-Catholic, found it prudent to exercise most of his ministry in the 'Upper Diocese', that part in Co. Louth beyond the border where Orangeism was unknown. When in Keady, Co. Armagh, he maintained a daily Eucharist which attracted disfavour, and he was often threatened or abused. His *Holy Communion with Private Devotions* (Armagh, 1949) contains offices of preparations and thanksgiving before and after the Eucharist, includes the *Agnus Dei*, Last Gospel and many pious ejaculations, and is thoroughly Tractarian. He has been an inspiration and confessor to many young ordinands who have often taken the path to England, or indeed to Rome.

In the South, All Saints, Grangegorman, S. Bartholomew's, and the Trustee Church of S. John the Evangelist, Sandymount, have maintained the

19. *Irish Cathedral Music*, p. 84.

Tractarian position. Fearless, if generally obedient, the first two mentioned have sought within the Cromwellian Protestantism of the Church of Ireland to proclaim their vision of the fulness of truth. Sometimes they have gone too far, like Walter Cadden Simpson, Vicar of S. Bartholomew's from 1918 to 1951, who was prosecuted for praying for the dead, having lighted candles on the Holy Table, wearing coloured stoles, and taking the eastward position at the Eucharist.²⁰

S. John's, Sandymount was even more advanced. The Revd Fletcher Sheridan LeFanu, Vicar from 1899, founded the Guild of S. Patrick whose objects were set out as follows:

1. To combine Churchmen generally with a view to defend, maintain, and promote Catholic doctrine and discipline in the Church of Ireland.
2. To unite, in prayer for the restoration of that which we have lost, those who have a deep sense of the evils wrought by the change made in 1877 by the revision of the Book of Common Prayer.
3. To regain for the Holy Eucharist its proper place as the chief service of the Church.
4. To circulate Catholic literature.
5. Generally to advance the interests of religion and true devotion to God's service.²¹

The *Manual* contains an office based on Vespers and a collection of sixteen hymns, among which we may note Nos. 9 (The Precious Blood of Jesus), 10 (The Sacred Heart of Jesus), 11 (Our Lady), 12 (The Love of Mary), 13 (The Passion of Mary), and 15 (The Departed). Of course, S. John's did not escape notice. In 1910, the police had to be brought in to stop brawling in the church.²²

Richard Travers Smith, Vicar of S. Bartholomew's from 1871 to 1905, showed his concern for the unity of a life of prayer and action when he

20. George Seaver, *John Allen Fitzgerald Gregg, Archbishop* (Dublin, 1963), pp. 142-52.

21. *Manual of the Guild of S. Patrick* (n.p., 1912).

22. McDowell, *Church of Ireland*, p. 88.

founded the Community of S. Mary the Virgin in 1887 with Mother Isabella Maffet as co-foundress and first superior.²³ In 1891 the Community moved to a permanent home in Clyde Lane, near the church. Their rule was based on that of S. Augustine. They opened a small school for girls, and trained others for domestic service. As they grew in numbers, a boys' hostel was established. In 1943 all this work ceased, and the Sisters undertook the care of old and infirm ladies, a work which has now fallen to the other Anglican community founded in the Church of Ireland, the Community of S. John the Evangelist. The latter was established, in the spirit of the Order of the Visitation, by LeFanu sixteen years after the foundation by Travers Smith; its alternative name was the Sisters of the Love of Jesus.²⁴ Their home for girls and school of embroidery was additional to the *opus Dei* and the running of retreats. In 1959, the two communities amalgamated, later moving to the Ballsbridge convent. At the time of writing, only Sister Elizabeth, in her nineties, remains in Ireland, the Mother House having moved to Wales in the early 1970s.

Although repeated questions and complaints were voiced in the Dublin Diocesan and General Synods against these convents, there was little that could be done to frustrate them. S. John's Church was more vulnerable, and Fr. Colquhoun, Parish Priest from 1930, was successfully prosecuted for, among other things, wearing vestments and biretta at an altar with a crucifix and six candles, for the elevation of the host and reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, and for having Stations of the Cross. He was suspended, and the clergy of S. Bartholomew's maintained the services.

It has been argued by those who wish to postulate a living High Church tradition innocent of Oxfordism that Ireland is where that tradition may be found. Men like Archbishop George Simms (Primate, 1969-80) and his immediate successor Archbishop John Armstrong (Primate, 1980-88) have

23. Peter Anson, *The Call of the Cloister. Religious communities and kindred bodies in the Anglican Communion* (London, 1964), p. 488 *et seq.*

24. *Ibid.*, p. 505 *et seq.*

been seen as representatives of that older tradition. It is true that such men, and one or two others like them, have represented a moderation and scholarship akin to - and indebted to - the older tradition. But it must be remembered that the older inheritance was itself transmitted and propagated because of the courage of avowed Tractarians and Anglo-Catholics, and that these modern exemplars were themselves as much products of the later as of the earlier school. George Simms, who wrote on Todd and Hogan, was, after all, Walter Simpson's curate at S. Bartholomew's from 1935 to 1938, and was one of those who served S. John's during Colquhoun's suspension. John Armstrong was Raymond Jenkins's curate at All Saints, Grangegorman from 1938 to 1944. Others, like Harry Vere White, Bishop of Limerick between the wars and a biographer of John Jebb, had been a server at Grangegorman and Vicar of S. Bartholomew's from 1903 to 1918. They may not have been Anglo-Catholics of the most advanced kind, but it was at the centres of Anglo-Catholicism that they partook of the living Catholic tradition within the Church of Ireland. The faith which has sustained these centres is, one may then argue, at once that of Jebb and Knox (and Bramhall and Taylor) with that of the Oxford Movement. Only that sense of inherent legitimacy which the Oxford Movement proclaimed, in circumstances devoid of the external support and protection which Knox and Jebb looked for, was capable of sustaining that vision through secularism, Erastianism, and disestablishment. Inherent in all High Churchmanship, and incontestable in Anglo-Catholicism, is the belief that theirs is the only understanding of the nature of the Church and the Faith. The quest was to capture - in their eyes, to re-capture - the Church of Ireland for that Faith. The fact that they were trying to work within the constraints of the Irish Church as they found her should not blind us to the equally important fact of their adherence to all that had fired the Oxford men.

Small in number, they were rich in works. Defeated, they were not crushed. They founded schools, from S. Columba's College to the Sisters' orphan schools. They joined religious orders and, like Sister Elizabeth today,

waited on people twenty years their junior. They founded guilds of prayer and witness, fostered retreats, embellished churches, engaged in social work, promoted beauty of sound and colour in worship. They prayed and preached and centred their lives on the Blessed Sacrament. When the then curate of S. Bartholomew's, Noël Waring, spoke at the end of the ritual trials associated with that church in the 1920s, his words on the vocation of S. Bartholomew's might have been spoken about the movement in Ireland as a whole:

[S. Bartholomew's] must either lose or preserve its sense of distinctive task and mission. To lose it would be to fail and to be false to all those who have gone before. This it cannot, and I am certain will not, do. To preserve it, and to persevere in our distinctive task, does not and must not mean to assume an attitude of isolation. S. Bartholomew's has never done this. She has her real part to play and place to take in the life of the Church of Ireland.²⁵

Yet for all this there has undeniably been something of the air of the embassy church about S. Bartholomew's and the other centres of Anglo-Catholicism. Perhaps this was inevitable, for their feeling of unity with the evidently stronger and more successful movement in England gave them, to return to Olivia Manning's phrase, that Anglo-Irish sense of belonging nowhere. They were tolerated within strictly defined limits and, as indifference grew and southern Anglicans dwindled under the republic, in designated centres. Perhaps it was better when the Protestant militants came to cause trouble and exercise the powers granted them in the deliberately constructed Ritual Canon Law. Devotedly living out their Catholic faith without compromise of principle, they were compelling symbols in their hope of leavening the lump of post-disestablishment Protestantism. It was perhaps at this period that they deserve to stand alongside Jebb in the endeavour to create 'a more intelligently pious Christianity'.

Their ultimate defeat was long in coming, and their contribution along the way was beautiful and eloquent. Writing in 1985, Raymond Jenkins, sixth

25. Quoted in Milne, *S. Bartholomew's*, p. 83.

Vicar of the church, sums up the contribution of All Saints to a faith he and many others live and have lived:

The sixth Vicar of Grangegorm had as strong convictions as had the second, and they led him along a different road. He saw the [parish] organizations as the logical expressions of belief centred on the Incarnation, the Word-made-flesh, the Altar, the Eucharistic worship, the pleading of the Cross of Calvary, the new life springing from the Resurrection. ... Nevertheless, the Doctor had left a rich and imperishable legacy to the Church. The absolute priority of worship, the sacramental life, the call to strict discipline, the demand for intellectual integrity, the necessity for beauty. No matter how the outward trappings might alter from generation to generation, these elements are ever vital and essential. All else must perish, but they must remain.²⁶

26. *Pioneers and Partners*, pp. 14-15.

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