

POLITICAL
CHRISTIANITY.

STATE PATRONAGE AND GOVERNMENT SUPPORT,

IN NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF RELIGION,

NOT ONLY

INEFFECTIVE, AS A MEANS OF PROPAGATING DIVINE TRUTH,

BUT

PERNICIOUS TO THE NATION, AND OBSTRUCTIVE TO THE
PROGRESS OF SCRIPTURAL RELIGION:

ILLUSTRATED IN THE

POLITICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, AND EDUCATIONAL
STATISTICS OF IRELAND.

LONDON;

HAMILTON, ADAMS, & CO.;

D. MARPLES & CO., LIVERPOOL; W. CURRY, JUN., & CO., DUBLIN.

MDCCCXXXIV.

"NO—MARBLE AND RECORDING BRASS DECAY,
AND LIKE THE GRAVER'S MEMORY PASS AWAY;
THE WORKS OF MAN INHERIT, AS IS JUST,
THEIR AUTHOR'S FRAILTY, AND RETURN TO DUST:
BUT TRUTH DIVINE FOR EVER STANDS SECURE;
ITS HEAD IS GUARDED, AS ITS BASE IS SURE.
FIXED IN THE ROLLING FLOOD OF ENDLESS YEARS,
THE PILLAR OF THE ETERNAL PLAN APPEARS;
THE RAVING STORM AND DASHING WAVE DEFIES,
BUILT BY THAT ARCHITECT THAT BUILT THE SKIES."

TO THE
RIGHT HON. AND HON. THE MEMBERS
OF
THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT,
ASSEMBLED UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF
THE REFORM BILL.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

As Members of the United Parliament of Great Britain, you sustain an office of vast importance and responsibility. It is expected, in these days, not that you will promote the caprice of a monarch, or the interests of a minister or a party; but that you will diligently seek and serve the welfare of a potent commonwealth, an extended empire, and a generous people. Your Constituents have sent you to Parliament, not alone to watch that the State shall sustain no injury; but also to investigate and effect such improvements as are required in the condition and relations of all the members the body-politic. The ignorance and errors of former times, the remissness of later ages, and the happy aus-

pices under which you are assembled, have devolved upon you numerous and paramount cares, connected with the difficult subjects now imperatively waiting for consideration. There are many able, laborious, and faithful members in your assembly; but I shall not offend you if I surmise, that only a few may have fully considered the vital question submitted for discussion in these pages. I conceive that private citizens may both instruct their representatives as to their several political and commercial interests; and, by advising and informing them respectfully, co-operate in consummating the national regeneration, and in establishing the cause of Truth and Justice.

I do not apprehend that I shall have to maintain my defence, as the author of "Zion's Plea" did before an archiepiscopal judge, when he adduced the proof that only five hundred copies of his work were printed, and that beyond seas, while these were intended solely for the Members of Parliament. It will afford me great pleasure to learn that my services have been acceptable; and I shall enjoy unfeigned satisfaction, should it appear that these pages have contributed, through your counsel, even to a limited extent, in advancing the honour of England, the cause of Truth, and the happiness of Mankind. All eyes are upon you. England will be exalted if you do your duty. The influence and benign results of your deliberations will be diffused to remote regions—in British Colonies, and among Foreign nations: the good you do will live after you; and when you rest from your labours, your works will follow you.

To you, my Lords and Gentlemen, I dedicate **POLITICAL CHRISTIANITY**. The enquiry has been to me replete with interest: the momentous and all-absorbing nature of the

subject, the extreme probability that this Session will not pass without a discussion of the principles involved, and the national agitation which may precede or be excited by your deliberation, have induced me, I hope without presumption, to devote these pages to your service; and to subscribe myself, your obedient, humble servant,

MEDICUS. EXUL.

February 7th, 1834.

Houses of the Oireachtas

CONTENTS.

	Page
DEDICATION	iii.
CHAPTER I. The Case stated	1
.. II. Disputants and Controversy	6
.. III. Irish Politics	12
.. IV. The Anglo-Hibernian Church as it has been	26
.. V. The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland as it is	44
.. VI. Some Passages in the History of Presbyterianism in Ireland	55
.. VII. Brief Notices of Eminent Persons connected with, or calling themselves, the Independents, or Congregational Churches in Ireland	70
.. VIII. Short Sketches of other and minor Sects, calling them- selves Christians in Ireland. Thoughts hereby suggested	80
.. IX. A Chapter of Conclusions in 'Tabular form, and for sober consideration	94
.. X. Chartered Spoliation and National Extravagance, under the guise of Educational Zeal	102
.. XI. The beginning of a better System	113
.. XII. Education conducted by Benevolent Associations for reli- gious purposes. Is Education from Charitable Funds calculated to sustain moral character?	119
INVOCATION	135

CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter I. The Church in Ireland	1
II. Disputes and Controversy	1
III. Irish Church	1
IV. The Anglican Church as it has been	1
V. The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland as it is	1
VI. Some Points in the History of Protestantism in Ireland	1
VII. Brief Notices of the Points connected with, or calling themselves, the Independents or Congregational Churches in Ireland	1
VIII. Short Notices of other and minor sects calling themselves Christians in Ireland	1
IX. A Chapter of Considerations about the time, and for what communication	1
X. Unfinished Speculation and Unfinished Literature, under the name of Educational Xcel	1
XI. The beginning of a better system	1
XII. Education conducted by Dissenting Associations for Xcel	1
about progress in Education from the time of the foundation of the Society to the present time	1
calculated to sustain moral character	1
Education	1

POLITICAL CHRISTIANITY.

CHAP. I.

THE CASE STATED.

PUBLIC attention has repeatedly been drawn, in recent times, to the controversy maintained between the rival episcopacies—Romish Prelates and Anglican Bishops. “*The Book of the Church*,” was intended as a reply to an English Advocate, who stood forth as the champion of Papal Rome. Both productions seemed to engross the conversation of those who waited for some new thing, and whose inclination prevailed to turn them from the consideration of subjects requiring more thought, and involving more practical matter. The labours of the Society assuming the title “*The Reformation Society*,” and managed under the auspices of English Hierarchs, have tended, if they have not also been designed, to perpetuate the contest, and occupy the attention of spectators. The same discussion has been transferred to Irish polemics, in “*The Travels of an Irish Gentleman*,” and the “*Guide to an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion*.” The question is, whether religion, that is, the truth of God, has been the object of search to either: and the strife of both parties may probably be regarded as a carnal contention between a mother and her daughter, which is entitled to be accounted the paramour, and receive the addresses, of a worldly gallant. The elder pleads her purity of blood and unbroken line of ancestry—the pedigree of her family—their parchment deeds, their infallible wisdom, and undivided authority: while the younger appeals to the beauty of her attire, the grace of her speech, the dignity of her manner, the livery of her servants, and the wealth of her treasures, “the liberty of conscience allowed by the tolerant spirit of the national

faith,"* the comparative ease of her services and requirements, and her lineal descent from the same original stock. We shall not stop to remark how unseemly is altercation between kindred so nearly allied, or to question the gratitude of the daughter, who owes all that she enjoys of property, of honour, or of distinction and power to her despised parent. It might serve a good end, were this a fit place, to give a faithful portrait of each; were such a graphic delineation set forward in the next academical exhibition, the family likeness would be displayed, and the meed of praise rendered, where age and services have most deserved distinction: but our object is of a more general character—their comparative claims come not within our present discussion—we account them the "wood, hay, and stubble," that shall be "tried by fire." The Church of Rome and the Ecclesiastical Polity hitherto established by law in England are not the world, however secular; they are not *the* church—an assumption often arrogated; nor are they the Christian community of Great Britain. It would be of advantage to them both, that is, their adherents, could they silence their jarrings, and hear what others can say for themselves; as well as what is thought of them by others. The choice to be made of public favour depends not on their opinion of themselves, or their vaunted claims. A Latin breviary or an obsolete ritual; a friar's hood or a doctor's scarf; lawn sleeves or mitred caps, have lost much of their charms in the esteem of the people. It may be that the church of England appeals to the Sacred Scriptures, and recommends the Canons of the Fathers—that she invites her people to judge, but will not suffer them to decide. She is not *the* church. It may be that the system of Romanism is founded on Papal infallibility, is distinguished by the doctrine of transubstantiation and the worship of the Virgin, and is maintained by priestly influence; and it may be that Roman Catholics are enjoined to believe not what is merely above reason, but what is palpably opposed to common sense—that the canons and decretals are unintelligible to the common people, and contrary one to another, as well as to the revelation of the Divine will. But Popery is only a sect, following the ordinances and traditions of men; and such are not the questions which we have at this day to decide.

A change has come over the world—there is a marked pro-

* The words of Dr. Grey, Bishop of Bristol.

gression in the topics of public disputation on ecclesiastical polity ; we have fallen upon days greatly diversified from the times of the fathers of the present generation ; and it behoves us to marshal ourselves in a becoming manner for the combat, seeking that we may not only possess an armoury, but also strength equal to our day. Long after the assent and consent to all things contained in the "*Book of Common Prayer*" were required by act of parliament, the champions of that system continued to boast, with a vain confidence, of the immaculate excellency and perfectibility of the law church and its ritual ; while their declared anticipation was, that dissent would prove a passing shadow, a thing of one age ; and that when the race of nonconformists, who were expelled from the church, had been gathered to dust, their principles would descend with them to the grave. The apprehensions of the chief men, however, were subsequently excited by a greater strength and more durable existence being acquired, and accessions of other members being made by dissenting communities ; then the crozier was extended as a pastoral crook, and the voice of the lordly prelate was heard, in accents of expostulation with the wandering sheep, exclaiming, "For what, then, are the noble structures in which our forefathers worshipped God, and called down the blessings which have raised our country to the highest eminence — for what are they at any time deserted ? For conventicles, in which the doctrines and service vary with every new teacher, in which the unprepared rhapsodies of the moment are poured by individuals ignorant of, and despising, the forms in which the church through all ages has offered up its praises and thanksgivings unto God ; or in which the essential doctrines of the gospel are disregarded or disclaimed. I beseech you all to reflect, again and again, how unjustifiable is a separation from an apostolic church, in which no departure from the faith can be proved." Thus saith the present occupant of the See of Bristol ; and again, as if he found his palace too *hot* for him ; "Besides, I wish you to reflect, that the chief concern of all who resort to public worship should be prayer and attention to the scriptures ; and that, if your preachers were indeed superior to ours, as they are, in reality, in all respects unworthy to be compared with them, it would not justify you in withdrawing from the service appointed by public authority, in conformity to the regulations of the primitive church."

In later times, and with more thinking people, a conviction has grown up, and acquired an active energy, that some improvement

is necessary; some other division of ecclesiastical revenue, some modification in liturgical forms, some change in discipline and communion have been proposed, yea urged with vehemence and enforced by argument, by clerical dignitaries and lordly pamphleteers. In certain high quarters, the admission has been made that something is necessary, and it has been attempted to stay public clamour by divers proposals—certain small tubs have been cast out to catch the great whale. But all feel that the old fabric is encompassed with danger, and many fear that the most imminent peril lies in the moving of a single fragment,—in the transposition of one mouldering brick or one rotten timber,—from the venerable pile; and those who enjoy clearer powers of discrimination are disposed to *leave* it as it is, and fix themselves in a situation of less hazard and alarm.

There are great searchings of heart for the divisions of Reuben; and his grace of Canterbury charges his clergy, saying, “in proportion to the success of your attention to this important point (the national schools), the course of your ministry will become smooth and easy; your parishioners, from their infancy initiated in the principles and inured to the practice of pure Christianity, will crowd with pious affection to the altars of their mother church!” But there is little of this concern beyond the precincts of their community; the opponents of the establishment have assumed other ground in the present day, and have brought the question within a narrower compass—they put the issue upon *the very existence of an establishment at all*. Nor will they admit the evidence of parliamentary enactment, or the testimony of early fathers, but What saith the scripture? and What is just and reasonable? Their motto is, “Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets;” and the objects of their enquiry are “whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, they have learned to think on these things.” —Phil. iv. 8.

In Ireland, the virtuous efficacy of an establishment has been as fairly brought to the test of experience as in any country; and the candid investigator will find the conclusions as palpable as he could desire. Properly speaking, there have been none, at least but few, evangelical dissenters to interfere in the experiment, either to

help or retard the operation. The Presbyterians have had their support on a special compromise of the principle of national establishments, national faith, and national service. Here, too, the very extreme dissentients from the "*Thirty-nine-Articles*" and Scottish "*Confession of Faith*," have participated in the revenues arising from the alliance of church and state. There has been a rich prelatic establishment throughout the country; and, as a willing handmaid, the Scottish church has chiefly occupied the division of Ulster, and sent out her branches into other provinces. Ireland has therefore been the scene of an experiment, both for riches and poverty, in connexion with national religion. It must interest the political philanthropist, as well as the philosophical student of church history, to be able to determine with what success the plan has been pursued, and whether it may serve as a model for other unenlightened regions of the earth. In this country, too, national resources have been profusely lavished, ostensibly for promoting education and moral improvement; while secular emoluments and literary honours have been almost exclusively conferred on the professed conformists with the legalized creed. What profit has there been to the state from all these sectarian privileges? and what advantage has religion derived from this monopoly? English Dissenters have declared their grievances, and summed up, among the chief, *their liability* to the payment of church-rates, and other ecclesiastical demands; and their *exclusion* from the privileges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. An illustration of the unmitigated effects of a similar system will be found in Irish history: and to all the wise men of Parliament we would say, "Judge ye."

CHAP. II.

DISPUTANTS AND CONTROVERSY.

THESE observations may come under the eye of gentlemen recently engaged in controversy on the interests of Church of Englandism; I deem it, therefore, expedient to clear my way by a few preliminary remarks. Subsequent statements will come forth less involved in extraneous matter, and it may be that the reader will feel more inclined to pursue the subject. The poet declares, that "all men think all men mortal but themselves": perhaps this self-deceiving exclusiveness extends to other things besides mortality. It is, however, notorious, and not more remarkable than foolish in those who are chargeable with the inconsistency, that facts of an unpalatable description, or that would diminish the supposed consequence, or would expose the weakness, of a party are carefully eluded, or shut out from consideration; so that even writers of that particular connexion appear to be blinded by prejudice, or destitute of the most accessible information. Thus a wilful and delusive blindness has happened to members or writers of the established church in reference to dissenters. The fact of two thousand pastors being *driven* from the bosom of the law-church, and forced to become dissenting ministers by the second Charles, is not sufficiently considered. These men were not ill educated, violent, and partizan schismatics, but, for conscience' sake and the fear of God, suffered themselves to be excluded from the sphere of honourable employment and present subsistence; they carried with them the affection of many of their people; and though violent persecution still followed them, it was far from shaking the attachment of their flock, or extirpating their sentiments: not more incompressible is water, than is sacred truth: hostile efforts will never extinguish, or alienate from the mind, opinions conscientiously entertained. The sufferings of the Puritans rendered their cause the more sacred, and their labours the more acceptable among their flock. Parliamentary acts and penal statutes against

attending conventicles, or to disqualify by civil disabilities the dissentients from legalized episcopacy, were passed in vain. It was a time of suffering to Nonconformists, but it was also a purifying time; for them, it was a season of opprobrious oppression, but it was also diligently employed in zealous and patient labour. The dissenters of those days were men of exalted and sanctified genius; it was not only that they gathered a sacred halo round their own venerated names, but they diffused a lustre and a glory upon their path, and cast a light on the generation which rose up under their fostering care. Hence an Owen and a Howe, a Baxter and a Flavel, are names which never can be obliterated, but shall abide in everlasting remembrance. Occasional dereliction was exhibited from their principles and example, by the men who professed to receive their instructions, but the succession never failed; Henry and Doddridge, Calamy and Watts, held forth the light of the sanctuary, and shewed the presence of one like unto the Son of Man in the midst of the golden candlesticks: while the race of worthies now passing, or almost passed, from the church on earth,—the Bogues and Burders, the Waughs and Winters, the Halls and Hills, and many other bright ornaments,—have bequeathed the legacy, intrusted to themselves, to a Raffles and a Jay, a McAll and Winter Hamilton, a Fletcher and a Bennett, and other labourers not less talented or useful, though less known beyond the sphere of their labour.

The assertion has been made, but it was rash, and without just foundation, that “the meeting-houses, with very few exceptions, founded for the promulgation of the atonement of Christ, have been embezzled by the crafty deceits and juggling sophistry of the Socinian party in England”; any approximation to the truth of this statement being only where the principle of an establishment was recognized by *endowments*, or where an abrogation of popular suffrage was effected:—neither is it true that “a very large proportion of the dissenters of England are for ever denied the opportunity of hearing the saving doctrines of the Bible preached, unless a Christian spirit be awakened in our House of Commons.” Does the writer of such assertions suppose that evangelical dissenters depend upon parliamentary grants for building churches? He is, then, mistaken indeed. The church accommodation among them in England is very little, if in any degree, less than the parochial edifices, there being nearly 8,000 chapels, besides other preaching places, for dissenters. It would be well for Sir R. H.

Inglis or Mr. Recorder Shaw to move, in their proper places, for a statistical survey of all Dissenters in Britain, and to have a tabular view thereof exposed in the College Halls of all the Universities, for the information of all Bachelors in Divinity and all embryo Patriots. It will then be known that the Dissenters of England are neither given over to the heresies of Socinus or of Arius; nor destitute of comfortable sanctuaries, in which to worship the only living and true God. But it may be that we ascribe to ignorance, that which has its origin in obtuseness of intellect; it is, moreover, possible that the habit of observing objects through a perverted medium produces an obliquity of vision, and a disposition to describe subjects otherwise than according to natural appearances. To what else can we trace the following sentence; "As long as parliament deem it prudent to be controlled by the Jacobin spirit (?) of the age, and withhold from the establishment in Ireland the means of enabling the people to encourage their inclination towards her doctrines and government, by the preclusion inflicted on them of participating in her religious services, so long are our senators engaged in the unholy occupation of tendering bribes to Protestant dissenters and the disciples of Rome, to make inroads on the church." I shall not inflict the "preclusion" on the English reader of withholding from him the important fact, that this is the language of the Vicar of Bannow, an apologist for the Irish Church, whom Dr. Elrington, Bishop of Ferns, has thought fit to hold forth as a mighty champion for the episcopal faith and the ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland. My Lord Mountcashel had the daring to come forward at Cork, and expose certain abuses which he imagined had crept into the law-church, and appealed to the state of that establishment, as set up by his ancestors. The Vicar of Bannow makes a violent attempt to defend his bulwarks against the noble assailant. I shall make no effort to close the breach; having learned that by putting in a piece of new cloth, there is danger lest the rent should be made worse. But, in this controversy, the Vicar made a distinction between the church of England and the churches planted by the apostles; "a more unadulterated form of church government and of Christian doctrine," he observes, "may supplant the establishment of a more corrupt system, and yet be far removed from perfection." Can this language refer to the truly *apostolic* constitution of the English church? He assured the Lord Mountcashel that he had been betrayed into

a mistake, by limiting his observation to the churches of antiquity planted by the apostles, and corrupted by the hordes of sectaries, which refined away the prominent and leading truths of the gospel. Where else, then, I would ask, are we to discover churches of apostolic constitution, but in the sacred volume? and does the English church correspond with such a model?

There is a question, which I cannot determine, either to my own satisfaction or I fear to the profit of my reader. I will state the difficulty to which I refer. The language of Primate Stuart, when furnishing to the house of Commons, in the year 1820, a return of the state of the church in this country, is designated the *declaration of the church in Ireland*. He seems to have spoken in the name of the other bishops only. There is no question, seemingly, more inexplicable than this—*What is the church?* It is not the land—from that are derived the revenues of the church. It is not the people of the land—for in Ireland they generally belong to another body. It is not the communicants at the altar—for they have nothing to do, as such, in determining the laws, appointing officers, or administering the government of the church. It is not the *thirty-nine articles*, for they are the articles of the church; and “the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.” It is not the clergy, high or low—for they cannot add to, or take from, the rites, prayers, or ordinances of the church. It surely is not either, or both, houses of parliament, for in them are Independents, Socinians, Roman Catholics, and others; and yet they possess power to decree laws for the church. Shall we find a solution to the question from the King in council? No: for the church apologist describes, and the bishop of Ferns approves, that the letter of Primate Stewart, in 1820, was the communication of the Irish church. Thus bishops are spoken of as themselves composing and constituting the church. And yet all that has been done by parliament, or by associations, is ascribed to the church—that is, to the bishops. Shall we then conclude, that when the cry is heard, “the church is in danger,” it is meant that the bishops are exposed to peril, to privations, to obloquy, to exclusion from parliament, and to the wakeful and vigilant scrutiny of the people of the land? This may be the right way of determining the matter; but when I speak of the church, in the subsequent pages, I shall recognize it as the corporation of clergymen of all grades, from the lordly prelate to the aspirant deacon, for whom the laws of former generations, in dark and

and priest-ridden times, imposed exactions on the people ; and for whose support tithes and fees have been extorted by the bayonet and the terrors of confiscation and imprisonment.

Some writers on this subject may possess more favourable access to the penetralia of the episcopal palaces, and more minute acquaintance with the buildings appropriated to ecclesiastical purposes—cathedral and parochial edifices, the glebes and parsonages of the English church in Ireland ; may know more of the *unions* and divisions of unions of parishes, of the characters of bishops and the sons of bishops, of the changes they have effected, and the great good they intend to effect : more of such knowledge may be possessed by some than falls to my lot ; yet perhaps some things may be known also to me, even of this character, which shall be used in proper places. It is my duty, and I feel the inclination, to contribute to the welfare of the country in which has been my dwelling-place. The time in which we live is eventful, and a crisis for Ireland is not far distant ; changes will assuredly come—the waters of the Mississippi could not roll them back, nor the mountainous chain of the Himalaya impede their swelling tide ; far less can the drivelling bigotry of orange factions, the puling fanaticism of Protestant ascendancy, the incendiary ravings of the selfish demagogue, or the midnight plots of the priests of darkness. The shadows of coming times are cast before ; and we may discover, not the mechanical and fitful operations of short-sighted and selfish man, whose council is oft times foolishness, and whose politics are distracted by the shifting scenes of antagonist principles ; but the mighty movements and glorious progress of the Divine mechanism, exhibited in vision on the banks of the Chebar to the soaring spirit of the Hebrew prophet ; “As for their appearances, they four had one likeness, as if a wheel had been in the midst of a wheel ; when they went, they went upon their four sides ; they turned not as they went, but to the place whither the head looked they followed it ; *they turned not* as they went. And their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheels were full of eyes round about, even the wheels that they four had.” Under such auspices, “when the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare and to bestow upon the most solid and sublime points of controversy and new invention, it betokens us not to be degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay ; but, casting off the old and wrinkled

skin of corruption, to outlive these pangs, and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, destined to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with all those that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of SECTS AND SCHISMS."

CHAP. III.

IRISH POLITICS.

My station and employments are worthy only of retirement, and may be best filled independent of all political association. As a native of another country, who, after an early education and a residence of several years in England, visited some of the most distant colonial possessions of Britain, where I remained for several years a diligent observer; and having become subsequently an inhabitant of Ireland during five years, part of which was spent exploring some of its most rude and unlettered districts, as well as the more populous and improved towns and cities; at the same time holding intimate intercourse with men of one party, while my views and sentiments had a leaning to the claims of the party opposed to them; a Protestant, but unconnected with the Establishment, or any of the minor divisions which derive the emoluments, without suffering the odium, of state connexions; a Sectarian, but an ardent admirer of real Catholicity; a Liberal, but no O'Connellite; a conscientious well-wisher of scriptural education, but neither desiring legislative enactments or resources, nor admiring the systems which have been in operation; perhaps I may be entitled, in the reader's judgment, to have an opinion, and may have been enabled to attain some correct sentiments on the present state of Ireland. I may farther presume to add, that I have mingled with the aristocracy and gentry, the clergy and lawyers of the Protestant persuasion, while occasionally I mixed with members of the Roman Catholic church, lay and clerical; and all this has been unaccompanied with any insignia of office, the gold stick, the baton, or the surplice. I have visited many parts of Ireland, and met all classes — on the eve of the elections, while they were going forward, and after they were completed. In the metropolitan province; in the south, the west, and the north; both in towns and country parts, I have made observations and received intelligence among priests and people, clergy and laity, electors and non-electors. Under such circumstances, it perhaps

will be admitted that opportunities have been afforded me which ought to have been improved.

Theories and speculations for Ireland have been numerous enough, surely: political empiricism and profligate ministerial jobbing; hasty measures and dilatory concession; adherence to party and political consistency; the adventurous speculation of manœuvring or experimental politicians, exhibiting this country as a *tabula rasa*, on which school-boy statesmen might learn to blot, rather than the sheet to which the clean transcript should be imparted; treatment for sores and cutaneous eruptions, rather than remedial measures which should reach the heart, the seat of the disease; a *home* and a *colonial* government for the same people; a Minister in London, and the King's representative in Dublin; Ireland treated as a dependency, rather than as an integral part of the empire; all these, and a thousand other things, might form the theme of lengthened discussions, independent of that cancerous gangrene—the Protestant church of Ireland, which would be a gnawing sore, a fatal ulcer, in the body politic, under the best, the wisest, and most patriotic government that a good king could constitute. In consequence of her connexion with Scotland and England, discussions on politics and of civil rights are carried further in Ireland than would have been the case had she stood by herself. Then she might have ranked perhaps with Prussia or Saxony. Now she has more than she could have obtained by her own efforts, or than, in every sense, she is prepared for. Ireland must not be judged of by England or Scotland. It is not merely that there are here more grounds of complaints; it is not merely that the people, high or low, are less advanced in general intelligence here than in the other parts of Great Britain. I refer particularly to the gentry, who do not cultivate, but let, the land which themselves hold on lease, to be cultivated by subordinate tenants; it is not merely that this class, who are above absolute want or beggary, are but serfs of a higher caste, and deem themselves superior to any manual or generous exertion for their own welfare, and are consequently idle, having no taste for studious reading, are occupied incessantly in trifles, in drink, or in TALK; it is not merely that they are an effervescent, sensitive, and pugnacious people; but too many of them seem insensible to the value of life and the turpitude of assassination, of the moral accountability of every man for his own conduct, and the awful judgments of the Supreme Governor: some individuals have

talked to me of way-laying a man as coolly as an Englishman would of ferreting a hare, or a Scotchman of shooting a moorfowl. They seem to have no faith in the ultimate decisions of eternal justice, or the rational liberty of another man to think for himself. My remarks are of course intended generally, and are not of universal application.

There is comparatively very little improving reading among them. The literature patronized is chiefly that of the diurnal and weekly press; none can entertain a correct idea, unless they read them, what is the unprofitable character of the periodical publications in Ireland. The work of any size which has the greatest circulation here is Blackwood, of which about eight hundred copies are sent to this country. The Christian Examiner, among Protestants exclusively, does not circulate so great a number in Ireland, though it is published here, discusses local matters, and is the champion of the Church. It is, moreover, taken in, I know, for the sake of the thing, but lies uncut in many places. Three periodicals, of fair literary and moral character, failed during my stay, not being supported; two new ones have recently been commenced, with what success I cannot tell; they bear the prenomens of *University*—one monthly, the other quarterly; the element in which they live and move will distinguish their character. There are three monthly publications in Ulster—*The Orthodox Presbyterian*, *The Christian Freeman*, and *The Covenanter*, price 3d. per number, the first and last, I am told, circulate 4,000 monthly. The former, however, it is said, declined in consequence of the Editor's violence against the Rev. James Carlile, and the Education Board. *The Dublin Penny Journal* professed to sell 20,000 weekly; and I believe the penny publications constitute the briskest trade just now—but except in Belfast and a few other towns they are little known; while their popularity depends on their woodcuts, their stories, and their brevity. Fiction is at all times more acceptable to an Irish public than truth; while the bulk of the community, such at least as are in a menial capacity, would rather deceive than speak the truth, were they even paid for the latter. In the courts for administering law, on receiving evidence, melancholy exhibitions of this feature of character are proverbially too frequent.

The High Church, or Church-triumphant Clergy, resort to the *London Standard* and *Morning Post*. The Evangelical, or Church-militant Clergy, are satisfied with the *Record*; while the waiters on

Providence; or Church-expectant Clergy, study the *Globe* at present for news. The zealous and more pious laity read and dream about the millennium, and the return of the Jews to their own land, and pin their political faith to the *London Record*. The political Protestants commit to memory the *Evening Mail*,—a paper which panders more to passion than any paper I know,—with now and then a glance at the *London Standard*, but that is sometimes above them. The reading of the Roman Catholics is chiefly confined to the *Diurnal* press of their own country and party. The priests, when they resort to a London paper, take in *Cobbett* or the *True Sun*, but generally they look to the *Pilot*, the oracle of O'Connell, who is to weather the storm; this may be called the evening edition of the *Register*: the *Freeman*, also, is a favourite with the Romish Clergy; while the poorer people who can read buy Daniel O'Connell's speeches, printed and hawked through the streets in half-penny and penny sheets. The Irish are, I think, not a reading or thinking people. They talk too much, are fond of lively sallies, wit, and raillery. They drink, and hunt, and fight. My reader may imagine I am severe, or hasty; I fear I am not. The transitory excitement which is ever and anon passing over the Irish horizon, when any novelty in theology, any gala day, any public meeting, procession, or dinner are to be observed, and the sudden calm which follows; the agitation consequent upon O'Connell's freaks, and the silence which reigns when he is out of the way, or pursuing his briefs; the cruel despotism, the abject thralldom, in which he holds his many adherents, and the ozier suppleness with which they bend to his dictates, substantiate my charge; and I am sorry for it. But what does all this prove? That the divers parties are not able to tolerate independence in others; that the landlords are not trained to exercise, or permit the exercise of, judgment or free will in those under them; and this intolerance reaches to every class to whom there are inferiors. Masses then come to act in the same way—the van led on by the priests. The faction, the party, the mob, or the *creed*, influence individuals as arbitrarily, and to as great risk of property, peace, and life (and even more so), as the most absolute despotism. The aristocracy have the opportunity of making their influence assume the sanction of property, family, and official rank, and so can visit effectually with their displeasure, and its sad accompaniments, individuals who are neither shot nor burned. The parties who have less appearance of constituted authority pursue their designs *per fas et nefas*;

if outcry will not answer their purpose, threats are resorted to, and if these succeed not, summary vengeance is perpetrated, in the murder of the man who dared to think for himself in despite of these adverse opinions. There must be some protection against such influence and domination, before the country can improve or become settled.

When any attempt to shake off this vassalage has been made, vexatious, rancorous, and persecuting hostility have followed. I am able to speak to the following circumstance from my own observation. In a mail coach, not far from Galway, I was travelling; by the same coach there were two priests, passengers. A respectable woman, the wife of a farmer, a Roman Catholic, was in the coach. A late election was the topic. She said she knew many who had not slept in their own houses since the election from fear, nor did they dare to do it; they had voted for the Browns. Pointing to one of the priests, she said — “That is Father James (it was a priest, whose name is notorious); if he were to meet me or any of my family in distress, he would not acknowledge me, nor help us, though he has been as intimate in our house as one of ourselves, and welcomed to a share of whatever we had, before the election.” “And what has caused the change?” said I. She replied — “Just because my husband gave his vote for Mr. Brown, his landlord.” She then described Mr. Brown, and spoke much in his praise. She also seemed to think highly of Sir W. Brabazon. It is a sober question, and of grave importance, What protection can these poor people have from such oppressors, on one side or the other,—from O’Connellism, priestly politics, or mob ascendancy? A generous mind can have no sympathy but with liberty, and that to be enjoyed by *all*: he can have no desire but to see every man have an opinion, and be free to express it, without any injurious or impeding bias; and to behold his fellow men secure in the testimony of a good conscience, and in the peace and comforts of their domestic hearths.

In a healthful state of society, a virtuous man will find no difficulty in declaring his sentiments, or in giving effect to his opinions, not merely on abstract rights, but on disputed local and relative interests; and even in an unsettled and troubled condition of things, a patriotic and good citizen will not decline, although at personal hazard, to avow his judgment of debated matters, and give, by his decided firmness and consistency, an example to others who may incline to follow the wise and good. But no man

should be driven to this risk or danger, or forced to deny himself civil rights, because his opinions come in collision with the rich or the many. The practice of public voting incurs this risk in keenly contested elections. Hence we witness the personal animosity towards opponents, and the sullen revenge, which is not only threatened, but inflicted, in a community formed of materials so selfish, short-sighted, prejudiced, and interested, as mankind are generally. It is not easy, in any country, to find or produce a healthy order of things, where party jarrings and hostile encounters shall not be countenanced; but in Ireland, there is not even a section of the country, where the people constitute a well regulated society. Here and there only will be found persons of sober mind and enlightened purpose; but generally the inhabitants are blinded by the jaundice of conservatism, maddened by popular excitement, paralysed by priestly influence, or swayed by aristocratic authority. The country seems to resemble a great cauldron, whose restless elements are, like the troubled sea, constantly casting up mire and dirt —

Boiling and bubbling,
Toiling and troubling.

This is a people more accessible, far, to passion than to principle—over whom the sense of moral justice sways but a feeble power; to be repressed by fear—the fear of physical coercion and superiority, or of superstitious dogmas and priestly domination; or to be stimulated by present indulgence—the indulgence of revenge, or of fun and drollery; but not to be guided by the anticipation of consequences, or by calculating the justice or benevolence of any proceeding. The peasantry of this land are misrepresented, when spoken of as a brave people, or fitted to endure conflict and disappointment with resolution and steadfastness; they are neither brave nor resolute. I speak of them as peasantry, not as soldiers of the line; they possess neither the moral or mental resources for such virtues. They exhibit the character and state of their minds by resorting to the excitement of spirituous draughts previous to entering upon any deed of cruelty—by attacking the victims of their passion, women and helpless children, during the darkness of night—by assembling in myriads where a solitary sufferer or an isolated family are to be sacrificed. The fact that twenty of them will attack one antagonist, and beat him with clubs, not till he is down merely, but long afterwards,—and this occurs almost at every country fair or market; while twenty well-trained and

determined soldiers or police will hold thousands of them at bay in open field, and put them to flight, or take their ringleaders as prisoners, does not say much for the bravery of the Irish peasantry. Every civil commotion, every attempted rebellion in Ireland, and the experience of almost every magistrate, will corroborate my assertion, when I say that the only war in which an Irish peasant is pugnacious, is the war of words—when the parties are well matched. If Ireland has had so many grievances to complain of, and has had justice for her ally, and unrighteous oppression for her adversary, how has she so often yielded to a few thousand troops? Because her people had not moral courage to sustain them in such undertakings; because they had not sound knowledge for their guide, and enlarged principles for their regulation and support.

They are not in circumstances parallel to those of any other nation; their intercourse with England and Scotland, and their acquaintance, through the medium of the same language, with the more liberal discussions of those nations; the power of the press for evil more than for good, at least for superficial declamation more than for dispassionate investigation and calm reasoning; has qualified those who do read for being voluble and vehement, rather than patient and enlightened: the entire occupation of their minds with politics, rather than with the sober realities of a reasonable religion abounding with divine and ennobling principles, or with the abstruse and recondite speculations of laborious learning, has prevented improvement, and led them onward in agitation: they live only for to-day. They have not among them the ripe fruits, the full development of those principles which were sown in England by English Puritans, and by the Covenanters and other sufferers for conscience sake among the Scottish nation. The Irish people have suffered by Church Establishments, not merely in that they tended to impoverish the community, or because Establishments were employed to put down a better order of things, but by occupying the ground which better institutions might have filled, had it not appeared that more was doing for Ireland than has actually been accomplished. But is all this a reason that Ireland should be trampled upon? should be oppressed by bad governors or bad laws? should be given up to the divisions and distractions consequent upon the mutual jealousies of hostile factions of men, who meet for debate, to smite with the fist of wickedness, and to exasperate the fiercer passions of a people

already infuriated by party politics? Is it a reason that the sober, industrious, and honest farmer should be intimidated or murdered? that property should be rendered valueless or insecure, and that the rural districts should be overrun by predial outlaws and midnight assassins?

There are many causes of complaint, of vexatious and heart-burning chagrin, to the honest patriot. The people are poor; there are many miserably poor; but let it not be forgotten, that much of this poverty arises from a dependent, idle spirit—from improvidence and intemperance. In many parts of the country, as much whiskey from illicit distillation is used as from the licensed dealer. Let it not be overlooked, too, that much of this misery arises from the appointments and observances of their religion—feast and fast-days, christenings and wakes, marriages and funerals, saints'-days and masses for the dead; in all which, priests' dues and whiskey drinking are levied, to the exhaustion of the impoverished treasury of the labouring and ill-paid peasant. The unsettled state of the country prevents the introduction and appropriation of capital, for the establishment of manufactories, the encouragement of agricultural speculation, or the continuance of commercial adventure. Not only are timid clergymen and Protestant landlords glad of an excuse to go, and intimidated farmers driven, to America, by threatening notices and cruel persecution, but English commercial gentlemen have affirmed that if things continue as they are, English houses must withdraw their goods from the Irish market, and be content to close accounts as well as they can.

Tithe has been not merely a tax, but an incubus, upon the application of capital and labour to the land. The yeomanry force, and its occasional *rencontres* with the populace, have created animosity, bitterness, and revenge between neighbours. The constabulary has been selected too much because the man was a good protestant, or was recommended by a protestant gentleman. The exclusion of Roman catholics for so long a time tended to loosen the confidence of that community in the executive of the country. Absent, but avaricious and needy landlords, ill-principled or overbearing agents (the agent generally of one profession, and the tenant of another, in religion,) have countenanced discontent. The constant and manifest desire of one party to maintain Protestant ascendancy, and the equally strenuous and persevering effort of the galled Roman catholic to throw off the yoke, and rise into

the seat of his oppressor, kept up the irritation. And still, the administration of justice and law being entrusted chiefly to the minority—the forces of the executive, the municipal, and military being ostentatiously composed and distinguished by the creed of the smaller, but long ascendant party, have afforded pretexts for complaint. The extravagant jobbing, so proverbial among the adherents of the government of this country, and the no less jobbing and paltry designs and interests of the agitators; the recklessness of principle, of truth, and of fact on all sides; the maintenance of a separate executive, after the transference of all legislative functions to the united parliament; the long withheld measure of catholic emancipation, granted, at length, in acknowledged answer to violent agitation; the *braggadocio* speeches and character of certain Irish leaders, and then their skulking, shuffling, and personal meanness when fair encounter has been offered them—all these, are some of the evils of this land of tears and sighs.

The measures proposed, and some of them effected, by the present government, which I think will be an amelioration of its state, are the opening and the purifying of corporations and boroughs—a long row of Augean stables; the alteration in the grand jury system, the entire abolition of the church cess, and the reduction of the number of bishops, with the arrangements which are to accompany this last measure. They or their successors must yet advance further, and in their progress separate the Church from the State—dissolve this unholy and most fatal union. As to tithes, perhaps it would be well to make the landlords pay into the treasury of the country a certain sum per acre, which may be appropriated to the present beneficed clergymen, and to the support of such poor as it may be thought right to maintain by eleemosynary aid; and as the present clergymen die out, let the protestants of all persuasions adopt some means for the support each of their own religion, and then let the tithes fall in to the proprietor, according as he lowers the rent of his ground; let the revenue of church lands, as they are called, be appropriated then to truly national purposes—the public debt, &c.; and, further, let each party support their own poor, or each town or city provide asylums for the sick, infirm, and aged within their bounds.

My opinion is, that something coercive was required, for the security of life and property throughout the country; the marauders, the incendiary and midnight assassin, could not plead for liberty; the Whitefeet must be put down; the assemblages of

lawless men must be dispersed ; crimes against humanity must be punished for the good of the many ; the witness and the juror must be protected. I do not doubt the truth of the statement made by Ministers. I have been on the spot, among the mountain ranges occupied by the illegal bands, who are a reproach to their race, and a curse to their country.

I feel confident that much of the outrage committed has had connexion with the political agitation of the Repeal question, and with the supposed opinions of the Agitators themselves ; and while I am no apologist for Ministers, or partizan of politics, I ask, Is it nothing in the esteem of the peasantry that they have seen members of parliament, magistrates, and deputy-lieutenants, agitating and urging Repeal, and joining the outcry raised by the out-and-out advocates of that measure in all their censures and condemnation of the Administration and Executive ? Was it nothing in the esteem of this people that members of parliament should join, not merely in pleading the cause of those who had violated the law, and resisted the payment of tithes under Government prosecutions, and had gone forward to public meetings uttering severe denunciations against Ministers, or the responsible advisers of the Crown, connected with these proceedings ; but also should refuse to conform to the law, and set an example of resistance to others ? It should also be remembered who the people are that have been most violent in trespassing law, breaking through the bonds of society ; what inflammable materials are they composed of ! how easily stimulated ! The waters of Killarney are not more effectually ruffled by a wind, and allayed by a calm, than are these people maddened or influenced by the storm of political excitement, and the agitation of wandering demagogues !

It affords me pleasure to introduce here, an opinion not less appropriate to Ireland now than it was 230 years ago, venerable for antiquity, and paramount for authority among the statesmen of Britain and the philosophers of the world. His own remarks will suffice for preface and apology. “ As one that cannot leave to love the State, what interest soever I have or may come to have in it ; and as one that now this dead vacation time hath some leisure *ad aliud agendum* ; I will presume to propound unto you that which, though you cannot but see, yet I know not whether you apprehend and esteem in so high a degree ; that is, for the best action of importation to yourself, of sound honour and merit to her Majesty and this Crown, without ventosity and popularity,

that the riches of any occasion, or the tide of any opportunity, can possibly minister or offer; and that is the causes of Ireland, if they be taken by the right handle. For if the wound be not ripped up again, and come to a recrudency (rankling) by new foreign succours, I think that no physician will go on much with letting of blood, *in declinatione morbi*; but will intend to purge and corroborate. To which purpose I send my opinion without labour of words. This I hope I may in privateness write, either as a kinsman that may be bold, or as a scholar that hath liberty of discourse, without committing any absurdity. But if it seem any error in me thus to intromit myself, I pray your honour to believe I ever loved her Majesty and the State, and there is never any vehement love without some absurdity. So desiring your honour's pardon, I ever continue, &c.

“The reduction of that country, as well to civility and justice, as to obedience and peace, which things, as affairs now stand, I hold to be inseparable, consisteth in four points. The first, the extinguishing the relics of war. The difficulty is, to distinguish and discern the propositions which shall be according to the ends of the State here,—that is, final and summary towards the extirpation of the troubles,—from those which, though they pretend public ends, yet may refer indeed to the more private and compendious ends of the council there; or of the particular governors or captains. But still, as I touched in my letter, I do think much letting of blood, *in declinatione morbi*, is against method of cure; and that it will but induce necessity, and exasperate despair; and percase discover the hollowness of that which is done already, which now blazeth to the best shew. But of all other points, to my understanding, the most effectual is, the well expressing or impressing the designs of this State upon that miserable and desolate kingdom; containing the same between these two lists or boundaries—the one, that the Queen seeketh not an extirpation of that people, but a reduction; and that, now she hath chastised them by her royal power and arms according to the necessity of the occasion, her Majesty taketh no pleasure in effusion of blood, or displanting of ancient generations: the other, that her Majesty's princely care is principally and intentionally bent upon the action [improvement] of Ireland; and that she seeketh not so much the ease of charge, as the royal performance of the office of protection, and reclaim of those her subjects; and, in a word, that the case is altered as far as may stand with the honour of the time

past. I do repeat, that if her Majesty's design be *ex professo* to reduce wild and barbarous people to civility and justice, as well as to reduce rebels to obedience, it makes weakness turn christianity, and conditions graces; and so hath a fineness in turning utility upon points of honour, which is agreeable to the humour of these times. And besides, if her Majesty shall suddenly abate the lists of her forces, and shall do nothing to countervail it in point of reputation of a politic proceeding, I doubt things may too soon fall back into the state they were in. Next to this; adding reputation to the cause, by imprinting an opinion of her Majesty's care and intention upon this action [improvement], in the taking away of reputation from the contrary side, by cutting off the expectation of foreign succours.

"Towards the recovery of the hearts of the people, there be but three things *in natura rerum*—religion, justice, and protection, obligation, and reward. For religion, to speak first of society, and then of policy, all divines do agree, that if consciences be to be enforced at all, wherein yet they differ, two things must precede their enforcement—the one, means of instruction; the other, time of operation; neither of which they have yet had [under an effective system]. Besides, till they be more like reasonable men than they yet are, their society [fellowship] will be rather scandalous to the true religion than otherwise, as pearls cast before swine: for till they be cleansed from their blood, incontinency, and theft, which are now not the lapses of particular persons but the very laws of the nation, they are incompatible with religion reformed [in spirit and in truth]. For policy, there is no doubt, to wrestle with them now is directly opposite to their reclaiming, and cannot but continue their alienation of mind from this government. Besides, one of the principal pretences, whereby the heads of the rebellion have prevailed both with the people and with the foreigner, hath been the defence of the catholic religion; and it is this that hath made the foreigner reciprocally more plausible with the rebel. Therefore a toleration of religion for a time not definite, after the manner of some French edicts, seemeth to me to be a matter warrantable, by religion, and, in policy, of absolute necessity. And the *hesitation* on this point, I think, hath been a great casting back of the affairs there. Neither if any English papist or recusant shall for liberty of his conscience transfer his person, family, and fortune thither, do I hold it a matter of danger, but expedient. Neither if Rome will cozen itself, by con-

ceiving it may be some degree to the like toleration in England, do I hold it a matter of any moment, but rather a good means to take off the fierceness and eagerness of the humour of Rome, and to stay further excommunications or interdictions for Ireland. But there would go with this, hand in hand, some course of advancing religion indeed, were the people capable thereof [here the learned and noble counsellor entrusts to the Government, what we would commit to the people of England, as neighbours, responsible for the good of their brethren], as the sending over some good preachers, especially of that sort which are vehement and zealous persuaders, and not scholastical, to be resident in principal towns, endowing them with some stipends out of her Majesty's revenues [we would prefer christian benevolence or individual liberality], as her Majesty hath most religiously and graciously done in Lancashire; and the recontinuing and replenishing the college begun at Dublin, the placing of good men to be bishops in the sees there [or we would recommend rather a dissolution of the sees altogether], and the taking care of the versions of Bibles and catechisms, and other books of instruction, into the Irish language; and the like religious courses both for the honour of God, and for the avoiding of scandal and insatisfaction here, by the show of a toleration of religion in some parts there.

“For justice; the barbarism and desolation of the country considered, it is not possible they should find any sweetness at all of justice, if it shall be, which hath been the error of times past, formal and fetched far off from the State; because it will require running up and down for process, and give occasion for polling and exactions by fees, and many other delays and charges [here the author recommends the administration of justice to be as near as may be to the laws and customs of England].

“It is true, no doubt, which was anciently said, that a State is contained in two words, *præmium* and *pæna*: and I am persuaded if a penny in the pound which hath been spent in *pæna* (for this kind of war is but *pæna*, a chastisement of rebels, without fruit or emolument to this state) had been spent in *præmio*, that is in rewarding, things had never grown to this extremity. But to speak forwards. The keeping of the principal Irish persons in terms of contentment, and without cause of particular complaint; and generally the carrying of an even course between the English and Irish, whether it be in competition or in controversy, as if they were one nation,—without that same partial course which hath been held by the Governors and Counsellors there, that some have favoured the

Irish and some contrary,—is one of the best medicines of that state. And as for other points of contentment, as the countenancing of their nobility, as well in this Court as there, the imparting of knighthood, the care of the education of their children, and the like points of comfort and allurements.” Thus far Francis Bacon.

He must be a wise statesman who shall settle things into good order. A wise statesman would hardly, for his own sake, undertake the Herculean task; a schoolboy might—and then, woe to the country, and to him too, if he be left to his rashness. The mass of the people are little removed from the rank of barbarians, and, from their effervescent nature, easily excited; they yet require to be morally trained. The men who are a little superior to the lower ranks are apt enough, but they have not been taught,—they are not informed,—they do not think largely or reason liberally. What we would call the middle and upper classes, have either been cooped in the cage of protestant ascendancy, or shrivelled under the withering blasts of popery. It is often astonishing how little cultivated intellect is found,—how contracted their minds are,—how few noble and sustaining principles are in action,—how empty and inefficient, and how thoroughly unguided by any liberal principles, are the expeditious measures and statements of gentlemen who rank as magistrates. These observations are of course upon character generally, not universally. There are many bright exceptions. As for the highest ranks, they are, as far as politics are concerned, fitly represented by a Lorton, a Farnham, a Roden, or a Lefroy. What, then, should be done? Try to leave every element of this heterogeneous mass to work by itself; and let a wise and good government educe as they can good from the evil, and a cure for itself from the working of the disease. Solve the one from the other, till the political alchemist has each separate element under his control. But shall property have no influence? shall the man who spends his thousands exert no more sway than the mechanic? I should say, let him have no more physical influence; if he exert himself wisely, humanely, and constantly,—if he spends his thousands well,—if, seeking his own fitness for superiority, he strive to be a wiser and a better man, to do more good, and to communicate more correct information than his poorer neighbour, he *will* have influence,—an influence that will be salutary to the people, honourable to himself, and a benefit to the country. He need not tell his peculiar opinions on specific occasions; a grateful and improved people will know the mind and wishes of their benefactor and adviser.

CHAP. IV.

THE ANGLO-HIBERNIAN CHURCH AS IT HAS BEEN.

IRELAND, in former days, was reputed an island of saints; and the title to such distinction seems to have been founded, not on the ascendancy which the Bishop of Rome had acquired within her shores, or the influence which he possessed among the clergy, who taught the people knowledge, — this country was famed for learning and piety, when surrounding nations were in darkness, or prostrate at the feet of sacerdotal domination, and episcopal tyranny. In the fourth century the renowned St. Patrick was a missionary to the Irish and Scots; and his labours were crowned with signal success. In the year 521, Columbus, or Colum Cille, was born, an Irishman, and of royal descent; when a child, he was dignified with the epithet—Saint; and at twenty-eight years of age, or in the year 549, he founded the monastery of Derry. When forty-two years old, he became a missionary to the benighted Scots, and, carrying with him the principles he had inculcated in Ireland, he established an order of labourers, who were so devoted and diligent in their work, that they obtained, by the suffrage of their fellow men, the appellation *Cultores Dei*, contracted afterwards into *Culdee*; who studied the Holy Scriptures with such intense application, and so proved things by the authority of the inspired Word, that they became an asylum for truth and pure religion for ages, and were witnesses for the spirituality and simplicity of the Christian faith against the darkening and superstitious encroachments of the middle ages. They differed from the church of Rome, both in the observance of Easter and the clerical tonsure. It is believed, upon no despicable authorities in ecclesiastical annals, that the Culdees, who became the evangelical missionaries in Scotland, and who there founded religious institutions of remote antiquity, were generous-hearted Irishmen, breathing the spirit of martyrs, and performing the labours of

holy men and apostles. It is recorded, in the most authentic church history, that the Hibernians, who were sometimes called Scots, were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselves by the culture of the sciences beyond all the European nations; travelling through the most distant lands, both with a view to improve and to communicate their knowledge; discharging, with the highest reputation and applause, the function of *Doctor* in France and Germany, and even Italy itself; while the most eminent of them, in the darkest age, thought common sense no heresy, and declared that in the Lord's Supper we receive not the body and blood of our Lord, but only a memorial of Him.

In the year 1156, the King of England, Henry the Second, was exhorted by Pope Adrian to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the vice and wickedness (the peculiarities of their religion?) of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly, from every house, a penny to the See of Rome. It is a well-known fact, that the Irish entertained and practised Christianity in a form not exactly according to the model dictated by the Pontiff, and had manifested a tenacious reluctance to mould their proceedings according to his authority. Henry the Second, A.D. 1172, acquired an ascendancy in the political rule of Ireland; and having been confirmed in the sovereign power by a renewed papal grant, he lent his resources, with energy and success, to consolidate the dominion of the Roman Hierarchy in this country, and invest him with actual spiritual authority over her children: perhaps not so much from love and veneration to the ecclesiastical occupant of the Seven Hills, as that, on the maxim, "*No bishop, no king*,"—or "*Church and King*,"—he might more securely manage his conquered province, and render the people more amenable to his mandates. On the same hypocritical principle did Ireland continue to be oppressed, not governed, by every succeeding despot, till the Reformation; and then the power which had enforced conformity to papistical canons, and by persecution had grafted Ireland on the stock of Romanism, attempted to constrain a national reformation, and change the seasons, customs, and worship of the people. And as by the unholy arts of hypocrisy and cruel despotism, the yoke of ignorance, priestcraft, and superstition had been imposed, so it was imagined that by like means, aided by penal enactments and confiscation, the people might be conformed to the fluctuations of a libidinous king, or the caprice of a domineering and imperious woman. But donations are

easier made to the church than reclaimed by the giver. The sacerdotal treasury is like the horse-leech and her two daughters—"Give, give," is the cry; but all that she has received are *vested rights*. While, in reference to opinions, if error be not more diffusive in its nature than truth, it has less to contend with, and is propagated with more facility among ignorant men than are the details of wisdom.

George Brown, a monk of the Augustine order, was created Archbishop of Dublin, by Henry the Eighth, in the year 1535. Within five years after his accession to that see, he caused all superstitious relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of the churches in his diocese; and caused the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed to be placed in gilded frames about the altars. He was the first of the clergy that turned from the Romish religion in Ireland. This was after *Henry* had been declared *Supreme* Head upon earth of the Church of England. Archbishop Brown caused this king's supremacy to be acknowledged in Ireland. At this transference of papal power from a foreign priest to a neighbouring and wicked king, the machinery of the Romish hierarchy was retained, while the places were filled by the fawning dependents of the English court: men that sought preferment under the new order of things, with as much love of the world as had been displayed by their predecessors in office, and with more secularity than such of their precursors as had a scrupulous regard to consistency, and a conscientious attachment to their Romish connexion, and who were, therefore, cast upon their people for support and security.

Who shall write the annals of the Church established by law, according to acts of Parliament, from that day to this? Who shall delineate the character, principles, and measures of the men employed for the suppression of one kind of Popery, and maintenance of another, and who were set forth as the bulwarks of Reformed Episcopacy? Who shall undertake the dreary task, not of "calling evil good, and good evil, of putting darkness for light, and light for darkness, or bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter," but of giving right words, in fit places, for the deeds done, and the oppressions inflicted, during this protracted and Protestant crusade? I shall not: neither is it necessary. It is already done; the archives of heaven possess it, and the roll thereof shall be opened when the judgment is set. Many of the most conspicuous actors have been called ere this to blush, while the light

of immortality has beamed upon the red and blotted page, and the realities of eternity have been brought into contrast with the momentary triumphs of polemical controversy, the evanescent shadows of ecclesiastical distinction, and the deceitfulness and glittering vanity of filthy lucre and secular possessions. An active memory has recalled more than the most fearful imagination ever pictured; the Lord of the stewardship has made a more minute scrutiny than could have been recorded by the most patient and successful student of history; while from His tribunal there lies no appeal, neither is there any reversal of his decree. A fruitless effort may have been made by some to shake, or wash out, from their skirts the blood of souls; while others may have deceived themselves by vain delusions, and gone down to the grave with a lie in their right hand;—but blood-guiltiness has still been found in them by the piercing eye of the Omniscient, the “faithful and true witness,” the Almighty Judge. Others have, through much tribulation, fulfilled the trust of suffering and serving, having washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb: and no man shall be able to take the crown from him who has been faithful, or erase from the book of remembrance the name of him who has sought so to preach the glorious gospel, as that the savour of the blessed truth may be like ointment poured forth, for the healing of the diseased and perishing souls to whom, as heralds of the cross, they were sent.

A Census has recently been taken of the population of Ireland, the details of which are not at present accessible to me; but the numbers computed are not far short of Eight Millions. I shall satisfy myself by specifying, in general terms, the proportion of the respective religious communities in this country; hereafter, we may detail more minutely the numbers and denominations. The chief divisions may be designated as Roman Catholic, Church of England, Presbyterian, and other Dissenters. Now, I presume, if we reckon the Methodists and other minor dissenting bodies in Ireland as amounting to about 150,000 souls, of all ages, our numbers will be within limits: if I take the two chief divisions of Presbyterians—the Synod of Ulster, and the general seceding Synod of Ireland, and the smaller societies—such as the Cameronians, the Munster Synod, the Remonstrant Synod, and others, as containing about 700,000 children and adults, I shall not greatly err. If I compute, for every Protestant parish, two hundred and ten adherents to the Church established by law,

I shall find not quite 600,000 members of that community: all which added together, will make a population of nearly 1,500,000 in round numbers, who are not Roman Catholics, and will leave 6,000,000 and upwards as the nominal members of the Romish Church. Three hundred years after Church of England Episcopacy hath been established by legislative enactment in Ireland, and such a consummation!! It is a curious question, If such has been the result, what has been the machinery; what has been the apparatus brought to bear upon the moral condition of this people, under legislative auspices, enforced by penal sanctions, and cherished by the smiles of noble patrons and a kingly court?

I mean to give, as far as I can gather materials, details connected with the Roman Catholic and other ecclesiastical communities in Ireland: but I shall, at present, confine myself and my enquiries to the Church of England. The following illustration is not from vague hearsay, from the Red Book, or the Black Book; but is from a work patronised by the bishops,—it must be true! There are in the Church of England established by Act of Parliament in Ireland, according to the Ecclesiastical Register,—

Parishes	2450	Perpetual Curacies	109
Benefices	1396	Chapelries	80
Churches	1192	Cathedral Churches	24

In the province of Cashel, one half the benefices are altogether destitute of churches; and in the province of Tuam, one-third of the benefices are in a similar state of destitution. The apologists for the Episcopal Church in Ireland describe her days of darkness, at least of misgovernment, as all passed away by the act of legislative union; and assert, that since that event her bishops have wrought a wonderful transformation, so that now the church has put on her beautiful garments; and they hardly hesitate and apply scriptural allegory to her progress, as becoming “fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.” As a proof of episcopal zeal and ecclesiastical prosperity, the increase, not of congregations, but of edifices, is alleged and urgently appealed to; six hundred and eighteen churches, that is, places of congregation, have been erected since the union, they say: and all this has been effected in thirty years; while in three hundred years preceding, no greater number had been built. If this be true, what had become of all the church buildings, so numerous previous to the era of Henry the Eighth? where did the people assemble for worship, before the king of England was enthroned as head

of the church on earth? But should church-building be esteemed a mark of piety and ecclesiastical prosperity, any Roman Catholic country will afford such proof. The more debased their character, the less enlightened their mind, the more superstitious their fear, so much the more numerous will be their ecclesiastical edifices. So is it in Italy, in Portugal, in Madeira, and in Goa. But let us suppose that these buildings were reared in Ireland during the last thirty years, did they rise under the influence of the best motives—did the bishops build them, or pay for their erection? If not, who then contributed to the funds; did the clergy, or the protestant people only; or were they the free-will offerings of numerous converts? If by impositions or forced exactions from the people, so much the worse; this is choosing “robbery for burnt offering;” this was not “mercy rather than sacrifice;” it was sacrilege, and not a reasonable service. It was, in short, a course of procedure not inaptly described in the language of Isaiah concerning the members of an established church—“he that killeth an ox is as if he slew a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as if he cut off a dog’s neck; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine’s blood; he that burneth incense, as if he blessed an idol.” But supposing the truth of the assertion, have these houses for worship been crowded by willing votaries? Did the bishops, those ostensible heads of the church, proceed in missions of evangelical enterprise, to gather by the shepherd’s crook or the pastor’s voice the sheep wandering among the mountains, the flock scattered in the cloudy and dark day?

But further; it is boldly affirmed, that many applications have been made for new churches. By whom (we reply), and with what motives? Fifty-eight cases were submitted to the Board of First Fruits in 1826, for new places of worship, which were all rejected because the Board had not the necessary funds. If all the first fruits had been paid in by beneficed clergy according to act of parliament—if there had been no *resistance* on the part of the clergy to this tithe—if salaried agents of the Board had been paid as work was done; or if the bishops, who are the leaders of the people in the church, had sold all and given for the poor, and become followers of their professed master and his fishermen of Galilee, to whom the bishops are said to be successors, would it have been necessary, with their revenues, to resist applications merely because there were no funds? It is urged that the State ought to have met such an emergency; but who or what is the

State? the great public officers of the crown? or the legislators of the realm? or the individual inhabitants of the land? If the last, what compact have they made, under what obligations have they come, to build churches? Some have been heavily taxed without their consent, but they protest against the imposition. Where can the legislature obtain resources, or where are the terms of their obligation? Who were the contracting parties? If the great officers of state be held responsible, they have no power to provide funds except by taxing the people. They are but salaried servants of the public; and should servants become oppressors? or can human enactments legalize force and imposition in matters of religion? Shall we do evil that good may come?

So much for divisions, boundaries, walls, and accommodation: we come now to the more dignified, but less durable materials—the moral apparatus of the establishment; those whose secular interests can extend only through one age, as connected with the law church. No one can designate the present occupants of ecclesiastical preferment as the *lineal* representatives of the clergy of a former age, or the natural progenitors and parental guardians of the clergy of a future generation; they are, in their clerical character, emphatically, γενοσεφημεριον, and can have no hereditary rights to be invaded or preserved.

Of Perpetual Curates and Institutional Chaplains, there are	255
Incumbents or beneficed Clergymen.....	1556
Of whom are parochial Clergy merely.....	1215
Prebendaries, simple dignitaries	180

Archdeacons, ditto.....	34
Deans	33
Precentors	26
Chancellors	22
Treasurers	22
Bishops, have been	18
Archbishops, have been.....	4
Provosts	2

Analysis shews, that of the three hundred and forty-one Dignitaries, two hundred and nineteen are connected with the cure of souls, and one hundred and twenty-two are sinecures. It is presumed there are of other clergy, eight hundred or a thousand, employed as Curates, doing duty, waiting for preferment, or wearied with “hope deferred” which “maketh the heart sick.” Of these, however, I can obtain no authenticated enumeration; even the Vicar of Bannow seems unable to fix their numbers. This much I know, that there has recently been a migration of some of them, not only to the Colonies, but also to various counties in England. But as they are only in the character of a *corps de reserve*, I shall

not at present enter into any discussion of their duties or prerogatives.

The ecclesiastical distinction of Provosts, I shall reserve for a concluding observation : but of the Archbishops it is to be remarked, that they are distinguished, first, as the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, Primate and Metropolitan of *all* Ireland ; second, as the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Primate and Metropolitan of Ireland, and Bishop of Glandelagh ; third, as the Lord Archbishop of Cashel, Primate and Metropolitan of Munster, and Bishop of Emly ; and fourthly, as the Lord Archbishop of Tuam, Primate and Metropolitan of Connaught, and Bishop of Ardagh. Fine sounding names enough these, and long and pompous titles to boot, for those meek and laborious successors of the fishermen of Galilee ! If the honour which cometh from man would convert a people, long enough has its vapoury breath been inhaled by the prelatical nobles of this land, and rapid should have been the advances of that hierarchy. I find, moreover, to borrow Mr. Beverley's discriminating observations, that they are called Fathers ; and, as if that were not enough, in order to make them a perfect divinity, they are called Most Reverend Fathers—a title which can only be applied to the Almighty without profaneness ; for the true meaning of the title is, ' a Father most to be worshipped.' Not content with heavenly attributes, there is an additional title in all men's mouths, of ' Your Grace !'—a silly superscription, which it is difficult to explain, though it is decorous (through usage merely) to employ it. Johnson's Dictionary gives us the following meanings of the word (grace), ' favour — kindness — virtue — pardon — adventitious or artificial beauty — pleasing appearance — embellishment — ornament — flower — a short prayer said before and after meat.' Let us suppose, then, that I were to use any of these synonymes, and to call an Archbishop, ' Your embellishment,' or ' Your ornament,' or ' Your artificial beauty,'

Solventur risu tabulæ, tu missus abibis.

The eighteen episcopal Dioceses were originally twenty-seven. But three were more recently subject to the Bishop of Limerick ; (what a pluralist was he of Limerick !) and two each have hitherto been held by the Bishops of Clonfert, Cork, Down, Ferns, Killala, Killaloe, and Waterford. Complaints from the wearers of these double honours, have not been loudly uttered, or often heard. It is probable that since the days of their junction, few of the aspirants after the mitre, even when they faintly muttered, "*Nolo Episcopari*,"

would be disposed to controvert the maxim, "The king can do no wrong." And "What the king has united, let not any man put asunder." However, the churchman is more scrupulous in these days, and there is fearful hostility to a union of bishoprics now. This is one of the consequences of the march of—ambition; all the rules of Malthus will not keep the population within bounds,—and many would be bishops.

The Treasurerships are divided into sixteen, with which is associated some other incumbency with the cure of souls, and six that are sinecure; but the official duty, which of old consisted in receiving and disbursing the rents and revenues of monasteries, is now limited to a superintendence and control over the chapter-rents, &c. The collection and management, the receipt and disbursement, now devolve on the registrar or agent of the dean and chapter. Except the man who was a thief, and held the bag, and who seems to have acted as treasurer, though not very honestly, in the little community of disciples who first followed Jesus, we do not read of any Treasurer among the primitive Christians mentioned in sacred history.

The Chancellorship is merely a title of office, (how many such there are in this Established Church!) without jurisdiction or service, except to preach in *propria persona*, or by deputy, in his turn, in the cathedral church; fifteen of the Chancellors are connected with other active duties, and seven are without cures. Would the Church suffer if she were without THEM? or would they be coveted, if they were without emolument?

Nine of the Precentors are declared to be sinecures, and seventeen are represented as connected with incumbencies which have the cure of souls. In the times of singing men and singing women for the Church, the care of the choir service devolved on the Precentor, and he provided books for them, paid their salaries, repaired the organ, sackbut, or psaltery, presided over the music, &c. There are, however, but few now of the cathedral churches in which a choir-service is maintained, and we have vicars-choral, &c.; the office, therefore, is only one of distinction and emolument. Would Asaph's songs, or any of the songs of Korah and Heman of old, have been so plaintive, sweet, and heavenly, had they been such Precentors?

Of the thirty-three Deans, twenty-six are said to have the cure of souls (I cannot say whether the Right Hon. and Very Rev. James Lord Viscount Lifford, LL.D., be one of them or not); seven are sinecures, some of them are even without chapters, as Kilmore,

Ardagh, and Clonmacnoise. So far from the interference of Deans being expected in the government of the diocese, it would be looked upon as an intrusion. Their signatures are, however, required by law to confirm leases and appoint to offices; for such work is it a fitting appellation to be used—The Very Rev. the Dean of——? would not Parish-clerk do just as well?

In Ireland, Archdeacons possess a visitorial jurisdiction; their power is, however, very limited and circumscribed. They seem to be regarded as part of the episcopal train, and attend at ordinations to examine candidates for the office of clerk; also at the consecration of churches. Three-and-twenty have, combined with this office, the cure of souls—eleven are sinecures. Why will the Reformed Church adhere so tenaciously to the rags and tinsel, the vain shadows, of what once were at Rome? Does she hold, or will her doctors affirm, that these are the insignia of a true church?

The ignorance, bigotry, and degradation produced by the operation of an Establishment are most conspicuous in cathedral towns, or in the vicinity of cathedrals. Here, it has been justly said, the rulers of the darkness of this world are enthroned in great state and dignity. A Dean and Chapter act like a Upas tree on all the neighbourhood. Luxury and priestly pride hold court in these receptacles of clerical indolence in England; but in Ireland the moral pestilence is seen in the squalid poverty, the abject debasement, and the irreligion of the populace around: so that the Christian religion can scarcely be said to exist in the proximity of their dark and deadly shade. The religious aspect of these thrones of Satan is indeed deplorable; for, owing to the antiquity of cathedral influence, the deadening operation of enormous wealth among the clergy, their aristocratical connexions, and the enervating luxury of their lives, the practical manifestation of the christian faith is checked, the exhibition of its light is intercepted, and every principle the most inimical to its operation is there, in exalted and prominent dominion. Those who have derived their ideas of the Church of Christ from the Bible, and not from the books published by "The Society for the promoting of Christian Knowledge," as it is improperly designated; or from the charges of Archdeacons and Bishops; have been directed to go to any of the Cathedral towns in England: we would say, go to any of the Cathedral closes in Ireland—St. Patrick's if they please,—and with their own eyes and ears ascertain the state of religion in those Egyptian houses of bondage. What will they see and hear? A chosen regiment of Cathedral priests,

on the exhibition days, from the Dean down to the Vicar Choral, whose religious labours consist in going so many times through the service of the Cathedral, when a choir of adult dandies and impudent boys sing songs to one another in white robes : the whole of the service is generally for their own exclusive benefit, none others feeling interested enough to attend. Cathedrals may be named, where, for whole weeks together, no one but the clergy and choristers are seen, except on Sundays, when Protestant high mass is performed, with additional singing and mummary, when religion is insulted, the word of the God of heaven profaned, and music is murdered with all the tediousness of an opera, though without any of its beauties.

Truly the most ardent admirers of Church abuses must be constrained to confess, that the Cathedral establishments are a disgrace to the very name of Christianity ; and that an unsparing hand should be laid, first of all, on these fastnesses of sloth and ignorance. They are much worse than the old monasteries, because in those superstitious cloisters the wealth and the intellects of the monks were turned to support the religion of the day, such as it was ; but in our Cathedrals, the whole revenues are expended on the families of persons who take away every thing, and give back nothing.

The distinction of Prebendary is said to be derived from the assistance afforded by the Church, to the holders of this office, in meat, drink, and other necessities ; or perhaps from the assistance which they rendered her in consuming the good things provided by the profusion of an ignorant and superstitious age. None of the Irish prebendaries, as such, are possessed of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; they are all simple prebendaries, having no cure, and no more than their revenue for support. We must except the episcopal gentlemen (some five or six), who, being prebends, help the lower clergy to assist the Church in using her good things. Yet a simple prebendary is not deemed incompatible with a parochial benefice, which may be held without a dispensation ; since, though possession is acquired by institution, the holder is not instituted to the cure of souls, notwithstanding that the cure of souls attaches not to any office in the Chapter as such. There have been united to most of the prebendaries, by charter or otherwise, one or more parishes with cure of souls annexed. Fifty-eight are sinecure, but one hundred and twenty-two have the cure of souls, by parishes being appended to them. If the kingdom of God were meat and drink merely, we should perceive an adaptation of character in these

prebends; but since a man's life consists not in the abundance of the things he possesses, according to the Scriptures, the prebendary law seems designed more for the body than the soul.

Moreover, though the Prebendaries or Canons receive munificent salaries, say £200 per annum, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, for living in idleness, and preaching one sermon yearly, that Cathedral, as well as many others, is in a sad state of dilapidation, for want of funds to keep them in repair; it being considered much more important to pay thousands every year to keep the reverend prebendaries in good condition, than to spend a few hundreds every year on the venerable edifices which they disfigure by their presence. The words of an Archbishop, written many a long day since, are wonderfully appropriate even now.

“ My singular good Lord,

————— : Nevertheless, in my opinion, the Prebendaries, which will be allowed £40 a-piece yearly, might be altered to a more expedient use. And this is my consideration, for having experience, both in times past, and also in our days, how the said *sect of Prebendaries* have not only spent their time much in idleness, and their substance in *superfluous belly-cheer*, I think it not a convenient state or degree to be maintained and established, considering, first, that a Prebendary is *neither a learner nor a preacher*, but a *good viander*: then by the same they look to be chief, and bear all the whole rule and pre-eminence in the college where they be resident, by means whereof the younger of their own nature, who give more to pleasure and good cheer or pastimes, than to abstinence, study, and learning, shall be easily brought from their books to follow the example and appetite of the same Prebendaries, being their heads and rulers: and the state of Prebendaries has been so excessively abused, that when learned men have been admitted into such room, many time have they desisted from their good and godly studies, and all the virtuous exercises of teaching and preaching. Wherefore, if it may stand with the King's good pleasure, I would wish not only that the *name* of Prebendary were exiled his Grace's foundation, but also the superfluous condition of such persons. I cannot deny that the beginning of prebendaries was no less proposed for the maintenance of good learning, and good conversation of living, than religious men [orders] were; but forasmuch as *both* be gone from their first estate and order, and the one is found like offender with the other, *it maketh no great matter if they both perish together*: for to say

the truth, it is an estate which St. Paul, reckoning up the degrees and estates allowed in his time, could not find in the Church of Christ.”—*Cranmer's Letter to Lord Cromwell*.

What, it has been demanded, would the christian religion suffer at any of the Cathedral towns, if the Dean, Chapter, and Prebendaries were all sent off to-morrow morning, on a permanent mission to convert the Chinese Mandarins? We would reply; Not much in these towns, but it would receive great damage among the Mandarins, inasmuch as they would present an imperfect model of the Christian church, would be engaged in a work for which they are generally ill qualified, and would stand in the way of more able and zealous labourers. How many souls, within the last thirty years, have been brought to a serious sense of religion by any teaching or preaching of prebendaries, it would not be easy to determine; but it is to be feared that few dying persons have had to bless the Deans and other dignitaries of that pompous Establishment, for a saving knowledge of their Redeemer. They have not often been signalized for their holy conversation and godliness, their edifying examples, their sacred zeal for the cross, their watchings, their labours, their fastings, their prayers, their exhortations, their visitings of the sick, and instructions of the poor. “Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool; ye kill them that are fed; but ye feed not the flock. The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them. Seemeth it a small thing unto you to have eaten up the good pasture, but ye must tread down with your feet the residue of your pastures; and to have drunk of the deep waters, but ye must foul the residue with your feet?”

There is no duty whatever connected with the office of Provost in the Church of Ireland; neither have they any cure or spiritual jurisdiction. The Duke of Wellington might have found a use for them in the Peninsula, had they been provosts-marshal; but what work can be found for them in a peaceful establishment perplexes an inquirer. These offices are denominated *simple* dignitaries in Ireland; would it not be well if they had become obsolete dignitaries, in a church which is now set forth as the butt of sarcasm and reproach, and on that account is tottering to her very foundations? Remove

these stumbling-blocks out of the way, and episcopacy may yet live awhile and serve her country.

The degree of confidence with which not only the humbler and more sanguine, but even the richer and more aristocratic, the dignitaries and prelates of this land, regard the efficiency of the ecclesiastical establishment, may be estimated from various expedients resorted to, since public attention has been practically directed to the wants and woes of Ireland. There are noblemen, who, following the example of our pious ancestors, have appointed men in whom they repose confidence to the situation of domestic chaplains in their families. The propriety of this arrangement may not always have originated in the negligence of the parochial clergy; still, it may not be unquestionable, in some instances, whether the inefficiency of the resident rector (where he has been resident) or the curate did occasion such appointments. The cause, perhaps, is yet more palpable, which has operated on the minds of a Clanbrassil, a Mandeville, or a Farnham, so effectually as to introduce into their arrangements the employment of a new order of men, entitled *moral agents*,—a race of amphibious character, neither lay nor clerical: whence the necessity, and whence the origin of such labourers, to whom are committed the management of schools, the superintendence of charities, and the visits of mercy to the sick and ignorant, if the establishment, which is so well stocked, be also efficient? and what is implied in the acknowledged necessity of such an apparatus as this for the country, even in the vicinity of these lords' demesnes?

Still another expedient of protestant zeal, but not of judicious design or innoxious tendency, stands forth as a speaking witness against the adaptation of all the ecclesiastical machinery, which abounds so extravagantly, which is so unjustly oppressive, and has been employed in Ireland for three centuries with such inefficiency:—the Reformation Society has been patronized as a sort of demi-state chariot, in which are yoked, as the great leaders, noble lords and episcopal dignitaries; in which it was predicted,—at least anticipated,—that nominal protestantism would drive over this land without a hindrance or a pause; and by which the bishop's crosier was speedily to displace the crucifix and the other regalia of St. Peter. This association was and is, a king's approver, a self-condemning evidence against the fitness of the church for the wants of Ireland: with this society, the zealous churchman, almost forgetting his own episcopal ordination, and the unconsecrated and unauthorized hands by which dissenting ministers had been designated to their office,

did yet urge and implore the junction and co-operation of the polemical Presbyterian and talented Independent.

Need I adduce yet again the episcopal and lordly patronage and high church smiles bestowed upon the London Hibernian School Society, and their zealous advocacy, though of recent display, in aid of the Kildare-place Schools, as corroborative testimony of their own conviction and predominating fear, that the church either has not done what it should have done, or that it is not adequate for the onerous duties imposed upon a legalized establishment? Let the lordly advocates of things as they are say, Would it be humane to continue such an order, and entrust to such functionaries, for any further probation, the revenues of an impoverished country, and the religious services of an alienated people? Is more time necessary to prove that the Church of England has not been adapted to the state or wants of Ireland? It was enacted by authority of parliament, "that after a specified time, such a creed shall be believed, and such a rubric used, by all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, who shall continue to enjoy the emoluments and revenues of the Church, and do the duty; and those who refuse to do these things, shall be ejected from their benefices, and others put in their place." This was, surely, the vanity of legislation, and we are called to endure the vexation of spirit which is its consequence. The manner in which the ecclesiastical system by law established has operated, may be estimated from facts which have been submitted to the public, not by the controversial statements of enemies, nor even by the declamations of parliamentary or political leaders, on the side of government or of the protestant party, but by the solicitation and reception of subscriptions for the suffering clergy in Ireland. It is notorious that resistance to tithe has proceeded so far, as not merely to render the church obnoxious to public odium, but also to set the power of the executive at defiance in most parts of the country; and it is only wonderful that a people actuated by the worldly principles of popery, and influenced by popular leaders whose moral affections are so lax and latitudinarian, should have continued to honour law with obedience, and the administrators of it with submission, in conformity with the support of the established church. But besides resistance to tithe, there is a deep-rooted and wide-spread antipathy among the mass to the supposed principles and interests of the protestant church; and it is the perfect conviction of the people, that were it not for the legal enactments and the military protection of the government, all other systems would give way to Romanism. This

impression rests not with Roman catholics alone; so little confidence do the high church party repose in their own establishment. It is a strong fact, that though most of the land in Ireland is primarily the hereditary possession of protestant nobles and gentlemen, and though from the fruits of the earth are the revenues of the church derived, yet there has been such encreasing difficulty in realizing those revenues as to render parliamentary statutes as a dead letter; so unpopular is the system, so ineffective the principle, of an ecclesiastical establishment.

But we have alluded to another fact. What would be said of the dissenters in England, and the efficiency of their ecclesiastical government, if at this day, without legislative exaction, without territorial revenue, without parliamentary grants, though compelled to contribute their quota of support to the law church, they were unable to support their several ministers, their places of worship, and their seminaries of ministerial instruction: if in their distress they should apply to christians elsewhere, should visit Scotland, depicting the circumstances of their most eminent, their long-tried and truly efficient men, as so afflicting, so impoverished, so helpless, that they could not subsist, nor remain in the field of labour any longer, unless a subscription were liberally maintained, and regularly transmitted, to support these worthy servants of the public? But episcopacy has now been established by law, and sustained in Ireland by national bounty and legal exaction, for more than three hundred years, and what has been the end of these things? That the protestants who have been made or kept such by the establishment of a national faith, and who are generally the most wealthy inhabitants of the land, have either not felt sufficiently interested in the permanence of those labourers among them, or have deemed their pecuniary demands so exorbitant, or so beyond their means, that they have permitted applications to benevolence and compassion to be made to English churchmen,—aye, and English dissenters too,—for the maintenance of their most distinguished clergy. Individuals in Ireland have, doubtless, rendered contribution to such a fund; but no effort of the community, no liberality of the flock, no return of carnal things to those who have ministered in spiritual things, has marked the recent distresses of the suffering churchmen. Will the lovers of a national establishment never open their eyes? Is not the workman worthy of his hire? “Who goeth a warfare at his own charges; who planteth a vineyard and eateth not of the fruit thereof?” Shall we conclude that the church establishment is no

soil for a vineyard? Shall we say that legalized episcopacy is no generous warfare, and that the workmen of the church of England do not carry their labour to an open market?

Some scenes have indeed been exhibited, of a most anomalous character, in recent struggles. If we were to read, in the Acts of the Apostles, that for three whole months Silas or Timotheus remained at Ephesus, or at Corinth, endeavouring to perform the service, the military daily under arms, prepared to be called out for his protection, while upon "the reading desk, beside the prayer books, a pair of loaded pistols" lay ready for use, during the hours appointed for devotion, we should find something like a precedent for the precautionary measures deemed necessary for protecting the clergy of the established church in certain parts of Ireland which could be named, not long ago. If, again, we should read that Titus, "the son of the Very Reverend the Dean of L—," had received the appointment, first of a Curacy, and then of a Living, under the auspices of his father, in Crete; that he found the tithes not well paid, but had, with a determination to enforce them, taken very summary measures, under the advice of Paul, the Archbishop of that Province, — that, in consequence, he could not go through any of the villages except accompanied by a *posse comitatus* of prætorian police, armed and mounted, — that he protected his house by loaded fire-arms in every room, — that the door of his greenhouse, leading into his parlour or drawing room, was secured by spring bolts, concealed behind sliding bricks in the wall, — and that in consequence of his rigour, he had received the public thanks of his Arch-Diocesan, and acquired for himself the enjoyment of the next presentation, which his father, the Very Reverend the Dean, could exchange with the said Bishop, — we should find apostolic authority for such measures, as, not many months since, marked the career of an aspiring ecclesiastic not a hundred miles out of the county of Kildare, or fifty miles from the city of Dublin.

During the month of April, yearly, there is a gathering together of the clergy interested in benevolent and religious institutions, and who thereby acquire a supposed title to the designation "evangelical." Within the last thirty years this class has greatly increased, compared with their numbers before that period. Perhaps in all the country they may amount to four hundred such clergymen; the greater proportion consists of young men, and few of them have attained to any rank higher than Curates; there are two or three Deans, and two or three Archdeacons, a few beneficed

clergy, an Archbishop, and four or five of the Fellows of T. C. D. The evangelical doctrines are professedly held, but not very clearly understood, and very defectively expounded, by most of these men. We would except a Singer and an O'Brien, a Roe and a Lloyd. Many of them are ultra millenarians, and not a few of them have drunk deeply into the spirit of *The Morning Watch*, and even the fanaticism of Irving, concerning the person of Christ, the doctrines of redemption, and the personal reign. There is not much vigour of intellect, or depth of theological learning, or very extensive erudition among them, nor does their ministration seem calculated to enlarge the minds of their hearers, to elevate the tone of religious sentiments, or liberalize the affections of the people towards those who differ from them in politics or religion. While it is a fact, that the most independent and useful ministers of that church have found a refuge and a resting place in institutional chaplaincies, and these independently of episcopal patronage.

The character of the church laity, apart from politics or the establishment, is exhibited in profusion, benevolence, and equipage — a hospitable, light-hearted, and superficial race. The proportion of the people, adherents to the Church of England in Ireland, has decidedly decreased in the census taken from time to time. Any success that has followed evangelical effort has been reaped, not in consequence of clerical labours or parochial ministrations, but rather the result of uncanonical and interdicted exertions, or of the various apparatus independent of the law church. So apparent is the stationary or retrogressive aspect of protestantism in the country, and so weak or unsuccessful have been the efforts for extension, that even good churchmen are not merely expressing their disappointment and chagrin, but are beginning to suspect that there exist somewhere impediments or obstructions which are to the dishonour of their system: they remember the Roman adage, *Magna est veritas et prevalebit*, but they do not perceive that the system to which they belong prevails—the triumph is all on the opposite side. Let them examine the matter more closely; perhaps they may discover something in state connexion and the control possessed by secular authority over the appointment of clerical functionaries—the world determining and providing for the church.

CHAP. V.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN IRELAND,
AS IT IS.

BESIDES the Protestant Reformed Church, I have referred to other communities in Ireland; and, perhaps it may serve a good cause, if I proceed to survey the moral statistics of this country, as exhibited in the sectarian divisions of the people, in the respective supplies of instruction for the several denominations, and in the relative proportions of those who are receiving elementary or scholastic education.

The people of Ireland are, three out of every four, attached to the Church of Rome; upwards of six millions are nominally subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops and other clergy of that communion; receiving the sacraments from them, submitting to their direction in matters of faith and practice, and leaving in their hands the government of the Church. A chief part of their clerical duties consists in ceremonial performances; the presentation of prayers and masses in the Latin tongue; the celebration of marriage, baptism, and confirmation; and the administration of absolution to the penitent, extreme unction to the dying, and the eucharist. They enjoin upon the people that they must not examine for themselves the grounds of belief, but should implicitly embrace what the Church believes; they deny the right of private judgment, and consequently do not appeal to the understanding, nor labour to enlighten the mind on debateable points of doctrine. The priest does not, except on great or peculiar occasions, direct, by a lengthened discourse, instructions to the people; and when he speaks, it is rather by hortatory address, than didactic instructions, enforcing some point of canonical obedience, rather than some principle of faith, or some argumentative illustration of christian doctrines. The clergy command, the people obey; the priest dictates, the flock implicitly receive; the Church is the depository of the divine will; the pontiff is the vicerent of heaven; and, by his priests, the

universal keeper of unenlightened conscience, and disposer of superstitious fears.

The adherents of the Roman catholic church place great virtue in their ritual and the ceremonies of their service ; but indeed they do not much exceed the protestants of the episcopal communion in their attachment to the celebration of their liturgy — a compilation chiefly composed of translations from the Roman breviary and missal : the antiquity of origin in the former, the quaintness of phraseology in the other, and the ceremonial and formal exactness of both, being, as the several admirers fondly imagine, most clear and irrefragable evidence of the purity and apostolical character of their churches, and of their precedence of all other denominations. It will suit both parties to quote the language of an admired Archbishop, on the superior claims of such performances. “ If it be that the purity of religion and worship is the crown and glory of a people ; and therefore, on the other side, that their deepest stain of dishonour and vileness is the vitiating of religion with human devices ; then to contend for the preservation or the reformation of it is noble, and worthy of a christian. It is for the crown of Jesus Christ, which is likewise a crown of glory and diadem of beauty to them, he being their head. Labour, then, for constancy in this work ; let no man take your crown from you : you know how busy the emissaries of the Church of Rome have been to take it from us ; or, at least, to pick the diamonds out of it, and put in false, counterfeit ones in their places : I mean, they stole away the power of religion, and filled up the room with shadows and fopperies of their own devising. It is the vanity of that church, to think they adorn the worship of God when they dress it up with splendour in her service, which, though some magnify so much, yet may most truly be called a glistening slavery and captivity. Then is she truly free, and wears her crown, when the ordinances of God are according to his own appointment. It is vanity in man, I say, when they dress it up with a multitude of gaudy ceremonies, and make it the smallest part of itself ; whereas, indeed, its true glory consists not in pomp, but in purity and simplicity. In the Apocalypse, xii., we find the church, under the name of a woman, richly attired indeed, but her ornaments be all heavenly — the *sun* her clothing, and her crown of *twelve stars* ; needs she then borrow sublunary glory ? No : she treads upon it ; the moon is under her feet. There is another woman, indeed, in the same book, arrayed in purple and scarlet, decked with gold and precious stones, and having a golden cup in

her hand ; but that golden cup is full of abominations and filthiness, and she herself [is called] the mother of abominations.—Apoc. xvii. 4. The natural man judges according to his reach ; but to a spiritual eye there is a most genuine beauty in the service of God, and in the government of his house : and when they are nearest to the rule—the *word of God*, then is it that the Lord himself is the crown and diadem of his church.”*

If I am not misinformed, there are in this church four archbishops, and twenty-four bishops, while each prelate is assisted in the government of the diocese by a vicar-general and dean : there are also chapters, and members of them who are dignitaries ; colleges, and professorships ; orders of brotherhood, and monastic superiors ; seculars and regular clergy ; parish-priests and curates. I have been assured, that in most of the town-parishes, beside the priest who is rector, there are generally a plurality of curates, sometimes three or four, causing the excess in the number of curates over the number of parish priests to be three curates for two rectors. There are some unions of parishes, as also of bishoprics, in the Church of Rome, as well as in the Established Church, but they are not so frequent in the former as in the latter. Supposing that of the number, 2,450 parishes in the church legalized by act of parliament, 450 had merged into union in the Romish Church, we have 2,000 parish rectors, and 3,000 parish curates ; in all for Ireland—

Secular Clergy	5,000	Vicars General.....	28
Archbishops	4	Professors in Colleges, &c...	50
Bishops	24	Regular Clergy.....	1,000
Deans	28		

This is supposed to be the total of Roman catholic clergy, 6134. The monks, friars, and other orders of brotherhood, are comprehended among the regular clergy. I believe it may be known at Rome precisely, how many of the various classes are employed in Ireland ; but I do not pretend to give more than general and summary information on the point, since my enquiries have entirely failed to afford me satisfaction. It is of importance, however, to recollect—

Ist, That whatever be the number, they are employed among a population of six millions. If we suppose our computation to be correct, 6134 clergy gives something less than a thousand of a flock for each official in the Romish Church ; while we have in the

* Archbishop Leighton.

Church of England a clergyman for every 210 parishioners in the aggregate.

4dly. That adding these two classes together, and their flocks together, we have two clergymen for a smaller number than every 1,200 souls : a priest-ridden country is Ireland surely !

3dly. That while all classes are *constrained* to contribute their proportion to support the Protestant clergy, who have each 210 persons, the Roman Catholics voluntarily pay for the support of their ministers also, excepting the small sum paid by parliamentary grant for Maynooth.

4thly. Leaving the comparative sums paid to these functionaries, and the total amount, to be considered hereafter ; as also what the working clergy of the one, and the working clergy of the other, receive ; it may now be observed that it is as the Roman Catholic priest performs his services that he is paid. He must exorcise, apply the oil, salt, &c., and the water of baptism ; he must give absolution, administer extreme unction, and attend the burials of the dead, &c. before he can receive the dues for such work.

It has not been because the tree of Protestantism was planted under the shade of parliamentary legislation, that it has stood assaults, and endures, till this day, the rough wind of popular indignation, and the lashing of the noisy waves : the tumult of the people would have long since destroyed such a plantation, but, because, amid all its abuses or defects, the seed of the kingdom, the pure word of God, was possessed by it, and here and there was scattered by it among the people, a special Providence has sustained it, and the Ruler of Nations has said, "Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it." While the Romish Church has stood, partly from the antipathy that the people have to the purer and more spiritual doctrines of the Protestant religion, their extreme ignorance of truth, and destitution of general knowledge, partly through the sympathy and deep-rooted affection with which we grow up to our fathers' religion ; in part, also, its popularity is to be ascribed to the vicious policy of a persecuting monopoly, in favour of the Established Church ; and in part to the zealous efforts and interested cunning of an indefatigable and isolated priesthood—an anti-social apparatus, powerful only for the accomplishment of despotism, and the maintenance of error ; and whose devices have not been met by equal exertion, patience, and zeal, on the part of the reformed clergy.

It is remarked, by observers in society, that the clergy in the Romish church, since the triumph of liberal principles has placed

them on a civil equality with other sects of the people, have exhibited greater attention to dress and external appearance, are more frequently seen in promenades, and in social intercourse, indulge more in luxuries enjoyed by protestant divines, in carriages, horses, &c., and vie with other members of society in attainments and influence. And why should they not? It is well they should come into mingled intercourse, and that the interchange of civility should smooth down the asperities of polemical hostility; while those hitherto deemed their antagonists would do well to make the *amende honorable*. And instead of repining at their advancement, and being jealous because of the prominence of the priests in society, they should recognize it as the effect of a new impulse given to the energies of the nation, by the change in civil and political liberty; and which is only remarkable because of the unnatural order of things existing before.

The rapid increase of influence acquired by the Roman Catholics in the community is not to be dreaded. It is no proof that the *Church* of Rome, in Ireland, is becoming stronger as an *ecclesiastical* body; the fact is, rather, that as the members, so the clergy, of that Church, becoming more numerous by means of population, more intelligent and more wealthy by the general advancement of society, are acquiring their appropriate position among their neighbours. And this has been rendered more apparent from the depressions to which, as victims of a persecuting religious tyranny, they were formerly exposed. It has been suggested by a very shrewd writer, as a principle of political economy, that the more near to equality the members of one church rise in political influence with the members of predominating churches, the more is that church in danger of losing its distinguishing features, and its very being as a separate body. If this be true generally, the Church of Rome will prove no exception to the rule: and we only wish to see the clergy of that church coming forward in literary competition, taking an interest in the progress of general learning, and encouraging the growth of intelligence, knowledge, and scientific researches. I do not say it from any desire to malign or misrepresent, but I believe the works of research, in history or philosophy, in theology or politics, which have emanated from the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood, are few and far between, and not always like angel visitants. Let them advance to the generous ambition of literary eminence, and seek to stand approved as the learned and useful members of society, exerting their undoubted

powers for the general advancement of their fellow men, and the diffusion of useful knowledge, for the cultivation of letters, the discovery of useful plans, and the discharge of mutual kindness and good-will.

The influence of the Romish clergy is great among the people, and it chiefly arises from the, too prevalent, superstitious belief, that if the rites of the church be not administered to the dying and for the dead, which the priest has the power of withholding, there can be no security for happiness in a future state. To the clerical order is entrusted the entire disposal of the spiritual interests of the people; a prerogative which they hesitate not to apply as a most powerful weapon. To the terrors of this frightful engine, among an ignorant people, must we ascribe the servile adherence of the humbler classes, especially of the rural peasantry, to their church, and their implicit compliance with the priest's dictates in ecclesiastical discipline. When he chooses to call a chapel, though sometimes a reluctant, yet always a numerous, attendance is secured, and it is by this means that he can exercise a despotic influence upon the community among whom he has been placed. Chapel-calls are of frequent occurrence. If a priest and one of his flock have quarrelled, as sometimes they do, even to blows—if any delay has been manifested in the payment of the *dues*—if any venturous mind has dared to think for himself, and to read some interdicted publication—if any latitudinarian exhibition of hostile politics has been made, then the exposure of a chapel-call is threatened and enforced, when all the neighbours are informed of the delinquency, the offender is named, and, it may be, denounced to present penance and atonement, or future obloquy and punishment. They carry on a system of espionage, easily conducted by the practice of auricular confession, when, it may be, a neighbour becomes informant, or a servant exposes his or her employer to priestly intrigue or denunciation. In this manner, much that is said in the convivial freeness of a dinner-party—much that passes in the ear and closet is repeated and proclaimed from the altar, or in the market-place. The instances wherein such oppression can be fearlessly resisted among an ignorant people are few; and though sometimes the priest has been successfully opposed, yet the veneration in which the hierarchy wish the priesthood to be held by the people, induces even higher and more prudent officials to wink at excesses, and to maintain the cause of the offender.

The training through which the Roman Catholic clergy pass, in their way to the office which they hold, will serve to illustrate what are their qualifications, and what influence they are likely to exert among the people. It had long been the practice of candidates for priesthood in the Romish Church to travel to foreign countries, and sojourn at the universities in Spain, France, or Italy, where the requisite attainments might be acquired. Some of the most affluent or aspiring continue to do so still; so that perhaps a hundred and fifty students for the Roman Catholic church in Ireland, may be now resident at different colleges on the continent, at the Irish college in Paris, at Salamanca, and Rome. Various seminaries have from time to time been established in Ireland, for educating young men who desired to enter the church; Carlow, Kilkenny, Tuam, Waterford, and Wexford, have been selected for the purpose. At these places, it is presumed, there are about two hundred students now receiving education, the greatest number being attracted to Carlow by the celebrity of Dr. Doyle. In 1795, the college of Maynooth was established by an Act of the Irish Parliament; two Acts were subsequently passed, the first in 1800, and the latter in 1808, extending and describing the privileges of this institution. The students who are now admitted within its walls, to the enjoyment of its advantages, are exclusively designed for the Romish priesthood. The number of offices filled by the servants of this establishment, from the President to the Apothecary, are nineteen; including professorships of Dogmatic Theology and Moral Theology; of Biblical Literature, Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics; of Rhetoric, the Belles Lettres, and Languages; Deans, the Librarian, and Secretary, &c. The number of students, in 1827, was about four hundred; some increase in subsequent years we believe has occurred. At the former period, one hundred and ten were pensioners, twenty were bursars, and two hundred and fifty were supported on the establishment; besides a few who had been elected to something like scholarships. The literary qualifications for admission are measured by proficiency in the common Latin and Greek classics, such as Cæsar and Sallust, Virgil and Horace, Cicero and Juvenal, Tacitus and Livy, Lucian and Xenophon, Homer and Demosthenes. The first two years are passed in classes for Humanity, Rhetoric, and Belles Lettres, accompanied by catechetical instruction in a work called Christian Doctrine. In the class for Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics, to

which the students proceed in the third year, a *Class Book* is provided, in a portion of which the pupil prepares himself each day, and this the professor illustrates, by a reference to various authors,—it is not said that the students have indiscriminate access to these authors,—Thomas Aquinas, Bossuet on Universal History, Clarke on the Being and Attributes of God, Malebranche's Search for Truth, Beattie on Truth, Locke, Reid's Enquiry, Blackstone's Commentary, and Paley's Natural Theology and Moral Philosophy. The Professors are not likely to impart much knowledge to their auditors through the medium employed, Latin being used in addresses to the students. The Cambridge Course of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy (Geometry and Trigonometry excepted) occupies the fourth year. The pupils are then transferred to the Divinity Class, the course of which engages them for three years. Nine Lectures are delivered each week, every lecture being an hour in delivery; two hours are weekly spent in Lectures on Scripture History. The Lectures form consecutive parts of distinct and independent treatises, and constitute ten volumes, five in Dogmatic Theology and five in Moral Theology. The first five volumes are the compilation of Delahogue, a native of Paris, and Doctor of the Sorbonne; the second five were prepared by another French ecclesiastic, M. Bailly, and were printed in Paris.

It is asserted that the doctrines inculcated in Delahogue's Compilation accord with those of the Sorbonne, and that the instructions generally given in the divinity classes at Maynooth do not materially differ from those given in the University of Paris. A particular chapter of the Vulgate is regularly marked out, and the students are required to be prepared to analyze and explain it. A half-hour weekly is spent in hearing the students comment on the Gospels and Epistles for the following Sundays. The Scripture Lectures are confined to those deemed the more difficult portions of the New Testament, and the Class-book used is the Commentary of Menochius. There is a class of Hebrew scholars, composed of thirteen or fourteen—a small selection from among four hundred students for the priesthood!! There is also a class for the Irish language; it is probably much better attended, but chiefly by students from Connaught and Munster. It is stated that the divinity students have access, during four hours of five days in the week, to the library of the college. The students are not at liberty to purchase books for their private use, but under

specific restrictions and regulations. A list of works offered for sale by the college bookseller to the students, must first be submitted to the inspection of the proper authorities!! It is the duty of the Dean to examine the books which each student brings with him into the college, and it is a general rule that none shall afterwards be introduced, without being submitted to the Dean's inspection; and if any student shall read any book prohibited by the President or Dean, he is, by the statutes of the college, liable to expulsion!! It is a part of the Dean's duty to examine occasionally what books are in the students' possession. The students rise at five in the summer, and at six in the winter months. They assemble in the chapel for morning prayer, after which they pursue their studies until eight, at which hour they attend mass. The day is spent in a prescribed routine of reading, eating, lectures, and recreation; during only four hours are they allowed to speak to each other. At nine they assemble for night prayer, after which they retire to their respective rooms, and are required to be in bed at ten o'clock. After the night prayer, when the students retire to their rooms, silence is strictly enjoined until after the morning prayer of the ensuing day. An ordination is held annually at Maynooth, when such persons only are ordained as are presented for that purpose by the college. The students usually remain in the institution until they are upon the point of receiving priests' orders. The general rule is, to give the order of Sub-deacon to such as have finished the first year of their studies in the Divinity Class: to give that of Deacon to those who have finished the second year; and that of Priesthood when they have completed the course.

It seems as if the system pursued at Maynooth is not so efficacious in rubbing off the excrescences of a mean or subordinate origin as foreign travel and education abroad are supposed to have been. The contrast which is frequently made is greatly to the disadvantage of the modern and home-made priest. Superior advantages must have been enjoyed in other countries or other colleges. The Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry say — "An opinion has prevailed, that the free education which the bounty of the Legislature has provided at Maynooth has both induced and enabled persons of a much lower class to enter into the Roman Catholic priesthood, than those who formerly filled the ministerial office; and who, without such aid, could not have prepared themselves for holy orders. We collect, however, from the evidence, that

this effect has not been produced; and that the cost of the previous education, the expenses of admission, and the charge which still attends the course of instruction at Maynooth, accompanied by other regulations, adopted by the Roman Catholic Bishops, have prevented this result."

It is believed, by those who watch the progress of events in the Romish communion, that there is a small number of puritans growing up in the bosom of that church; and that here and there priests will be found, who practise for themselves the reading of the Sacred Scriptures, and do not discountenance among their flock a similar pursuit, provided it be followed unostentatiously; while others have advanced further, and barely tolerate the mummery they are called to perform. It is in the growth and increase of such a class in the Romish church, that the well-wishers of this country may place their hopes; while the policy of such men may be most efficient, if conscientiously they can exert their influence among their own body to diffuse the portion of intelligence acquired by themselves, without forming any alliance with other denominations, and especially with the dominant Establishment.

As I extended my wanderings, and added to my facilities of knowing this people, the more convinced was I of the great bane to this country which its ecclesiastical establishment has proved; not merely for what it has done, but what it has professed to undertake and failed to accomplish—this I speak of the *Law Church*. The church so long outlawed has not come behind in its unhappy influence upon the moral state of the community. The men who bear office in this latter communion are just as worldly-minded as are the most worldly and ambitious of the former: they have no sons or sons-in-law to provide for, but they have *nephews* and *nieces*, and other relations; and these most frequently are among the peasantry, as tenants and tithe-payers, or even in a lower grade of society. So far, again, as they themselves are concerned, they are as the eunuchs of eastern courts, or the janizaries of Constantinople; or, more properly, like one of their own countrymen, who could say, when his habitation was in danger, "If you burn the house, I am but a lodger." They have no ostensible link of connexion with futurity—they have no sympathy with a coming age. They receive, I know, much larger revenues than the non-beneficed clergy of the establishment, and they are far more numerous; while their duties are comprised in a formal routine, which neither reaches the head nor the heart of this

people; neither improves their mind nor affections. Hence the most cruel atrocities have been committed by depredators who had just come from mass, and who, in the midst of their murders, would cross themselves, and even call in the clergy to perform the last offices for their dying victims.

The exertion of the priests in political matters is latterly assuming a more palpable form, but perhaps it will not prove more effective than when it was made in secret; at least, some doubt may rest upon its permanence, when we reckon upon the collision of separate and individual interests, which naturally occur in all communities of men. Some of them, indeed not a few, have been running rampant in electoral contests, but it has been to the great apparent annoyance of more prudent and exalted personages in the fraternity. Those who were so active, not merely exerted themselves in their several parishes, but appeared at the poll, with the design not only to talk, to watch, and exercise a moral influence, but to drag the elector, if need be, to vote contrary to his own desire, and choice, or supposed interest. They proceeded still further, to beat with their fists such as threatened to be more refractory, and even to wrestle with the voters, till the clerical combatants were seen in the mud of the streets, striving to return their favoured candidate. The most prudent and zealous Protestant should not regret such exhibitions, except for the sake of the man himself. The sober, thinking Roman Catholic, who did see the forcible zeal of his priests, did not leave the scene with an increased reverence for the priesthood of his church, or an exalted estimate of the men who so debased themselves.

CHAP. VI.

SOME PASSAGES IN THE HISTORY OF PRESBY-
TERIANISM IN IRELAND.

WE are assured that Queen Elizabeth so far succeeded in the policy which she adopted towards Ireland, that there remained in the country no insurgent who had not obtained or sued for mercy; while many Irish exiles, filled with malignant resentment towards the English, had been driven to the continent, and were trained to war in the armies of Spain. This policy, added to the conspiracies and commotions which had previously prevailed, had, when James I. succeeded to the English throne, depopulated the northern counties, embraced in the province of Ulster: and rebellions and insurrections were made the pretext for escheating to the crown that vast tract of country, the counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh, containing 500,000 acres of fertile and well-wooded land. The panegyrists of James say, not only that he ordered surveys, pointed out the sites where towns, settlements, forts, &c. should be constructed; delineated the character of the Irish chieftains, and how they should be treated; but also that he directed and ordained the measures by which the land was to be divided — among emigrants from Scotland and England, who should be denominated *undertakers*; among others, who, holding military or civil offices under the crown, had served in Ireland, and should be distinguished as *servitors*; or among those who still retained the rank of chieftains or captains with the native Irish: that the aborigines of the soil should be removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country, where husbandry and the arts should be taught them, a fixed habitation secured, and plunder and robbery punished and prevented. It has been affirmed, that James not merely accomplished all this, but that by such arts he introduced into Ulster humanity and justice, among a people who had ever been buried in the most pro-

found barbarism, Perhaps the year 1641 was a proof of the truth of all this eulogy !

This *wise* king further decreed, that the British adventurers, the undertakers, should have assigned to them the places of greatest strength and command ; and to the servitors he allotted stations of the greatest danger to themselves, and greatest advantage to the crown ; while, though he cordially hated the austere and republican character of Presbyterianism, yet as the plantations of Ulster were sufficiently removed from his own august presence, he granted the indulgence of Kirk ministers to Scotch settlers. The Corporation of London accepted of large grants in Derry, and covenanted to expend £20,000 in territorial improvements. Londonderry and Coleraine were the chief seats of their numerous colonists. They stipulated to place only Protestant settlers in their plantations, but it was more easy to induce the persecuted Puritans to abandon a land burdened with the devices of king-craft and prelatie domination, than to procure parochial clergy of the Established Church. The beneficed clergy of the Church of England were generally at ease in the possession of their preferments, and would not engage in such a hazardous undertaking. The Londoners, therefore, sent over Puritan ministers, who found this an asylum for conscience, and a hiding-place from the persecutions to effect conformity, so rigorously enforced then against the scrupulous and enlightened dissentients from established usages and unsound principles in England.

The Scots, in consequence of their vicinity to that province of Ireland, transported numerous colonies ; they brought their national, industrious, and less modish habits with them ; and being Presbyterians, and accompanied by their Kirk ministers, where they settled they formed their churches after the model of Geneva, and established the same simplicity of worship. There was much of voluntary conformity between them and the Puritans. Ten ministers, three of them English Puritans, and seven Scotch Presbyterians, settled as pastoral labourers in this region ; with them the bishops of the establishment (for these episcopal ecclesiastics knew how to cling to the stuff, though they liked not the battle-field,) mutually agreed to a compromise ; and Archbishop Usher's modified Presbyterian episcopacy, (the Bishop being the presiding Presbyter) was maintained for some time. Most of the ecclesiastical edifices in the northern counties had been either destroyed in the late wars, or had fallen to ruin ; the benefices were small, and

had either been shamefully kept by the bishops in *commendam*, or were under sequestration, or filled with ministers not less scandalous than their income; the wretched flock had been totally abandoned, and for many years divine service had not been used in any parish church of Ulster, except in cities and great towns. The estates of the northern bishoprics had been embarrassed by the usurpation of the Irish Lords, and the unsettled state of the country. But scarcely had the lands been allotted to the Patentee Colonists, when considerable portions of them were reclaimed by the clergy as their rightful property; and James, who thought and asserted, "No Bishop, no King," ordained that all ecclesiastical lands should be restored to their respective sees and churches, and that all lands should be deemed ecclesiastical from which bishops had in former times received rents or pensions. To provide for the inferior clergy, the bishops were called upon to resign all their impropriations, and relinquish the tithes paid to them out of parishes to the respective incumbents.

All the Scots who received ordination in Ireland from this time (1611) to the year 1642, were ordained by a conjunction of the bishop of the diocese and the kirk presbyters, and an omission of such passages in the established form of ordination as the candidate disliked: all of them enjoyed the churches and tithes, though they remained Presbyterians, and used not the Liturgy; the bishops even consulted them about affairs which concerned the common interest of the church; while some of the Presbyterians were members of the convocation. They had monthly meetings at Antrim, for the promotion of piety, and the extirpation of Popery. Their communions were quarterly. Occasionally a Presbyterian minister preached before the Judges of Assize, and an Episcopal curate administered the Sacrament to them on the same day: so that there was a sort of *comprehension* between the two parties. Halcyon days for the moderate Presbyterian were these! Things continued in this way, greatly to the satisfaction of the good Presbyterians, (and they must have rapidly increased, if we believe the accounts concerning their numbers during the Massacre,) till the administration of Laud, who succeeded in dividing and weakening the Protestant strength, and making way for the enormous growth of Popery, which ushered in the deadly carnage that almost desolated the province of Ulster in 1641 and 1642.

A fair judgment of this calamitous event cannot be formed without considering it in connexion with the causes that led to it.

Perhaps it was the result of various circumstances, which for a series of years had irritated the minds of the Irish, and at last raised them to a pitch of frenzy and cruelty, of the effects of which we cannot read without being shocked at the recital. The Irish had been pursued with a constant, rigorous, and unrelenting persecution. They had suffered extortions, imprisonments, and excommunications. Their estates had been seized under the pretext of a judicial inquiry into defective titles, in which inquiry verdicts against them were extorted from jurors. They had been heavily taxed for their superstitions, and totally precluded the exercise of their religion. Their application to Charles for a toleration had been rejected, in consequence of the protestation against such indulgence, drawn up by the Primate Usher, and twelve other bishops. The Roman Catholic writers say, that "the insurrection had its origin in the injustice of the English government, which had robbed them of their paternal fields, and bestowed them on strangers; and in the ecclesiastical oppression which had degraded the holy faith of their ancestors, reduced their priesthood to a state of beggary, and compelled them to pay tithes to men, whose religion they abhorred, whose language they did not understand, and who, in many parishes, had not a single individual to attend upon their ministry. To free themselves from these acts of tyranny, they snatched up the sword, at what they thought a favourable season, in hopes of again becoming masters of their own country, and gaining the ascendancy, or expelling the foreigners who had unjustly assumed dominion over them. Such, they allege, were the designs of the leaders, but they were defeated by the savage fury of their plebeian adherents, who overleaped all bounds of restraint, and spread massacre and destruction, where their superiors meant only conquest and subjugation."

It is not at all improbable that such grievances were dwelt upon and magnified by the emissaries of the queen, and that the vigorous measures of the Long Parliament, in that comparatively dark age, countenanced the apprehension, that if the king's Popish advisers were removed, their burdens would be increased and prolonged, and instead of whips they would be chastised with scorpions; and therefore the insurrection under the Earl of Antrim might have been more eagerly strengthened by the leading nobles, and the massacre in Ulster be intended as an act of selfish retaliation upon those who had disinherited and oppressed them. Forty or fifty thousand were slain in that province in a brief space, in a

most brutal manner, without distinction of age, sex, or quality, before the victims suspected their danger, or had time to prepare for their defence. In a few weeks the insurrection was so general, that the insurgents took possession of whole counties, killing or driving away the cattle, plundering the houses, and murdering the inhabitants. Multitudes of poor distressed and bereaved persons, and impoverished families, fled, naked and half-starved, first to Dublin, and thence to England, with woe and despair in their countenances. At length the Irish army, having ravaged all the northern counties, blocked up the city of Dublin itself, with all the suffering refugees who had taken sanctuary within its walls. Partial relief only was afforded from England, till the parliament was at leisure, from the controversy maintained by them with the king, to inflict summary and severe vengeance upon the heads of the ill-guided people, by the hands of the victorious and terrible Oliver Cromwell.

During the years which elapsed from 1642 till 1649, the country remained in a distracted state, and the Presbyterian clergy were but slowly recovering from their consternation and sufferings; but, in the latter period, they seemed to have rallied a little, so as to assume not only the attitude of "the Presbytery of Belfast," but of an authoritative community, who would deliver "an exhortation to duties relating to the covenant, unto all within our charge, and to all within this kingdom." It is not likely that in the disastrous conflicts of those times, even the parochial Presbyterian clergy of Ulster received their tithes and dues with much regularity; yet it seems they had a greater affection for the Stuart race and rule, and the continued establishment of their system in that country, than for the Long Parliament, or the authorities which followed it; since they charge *the Sectaries*, or the existing government, with "the insolent and presumptuous practice of labouring to establish by laws an universal toleration of all religions, which is an innovation, overturning of unity in religion, and so directly repugnant to the word of God, the two first articles of the solemn covenant, which is the greatest wickedness in them to violate, &c."; and while they designate "Presbyterial government the hedge and bulwark of religion," they represent those who would "speak evil of (this) church government," as equally guilty with those who "invent damnable errors, under the specious pretence of a Gospel-way and new light."

The indignant and bitter reply given to them by the author of

“The Defence of the People,” who had already declared that *Presbyter* is only *Priest* writ large, evinced his suspicion that love for truth and righteousness was not the constraining principle by which they were actuated, and that zeal for their country was absorbed by the exercise of a meaner and narrower passion. He says, in answer to the work alluded to, “These write themselves the Presbytery of Belfast, a place better known by the name of a late Barony, than by the fame of these men’s doctrines or ecclesiastical deeds, whose obscurity, till now, never came to our hearing: and surely we, who have neglected and passed over the like unadvisedness of their fellows in other places more near us, should think their representment as far beneath consideration, were it not to observe, in some particulars, the sympathy, good intelligence, and joint pace which they go, in the north of Ireland, with their co-partnering rebels in the south; driving on the same interest to lose us that kingdom, that they may gain it themselves, or, at least, share in the spoil; though the other be open enemies—these pretended brethren. The introduction of their *Manifest*, out of doubt, must be zealous: ‘their duty, they say, to God and his people, over whom he hath made them overseers, and for whom they must give account.’ What mean these men? Is the Presbytery of Belfast, a small town in Ulster, of so large extent that their *voices* cannot serve to teach duties in the congregation which they oversee, without spreading and divulging to all parts, far beyond the diocese of Patrick or Columba, their *written* representation, under the subtle pretence of feeding their own flock? or do they think to oversee, or undertake to give an account for, all to whom their paper sends greeting? St. Paul, to the elders of Ephesus, thinks it sufficient to give charge that *they take heed to themselves, and to the flock* over which the Holy Ghost has made them overseers; beyond those bounds, he enlarges not their commission: and surely, when we put down bishops, and put up presbyters; and which the most of them have made use of to enrich and exalt themselves, and turn the first heel against their benefactors; we did not think that one classic fraternity, so obscure and so remote, should involve us and all state affairs within the censure and jurisdiction of Belfast, upon pretence of overseeing their own charge.”

Such observations as these do not exhibit the profound veneration which Milton ever manifested to those whose motives he believed to be pure, and whose zeal he considered disinterested;

while his disclaimer on the part of the Parliamentary authorities may convey instruction in reference to modern Church Reform. "And if it can be no way proved that the Parliament have countenanced Popery or Papists, but have everywhere broken their temporal power, thrown down their *public* superstitions, and confined them to the bare enjoyment of that which is not in our reach—their consciences: if they have encouraged all true ministers of the gospel, that is to say, afforded them favour and protection, in all places where they preached; and although they think not money or stipend to be the best encouragement of a true pastor, yet therein also have not been wanting, nor intend [this is more than we would require]: they doubt not then to affirm themselves, not the subverters, but the maintainers and defenders of true religion; which of itself, and by consequence, is the surest and the strongest subversion, not only of all false ones, but of irreligion and atheism. *For the weapons of that warfare*, as the apostle testifies, who best knew, *are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds*, and all reasonings, and every high thing exalted against the knowledge of God, surprising every thought into the obedience of Christ, and easily revenging all disobedience. What minister or clergyman, that either understood his high calling, or sought not to erect a secular and carnal tyranny over spiritual things, would neglect this ample and sublime power conferred upon him, and come a begging to the weak hand of magistracy for that kind of aid which the magistrate hath no commission to afford him, and in the way he seeks it, hath always been found helpless and unprofitable. Neither is it unknown, or by wisest men unobserved, that the church began then most apparently to degenerate and go to ruin, when she borrowed of the civil power more than fair encouragement and protection; more than which Christ and his apostles never required. To say, therefore, that we protect and invite all false religions, with irreligion and atheism, because we lend not, or rather misapply not, the temporal power to help out, though in vain, the sloth, the spleen, and the insufficiency of churchmen, in the execution of spiritual discipline over those within their charge, or those without, is an imputation that may be laid upon the best regulated states and governments through the world; who have been so prudent as never to employ the civil sword, further than the edge of it could reach—that is, to civil offences only; proving always against objects that were spiritual a ridiculous weapon. Our protection, therefore, to men in

civil matters, inoffensive, we cannot deny ; their consciences we leave, as not within our cognizance, to the proper care of instruction, praying for them."

On such principles as these, developed in the quotation given, did the governors of Ireland proceed, till the increase of the Presbyterians emboldened them, and their attachment to the Stuart family tempted them, to refuse to take the oaths to the Commonwealth, to observe the fast days appointed by authority, and to comply with its ordinances ; considering the Protector's authority as an unjust usurpation. Henry Cromwell, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, attempted to argue them into actual subjection ; but he could not succeed. Provoked by their refusal, he withdrew the parochial support, which they had till then enjoyed. Perhaps he would have gained more friends, and shewn himself more politic, had he suffered them quietly to pursue their own way : by overlooking their sullenness, and letting them enjoy the pleasure of murmuring, he would have rendered them perfectly harmless. This was indeed, generally, the policy pursued, giving no ascendancy to any party, but promoting the welfare and seeking the happiness of all ; the tranquillity of the country was maintained till the restoration of the three kingdoms to the dominion and misgovernment of a cold-hearted, wanton, and debauched monarch, who never rewarded a friend, nor forgot an enemy ; whom adversity could not subdue, nor services make grateful ; whose God was self, and whose enjoyment was indulgence and excess. This was an event which the Irish Presbyterians had long desired ; but how sadly must their expectations have been disappointed ! they were not restored to their former privileges. The Episcopal Church resumed all her ancient honours ; to her clergy were transferred *all* the tithes, even in the north ; while the Presbyterians had nearly all the people, and all the labour. The royal *bounty* was, however, dispensed among them in compliance with their importunity, on the principle of the unjust judge, and five or six hundred pounds were distributed yearly among the Presbyterian ministers, till towards the end of Charles the Second's reign, when the bounty was withdrawn. Their numbers were increased by the arbitrary and cold-blooded proceedings of Charles in Scotland ; when he attempted, by tithes and dragoons, to establish Episcopacy among the people of that country. If, however, the Presbyterians did not pluck the rich fruit of an establishment in Ireland, they

enjoyed, compared with their brethren elsewhere, the repose of Eden, and the security of a strong tower.

A momentary gloom hung over the prospects of the Irish Presbytery during James the Second's infatuated struggle, but the cloud passed away; and William, Prince of Orange, whose principles are caricatured or inverted by the Irish Orangists, shewed that respect for the rights of conscience which yielded to his subjects the liberty of worshipping God according to their own judgment, and that liberality in distributing the bounty of the public purse which bestowed on the Presbyterians in the north of Ireland £1200 a-year towards their support. Letters patent passed the great seal of Ireland, granting this sum to seven ministers during pleasure, for the use of the ministers of the north of Ireland, to be paid quarterly out of any of the revenues of the kingdom. On the decease of William, the Trustees of the Royal Bounty petitioned Queen Anne to renew the grant, to which she acceded, under the following limitations. "Upon trust nevertheless that the money which shall be received thereupon, shall be distributed to and amongst the said Presbyterian ministers, or such of them, and in such proportions, as shall be appointed from time to time, in lists to be approved of and signed by our Lieutenant Deputy, or other chief governor or governors, of our said kingdom of Ireland for the time being." In the reign of Queen Anne, the House of Lords, spiritual and temporal, complained that the northern Presbyterians had set up a meeting-house, and so disturbed the peace of the town of Drogheda, where there had been no such place of worship for twenty-eight years before; and that in their zeal for proselytism they had sent missionaries into several parts of the kingdom, where they had no call from the people, and no congregation to support them, so that the £1200 were made a means of spreading schism into many other parts of the country. These outward troubles kept them pure within.

In the reign of George I., £800 per annum were divided in equal shares between the ministers of the Synod and those of the Southern Association, as an acknowledgment for their services in the Hanoverian Succession. During the reign of this monarch, and his more immediate successors, full exercise to liberty of conscience had been enjoyed by the Presbyterians; during which, error and schism invaded the body of Irish Presbyterians. Arianism found its way across the channel, and some of the most spe-

culative and daring of their ministers stood forth as champions of the new dogma. Subscription to creeds, and excommunicating anathemas, were resorted to in vain; the Presbytery of Antrim was formed; the Remonstrants, a division from the Synod of Ulster, have more recently enrolled themselves under the banner of a twin brother; the associated Dissenters of the south had previously unfurled the same standard. So that with the double sign—the Castor and Pollux of Arianism and Socinianism—there are now arrayed about forty or fifty ministers and congregations, of Irish Presbyterians. It has frequently been observed, however, in surveying the annals of the Church, that when any religious body has declined in purity of doctrine and fervour of zeal, it has pleased God to raise up others, either to reclaim them or occupy their place. About the year 1746, a minister of the Seceding communion came over from Scotland, and planted another standard of the cross, the arms of that communion being quartered on it, in Ulster; and he was afterwards followed by others of his fellow labourers, both Burghers and Anti-burghers. Wherever these new leaders were introduced, the friends of orthodoxy, justly disdaining to have their own or their children's ears polluted by the sound of heresy, or their services rendered under an attainted banner, forsook their old connexions, and joined themselves to the congregation of the Seceders. In consequence of this, and of very active exertions, there is a continual increase of their numbers.

In 1737, George the Second's reign, the Ulster Synod evinced by their minutes a prudent forethought, and wrote to their brethren in Dublin, allowing them in their name to address the Lord-Lieutenant upon his arrival; and, if they found it convenient, to give a modest hint concerning the S——s. In 1749, they again consulted their friends in Dublin, concerning the expediency of addressing the Government at this time concerning an application for an augmentation of the Regium Donum. In 1753, it was voted and approved by the same prudent body, that in time to come no minister be fixed in any congregation subject to this synod, unless they pay, by way of stipend, at least 40*l.* a-year besides the regal stipend; while the congregations already planted were required to pay that sum yearly henceforward.

In 1784, Government granted an additional sum of £1,000 per annum to the ministers of the Synod of Ulster, to be distributed at the pleasure of the Chief Governor or Governors of the King-

dom. In 1792, £5,000 were granted during pleasure, which were divided among the ministers of the Synod, the Presbytery of Antrim, the Seceders, the Southern Association, and the ministers of the French Church, St. Peter's, Dublin.*

In the commotions which convulsed Ireland towards the close of the 18th century, not a few of the Presbyterian ministers were implicated, and this occasioned great searchings of heart among the Synods—the Regium Donum was in danger; by it many of them had their living; others of them were doubtless excited by higher motives. However, in more recent times, the royal bounty, which had been dispensed in a sum-total yearly, and left to their own division among the ministers of the Synod, became the subject of grave consideration; and Lord Castlereagh, and the Ministry under whom he acted, somewhat altered the channel in which the contribution of the State should flow to the Presbyterians. In 1803, it was determined, in order that the administration of the grant might have a check upon the clergy, (is not this the object in all State bounties bestowed upon ecclesiastical functionaries?) that each minister should receive, as for himself, while the gift should be granted according to the congregation; that the disloyal ecclesiastic should be deprived by the decree of the Secretary of State, but that the Regium Donum should continue to be drawn, even where the minister was deceased, or deprived; and the benefit of such revenue should be appropriated to a widows' fund. The congregations under the care of the Synods and Presbytery of Antrim were arranged in three classes, according to the number of families and stipend of each. Agreeably to this classification is the allowance of the ministers—some only £50, some at the higher rate of £75, and the highest £100 per annum; while the congregations add to the sum, and increase the ministers' salary, according to their respective liberality, by subscriptions or seat-rents. "It is an ill wind that blows in nobody's barn door:" these new arrangements were made the reason and pretext for imploring and obtaining increased help from the national treasury, to support "the Presbyterian Synod of Ireland," called Seceders. Their ministers are also the continued stipendiaries of the State—the hired pulpit servants of

* The sum for the French Church continued to be voted till the accession of the present ministry, though no French minister has officiated for nearly thirty years, in the city of Dublin; and large revenues are still attached to that church by bequest, &c.

“the powers that be.” Their allowances are on a smaller scale, but graduating also according to locality, and other circumstances. Their classes are £70, £50, and £40 per annum. Are these the principles of their brethren of the ‘voluntary churches’ in Scotland?

The discussions which ended in the formation of the Presbytery of Antrim began, and were conducted with more or less ardour, between 1705 and 1724; and some of the most distinguished and talented of the Presbyterian ministers of Ireland, Dr. Boyse and Mr. Abernethy, were involved in the controversy. It appears that Mr. Nevin disclaimed being an Arian, yet scrupled and refused to make subscription to any human form of opinion or belief. Notwithstanding, from the general suspicion which prevailed among the Synod, from the warmth and extent of the debates, and from the fact that Arianism did raise its head among the Presbyterians, both in the north and south of Ireland, it may not be a harsh or hasty conclusion, that that form of church government, and the patronage of the state, are not sufficient to guard against heterodoxy, or the appropriation of the national bounty to propagate a system of opinions directly obnoxious to written standards, and hostile to established creeds and confessions of faith. Let the devout advocate of national establishments of religion, of state patronage, or territorial endowments for the advancement of christianity, ponder well the palpable fact, that up to this day thousands of pounds yearly are devoted to maintain in Ireland Arian and Socinian ministers, as well as some who labour neither for one creed nor another, but whose only concern is, what they shall eat, or what they shall drink, or wherewithal they shall be clothed. It is desirable that the English public should further know, what the effect is of that, which, improperly is denominated Royal Bounty, but may more correctly be designated government improvidence, parliamentary extravagance, and national robbery. At the close of the session of parliament for 1833, nearly £24,500 were voted for the support of Presbyterian ministers in Ireland. By the appropriation of such grants in former years, the several bodies of Presbyterians in Ireland have been able to proceed, not merely in the maintenance of existing congregations, at least of ministers for such congregations, but also to encrease their number of clerical stipendiaries throughout the country. The usual process for the consolidation of a new interest, in such parts of the country as are known to us, may be thus briefly described. A certain number of adult persons, supposed to be, or designated as, heads of families

residing in a vicinity, subscribe a document declaring themselves to be Presbyterians, and desiring the settlement among them, as a congregation, of a minister whom they approve of. This document is forwarded to the Presbytery, and having received the sanction of their competent ecclesiastical authorities, the congregation and minister are enrolled, having been duly organized, &c., are returned as people and minister of that communion, and become eligible to the enjoyment of *Regium Donum*. A memorial, attested by the Moderator of the Synod and their lay agent, is then presented by the minister of the congregation to the Lord Lieutenant, soliciting the Bounty usually granted to the ministers of that body; and as a security for his dutiful obedience, and a proof of his acceptableness, the oath of allegiance is subscribed, and the attestation of two magistrates is added, to witness that he has duly taken the oath, and pledged his loyalty as the *quid pro quo*. Not infrequently it occurs, that persons have subscribed themselves as members of such congregation who do not feel under the moral obligation of contributing to the support of their minister, or who are well satisfied by the appropriation of a most miserable pittance, to eke out the salary of their recognised pastor; they calculate on the government allowance, and neither cherish in themselves, nor in the members of their families, any sense of individual responsibility, or the obligation to make personal effort, for the advancement of religion. The minister receives his £50 or £70 yearly; but the sum is inadequate for the support of a family, or for their elevation in society. Consequently, the man who should be wholly given to sacred things, and the cultivation of the religious improvement of his people, is induced to turn his thoughts to other pursuits, and to occupy his time with secular engagements. In many instances the *Regium Donum* is applied as the rent of a farm — the minister becomes a farming gentleman; or, holding from the head landlord, he sub-lets portions of his lease, at rack-rents, to the neighbouring peasantry for potatoe fields. It is not an uncommon sight, in country towns, in fairs and markets, to witness the Presbyterian minister selling his pigs, his corn, or his sheep; and, it may be, completing his bargain in the public-house, or over the whiskey bottle, on a Saturday afternoon, or at other times nearly approaching to religious service. The advocates of Temperance Societies tell some strange stories regarding the north. The clerical character is lowered by such exposure; the tone of mind in the victim of such a system is vitiated; his official engagements are not dis-

tinguished by the exertion of intellect or the researches of study; and he fails to effect that good, or to command that moral and spiritual influence, which would render him a benefit to his flock. His people fail to acquire an enlarged and comprehensive benevolence, or active and vigorous minds; generous principles do not exalt them; liberality of sentiment or of charity lies beyond their attainment; and they take no interest in diffusing the knowledge of their own religion, or the advantages of a free and enlightened constitution, in their own neighbourhoods, or among their fellow men in remoter districts. Even where a desire to do good has actuated some of them, their designs are selfish, their liberality is penurious, and their efforts are feeble or abortive. The influence of a system so replete with evil may serve to account for the inefficiency of Presbyterianism itself in Ireland; and the obstructions which other modes of doing good in the country must herein have had to encounter, will sufficiently explain the cause of their slow or partial success. Let the patriotic statesman, the christian citizen, and the philosophic and candid enquirer after truth, as also the student of ecclesiastical history, survey the sad and dreary effects of the paralyzing conjunction of church and state, in a country which requires all the energies of a vigorous and healthy christianity, and all the resources of a wise and benevolent government to redeem its population from civil discord and superstitious and ruinous priestcraft.

Applications to the liberality of English christians are sometimes made by delegated ministers, on behalf of chapel cases in Ireland; and the plea is usually strengthened by a statement of local circumstances. Obstructions from popish influence, the permanent action and juxtaposition of Socinian or Arian heterodoxy, and the infantile weakness of new interests, are often successfully urged; and even the wealth and inefficiency of the dominant establishment, are pressed upon the consideration of the Anglican Dissenter. But we would arm the consistent opposer of national churches with these brief and simple questions: Does the body with which the applicant is associated receive the *Regium Donum*? And if they do enjoy it now, does it form part of their plan ultimately to make the usual application for obtaining that allowance? Answers to these will lead to, or furnish, a suitable criterion for the claims and responsibility involved. And ministers, or those who recommend cases to their people or friends, should remember these considerations.

The Synod of Ulster hold their annual meeting about the close of June; they have a clerical moderator, chosen by the members of Synod, by roll, annually; he presides as chairman at the meetings, and continues through the year an official organ for public communications, and to preach at the re-assembling of the Synod. They have also a clerk, chosen by themselves, but holding the office during their pleasure. There are fifteen Presbyteries, whose business it is to take cognizance of irregularities in the subordinate Kirk Session, or to consult for promoting the general welfare in their immediate locality: their decisions are subject to appeal before the Synod. They have —

Congregations, 237; Ministers and Licentiates, 275; and a nominal population, 400,000, of all classes and ages; giving to each preacher the care of 1400 souls, young and old.

The Presbyterian Synod of Ireland pursue nearly the same ecclesiastical and synodical details; their annual assembly is in July; they number about —

Congregations, 123; Ministers, besides Licentiates, 123; and members 85,000, besides casual hearers; giving to each preacher the care of 700 souls, young and old.

The Arian and Socinian body, including the Synod of Munster, the Presbytery of Antrim, and the Remonstrant Synod, may be, altogether —

Congregations, 40; Ministers, &c. 60; and members, as a community, 16,000.

Two or three other sections remain; the Covenanters, I believe, the Old-light Antiburghers, and the Scottish Seceders, as they choose to be designated; the numbers of their congregations may be 25 or 30, and their people about 15,000.

I may have overstated numbers, but I have not designed to exaggerate the proportion, and I believe I am not far astray in the larger bodies. The last divisions disclaim alliance with the state, and refuse to pollute their tent, or endanger their camp, by the golden wedge, the silver shekels, and the Babylonish garment. Their character is not less pure, nor their practical allegiance more doubtful, than their hireling or stipendiary fellow-subjects.

CHAP. VII.

BRIEF NOTICES OF EMINENT PERSONS CONNECTED WITH, OR CALLING THEMSELVES, THE INDEPENDENTS, OR CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES IN IRELAND.

CROMWELL is in bad odour with defendants or apologists for established churches; the mention of his name throws them into paroxysms of abuse. Some advocates for the legalized episcopacy in Ireland affirm that his religion was plunder, that his morality was hypocrisy, and his piety, fanaticism; they assert that he uprooted religion, while he pretended to reform it; that he railed at episcopacy, that he might steal the jewels from the mitre; and ejected the clergy, that he might feed his great company of great preachers, his artillery, and his dragoons, from the patrimony of the church. "It is true," they say, "that he ordained whole troops of dragoons, and by a magical agency transformed them into gifted preachers. By a metamorphosis not less sanctimonious, he desecrated our cathedrals, and, by an adhesion to puritanical heterodoxy of turning things to the opposite of their intended use, he converted the stalls of the prebendaries into stables for the horses of the godly." This is almost heroic poetry; but it is too metaphorical. Could the writer really mean to compare gifted preachers and cathedrals? I often wonder at the glib manner in which a period can be rounded, in declamatory slander against that extraordinary man, by men who know just as little of the Protector as Oliver Goldsmith chose to copy from Hume, or who believe as much falsehood as the infidel historian pleased to invent. The Protector Cromwell's great preachers and chaplains were Thomas Goodwin, John Owen, D.D., John Howe, A.M., and other eminent patriots. They were the most faithful and able men that England or any other country could adduce from the page of their national annals; and though neither of them was made a prelate noble, or a counsellor of the Star Chamber, or a judge in that court where whipping and branding, confiscation and burning,

were the penalties awarded for the exercise of a pure conscience, and obedience to the word of God, they continued Cromwell's zealous servants and faithful advisers till his death: they departed not from their principles when changing times rendered their principles unpopular; but, by patient continuance in well doing, by unflinching integrity in the midst of sufferings for conscience' sake, and by learned, practical, devout, and voluminous writings, they acquired a distinction in the history of their country, and in the records of the church, which adds honour to their patron, and reflects a glory upon the character of the ruler, whom to serve was to praise, that should resist and disperse the clouds gathered upon his reputation by infidel or partizan detractors. Dr. Owen,—no court parasite or unprincipled changeling, no heated enthusiast or political adventurer,—Dr. Owen, the Vice Chancellor of Oxford,—a situation which he adorned by his integrity, pious learning, and benignant government,—this man said, “it is unnecessary to expatiate on his (O. Cromwell's) praise, or to rehearse his good deeds, since *all are* eager to ascribe to him the best blessings they enjoy; and he has obtained immortal honour by his conduct. I, therefore, purposely omit the eulogy of the wisest and bravest man which this age, fertile in heroes, has produced. Whatever shall become of England, it shall ever be known that he was a prince who had at heart the glory of the Island and the honour of religion.” Such is the testimony of the commentator on the Hebrews, the writer “On Spiritual Mindedness,” and “On the Glory of Christ,” who held his office of chaplain in conjunction with the immortal author of “The Living Temple,” the “Blessedness of the Righteous,” and “Delighting in God.” Both these eminent men visited Ireland, and preached the gospel in the churches of that land. No one ever seriously charged O. Cromwell as a Roman Catholic, as a libertine in principle, or as licentious in practice. No ruler ever did more for Protestantism abroad, or for liberty of conscience at home. So zealous was he in religion, as to be charged with enthusiasm, and classed among fanatics; and so unblameable in his personal conduct, as to be designated a consummate hypocrite, and a canting dissembler, by men who never made any profession of evangelical religion, and whose conduct was a continued violation of every christian precept.

It is the more remarkable that men professing a zeal for the Protestant religion, and maintaining a controversy so hostile with Popery as the high church writers in Ireland have monopolised, in their own

esteem, should exhibit such rancorous bitterness and vituperative declamation against the Protector, when we consider the character of the kings who preceded and followed him as rulers of the British empire. The glaring inconsistency of such conduct might be proved by the statements of such writers against themselves: one declares that "Charles the first had, by the instrumentality of his Queen, entered into a contract to sell Ireland and the Protestant religion to a Roman Catholic foreigner:" the same writer further remarks, "we may estimate this affection for the established church, by observing, that one of the remarkable conditions of this traitorous bargain was, that no ruler should henceforth govern in Ireland, but a disciple of Rome;" but this is not enough to express the churchman's opinion of the Royal Martyr, for he is also charged with "detaining the possessions of the church to carry on war against his own subjects." Did Cromwell act thus? and yet in this churchman's ritual is a service annually performed, not quite as a mass or a beatification, but as an anniversary humiliation for the martyrdom of the blessed King Charles, to deprecate God's wrath for the guilt of shedding that sacred and innocent blood: let the libellers of Cromwell read, mark, and inwardly digest the hymn to be said or sung on the annual canonization day of Charles, beginning 'Righteous art thou,' &c., and which the priest and people are directed to alternate in due solemnity; let them consider the collects for the 30th of January, morning and evening, and compare them with the opinions or facts above recited, and determine, according to truth, the comparative merits of the respective rulers and their several admirers. It may not be deemed *mal a-propos* to repeat, that even churchmen, and advocates for the church establishment in Ireland, describe "the vices of Charles the Second, who was a vicious profligate," as "the willing tool of the Roman Catholic priesthood, who followed the example of the rapacious aristocracy of Ireland, and withheld from the church the means of support:" and yet, having subscribed their assent and consent to all things contained in the Book of Common Prayer, they, with a "pure heart and humble voice," repeat the collects appointed for the 29th day of May, "wherein the miraculous providence of God is to be acknowledged, in restoring to us, and to his own just and undoubted rights, our then most gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second." Surely here the services of an established church, and the propriety of praying by act of parliament, may be tested, weighed in the balances, and found wanting in truth and honesty. Is it by mental reservation that these

services are performed? Does the Official reason, that as this is an act of homage which the Church renders to the State, an instance of the allegiance which the priesthood owes to king-craft for value received in kind, as it is to man and not to God the obligation is due, this part of worship does not require the heart? It may be that some devout and scrupulous churchman disapproves of these services; then he should not subscribe; he is in heart a dissenter; and conformity in a matter so sacred by such dissentient is a lie, not unto man, but unto God, which will assuredly bring down the establishment as a carcass to the posture of prostration to which Ananias and Sapphira fell at the apostles' feet.

When Oliver Cromwell was sent to Ireland as the representative of the Parliament, whether in pretence or reality, he exhibited a concern for the auspicious countenance of God upon his undertaking. He requested that Dr. J. Owen, then independent minister at Coggeshall, would accompany him in his expedition, and aid him in regulating the affairs of Trinity College, Dublin. Owen, being advised by other ministers, was induced to comply, and on the 7th of June, 1649, preached a sermon before the General, the officers of State, and the House of Commons, preparatory to the expedition for Ireland. On the 2d of July, having received the parliamentary commission as chaplain to Lieut.-General Cromwell, he proceeded with the army, which sailed in August, and reached Dublin in the same month, when Owen took up his residence in Trinity College. He was burdened with manifold employments, and with constant preaching to a numerous multitude of as thirsty people after the gospel as ever he conversed with. Nor were his labours without success. On his return from Ireland, February 1650, he was called to preach before the Parliament, when he discovered the deep interest he took in the welfare of Ireland. "I would there were," says he, "for the present, one Gospel preacher for every walled town in the English possessions in Ireland. The land mourneth, and the people perish, for want of knowledge; many run to and fro, but it is upon other designs — knowledge is not increased. They are sensible of their wants, and cry out for supply. The tears and cries of the inhabitants of Dublin after the manifestation of Christ are ever in my view. If they were in the dark, and loved to have it so, it might, in some respects, close the door upon the bowels of our compassion; but they cry out of their darkness, and are ready to follow any one whomsoever, who has a candle. If their being without the Gospel move not our hearts, it is hoped their im-

portunate cries will disquiet our rest, and extort help, as a beggar doth alms."

He then directed the attention of the Parliament to higher concerns than the subjugation of Ireland; and suggested the appointment of a Committee to consider its religious state, and to take other steps for supplying the wants and redressing the grievances of a country so ill-fated. Cromwell seconded these representations, and Parliament passed an ordinance, on the 8th of March, for the encouragement of religion and learning in Ireland. "They invested all the manors and lands, late of the Archbishop of Dublin, and of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick, together with the parsonage of Trim, belonging to the bishopric of Meath, in the hands of trustees, for the maintenance and support of Trinity College, Dublin; and for the erecting, settling, and maintaining another college in the said city—and of a master, fellows, scholars, and public professors; and for erecting a free school, with a master, usher, scholars, and officers, in such manner as any five of the trustees, with the consent of the Lord-Lieutenant, shall direct and appoint. The Lord-Lieutenant to nominate the governor, masters, &c., and to appoint them their salaries; and the trustees, with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant, shall draw up statutes and ordinances, to be confirmed by the Parliament of England." The University of Dublin being thus revived, and put on a new footing, the Parliament sent over six of their most acceptable preachers to give it reputation, appointing them £200 per annum out of the bishops' lands; and till that could be duly raised, to be paid out of the public revenue. By these methods, learning began to prosper; and in a few years, religion appeared with a better face than it had ever done in that kingdom before. The impartial student of history will give praise where it is due; and the politician will discern that the Independents were neither Goths nor barbarians; that their love of learning was not to be measured by the height of their spires, or the breadth of their phylacteries; and that their services to science and her daughters were not less sincere, for the democratic character of their church government, or its independence of the state.

The Brownists, or Independents, had carried their doctrines and the practice of their discipline into Ireland, soon after they had established themselves in England. In 1650, Dr. Samuel Winter, having relinquished a benefice worth £400 per annum in England, went over with the other Parliament Commissioners, that he might promote the interests of the Gospel in Ireland. He was made

provost of Trinity College, which he found almost desolate and forsaken; but under his care it became a valuable seminary of piety and learning. He was pastor of an Independent church in the city at the same time; in both of which stations he continued till the Restoration. After his appointment, in 1655, Claudius Gilbert, another congregational minister, in Limerick, Edward Reynolds and J. Warren, both ministers of the same persuasion, united with Dr. Winter, as the "aforesaid ministers of Christ in Ireland," in a letter to Mr. Richard Baxter. John Rogers, author of "The Tabernacle of the Sun," was minister of another church in Dublin, of which the governor of Dublin, Col. Hewson, was a member, and to which John Byewater and Thomas Huggins, preachers of the word, joined themselves. At the same time, Mr. Thomas Patient was a Baptist minister at Waterford, and, having accompanied General Fleetwood to Ireland, usually preached in the cathedral. Mr. Murcot and Dr. Worth were also ministers of the same persuasion. Henry Cromwell, son of the Protector, had been appointed a major-general in Ireland in the year 1654, and was sworn, on the 24th of November, 1657, Lord-Deputy of Ireland. While in these exalted stations, he not merely professed himself a member of, and communicated with a particular Independent church in Dublin (and this is the best way for a ruler to give countenance to religion), but he also avowed his desire to regulate the Irish government in conformity with such principles. It was, moreover, testified by a competent number of the community, that they blessed God for "his equal justice to all, and mercy to the poor; for his prudent and loving carriage to all that fear God, though of different judgments, endeavouring to preserve unity and love amongst them; for the countenance that himself and family gave to all God's public ordinances, by their constant and reverent attendance on them; for the respect, countenance, and encouragement, that in an especial manner he gave to all the godly ministers of the gospel; and we do also declare, and that upon good ground, that, generally, all the sober-minded Christians throughout this whole land are of the same mind with us herein: dated this 3d day of June, 1656,"—signed by many ministers.

Dr. Thomas Harrison had gone over with Lord Henry Cromwell, and preached for several years in Christ-church, Dublin, with universal applause. He left Dublin at the Restoration of Charles; but returned when silenced in England by the act of uniformity. He exercised his ministry as a Dissenter in Dublin, having a

flourishing congregation, and many persons of quality for his constant auditors. Though a congregationalist in church government, yet he managed all matters with such discretion, was so agreeable and eloquent as a preacher, and so insinuated himself into the affections of his people, that he excited the admiration of all who knew him. He was a complete gentleman, much courted for his conversation — free with the meanest, and yet fit company for the greatest persons. Stephen Charnock resided with great respect in the family of Harry Cromwell, and exercised his ministry on the Lord's day afternoons, to the admiration of the most judicious christians, having persons of the greatest distinction in the city of Dublin for his auditors, and being applauded by such as were of very different sentiments from himself. Many commended his learning and abilities who had no regard for his piety. Mr. Samuel Mather also went over about the same time, and became colleague to Dr. Winter. He preached every Lord's-day morning at the church of St. Nicolas, and once in the six weeks before the Lord Deputy and his council. Though an Independent, Anthony Wood acknowledges, he was a man of much moderation, and civil to Episcopalians, when he had the power of injuring them. He died in Dublin, in 1671. Daniel Williams, D.D., founder of the Red-cross-street Library, London, before he was nineteen years old, was regularly admitted a preacher. Seeing he had no prospect of being able to perform his ministry in England, and receiving an invitation to become chaplain to the Countess of Meath, he readily accepted it, and came to Dublin. There he found a refuge from the storm, and was favoured with peculiar opportunities of usefulness. After some time, he was called to the pastoral office in Wood-street, Dublin, where he continued for twenty years, and by his labours in the pulpit, his prudent advice, and his access to people of rank, God made him a helper of many, and very useful in his cause. He filled his station with unusual acceptance and success — living in great harmony with his brethren, and was respected by most hearty Protestants; till, with many others, after escaping some threatening dangers, he was driven from thence by the tyrannical government and violent proceedings of the popish administration of James II.

Mr. John Bailey, a native of Lancashire, and born near to Blackburn, eminently pious in his youth, and early employed in the service of Christ's church, after hard and repeated imprisonment in England, because he could not conscientiously conform to human inventions, in the service of heaven, visited Ireland in the year 1670.

His labours were here so frequent and fervent, as greatly and irreparably to injure his health. He spent about fourteen years at Limerick, where he reaped the fruits of his labours in a plentiful harvest. While he was here, a person of honourable rank, and his lady, nearly related to the Duke of Ormond, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, attended his ministry. This gave umbrage to the bishop of the diocese, who made complaint of it to the Lord-Lieutenant. This gentleman then offered Mr. Bailey, if he would conform, to procure him the office of chaplain to the duke, together with a deanery, and the first vacant bishopric. He refused the offer; but it was accepted by another Nonconformist in the vicinity of Limerick, who conformed on the pretence that he did it for the sake of opportunities to preach the gospel. This man obtained various other steps of preferment, but so many obstacles came then in his way, that he was seldom able to preach at all. Mr. Bailey proceeded in the exercise of his ministry, without any factious designs, merely aiming at the conversion of men to Christ, and promoting faith and holiness. But though unblameable in his whole conversation, and beloved wherever he came, he suffered another long imprisonment, while popery was countenanced, and Roman Catholics enjoyed liberty. When he was before his judges, he thus addressed them. "If I had been drinking, gaming, and carousing at a tavern with company, my lords, I presume that would not have procured my being thus treated as an offender. Must praying to God, and preaching Christ, with a company of christians, who are as peaceable, inoffensive, and serviceable to his Majesty and the Government as any of his subjects — must this be considered as a greater crime?" The recorder answered, "We will have you to know, it is a greater crime."

While he was imprisoned, his church, being divided into seven parts, visited him one part every day, when he prayed with them and preached to them; by which means he once in a week served them all. This proceeding, however, gave such offence, that in a short time a violent obstruction was given to it; when his flock, and particularly his dear young men (as he called them), prayed without ceasing, and not without fasting, for his release; and humble applications were made to the judges at the assizes on his behalf. But no release could be obtained, unless he gave security that he should leave the country within a short and limited time. These persecutions drove him from the city, which soon became almost a desolation, being twice besieged and stormed by a victorious army; so

that wrath came down to the uttermost upon those who persecuted this servant of God ; while he found a retreat, and a quiet dwelling place, in New England, where he carried his principles, enjoyed liberty of conscience, and applied his exertions to benefit the souls among whom he had found an asylum. How much does America owe to the Pilgrim fathers, and to the tyranny which drove them across the Atlantic, abhorring the domination of prelatic government as much as the anti-christian superstition of papal Rome !

In Dublin, the Presbyterian and other Dissenting congregations were, originally, not as some of them are now, connected with either the synod of Ulster, or of Munster ; and it is probable, that besides Wood-street chapel (now shut up and almost forgotten, but, as appears from past history, a sphere of honourable labour), other places of congregational worship were held by the Dissenters. Plunket-street meeting-house was not joined either in the Dublin Presbytery or with the Synod of Ulster till the middle of last century. Other places of Protestant dissenting worship were maintained in succession, but Congregationalism has not spread widely in Ireland. Their preachers receive no parliamentary aid, but they and their places of worship are supported entirely, either by their own congregations, or by the subscriptions of fellow christians. There has been a want of combination and mutual confidence, or intercourse, which, however characterised by independency, does not secure efficiency and success, or say much for the zeal of this denomination in Ireland.

There are in Ireland thirty congregational churches, counted as follows : eleven in the province of Ulster ; four in Connaught ; six in Leinster, and nine in Munster. They have a total of about twelve hundred and fifty members now in church fellowship ; and the preaching of the gospel among them is brought to bear directly and regularly on at least five thousand persons ; and occasionally on many more.

Such a number of beacon-lights, scattered through a land, three-fourths of the population of which are enveloped in midnight darkness, and the great majority of the remainder either living under the influence of a frigid formality, or quickened by the lurid flame of a political religion, will not be considered an unimportant circumstance by any sincere lover of the Saviour's cause. Their number, it is true, is not great, nor their influence of a *kind* which the world would highly estimate ; but if they have not only the light of pure doctrinal truth, and the simplicity of New Testament government

and discipline, but also the heat and animation of the Spirit's influence, they are indestructible, and will increase.

Why, it may be demanded, have I entered into these details and given a catalogue of men long since gone to their fathers? It is to shew, that religion may be practised and promoted by men who are neither the "hirelings of government," nor the opponents of "the powers that be;" that a system of that pure and simple doctrine was propagated, has stood, and will yet continue, without the sunshine of court favour or the shield of legal patronage; whose continuance is a test of the vitality of principles, of their sufficiency to sustain such minds as receive them, and of the practicability of their application to society at large. This scheme invites enquiry, as it would relieve statesmen and governors of much responsibility, danger, and difficulty, and ensure to the people the undisturbed and untempting enjoyment of the most sacred privileges and most exalted distinctions.

CHAP. VIII.

SHORT SKETCHES OF OTHER AND MINOR SECTS, CALLING THEMSELVES CHRISTIANS, IN IRE- LAND.—THOUGHTS HEREBY SUGGESTED.

No apology is necessary for resuming the subject to which my previous pages have invited attention, since it is more important than the evanescent interests of parties on either one or other side of politics; and I trust that, however much I may fail to do justice to the respective Associations under discussion, I shall yet so succeed in laying open for further consideration questions involving such consequences, as to invite the inspection of abler men, that they may pursue with more leisure and efficiency all the divisions of the discussion. Some minor sections of Protestant denomination remain, to complete our details of the branch of the Moral Statistics of Ireland already partially discussed, and whose adherents and principles possess considerable influence in the measures adopted, and the characters formed and exhibited, in Ireland: the Wesleyan Methodists, the Primitive Methodists, the Quakers, the Moravians, the Separatists, and the Baptists.

The Baptist denomination has not experienced much prosperity in Ireland for many years. They have ten or twelve congregations, or rather churches, and a few people attached to each, throughout the country; they were comparatively in greater strength in the time of the Protectorate than they are now. Some of their most popular ministers from England visited Dublin; such as Mr. Pearce, of Birmingham, Mr. Frances, and Dr. Rippon, who preached for a few weeks in the closing years of last century. But at present, and for some years, this community have been but little known in Ireland, except by the Baptist Irish Evangelical Society of London. The exertions of this association are chiefly directed to the maintenance of schools, and the employment of scripture readers and itinerant labourers in the more destitute and distant parts of the country. It is stated that this society employs six itinerant ministers, and fifty-three scrip-

ture readers, besides the teachers in their schools. Probably of the whole body in Ireland, south and north, including members of families, and casual hearers, independent of their schools for children and adults, there may not be more than one thousand people belonging to the denomination.

The Separatists had their origin in the opinions and example of two or three clergymen, who, most conscientiously and disinterestedly, seceded from the Established Church. One of these gentlemen had been a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and was a popular preacher, as an institutional chaplain, in Dublin; the individuals attached to his persuasion are called by his name—Walkerites. Another, Mr. Thomas Kelly, was the son of a judge, whose property lay in Queen's County; and though his secession from the Church was so extreme as to find rest only in a system which may be described as the independency of Dr. John Owen run to seed, where every brother may and should seek to edify the brethren; yet his affection for the good men in the law church, and their affection towards him, alike creditable to both, is perhaps without a parallel in the annals of ecclesiastical controversy. Mr. George Carr, of New Ross, was also a clergyman of the Establishment, but renounced that connexion, to join himself to Mr. Kelly's society. Mr. Walker's followers are throughout considered highly Antinomian, and consist of a few small societies: Mr. Kelly's friends are generally held to be more doctrinally sound by the orthodox; they have five or six branch churches through the country. Besides the friends of these two leaders, there remain a few extreme people, very good and well-meaning honest folks, but denying any christian authority for the ordinance of a distinct class of men bearing the office of minister. There are also some adherents to the tenets of Baron Swedenborg, who, I suppose, have attained to the confines of illimitable extravagance, and, in the domain of opinion and intellectual enterprise concerning religion, may be considered the freebooters of doctrine, or the Bedouins of Utopia Petrea. In all Ireland, I presume, we should not find five thousand, of every hue and variety, under the general division of Separatists.

The Moravians are members of the fraternity who have their chief seat in Hernhutt, and whose most distinguished leader, by whose guidance they were brought under the notice of more modern times, was Count Zinzendorf. They are not confined to Lusatia, whither Zinzendorf led them more than a century ago, but are found here also. The Moravians boast an ancient origin, and trace their

genealogy, if not to St. Peter, to some source at least as pure and primitive, and are sure that they are a more ancient episcopalian body than any existing protestant church, and that the Count only effected the restoration of the unity of the brethren. Their introduction to Ireland, however, is of more recent date. Their character has not been fairly delineated by Mosheim, and it has been grossly calumniated by his English translator, judging from the representation of it as exhibited at Gracehill, and other stations in this country. They have in Ireland seven congregations, or rather, I fancy, seven different places where members of their congregation meet for worship; they have nine regular ministers, and about five hundred recognized members: perhaps of casual hearers and youths committed to their care, including their fraternity, there may be between one thousand five hundred and two thousand people under the influence of, and deriving all their religious instruction from, the Moravians in Ireland.

The number of that peaceful, industrious, but benevolent, and always prosperous people, the Quakers, is probably about five thousand in Ireland. I wish it were multiplied a hundred fold, and that they were not called upon to support religions, or so called religious establishments, against the dictates of their consciences. I wonder at one feature in their character here—how can they account for it?—an entire abstinence from any attempt to extend the knowledge of their doctrines, or gain proselytes: it appears as if they were content to have an existence in the country tolerated. A little more activity on their part might have a reactive influence on their own community. Wherever humanity's voice is heard, the *Friend's* ear is open, and his exertions are aroused for the relief of the body, or the wellbeing of the suffering and destitute. But has religion no calls upon the same society and their most efficient energies? Does not the Spirit call them to spiritual work for a dark and benighted people? It is not in Temperance Societies, or Anti-slavery Societies, or even the Kildare-place Association (from which, indeed, I fear, they are withdrawing,) that their strength should be wholly spent; but their teachers, their ministers, their intellectual, truly cultivated, and pleasing manners should be summoned to the battle-field against him whose kingdom shall be subdued by weapons that are not carnal, but mighty through God. I wish, too, they would tell the world what number of congregations, of ministers, &c. precisely, are in Ireland belonging to their body, that the lovers of their

country may know what proportion of good citizens are to be calculated on for the future weal of this land.

John Wesley ever adhered to the Church of England, and was as much attached by profession to its creed and ritual, its authorities and establishment, as was his father. He disavowed any intention ever to secede, or to countenance secession in any of his followers. He declared himself a zealous defender, and his disciples wish to be considered humble servants, of the Episcopal Establishment: we find no parallel to them, but in the devotedness of Loyola and his fraternity to the Holy See. It was not to assail, but to strengthen the church—it was not to multiply dissentients, that he laboured, but to supply, in obedient and conformable subserviency, all the deficiencies of the Church, and to prevent dissent. His preachers were *not* to preach, when the parish ministers were officiating; nor to establish separate congregations, where the doctrines were taught which he approved; and when a Wesleyan congregation was formed, the members were to communicate with the Established Church, and all christian rites were to be devoutly received at the hands of the parochial clergyman; while none but an episcopally ordained priest, if attached to his society, should ever be accounted Reverend, or bear the vessels and perform the ceremonies of the sanctuary.

A different view of Wesley's intentions has divided the Wesleyan Methodists from the Primitive Wesleyan Methodists; the latter have preachers who are in general plain Mr., and only a very few who are dignified as The Reverend; and they have only the apparatus which Mr. Wesley established, while they go like good churchmen to their parochial edifice, and receive at episcopally ordained hands the sacraments of the church. The former call their travelling preachers Reverend, and plain Mr. is applied to the local preachers. They possess all Mr. Wesley's apparatus, and what, according to their conceptions, they think is no breach of his creed, the sacraments, and a distinct order of ministers, independent of episcopal ordination, or presentation to benefice. In Ireland, the Primitive Methodists have—circuit preachers, 40; and missionaries, 19; besides local preachers. They reckon 16,000 members; and probably with casual hearers, children, &c. their community may number 40,000. The Wesleyan Methodists have upwards of ninety travelling preachers, twenty-four missionaries, thirty-five supernumerary preachers, besides local preachers—men who support themselves. They speak of 25,000 members;

and probably with the children of their families, casual hearers, and members, we may state their community at fifty or sixty thousand people. Both branches of this denomination are very compact bodies in themselves, and have much mutual intercourse, between the ministers and the congregations, and with and between the ministers as members of the Conference. What is called high Protestant feeling pervades their communities; and generally they are regarded with more favour than other Dissenters, by both the clergy and good church laity in Ireland. It has been said, by a rather severe ecclesiastical historian, "that the want of competent knowledge in the great body of their preachers has nourished error and enthusiasm among the people, and too fully justified the heavy censure which has been passed upon this communion, as containing a greater sum of ignorance of the Scriptures than was ever found in any body of Protestants since the Reformation." I shall not discuss the truth of this censure: I should hope it is not true, now at least. The very reverend the Dean of St. Patrick's testified, in the summer of 1832, to the character of the Methodists, in the following very different strain: "I repeat it, as a Christian minister, I am under great obligations to this Society; and but for it, many of my flock would now be victims to the delusions and errors of Popery: while, instead of that, they are at present moral, excellent, Bible-reading Christians,—aye, and I would also say, they are men of courage and resolution," &c.,—Orange-men, perhaps, and ready to shout, when a good many of them are congregated together, 'No surrender,' 'No surrender!' Whether this compliment is at the expense of the Establishment, which has not sufficiently provided for the flock, or at the expense of the Dean himself, who can only spend six months per annum at Castle Comer, having to qualify during the remainder of the year for the revenues of the Deanery, we shall leave to be settled by the two parties.

It may be hastily inferred, from the numerical details of the several denominations who do not partake of bounties or state patronage, that the smallness of their numbers in Ireland renders their operations despicable, and their influence beneath notice or regard, in the discussion of national interests, or great general principles arising out of the present crisis. The biblical student will, however, recollect that the church may be hid in the wilderness, where she may acquire strength and judgment for her

spiritual conflict; and that when she comes up out of the wilderness, it is accompanied by One mighty to save, and whose presence will make walls to shake, and walled towns to submit to the invading host, till the hearts of the people of the land melt within them. The politician will recognize, in his calculations, the principle of representation: all these sections of nominal Christianity are connected with, or form parts of, the several prevailing denominations in England. There is not merely a sympathy in the separate parts, and a community of interest in the whole; but there is denominational honour, and the mutual responsibility of service and co-operation, under the sanctions of moral obligation, and of sacred and divinely constituted fellowship. These are elements of civil policy and social community, coming every day increasingly under the cognizance of mankind, and to exert an influence in the advancement of society, which cannot be resisted, and may not be overlooked with impunity.

But again, it may be urged, that among the sectarian varieties there is no security against division and heresy, and no authority to preserve from the evil of schism, or maintain order among the several and disjointed elements; that, like as it was in the days of old, when there was no king in Israel, every man may proceed according to the imagination of his own heart. But that the church of England is protected against such consequences, by the establishment of her formula, and the parliamentary authority of her articles, enforced and secured by the jurisdiction of her episcopal hierarchy, her lordly prelates; a politic and efficient arrangement. To this we might reply, that religion is the independent concern of every individual; that in this matter we can neither think, nor believe, nor act by proxy; that there is one king, even Jesus, he is Lord of all; that He, by an authority superior to all human councils, and paramount to the claims of universal government,—by a power to which all kings must bow, and every dominion must yield subjection,—and an unerring judgment, which can pierce the deepest recesses of thought, the farthest mysteries of truth, and the sublimest conceptions of exalted intellect; that can unfold the darkness of the human mind, lay bare the pretensions of proud philosophy, and the assumptions of domineering polemics and priestly dictators,—has established a standard for truth, and fixed laws for the government of his kingdom, which are accessible to all his subjects, and obligatory on every professor of his religion; that the Bible, written by His

inspired servants, is His statute book, and is profitable for the entire and thorough direction of the man of God in every matter; that the only province of spiritual rulers is to teach, exhort, instruct, and rebuke, with all patience and long-suffering, according to the law and testimony of this Book. But we shall farther confirm these declarations by the reasoning and argument of a prince in Israel.

“Indeed, in the constitution and founding of a church, that some men inspired from God should have an extraordinary calling to appoint, to order, and dispose, must needs be. So Moses, though himself no priest, sanctified and ordained Aaron and his sons. But when all needful things be set and regulated by the writings of the apostles, whether it be not a mere folly to keep up a superior degree in the church, only for ordination and jurisdiction, it will be no hurt to debate awhile. The apostles were the builders, and, as it were, the architects of the Christian church: Wherein consisted their excellence above ordinary ministers? A prelate (or defendant for the prelatic system) would say, in commanding, in controuling, in appointing, in calling to them, and sending from about them, to all countries, their bishops, and archbishops, as their deputies, with a kind of legatine power. No, no, vain prelates: this was but as the scaffolding of a new edifice, which for the time must board and overlook the highest battlements; but if, the structure once finished, any passenger should fall in love with them, and pray that they might still stand, as being a singular grace and strengthening to the house, who would otherwise think but that the man were presently to be laid hold on, and sent to his friends and kindred. The eminence of the apostles consisted in their powerful preaching, their unwearyed labouring in the word, their unquenchable charity, which, above all earthly respects, like a working flame, had spun up to such a height of pure desire, as might be thought next to that love that dwells in God to save souls; which while they did, they were contented to be the offscouring of the world, and to expose themselves willingly to all afflictions, perfecting thereby their hope through patience to a joy unspeakable. As for ordination, what is it but the laying on of hands, an outward sign or symbol of admission? It creates nothing; it confers nothing: it is the inward calling of God that makes a minister, and his own painful study and diligence that manures and enriches his ministerial gifts. In the primitive times, many, before ever they had received

ordination from the apostles, had done the church noble service, as Apollos and others. It is but an orderly form of receiving a man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge; the employment of preaching is as holy, and far more excellent; the care also and judgment to be used in winning of souls, which is thought to be sufficient in every worthy minister, is an ability above that which is required in ordination. For many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a minister, that would not be fit to be made ministers themselves; as it will not be denied that he may be the competent judge of a neat picture or elegant poem, that cannot limn the like. Why, therefore, we should constitute a superior order in the church to perform an office, which is not only every minister's function, but inferior also to that which he has confessed right to; and why this superiority should remain thus usurped, some wise Epimenides tell us! Now for jurisdiction, this dear saint of the prelates, it will be best to consider first, what it is. That sovereign Lord, who in the discharge of his holy anointment from God the Father, which made Him supreme Bishop of our souls, was so humble as to say, "Who made me a judge or a divider over you?" hath taught us that a churchman's jurisdiction is no more than to watch over his flock, in season and out of season; to deal, by sweet and efficacious instructions, gentle admonitions, and sometimes sounder reproofs; against negligence and obstinacy will be required a rousing volley of pastorly threatenings; against a persisting stubbornness, or the fear of a reprobate sense, a timely separation from the flock, by that interdictive sentence, lest his conversation, unprohibited or unbranded, might breathe a pestilential murrain into the other sheep. In sum, his jurisdiction is to see to the thriving and prospering of that which he hath planted. What other work the prelates have found for chancellors and suffragans, delegates and officials, with all the hell-pestering rabble of sumners and apparitors, is but an invasion upon the temporal magistrate, and affected by them as men that are not ashamed of the ensign and banner of antichrist. But true evangelical jurisdiction is no more, as was said, than for a minister to see to the thriving and prospering of that which he hath planted. And what is the worthiest of these two, to plant, as every minister's office is equally with the bishops, or to tend that which is planted, which the blind and undiscerning prelates call jurisdiction, and would appropriate to themselves as a business of higher dignity? Have patience, therefore, a little,

and hear a law case. A certain man, of large possessions, had a fair garden, and kept therein a laborious and honest servant, whose profession was to set or sow all wholesome herbs, and delightful flowers, according to every season, and whatever else was to be done in a well husbanded nursery of plants and fruits. Now when the time was come that he should cut his hedges, prune his trees, look to his tender slips, and pluck up the weeds that hindered their growth; he gets him up by break of day, and makes account to do what was needful in his garden: and who would think that any other should know better than he how the day's work was to be spent? Yet for all this, another strange gardener, that never knew the soil, never handled a dibble or spade to set the least pot-herb that grew there, much less had endured an hour's sweat or chilliness, enters, challenging as his right the binding or unbinding of every flower, the clipping of every bush, the weeding and worming of every bed in that and all other gardens thereabout: the honest gardener that ever since the day-peep, till now the sun was grown somewhat rank, had wrought powerfully about his banks and seed-plots, at his commanding voice turns suddenly about with some wonder, and though he could have well betemed to have thanked him of the care he proffered, yet, loving his own handy-work, modestly refused him, telling him withal that, for his part, if he had thought much of his own pains, he could for once have committed the work to one of his fellow-labourers, forasmuch as it is well known to be a matter of less skill and less labour to keep a garden handsome, than it is to plant or contrive it, and [that] *that* he had already performed himself. No, said the stranger, this is neither for you nor your fellows to meddle with, but for me only, that am, for this purpose, in dignity far above you: and the provision which the lord of the soil allows me in this office is, and that with good reason, tenfold your wages. The gardener smiled, and shook his head; but what was determined I cannot tell you, till the end of this Parliament."

The income of the clerical functionaries in these minor sections is small indeed. It is presumed there are not three cases where the official salary of an Independent, Baptist, Methodist, or Moravian minister amounts to £200 per annum; and that they do not average for each one hundred pounds annually, in all Ireland: so far from becoming rich by their profession or office, some are dependent on private property, or other resources, arising from the

bounty of friends, or their own exertions, either of a literary or educational description, But, it may be pleaded, "If it be so, and such poverty be the portion of the pastors and bishops of these communities, and were the same scale to be adopted for all churches, in time we should see wooden chalices and wooden priests: a state provision, competent and respectable, is therefore the best substitute that can be determined." An author of note, whom we have already engaged in these discussions, replies—"It had been happy for this land if your priests had been only wooden; all England knows that they have been to this island not wood but wormwood, that have infected the third part of our waters, like that apostate star in the Revelation; that many souls have died of their bitterness: and if you mean by wooden, illiterate or contemptible, there [has been] no want of that sort among you; and this number [was] encreasing daily, as their laziness, their tavern-hunting, their neglect of all sound literature, and their [preference] for doltish and monastical schoolmen increased. What if I should tell you how the universities, that men look [expect] should be fountains of learning and knowledge, have been poisoned and choked under your governance? And if to be wooden be to be base, *where* could there be found, among all the Reformed churches, nay in the church of Rome itself, a baser brood of flattering and time-serving priests? [than in the established churches of these lands;] according as God pronounces, by Isaiah, 'The prophet that teaches lies, he is the *tail*.' As for your young scholars, that petition for bishoprics and deaneries, to encourage them in their studies; and that many gentlemen else [otherwise] will not put their sons to learning; away! with such mercenary striplings and simoniacal fathers! God has no need of such, they have no part or lot in his vineyard; they may as well sue for nunneries, that they may have some convenient stowage for their withered daughters, because they cannot give them portions answerable to the pride and vanity they have bred them in. This is the root of our mischief; *that* which they allege for the encouragement of their studies should be cut away forthwith, as the very bait of pride and ambition,—the very garbage that draws together all the fowls of prey and ravens in the land, to come and gorge upon the church. How can it be but ever unhappy to the church of England [or any other church] while she shall entice men to the pure service of God by the same means that were used to tempt our Saviour to the service of the devil—honour and pre-

ferment? Fit professors are they indeed, to teach others that godliness with contentment is great gain, whereas their godliness of teaching had not been but for worldly gain! The heathen philosophers taught that virtue was for its own sake inestimable; and the greatest gain of a teacher, to make a soul virtuous. So Xenophon writes of Socrates, who never bargained with any for teaching them; he feared not that those who had received so high a benefit from him, would of their own free will return him all possible thanks. Was moral virtue so lovely and so alluring, and heathen men so enamoured of her, as to teach and study her, with greatest neglect and contempt of worldly profit and advancement? And is christian piety so homely and so unpleasant, and christian men so cloyed with her, as that none will study and teach her but for lucre and preferment? O stale-grown piety! O Gospel, rated as cheap as thy Master, at thirty pence, and not worth the study unless thou canst buy them that will sell thee! O race of Capernaitans, senseless of divine doctrine, and capable only of loaves and belly-cheer.

“But they will grant, perhaps piety may thrive, but learning will decay. I would fain ask these men, at whose hands they seek inferior things, as wealth, honour, their dainty fare, and their lofty houses. No doubt but they would soon answer, that all these things they seek at God’s hands. Do they think, then, that all these meaner and superfluous things come from God, and the divine gift of learning from the den of Plutus, or the cave of Mammon? Certainly never any clear spirit, nurst up from brighter influences, with a soul enlarged to the dimensions of spacious art and high knowledge, ever entered there but with scorn, and thought it ever foul disdain to make pelf or ambition the reward of his studies; it being the greatest honour, the greatest fruit and proficiency of learned studies, to despise these things. Not liberal science, but illiberal, must that needs be, that mounts in contemplation merely for money. And what would it avail us to have a hireling clergy, though never so learned? For such can have neither true wisdom nor graces, and then in vain do men trust in learning, where these be wanting. If in less noble and almost mechanical arts, according to the definitions of those authors, he is not esteemed to deserve the name of a complete architect, an excellent painter, or the like, that bears not a generous mind above the peasantry regard of wages and hire; much more must we think him a most imperfect and incomplete divine, who is so far from

being a contemner of filthy lucre, that his whole divinity is moulded and bred up in the beggarly and brutish hopes of a fat prebendary, deanery, or bishoprick; which poor and low pitched desires, if they do but mix with those other heavenly intentions that draw a man to this study, it is justly expected that they should bring forth a base-born issue of divinity, like that of those imperfect and putrid creatures that receive a crawling life from two most unlike procreants, the sun and mud. And in matters of religion, there is not any thing more intolerable than a learned fool or a learned hypocrite; the one is ever coopt up at his empty speculations, a sot, an idiot, for any use that mankind can make of him; or else sowing the world with nice and idle questions; and, with much toil and difficulty, wading to his auditors up to his eyebrows in deep shallows that wet not their instep: a plain unlearned man, that lives well by that light which he has, is better and wiser, and edifies others more towards a godly and happy life, than he. The other (the learned hypocrite), is still using his sophisticated arts, and bending all his studies, how to make his insatiate avarice and ambition seem pious and orthodoxal, by painting his lewd and deceitful principles with a smooth and glossy varnish, in a doctrinal way, to bring about his wickedest purposes. Instead of the great harm that these men fear upon the dissolving of prelates, what an ease and happiness will it be to us, when tempting rewards are taken away; [so] that the cunningest and most dangerous mercenaries will cease of themselves to frequent the fold, whom otherwise scarce all the prayers of the faithful could have kept from devouring the flock.

“But a true pastor of Christ’s sending hath this especial mark, that for greatest labours and greatest merits in the church, he requires either nothing, if he could so subsist, or a very common and reasonable supply of human necessities. We cannot, therefore, do better than to leave this case of ours to God; He can easily send labourers into his harvest, that shall not cry, Give, Give, but be content with a moderate and beseeming allowance; nor will He suffer true learning to be wanting where true grace or obedience to him abounds; for if He give us to know Him aright, and to practise this our knowledge in right established discipline, how much more will He replenish us with all abilities in tongues and arts that may conduce to His glory and our good? He can stir up rich fathers to bestow exquisite education upon their children, and to dedicate them (if qualified by piety) to the service of the

people. He can make the sons of nobles his ministers, and princes to be his Nazarites. For certainly there is no employment more honourable, more worthy to take up a great spirit, more requiring a generous and free nurture than to be the messenger and herald of heavenly truth from God to man; and, by the faithful work of holy doctrine, to procreate a number of faithful men, making a kind of creation like to God's, by being the means of infusing his spirit and likeness into them, to their salvation, as God did into him: arising, to what climate soever he turn himself, like that Sun of Righteousness that sent him, with healing on his wings, and new light to break in upon the chill and gloomy hearts of his hearers; raising out of darksome barrenness a delicious and fragrant spring of saving knowledge and good works. Can a man, thus employed, find himself discontented or dishonoured for want of admittance to have a pragmatial voice at sessions and jail deliveries? or because he may not, as a judge, sit out the wrangling noise of litigious courts, to shrieve the purses of unconfessing and unmortified sinners, and not their souls; or be discouraged though men call him not Lord; when as the due performance of his office would gain him even from lords and princes the voluntary title of father? Would he tug for a barony, to sit and vote in parliament, knowing that no man can take from him the gift of wisdom and sound doctrine, which leaves him free, though not to be a member, yet a teacher and persuader of the parliament. And in all wise apprehensions, the persuasive power in man, to win others to goodness by instruction, is greater and more divine than the compulsive power, to restrain men from being evil by terror of the law; and therefore Christ left Moses to be the lawgiver, but [he] himself came down amongst us to be a teacher; with which office his heavenly wisdom was so well pleased, as that he was angry with those that would have put a piece of temporal judicature into his hands, disclaiming that he had any commission from above for such matters.

“Such a high calling, therefore, as this, sends not for those drossy spirits that need the lure and whistle of earthly preferment, like those animals that fetch and carry for a morsel! No. Religion can find such as therefore study her precepts, because she teaches to despise [secular or lucrative] preferment. And let not those wretched fathers think they shall impoverish the church of willing and able supply though they keep back their sordid sperm, begotten in the lustiness of their avarice, and turn them to their

malting kilns: rather let them take heed what lessons they instil into that lump of flesh, which they [have been] the cause of; thinking to offer him as a present to God, they dish him out for the devil. Let the novice learn first to renounce the world, and so give himself to God; and not therefore give himself to God, that he may close the better with the world; like those false pastors, whose whole life is a recantation of their vow, and whose profession to forsake the world, as they use the matter, bogs them deeper into the world."

If these observations be appropriate to the present discussion, it will no doubt appear to the careful reader as rather singular, and deeply to be regretted, that the passages should have remained in comparative obscurity; and that it should be necessary to renew the controversy after a lapse of nearly two hundred years. The self-interested, the timid, or the party scribe may draw an analogy between the convulsions of that period and the agitation of the question of church polity in our day. And it may be charged upon Dissenters of this time, that they desire the overthrow of the present Dynasty, and a repetition of the civil distractions which accompanied the beheading of Charles. It might with more truth be replied, that the Restoration, and the dissipated Reign which followed, rolled back the machine of Government, and placed as barriers in the way of national improvement the interests of selfish churchmen and the pride of lordly prelates. Moreover, what caused the convulsions of that period was the blind obstinacy and the corrupt and arbitrary despotism of the Court and Ministry of Charles. They heeded not the demands of Truth, the dictates of Reason, and the paramount claims of the subject. Royal prerogative, and uniformity in Religion, were the idol monsters to which virtue, principle, and honour were sacrificed. Men in power now have the opportunity of profiting by the facts of that age, and they have evinced a desire of meeting the exigencies of the state on the principles of a wise policy, and of cautiously removing the relics of former injustice.

CHAP. IX.

A CHAPTER OF CONCLUSIONS IN TABULAR FORM,
SUBMITTED FOR SOBER CONSIDERATION.

We shall here sum up the items of preceding statements, and bring them into one view.

Wesleyan Methodists.—Travelling-preachers, 90 ; Missions, 24 ; Supernumeraries, 35—besides Local-preachers ; Members 25,000 ; Community altogether, say 55,000.

Primitive Wesleyan Methodists.—Circuit-preachers, 40 ; Missions, 19—besides Local-preachers ; Members, 16,000 ; Community altogether, say 40,000.

Quakers, Society of Friends.—Community, 5,000.

Moravians, United Brethren.—Ministers, 9 ; Members in Congregation, 500—Total Community, 1,500.

Separatists of all Classes—say 5,000 people.

Antipædobaptists, usually called Baptists.—Itinerant Ministers, 6 ; Congregations, 12 ; Scripture-readers, 53 ; Total Community, 1000.

Independents.—Ministers, 30 ; Irish Evangelical Society's Agents, 40 ; Churches, 30 ; People, 5,000.

Cameronians or Covenanters.—Ministers, 25 ; Congregations, say 30 ; Community, 16,000.

Scottish Seceders and Primitive Burghers.—Ministers, 12 ; Congregations, 12 ; Community, 4,000.

Arians, Presbytery of Antrim, Synod of Munster, Remonstrant Synod.—Ministers, 60 ; Congregations, 40 ; Community, 16,000.

Seceders, Presbyterian Synod of Ireland.—Ministers, 123 ; Congregations, say 140 ; Members under their care and superintendence, 85,000.

Synod of Ulster, or Scottish Church in Ireland.—Ministers, 237 ; Licentiates, 50 ; Congregations, 250 ; Nominal Community, 400,000.

Roman Catholic Church.—Clergy, 5,134—besides 1,000 regular Clergy ; Parishes, 2,000 ; People, 6,000,000.

Church Established by Parliamentary Enactment.—Clergy, 1,811 ; Extra Curates, supposed 1,000 ; Benefices, 1,556 ; People about 600,000.

In all, we have ecclesiastical teachers of the different classes of Presbyterians, and of other denominations, about eight hundred ministers and preachers : connected with the Protestant Episcopacy established by law, so far as we can judge, about two thousand eight-hundred clergymen, beneficed and non-beneficed : and in the Romish Church, of secular and regular clergy, six thousand

one hundred and thirty-four:—In all, upwards of nine thousand seven hundred clerical officials, belonging to all sects of religion, among eight millions of people.

Now, it may serve to throw further light upon the matter of our inquiry, to specify the amount of pecuniary support received by these gentlemen, as far as we can come to a knowledge of facts on the subject. I may not have reached the truth, or I may have exceeded it, in some *minutiæ*; if so, I shall be most happy to give every facility for correction of mis-statements. It is calculated that the Romish Clergy in Ireland receive—

For annual Confessions	£300,000	<i>Brought forward</i>	£853,333
For Christenings, per ann.	33,333	Collections at Chapels..	541,632
Unctions and Burials..	60,000	Curates' Collections....	22,500
Marriages	360,000	College at Maynooth	
Purgatory, Prayers for..	100,000	(Government Grant.)	9,000
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£853,333		£1,426,465

From these sums all the Clergy are paid, and all the chapels are built and repaired, and all provision is made for public religious service.

For the support of the legalised Ecclesiastical Establishment :

Revenues of the Church, according to Lord Althorp's statement, £800,000 ; for the support of Clergy, viz. beneficed Clergy. Parish and Vestry Cess, for service of the Church, £70,000 ; this has been abolished. Dues for Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials are computed at £105,000, most of which go to help the salary of Curates. Loss to the revenue of the Country by the appropriation of glebe-lands to the Clergy and the Bishop's leases, £150,000.

LANDED PROPERTY OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

A Statement of the gross number of Acres, in statute measure, attached to each See in Ireland ; the amount of rent from tenants of all descriptions ; and of the net yearly produce of each See (including rent), and of the preferments annexed to it.

	Acres.	Rent.	Net Revenue.
Archbishop of Armagh . . .	100,563	£4,634	£14,464
Dublin . . .	34,040	3,202	7,786
Cashel . . .	20,046	2,100	6,308
Tuam . . .	86,899	2,730	6,996
Bishop of Meath . . .	29,269	3,065	4,068
Clogher . . .	22,591	2,356	8,668
Down and Connor	30,244	1,352	4,204
Derry . . .	77,102	2,593	12,159
Raphoe . . .	1,392	1,451	5,052
Kilmore . . .	28,531	1,537	6,225
Dromore . . .	18,422	1,518	4,216

	Acres.	Rent.	Net Revenue.
Bishop of Kildare . .	5,074	2,629	6,061
Ossory . .	21,730	1,015	3,322
Ferns . .	26,294	2,096	5,730
Limerick . .	12,985	2,452	4,973
Waterford . .	13,189	2,493	3,933
Cork . .	11,485	1,471	3,901
Cloyne . .	12,482	1,341	4,091
Killaloe . .	16,765	1,345	3,966
Elphin . .	42,483	2,044	6,263
Clonfert . .	11,744	543	2,970
Killala . .	45,542	1,280	3,410

Acres, 669,247. Rent, £45,258. Net Revenue, £128,808 sterling.

It appears, by the recent Parliamentary returns, that there are altogether one thousand five hundred and fifty-six benefices, or livings, in the Irish Church, of which one (in the Diocese of Down) is of the yearly value of £2,800; ten are between £2,000 and £2,600; twenty between £1,500 and £2,000; twenty-three between £1,200 and £1,500; forty-eight between £1,000 and £1,200; seventy-four between £800 and £1,000; one hundred and forty-eight between £600 and £800; two hundred and eighty-one between £400 and £600; three hundred and eighty-six between £200 and £400; and four hundred and sixty-five between £30 and £200.—I should like to know how many of these last are above £100, and how many are as low as £30 and under £50.

Estimate the acres at 20s. per acre per annum, and then we have £669,247 per annum from Bishops' lands. But there are also glebe lands, for the parochial clergy—in the Diocese of Derry alone, 17,000 acres of glebe are possessed. Suppose for all Ireland 100,000 acres, at 20s. per acre, another £100,000 per annum; adding the revenue of the Bishops from other sources, and what might be the rental of their lands, and the glebe lands, we should have £852,797 per annum. It is stated that in Ireland 13,603,473 acres are subject to tithe. As a tax for the Church, this is in addition to the enormous sum already specified.

We cannot calculate the loss hitherto inflicted on the farmer and the industrious peasant, by the exaction of tithe according to the improvement of the soil; nor the expense incurred for maintaining the bayoneted constabulary, the safeguards of the Church in Ireland; for Crown-lawyers, and law-processes for recovering tithes. The Protestant Charter robbery systems, which have been established and upheld for the exclusive benefit of Churchmen, by

law, will, by-and-by, appear. The continuance of lay-impropriate tithes, which amount to £300,000 per annum, is another part of the same system, and is sanctioned by the Ecclesiastical impositions.

I am not parishioner enough, nor sufficiently versed in parochial politics, to be able to expose by what means splendid churches are built, or spires and towers erected. I shall say nothing on the subject, therefore. What has been specified, for purely ecclesiastical purposes, exceeds £1,125,000 per annum, for the religion of 600,000 people.

The Synod of Ulster seems quite convinced that Ireland is not taxed enough for hireling priests and Presbyterian ministers; and therefore they have wisely determined, in one of their recent Synodical assemblies, to petition the Lord Lieutenant to equalize the bounty for all their congregations; not by reducing the higher, but by raising the lowest and the lower to the first class Regium Donum; that is £100 per annum for 250 congregations, or £25,000 for that body. Of course the Seceders will follow, and the Arians will not be behind in the race that is set before them: their numbers will be, then, 200 more congregations; another £20,000 annually. And is it to be supposed that the other denominations, as well as the Covenanters, will be able to resist the temptation much longer? Quite impossible: it is too much for flesh and blood. But will Mr. Littleton, or my Lord Althorp, be able to propose such a thing in the House of Commons? We shall see. Will the House of Commons venture to bribe these hungry and aspirant Presbyterians? Will the country, will English Dissenters, sit quietly by, and permit such proceedings? Let the ministry take care; it will not do. A few words will serve—*It is too bad.* As it is, a mass of moral energy, of popular opinion, is accumulating on this subject, more appalling than a thunder storm or an avalanche. We would counsel, tempt it not: never suppose you will be able to pacify hungry and rapacious Churchmen. Already the Presbyterians receive £24,000 Regium Donum, and £50,000 from their people; while other Dissenters, who receive nothing from Government, contribute to their ministers about £26,000 per annum. These three sums, added together, give us another £100,000; making, in all, for Protestant ministers, £1,235,000 per annum. The watchful reader will observe, that all the Dissenters, more numerous than Churchmen, do not give

more for their ministers, even when aided by Government, than £100,000; but the liberal Church Establishment gives £1,125,000.

Ever since religion was taken into the service of the state, the reward of the priesthood and the emolument of sacred office, given and received, have been liberal in the extreme. In A.D. 313, Constantine published a decree, distinguishing Christians and their churches as his peculiar favourites; but eight years afterwards services were required and benefits conferred. The emperor granted to all his subjects the free and universal permission of bequeathing their fortunes to the Holy Catholic Church, and vastly did the revenues of the church increase in consequence; so that then the bishops began to be great men. The emperor himself sent a purse of eighteen thousand pounds sterling to Cœcilian, Bishop of Carthage, with orders on his treasury to draw for larger sums if wanted. He assigned in each city a regular allowance of corn, to supply the fund of ecclesiastical charity; and the persons of both sexes who embraced the monastic life became the peculiar favourites of the sovereign. They then began to build magnificent churches, the walls and pavement of which were decorated with variegated marbles; and the most precious ornaments of gold and silver, silks and jewels, flamed on the altars. It is asserted, that the rent-roll of three churches in those days produced a clear annual revenue of twelve thousand pounds sterling, besides a reserved rent of oil, linen, paper, aromatics, &c.

The Bishop of Ferns declares, that the incomes "allotted to the clergy are designed to induce men to enter the church, with the hope that it will afford them a maintenance, and eventually a competence, or even affluence." He speaks of the evidence of a gentleman, who averaged the incomes of bishops in Ireland at £5,000 Irish, and then proceeds as 'Thomas Ferns,' "We do not apply for any change. We do indeed complain of our incomes being overrated. I am not satisfied at being rated at £8,000, when I cannot reckon on £5,000: nor am I pleased to hear the Archbishop of Dublin rated at £14,000, when I am convinced that he has not £8,000; nor at the Bishop of Derry's being rated at £20,000, when I do not believe him to have more than £15,000." I suppose the episcopal lord of Ferns meant, when he said, *we do not apply for any change*, that he did not wish to have less; not that he was disinclined to step into the See of Dublin, or even of Derry, when they should become vacant. Take

him on his own showing; how truly primitive and apostolical must these Hibernian successors of the fishermen of Galilee be in their own esteem, when they are preparing their last will and testament, and when they peruse the words of Peter, "Lo, we have left all and followed thee"! No wonder that, with such a bishop, the vicar of Bannow should feel at liberty to say—"It may not be unworthy of remark, that the curate is as well or better paid than any gentleman on his entrance into any other profession. Is the curate not as well paid as the ensign or the lieutenant in the army? What lawyer or physician enters at once upon the receipt of the same income? Almost in all cases, he obtains promotion as soon as the ensign becomes a captain, or a barrister or medical practitioner secures a reasonable competence?" We would reply, Does not all this correspond with the language put into the mouth of a worldly patron; and will it harmonize with *His* promises, who said, "My kingdom is not of this world:" and "Whosoever will not leave houses and lands, for my sake and the gospel's, is not worthy of me"? The corrupt State, when dependent on the Church's services, and proposing the terms of their alliance, has been personified, as the tempter which assailed Him, who is head over all things, and as addressing to the church, "Behold, from the top of the high mountain, all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory thereof. The best part of these fine provinces I will give thee; the fairest portion of every kingdom shall be thine. Behold the fields yellow for the harvests; see redundant wealth teeming in every pasture, and look on the cattle on a thousand hills: the tenth of all things under the heavens shall be thine. I will give to thee of the fatness of the land, and pour into thy cup the hid treasures of the earth. Others shall plough, but thou shalt reap; others shall plant, but thou shalt gather; others shall trim the vines, but thou shalt drink of the grape; others shall toil, but thou shalt be fed with their labours. Thou hast nothing in the world to do, but to sit down on soft cushions, and be praised of men; to hear thy eulogies every morning, and rejoice in thine incense every night. I will make thee honoured for thine antiquity, thy high pedigree, and thy fine sounding title; the heralds shall busy themselves about thy quarterings, and there shall be no base blood in thee. Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers; and those not allegorical kings and queens, but crowned monarchs of flesh and blood, rich, haughty, and powerful. Behold that splendid retinue of ancient nobility, dukes, princes,

and barons ! I give them all to thee ; and the law of primogeniture, which they shall maintain among their secular possessions, will secure thee a continued supply of younger sons, whole hecatombs of consecrated nobility. I give thee the flower of all the earth's chivalry—I give thee the strength of arms, the sword, the shield, and the battle. No base thing shall come nigh thee,—no slave, no beggar, no bondsman,—but all shall be rich, high born, and fashionable, or be deemed such. Thy levees shall be attended by the princes, the governors, the chief captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces ; they shall all bring gifts ; thou shalt praise them, and they shall praise thee. Whatever thou sayest shall be law ; all thy lies shall be taken for truth, and all truths spoken against thee shall be considered lies. Thou shalt be toll-taker of the great broad road that leadeth to destruction. I give thee millions of souls of men for thy dowry ; and if that will not satisfy thee, I will give thee hundreds of millions more. Thou shalt never be annoyed by opposition, for I have a standing army of slanders and persecution to overwhelm those that wag the tongue against thee. The world shall always support thee ; thou shalt have thy fill of pleasures, and revel in all manner of luxuries ; thou shalt be ignorant of tribulation and woe, for thy portion shall be dancing and singing. Added to all this, I present thee with a rich priesthood, to amuse thee with superstitions and bigotry. They shall know nothing but what thou teachest them through the medium of the senses ; and thy religion shall be founded on the senses only. I give thee glorious cathedrals, long-sounding aisles, gloomy vistas of ancient masonry, solemn choirs, and pathetic organs. Thou shalt practically confute that unpalatable dogma, that ‘ God is a spirit,’ and shalt, on the contrary, make it appear that God is corporeal : every thing theatrical in religion shall be thine—processions, long robes, wax candles, and mitres. I will seal up the Bible, that book so contradictory of all thy character, and so opposed to thy majesty, and will establish traditions of men, and man's invention, in its stead. All this I will do, and I swear by Mammon I will to the very last persecute with fire and with sword all those that withstand thee.” Such have been represented as the terms of contract and negotiation, by which the secular power and the national church became allied, and on which they have hitherto adhered both in England and Ireland : we have copied the illustration, which is the production of one who has done the church some

service, but leave it to abide the judgment of the reader. Such a union, however, experience proves, as reason might have taught, will not be for the service of true religion, nor will it be maintained by the state longer than a return of secular advantages can be obtained; so soon as the church becomes a burden to the political rulers, so soon as popularity and strength can be secured by casting her off, so soon as it shall appear that the sacrifice would be acceptable to the Belial of power, so soon shall the church be made a whole burnt-offering; her children will be compelled to pass through the fire, her priests will be hunted as a prey, her altars profaned, and her wealth and possessions given to another. A few short-sighted men, as politicians, may attempt to resist the outcry or turn aside the torrent; *their* party may be unprepared with satisfactory stipulations, or their conscientious scruples may prevent their compliance; but others will be found, who are either more enlightened or less trammelled by conscience, whose party have longed for the day, and often shouted "Rase, rase it, cast it down, even to the ground." And then will be the full experience of that sacred caution, "Cursed is man that trusteth in man, and that maketh an arm of flesh his strength." But the devout believer will find refuge and strength in the Lord, who is "great, and greatly to be praised in the city of our God, in the mountain of his holiness;" while he will be able to join the song, "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion; on the sides of the north, the city of the great King. God is known in her palaces for a refuge. For, lo, the kings were assembled, they passed by together. They saw it, and so they marvelled; they were troubled, and hasted away." And from the same authority it will be found, that no unnecessary office is recognized or sanctioned in the appointment of that house. For, as it has been forcibly remarked, "an office of honour and ease does not exist in the kingdom of Jesus Christ. He is too great to need splendid attendants to add to his dignity; his business is too important to allow any of his servants to live in idleness, who are able to work; and his rewards consist not of worldly glory and repose, but of a crown of eternal blessedness in heaven, after their labours shall have ceased at death. Labour is the delight, as well as the duty, of Christ's faithful servants, as long as mind and body are capable of exertion."

CHAP. X.

CHARTERED SPOLIATION AND NATIONAL EXTRAVAGANCE, UNDER THE GUISE OF EDUCATIONAL ZEAL.

It is not when a liberal provision of religious institutions is made, that the greatest amount of benefit is conferred on the people, else Ireland would be one of the most distinguished and happy nations in Europe; but, generally, the more superstitious the people are, or the more service a corrupt Government expects from a temporizing Church, the more abundant will be the supply of hired officials, to minister to the requirements of ignorance and bigotry. The criterion is not number, but qualification; not in every case activity, but wisdom, fidelity, and disinterestedness; not always influence and control, but good feeling, mutual confidence, and respect, producing an increase of knowledge among the people, beneficence and charity between man and man, independence, integrity, and high moral worth, in the several members of the community. Many efforts have been made to ameliorate the condition of Ireland. Education has been recommended; and the resources of British benevolence, as well as the most profuse extravagance in grants from the Government treasury, have been expended for promoting education. As early as the year 1537, laws were passed and plans adopted; private bequests and associated efforts were made available for similar purposes; and hence we have had Diocesan Schools, Erasmus Smith's Schools, Charter Schools, and schools supported by the Association for discountenancing Vice, Kildare-place Schools, Hibernian Society Schools, &c. &c. &c.

In the 28th year of the reign of Henry VIII. an act was passed for the education of the people of Ireland; but it was characterised by oppression, and rendered nugatory and ineffective by its impolicy and injustice. It directed that the Irish habit and apparel should be abolished, that the Irish form of wearing the hair should be dis-

continued, and that spiritual promotions (?) should only be given to him that could speak English, and of course wear the hair in the English fashion; that such incumbent should then come under the obligation of an oath himself to learn, instruct, and teach the English tongue to all under his rule, cure, &c. This declaration of war against the native Irish has scarcely yet been withdrawn. In the 12th year of the virgin Queen, it had been discovered that the manifold and heinous offences, daily and hourly perpetrated, were attributable to a lack of good bringing up of the youth of Ireland; and therefore it was provided that a free school should be established in every shire town: and it was further directed, that the school-master should be an Englishman, or of English birth. This was the origin of the diocesan schools. How far they have been conformable with the enactment, or have served the country, let the facts speak. Notwithstanding renewed legislation in William III.'s time; in the 1st, the 2d, and the 3d George's reign; and Commissioners of Education in George IV.'s time, there were in the thirty-four dioceses in Ireland altogether twelve diocesan schools, and masters attached, in the year 1827; these schools contained 59 free scholars, 131 boarders, and 291 day pupils. Six other diocesan schools had been determined on, but the appointment of masters had not been notified. The expense to the country of these establishments, besides lands, buildings, repairs, &c. was, for masters, nearly £1,810 per annum.

The enactments of Henry and Elizabeth were not revoked, but rendered more imperative, and their authority revived in William III.'s time, with a design to the maintenance of parochial schools: it was then required that every parochial incumbent should keep, or cause to be kept, a school to learn English. The repetition of this statute was made on the allegation that one great reason of many of the natives continuing ignorant of the principles of true religion, and strangers to the scriptures, was the keeping of schools by Roman Catholics: it therefore directed, that no person of the Popish religion should publicly teach a school, under a penalty of £20. Yet so uninfluenced did the incumbents feel by the terms of the law, that the Commissioners for Educational Inquiry, in the year 1825, reported to his Majesty, "There are many benefices in which no such school is provided:" and they repeat that a custom has universally prevailed, for the incumbents of parishes in which schools are kept to allow the master *forty shillings* per annum, as his salary; and whenever this small stipend is paid (they say, "ut-

terly inadequate at present,"—when could it be adequate?) by the clergyman to a school-master, the school is called a parish school. In the several parishes in Ireland (2,450), it has been stated, there are 782 schools of this character maintained ; 250, the Commissioners say, are in connexion with the Association for discountenancing Vice : many others derived aid from the Kildare-place Association, from the trustees of Erasmus Smith, or from the Lord-Lieutenant's fund. The amount of pecuniary aid which the clergy (bishops, &c.) are said annually to contribute for such parochial schools, is altogether £3,299 19s. 4d. But the character of such parish schools depends upon the rulers of the society with which they may be in connexion, and on which they are dependent—so that no separate description or enumeration is required for them.

It appears, however, that the clergy,—the dignitaries at least,—have occasionally had some misgivings about the appearance of neglect, and thought some shew of concern must be exhibited on this subject, to prove that they were not altogether unmindful of the parliamentary dictates of their supreme ecclesiastical head. To such a feeling on their part may we ascribe the petition presented to George II. in the year 1731, signed by all the archbishops and bishops, thirty dignitaries of the Church, and many persons among the laity of the first distinction, praying that his Majesty would grant a charter for incorporating certain persons with power to accept gifts, benefactions, and lands, for the support and maintenance of schools, wherein the children of the poor might be taught gratis. The petitioners alleged that the Popish natives appear to have little sense of religion, but what they take implicitly from their clergy ; and that they keep them not only in gross ignorance, but in great disaffection to his Majesty and his Government. Among the methods most necessary, in the judgment of the petitioners, to convert and civilise these deluded people, were a sufficient number of English Protestant schools, wherein the children of the Irish natives should be instructed in the English tongue, and in the fundamental principles of true religion. Whether this petition were forwarded from a consciousness of the inefficiency of the Protestant establishment, from a desire to unburden the conscience of these well-paid dignitaries, or from a wish to increase their own patronage and revenues, we shall not determine ; but this is most sure, that of all the Irish *jobs*, this petition has led to the most gross and mischievous perversion of charity and national resources, as we shall now demonstrate. A charter was granted in the year 1733, incorporating the chief dignitaries of the

Church, the officers of State, and others, for the establishment of schools, for the education of the Popish and other poor natives. Primate Boulton, upon whom had devolved in some degree the political rule of the realm, as well as the cares of ecclesiastical superintendence, in a letter to his episcopal brother of London, says, "The great number of Papists in this kingdom, and the obstinacy with which they adhere to their own religion, occasions our trying what can be done with their children to bring them over to our Church." Who would imagine that this Primate could never have been a bishop had it not been for "their own religion," from which he derived many things besides his ordination? There was great display at opening the charter in the Council Chamber, before the Lord-Lieutenant and other nobility — much cry and little wool: a subscription, however, was opened, but what was contributed I cannot so well say, as that his Majesty pierced the spring of corruption by granting a thousand pounds out of the national treasury. The first school was opened at Monastereven, in 1734; and one at the close of 1737; seven other schools subsequently were established, all under the designation of Charter Schools. A petition was again presented in 1745, and another concession made to Protestant rapacity: a tax was imposed upon hawkers and pedlars, who must take out licenses and pay duties; whereby £1,100 more were granted annually to the Corporation. Similar petitions succeeded from time to time, and grants to a very considerable amount continued to be obtained. In the year 1769, it was affirmed that there were fifty-two schools and five nurseries, containing 2,100 children, who were clothed and maintained. It certainly was a bold, comprehensive, and summary mode for effecting the conversion of a nation, if the contrivers of this chartered Corporation really designed to attain it by the establishment of a sufficient number of English Protestant schools for the instruction of the children of the Irish natives, &c., lodging, clothing, and feeding, all such children whom they undertook to educate; nor was the policy less eminently characterised, according to their representation, by benignity or the charities of life, when the school-masters were enjoined not to suffer any Popish priest, nor any relation, or Papist, or any person unknown, to converse with the children except in the presence of the master or mistress! Could all this proceed from a desire to propagate the true religion? Contrast Archbishop Boulton's evangelising system with the proceedings of Paul or Apollos. Was all this congenial with tianity, whose law is love, whose weapons are not carnal? or with chris-

Protestantism, which appeals to "the Bible, and the Bible alone," as its authority?

No wonder that, under such circumstances, the parents were unwilling to part with their children; and it was found necessary to transfer to the Charter Schools 500 foundlings, though affected with ophthalmia; no wonder that such schools became the fit objects of a Howard's compassion, and their children the partners and sharers of that philanthropy which visited the regions of captivity, the dungeon of the malefactor, and the cell of the long-bound prisoner. In 1784, and again in 1787, this compassionate individual found so much of misery and injustice, that he urged and obtained a Committee of the House of Commons, to inquire into the state of the Protestant Charter Schools; when it was ascertained, that instead of 2,100 children, the number stated by the Society, no more than 1,400 could be produced; besides that many of the fifty-two schools were out of repair, or going to ruin. Mr. Howard stated that the children were neither well fed, well clothed, nor well taught; "the children were pale, sickly, and such miserable objects, that they were a disgrace to all society; and their reading had been neglected for the purpose of making them work for the masters;" in one school, twelve sickly boys were found by him almost naked; and in another, thirteen similar miserable objects. Some whom he found at one school had been six years at another previously, and yet *could not read*; while the *dreadful* situation of other schools prevented their being filled. Another humane witness declared that the barbarous treatment of the children in the Kilkenny school constrained him to inspect other Charter Schools, where he found the children puny, in ill-health, filthy, and ill-clothed; some he found without shirts or shifts, and in such a situation as it was indelicate to look on; the diet was insufficient, and the education neglected; in general, the children had the itch, and other eruptive disorders; at one place, where he saw no appearance of a school-room, but a hovel, the window of which was stuffed with a turf-kish and dung, he found eighteen girls, and fourteen boys, sickly, wretched-looking creatures, for all of whom were provided twenty-four ragged shirts and shifts; two of the scholars only could read, and all order appeared neglected among them; while the master and mistress's apartments were comfortable and well furnished, as likewise a parlour for the meeting of the Committee. Notwithstanding these exposures, grants continued to be asked, and obtained, from the public treasury, as large as ever; and as if this were

truly the palladium of Protestantism, private beneficence also added to the wealth of the Corporation. Can we wonder that the superstitious Hindoos should have endowed a hospital for fleas, or that Beelzebub should have been the god of the Philistines? Considerable estates were bequeathed to the Society, by Dr. Pococke, by the Earl of Ranelagh, Baron Voyhowven, and other charitable persons; one benefactor bestowing as much as £40,000 stock, and withholding his name; another, £56,666; and others, sums of equal liberality. These bequests produced no salutary change in the economy of the Corporation. Right honourable Commissioners testify, "it is certain that, from the period of Mr. Howard's report till some time after the rebellion of 1798, no considerable reformation had taken place in the state of the schools: even after that year, most of the buildings were in a very ruinous condition, and some of the Schools in a state of great neglect and disorder."

I know not where it would be possible to hear or read of a system of cruelty, injustice, fraud, hypocrisy, avarice, and persevering wickedness more dishonourable to any nation than in the exposure of this Chartered Corporation,—*De propaganda fide Reformatæ Ecclesiæ*,—which the Report of the Commissioners of Education Enquiry lays bare: and this by men too, the majority of whom were not altogether free from the prepossessions of Church party, but who yet have probed this mass of ecclesiastical corruption, of greedy selfishness, under the cloak of zeal; of intolerant bigotry, under the pretension and cant of high Church orthodoxy; and of unrelenting persecution and iniquitous profligacy, under the guise of christian compassion and Protestant liberality. One continued series of crime, one long black catalogue of infamy, one revolving circle of sufferings and disgrace moves along, and fills the whole course. No wonder that Ireland has been broken upon the wheel of a racking and torturous Establishment.

We have a Commission in 1808, composed of his Grace the Primate, his other Grace of Dublin, the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, the Dean of St. Patrick's, and others, appointed to inquire into the affairs of this Corporation, of which most of them were chartered officials, and in whose delinquency they themselves were involved: "This great number of children (they say by their reporter,) are trained up in health, cleanliness, and good order; they are reasonably well taught to read and write; all learn their duty to God and man;" and their Secretary "cannot close his report, without expressing the very great satisfaction which he experienced

from the general good state of those schools." Were these men blind, or were they impostors and public swindlers? The men whom they praised, the schools which they so admired, the system which was to them the *beau ideal* of excellence, and the instructions which they regarded as the good seed sown for a future generation, are all thus described by a visitor, who looked more closely, or reported more plainly, what was their state:—"The masters took little share in the instruction of children, their time being occupied in the management of their farms. Some of the houses were kept in a very slovenly and neglected manner; the children were, in many cases, ill-fed, badly clothed, and afflicted by diseases, which might have been easily cured by a little care. They were not brought up in habits of cleanliness and decency, and their hours of instruction and recreation were infringed, by being obliged to work for the benefit of their master." Subsequent Commissioners give further disclosures. Of the master of the school at Sligo, they say, his habitual practice was to seize the boys by the throat, and press them almost to suffocation, and to strike them with a whip, or his fist, upon the head and the face, during the time his passion lasted. Of the school at Stradbally, they say, one boy had been flogged with a leather strap nine times in one day, his clothes being taken down each time; he received in the whole near a hundred lashes, all for a sum of long division. On the same day, another boy appeared to have received sixty-seven lashes, on account of another sum in arithmetic; and another boy, only thirteen years of age, had received seventeen stripes with a rope. Eight boys, on another day, were so severely punished, that their persons were found in a shocking state of laceration and contusion; they had been guilty of *looking* at two policemen playing ball! In another school, the children complained of being ill-fed and cruelly beaten; two boys had recently been severely punished by the master: they stated that they had been set to work in the garden, and having had but little breakfast, they were hungry and had eaten a raw cabbage; that the master caught them, and flogged them for their offence, sixteen stripes and six blows on the head with a stick; the head of one of them continued cut and bruised till examined by the Commissioners. In the Charter School at Clonmel there were found two children, and no book, only a few fragments of testaments; the master, a cripple from rheumatism, receiving £50 a-year, enjoying a house rent-free, and holding from the School Corporation 24 acres of land, at twenty-five shillings, while the rent paid for land adjoining by others was

eight guineas per acre. On examining the boys at the school of Stradbally (formerly named), the two head classes consisted of twenty boys, thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen years of age. Seventeen of them declared they had never heard of St. Paul; half of them had no idea whether the word Europe meant a man, a place, or a thing; only three boys could name the four quarters of the world; two boys only appeared ever to have heard of Job, and only one could give an account of his history. So much for Primate Boulton's plan of converting Popish natives!!

All this system had been maintained by the Charter School Society, incorporated for converting the rising generation of Popish children to the Protestant faith; all this was law, under the special cognizance of the Prelates of the Establishment, and should have been the regular subject of periodical accounts from the ordained Catechist or the beneficed Clergy; all this ought to have been examined and known, prevented or punished; but all this was tolerated and winked at. And when any of the sufferers had enterprise enough to write a complaint, his letter was referred to his oppressor, who took signal vengeance upon the adventurous youth in the presence of his fellow-sufferers, telling them why the informer was punished: or when youths grown up, and escaped from the yoke, were brought together, and, being enabled to examine what was the system generally pursued, were induced, from compassion to those still under bonds, to make representations to the Board of Superintendence, their letters were not submitted, or disregarded, or made to act injuriously on their own prospects. It would require a voluminous examination for the exposure and just condemnation of this system of imposture and injustice. Let the curious reader look to the First Report of the Commissioners of Education Enquiry, 1825.

At present, the number of these Schools is reducing; and as grants have been diminished, and their withdrawal intimated, a decrease of children has taken place; but in 1825, there were thirty-two Charter Schools, containing 2,210 scholars. The total number of those who have been apprenticed, or who have passed through these schools, is 12,745. By Parliamentary grants, this Incorporation, during ninety years, received £1,027,715, and by the liberality of individuals during the same time, £584,423—in all, £1,612,138, or, divided by each year, £17,901 15s. The number of apprentices produced annually, 142; the cost of each to the public being £126 annually. How many of these became good Protestants, or lent their aid to strengthen the bulwarks of the Eccle-

siastical Establishment, may be a question of difficult solution ; in what way the Incorporation served the cause of the Church or churchmen, by secular advantages, is rather a question of individual interest ; but surely a more flagrant abuse of national resources, and of nominal Protestantism, does not stand upon record in the annals of any other country in the known world—always excepting the Church of England in Ireland. It is by such means that the shield of truth is corroded, and that rust eats through the churchman's panoply,—that the weapons of a spiritual warfare are blunted and rendered powerless, in our contest with darkness, superstition, and infidelity. It is by such proceedings that the purity and orthodoxy of Protestantism have become a reproach and a by-word.

Fifty-nine years later in Irish history, another expedient was adopted, for the defence, if not the extension, of the Church by law, in Ireland. The experience of half a century had proved to zealous Churchmen, that if Charter Schools were inefficient, Government liberality was not easily exhausted, and that if a new channel could be opened, fresh streams would flow, while national expenditure would only facilitate individual enjoyment and affluence. There was an additional stimulus, a new but powerful motive for exertion by Churchmen, less among Papists than infidels—the altar and the throne were endangered : the howling of the blast was heard, by which the Gallican Church had been overturned, and which now blew through the boughs of the wide spreading plant of liberty that had taken root in France : and if the seeds of that tree, whose shade is more dreaded than the most pestilent Upas, by the lovers of monopoly and the bigots of superstition, were once to alight in this country, they knew well what destruction would come upon every feathered Churchman, every limb of the Ecclesiastical Corporation. In October, 1792, three individuals adopted resolutions about *infidelity and morality, the welfare of the country, and the honour of God ; baneful torrents, and the impotence of separate attempts ; discountenance of vice, and the cause of religion and piety*. These watch-words served for a season ; and for nine years about £200, or a little more, annually, were contributed to the Association for discountenancing Vice in Ireland. The turmoil of war, the clash of arms, and the military occupations of infidel France gave some relief to the zeal and contributions of these alarmists ; now, however, they had served an apprenticeship, and the State was called upon to take them into double pay.

The Society was incorporated by Act of the Legislature, and in

1801 a grant of £300 was voted by Parliament. Religious works, as they call them, were distributed, premiums at catechetical examinations were given, and schools, new sources of patronage, were established. Supported, or rather managed, by clergymen of the Law Church, and hoping that parliamentary aid would be continued, they announced their hope of assisting in the formation and support of parochial schools, such as the clergy were bound to establish according to acts in Henry and William's reign. But, "to guard against the danger of enthusiasm, they established it as a fundamental principle, that nothing be attempted contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church, or that shall lead in the smallest degree to a separation from the same." The effect which the books were likely to have could not be powerful, if we judge from the habits of reading produced in such institutions; the evangelical English churchman will find a parallel to this association in the English Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; the books of each have a close resemblance, and the orthodox Dissenter will judge of their adaptation, when the names are mentioned of *The Whole Duty of Man*, Nelson on Feasts and Festivals of the Church of England, Secker on the Catechism, Worthington on Resignation, New Manual of Devotion, the Week's Preparation, Tomline's Introduction, Waldo on the Liturgy, Disney's Companion to the Psalms of David, &c.

The building of school-houses was aided, and so also the salary of teachers, by this Society; but the school-master must receive from the parochial minister, and conform himself to, his written instructions, as to the children to be taught, and the plan of education to be followed. Masters and mistresses must be of the Established Church; their appointment rests with the clergyman; and the only catechism which shall be taught, is that of the Church of England. It is a prime object to prepare children for catechetical examination in the Established Church. There were, in 1824, said to be 249 schools, holding 15,922 pupils, of whom 6,344 were stated to be Roman Catholics. The Association obtained, by parliamentary grants, in twenty-two years, £77,975 11s. 3½d. averaging yearly £3,544 7s.; but some years £9,000 were obtained. The income apparent in twenty-two years from voluntary subscriptions is £7,348 17s. 2½d., producing annually, notwithstanding extra efforts, £334. They have, doubtless, increased the degree of education in Ireland, and they have at least thrown many bibles and testaments, prayer-books, and other works called by them religious, into

circulation : many of them, however, are to be met with on book-stalls. This will be the result where charitable or national resources are expended for political purposes. It is not improbable that this Association was a principal agent in arousing the active and energetic resistance of Roman Catholic priests to the education of the people by Protestant efforts, and bringing the hostility and opposition upon the Kildare-place Schools, by which, finally, the Parliamentary grant was withdrawn from its funds.

Some of the works which they brought into circulation, being of a highly controversial nature, may have excited the polemical spirit among the people, by which Ireland has so often been torn : it is, surely, an inconsistent appropriation of the national revenue ; and and those men who dared to disencumber the government of the country from such influences and causes of discord, conferred a benefit on their fellow-citizen and the magistracy of the land.

In the year 1812, four thousand six hundred schools were maintained, and 200,000 children were said to be educated in Ireland. Commissioners were appointed, and new commissions were recommended. Reports were made, and plans suggested ; thousands after thousands of pounds were squandered ; yet education was still the cry. One writer had spent three months, another had travelled three hundred miles in Ireland, while a third had landed at Belfast, and taken ship at Dublin ; and all were equally ready to say, " What can the man do that cometh after the king ? " Of antagonist sentiments, and discordant opinions, it was not long that either had to wish, " Oh ! that my adversary had written a book." Publications teemed from the press, and every writer seemed fully confident of his own competency to describe Ireland as it was, as it is, and as it should be ; each one saw its woes, and had discovered remedies ; prescriptions, recipes, draughts and solutions, pills and pistols followed in rapid succession. Protestant ascendancy was the dogma, the watch-word, the palladium, and the rule of government, the object of idolatry, the burden of oppression, the political malaria, the ruinous delusion, the dark impending cloud, and the angel of destruction ; it is now the waning shadow, the meteor *in transitu*, the evanescent vapour ; may it speedily become a tale that is told, a vision of the night when it is passed away !

CHAP. XI.

THE BEGINNING OF A BETTER SYSTEM— DIFFICULTIES OVERCOME.

THE first ray of a brighter sun for Ireland was cast forth, when it was proposed, "by keeping clear of all interference with the particular religious tenets, to induce the whole people to receive the benefits of education as one undivided body, under one and the same system;" and when the Government, as such, explicitly avowed and made it clearly to be understood, as a leading principle in any system of education promoted by the funds of the national Treasury, that no attempt should be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religion of any sect or description of christians. Had this principle been honestly followed in the proceedings of the Kildare-place Society as a government Institution, long ere this day its path would have, like the shining light, become brighter and brighter, and its course would have been strewn with the blessings which it had conferred, and the returning gratitude of an enlightened people.

In the year 1811, nineteen years subsequent to the formation of the Association for discountenancing Vice, the Society for promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland had been formed, and was composed of members of various religious communions, who determined to assist in the support, as well as the establishment, of schools, in which the appointment of governors and teachers, and the admission of scholars, should be uninfluenced by religious distinctions; requiring only that the Bible or Testament should be read, not as a book of elementary education, but for moral improvement; yet not subject to the explanation of any one during school hours. The local centre of their union, as well as co-operation, was in School-street, where a good popular school had existed since 1786. They "ne'er had changed, nor wished to change, their place;" nor had they aspired to become the dispensers of national bounty, and would, perhaps, have been well content to move on "in the

even tenor of their way," unaffected by the smile of courts or the applause of statesmen. Moreover, it is possible that it might have been well for the real efficiency of their plans, and the final success of their undertaking, as well as for the country chosen to be the sphere of their exertions, had not the enjoyment of state patronage drawn them aside to more ostentatious display, more public notoriety, and to become more the object of envy, and subject to the contamination of bad company. But they were selected by the government for the experiment of the principle which we have noted, and which had been recommended by parliamentary commission, and they acceded to the arrangement. A grant was made to them of £6,980 of Irish currency. The patronage of the government continued; similar and increasing contributions were drawn from the public purse for their support: and private benevolence, not appearing so necessary, ceased to be valued or solicited. Three years the government money was received, and expended in the erection of model schools, apartments, offices, and a warehouse for stationery, &c. In 1817, they took possession of their new establishment in Kildare-place; and School-street school-room was again occupied by an institution of a more private character. An important department of the operations in Kildare-place, were the model-schools for training masters, and qualifying school assistants for town and country. Nor was this more necessary than the publication of a sufficient variety of moral, instructive, and entertaining books, fitted for supplanting works of a most objectionable nature, in wide circulation among the people.

In the three great branches of their procedure, they advanced with perhaps as much singleness of purpose and purity of administration as could be expected from a body of men appropriating tens of thousands of government money, and who themselves were unsalaried servants of the people. Their schools have increased from year to year; the attendance at their schools has steadily advanced; the number of their teachers, male and female, whose services are accounted efficient and acceptable throughout the country, has also received continual accessions; and the publications of the society have accumulated to a respectable collection, containing a variety of useful knowledge and profitable entertainment, very different from what formerly composed the village or town school library in Ireland—when *The history of the seven wise masters and mistresses of Rome*, *The seven champions of Christendom*, *The seven wonders of the world*, *The Irish rogues and rapparees*, *The garden of love*, *The*

school of delight, Nocturnal novels, The pleasant art of money catching, and such other books, occupied the attention of the scholars who had acquired a taste for reading. By the efforts of this Society, these works have been displaced by books of voyages, travels, natural history, national history, and biography, besides poetry, rural economy, and almost every species of moral instruction. The different kinds of works published amount to as many as a hundred; and the copies sold or circulated, of all these, are stated to be 1,465,000, of all sizes. As many as 2,390 masters and mistresses have been sent out to all parts of the country; while it is stated, in the report for 1832, that they have 1,621 schools, containing 137,639 pupils. Their numbers average for the last seven years 1520 schools, and 114,890 children, or about 75 scholars in each school. Our statement is deduced from their own documents; and, though we would give them credit for upright intentions and no wish to exaggerate, it is possible that numbers in the minor details have been over-rated, we shall allow 35 per cent. for this deduction, and suppose the children to be about 90,000 in all their schools. An anxiety to introduce the sacred scriptures into their schools; co-operation in the support of of nearly 450 schools, with societies of either sectarian character or of proselyting tendency; and the violation of that rule which prohibited notes or comments on the scriptures in their books, or in their instructions tendered during school hours, by some zealous but neither very honest nor very prudent coadjutors; added, in all probability, to the natural tendency of a liberal and enlightened system of education; stirred up the suspicion and hostility of the Roman Catholic priests, and drew down upon the society petitions—reproaching and exaggerating accusations, which rendered it impossible and unsuitable that any popular government should continue pecuniary patronage for its support: so that after, perhaps, two hundred and fifty thousand pounds had been expended from the public treasury in the course of fifteen years, the parliamentary grant has been withdrawn from the Kildare-place Society. Some of the most liberal friends of the institution will not regret this result, and the probable effect will be that their operations will be less shackled, and their measures less characterised by temporizing expediency; while with prudent management, having already laid in a good foundation for the time to come, in buildings, schools, schoolmasters, books, experience, &c., they may proceed with more efficiency, and more union of effort, with really good and active men, than could ever have been done under the auspices of any govern-

ment. Nor need they envy any other association in the receipt of national support. Let them rather do the good they can, than murmur for the gain placed beyond their enjoyment.

Another mode of applying the money of the treasury to the education of the people of this country was adopted in 1819, by a fund being placed at the disposal of the Lord-Lieutenant, for the building of school houses, &c. It seems that about £35,000 had been thus appropriated till the year 1825, by about 430 grants for so many different applicants, of whom only 12 were Roman Catholics. I have heard it said, that some priests so contrived that these erections became additions to their chapels. They could not be numerous, surely; it has not been a frequent resource in aid of the people who most need help. No schools, or masters, appear to have been taken under the regular patronage of this fund; and we suppose it to have ceased.

The new Board of Education, composed of seven commissioners,—two Roman Catholic, two Presbyterian, and three Episcopalian,—rendering their services, with one exception, gratuitously, and dispensing the support of the nation to all parties in the state, is the last effort in which the government of this country has exerted its power and deliberation to promote the improvement of the people. This is a further step of approximation, in the liberality of the government, towards the advanced demands of enlightened and less restricted policy and principles, as cherished among the people. If the principle be not established *a priori* in the essence of government, that the people should lead and the rulers follow, it is a maxim well authenticated, and clearly deducible from experience, that rulers require to be led: all governments are less progressive than their people, and the sluggish movements of the former are stimulated by the energies and demands of the community. The *vox populi* is thus practically the *vox Dei*, however startling the proposition appear to the lovers of monarchical prerogative or aristocratical pre-eminence. The demands of the people in this country have been partially heard, and the new Board is an attempt at compromising the controversy; it is a yielding, to pacify, and to cause strife to cease. Whoever holds the reins of government must adopt some such measure. So many spoils have been heretofore carried off by the high churchman; so many grants have been made, to be divided according to the good pleasure of Protestants; so large, so exorbitant, and, alas! so ruinously severe have been the exactions for the maintenance of the church by law

established, while her members form so discrepant a minority, compared to the dissentients, that a government wishing to have even the semblance of justice, far more desiring to confer something like equal benefits on all, and to establish a righteous principle, untainted by persecution for conscience' sake, could do nothing less than, if grants shall continue to be conferred for educational purposes, to bestow them on all who would receive them, irrespective of creeds and of abstract opinions. It might have been better, as a *dernier ressort*, and less open to the objections of a Protestant party, cradled under the shadow of ascendancy, to withhold contribution from all.

As a general principle, this might have been the wisest policy, and the safest, where there is such violent opposition between the adverse parties in the state; but much preparation was requisite, before there could be a departure so extreme from what the Protestants themselves had been used to or were prepared for. To have withheld it from the purposes of education, and left every party to provide instruction for their youth as they could, would have been mere expediency, unless on the recognition of the general principle for which most Dissenters contend; and to have defended it on principle would have involved the question of ecclesiastical allowances, benefices, *regium donum*, or government salaries. To withdraw all aid from Roman Catholics for the improvement of their youth, merely because they could not agree with Protestants on their principles, and to continue the revenues of the church, notwithstanding that they were exacted from the dissentient peasantry by legal process, municipal authority, or the power of the sword, would indeed be the daring of a madman, and must be accomplished by the physical enforcement of a standing army. The new Board has old prejudices to contend against, strong prepossessions, conscientious scruples, ignorance, bigotry, and political partizanship; and if it has, or shall have, achieved any good for the country, we must ascribe it, under the blessing of Providence, to the good that is inherent in the great principle on which it has been formed. If the Protestant clergy had been in their generation a little wiser, they would have come quietly into the measure, and lent their best energies to render effectual what was good and liberal, and withstood what they disapproved or thought would be injurious. If they had been too forward, they would have excited suspicion—all that has hitherto been done by them avowedly for purposes of education having had too much a sinister aspect; but

if they had acted when called upon, and exerted themselves in their sphere; if they had proved themselves the shepherds of the *men* of Israel, and not of silly sheep; if they had sought to feed their flock with knowledge, and not with authority, with dogmas, and bigotry, the effect might have been great and glorious. However, what has been done may be turned to good account.

A thousand applications had, six months ago, been made to the new Board, signed by 15,000 requisitionists, 6,000 of whom were Protestants, and 161 Protestant Ministers. Of these applications, 700 had been granted, and there are now 100,000 children in the schools under the patronage of the Board; 75 applications had then been refused, for various reasons, of which 17 were because it was proposed the schools should be held in places of worship; 200 applications remained under consideration. As soon as a school under the Board is established in a neighbourhood, numerous applications proceed from the vicinity. School books and works of elementary instruction are both under preparation and issuing from the press; while model schools are in operation for qualifying teachers, both male and female; and it is not at all improbable that the experience and labours of the Kildare-place Schools may be of great service to the members and subordinate agents of the Government Board. Is there any reason why they should not both labour and co-operate for the good of the people, and the one help the other? If the attempt shall accomplish in any measure the peace and union of diverse parties, who have hitherto contended for supremacy, a great good will be gained; if it advance the general and well-conducted education of the people — if it improve and increase the knowledge of the population — if it act as a stimulant and corrective to other systems, the originators and labourers will deserve, and will ultimately receive, the acknowledgments of the community and the praises of all impartial men, and have their names enrolled among the benefactors of their country, the promoters of intelligence, and the persecuted sufferers in a good cause; and those who maligned, and for temporary purposes made abuse of their plan a stalking horse to vulgar popularity and party warfare, will either be forgotten, or, being ashamed of themselves, will be forgiven and made partakers of the general benefit.

CHAPTER XII.

EDUCATION CONDUCTED BY BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATIONS FOR RELIGIOUS PURPOSES.—IS EDUCATION FROM CHARITABLE FUNDS CALCULATED TO SUSTAIN MORAL CHARACTER?

A FEW remarks shall suffice on the benevolent institutions formed either in Ireland, or in England for Ireland; and chiefly of the London Hibernian Society, the Sunday School Society, the Irish Society, the Baptist Irish Evangelical Society, the Methodist Schools, and Erasmus Smith's Foundation. There are minor associations and institutions, whose operations and details are beyond our inquiry. The London Hibernian Society had its origin in the year 1800, by the association of some benevolent persons, who, among other measures for effecting what they thought desirable in Ireland, proposed the employment of ministers of religion and the establishment of schools, accompanied by the circulation of the scriptures, or purely religious publications. We may assert of this, and of all similar benevolent institutions for Ireland, that they are standing witnesses of the inefficiency of the dear-bought Establishment. Experience taught them that a combination of churchmen and dissenters could not effectually employ preachers, except of some exclusive denomination; and, in the year 1814, the employment of such agents being entirely relinquished, their exertions were more energetically directed to the establishment and conduct of day schools, adult schools, and Sunday schools; not a few, however, of their schools, or of schools taken under their patronage, were connected with other societies; indeed we have been told of schools enrolled on the lists of three different associations, and receiving aid from each, while the number of their pupils was claimed by all the three, and published to the world by each, forming a much larger aggregate to the eye of the benevolent contributor than really existed, of pupils under the influence of christian education.

This abuse may have arisen from an oversight—it may have received countenance from the indiscreetness of well-meaning and honest persons; but we fear its extent can be traced to the love of money, which is the root of all evil, the avarice of individuals, and to the tendency in Ireland of making every good thing a job. Oh! what a leprosy is this jobbing in that country! It cleaves to, it spreads over, it vitiates almost every attempt for the amelioration of the people, the extension of knowledge, and the promotion of science. Another defect of the Hibernian School Society, especially under the administration of the late M. P. for Dundalk, was a violent tendency to monopolise the credit of every good thing done, or to be done, from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear, and almost to deny any knowledge as possessed by other institutions of what should be done. So strong was this disposition of the zealous partizan, that, what will scarcely be believed now, he assailed with a bitterness and a rancour almost unaccountable the proceedings of the Kildare-place Association; but men are changeable beings, and there is a reason for every thing. A good deal was said by the officials of this society about proselytism and conversion; and they professed to disclaim the one, while they boasted of, and eagerly sought, the other. It is not easy to distinguish the difference to a cursory reader; and Lieutenant Gordon might as well have left the matter *sub umbra*. In their report for 1832, it is stated that there are in connexion with this society 1569 schools, and 90,085 scholars; but this includes Sunday, adult, and day schools; and as the same pupils attend, in many cases, the day and Sunday or adult schools, the number appears greater than it is; they, however, reckon 73,655 scholars altogether: if we may make allowances, and reduce the number to 50,000 scholars, independent of all other institutions, we shall not greatly fail of the truth. They have also 53 inspectors and scripture readers, besides local patrons; their income for the same year exceeded their expenditure a little, and amounted to £9,237 7s. 1d.

The Sunday School Society for Ireland was established in 1809: it assumes no control over the internal arrangements of the schools in connexion with it—kind admonition and advice is its only interference; and the agents and managers labour to promote the establishment of, and give every facility for conducting, schools kept on Sunday; they disseminate the most approved plans for the management of such schools, and supply them with spelling books, copies of the scriptures, or extracts therefrom. No

grants of money are made to schools in this connexion. The teachers are all gratuitous labourers; and while the acquisition of the elementary knowledge of letters is an important end of their efforts, the principal and well-understood aim of these benevolent individuals, so engaged, is to extend the knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, the principles which they deem of heavenly origin, and fitted to make men wise to salvation. They are of great benefit, too, in bringing the more remote sections of society into closer converse and intercourse, so as to excite and cherish the better sympathies of our nature in society. They have brought into circulation not only many copies and portions of the sacred volume, but also spelling-books, and a work on education, entitled "Hints for conducting Sunday Schools." The numbers of schools and pupils have rapidly increased, and the effects are not less pleasing than unexpected. The Society receives aid from friends and associations in England and Scotland, and has been in correspondence with educational institutions for mutual counsel and encouragement.

The total number of schools connected with this Society, 1st January, 1833, was 2,642, attended by 19,142 gratuitous teachers, and 206,717 scholars; of this last number, 112,256 are reported to be reading the Bible or Testament; 35,239 are declared to be adults above 15 years of age; while more than a *hundred thousand* scholars are said to be dependent on these schools for any knowledge of letters, not having access for instruction to daily schools. Since the origin of this Society, the managers have granted, or sold at reduced prices, 1,008 roll and minute books; 4,414 books of hints, &c.; 57,147 Freeman's cards for adults; 197,153 alphabets; 740,036 spelling books; 112 scripture extracts; 327,030 New Testaments; 65,236 Bibles, for the use of the schools. The number of teachers has been increasing; and it is interesting to observe, that schools are now taught, in many instances, by young persons who once themselves, as scholars, received instructions in these schools; while in many places meetings of the teachers are held, under the superintendence of suitable instructors, when the subject for instruction on the ensuing Sabbath is examined and commented on, so as to secure the general efficiency of the system and teachers in their laudable exertions.

There are doubtless abuses in the ecclesiastical establishment of Wales, as there will be in all such corporations; as there are also in the Church of Scotland, among the Highland Presbyteries; and

we may find here and there men bearing the rank, and receiving the emoluments, of parochial ministers, who either do not know the Welsh or the Gaelic language so as to preach in it to the people, or who, having merely learned it to accommodate them for a presentation sermon, have no pleasure, and perform no duty, in it. But the Dissenters in England, and the Presbyterians in Scotland, make ample amends for this, by maintaining in the English towns numerous Welsh chapels and Welsh preachers, and Gaelic chapels and ministers, for the people who sojourn among them; Welsh and Gaelic schools, too, may be found in the low lands, and in English cities. Nay, the Welsh have carried their generous regard for their wandering countrymen so far as to establish services in Welsh in the city of Dublin.

Now it is computed by his Majesty's Commissioners for educational Inquiry, that the number of Irish who employ the ancient language of this country exclusively is not less than 500,000 people; and that at least a million more, though they have some knowledge of the English, and are able to employ it for the purposes of traffic, make use of their native tongue on all other occasions, as the natural vehicle of their thoughts. I have seen among such people the confidence inspired in the political leader, and the attention rendered to the instructor, who addressed them in their own tongue. Well, how many ministers of the established church use this natural instrument for parochial instruction among their own people in Ireland? Not one. How many schools under the auspices of the church? I cannot find one in all the report of the Commissioners. I do not see the appropriation of church revenues, bounteous as they have been, or the application of collegiate resources; neither ministers, fellows, professors, scholars, or schools, by law or by practice, in connexion with the established church of Ireland. They have indeed one clergyman who uses that language for instruction, but he displays his talent in London! There are three or four clergymen in the country who can speak Irish fluently, for it was their mother's vernacular dialect; but they cannot, or will not preach it. This would either be unfashionable, or their living or curacy is not in a country thickly peopled with those who understand the native Irish. Shame upon the church of England in Ireland! if ever she perishes, and the omens have a threatening aspect, it will be by her own folly, as a *felo de se*, and her monumental tablet may be so inscribed, for the instruction of future ages.

Among all the objects of a well-timed charity, what one more legitimate could be selected than the supply of this want? A society has been formed, whose object is to promote scriptural education (why not a society to promote general education?) by the establishment of schools for the Irish language, wherein the Irish peasant shall be enabled to peruse the scriptures in his own tongue. It is now in the 16th year of its operations. The good men in connexion with this institution seem very solicitous to disclaim any attempt to perpetuate the Irish language, (why not, if the people like it?) but they should leave that to the operation of extending knowledge. It has been found that in the process of learning the native Irish, the scholars have not only acquired a desire for, but have made great progress in, English reading. It is a natural consequence of an active mind, that where a taste for reading has been infused in a language ill supplied with literature, other sources will be pursued; and so it has proved that the study of Irish creates a desire for acquaintance with the English. The business of their society is conducted by a committee of members and other officers; but it is a fundamental rule of the constitution, that none but such members as belong to the *established church* shall be appointed on the managing committee. The funds arise from voluntary contributions; and were for the year ending March, 1833, £3,248 1s. 4d. They have 370 schools, and nearly eleven thousand scholars, who are chiefly adults; sometimes taught at their own houses in the evenings, or on holidays. This is something, but, alas! what is it to the 500,000 who use this language exclusively? What a neglected country has this been in matters the most vital; every one seeking his gain from his quarter: but general beneficence, on wise and worthy laws, seems beyond the reach of philanthropists who have sought Ireland's weal.

The Baptist Irish Evangelical Society has schools established in three districts of Ireland, and professes to have succeeded in its endeavours. This Society was formed in 1814. It is an avowedly religious association, and is maintained by the contributions of that peculiar denomination, aided by the subscriptions of others, who generally approve of the fundamental principle, that the scriptures alone should be taught in their schools. The managers have encouraged the increase of native Irish schools, in the parts where that language is spoken. Ninety-one week day schools are supported by its friends, and they are said to contain ten thousand children: besides 25 evening schools for adults during the winter

months, attended by sometimes about 700 persons. Some of the present school-masters received their own education in the schools of this society.

The Methodist Missionary Society has maintained schools in various parts of Ireland, which they regard as valuable auxiliaries in the promotion of knowledge and piety; the scriptures are constantly read in them, accompanied by catechetical instruction; the common rudiments of learning are afforded, though, in a majority of cases, the poverty of the parents will not permit a long course of education. There are (they say) 20 schools, and they report that the children receiving instruction in them are 5,000. The schools are supported by the Methodist Mission Fund, and superintended by a minister of their connexion, who visits and pays the school-masters, according to the proficiency, and the work done.

The Moravians maintain schools at their stations, chiefly for the members of their own denomination. They have single sisters and single brethren, whose labours are carefully directed to the promotion of knowledge among the rising generation. At Grace Hill, an extensive and respectable boarding-school is kept up, for the education of the better classes of their own flock, or others who may comply with their rules.

The name of Erasmus Smith, an inhabitant, and said to have been Alderman, of the city of London, is intimately interwoven in the history and interests of national education in Ireland. The abundance of a rich and beneficent stream has long flowed from the spring which he pierced: if the waters have not made glad the inhabitants of the land, and turned the wilderness into a fruitful field, it is neither to be ascribed to the illiberality of his heart, nor the contractedness of his views; neither to the penuriousness of his hand, nor the limitation of his desires. Many a name has been emblazoned in the annals of the country, and engraved upon monumental memorials, for the applause of coming ages, whose owner less deserved a record and a tribute from his fellow-men. If the consecration of wealth and influence, the reward of good deeds done for learning, and the recompense of services rendered to the literary interests of mankind, could in any measure be appreciated, and a suitable return contributed, in the ages which follow the benefactor, the only monument worthy of Erasmus Smith, which a nation could fitly dedicate, would be a Collegiate Establishment, under the auspices of his name, as a liberal and generous competitor for honourable and useful distinction

with Trinity College, Dublin. "The works or acts of merit towards learning are conversant about three objects ; the places of learning, the books of learning, and the persons of the learned. For as water, whether it be the dew of heaven or the springs of the earth, does scatter, and lose itself in the ground except it be collected into some receptacle ; so this excellent liquor of knowledge, whether it descend from divine inspiration, or spring from human sense, would soon perish and vanish into oblivion, if it were not preserved in books, traditions, conferences, and places appointed, as Universities, Colleges, and Schools, for the receipt and comforting of the same," This was the care and merit of Erasmus Smith. I should be happy to know more of the history and character of a man so honourable among the patrons of learning, that I might be the means of promoting the renown of so worthy a citizen, and engage the interest of my reader on his behalf. I cannot but conclude that it would surely have added to the interest and value of the report of "the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry," had they informed us who this patron of education in Ireland was, and by what principles his benevolent institutions were to be regulated. Whether it was for his attachment to the Stuart race, or that his predecessor in the estates was involved in the rebellion of 1641, it is not easy to determine ; he may only have succeeded by inheritance, as collateral heir to the estates. I cannot learn that he was ever at any time a resident in Ireland. But it appears that the lands which he entailed by charter for the purposes of education, and which are now possessed by his representatives, were seized and sequestered on account of the rebellion. In any case it would be difficult to detail, or trace through their varied succession, the changes which have come over the occupants of land in Ireland. The Commissioners for settling the state of that country in 1668, under Charles II. discovered and adjudged that the lands now deemed the estates of the corporation, chartered for effecting the purposes of the will of the testator, and situated in various distant counties (they have estates in Tipperary, Sligo, Westmeath, Limerick, Galway, Clare, and King's County), were the property of Erasmus Smith, or those under whom he devised. Their decision may have been most impartial and correct, and if all their six hundred adjudications, out of the four thousand referred to them, had been devoted to promote the sectarian education of the people on the principles of episcopal protestantism as exclusively as this one,

these commissioners ought to be ranked as perpetual patrons, or grand masters (could their names now be discovered), of the Orange lodges of Ireland. I will neither involve Erasmus Smith nor the Commissioners in this censure, for I cannot satisfy myself that they deserve blame, considering the circumstances in which they were placed, and the changes which have succeeded.

A charter was obtained by Erasmus Smith for the appropriation of these lands to the maintenance of Grammar Schools, and for other charitable purposes, in the year 1669. This charter endued him and his executors with full power, licence, and authority to establish three free Grammar Schools, one in Drogheda, another in Galway, and a third in Tipperary. He, or his representatives, the governors of the schools, or any seven of them, are empowered to place so many, not exceeding twenty, poor children, in each or any of them, as shall seem convenient; besides the children of Erasmus Smith's tenants, whose numbers are not limited for admission. The charter directs the appointment of a school-master and usher to each school, who are to teach writing and accounts, the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and to fit their scholars for the university, if desired. Thirty-two persons are incorporated, seven of whom, *ex officiis*, are the Chancellor, the Primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Provost of Trinity College, and the three Chief Judges, into a body politic and corporate, to be called "The Governors of the Schools founded by Erasmus Smith, Esq." The vacancies occurring in this body are to be filled up by the surviving governors, or greater number of them, assembled for the purpose of such election. The corporation is also invested with power to purchase and hold lands, to sue and be sued, to use a common seal, &c. They are empowered to choose and appoint school-masters, ushers, scholars, and officers for the said free-schools; but if they have not supplied vacancies within six months, the King may elect successors to the unoccupied situations. They can order, visit, direct, place, displace, censure, or punish the said masters, &c. according to such rules as may have been competently devised and established. The archbishop or bishop of the diocese, is required to approve such school-masters or ushers, appointed by these governors, on their subscribing the two first canons of the Church of Ireland. The governors were authorised to receive the lands, tenements, &c. of Erasmus Smith, to be employed by them and their successors for the maintenance of the said free-schools,

and the other charitable purposes devised by the benefactor; deducting one hundred pounds annually for Christ's Hospital, London; and to receive or purchase other lands, so as they did not exceed £2,000 per annum. A treasurer is appointed, or ought to be, annually, who receives the rents, profits, &c., and has two-and-a-half per cent. on his receipts: it is required that his receipts and disbursements be exhibited before the Primate, the Chancellor, and three chief Judges, or any two of them. The school-masters at first were to receive one hundred marks, or about £70, and the ushers £20 yearly. The overplus of the rents, profits, &c. is directed to be applied, first, to repair and beautify the schools and school-houses; secondly, to the establishment of a Hebrew or other learned lecture in Trinity College, at £30 per annum; thirdly, to the binding out of poor children to be apprentices to protestant masters, and to the clothing of them while in the schools; and to such other charitable uses as Erasmus Smith had appointed. The arrangements made by Erasmus Smith, and his rules or orders for the management of the schools, are fixed, and may not be contravened or abrogated by subsequent Governors.

In 1724, in the tenth year of the reign of George I, an act was passed for further application of the rents and profits of the same Estates; by which were instituted three new Fellowships in Trinity College, Dublin; two public Lectures were established, one of oratory and history, and the other of natural and experimental philosophy, with salaries of £35 per annum. Thirty-five exhibitions for poor students of Trinity College were founded, and directed to be continued to the students holding the same till provided for, or till they are of the standing of A.M. New buildings in the College were to be erected, from the cash then in the Treasurer's hands; and an arrangement was made with the Blue Coat School in Dublin, so that twenty boys should be admitted there on Erasmus Smith's foundation: this number has since been doubled. The Governors were also empowered to appropriate any increase of their rents or profits to some public work or use, in the College or Blue Coat School; to the putting out more poor children to school or as apprentices; and for founding one or more English Schools, as they should think fit or convenient. In consequence of these new powers, the Governors appropriated funds for another Grammar School, which was established at Ennis, County Clare. Other Professorships have been founded in Trinity College; a Charter School at Sligo, with an extensive farm at-

tached, and English Schools throughout the country. The receipts, from rents and profits of these lands, twenty years ago, amounted to £7,584. The Governors had also vested money, surplus receipts, in the Funds, bringing in interest per annum of £1,315; altogether, £8,899.

The enquiries of the Board of Education at that time stirred up the dormant energies of these authorities, and they determined to build a new school at Galway, which should cost £10,000: we have been, we believe, in that school; £800 or £1,000, we should think quite sufficient as the cost of such erection. Schools are instituted in several parishes in Dublin, being built at rather a large expense. They resolved, also, that whenever any proprietor of land is desirous of having a school established on his estate, provided the situation is otherwise eligible, on his conveying to them in perpetuity a certain portion of land, not exceeding two acres, to contribute a sum not more than £300 towards erecting a school-house thereon, and to further grant an endowment to the master of £30 per annum. It may be that all the Bye-laws adopted by the Governors are in perfect harmony with the instructions of the Testator; yet it is observable, that the Church catechism is exclusively enjoined by them as a manual of religious instruction, while Presbyterians are eligible to the schools, as well as Roman Catholics. It is moreover an important fact, that although Presbyterians are in Ireland equally numerous with protestant Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics are six times more numerous, of nine thousand pupils in these schools, it was stated by the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry, that 4,215 were of the Church by law established; 3,240 only of the Roman Catholic; and 2,560 of Presbyterian and other denominations. Is this an equal or proportionate division? or is it agreeable to the will of the testator? How many good things fall to the portion of those who use religion by law! I believe the present authorities are all churchmen; and no small share of the revenues of this charity is absorbed in Trinity College, Dublin. There are one hundred and twenty-five schools for more general instruction, under the patronage of the Board. The number of children attending these schools, as per a return lately made to Parliament, was, on the 1st of November, 1832, found to be 10,990.

The governors found it expedient to alter the system on which these schools are conducted, and to adopt such arrangements as might tend to enforce a better and more effective education, to

promote order, and ensure zealous and active exertion on the part of the teachers; and established other regulations than had been acted on before. A regular system of inspection, and of periodical reports, was commenced in 1829. Every teacher, on his or her recommendation by patrons, was to be called to appear before a committee, and, if deemed necessary, to go through a course of instruction at one of the training-schools in Dublin, so as that they might acquire a competent knowledge of the improved methods of teaching. The fixed salaries of the teachers was reduced to £20 per annum, and any subsequent increase was to be paid in the shape of gratuities, not exceeding £10 at the end of each year, for good conduct and strict attention to the rules of the governors; but dependent upon the state of improvement of the schools, and the certificate of the inspector. An extra premium of £10 each, and a letter of approbation from the governors, should be awarded to the masters of the four best schools in each inspector's list, according to his special recommendation: the mistresses to be paid in the same proportion, but on a scale not so high as the masters. For every £1 of fixed salary, the master or mistress is bound to instruct one scholar gratis, if so many should offer; other scholars are required to pay as may be directed by the superintending committee or local patron, but, if poor, at a moderate rate.

The teachers of the English schools on this foundation *must* be members of the established church, and exhibit to the inspectors proofs of their regular attendance on divine worship in the respective parish churches, and of their having from time to time received the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. — O what a prostitution, what blind and sacrilegious formality! how can they prove that they have received the sacrament? Must the priest officiating give his certificate? — Having been instructed in the Kildare-place system of education, they must be well acquainted with arithmetic, as well in its application to surveying and mensuration, as to trade. The teachers must not be engaged in any trade, business, or employment which can interfere with their regular and punctual attendance at the school; nor hold more than three acres of land, which must be within one mile of the school; neither must they have any private class in the school, nor instruct any private pupil during school hours. Rolls and registries must be kept, and regularly furnished, after the plan of the Kildare-place schools. The salaries and gratuities,

it is said, will be withheld, unless the teachers read a portion of the holy scriptures every day, and also cause a portion to be read by the children who are capable, every day at 12 o'clock (Saturday excepted); it must also appear by the report of the inspector that the children have been carefully instructed in the Scriptures, so that they understand what they read, the sense being explained in plain language by the teacher, without entering into doctrinal, controversial, or abstruse matters! The Bible is never to be used for the purpose of teaching spelling or reading, but for religious instruction only.—Is it provided that the teacher shall be competent to avoid what is here pointed out, and to impart what is here required?—Every Saturday, at 12 o'clock, the children shall be instructed in a Church of England catechism, and no other shall be taught or admitted into the school; the parents, however, may direct or withhold the attendance of the children to this exercise. All books admitted to the schools must be approved by the governors. The system of monitors is also recognised, and practised on the plan pursued by the Kildare-place Association.

Such is an outline of the plan embraced by these governors for the English schools on Erasmus Smith's foundation. Minor details, as to hours of attendance, allowances for school requisites, and school repairs, would only extend the description beyond our limits. Topics of discussion of great importance, and deeply interesting to the community, present themselves on the face of this summary of the schools established on this foundation. We might ask, Has it been a good and sound policy, has it worked effectively, to apply so many mechanical details for the advancement of Protestantism? Was it wise to enjoin that boys should be apprenticed exclusively to Protestants; or that competition in the claims of general reputation, excellence in handy-work, skill and efficiency in training, should be exclusively confined to such denominations? Are mere nominally Protestant masters better tradesmen, more competent teachers, or more respectable members of society than other respectable citizens throughout the country. Will conformity to the ordinances of the parish church qualify a man to teach the English language, writing, and accounts, or to be the spiritual, the moral adviser of the children attending the schools? What has been the general effect of these schools, of the chief of them, in Galway, for instance, in Tipperary, or in Ennis? Have these schools, endowed with funds most liberal, with resources perennially flowing, secured by law,

and governed by the prelacy and the judges of the land, tended to exalt the character of educational institutions, to increase the demand for education, by providing a good supply? Will they serve as an experiment to warrant the introduction of some universal system, under legislative enactment, to be administered by mitred heads, executive magistracy, or chartered boards? If this failed, if these extraordinary motives to industry, which it is insinuated, should be applied to stimulate a demand for education, have not promoted education, by awakening a demand for instruction, shall we despise the spontaneous operation of the ordinary motives which in all other things stimulate men to industry? On what element of the moral and social system, in this country, shall we lay the burden, the guilt, and the anathema of mankind, that Ireland should have enjoyed so many ostensible opportunities of improvement, so many professed means for general education, and should yet remain a moral wilderness, a spiritual waste, a political pestilence, a cave of Eolus, and a sea of troubles? We should be far, very far indeed, from imputing to the mere introduction of the sacred scriptures into the various protestant educational establishments and systems of instruction, under proper auspices and in competent hands, any share of the disappointment or failure which has followed past efforts. We believe that a patient and devout study of that volume will surely promote the truest nobleness of mind. Coming with a mind previously prepared, and a heart imbued with the love of truth, and of all good beings, the student will make rapid strides towards improvement; the scholars may expect that such a course will be as "the path of the just, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day;" and will find experimentally that to scale the heights of heaven, to behold the Sun of eternal truth, and receive his rays; to grasp the things of an everlasting age, and to be filled with all the fulness of God; to receive the first principles of heavenly science; to soar on the wings of contemplation, aided by the breath of the infinite Spirit; to explore the tracts of uncreated light, and dive into the things which are displayed in heavenly places by Christ Jesus; to be permitted to look into the unseen world, and peruse the records of the New Jerusalem; to be enabled, by an infallible standard, more truly unerring than any mathematical axiom, to weigh and compare the things of redeeming love, and to live as seeing him who is invisible, are most assuredly calculated to elevate the mind of any mortal. But surely no feeling should be more delicately and carefully che-

rished than a regard for Divine Truth; nor should the course of any element be more prudently directed than the precious waters of heavenly knowledge, the overflowing of that fountain which rises beneath the throne of Jehovah, the meanderings of that river, the streams whereof make glad the city of our God. Fiery and political zeal, carnal and partizan controversy, when put forth in such a cause, are as impure and unconsecrated as were the rash hands of Uzzah, who, because he presumptuously ventured to stay the trembling ark, was smitten of the Lord, that he died. Treasury influence, legislative enactment, or penal statutes may indeed enforce unwilling profession, and obtain such offerings as the torn, and the lame, and the sick: but with such sacrifices God cannot be well pleased; while the people will say, What a weariness is it! and they will snuff at it: till God will send a curse among them, and curse their blessings, corrupt their seed, spread dung upon their faces, even the dung of their solemn feasts, the vain mockery of their pretended worship. But if, added to all these things, we trust to the exposition of incompetent hirelings, and the formal readings and literal explanations of unqualified and carnal teachers, we shall be holding forth censers filled with strange fire, warranting the rebellion of those who would resist the accredited servants of God, and may receive the reward of unrighteousness, and perish in the gainsaying of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram.

It would be an unpardonable omission to leave out of our view the Cork Institution, the Belfast Academy, the Blue Coat School, the Royal Dublin Society, and Trinity College, Dublin; but it would be so manifestly unjust to these institutions to discuss their merits in a few lines, that I shall reserve them till another, but not distant opportunity.

There remain to be stated, the voluntary and pay schools, throughout the country. Of these, we find there were, in 1826, schools wholly maintained by individuals, 322, containing upwards of 13,600 scholars; pay schools, unconnected with societies, 9,352, containing about 400,000 pupils; strictly Roman Catholic female schools, attached to Nunneries, 46, educating about 7,500 children; Christian Brotherhood and other religious orders, 24 schools, numbering about 5,500 scholars; and day schools supported by subscription, 350, containing nearly 34,000 pupils; giving of what we may designate by denomination of the teachers and patrons, Roman Catholic charity schools, 420, in which 47,000 pupils were receiving daily education.

At the time to which we have referred, 1826, the inquiry of the Commissioners shewed that there were, independent of Sunday schools, more than 560,000 scholars in the four provinces of Ireland, attending 11,829 schools. This was nearly treble the number exhibited in 1812. If we have not exceeded our data, we have found that, at this time, there may be, deducting some who are connected with more than one society,

	Schools.	Scholars.
Roman Catholic Charity Schools.....	420	.. 47,000
Pay Schools.....	9,353	.. 400,000
Schools maintained by individuals.....	322	.. 13,600
Erasmus Smith's Schools.....	125	.. 10,990
Moravians		150
Wesleyan Methodist Schools.....	20	.. 5,000
Baptist Irish Evangelical Society Schools.....	160	.. 10,000
Irish Society Schools.....	370	.. 11,000
Sunday School Society for Ireland.....	1,221	.. 100,000
London Hibernian Society Schools	1,569	.. 50,000
Board of Education Schools.....	700	.. 100,000
Kildare Place Society Schools.....	1,621	.. 90,000
Schools of the Association for discountenancing Vice ..	249	.. 15,922
Charter Schools	32	.. 2,210
Diocesan Schools.....	12	.. 480
Foundling Hospital.....		600
Female Orphan House		200
Hibernian Society for Soldiers' Children.....		400
Hibernian Marine Society for Sailors' ditto		140
		<hr/> Total 857,692 <hr/>

In round numbers, we are here presented with the scholars in Ireland, as 800,000.

These calculations may appear incredible; yet the more important items are taken from accredited reports, with numerous deductions, and the final surrender of 50,000, to make the sum come into round numbers. This statement gives us one scholar for every ten of the people in Ireland; they ought surely to be a well-conducted nation; and did the Establishment accomplish the work it is so well paid for, this should still be a nation of saints. I had thought of condensing all the items of educational expenditure and ecclesiastical emolument; but instead of this, I shall borrow a few general, summary, and concluding observations from the writings of a friend, in whose sentiments I cordially concur. "It is not to be forgotten that Protestants have employed most unhallowed and most unscriptural means to detach Roman Catholics

from their church. Instead of being instructed in the doctrines of the Reformation, they were commanded to adopt the reformed religion on penalty of being driven from their places of worship. Then came a protracted warfare in defence of their church, thus assailed not by christian weapons but by legislative enactments, and by force. This ended in the treaty of Limerick, in which all that they stipulated for was toleration. No sooner were Protestants firmly seated in power than they refused toleration. The infamous penal code was enacted, and put into rigorous operation; their clergy were proscribed, their children put into the hands of Protestants to be educated, their property confiscated, and every injury and insult heaped on them that a vindictive policy could invent. And not only were they assailed with violence, but with every species of allurements. The children of wealthy Roman Catholics were tempted to become Protestants, by the promise of being put in possession of the property of their own parents. Attempts were made to bribe the poorer class to give up their children, by offering to provide for them, and educate them in charter schools; and to all classes of them, an open way to all places of emolument and power was held out as the reward of apostacy.

“Roman Catholics have never for an hour been permitted to forget the penal code. It has never been publicly disavowed and repented of by the Protestant churches; it has been but gradually removed; and every new encroachment upon it obtained in the face of violent opposition from a party always representing themselves as the only Protestant party. The last important blow was given to it in the passing of the emancipation bill; but a large proportion of the Protestants of Ireland manifested a spirit which, whether justly or not, convinced the Roman Catholics that want of power alone, and not change of principle, or want of inclination, prevented them from reviving the whole provisions of the penal code. Protestants have complained that the emancipation bill has not tranquillized the country, nor reconciled contending parties. How could it, when Protestants received that measure so ungraciously, when they refuse to be reconciled, and when they have never for a moment ceased to display their ensigns of defiance and hostility.”

INVOCATION.

“ O THOU, the ever-begotten Light and perfect image of the Father, Thou canst discover the plots and frustrate the hopes of all the wicked in the land, and put to shame the persecutors of thy church; as of old thou didst make the false prophets to be found a lie in the sight of all the people, and chase them with confusion and amazement before the redoubled brightness of thy descending cloud that now covers thy tabernacle. Who is there that cannot trace thee now in thy beamy walks through the midst of thy sanctuary, amidst those golden candlesticks which have long suffered a dimness amongst us through the violence of those that had seized them, and were more taken with the mention of their gold than of their starry light; teaching the doctrine of Balaam, to cast a stumbling-block before thy servants, commanding them to eat things sacrificed to idols, and forcing them to fornication. Come, therefore, O Thou that hast the seven stars in thy right hand; appoint thy chosen priests, according to their orders and courses of old, to minister before thee, and duly to dress and pour out the consecrated oil into thy holy and ever-burning lamps. Thou hast sent out the spirit of prayer upon thy servants over all the land to this effect, and stirred up their vows as the sound of many waters about thy throne. Every one can say, that now certainly thou hast visited this land, and hast not forgotten the utmost corners of the earth, in a time when men had thought thou wast gone up from us to the farthest end of the heavens, and hadst left to do marvellously among the sons of these last ages. O perfect and accomplish thy glorious acts; for men may leave their glorious acts unfinished; but thou art a God, thy nature is perfection: shouldst thou bring us thus far onward from Egypt to destroy us in this wilderness, though we deserve, yet thy great name would suffer in the rejoicing of thine enemies, and the deluded hope of all thy servants. When thou hast settled peace in the church, and righteous judgment in the kingdom, then shall all thy saints address their voices of joy and triumph

to thee, standing on the shore of that red sea into which our enemies had almost driven us. And he that now for haste snatches up a plain, ungarnished present as a thank-offering to thee, which could not be deferred in regard of thy so many great deliverances wrought for us one upon another, may then perhaps take up a harp and sing thee an elaborate song to generations. In that day it shall no more be said, as in scorn, this or that was never held so, till the present age; when men have better learned that the times and seasons pass along under thy feet, to go and come at thy bidding: and as thou didst dignify our fathers' days with many revelations above all the foregoing ages, since thou tookest the flesh, so thou canst vouchsafe to us (though unworthy) as large a portion of thy spirit as thou plearest; for who shall prejudice thy all-governing will? Seeing the power of thy grace is not passed away with the primitive times, as fond and faithless men imagine, but thy kingdom is now at hand, and thou [art] standing at the door, come forth out of thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth! put on the visible robes of thy imperial majesty, take up that unlimited sceptre which thy Almighty Father hath bequeathed thee; for now the voice of thy bride calls, and all creatures sigh to be renewed!"