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to hope even when he was unable to feel assured. And so, while happily he never sought to be a party leader, his influence over the opinions and actions of others was always great and wholesome. Men felt that here was a genuine Christian spirit, moving with a dignified simplicity through the mazes of the world; they discerned something of the character and impress of Him who stilled the tumult of the sea."

JOHN VAUGHAN.

ART. V.—IRELAND ECCLESIASTICALLY CONSIDERED.

PART II.

HITHERTO I have said nothing of the religion of the Irish at, and previous to, the time of this Papal aggression.

Dr. Reid thus summarizes the matter: "It is now generally admitted that the primitive Church in Ireland, though not free from error, differed most materially, and for a length of time, from that of Rome. The free and commended use of the Scriptures; the inculcation of the doctrines of grace and of the efficiency of the sacrifice and intercession of Christ, without any allusion to the Mass, to transubstantiation, purgatory, human merits, or prayers for the dead; the diversity in the forms of celebration of Divine worship; the rejection of the Papal supremacy; the marriage of the clergy; the Scriptural character of the early bishops, as having the charge of only one parish, and being labourers in word and doctrine; the Presbyterial order of the Culdees, and their singular piety and zeal; all their important points of doctrine and discipline, which were maintained and practised in the ancient Church, clearly indicate its opposition to the Papal system." Dr. Reid adds that the Irish Church was "the last of the National Churches of the West which preserved its independence."

The learned and accurate Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, made the following statement on this subject. He wrote: "As far as I can collect by such records of the former ages as have come into my hands (either manuscript or printed), the religion professed by the ancient bishops, priests, monks, and other Christians in this land [Ireland], was for substance the very same with that which now [A.D. 1624] by public authority is maintained therein against the foreign doctrine brought in thither, in later times, by the Bishop of Rome's followers."

² "Discourse on the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British." Dublin, reprint, 1815. See first six chapters.

¹ "History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland," vol. i., p. 2, Edinburgh, 1834.

For uttering this and other incontestable truths, the Pope in 1709 placed all Usher's works in the Roman Index as prohibited books, as if truth could be quenched by being

locked up in Rome's literary prison-house!

Ireland, bound hand and foot, was delivered over to Rome. "Little did Henry foresee, in the blindness of his ambition. the perplexity he was to experience from that power he now contributed to aggrandize, or the heavy weight of oppression with which it was to fall upon his head." But this enters on

English history.

I need not trace the history of that unhappy country, Ireland, from Henry II, to Henry VIII. It is a record of a succession of feuds, reprisals, and rebellions. It was a strife of race against race. As yet no religious element was introduced; it was purely national. There was then more bitter feeling between the two races than there ever has been since the Reformation. English rule was no doubt severe, and at times unjust and arbitrary, and even cruel. The hatred between the two races appeared implacable, and the ferocity, from time to time exhibited, was something beyond description or conception. In fact, from the first colonization, as it were, of Ireland by the English, to the days of the Reformation, there was no settled peace, but perpetual discords, aggressions, reprisals, rebellions, and treasons. But neither the Pope nor his bishops interposed their authority to protect the Irish against their On the contrary, the Pope seemed to alleged persecutors. have taken part with the English. Gordon, in his "History of Ireland," tells us: "The clergy were intolerably fleeced by the exactions of Henry III., authorized by the Pope, and by those of the Pope himself, insomuch that even the churches were stripped of their ornaments to supply the demands of legates and nuncios. Benefices were conferred, as in England, on Italian ecclesiastics, who disdained to perform the duties of their place, or even to reside in the country whence they drew their revenue. The native clergy of Ireland, of both Irish and English descent, complained that the livings, to which they themselves were entitled, were given also to men sent from England for provision—the most worthless or neglected of the English clergy-and they even attempted to prevent their admission by an ordinance which they enacted, but which was annulled with strong expressions of disapprobation of the Pope."3

All this happened under "Rome's rule."

¹ See Index "Lib. Prohib." Romæ, 1819, p. 360.

² Leland's "History of Ireland," vol. i., pp. 15-18.

³ Vol. i., cap. ix., pp. 152, 153. Dublin, 1805. London, 1713.

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Now let me quote the deliberately-expressed opinion of the candid Roman priest, Dr. Charles O'Conor, in reply to the charges brought against the English nation for her alleged severities and persecutions in Ireland since the Reformation. He said: "Let us not be the dupe of those," speaking of writers of his own religious persuasion, "who would impose on us a belief that the fanaticism of the one party, or the superstition of another, occasioned the crimes or the calamities of either. It is an undoubted fact that more flagrant crimes were committed whilst both nations were Roman, than after they had made religion a party in their quarrel, and pressed into the service of their passions those very principles by which their passions are condemned. In the remonstrance addressed to Pope John XXII., the Irish chieftains, after stating how iniquitously Adrian IV. had delivered up Ireland, by a certain form of words, to Henry II., contrary to all law and justice, proceeded to state 'that, even supposing that donation to have been valid ab initio, yet the English having violated the conditions on which the Pope allowed them to invade Ireland, by the most infamous cruelties, all obligations on the Pope's part, as well as on theirs, must be now at an Arrogating to themselves the property in every place on which we can stamp the figure of our feet, the English invaders, through an excess of the profoundest ignorance or insanity, scarcely conceivable, dare to assert that not a single inch of Ireland is ours, but by right entirely their own. Hence the implacable hatred and exterminating carnage which is perpetually carried on between us. Hence our hostilities, detestable treachery, bloody reprisals, numberless massacres." They [the Irish] thus enumerate the atrocious laws, principles, and practices of the English settlers towards themmuch more merciless and inhuman than any that have been practised, under cover of religion, since the days of Elizabeth, and they conclude that all hope of peace between us is, therefore, destroyed."1

This is the deliberate statement of a Roman Catholic priest! John XXII. held the "Chair" from 1316 to 1334. Dr. O'Conor tells us that the Pope turned a deaf ear to these

complaints.

For eleven years after the accession of Elizabeth, England and Ireland lived in peace, until the Pope launched his Bull of damnation and excommunication of Elizabeth, when, under Jesuit intrigue, fostered by the Pope, treasons and rebellions broke out again.

^{1 &}quot;Columbanus ad Hibernos; or, An Historical Address on Foreign Influence," pp. 20-22. Buckingham, 1812.

Lamartine, a Roman Catholic historian and poet, in his work "England under Cromwell," after referring to the various rebellions and reprisals, concludes: "The misfortunes of a nation are not always the fault of her conquerors; they are sometimes vengeance resulting from her own crimes."

We have now the broad facts established:

1. That the Pope of Rome, in his infallible wisdom, based, nevertheless, on a forged document, sold the whole of Ireland to England for a royalty of a penny per house.

2. That the Roman Church first ruled in Ireland in the twelfth century, when the Romish religion was first intro-

duced.

- 3. That the massacres and reprisals, treacheries and cruelties, of race against race were more merciless and inhuman in Ireland before the Reformation was there introduced than after, and at a period when both nations were claimed to be Roman Catholic.
- 4. It was not a war of religion, for they were all Roman Catholics.
- 5. That the Pope of Rome was alone responsible, as the original cause, through his iniquitous Bull and low avarice, of all Ireland's misfortunes.
- 6. So long as the two parties remained Papal, the Pope did not interfere between them.

7. The Pope only interfered when his authority was called

in question.

There can be no doubt that England's rule over Ireland has been tyrannical and oppressive. I do not plead justification, but a few facts are important on this branch of our history.

It was in May, 1536, that the Irish Parliament, on the suggestion of Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, a Romanist, who gave the first vote in support of the Royal Supremacy of Henry VIII., solemnly renounced the authority of the Pope. At the same time, all appeals to Rome were strictly forbidden, together with the payment of dues and the purchases of dispensations; and the oath of allegiance to the King was now freely taken by every Irish bishop, by the Irish clergy, and nobles.¹ Dr. Reid adds that "these oaths were as freely broken as they were taken."

The confiscation of the Irish ecclesiastical properties was effected by a Roman Catholic Parliament when Ireland was in revolt against England, headed by O'Neil, Desmond, O'Brien, O'Donnell, MacWilliam, and other Irish leaders then

¹ See Dr. Reid's "History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland," Pp. 22-27. London, 1834.

in revolt, and they divided the spoils among themselves. They afterwards made a compact with Henry VIII., by which it was agreed that they should acknowledge Henry as King of Ireland, he leaving them in the enjoyment of the plunder. Their title was confirmed by the same Bull of the Pope, issued during the reign of Mary.

In the reign of Edward VI., all the Irish bishops took the

same oath of allegiance, abjuring that to the Pope.

In the reign of Elizabeth the Royal Supremacy Act (2 Eliz., cap. i., sec. ii.) was passed, not only by the Lords spiritual and Temporal, but also by the Commons of Ireland. The oath of supremacy of the Queen was taken by every Irish bishop save two—Walsh of Meath and Leverous of Kildare

-and by the bulk of the Irish clergy.

For eleven years after the accession of Elizabeth, the Reformed Church and the Irish nation existed in profound peace; schools were established, and many abuses removed, until that peace was disturbed by the infuriated Pope, assisted by his emissaries, the Jesuits and seminary priests, who had now lost all hold on Irish soil and Irish hearts. Gregory XIII. launched his Bull of anathema and excommunication against Elizabeth and her adherents.1 From this time forth the struggle was made a so-called religious warfare, fostered by the Pope, and carried out by the Jesuits and foreign seminary priests. The rebellion of Tyrone was suppressed, but left Ireland in a deplorable state. James I. took every means to establish order and civilization. He restored confiscated properties of rebel leaders to the Irish Romanists, by which he hoped to get back the affections of the people. James's proclamation was issued only against the Jesuits. Dr. O'Conor attributed all the ills of Ireland to her "foreign-influenced priests," and that the forfeitures of Ulster were the consequence, not the cause, of the rebellions. Tyrone, Tyronnel, Maguire, O'Dogherty, had repeatedly violated their oaths of allegiance; they could no longer be trusted.

Under James I. Ireland prospered, and a large influx of settlers took place. Charles I. notoriously ruled Ireland with the greatest consideration. On the application of an Irish Parliament, he issued a commission to make an investigation of certain grievances, and afterwards he placed the Government in the hands of Sir John Borlace and Sir William Parsons, men esteemed for their wisdom and integrity. They abated certain abuses, to the general satisfaction of the people. From

¹ I give in Appendix B to this article a translation of the Bull of Gregory XIII., issued in 1577, in favour of the Irish insurrection against Queen Elizabeth.

this time to May, 1641, Romanists enjoyed the free exercise of their religion throughout the kingdom. They had their titular archbishops and bishops; and priests now returned in great numbers from Spain and Italy, and other foreign parts, and carried out their avocation without restraint. The so-called Penal Statutes of Elizabeth, necessitated by the plots against her life, had long since been repealed.

According to all appearances, the ancient animosities of races seemed to have subsided, and forty years had passed in comparative quiet, and in enjoyment of the beneficent effects of liberal treatment. Intermarriages between the races were frequent. So secure were the authorities in their belief that peace and tranquillity reigned throughout the kingdom, that the army was almost entirely disbanded, and the arms

returned to Dublin Castle.

This was the state of the country on the eve of the great rebellion of 1641, memorable in the annals of history—a rebellion which has brought disgrace and infamy on Roman Catholics in Ireland and on Irish priests. Rebellion is too noble a term to use—it was a cowardly and ruthless butchery of thousands of unarmed and helpless men, women and children, and the slaughter of their cattle. Hume tells us: "The Irish, everywhere intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity." He adds: "In their wild rage against the British planters, the Irish had laid waste the whole kingdom, and were themselves totally unfit from their habits, sloth and ignorance to raise any convenience of human life." Clarendon, in his "History of the Rebellion," says: "A general insurrection of the Irish spread itself over the whole country in such an inhuman and barbarous manner that there were forty or fifty thousand of the English Protestants murdered before they suspected themselves to be in danger or could provide for their defence."2

The revolt was not a political, but purely a fanatical religious persecution. The numbers massacred are variously estimated. Borlace gives the deposition on oath of the Rev. Dr. Robert Maxwell, afterwards Bishop of Kildare, an eye-witness of these

¹ Vol. iii., p. 9. Oxford, 1826.

For detailed and graphic descriptions of these massacres the reader is referred to the history by Sir John Temple, then Master of the Rolls for Ireland, published in 1648; Russell's "Modern Europe," vol. iii., part ii., letter v., London, 1801; Hume, "History of England," cap. lv., vol. iv., pp. 282, 283, edit. 1796; Borlace, "History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion," appendix, p. 132, 1680; Reid's "History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland," vol. i., p. 336, Edinburgh, 1834.

horrors, who said "that the rebels (lest they should hereafter be charged with more murders than they had committed) commanded their priests to bring in a true account of them; and that the persons so slaughtered (whether in Ulster or the whole kingdom, deponent durst not enquire) in March last amounted to 154,000."

In passing, let me refer to the alleged massacre in cold blood of upwards of 3,000 unarmed Irish, men and children, by the Scotch Puritan soldiers at Magee, described by Dr. John Milner, of controversial notoriety, the chief propagator of this slander, who states that this took place "when no blood had as yet been shed in Ireland." This alleged massacre is said to have taken place on January 9, 1642, whereas the massacres of 1641 were concluded in that year. So much for dates. Dr. O'Conor, in his "Historical Address" before quoted, proves, in a most convincing manner, that the story of the alleged massacre had no foundation at all in fact, and in no complimentary terms calls to task Dr. Milner as one of the chief pro-

pagators of the atrocious libel.1

A treaty of peace was concluded in 1643 with Ormond at Kilkenny. Hume tells us, "they [the rebels] professed to return to their duty and allegiance, engaged to furnish 10,000 men for the support of the King's authority in England, and were content with stipulating, in return, indemnity for their rebellion and toleration of their religion." Hume proceeds to describe the interference of the Pope, who sent over his Nuncio, Rinuconi, to violate the treaty: "He summoned an assembly of Romish priests at Waterford, and engaged them to declare that pacification which the civil council had concluded with the Sovereign was void, and excommunicated all who should adhere to a peace so prejudicial, as he (the Nuncio) pretended, to the Catholic religion"; and he threatened war against the Lord-Lieutenant, and to "lay siege to the Protestant garrisons, which were then very ill provided for defence."

The scheme was betrayed by the arch-rebel O'Neal, and was frustrated by the Earl of Clanricard, who succeeded in driving

the Nuncio out of Ireland.

The Irish were now divided into factions. Anarchy reigned both in England and Ireland. It was in this state of things that Oliver Cromwell, in August, 1649, took the command of the army and entered Dublin, where he was welcomed with shouts of rejoicings. With a resolute will he put down the rebellion by victory after victory. Nor was it to be expected

¹ Part ii., pp. 223, 231, 239. Buckingham, 1812.

² "History of England," cap. lx., pp. 458, 464. Edit. 1796.

that this was to be effected by sprinkling his path with rosewater. Sieges are not carried on with blank cartridges, nor assaults effected with wooden swords. Cromwell is charged with exercising undue severity. Cromwell advanced victoriously through the land, Drogheda, Kilkenny and Clonmel being the only places where he met with any vigorous resistance. There was neither murder nor massacre. All that Cromwell inflicted on the rebels was voluntary banishment, which Hume sums up in these words: "The Irish were glad to embrace banishment as a refuge. About 40,000 men passed into foreign service, and Cromwell, well pleased to free the island from enemies who never could be cordially reconciled to the English, gave them full liberty and leisure for their embarkation." The Pope's power and prestige were annihilated, and Ireland was again at peace. The whole of Ireland's misfortunes from the time of Henry II. are attributable to the Pope's unjustifiable interference; as has been quaintly observed, he held "the bellows handle," he was the "juggler that drew the strings." He had no care how many innocents were sacrificed, or what cruelties were perpetrated, if only he could regain spiritual rule over Ireland; he never interfered when they were all Papists, to redress their wrongs.

It cannot, however, be denied, that the English settlers now in the ascendant, treated the Irish as slaves, and for a series of years subjected them to tyrannical oppression on the prin-

ciple of retaliation.

No one can justify these long years of oppression, though a reactionary process. Still, Lamartine's aphorism, as applied to Ireland, is true; where, after referring to the various rebellions and massacres, he concludes, "The misfortunes of a nation are not always the fault of her conquerors; they are sometimes vengeance resulting from her own crimes."

APPENDIX A.

BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV. TO KING HENRY II. OF ENGLAND, GRANTING HIM LIBERTY TO TAKE POSSESSION OF IRELAND.

ADRIAN, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our well-beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English, health and apostolical benediction.

Your Highness, in contemplating the laudable and profitable work of gaining a glorious fame on earth and augmenting the recompense of bliss that awaits you in heaven, by turning your thoughts, in the proper spirit of a Catholic Prince, to the object of widening the boundaries of the Church, explaining the true Christian faith to those ignorant and uncivilized tribes, and exterminating the nurseries of vices from the Lord's

^{1 &}quot;England under Cromwell," cap. xxxix., p. 65. Bruxelles, 1854.

inheritance; in which matter, observing as we do the maturity of deliberation and soundness of judgment exhibited in your mode of proceeding, we cannot but hope that proportionate success will, with the Divine per-

mission, attend your exertions.

Certainly there is no doubt but that Ireland and all the islands upon which Christ the Sun of Righteousness hath shined, and which have received instruction in the Christian faith, do belong of right to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church, as your grace also admits. For which reason we are the more disposed to introduce into them a faithful plantation, and to engraft among them a stock acceptable in the sight of God in proportion as we are convinced from conscientious motives that such efforts are made incumbent on us by the urgent claims of duty.

You have signified to us, son well-beloved in Christ, your desire to enter the island of Ireland, in order to bring that people into subjection to laws, and to exterminate the nurseries of vices from the country; and that you are willing to pay to St. Peter an annual tribute of one penny for every house there, and to preserve the ecclesiastical rights of that

land uninjured and inviolate.

We, therefore, meeting your pious and laudable desire with the favour which it deserves, and graciously acceding to your petition, express our will and pleasure that in order to widen the hounds of the Church, to check the spread of vice, to reform the state of morals, and promote the inculcation of virtnous dispositions, you shall enter that island, and execute therein what shall be for the honour of God and the welfare of the country. And let the people of that land receive you in honourable style, and respect you as their lord; provided always that ecclesiastical rights be uninjured and inviolate, and the annual payment of one penny for every house be secured for St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church.

If, then, you shall be reminded to carry into execution the plan which you have devised in your mind, use your endeavour diligently to improve the nation, by the inculcation of good morals, and exert yourself, both personally and by means of such agents as you employ, whose faith, life, and conversation you shall have found suitable for such an undertaking, that the Church may be adorned there, that the religious influence of the Christian faith may be planted and grow there, and that all that pertains to the house of God and the salvation of souls may by you be ordered in such a way as that you may be counted worthy to obtain from God a higher degree of recompense in eternity, and at the same time success in gaining upon earth a name of glory throughout all generations. 1

APPENDIX B.

BULL OF POPE GREGORY XIII. IN FAVOUR OF THE IRISH INSURRECTION AGAINST QUEEN ELIZABETH.

GREGORY XIII., Pope, to all the prelates, princes, barons, and the entire clergy, nobility, and people of the kingdom of Ireland, health and

apostolic benediction.

Of the different provinces of the Christian world, which are separated from us by a wide extent of intervening climes, the nation of the Irish is one which this apostolic see hath ever embraced with singular love and peculiar affection, for the constancy of their fervent devotion, and their sincere and inviolable attachment to the Catholic religion and the Church of Rome, manifested by them on so many occasions: under the influence of which motives we are so much the more sensibly affected at the

¹ King's "Church History of Ireland," vol. iii., pp. 1262-1264.

vexations and afflictions of the said kingdom, and anxious, as much as in us lies, to provide at once for the liberty and peace of the people, as far as their persons are concerned, and at the same time for the salvation of their souls.

Accordingly, as we have recently learned, to our exceeding great and heartfelt sorrow, from that excellent and eminent person, James Geraldine-Lord of Kiericourithy, and Governor-General of Desmond in the absence of the Earl of Desmond-what numberless and bitter hardships good men are there suffering for their love to the orthodox faith, and in defence of the true religion, from Elizabeth, who, hateful alike to God and man, domineers, with proud and impious rule in England and in that island of Ireland; and as the said James, influenced by zeal for the house of God, and his desire for the restoration of our holy religion, and by those principles of patriotism, courage, and magnanimity with which nature has endowed him, is proposing, with the Lord's help, to shake off from your necks a yoke of slavery so cruel and insupportable. and is hoping that he shall find many to aid him in a design and effort of such godly tendency; We therefore admonish and exhort you all and singular, by the bowels of the mercy of God, that recognising the seasonableness of this opportunity, you will each according to his power, give your strenuous aid in support of the piety and fortitude of such a leader, and not be afraid of a woman, who, having been long ago bound with the chains of an anathema, and still increasing in her filthiness, has departed from the Lord; and the Lord has departed from her, and many calamities shall overtake her, according to her deserts.

And that you may be enabled to engage in this business with the greater alacrity, to all and singular who being contrite and confessing. or having the intention of confessing, shall follow the said general and his army, and join themselves thereto, for the asserting and defending of the Catholic faith; or who shall aid this expedition and his holy purpose with counsel, countenance, provisions, arms, or in any way or by any means whatsoever, we do grant and bestow by our apostolic authority a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins, in the same form as is commonly granted to those who set out for the wars against the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land; any of our apostolical constitutions and ordinances, or other laws whatsoever, of a contrary tendency notwithstanding.

And in order that these letters may with more speed and facility come to the knowledge of all concerned, our pleasure is that copies thereof, manuscript or printed, and attested by the hand of a notary public, and by the seal of a Church dignitary, shall be received with the same credit and confidence as would be reposed in these presents, if they were applications are not as a confidence of the confidence as well as a confidence as would be reposed in these presents, if they were

exhibited or shown.

Given at St. Peter's in Rome, under the seal of the fisherman, the 25 day of February, one thousand five hundred and seventy seven.

JOAN BAPTISTA CANNOBIUS. SEPTIMIUS PACIS, Apostolic Notary.¹

C. H. COLLETTE.

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¹ King's "Primer of the Holy Catholic Church," pp. 1045-1047.