The New Irish Library

BISHOP DOYLE

THE NEW IRISH LIBRARY.

EDITED BY

Sir CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY, K.C.M.G.

ASSISTANT EDITORS:

DOUGLAS HYDE, LL.D.
National Literary Society,
4 College Green,
DUBLIN.

R. BARRY O'BRIEN,
Irish Literary Society,
Adelphi Terrace,
LONDON, W.C.

BISHOP DOYLE

"J. K. L."

A Biographical and Historical Study

BY

MICHAEL MacDONAGH

"I am a Churchman, but without ambition; a Catholic, but without bigotry; an Irishman, hating with my whole soul the oppression of my country; but my desire is to heal her wounds, not to aggravate her sufferings. What I desire above all is her freedom, and the union of her people. I would free religion from the slavery of the State; and let her ministers receive their hire from those for whom they labour."—DR. DOYLE

London
T. FISHER UNWIN
PATERNOSTER SQUARE

Dublin
SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER
MIDDLE ABBEY STREET

MDCCCXCVI

PREFACE.

IN *Young Ireland* there is an interesting chapter entitled "An Editor's Room," in which Sir Charles Gavan Duffy (the editor of this series), describing the literary projects of the brilliant young writers whom he had gathered around him in *The Nation* office, just half a century ago, enumerates the volumes — biographical, historical and literary—they had intended to contribute to "The Irish Library," of which he was also the conductor. One

of the books was a memoir of Bishop Doyle. Daniel Owen Maddyn, author of *Ireland and its Rulers*, and *The Age of Pitt and Fox*, proposed to write the memoir. "Of all modern Irishmen," he said, "I think Dr. Doyle the most admirable—a far greater nature, though not a greater man, than O'Connell." But the editor of "The Irish Library" did not give Maddyn the commission. "The life of a Catholic bishop by a writer who had been, and had ceased to be, a Catholic, would be an awkward experiment," he thought. Finally, John O'Hagan—then a young member of the Irish Bar, but distinguished in recent years as Mr. Justice O'Hagan, the first President of the Land Commission Court under the Land Act of 1881—undertook to write the memoir. But the book was never completed. Unhappily, some of the literary schemes of the Young Irelanders were unfinished when their political movement ended, in 1848, in an abortive insurrection.

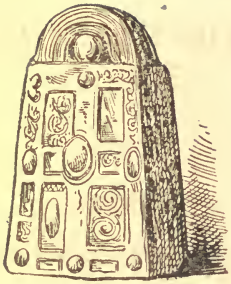
But the great ecclesiastic has not been till now without a biographer. Mr. W. J. FitzPatrick, LL.D., M.R.I.A., whose death early this year was a sad loss to Irish biographical literature, published in the 'Sixties *The Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle*, in two volumes, to which I am indebted for the chief facts of the Bishop's life, and for his letters to politicians and private friends that I have given in this study. I may add that I wrote to Mr. FitzPatrick for permission to avail myself of the mass of information about Dr. Doyle which he had collected with patient and laborious research, extended over several years. He willingly acceded to my request, and sent me, besides, kindly and encouraging wishes that my undertaking might be crowned with success. I have also derived the greatest assistance in the writing of this book from the reports in "Hansard" of the debates on Irish questions in the House of Commons during the first half of the century, and from the Blue Books contain-

ing the evidence taken by the various Parliamentary Committees appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland during the same period.

MICHAEL MACDONAGH.

LONDON, *October*, 1896.

CONTENTS.



BISHOP DOYLE.

A BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY.

CHAPTER I.

THE OLD ORDER AND THE NEW.

ON Sunday, November 14th, 1819, the little town of Carlow was full of unwonted bustle and excitement. It was a day of popular rejoicing. The narrow gray streets were not only crowded with town and country folk in holiday attire, but were gaily decorated. Young trees were temporarily planted along each side of the thoroughfares; festoons of flowers and evergreens hung between, and the residents stripping the

inside of their houses to make the outside gay—according to the old fashion of street decoration—displayed their brightest coloured carpets, rugs, shawls and quilts from their windows, which gave to this sombre Irish town an almost Oriental aspect. The day was marked by an event which has had a momentous influence for good on the fortunes of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and on the political, social and intellectual well-being of the Irish people. That event was the Consecration of Father James Warren Doyle as Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. Several adventitious circumstances lent additional interest and significance to the selection of Father Doyle as head of this ancient See. He was only thirty-three years old—a very early age, indeed, to be called to so high an office in the Catholic Church; born of humble parentage in another diocese, he had played a barefooted boy about the streets of New Ross, and, later, on the Common of Clonleigh—a village, five miles outside New Ross, where his widowed mother taught the rudiments of education to the children of the poor peasantry—and he was besides a Friar of the Order of St. Augustine, which, in common with all the other regular Orders, was regarded, at that period, with some disfavour by the secular clergy, and many of the Irish prelates.

The ceremony of Consecration took place in the humble chapel of the town. It was a low and un-

pretentious edifice, built of rough undressed stone, and without steeple or cross, for such emblems and architectural adornments were prohibited in buildings intended for Catholic worship by the Penal Laws which were in operation when the unobtrusive little chapel was erected. Inside, the plastered and whitewashed walls of the chapel were hung with rude coloured prints of the Way of the Cross, and of St. Patrick and the Blessed Virgin; and its uneven earthen floor contained only a few rough forms for the accommodation of the well-to-do portion of the congregation. Yet it was the principal Catholic edifice in Kildare and Leighlin, and though popularly styled a chapel contained the throne of the bishop of the diocese. Indeed there were then no Catholic Cathedrals in Ireland. The rites of the religion of the people were performed in many places throughout the country in mere mud hovels, utterly incapable of containing the crowds that flocked to the services; while the comparatively few adherents of the Established faith prayed with ease and dignity in the handsome and imposing churches and cathedrals built—many of them—centuries before by pious native kings and chieftains for the purposes of Catholic worship. In January, 1806, Father Doyle had made his priestly vows of poverty, obedience and chastity, in a little thatched cabin which served the Friars of the

Augustinian Order as a chapel, at Grantstown, Wexford. But as bishop he led the way in the erection of the imposing cathedrals which now exist in all the dioceses of Ireland. The Carlow Cathedral, with its quaint cornetted towers, was designed by Dr. Doyle, and built under his direction, early in his career, on the site of the humble chapel in which he was consecrated bishop.

The chapel was thronged to overflowing during the ceremony of Consecration. The good folks, no doubt, marvelled at the youthful appearance of their new bishop. In those times the people were accustomed to bishops of advanced years—ecclesiastics who were called to their high and onerous offices at an age when, as a rule, men wish for rest and repose, and can only discharge any duties imposed upon them in a perfunctory fashion, at best. A different type of bishop was, for the first time in Ireland, seen in Dr. Doyle. The old order, indeed, began on this 14th of November, 1819, to give place to the new. Dr. Troy who, as Archbishop of Dublin, presided at the Consecration of Dr. Doyle was a typical Catholic prelate of the Penal days, then drawing to a close. A grey and bent and worn figure he presented that day in Carlow Chapel, affording a striking contrast to the tall, upright and youthful form of the new prelate, with the eager, strenuous and masterful expression of face; and

the difference between the two ecclesiastics—the young and the old—was, mentally, as remarkable and as significant of the coming change in the order of things, as it was physically.

Dr. Troy, during his long tenure of the Archiepiscopal See of Dublin—from 1786 to 1823—was, like all the Catholic bishops of the end of the Penal era, a steadfast supporter, through good and evil report, of the authorities in Dublin Castle. He held severely aloof from the political movements of the time. In his pastorals he was fond of reminding Catholics, during periods of political excitement, that they had been restored by "a gracious King and a most wise Parliament" to many of the benefits of the Constitution. In 1776 Catholics were allowed to hold land under lease for 999 years; in 1782 the ban against the education of Catholic children in Catholic schools was removed, and in 1793 Catholic forty-shilling freeholders were admitted to the Parliamentary franchise. What had brought about these relaxations of the Penal Laws? Dr. Troy asked in one of his pastorals. "Your loyalty," he exclaims, "your submission to the constituted authorities; your peaceable demeanour; your patience under long sufferings."

The revolutionary movement of the United Irishmen naturally fell under his severest condemnation. One of the leading principles inculcated by the Catholic

Church is submission to constituted authorities. But, apart from that, the movement received much of its impetus from France, and Dr. Troy had, no doubt, still vividly in his recollection the excesses of the French Revolution. The rising of the people of Wexford in 1798 was not, however, due to French influence. It was not a political rebellion; it was a peasant revolt. To these simple, unlettered people, "liberty, equality and fraternity;" "the rights of man;" and even the sentiment of "The Irish Republic, one and indivisable," were meaningless jargon. They were not members of the Society of United Irishmen; they were not disaffected towards the Government. But they had been outraged beyond endurance by local tyrants, and they rose madly and blindly to put an end to their wrongs, and to revenge themselves upon their inhuman oppressors. Prominent amongst their leaders were two priests, Father Philip Roche and Father John Murphy, who now occupy places of honor in the Nationalist martyrology; but this is what Dr. Troy had to say of them in his pastorals, which were read from all the altars of the archdiocese, including Wexford:—"You are to shun the vile prevaricators and apostates from religion, loyalty, honour and decorum, as monsters of depravity; degrading their sacred character, and as the most criminal and detestable of rebellious and sedi-

tious culprits." And, finally, moved to the very depths of indignation by this spectacle of religion scandalised and loyalty outraged, he exclaims—"Oh, who will grant us a fountain of tears to bewail the crimes of our people and our country, and to wash away the foul stain on our national character imprinted by the hands of ungrateful rebels." That, indeed, was the light in which the men of '98 were generally regarded in Ireland—O'Connell, for instance, usually referred to them as "scoundrels and cut-throats"—until the Young Irelanders in the 'Forties taught the people to revere them as heroes and martyrs. But there is not in these pastorals a word of condemnation for the oppressors of the unfortunate people, not a tear for the thousands of victims of the lawless, brutal and inhuman yeomanry, and it is in that respect that the conduct of Archbishop Troy affords, as we shall see, a singular contrast to the subsequent action of Bishop Doyle. It is stated in Dalton's *Lives of the Archbishops of Dublin* that in consequence of these pastorals a plot was formed in the metropolis to take the life of Dr. Troy, and that he narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of the United Irishmen.

The Cornwallis and Castlereagh correspondence also contain ample evidence of the attachment of Dr. Troy to the Throne, and of the important aid he rendered the authorities in carrying the Union, for

which services he enjoyed (according to Chief Justice Whiteside, in his essays on *The Life and Death of the Irish Parliament*, published in 1868,) a Government pension for many years. Indeed, not a single Catholic prelate protested against the Union. On the contrary, the great majority of them encouraged their flocks to sign petitions in its favour. They do not, however, appear to have been very successful in that respect. The Archbishop of Cashel, writing in July, 1799, to Dr. Troy, promised to exert his influence "discreetly," as Mr. Lecky points out, to procure the signatures of respectable Catholics to the petitions ; but he lamented—and this is very significant—the absence, generally, of influence in the bishops over this class. But that the Catholic bishops supported the Union is undeniable. Their action—viewed from their own standpoint—is quite explicable. The spread of the republican and secularist principles of the United Irishmen would, inevitably, have forced the bishops, for the sake—as they regarded it—of religion and morality, into the movement for a closer connection between Ireland and England. But apart from that the Irish Parliament was the chief pillar of Protestant ascendency in Ireland. The bishops firmly believed, and probably rightly believed, that it was hopeless to look to that Parliament — composed solely of Protestants, and

elected entirely by Protestants—for Catholic Emancipation. It is true the Catholic forty-shilling freeholders of the counties had been admitted to the franchise in 1793, but no General Election had taken place between that year and the Union, to test the influence this concession would have exercised on the tone and temper of Parliament. Besides, out of the 300 members of which the Parliament was composed, the counties elected only 184, while the remaining 216 were still returned by pocket boroughs or by boroughs in which the franchise was exercised only by a small number of Protestants. The bishops were also led to believe by the leading promoters of the Union that in an impartial, tolerant and broad-minded United Parliament, there would be no difficulty in carrying Emancipation, and that in fact Pitt—the most powerful Minister of the eighteenth century—would, after the Union, make the introduction of a Bill for the removal of Catholic disabilities a condition of his accepting office.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the Catholic bishops, having the interests of the Church first and foremost at heart, should have supported the Union. But what is not so easily explainable in the career of Dr. Troy is that he not alone held aloof from the legitimate movement of the Catholic merchants and traders, lead by John Keogh, for the removal of the civil and

religious disabilities of the Catholics, towards the end of the eighteenth century, but used his influence in every way to thwart and defeat it. He also refused all countenance of the later efforts of O'Connell to secure Emancipation from the Imperial Parliament. In the early years of his agitation O'Connell had considerable difficulty in obtaining a hall large enough for his meetings in Dublin. He made several applications to Dr. Troy for the use of one of the chapels in the city for the purpose, and was met with a refusal in every instance, and when ultimately the Carmelites allowed him to hold his Emancipation meetings in their chapel in Clarendon Street, the Order fell under the severe displeasure of the Archbishop. "Troy's traffic at the Castle has long been notorious," is a phrase which occurs in a letter written by O'Connell in 1817 to Edward Hay, Secretary to the Catholic Board; and Lord Cloncurry said that on the two occasions he visited Dublin Castle in the course of his long life he saw Archbishop Troy closeted with the Lord Lieutenant's advisers. "Traffic at the Castle" was undoubtedly an indefensible expression—characteristic of O'Connell's customary exaggeration of phrase—to apply to Dr. Troy's relations with the authorities; for though his pension might give colour to the accusation, often made, indeed, in his lifetime, that he

intrigued with the Castle for personal ends, it is certain that the interest of the Church was the motive which solely inspired him in exercising the power and influence of his position on behalf of the Crown. It is, for instance, stated that the pastoral he issued in '98 altered the decision to which the Government had come to compulsorily close the Catholic chapels in the archdiocese during the Rebellion. He also died poor. Thomas Moore, in his Diary, contrasts "the two Archbishops who died lately—him of Armagh, whose income was £20,000 a year, and who left £130,000 behind him, and Troy, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, whose annual income was £800, and who died worth a tenpenny."

Dr. Troy had, like all the Catholic bishops of the time—old and simple-minded recluses of austere piety, and with spirits humbled by the operation of the Popery laws—two convictions which explain much that may be inexplicable or indefensible in his conduct, as it is looked at from the totally different standpoint of the present age. He believed that it was wicked to seek, by agitation, to make the people discontented with their political or social lot, for it tended, in his opinion, to weaken the influence of the Church and the stability of the State; and, ignorant as he necessarily was of the power of a

people's will—the era of the platform being then only dawning in Ireland—he believed that the extension of religious freedom—the sole public question in which, as a Churchman, he was interested—could only be attained by placating the Government.

It must be apparent, therefore, that Bishop Doyle made his appearance at a critical juncture in the fortunes of the Catholic Church in Ireland. There was no man of force or individuality among the Catholic bishops—no man with fearless heart and mighty intellect who would dare to depart from the settled policy of the Archbishop of Dublin, then regarded almost as the Pope of Ireland, and, standing independently between Government and people, make war against social and political injustice, as well as against religious laxity and indifference. And who, of any discernment, that saw Dr. Doyle in Carlow Chapel, on Sunday, November 14th, 1819, and the manner in which he bore himself during the five hours the solemn and impressive ceremony of consecration lasted, could have doubted that such a man had arrived, and that a new epoch was dawning for the Catholic Church in Ireland?

Dr. Doyle was a dignified and impressive personality. He was of lofty stature, and thin and spare in form His face was round and very youthful looking; the features were irregular, and would have been

commonplace were it not for the intellectual expression given by the large, bright hazel eyes, the high forehead and the noble head. He looked pale and wasted, almost *spirituelle*, at the Consecration, for he had spent the ten preceding days in close retreat, praying and fasting, in preparation for the high office to which he had been unexpectedly called, and had reluctantly accepted. He gave out the responses to the questions put to him by Dr. Troy in the slow, sepulchral tone which he retained through life :—

"Wilt thou, both in words and by example, teach the flock for whom thou art about to be ordained in that which thou understandest from Holy Scripture? I will.

"Wilt thou reverently entertain, teach and keep the traditions of the orthodox Fathers and the authoritative enactments of the Apostolic Chair? I will.

"Wilt thou uniformly render to Peter, the blessed Apostle, to whom was given by God the power of binding and loosening, and to his Vicar, Pius VII., and to his successors, being Bishops of Rome, faith, subjection and obedience, according as the Canons enjoin? I will.

"Wilt thou, with God's assistance, preserve chastity and sobriety, and teach them? I will.

"Wilt thou for evermore continue a bondsman in the affairs of God, and estranged from the employments of earth, and from base lucre, as far as human infirmity will permit? I will.

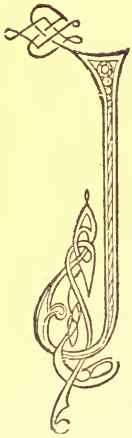
"Wilt thou, for the namesake of the Lord, be kind of access and pitiful to the poor, to the stranger, and to all that are in need? I will."

Thus was a great spiritual force, as well as a remarkable publicist and statesman, called to a commanding position in the Catholic Church of which he was, in his time, the foremost champion. Dr. Doyle introduced into the Catholic Church in Ireland new views on the relations of an ecclesiastic with temporal affairs. "There are times and circumstances," he writes, "when a priest is justified—nay, when he is obliged to mix with his fellow-countrymen, and to suspend his clerical functions, whilst he discharges those of a member of society. I myself have been placed in such circumstances, and devoted many a laborious hour to the service of a people engaged in the defence of their rights and liberties. The clerical profession exalts and strengthens the natural obligations we are all under of labouring for our country's welfare; and the priests and the prophets of the old law have not only announced and administered the decrees of Heaven, but have aided by their council and their conduct the society to which Providence had attached them." He had three settled purposes in view from the outset—to strike off the shackles which bound the limbs of the Catholic Church in Ireland, to reform the abuses which had crept into that Church during years of oppression without and lax discipline within, and to raise up the people from their political, social, and intellectual

servitude. His career as bishop was brief, but it was long enough to enable him to act large and noble parts in various movements for the accomplishment of these ends. His life is interwoven with, not alone the progress of the Catholic Church, but with the advancement of the people in what was probably the most transitional period of Irish history in the nineteenth century. He witnessed the degrading and demoralising effects of the Penal Laws on the mass of the people. He saw the first stirrings of political agitation after a quietude of 120 years, amongst them. He was in the van of the movements for Catholic Emancipation; for the abolition of tithe; for a national system of education; for Parliamentary reform; for a system of Poor-law relief; and, as we shall see, he left upon all these movements deep marks of his undoubted genius. He was, in a word, the first of the patriot prelates.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY LIFE.



AMES WARREN DOYLE was a Wexfordman. He was born in 1786 in New Ross, a historic and quaint old town, overhanging the beautiful River Barrow, and the scene of some of the most tragic and dramatic incidents of the Rebellion of '98. He came of a family of farmers in rather humble circumstances. His father, James Doyle, the occupant of a small holding about five miles outside New Ross, had been twice married; and the future bishop, the fourth child of the second marriage, was born a few weeks after the old man's death. His mother, Anne Warren, a Catholic, but descended from a Quaker family, was a worthy, sensible woman—homely, frugal, pious, and of rare strength

and independence of character. Shortly before the birth of her son, the widow went into New Ross, in order to have the medical attention of Dr. James Doyle (one of her husband's sons by his former marriage); and in modest lodgings in the Irishtown, the humblest district of New Ross, the future great champion of the religious and civil liberties of the Irish people was born, in the autumn of 1786, the year which also witnessed the elevation of Dr. Troy to the Archbishopric of Dublin.

His earliest years were passed amid scenes that would have left an ineffaceable mark on even the least impressionable of childish minds. Some of the first recollections of his youth were incidents in the Rebellion of '98. He was an unwilling spectator, hiding in a bush, of all the wild excesses and sanguinary horrors of the battle of New Ross. It is most harrowing to read to-day, after the lapse of a century, the details of the cruelties perpetrated in Wexford in '98. But what an awful experience for a youth to have witnessed the blazing homesteads, the tortures of the pitch-cap, the inhuman floggings at the triangle, the ear-clipping, the half-strangulations, and the other fiendish acts of those sad and terrible days; and how it must have coloured the thoughts and actions of his manhood!

When the boy was three years of age, his mother

had to give up the farm, and, to earn a livelihood, she opened a school for children at Clonleigh, a village close to New Ross. "He was the noisiest little creature I ever knew," wrote Dr. Phelan (a Poor-law Commissioner) of Doyle at this period of his life. "Half-dressed, he loved to scamper upon the common at Clonleigh, and shout vociferously." He subsequently attended a school at Rathnarogue, in which Catholic and Protestant youths were educated together. This, again, was an experience which exercised no little influence in the formation of his opinions. The mixed system of education is now, and has been for many years, unanimously and uncompromisingly condemned by the Irish Episcopacy as being dangerous to the faith and morals of Catholic youth. But Dr. Doyle entertained all through life a confirmed belief in the benefits of the system. It tended, in his opinion, to soften religious animosities, to which so many of the evils of Ireland are traceable; and hence he supported it. "I do not know any measure," he writes in one of his *Letters on the State of Ireland*, "which would prepare the way for a better feeling in Ireland than uniting children at an early age, and bringing them up in the same school, leading them to commune with one another, and to form those little intimacies and friendships which often subsist through life. Children thus united know and love each other, as children brought

up together always will, and to separate them is, I think, to destroy some of the finest feelings in the hearts of men."

In his fourteenth year the boy was sent by his mother to a seminary in New Ross, conducted by the Augustinian Friars. His mental qualities did not at this period assert themselves to any remarkable degree. He was studious and pious, shy and reserved in manner, and took no part in the romps and games of the other youths. His mother desired that he should become a priest; and he himself, indeed, showed from his earliest years that he had an avocation for the office. He accordingly determined to join the Augustinian Order. Mr. FitzPatrick notes, as a curious circumstance, that Doyle, who displayed such eminent qualities for public life, both as prelate and politician, should have chosen a monastic career, rather than the more active life of a secular priest. But he, naturally, obtained a prepossession for monasticism, through having been brought into close relations, in impressionable years, with the Augustinian Friars; and he acknowledged, when a bishop, that he had no liking for the life of the secular priests, principally because of their dependence on their flocks for support. In 1805, the year after the death of his mother, he spent his novitiate (or preliminary ordeal to test his avocation), which lasted twelve months, in the Augustinian

Convent at Grantstown, and in the spring of 1806 proceeded to the College de Graça, conducted by the Order, at Coimbra, Portugal, and attached to the great University of that ancient city, to complete his education. The following quaint and unsophisticated communication, addressed to Mrs. Crosbie, of Wexford, gives us a glimpse of the college and its surroundings, and is the only letter of Doyle, at this early period of his life, which has been discovered :—

"Coimbra, July ye 2d, 1806.

"DEAR MADAM,—You'll excuse the liberty I take in writing to you, as I have the misfortune (I may call it so) of being so slightly acquainted with you ; but if there is a fault, you must blame your own goodness. After various windings of Providence since I had the honor of conversing with you, I am now settled in a college in the celebrated city of Coimbra. I need not describe the situation of the city. As regards the college, it is a most beautiful building, standing near the river, with a large garden of six acres, which ascends to the top of a hill, where there is a splendid house, commanding a prospect of the whole city ; and out of my window I can view the grove on the banks of the Mondego, where the beautiful Inez, so celebrated in Camœn's poetry, was murdered. His works, being translated into English, I make no doubt but you have read them. There is a university here, where there are 2,200 students, and more than twenty particular colleges. Coimbra is, in fact, a great place of learning, which causes the inhabitants to call it a new Athens.

"There likewise belongs to this college a beautiful

country house, one mile distant, where the students go every Thursday. I went there last week, and was charmed with the beauties of it. Whole groves of lemon and orange-trees environ it, with, I believe, every other sort of fruit-trees that the earth ever produced. I scarce tasted of any, except the oranges, which the physicians say are wholesome.

"You'll excuse so long a letter from me, dear Madam; and among your many favours to me, pray be kind enough to give my compliments to Mr. Crosbie, and likewise to the good Mrs. Heron. Mr. Ralph and his wife (as I suppose he has one before now) I saluted in my letter to the Rev. Peter Doyle from Lisbon; and will conclude by assuring you that I am, and ever will be—Your most obliged and humble servant, "JAMES DOYLE.

"*P.S.*—If at any future time you would do me the honour of writing to me (as I am certain at any time I would be improved, laying aside the satisfaction I would feel in reading your letter), you may direct to *Senr. Fr. Iago Doyle, no Collegio de Graça, Coimbra.*"

The Augustinian Convent at Coimbra was a splendid establishment. The friars lived in luxurious style, and supported by the very fragments of their daily banquet between thirty and forty respectable families in the town. To young Doyle, with his humble bringing up, with his experience of the modest and cheerless convent of the very same Order in New Ross, and still more of the primitive little house, covered with thatch, by the sea-shore at Grantstown, in which he passed his novitiate, this palatial establishment,

with its tables supplied with the most costly and delicate viands, must have appeared strange and incongruous and difficult to reconcile with the Order's vows of poverty and renunciation of the world. In a letter written in 1822, he expressed the opinion that to suppress or secularise most of the convents of men in Portugal would be a good work. Twelve years subsequently the various conventual houses of Portugal were suppressed, and their property confiscated by the State.

"While others were indolently lounging, or dozing away the enervating heats of a Portuguese summer, I have seen Doyle studying at the rate of eight hours a day," writes Father Clayton, a fellow-student at Coimbra. The authorities of the university were so impressed by his ability as well as by his application to his studies, that they allowed him gratuitously the advantages of the full range of the university. Here young Doyle read and thought and discussed with his fellow-students, numbers of whom were not intended for the Church, the literature and philosophy of the time. He was not an ascetic, or intensely religious. "Doyle manifested no peculiar devotional feelings or aspirations in prayer," writes the Rev. Austin McDermott, another fellow-student at Coimbra. "He was an ordinary observer of his Christian duties and was much of opinion that *qui studet oret.*"

The infidelity propagated with marvellous success by the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau, was then sweeping over the Continent, and naturally at a great seat of learning like Coimbra, the new ideas were much read and discussed. In one of his subsequent *Letters on the State of Ireland*, Doyle tells us how he caught the contagion. It is a beautiful passage, and as an example of the eloquence, the exuberant vigour, the strength and dignity of his style, I quote it in full :—

"I had scarcely finished my classical studies, and had entered college, when I found myself surrounded by the disciples or admirers of D'Alembert, Rousseau and Voltaire. I frequently traversed in company with them the halls of the Inquisition, and discussed in the area of the Holy Office, those arguments or sophisms for the suppression of which this awful tribunal was ostensibly employed. At that time, the ardour of youth, the genius of the place, the spirit of the time, as well as the example of my companions, prompted me to inquire into all things, and to deliberate whether I should take my station among the infidels, or remain attached to Christianity. I recollect, and always with fear and trembling, the danger to which I exposed the gifts of faith and Christian morality which I had received from a bounteous God; and since I became a man, and was enabled to think like a man, I have not ceased to give thanks to the Father of Mercies, who did not deliver me over to the pride and presumption of my own heart. But even then, when all things which could have influence on a youthful mind

combined to induce me to shake off the yoke of Christ, I was arrested by the Majesty of religion; her innate dignity, her grandeur and solemnity, as well as her sweet influence upon the heart, filled me with awe and veneration. I found her presiding in every place glorified by her votaries, and respected or feared by her enemies. I looked into antiquity, and found her worshipped by Moses; and not only by Moses, but that Numa and Plato, though in darkness and error, were amongst the most ardent of her votaries. I read attentively the history of the ancient philosophers, as well as lawgivers, and discovered that all of them paid their homage to her as to the best emanation of the one, supreme, invisible and omnipotent God. I concluded that religion sprung from the Author of our being, and that it conducted man to his last end. I examined the systems of religion prevailing in the East; I read the Koran with attention; perused the Jewish history, and the history of Christ, of His disciples, and of His Church, with an intense interest, and I did not hesitate to continue attached to the religion of our Redeemer, as alone worthy of God; and being a Christian, I could not fail to be a Catholic. Since then my habits of life and profession have rendered me familiar at least with the doctrines and ordinances of divine revelation, and I have often exclaimed with Augustine: 'Oh, beauty ever ancient and ever new: too late have I known thee, too late have I loved thee!'"

Doyle's studies were interrupted in 1808 by the French invasion of Portugal, one of Napoleon's schemes of conquest and usurpation. Men of all ages and conditions were summoned to arms by

the Portuguese authorities, and the students of Coimbra, including Doyle, laid aside their books, and shouldering their muskets did garrison duty in the town. But the French army soon afterwards sustained a complete defeat at the battle of Vimeira, August 21st, 1808, at the hands of Sir Arthur Wellesley (who resigned his office as Chief Secretary for Ireland to command the British forces in the Peninsula), and the invasion was crushed. The young student accompanied, as an interpreter, Colonel Murray, of the British forces, to Lisbon, with the articles of a treaty for the evacuation of Portugal by the French. During his sojourn in the city tempting proposals were made to him by the Portuguese Government, who, having formed a high opinion of his diplomacy and abilities, were anxious to enlist him in their service. But, as he declares in his pastoral of June, 1823, referring to this matter, he "rejected the favours of the great, and fled even from the smiles of a court," that he might in his native land "labour in the most humble department of the sacred ministry."

In the winter of 1808 Doyle returned to Ireland, and living in the old convent at Grantstown, devoted himself so closely to study that for nine months he rarely went outside the convent bounds. He was ordained priest at Enniscorthy, in 1809, by Dr. Ryan, the

Coadjutor Bishop of Ferns, after which he was appointed teacher of logic in the Augustinian College at New Ross. In November of that year he, and another friar, went to Bishop Ryan to be examined for "faculties," or powers to discharge the duties of a priest in the diocese. But the bishop strongly shared in the prejudice of the time against "the regulars"—as the friars were called—and he refused to examine the applicants, or to accede to their request. For eight years Father Doyle taught logic in the little college at New Ross, and during this period wrote the following lines—the only verse he ever composed—in which the feelings of the novices of the Augustinian Order, on leaving the convent, are simply and yet touchingly depicted :—

"The drooping sun concealed his rays behind the cultured hill,
The lengthening shade forsook the flood, or faded from the rill;
The blue smoke curling from the cot seemed lingering to the view,
As if in Nature's silent hour 'twould hear our last adieu.

"The tuneful bird now pensive sat, or smoothed its languid wing—
Its notes no longer closed the day, nor would the milkmaid sing;

The blooming meadow turned to gray, and lost its
lovelier hue,
When we, by Nature's self, were forced to take our
last adieu.

"All human ties must break in time, new scenes old
scenes replace,
Hands may be rent, but hearts cannot be torn apart
by space.
Affection makes one sad farewell, and love springs up
anew—
Love, the best passion of the heart, *that* sanctions our
adieu.

"With minds improved, with grateful hearts, we leave
the scene we love,
Where social virtues fix their seat, descended from
above;
Where all that generous Nature yields, and gentle
wishes woo,
Lie round about our college hill, that hears our last
adieu.

"Hail, College, hail! thou blest abode where in-
nocence and mirth,
With frequent play and casual feast, make Paradise on
earth,
May'st thou, each year, send forth, like us, a fond and
fervent few,
Who, when the hour of duty comes, will bid thy
walls adieu.

"Ah! Father of our college days, and must we go
and leave
Our boyhood's prop, our manhood's pride, our dream
in life's last eve?

Parental fondness filled thy breast—let filial tears bedew
These cheeks made cheerful long by thee, whom now we bid adieu.

"With feelings of fraternal love each heart responds for all,
We go, immortal souls to save, obedient to our call;
But ere we leave our college nest to cleave life's tempest through,
Do thou, our father and our friend, receive our last adieu."

The turning point in Father Doyle's life came in 1817 when he was appointed to a professorship in Carlow College. The College of St. Patrick, Carlow (which still exists), was the first collegiate establishment opened in Ireland for the education of Catholic youth since the Revolution. It was originally intended, and for many years after its foundation was used solely, for the training of ecclesiastical students, who had previously to go abroad for their education. Its foundation is due to Dr. O'Keeffe, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin for a period of forty-six years—from 1741 to 1787. In 1783, the year which witnessed the removal of some of the Catholic disabilities—the granting of full liberty of worship, and the repeal of the laws that made the education of Catholic youth in Ireland an indictable offence—Dr. O'Keeffe determined to build a college in his diocese.

"By means of subscriptions," writes Dr. Delany (who succeeded Dr. O'Keeffe as bishop), in a brief history of the college presented to the Irish Govenment in 1796, "universally entered into everywhere throughout the local district, of from a British sixpence and a shilling each up to a guinea and more, individually, in a few instances in each parish, combined with hat collections for brass also in every chapel, did they finally execute the work—a large, handsome edifice 120 feet long." For several years the college was supported solely by the pensions paid by the clerical students; but when the Royal College of Maynooth was established by the Irish Parliament in 1795 for the gratuitous education of the priesthood of Ireland, the fortunes of Carlow College naturally suffered to a considerable extent. "It is in such a rueful predicament at the present crisis," writes Dr. Delany in his quaint and curious petition to the Irish Government, "as to enjoy little more than the name of a bare existence; 'tis true it is not actually quite extinct, yet does it in good earnest lie gasping, unless promptly succoured on the very point of inevitable dissolution. Tender, therefore, as a parent must be naturally supposed to feel for an expiring child (to waive considerations here of a still superior nature) shall the person to whom this luckless establishment, deserving surely of a better fate, chiefly owes its birth, fondly hope to

obtain forgiveness in presuming to approach on this occasion his Majesty's ministers, with an humble and earnest supplication to look on it with an eye of pity, and lend their all-powerful support to prolong its existence." But the Government ignored the petition, and Carlow College had to rely solely on its own resources.

In 1817 when Carlow College, which had previously been devoted exclusively to ecclesiastical students, was enlarged for the reception of one hundred lay pupils, Father Doyle, was recommended to Dr. Staunton, the President of the College, as a good man for the vacant chair of Divinity. He was summoned to Carlow College, where on presenting himself, his ungainly figure and eccentric attire, coupled with the object of his mission, excited only merriment. He carried an old battered hat on the back of his head, a huge frieze coat, thrown over his shoulders in the manner of a mantle, tended to emphasize the extreme length and spareness of his form, and a pair of well-worn pantaloons, black stockings rudely patched—by his own hands, no doubt—and rough brogues completed the rather strange attire of a clergyman and a prospective Professor of Divinity. He had also an odd, austere look that repelled more than it attracted ; and was besides haughty in manner and had no mean opinion of his capabilities. "What can you teach ?"

asked Dr. Staunton. "Anything from A, B, C, to the *Extra Vagantes*," was the boastful reply of Doyle, whose intellectual arrogance was aroused by his unfavourable reception, and the irony that lay under the President's question. "Pray, young man," said the President coldly, "can you teach and practice humility?" "I trust," answered the young friar, "I have at least humility to feel that the more I read the more I see how ignorant I have been, and how little can at best be known." "Dr. Staunton," writes Mr. FitzPatrick, "appeared struck by the reply. He rubbed his hands and rang the bell for cake and wine." Father Doyle got the appointment; and having received the necessary authority from his Provincial bade good-bye to the monastic life of the Order of St. Augustine, and settled down as a professor in Carlow College. A few weeks subsequently Father Andrew Fitzgerald, the former occupant of the chair of Divinity, who had left with ruffled feelings because of a refusal to increase his salary, returned to the college in a repentant mood, and induced the President to reinstate him in his old position; but Father Doyle—though he declared his readiness to go back again to the convent at New Ross—was retained as the first Professor of Rhetoric in the college. The class under his guidance became one of the great successes of the institution. In 1814 Dr. Staunton died;

Father Andrew Fitzgerald succeeded to the Presidential Chair of the College, and Father Doyle was again appointed Professor of Theology. He occupied this office till his election as Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin in 1819, on the death of Dr. Corcoran.

CHAPTER III.

ECCLESIASTICAL REFORM.

"WOULD that it were my shroud they were preparing!" exclaimed Dr. Doyle, when he was informed, a few days before his consecration, that his vestments for the ceremony were being made. He accepted the office of bishop with apprehension. He feared that his mental powers and his bodily health—for he had always been physically weak—would not prove equal to a zealful and thorough discharge of its very responsible duties. His two years' residence in the diocese had shown him that some abuses—particularly a lax discipline—prevailed amongst the clergy. His three predecessors, who had ruled the diocese between them for eighty

years, had each been an old and infirm man on his succession to the See, and all had naturally been content to let things alone, especially as no great scandal ever occurred. But Dr. Doyle was not of a nature to follow in the careless footsteps of his predecessors. Even in his first years as a priest he rose above the influences of his mean and sordid surroundings, and insisted that, so far as he could help it, all the associations of Divine worship should be dignified and solemn. It had been the custom at the Masses celebrated on Sundays in the Augustinian Chapel at New Ross for the priest to read out a list of things lost, stolen, or strayed in the parish during the preceding week—to discharge, indeed, the function of a town crier; but Father Doyle refused, at his very first Mass in the chapel, to do this service, and he made so scathing an attack on the custom that it was ever afterwards discontinued. Father Doyle was also by nature a stern disciplinarian. It was, therefore, utterly impossible for him to rest content with abuses of which, probably, his predecessors, from long familiarity, never saw the incongruous side, but which stared him in the face at every turn, and grated on his finer feelings.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century the habits and customs of every class of society were not so refined as they are in the last quarter. The gentry drank and gambled and squandered, and

participated in rude and rough outdoor sports. The peasantry consumed raw, fiery whiskey by the pint, and broke each others heads in faction fights at fairs and markets. The clergy of all the creeds did not—they probably could not—escape the ruling passion of the time, though they were more decorous than the laity in their indulgence in the joy of animal life. Hunting and sporting were then their favourite outdoor pastimes. Dr. Daly, the Protestant Bishop of Cashel (a contemporary and an antagonist of Dr. Doyle), used to relate that when he was a curate in Wexford the clergymen hunted, the only condition insisted on by their bishops being that they should not appear at the meets in red coats. In the *Life of Gideon Ouseley*—the famous Irish Methodist itinerant preacher—the author, Rev. William Arthur, repeats a story illustrative of the times, told to him by a Protestant clergyman who came from the North of Ireland to a parish near the town of Ballymote, Sligo, to conduct, temporarily, the services of the congregation :—

"On the first Sunday his mind was naturally preoccupied with the Sabbath-keeping ideas of his native country. He looked out of the window and saw a gentleman in a dog-cart with a shooting-belt across his chest, and a fowling-piece beside him, driving down the street, accompanied by dogs. Turning in horror to Mrs. Longheed, wife of the excellent Metho-

dist doctor at whose house he stayed, he asked, 'Who is that?'

"She looked out, and said, 'It is the Rev. Mr. ——, our rector.'

"'And where is he going?'

"'To church, to perform the service.'

"'To church?'

"'Yes; he will put a surplice over his shooting-jacket, and when he is done he will go on to his sport.'"

The Catholic clergy were no better in that respect. "Many of the priests," writes Mr. FitzPatrick, "speculated in farming and made money by it; others attended races, and not a few hunted. They ejaculated 'Tally-ho!' as often as '*Pax vobiscum!*' Their solemn black clothes and long clerical boots formed an unpleasant contrast to the gay scarlet coats and white 'tops' of their lay companions." It would, however, be an exaggeration to say that there was an absence of spiritual activity or a shirking of religious work on the part of all the clergy. The worst that can be said is that the zeal of the old priests for the spiritual welfare of their flocks was tempered by a spirit of worldliness; and that there was in some cases a slovenliness in the performance of the ceremonies of the Church.

One of the first acts of Dr. Doyle as bishop was to prohibit his priests from appearing at hunts and horse races and other public amusements. As may be

imagined, it was difficult for the old priests—accustomed as they had been, under the easy rule of former bishops, to do as they pleased and enjoy themselves, like the laity, in the prevailing fashion—to comport themselves all at once to the strict discipline in these and other matters imposed by a young prelate who actually owed to their "call" his position as head of the diocese. No wonder, therefore, that many of them were slow to conform to the new regulations.

Dr. Doyle was, on one occasion, shocked by the spectacle of a priest coming to the altar to celebrate Mass with spurs on his boots. Impetuous and imperious always, Dr. Doyle showed no mercy to a delinquent; and rising and addressing the congregation, he administered, with a rough tongue, a most humiliating castigation to the offending priest.

Dr. Doyle also prohibited "Stations"—consisting of the celebration of Mass and the administration of the Sacraments of Confession and Communion—which were then held, as, indeed, they are held in our own time, in many dioceses where chapels are few and far between, in farmhouses at Christmas and Easter, when Catholics are bound, under pains and penalties of the Church, to receive the Sacraments. After the ceremonies the host in those days was expected to have a good breakfast, and, in some

cases, a substantial dinner also, for the priest and the principal members of the congregation. Two reasons induced Dr. Doyle to put a stop to the "Stations." They were the source of considerable expense to the farmers, and the conviviality which followed tended to lower the dignity of the priest in the eyes of his flock. At this time also it was customary for parish priests throughout Ireland to hold large farms and to have most of the incidental agricultural labour gratuitously performed by their parishioners. Dr. Doyle limited the farming operations of priests in his diocese to fourteen acres. But several of them had been farming ten times that extent of land, and were unwilling to give up this profitable pursuit, even at the command of their bishop.

"A clergyman who shall be nameless," writes Mr. FitzPatrick, "had long taken his place amongst the agriculturists of the country. As a man of integrity he was blameless. He continued to discharge some amount of duty, but he gave a considerable portion of his time to secular pursuits. Dr. Doyle waited upon the pastor and apprised him of his determination.

"'You must give up the farm,' he said.

"'My lord,' replied the priest, 'when it does not interfere, to any serious extent, with my duties, surely it is innocent.'

"'It is impossible,' replied the bishop, 'that you can both serve the altar and drive the plough. Was it for this you received the imposition of hands?

Both priest and farmer you cannot be. You cannot serve God and Mammon. Choose between them. I give you a week to consider. *Vos Presbyteri in populo Dei et ex vobis pendet anima illorum.*'

"The bishop was punctually with the priest at the end of seven days. The latter had an imperfect knowledge of Dr. Doyle's decision of character. He did not think that he had been quite serious, and gave the matter little thought in the interim. Dr. Doyle, accompanied by a young cleric, entered the incumbent's parlour.

"'Well, sir,' he began, 'what is your determination? Lest you may have decided adversely to my views, I have brought a zealous person with me, whom I shall appoint to discharge the duties for which you were ordained.'

"The parish priest could hardly believe his senses; but perceiving that a crisis was at hand, and that no time should be lost, renounced from that moment all connection with the farm."

It was about this time, also, that Dr. Doyle, dining at Maynooth with a number of his clergy, had an argument on some theological question—an intellectual pastime of which he was very fond—with Dr. Montague, the Bursar, who was noted for his bucolic proclivities, but who did not seem to be familiar with a Bull of Urban. "It strikes me, Dr. Montague," said the bishop, "that you know more about bullocks than Bulls." A loud laugh followed from the company, and Dr. Montague, though he had no retort for the bishop, played off very effectively on the priests by

muttering: "Indulge your merriment, gentlemen; it is not often that Dr. Doyle makes you laugh."

In regard to the incomes of the parish priests from the offerings of their parishioners, Dr. Doyle made some interesting statements in the course of his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee which sat in 1825 to inquire into the state of Ireland. He said that five years previously he obtained from the forty-two parish priests in his diocese returns giving full particulars of their incomes. In three parishes the income was £500 each. Two of these parishes had, he said, since become vacant, and as, in his opinion, they were too large, he had divided them into four. In fourteen parishes the income ranged between £200 and £300, and in the others, between £100 and £200. The parish priest had to support his curate or curates out of his income. The parish priests, as a rule, did not care to have curates placed with them, as it meant, of course, a large decrease in their incomes, and when a curate was inevitable, owing to the exteror population of the parish, it had been the custom, before Dr. Doyle's time, for the parish priest himself to make the best terms he could with the curate in the matter of stipend. But Dr. Doyle changed all that, in the interest of the curates. He explained to the Parliamentary Committee that, by his orders, the curates generally lived with the parish priest, who was obliged

to board and lodge them, to support their horses, and to give them one-fifth of what he received from the parish in the way of dues, offerings at marriages, baptisms and funerals. Every curate who lived apart from the parish priest received one-third of the emoluments, and from this he paid £25 to the second curate—where there was one—who was, besides, supported by the parish priest without charge.

Dr. Doyle also stated, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, that the priests were frequently unable to collect the customary "dues" from the people, in some cases because of the poverty of the poorer classes; but often from an unwillingness on the part of some parishioners to contribute to the support of their pastors. "In the time of the Whiteboy system in Ireland," said he, "the people complained as much of the dues paid to the priests as of the tithes required by the clergy of the Established Church." Occasionally priests withheld their ministrations from persons who were unable to contribute on account of their poverty; and in order to prevent this oppression of the poor, he prohibited the priests, under the penalty of suspension, from refusing the Sacraments in such cases. He even applied the same rule where the parishioner was able to pay "dues," and yet refused. "If a man be not generous enough," said Dr. Doyle to the Parlia-

mentary Committee, "to give a contribution to a priest who labours for him, and has devoted his time and his talents to his service, I should rather go without it and live in peace; and that is the disposition I wish to impress upon the clergy under my care." Dr. Doyle's evidence with regard to the suggested State subsidy for the Catholic clergy is also most interesting. He said he was sure it would be felt as a very considerable relief by the peasantry if a provision for their priests were provided from other sources, but personally he would prefer to derive his support from the people for whom he laboured, than from the Government. He was afraid lest the clergy, finding themselves independent of the people for their stipends, might become lax in the discharge of their duties.

The bishop also prohibited his priests from bequeathing to relatives or friends any property which they might have acquired by their office. He made a rule that everything obtained in the service of the Church should go back to the Church again, or be bequeathed to some charity. Mr. FitzPatrick mentions, on the authority of Dr. Maher, the vicar-general and executor of Dr. Doyle, an instance of the stern measures taken by the bishop to mark his reprobation of a deceased parish priest whose money and whose glebe-house were fought for, in a very

disedifying manner, by needy relatives to whom he had left the property. Dr. Doyle prohibited the celebration of the customary "month's memory" High Mass for the soul of the late pastor. "He has brought scandal on that Church of which he was the minister," said the bishop to some priests who endeavoured to dissuade him from this course of action.

"'He first amassed, and finally scattered to the winds, the moneys realised from celebrating God's mysteries.'

"'But, my lord,' rashly interrupted a garrulous priest, 'you know a man can't live upon air.'

"'A man can't live upon air!' echoed the bishop with sternness. 'What a learned apothegm for a priest to stand up and utter at a theological conference. Keep that wisdom for the old crones of the village, but do not tell your bishop that a man cannot live upon air.'

"'But, my lord, it will be remarked upon if no month's memory takes place,' said another.

"'That is precisely what I desire,' the bishop exclaimed; 'I wish to mark that man's grave with my reprobation. I forbid the month's memory; but pray for him in secret. Let his memory be buried in oblivion—not perpetuated by a public ceremonial in his honour.'"

Another reform which Dr. Doyle sternly insisted on was that the chapels, the vestments of the priests, the altar plate and cloths, and other accessories of Divine worship, should be as fine and as rich in quality as

possible, and, above all, that they should be scrupulously neat and clean. He frequently tore into ribbons, on the very altar in front of the congregation, dirty or threadbare altar coverings and vestments, and destroyed in like manner thumb-worn missals. On one occasion he smashed to atoms with a paving-stone a cracked silver chalice, from which the sacred elements were in danger of oozing away; and on another he stripped the straw-thatch from a mean chapel and prohibited Mass from being said there till it was put into a proper condition. Mr. FitzPatrick tells a story which shows that these extreme measures were amply justified:—

"On his first visitation to a remote parish of Kildare, he was disgusted to find the sacerdotal vestments soiled and threadbare, and deposited in a turf basket. Dr. Doyle admonished the priest, but without effect, for, on the next visitation, matters appeared precisely in the same state. Tearing the chasuble in two pieces, he told the priest that, if unable to purchase a new one, which he greatly doubted, at least to make up the price in half-pence and pence among his flock. The old priest's habits were irrevocably formed, and he remained so utterly deaf to the young prelate's wishes that, instead of doing what had been prescribed, he got an old woman to reunite the pieces of the chasuble, and in this condition he used it until his death, which occurred soon after. The manner in which Dr. Doyle dealt with objectionable vestments on all subsequent occasions precluded the possibility of their again coming into use. He not unfrequently consigned

them to the flames of the sacristy fire. When it is known, (adds Mr. FitzPatrick), that one of the priests whose vestments Dr. Doyle tore in pieces because of their shabbiness was able, at his death in 1843, to bequeath £8,000 to the funds of Carlow College, few readers will blame the bishop for administering a reproach so decisive."

The bishop also insisted on the rigorous fulfilment of all the various religious duties of a priest. "Sick calls"—or a summons to the bed-side of a dying parishioner—which more frequently come at night than during the day, are, perhaps, the most arduous and trying of a clergyman's tasks. "Nothing can excuse you from the discharge of this duty," wrote Dr. Doyle in one of his numerous pastoral instructions, "nothing can exempt you—not labour, not fatigue, nor watching, nor hunger, nor thirst, nor heat, nor cold; you can have no just cause of delay when pressed on by an obligation so strict and so important." A curate once sought to extenuate his conduct in omitting to attend a sick call by declaring that he had no horse, "Horse, sir," exclaimed the angry bishop, "and a poor soul at stake; you should have mounted a cow if no other mode of conveyance had presented itself."

Many remonstrances against these new pastoral regulations were received from the priests by the rural deans or vicars of the diocese, who were charged by the bishop with the duty of seeing that his instruc-

tions were strictly carried out. Some of these protestations were conveyed to Dr. Doyle, who wrote, in reply an uncompromising letter, from which I give an extract :—

"What man with an ecclesiastical spirit will think it a grievance to instruct in the plain and simple manner prescribed? to observe decency in offering the Sacrifice? to administer the Sacraments as the Church has ordained? to avoid simony, as it is declared by the organ of the Holy Ghost? to preserve the decency and decorum of a gentleman and a priest by abstaining from an excess of social freedom on the days when he is employed in bringing sinners to repentance? Will a priest suffer by avoiding those places, those occasions, those occupations which the Church, ten thousand times, has declared to be incompatible with our profession?"

"He could put on the terrors of an angry judge, and then relapse into the playfulness of a fond companion," wrote Dr. Cahill of the bishop ; and other clergymen also bear testimony that he united gentleness and kindness of heart with the unamiable attributes of the stern disciplinarian. It is evident, indeed, that Dr. Doyle did not rule his diocese too despotically, but it must, I think on the whole, be said that the old priests feared him and respected him rather than loved him. Many of them considered—and they gave public expression to their views—that they had made a great mistake in nonin-

ating to the See a man who had had no missionary experience as a secular priest. "They say," wrote the bishop to Dr. Maher, who conveyed these views to him, "I had not the necessary qualifications for an office too exalted, as the Spirit of Truth declares, for even an angel of light. I am well aware of my own incompetence and worthlessness; but if I possess one qualification more than another, it is, that I had at no period any interest or personal participation in those errors which I am determined to uproot. It is all for the better that I had no missionary experience; for had I at any time been a party to the abuses in connection with it, how could I, with unfaltering tone and consistency, lift my voice in denunciation of them?"

But he had on the whole to deal with very few cases of recalcitrant priests. If a priest were disfrocked it was, as a rule, due to drunkenness. There were a few of these degraded clerics in Kildare and Leighlin, as in almost every other diocese. They were known throughout the country as "Father Tack-ems," or "Couple-beggars," because they lived principally by fees which they obtained for going through the form of marrying run-aways or beggars—a custom which was, by no means, confined to Catholics, for I have read that about the same time, there were a number of degraded Presbyterian clergy-

men who performed similar functions in the north of Ireland. These, of course, were hopeless cases of moral depravity. Instances of insubordination because of the harshness or unreasonableness of Dr. Doyle's regulations, were extremely rare. The bishop established a commanding personal ascendency over his priests by sheer force of character and ability; and the majority of them submitted willingly to the rule of this strong, masterful man.

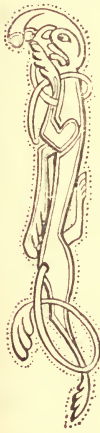
He rigidly insisted on the highest qualifications, mental and moral, being possessed by candidates for the priesthood. "I would much rather see you go home and mind your father's farm," he said to one aspirant to Holy Orders. "My advice is—cast theology to the winds and drive the plough for the rest of your days." In one of his letters to his niece he makes some interesting observations on the clerical state. "Little James, spent some days of the vacation with me," he writes. "He promises very well, but has no disposition whatever to embrace the clerical state. That I do not regret, for though the work of the Lord must be done, and his ministry preserved by vessels of election, the dangers of those engaged in it are great and the deficiencies generally so painful that I look now as I advance in life with exceeding dread upon the entry of almost every young person into the Church."

Thus, with an all-seeing eye for abuses and disorders in his diocese, and a determination, firmly fixed, to try, at least, to lift up the Catholic Church in Ireland, from its low estate, Dr. Doyle began his career as a prelate. In his own person, he set his priests a splendid example of tireless and unceasing devotion to duty. He was one of those men who toil terribly. No priest in the diocese worked more laboriously than he to advance the moral and religious status of his people. In his strong shaping hands the whole aspect of the diocese was completely changed in the course of a few years. He established religious confraternities and temperance societies amongst the laity; in every parish he opened a lending library, from which books were supplied to heads of families, at a penny a week, or gratuitously to those who could not afford to pay even that small fee. Early in 1820 he began a series of general visitations of his extensive diocese, administering the Sacrament of Confirmation to thousands, and holding conferences with his clergy. In Portarlington, where, owing to the inactivity, due to bodily infirmity, of his predecessors, Confirmation had not been given for twenty years, he administered, one day in 1820, the Sacrament to one thousand people; and a few days subsequently confirmed thirteen hundred persons under a huge marquee in Emo Park, the residence of

Lord Portarlington—as the parish chapel was unable to accommodate the crowd. In July of the same year he conducted unaided a retreat for the clergy at Carlow—a form of disciplinary service that had fallen into disuetude in Ireland since the Reformation—which was attended by nearly all the Irish prelates, and over one thousand priests from every part of the country. "My brain was bursting with the myriad dictates of duty which crowded into it," he said once when looking back at this trying period of his career.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY STAGES OF THE MOVEMENT FOR CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.



IN 1819, the year in which Dr. Doyle was consecrated bishop, Henry Grattan made his last effort in the Imperial Parliament on behalf of Catholic Emancipation. His motion was rejected by the extremely narrow majority of two, the numbers in the division being—241 for and 243 against. In the following year the old man, sick unto death, travelled to London by easy stages to make, as he said, a final appeal to Parliament with his dying breath for justice for his Catholic fellow-countrymen. But he was too weak to go down to the House of Commons. He died a few days after his arrival in London. His long and painful journey from Ireland brought him the honour of a grave in Westminster Abbey. But he had

wished otherwise himself. On his death-bed he asked for a resting-place in his native land—the land he loved so well and served so nobly. "I wish to be laid in Moyanna," said he; "I would rather be buried there." The death of the great patriot marked a stage in the struggle for Catholic Emancipation, which it is necessary to describe briefly for the proper understanding of the part played by Dr. Doyle in the subsequent phases of the movement, till victory crowned it with success in 1829.

There can be no doubt now that the active support of the Catholic bishops and Catholic gentry in the movement for the Union was secured by the promises given them, or, at least, the expectations held out to them, by Pitt, Cornwallis, and Castlereagh, that the emancipation of the Catholics would be one of the very first Acts of the United Parliament. But, nevertheless, it was not until 1805—the year in which Grattan was returned for the English borough of Malton, on the nomination of its patron, Earl Fitzwilliam—that the question of Catholic Emancipation first came up for consideration at Westminster.

Shortly after the assembling of the United Parliament in 1801, Pitt, it is true, resigned office, because the opposition of the King (George III.), now in his old age, rendered it impossible for him to introduce a measure of Emancipation, to which he considered

himself morally pledged; and he even adopted the curious course of instructing his friends in Dublin to circulate amongst the disappointed Catholics a memorandum, in which he promised that, though not in power, everything would be done by him to establish their cause in the public favour. But when he learned that the King, on recovering from a prolonged fit of insanity, blamed him and his hateful advocacy of Catholic Emancipation for the attack, Pitt, as we now know, wrote his Majesty a most apologetic and ebullient letter, offering to abandon the question altogether; and in May, 1804, he returned to office, voluntarily pledged to never again disturb the mental equilibrium of the King by mentioning the Catholic disabilities.

In the spring of 1805 a deputation of the Catholic body, headed by Lord Fingall—who had been induced by Pitt's promises to support the Union, and who naturally thought that, as Pitt was again Prime Minister, the time had come for the fulfilment of these promises—waited on Pitt in London, congratulated him on his accession to office, and asked him to present their petition for relief to Parliament. The Prime Minister, to the amazement and consternation of the deputation, bluntly refused to have anything to do with their petition. He acknowledged that he still considered their claims reasonable, and that they might be conceded, not—he was careful to add—as a

right, but as a measure of expediency; but there were insuperable objections then to bringing the matter before Parliament. "Then we shall apply elsewhere," said the deputation. "I would prefer you would," replied Pitt; "but I shall, in any case, oppose your petition." And he did oppose it. Fox presented the petition, and moved for a Committee of the whole House to consider it. Pitt opposed the motion. It was defeated, on a division, by 336 against 124, or by a majority of nearly three to one. Thus were the promises and assurances and pledges given to the Catholics redeemed. Pitt died in the following year.

Meantime, the old men and the old ideas were giving place in Ireland to new men and new ideas. Hitherto, the movement for Emancipation had been almost entirely directed and controlled by a few influential members of the Catholic aristocracy and gentry, of whom the mild and benign Lord Fingall was the feeble leader. The bishops, as a body, gave it a passive countenance, rather than an active support; the priests were not in it at all, and the people, so far from having any part or lot in the movement, were probably ignorant of its existence. And no wonder. There were no public meetings in support of the movement. The propaganda was confined to writing letters to the Press; the distribution of pamphlets, and the exercise of influence,

generally of a personal nature, in Court and Parliament. With the appearance of O'Connell on the scene, came the era of the platform and the political organization; the uprising of the people from their indifference to a condition of unbounded enthusiasm, and the gradual waning of the influence of the aristocracy, who, timid and apprehensive, felt that the daring courage and tireless energy of O'Connell, would end only in the re-enactment of the Penal laws in all their pristine rigour.

The vexed question of the Veto—the right of the Government to influence the appointment of Catholic bishops—naturally proved a very disturbing element in the movement in Ireland. In the course of the negotiations with the Catholic bishops, previous to the Union, Pitt promised them not only Emancipation but a State provision for the Church, and asked from them in return an agreement to allow such interference by the Government in the appointments to vacant Sees, as would ensure the loyalty of the prelates. A resolution was accordingly signed by ten bishops (including the Primate, Dr. O'Reilly and Archbishop Troy), who attended a meeting of the episcopacy held in Dublin in 1799, agreeing to, as "not incompatible with their doctrine, discipline and just principles," the State payment of the clergy, and a regulation by which the name of the priest selected for a vacant See should

first be sent to the Government for approval before being forwarded to Rome. This resolution, however, was kept a secret; and its existence was known only to a few, until it was divulged by Lord Castlereagh in the course of a debate in Parliament on Catholic Emancipation in 1810.

The question of the Veto had, however, been publicly raised in 1808. In that year Lord Fingall went to London as the sole delegate of the Catholic body, bearing the annual petition to Parliament for the redress of their disabilities. It was suggested to him by Ponsonby and Henry Grattan that Protestant prejudices against Emancipation would be largely conciliated, if they could announce in Parliament that the Catholics were willing to allow the State a Veto on the appointment of their bishops. Lord Fingall consulted, not with the Catholic body of which he was the delegate, but with Dr. Milner, an English Catholic bishop in London, who was supposed to be the resident accredited agent of the Irish Catholic bishops, with the result that Ponsonby and Grattan were authorised to announce that the Catholics were willing to accept the Veto. This momentous declaration was accordingly made in the House of Commons by Grattan. It had not, however, the effect anticipated for the Catholic petition was again rejected. In the country the announcement was received with different

feelings by different classes. The Irish gentry and the English Catholics were strongly in favour of the Veto. The Irish bishops were slow in making up their minds, and at first seemed rather inclined to show it favour; the priests, however, received it with grave disapproval; but amongst the people, headed by O'Connell, it aroused feelings of indignation, not unmingled with consternation.

The controversy, thus raised, continued to rage, with ebullitions of varying heat and passion, till the final close of the Catholic question in 1829. The anti-vetoists had certainly the weight of Catholic opinion on their side. Even the bishops, at a meeting held in Dublin late in 1808, made a most emphatic renunciation of their former vetoistic views. They adopted a resolution declaring "that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the Canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of Irish Roman Catholic bishops, which long experience has proved to be exceptionally wise and salutary"—a resolution which was signed by twenty-three prelates. Only three of the bishops who had signed the contrary declaration of 1799 (which was still a secret) dissented. Both sides in the controversy appealed to Rome. At this time Rome was in the possession of the French invaders, and the Pope, Pius VII., was a captive of Napoleon's, at Grenoble, in France; but Monsignor

Quarantotti, Vice-President of the Propaganda, issued a rescript in 1814, giving his distinct and emphatic judgment in favour of the Veto. The rescript, however, was condemned, not only by the Catholic Board and the clergy, but by the bishops, at a Synod held the same year at Maynooth. O'Connell was remarkably outspoken, and as he, no doubt, accurately conveyed the opinions of the people on the subject, I quote a couple of extracts from his speeches. "If the present clergy," said he, "shall descend from their high stations to become the vile slaves of the clerks of the Castle, let them look to their masters for support. The people would communicate with some holy priest who had never bowed to the Dragon of Power; and the Catholic clergy would preach to still thinner numbers than attend in Munster or Connaught the reverend gentlemen of the present Established Church." "How dismal," said he, on another occasion, "would the prospect of liberty be if in every Catholic diocese in Ireland there were an active partizan of the Government, and in every Catholic parish an active informer." On his release from captivity the Pope after a time withdrew his sanction of the rescript of Quarantotti.

Dr. Doyle always entertained very strong anti-vetoist opinions, and was also resolutely opposed to any State provision for the clergy. During his

examination before the Committee of the House of Lords on the State of Ireland in 1825, he said he saw no objection to the Sovereign receiving satisfactory assurances of the loyalty of ecclesiastics appointed to sees in Ireland, *after* such appointments; but he objected to this being done *before* the appointments, as he apprehended it might lead to an interference on the part of the Government, with the priests of the diocese, who alone had the right to recommend the names of candidates to the Pope. Then followed an important question and answer:—

The PRESIDENT—"Would you object to an arrangement by which the Crown should have an influence in the election of Roman Catholic bishops—the Roman Catholic Church being, of course, secured in all religious and ecclesiastical points, supposing such arrangement could be made with the consent of the Pope?"

Dr. DOYLE—"As an individual I would object to any arrangement, even sanctioned by the Pope, which would go to give an influence, direct or indirect, to the Sovereign in the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland."

Dr. Doyle advanced three reasons in support of this objection: First, on political grounds, because he saw a tendency in Ministers of State in all countries to try to obtain control of the powerful influence of the Church, in order thereby to restrict the liberties of the people. Secondly, on religious grounds, because

there was a disposition on the part of the British Government to injure and even to subvert the Catholic religion in Ireland. And, thirdly, on ecclesiastical grounds, because he did not like to introduce into the discipline of the Church what he considered a novelty, and a mode of proceeding which had no precedent in the history of the Church. He was strong, clear, and unshakable on this point. He would not even consent to an alternative arrangement by which the three names recommended by the parish priests to the Pope should also be submitted to the Government, with power to make any communication to His Holiness in regard to the appointment which they might deem advisable.

The Catholic question divided and weakened every Government which held office from 1805 to 1829. Indeed, a curious condition of things prevailed in Parliament in respect to Emancipation. It was not regarded at all as a party question in the strict sense of the term. The two political parties, Whig and Tory, were each divided amongst themselves on the subject. The cause of Emancipation certainly found most of its supporters in the ranks of the Whigs, but many influential members of that party were opposed to it; while many leading Tories, disagreeing with the bulk of their party, were the earnest and consistent advocates of the removal of the

Catholic disabilities. Again, owing to the invincible opposition to Emancipation of the old monarch, George III., and the resistance also—at least for a time—of his successor, George IV., Administrations were formed on the understanding that Emancipation was not to be treated as a Government question, and that Ministers were to be at liberty to speak and vote on it, for or against, as they individually thought fit. Year after year, therefreo, as this question—perhaps the most important and vital domestic question of the time—came up for consideration in Parliament, on the presentation of the annual petition of the Catholic body by Grattan or Plunket, or on a Bill embodying provisions for the removal of the disabilities, it found advocates and opponents alike, not only on each side of the House, but even on the Treasury Bench and the Front Opposition Bench : and when the House divided, Whigs and Tories, leading members of the Administration, and prominent members of the Opposition, were found voting together in both division lobbies. A pronouncement, in one form or another, in favour of the concession of the Catholic claims, was carried in the Commons on three or four occasions prior to 1829; and in 1821 an Emancipation Bill was passed by the Lower House, but rejected by the Lords.

This Bill was introduced by Lord Plunket, who

succeeded Grattan and Ponsonby as the representative of the Irish Catholics in the House of Commons; and it is notable also for the reason that it gave to Dr. Doyle the opportunity of establishing himself as the weightiest authority in the Councils of the Episcopacy of Ireland. At the opening of the Session in February, 1821, Plunket first brought forward a series of six resolutions in favour of Emancipation, which, though opposed by Peel—who at this time was Home Secretary, and a very influential member of the Tory party—were carried by a majority of six, the numbers being 227 for and 221 against. In March, Plunket introduced two Bills—one an Emancipation Bill, and the other embodying some clauses which had been suggested by Canning in 1813, giving the Crown a veto on appointments of bishops and deans, unless satisfactory assurances were given of their "loyalty and peaceable conduct;" and establishing a Board of Commissioners, consisting of two Catholic bishops (to be nominated by their own body) and two Privy Councillors, with the Secretary of State for the Home Department as president, which was to have power to examine all ecclesiastical correspondence between Ireland and Rome, and approve all Bulls and rescripts from Rome, before their promulgation in Ireland.

The idea of this Board of Commissioners excited great indignation in Ireland in 1813 when it was first

proposed, and Grattan was severely censured for having given it his approval. It evoked similar feelings of exasperation in 1821. A meeting of the prelates and clergy of the Archdiocese of Dublin was held in March of that year to consider Plunket's Bills. Archbishop Troy presided, but undoubtedly Dr. Doyle exercised the controlling influence at the conference. After two days' deliberation the conclusions of the bishops and priests were set forth in a series of resolutions drawn up by Dr. Doyle. They hailed with "unmingled satisfaction" the Bill for the removal of the Catholic disabilities, but considered that the second Bill would press upon their order with "great, unnecessary, and injurious severity." "They submit it to the candour of every unprejudiced man whether it be just that their confidential communications with the spiritual head of their Church on matters purely religious should be laid open before persons of a different creed;" and "they read with the deepest concern the clause which purports to vest in the Crown an unlimited negative in the appointment of the bishops."

Outside of Dublin, however, the obnoxious Veto Bill was received with an almost unanimous shout of condemnation by priests and people. In Limerick, for instance, Bishop Tuohy and his clergy declared that the Bill was "unnecessary, vexatious, dangerous, and

would ultimately be subversive of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland." Dr. Doyle's private correspondence shows that he was inclined to compromise, or, at least, to accept the Bill, even with its preposterous Board of Commissioners, which he hoped would prove unworkable. Writing from Dublin to his friend, Sir Henry Parnell, M.P., one of the most devoted and unselfish supporters of Catholic Emancipation, under date March 30th, 1821, he says :—

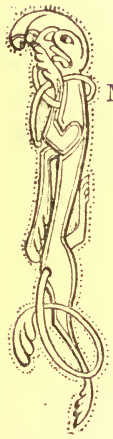
"You have seen *our* resolutions. We wished to couch them in conciliatory language, and yet not to disguise our sentiments. In this country they have given pretty general satisfaction; but, unhappily, in some of the provinces a harsher spirit has appeared. . . . A petition very numerously signed by the clergy was adopted here at our meeting, founded on our resolutions, but with an additional clause offering, as a security to the Government, that the Secretary of State should have the power of excluding, as expressed in the Bill, provided he were obliged by law to assign a *specific* cause for so doing; and a provision made whereby the justice of such cause so assigned could be legally tried, and, if proved false, that the appointment should be proceeded with without further let or hindrance. This petition was confided to Dr. Murray and to me, that we might take it to London and have it presented by Lord Donoughmore; but since the petition was entrusted to us we have seen so many symptoms of disunion in our body that we did not think it advisable to suggest anything else to our friends, lest our conduct might be faulted by some of our brethren. Should the Bill finally pass the

Commons, a meeting of the Catholic prelates will be held here before it can have made much progress in the Lords, and something definitive on our side will be arranged. If such a meeting takes place, their tone will be conciliatory; but as to an arrangement which would give the Crown influence in the appointment of Bishops, I am confident we will not agree to it."

The Bill passed through the Commons, but it was thrown out by the House of Lords on the second reading; not, of course, because of the objections raised to some of its provisions by the Catholics, but because it embodied the principle of Emancipation. It was the last that was heard of the Veto in Parliament.

CHAPTER V.

CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY.



IMMEDIATELY after his consecration, Dr. Doyle made a general visitation of his diocese, going from parish to parish, administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, holding inquiries into the ecclesiastical affairs of each district, and the moral and social condition of the people. These visitations had rarely been made by his predecessors in the See. Not only was travelling in those days slow and uncomfortable, but many parts of the diocese were very difficult of access; and their lordships were, as we have seen, aged and feeble, and prone to take things easy. Dr. Doyle, however, made the visitation every year. Nothing could induce him—neither his absorbing interest in public affairs, nor the ill-health from which he was a constant sufferer—to postpone this duty, not to speak of leaving it unfulfilled. "Am I not a bishop?" he used to say to his priests who

tried to induce him to give up this arduous task towards the end of his career, when his health had completely broken down. "Was it to spare myself, to obtain an easy life, that I took this office?"

Through these visitations Dr. Doyle was brought into the closest relations with the peasantry. He found them reduced to the very extreme of human misery by excessive rents, and still more oppressive tithes. A large portion of the land was held under lease from the landlords, and the lessees, better known in Ireland as "middlemen" (a word which conjures up visions of wrong and oppression to those acquainted with Irish agrarian history), let it out in lots, from one to four acres in extent, to cottiers, on yearly tenancies, at £3 or £4 per acre. Besides these tenants-at-will, who were absolutely at the mercy of the middlemen, there were numbers of the peasantry known as forty-shilling freeholders, who also occupied small plots of land, but, unlike the tenants-at-will, held their holdings under leases for life. The Parliamentary franchise in counties was limited to the holders of leases of land, the annual value of which was sworn to be forty shillings or over; and these freeholders were created by the landlords, to increase their political influence, after the passing of the Irish Act of 1793, admitting Catholics in the counties to the franchise. At the time of which I write, there were

in Ireland (out of a population of about seven millions) 100,000 of these forty-shilling freeholders, of which 28,000 were in Ulster, and the remainder in the other three provinces. In return for their leases for life, they always voted as their landlords directed. "They are part of the life-stock of an estate," said O'Connell, referring to them before the Parliamentary Committee of 1825. "In some of the counties the voters are sold as regularly as cattle." That was so, indeed. The forty-shilling freeholders added considerably to the value of an estate, apart altogether from the improvement they wrought in the quality of the land and their rent-paying capacity. This value, like the value of cattle, could be measured by pounds, shillings and pence. Their votes were frequently sold by the landlord to the highest bidder amongst the candidates for the constituency; or, as a seat in the House of Commons was in those days of bribery and corruption, worth thousands of pounds, the landlord had himself sent to Westminster, and filled his purse by his mode of discharging the duties and distributing the patronage of a member of Parliament.

The increase of the population at this time was phenomenal. The readiness of the landlords to subdivide their land, for the sake of rack-rents and political influence, encouraged early marriages amongst

the peasantry. Every peasant, on arriving at the age of manhood, was filled with a desire to obtain a piece of land of his own. He would have it, no matter how exorbitant the rent might be; and having got it, he took unto himself a wife. The wretched hovels of the peasantry were over-crowded with children. The four millions and a-half of population at the time of the Union had increased by 1820 to close on seven millions. It seemed, indeed, as if Ireland were destined to become the most densely-populated country in the world. The cost of living, owing to the fecundity of the potato, and the ease with which it was cultivated, was a mere trifle. The potato has been blessed by an Irish poet as "the real gold of Ireland." William Cobbett anathematised it as Ireland's "lazy root" and Ireland's "infernal root." Much might be said in support of either view. But, at any rate, the tuber was the peasants' staple article of food. While the money obtained by the sale of the corn, pigs, and poultry went, with the labour of a certain number of days, to the landlord or middleman for the rent, the potato, which grew so plentifully in the garden ridges behind the cabin, supported the family, however large it might be, at a trifling expense. In fact, the tuber, and only the tuber, stood between the peasantry and famine. The Commissioners who conducted the Poor Law inquiry of 1836 reported that

three millions, or close on half of the population, were subjected every year to the chances of absolute destitution. If the potato crop were plentiful and good, the millions who swarmed in the mud hovels just managed to exist. But the crop was uncertain and unreliable, both as regards quantity and quality. It might be excellent one year, and in the next the mysterious blight would suddenly fall upon the potato-fields, and in a single night destroy the food supply of a country-side. Famine, and the pestilence which always accompanies famine, would then carry off the peasantry in thousands, and transform thousands of those whose lives were spared into vagrants and mendicants, who paraded the country in rags, wandering from cabin to cabin, begging food, which they knew would never be refused them, if it could at all be spared. "The misery of Ireland," writes Gustave de Beaumont, the eminent French statesman, who visited the country in the first quarter of the century, "descends to degrees unknown elsewhere. The condition which in that country is deemed superior poverty would in any other be regarded as a state of frightful distress. The miserable classes in France, whose lot we greatly deplore, would in Ireland form a privileged class."

Of the seven millions in Ireland at this time, close on 6,000,000 were Catholics, 300,000 Episcopalians and 600,000 Presbyterians. The six millions of Catholics

were compelled by law to maintain the ministers of the Church of the 300,000 Episcopalians, and to keep, besides, their edifices in repair—things so grossly unjust as to seem in these days almost incredible. Tillage lands only were subject to the tithe for the support of the Established Church. By the Tithe Agistment Act which the agitation of stock breeders and feeders compelled the Irish Parliament to pass, so long ago as 1735, pasture lands were exempt from tithes, and the Presbyterians of Ulster had also been successful in inducing the Irish Parliament to relieve their flax—the principal article of cultivation in that province—from the imposition. The burden of maintaining the Protestant Church, therefore, fell entirely on the Catholic peasantry, who were the chief tillers of the soil.

According as the population increased, and the land was sub-divided and brought under tillage by the peasantry, the more valuable grew the livings of the Protestant clergy. At the period of which I write the average income of a parish was between £800 and £1,000 a year; and this stipend was paid to incumbents, some of whom had not a single soul to care for, in the spiritual sense, and many of whom had flocks ranging from six to twenty individuals only. In a few cases the parson got rid of the unpleasant task

of personally collecting the tithes by farming them out for a fixed sum to an agent, or by special agreement with the farmers of the parish for an annual payment. But as a rule the value of the tithes to be levied on each holding was ascertained by persons called tithe-proctors, who, owing to their odious exactions, were held in popular execration. "His occupation," said Grattan of the tithe-proctor, "is to pounce on the poor in the name of the Lord. He is a species of wolf left by the shepherd to take care of the flock in his absence;" and Froude describes him as "of all the carrion birds who were preying upon the carcase of the Irish peasantry the vilest and most accursed." The aim of the tithe-proctor was to extort as much as possible from the tithe-payer. He assessed the tax according to his own arbitrary will, by visiting the farms and making a rough estimate of what the occupier should pay when the crop was ripe, and he generally succeeded in carrying off, in kind or in money, more than a tenth of the produce of the peasant's little holding, besides making him pay a commission of two shillings in the pound for the cost or trouble of the collection.

"They are obliged," wrote Dr. Doyle of the peasantry, in one of his *Letters on the State of Ireland*, perhaps the most trenchant of all his political writings, "to sweat and toil for the very ministers of

another religion who contributed to forge their chains. Their hay and corn, their fleece and lambs, with the roots on which they feed, they are still compelled to offer at an altar which they deem profane. They still are bound to rebuild and ornament their own former parish Church and spire, that they may stand in the midst of them as records of the right of conquest, or of the triumph of law over equity and the public good. They still have to attend the bailiff when he calls with the warrant of the church-wardens to collect their last shilling (if one should happen to remain) that the empty church may have a stone, the clerk a surplice, the Communion-table elements to be sanctified, though, perhaps, there be no one to partake of them. They have also to pay a singer, and a sexton, but not to toll a bell for them, and a schoolmaster, perhaps, but one who can teach the lilies how to grow, as he has no pupils. Such is their condition whilst some half-thatched cabin or unfurnished house, collects them on Sundays to render thanks to God for even these blessings, and to tell their woes to heaven."

Edward Wakefield, in his book, *An Account of Ireland*, describes an incident he witnessed at the Carlow races in 1809, which gives us a vivid glimpse of the social demoralization of the people. A peasant's cheek was laid open by a blow of a riding whip, administered by one of the local magnates, because the poor wretch happened to be wandering on the course. "But what astonished me even more than the deed," says Wakefield, "and what shows

the difference between English and Irish feeling, was that not a murmur was heard, nor a hand raised in disapprobation; but the surrounding spectators dispersed running different ways like slaves terrified at the rod of their despot." The peasantry did not publicly resent this brutal act, nor did the injured man think of seeking redress from the law, which he believed was always against the poor; but he probably made his complaint that night at a meeting of the secret society of the district, and the local magnate had his cattle houghed, or one of his hay-ricks destroyed by fire, to the delight of his poorer neighbours.

Ireland at this period, from 1820 to 1825, was greatly disturbed. Secret societies, under various names—Whiteboys, Blackfeet, Whitefeet, Terry Alts, Rockites, Lady Clares, Ribbonmen—existed throughout the country. These societies did not form one great organization under the guidance of leaders of weight in point of talent or property. Nor was there any concerted action between them. But the same objects animated all—the redress of local agrarian grievances, and the protection of the peasant from the oppression of landlord and tithe-proctor. Bands of men, armed and disguised, assembled at night and with these objects in view perpetrated the most barbarous outrages. Tithe-proctors, landgrabbers, and all vio-

lators of the wild code of social morality which prevailed, were tortured or murdered, their cattle mutilated, their houses burned down or their crops destroyed. The desperate members of these secret societies—all their evil passions aroused by the appalling wretchedness of their surroundings, and the great wrongs they undoubtedly had to endure—set little stake on their own lives, and less on the lives of others.

The authorities, having no well-organised police system at command, were almost powerless before this terrible and relentless agrarian conspiracy. In the official documents of the time the local agents of the law constantly bewail the fact that it was extremely difficult to procure satisfactory evidence against the perpetrators of the outrages. They ascribed this failure of the law of the land to bring the criminals to justice to the terrorism and intimidation which prevailed. In part, the authorities were right. The law was so powerless to protect that even the sufferers from the outrages, fearing further injury, were reluctant to give evidence. But the real truth is, that every peasant in the district, was either a member of the society or sympathised with its objects and deeds. There was undisguised rejoicing in the cabins, and oftentimes even bonfires were lit on the hillsides, when an obnoxious agent, tithe-proctor, or

magistrate was murdered. The law, however, managed, in a somewhat lawless fashion, to obtain its revenge ultimately. Special commissions were held almost every year. The judges who tried the prisoners without juries had no compunction in convicting, even though the evidence against the accused was of a doubtful character; for—their lordships, no doubt, argued—if the occupants of the dock were not the actual perpetrators of the crime with which they were charged, they sympathised with it, and probably knew all its circumstances. Therefore, peasants were publicly hanged every year in batches of five, six, or a dozen, and were transported in hundreds.

To Dr. Doyle, this state of wild unrest and oppression was an abomination. He used to the uttermost his great influence as a Church dignitary, and his splendid talents as a writer and speaker, to curb the excesses on both sides in this brutal and bloody fight between injustice and revenge. His impulsive temperament, his horror of wrong and evil-doing led him into extremes of utterance on the condition of the country. In his writings and speeches he, at one time, condemns in powerful language the iniquities of the hideous social condition to which the people had been reduced by the laws and customs of the country, and at another time bursts into almost

frenzied denunciations of the bloody deeds of the secret societies.

The counties of Carlow and Kilkenny and Queen's County, portions of which are embraced in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, were probably the most disturbed districts of the country. It was said in the course of one of the frequent debates in the House of Commons on the state of Ireland, that, "agitation and demagogism," were the causes of the outrages; but Lalor Sheil pointed out—and the fact is not without significance—that while Galway, Limerick, Kerry and Clare—"the O'Connell Counties" as he described them—were comparatively peaceable, the most disturbed were Carlow, Kilkenny and Queen's County where O'Connell's influence was not so widely felt. Dr. Doyle had, therefore, a herculean work before him when he set himself to putting down the secret societies. In all his Lenten pastorals he warned his flock against their machinations. In 1821 he issued a special address to "the deluded and illegal associations of Ribbonmen" which, besides being read from the altar at each of the Masses in every parish, was printed in Irish and English and circulated to the extent of 300,000 copies throughout the country.

Theological animosity has had an immense influence for evil on our history and our social

condition, and has been more or less a factor in almost every political and agrarian movement in Ireland. It is, therefore, not surprising to learn that in addition to striving to redress local agrarian grievances, and to cut the connection between Ireland and England, the Ribbonmen aimed at the restoration of the Catholic Church to all its pristine glory. But crime was not the less repugnant to Dr. Doyle because it thus presumptuously and ignorantly robed itself in the mantle of religion or patriotism.

"Ah, my dear brethren," he exclaims in the pastoral, "how frequently is the sacred name of religion abused, and how many crimes and profanations are committed in her name! Could religion be weighed in a scale, there would not be found one ounce of pure religion amongst all those who have freely entered into your associations. For how can iniquity abide with justice, light with darkness, or Christ with Belial?"

At this time a reprint of an old work entitled *Pastorini's Prophecies* was sold at fairs and markets, and had a very large circulation amongst the peasantry. It gave a most extraordinary stimulus to the secret society of Ribbonmen, for, as it foretold the freedom of Ireland and the downfall of Protestantism about the year 1825, the peasants—who pinned their faith to the prophecies—joined the society in thousands in order that they might have a part in securing the

fulfilment of what were to them, tidings of very great joy.

"Your faith in prophecies—this, dearest brethren, is a subject which we find it difficult to treat with becoming seriousness," continues Dr. Doyle in his pastoral, "and yet it is one which has produced among you the most deplorable effects. I have been credibly informed that during the course of the last year, when great numbers of you, yielding to our remonstrance and those of our clergy, had withdrawn yourselves from these mischievous associations, you were prevailed on to return to them, excited by some absurd stories called 'prophecies' and which were disseminated amongst you by designing and wicked men. There have been, to our own knowledge, instances of persons neglecting their domestic concerns and abandoning their families to misery and want, through a vain hope, grounded on some supposed prophecy 'that bright changes were just approaching!' For more than half a century it was predicted that George IV. would not reign, and his very appearance amongst you was scarcely sufficient to dispel the illusion. Such excessive credulity on your parts, and such superstitious attachment to fables a thousand times belied, is a melancholy proof of the facility with which you may be seduced by knaves. Our Church, dearest brethren, approves of no prophecies, unless such as are recorded in the Canonical Scriptures; and though the gift of prophecy, like that of miracles, has not entirely ceased in our Church, she has never lent the sanction of her name or approbation to vulgar reports or traditionary tales."

But the sentiments of the peasantry were too deep-seated to be changed by a pastoral, however eloquently

and persuasively written. Dr. Doyle had to take sterner measures. He visited the most disturbed districts of his diocese and arrayed in his canonicals addressed the Ribbonmen, Terry Alts and Whiteboys, in powerful and solemn words of warning, from the altar steps. Most impressive, and in a sense, strange these scenes must have been. The humble chapels thronged with the rude and fierce peasantry, many of them with hands red with blood, most of them members of the secret society, all of them, no doubt, sympathisers with the society's objects. The bishop, on the platform before the altar, arrayed in his vestments —a soutane of purple colour with train sweeping the ground; over this a white linen surplice with a deep embroidery of lace; then a cape of the same hue as the soutane; a gold chain and cross pendant from his neck, on his head the glittering mitre, and the crozier grasped in his left hand, leaving the right free for impressive gestures. And then the austere severity of his features; the large blazing eyes; the measured sepulchral intonation of the voice, the eloquence of the address—its touching pathos, its scorching denunciation. It is easy to imagine the awe-inspiring effect of the scene on the peasantry, most of whom had probably never seen a bishop before—certainly never in such solemn and impressive circumstances —and all with a profound belief in the terrors of the

anathema of the Church. Here is a specimen of the addresses delivered by Dr. Doyle on these occasions. Nothing could be firmer, more touching, or more to the point:—

"Beloved brethren, before I administer to those dear children that sacrament which, I trust, will confirm in the graces that under Divine favour, they received at baptism from our Lord and Saviour, Jesus, I will first make some remarks in reference to those crimes which I heard from public report, and learned with deep grief from your estimable pastor, have, in this hitherto peaceable parish, disgraced the character of your country and religion, and which, if not attoned for in the bitterest tears of repentance, must inevitably set the seal of eternal damnation on some souls. I know the miseries of the poor, and accordingly—often deterred by the anticipation of some objection which they urge—*even I* have sometimes foreborne to remonstrate with you as I might justly have done. 'Show to us,' it might be said, by and among some of you, 'that if we be patient and submissive we will not be banished from our homes, that we will not be reduced till even roots and water fail our children, that in disease and hunger we shall not be left as heretofore, to perish—in fine, show to us that all our sufferings will not be aggravated—show to us that all those things will not happen, and we will freely and cheerfully acquiesce in your advice. You speak to us of the punishment which awaits us. What punishment can be greater than to die of hunger? You remind us of the afflictions we bring upon our families—what affliction can surpass that of the mother and children driven, in a state of utter destitution, from the fireside and threshold of their homes to

wander friendless and hopeless through a world that rejects them, till hunger and disease strike them to the earth, and death comes to absolve them from their sufferings?' But first of all, dearly beloved, let me ask you, who generally are they who have illegally combined? Are they the persons who have been inhumanely expelled from their homes? Are they those sons of fathers whose parents or children are perishing of want? Are they those men who can find no employment, or whose wages do not suffice to provide for their families the necessaries of life? No. A few only of those classes are united with them. Who, then, are they who have illegally combined? The most active and prominent among them are old offenders—thieves, liars, drunkards, fornicators, quarrellers, blasphemers—men who have abandoned all the duties of religion, and whom God I fear, has given over to a reprobate sense and to the passions of shame. There also belong to their combinations a crowd of giddy, thoughtless, dissolute young men, the sons and servants of honest, struggling parents. These classes and descriptions of persons compose their leagues. And this being the case, what right have some among you to avail yourselves of the grievances and sufferings of other men, and employ them as a cloak to cover your own impiety and crimes? The widow and the orphan may have perished, and the honest cottier, torn from the land to which nature attached him, may have withered and died; but you, reprobates, are seldom the children of that widow or the sons of that peasant. But even if you be, let me at once remind you that revenge is forbidden. The Lord saith, 'Revenge is mine, and I will repay!' God alone, or those who hold power from him, can ever execute justice. Revenge is totally forbidden to man; it is reserved exclusively to God. Let this truth sink

deep then into your souls; let it never depart from you; tell it morn and night to your children in your poor huts and cabins, and if turned forth on the world to starve and die, repeat it amid the darkness of night, and when the storm and rain pelt you and your little ones, as you shiver in your hunger and your raggedness, still, ever, ever repeat it—'Revenge is God's alone.'"

The outrages were checked for a time. Indeed, about 1827, the returns of Irish crime, presented to Parliament, show that the counties in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin had been transformed from the most turbulent into the most peaceable in the country. But fresh acts of oppression on the part of the tithe-proctors and landlords drove the peasantry again for redress and protection to the savage code of the secret society. Dr. Doyle now tried the terrors of judgment in the world to come against the offenders. At Mountmellick, during a Visitation, he commanded some Blackfeet, to whom he had vainly tried to show the errors of their ways, to leave the Church. "Depart, depart, depart," he cried, "and if I might venture to anticipate the judgment of the Almighty, I would add into eternal fire!" The men were horrified, and falling on their knees, weeping, they implored forgiveness. Some of the leaders of the conspiracy who acknowledged their guilt were compelled, before the absolution of the

Church was extended to them, to make public renunciations in the crowded chapels on Sundays, on their knees, clothed in white sheets, and with lighted tapers in their hands. The bishop aided the authorities in a militant fashion also. In 1832 he issued to his parish priests a letter to be read from the altar at the Masses on two successive Sundays, in which he recommended that the clergy should exhort and assist the owners of property and the well-disposed to arm in their own defence, and, co-operating with the constituted authorities, form themselves into an association for the protection of life and property ; to patrol the country by day and night, and to detect and apprehend evil-doers. And yet Lord Norbury, the notorious "hanging judge," in an address to a Grand Jury, insolently referred to the bishop as "Moll Doyle," representing him as one of the wild personifications of agrarian insurrection.

CHAPTER VI.

"THE SECOND REFORMATION."

PITT, in his powerful speech in the House of Commons, enumerating the advantages that would accrue to Ireland from the Union, said it would destroy "the religious rancour which bigotry engenders and superstition rears and cherishes." There never was a prophecy of which events have been so cruelly unmindful. The malign influence of religious rancour has never, since Pitt uttered those words, been wanting to aggravate the evils of the situation in Ireland; but at no time during the century has it been so rampant as during the first thirty years of the Union. In that period all the miseries of Ireland were traced to the Catholic Church, by the enemies of that Church, in

sermon, speech, pamphlet, and newspaper article. Catholics were hardly regarded as Christians at all. Their religion was looked upon as "a degrading superstition, unfit to be tolerated amongst Christian men" (as Dr. Doyle put it), which would render their participation in the privileges and benefits of the Constitution dangerous to the stability of society. The library of the British Museum contains a collection of polemical pamphlets of the period. They are, at best, most melancholy reading; but there is this satisfaction to be found in their perusal—that they afford, by contrast with the polemical writings of to-day, ample proof that we live in a time when, happily, more kindly feelings are entertained towards each other by the rival creeds. Some bitter things are, no doubt, still said of the Catholic Church in Ireland in the course of the political controversies that rage over the Irish question; but they are merely faint echoes of the venemous attacks which were directed against it in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Church sadly needed a champion, indeed, in the early years of the century. The Catholic bishops, before the appearance of Dr. Doyle on the scene, made no effort—or only a timid and halting effort—to refute the theological arguments—the arguments that the doctrines taught by the Catholic Church

were not only theologically false, but were a menace to civil and religious liberty—which formed, practically, the chief battery directed against Emancipation by its opponents. Perhaps the bishops had not in their body a man of the daring courage and the exceptional ability needed to face this well-organized and well-equipped army of opponents; or, may be, they thought it hopeless that they could make any impression on the dead weight of prejudice against the Catholic Church which prevailed in the ascendency classes in Ireland and in every grade of society in England. But Dr. Doyle, at any rate, looked at the matter differently from his colleagues in the Episcopacy. He was of a temperament that found it impossible to remain silent while attacks were made on his most sacred and cherished convictions, and he determined not only to return blow for blow, but to carry the war into the enemy's country.

Theological onslaughts on the Catholic Church, through the medium of the pamphlet influenced the well-to-do and reading classes only. This whacking of the drum ecclesiastic probably never reached the ears of the peasantry. But now an attempt was to be made to bring home to the people the errors of the faith they professed. The new movement seems to have been first mooted by the authorities of the Established Church when the outcry against the pay-

ment of tithes had become so loud as to attract general attention in England. It was originally intended that the clergy of the Establishment should, in return for tithes, afford spiritual instruction and consolation to the Irish people. Happily, the discharge of these functions was not attempted by the Protestant clergy in Ireland. Tithe was one of the most iniquitous taxes ever imposed on the industry of the poor. To be compelled by law to pay the ministers of an alien church was intolerable; but it would have been a gross exaggeration of the evil if these ministers, in a conscientious endeavour to give some return for the tithes, entered on a campaign against Roman Catholicism, and tried to bring the people to the Establishment churches on Sunday to hear the religious beliefs in which they were bred, derided as idolatry and superstition. Fortunately, the Protestant clergy, influenced either by wisdom or indolence, confined their ministrations, as a rule, to members of their own faith, till the agitation against tithes had made considerable headway in the land.

But while the clergy of the Established Church were thus taking things easily, the Methodists were displaying remarkable missionary enterprise. They began about 1814 to send itinerant preachers through the south and west of Ireland, where the people were overwhelmingly Catholic. These missionaries prose-

cuted their labours with amazing zeal and daring. A letter which O'Connell wrote from Limerick, where he was attending the assizes, to Edward Hay, Secretary to the Catholic Board, dated July 27th, 1817, and in which Dr. Troy, the Archbishop of Dublin, and his coadjutor, Dr. Murray, are denounced for the support they were then giving to the Veto, throws an interesting sidelight on the condition of Ireland at that period. "You cannot conceive," writes O'Connell, "anything more lively than the abhorrence of the Vetoistical plans amongst the people at large. I really think they will go near to desert all such clergymen as do not now take an active part in the question. The Methodists were never in so fair a way of making converts." The most prominent of the Methodist preachers was Gideon Ousley, a Sligo man, of good social position, who, after years of carelessness and indifference in religious matters, became filled late in life with a zeal for the salvation of souls. He went about Ireland on horseback with a few companions, and having a thorough knowledge of Irish, preached to the people at fairs and markets, when they were brought together in large numbers. The preachers were commonly known as "black caps" from the small skull caps which they wore. Their addresses were in a sense non-theological and non-

sectarian. They did not conduct a controversial crusade against the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion; but preached some of the broad principles of all christian creeds—the evil of sin, the sacrifice of Christ, and salvation. The mission for that very reason was a sheer waste of energy and enthusiasm, as, admittedly, the Irish Catholics are amongst the most moral and religious people in the world. No doubt there was a proselytising motive at the bottom of this Methodist mission—a desire to liberate the Catholics from the "error of superstition"; but as this purpose was not publicly proclaimed, the "black caps" were in some places kindly treated; and in other places treated with indifference, though occasionally they were received with cries of opprobrium, and showers of stones and dirt. But Ousley continued his preaching for years. He had but one eye, which gave him a grim sardonic appearance; and he looked what he was—an old, scarred and weather-beaten warrior of Christ. It is said that in six years the Methodists increased their numbers in Ireland from 16,277, to 23,321. But most of the 'verts were Episcopalians. Few, if any, of them were Catholics. John Wesley, the founder of the Methodists, wrote, after his visit to Ireland in 1743—"At least ninety-nine in a hundred of the native Irish remain in the religion of their fathers. The Pro-

testants, whether in Dublin or elsewhere, are almost all transplanted lately from England. Nor is it any wonder that those who are born Papists generally live and die such when the Protestants cannot find no better way to convert them than Penal Laws and Acts of Parliament." The Established Church was now about to try other means to bring the Catholics into its fold, and thereby justify its title to existence in Ireland, and to tithes.

The proselytising efforts of the Establishment were at first confined to the free distribution of copies of the Bible amongst Catholics. It was believed that if Catholics could only be got to read the Bible their eyes would soon be opened to the errors of their faith; and accordingly the Bible Society, which still exists, was established for this object early in the century. Other agents, working for a similar end, were the Scripture Readers' Society, which provided men and women to go from house to house in the towns and country districts, to read the Bible in English for people who were either unable or unwilling to read it themselves; the Tract Distribution Society, which flooded the country with leaflets exposing the errors of the Roman Church; and the Irish Society, which aimed at teaching the Irish-speaking peasantry to read the Bible in the native tongue. The teachers provided by the Irish Society were paid so much per head for

every person they produced at the quarterly inspections who was able to read a chapter of the Bible in Irish. All these agencies were in the main run by the laity. They were inspired from Exeter Hall, the London centre of every movement in days past for the conversion of the benighted Hibernians. They were indeed "the bray of Exeter Hall," to use the famous phrase of Macaulay, which cost him his seat in Edinburgh. The officials of these societies were either knaves, or well-intentioned, but hot-headed zealots, and while the former, with amazing audacity, issued fraudulent reports of the work done, the fanaticism of the latter led them to do other things just as indiscreet, but less dishonest.

The result was that the proceedings of the societies, and particularly the doings of the Bible Society, were discountenanced and even denounced by several prelates of the Established Church. Indeed, some of the Protestant bishops went so far in their hostility to the societies as to inhibit from preaching in their dioceses any clergyman who took part in their proceedings. The methods of the societies were not considered quite respectable by the authorities of the Established Church; and it was also felt by them—as it was felt by the prelates of the Roman Catholic Church—that the unrestricted distribution of the Bible, without note

or comment, did not tend to the propagation of faith and morals.

The Established Church, however, considered she was bound to do some missionary work. The protest against the injustice of tithe was rising, and it was essential that she should be ready to give an account of her stewardship—to give some answer to the question which would inevitably be put to her—"By thy fruits thou shalt be known—where are thy fruits?" Accordingly a new proselytising crusade was inaugurated by Dr. Magee, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. It was grandiosely given the name of "The Second Reformation." Dr. Doyle states that the idea originated with Lord Plunket. He is said to have pointed out to Dr. Magee that the priests were an uneducated body of men—certainly awkward in society and probably unskilled in polemical controversy; and that if a body of smart, earnest, zealous University-educated clergymen of the Established Church were to go through the country, and challenge the priests to public theological discussions, the quick-witted peasantry could not fail to perceive the mental superiority of the Protestant clergymen, and would, as a result, fill on Sundays the hitherto empty churches of the Establishment. Plunket's impression of the Catholic priests had been derived, Dr. Doyle added, from his acquaintance with a few country

priests of the old school, who had been invited to some fashionable tables, solely for the amusement of the other guests In any case, Dr. Magee thought well of Plunket's suggestion; and accordingly a picked band of young men, fresh from Trinity College and its debating society, eloquent and courageous and learned in the writings of the Fathers, and in ecclesiastical history—were appointed to perambulate the country, challenging the priests to meet them on public platforms in defence of their creed. The Bible—its use and abuse—was the common subject of contention between the controversialists. Dr. Magee in his evidence before the Select Committee on the State of Ireland, which sat in 1825, gave a very rosy report of the results of these discussions about the Bible. "I am of opinion," said he, "that a large portion of the lowest class of Roman Catholics hardly knew, before these discussions, that there was such a book as the Bible." An eager curiosity was accordingly excited amongst these classes to know the nature of this strange and unknown work which was so earnestly recommended for perusal on the one hand and so strongly prohibited on the other. "There has been lately," he added, "an excitement of attention to the subject of religion throughout the people, such as perhaps there has not been before at any period since the Reformation. In truth, with respect to Ireland,

the Reformation may, strictly speaking, be truly said only now to have begun." That this Second Reformation ended in complete failure, we shall see later on.

Dr. Doyle made his first appearance in the arena of theological controversy in 1822. Dr. Magee, at his primary visitation held in St. Patrick's Cathedral in that year, delivered a charge to his clergy which well illustrates the theological tone and temper of the time. It contained statements gratuitously offensive to Catholics and Dissenters alike. "We, my reverend brethren," said he, "are hemmed in by two opposite descriptions of professing Christians—the one possessing a Church, without what we can call a religion; and the other possessing a religion without what we can call a Church—the one so blindly enslaved to a supposed infallible ecclesiastical authority as not to seek in the Word of God a reason for the faith they profess; the other so confident in the infallibility of their individual judgment as to the reasons of their faith, that they deem it their duty to resist all authority in matters of religion." Within a few days a brilliant letter, several columns long, and signed "J. K. L.," appeared in the *Evening Post*, Dublin—the chief organ of Catholic opinion in Ireland, though under Protestant management—containing the Catholic reply to the Archbishop's charge.

It was practically the first attempt to meet the assailants of the Catholic Church in the controversial arena. The bishops of the Catholic Church had hitherto, as I have already said, been content to allow these attacks on their religion to pass unnoticed, though their opponents were not slow to ascribe their silence to their conviction of the worthlessness of their cause. That the bishops and priests were knaves, trading on the ignorance and superstition of the benighted peasantry, was, indeed, almost universally believed in Protestant circles. This letter in the *Evening Post* came, therefore, as a revelation of a force in the ranks of the despised Irish priesthood which was hitherto unsuspected. The supreme courage of the letter in assailing the Established Church itself as an usurpation; the power with which the case for the Catholic Church was stated; the range and variety of reading and the great erudition displayed in the well-marshalled arguments in support of that case; the force and eloquence of the diction; the skill and subtlety of the masterly controversialist—all showed that the Catholic Church in Ireland had now a champion who was a match for even the most conspicuous and learned prelate of the Established Church. The writer of the letter was Dr. Doyle, who veiled his identity under the letters "J. K. L., the initials of "James, Kildare and Leighlin." He

followed up the success he thus achieved as a controversialist by issuing, in the spring of 1823, his famous pamphlet, *A Vindication of the Religious and Civil Principles of the Irish Catholics*, in a Letter addressed to the Marquis of Wellesley by "J. K. L." In this work (which I shall notice more fully in a subsequent chapter) erudition, argument and eloquence are combined in defence of the principles of the Catholic Church; and a host of able Protestant writers were employed to combat it.

But, in the very hottest part of this theological battle, a profound sensation was created by a letter, published by Dr. Doyle, over his own name, strongly urging the union of the warring Churches! It seemed, indeed, at first sight, hardly credible that Dr. Doyle, the foremost champion of the Catholic Church—the most learned and eloquent exponent of her doctrines, should urge her union with the Protestant Church, which he had shortly before denounced unsparingly as a fraud and usurper. But such was really the fact.

In May, 1824, during a discussion in the House of Commons, on a motion by Joseph Hume in favour of the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland, Mr. Robinson (the Lord Ripon of subsequent years, and the father of the present peer, who joined the Catholic Church in 1874) declared that a union of the Churches

was the only solution of the religious difficulty. The idea commended itself to Dr. Doyle, who had a strong dash of the visionary in his nature; and in a public letter to Mr. Robinson he enthusiastically declared that a union of the Churches was "the best mode of pacifying Ireland, improving the condition of her people, and of consolidating the interests of the Empire." To bring about that union no sacrifice would be too great on his part or on the part of the clergy. "The Catholic clergy," he wrote, "would make every possible sacrifice to effect a union. I myself would most cheerfully, and without fee, pension, emolument or hope, resign the office which I hold, if by doing so I could in any way contribute to the union of my brethren and happiness of my country."

"The whole frame of society amongst us," he continued, "is disorganised, and the distrust, apathy, fraud, jealousy and contention which prevail universally, as they derange the public will, and prevent the mutual co-operation of all classes, must necessarily prevent the country, whilst they continue, from deriving advantage from any particular measure, or emerging from its present depressed, if not degraded condition." Catholic Emancipation would be a great healing measure, but it could not be a panacea for Ireland's sufferings. "Catholic Emancipation will not," said he very truly, "remedy the evils of the tithe system; it

will not allay the fervour of religious zeal—the perpetual clashing of the two Churches, one elevated, the other fallen, both highminded, perhaps intolerant; it will not check the rancorous animosities with which different sects assail each other; it will not remove all suspicion of partiality in the Government were Antonius himself the Viceroy; it will not create the sympathy between the different orders in the State, which is mainly dependent on religion, nor produce that unlimited confidence between man and man which is the strongest foundation on which public welfare can repose, as well as the most certain pledge of a nation's prosperity." But the union of the Churches would "at once effect a total change in the dispositions of men; it would bring all classes to co-operate zealously in promoting the prosperity of Ireland, and in securing her allegiance for ever to the British Throne."

The union was, he thought, not difficult of accomplishment, and the time was peculiarly well calculated for at least an attempt to carry it into effect. A strange conclusion indeed, considering that the country was in a very ferment of rancorous religious controversy! His reasons for coming to that conclusion are still more remarkable. "The time is favourable," he wrote, "for the Government is powerful and at peace; the Pope is powerless and anxious to conciliate." He

also showed that the points of agreement between the Churches were numerous, and suggested that the Crown should summon a conference of Protestant and Catholic Divines of "learning and of a conciliatory character," to ascertain matters of agreement and difference between the Churches, adding that the result of this conference should be made the basis of a union to be drawn up by the heads of the Churches of Rome and of England. "The chief points to be discussed," he wrote, "are the Canons of the Sacred Scriptures, faith, justification, the Mass, the Sacraments, the authority of tradition, of councils, of the Pope, the celibacy of the clergy, language of the liturgy, invocation of saints, respect for images, prayers for the dead." The existing diversity of opinion arose, in some cases, from certain forms of words which admit of satisfactory explanation, or from the ignorance or misconceptions which ancient prejudice and ill-will produce and strengthen. "It is pride and points of honour which keep us divided on many subjects," said he, "not a love of Christian humility, charity and truth."

The feelings aroused in Catholic ecclesiastical circles by this extraordinary letter were first amazement, then uneasiness, and afterwards indignation. One passage especially aroused the ire of the professors of Maynooth College. It was the following :—

"The Minister of England cannot look to the exertions of the Catholic priesthood. They have been ill-treated, and they may yield for a moment to the influence of nature, though it be opposed to grace. The clergy, with but few exceptions, are from the ranks of the people; they inherit their feelings; they are not, as formerly, brought up under despotic Governments, and they have imbibed the doctrines of Locke and Paley more deeply than those of Bellarmin, or even of Bosseut, on the divine right of kings; they know much more of the principles of the Constitution than they do of passive obedience. If a rebellion were raging from Carrickfergus to Cape Clear, no sentence of excommunication would ever be fulminated by a Catholic prelate; or if fulminated, it would fall, as Grattan once said of British supremacy, like a spent thunderbolt."

In a manifesto, signed by five professors of the College, including "John McHale, Professor of Dogmatic Theology" (afterwards the famous Archbishop of Tuam), it was declared "solemnly and publicly"—as was unquestionably the fact—that in the education of the Catholic clergy at Maynooth, they had "uniformly inculcated allegiance to our gracious Sovereign, respect for the constituted authorities, and obedience to the laws." "These principles," continued the manifesto, "are the same which have been ever taught by the Catholic Church; and if any change has been wrought in the minds of the clergy of Ireland, it is that religious obligation is here strengthened by motives of

gratitude, and confirmed by sworn allegiance, from which no power on earth can absolve." According to Richard Lalor Sheil, this manifesto was issued in response to a private appeal from the Marquis of Wellesley, who was Lord Lieutenant at the time; and the President, Dr. Croty (whose name is not appended to it), and the students were opposed to it. The feelings with which the prelates regarded Dr. Doyle's pronouncement are probably expressed by Dr. Curtis, the Primate, in a letter to the Duke of Wellington, to whose influence, despite all the objection to the Veto, he owed his position as head of the Catholic Church in Ireland. "But what gives us (the Episcopacy) most pain," writes Dr. Curtis, "is that the letter in question must be offensive to Government, if it condescends to mind it at all, though unworthy of its consideration. It is possible your Grace may here exclaim: 'Why do you not yourselves disavow, silence, suspend, and put down such a man at once?' You may depend, my Lord Duke, it will end in that, and very soon, if the aggressor himself does not come forward and make speedy, full, and sincere atonement for his error."

In Catholic lay circles, however, the sentiments—the political, not the theological—expressed by Dr Doyle were heartily commended. Resolutions wer adopted at meetings throughout the country, express-

ing "reverence, admiration, and gratitude" for the character and services of Dr. Doyle; and at the Catholic Association in Dublin, a motion, moved by O'Connell, was unanimously carried, thanking the bishop for the letter, and protesting against the political principles enunciated by the Maynooth professors. Dr. Doyle, in acknowledging this resolution, made an obvious attempt to allay the excitement he had aroused. He wrote in the discreetest of terms:—

"I regret that my motives should have been mistaken; but I know that whosoever commits himself with an oppressed country or a fallen people is liable to the reproof of those who repay evil for good. No unfounded censure, however, shall prevent me from labouring, through good report and evil report, to promote, as much as may be in my power, the interests of Ireland and of that holy religion which is almost indigenous to her. The principles of my allegiance are those, and no other, on which the British Constitution is founded. To discuss those principles is scarcely useful at any time, but especially when men's minds are heated. They are just and wise, and in perfect accordance with the religion of Him who came not to establish an earthly kingdom, but to command obedience to be paid to existing authorities. The nature and extent of this obedience is expressed in our oaths of allegiance, which oaths we have observed, and will, with the Divine assistance, continue to observe, not only on account of the evils which would follow from their violation, but also for conscience sake."

To make the last sentence of the above paragraph

clear, it is necessary to state that from the foundation of Maynooth College, in 1795, until the disestablishment of the Irish Church, in 1870—when the State grant to Maynooth was commuted—the ecclesiastical students of the College were required to take the oath of allegiance. The oath was publicly administered to the freshmen, or new students, every year, in the village courthouse before a stipendiary magistrate.

Mr. Thomas Newenham, a liberal-minded English Protestant gentleman, and author of *A View of Ireland* (a work dealing with the social condition of the country at the beginning of the century), wrote to Dr. Doyle, warmly approving the idea of a union of the Churches, and urging him to take steps to have the suggested Commission appointed. Dr. Doyle, however, was not encouraged by the reception given to the letter by his colleagues in the Episcopacy to take further action. He said that if the project were not taken up by the Pope and the English Government there could be no hope of its success. A subsequent letter shows that he had become convinced of the utter impracticability of the scheme. "It can only be consummated by a miracle of God," were his final words in the matter.

The central idea of the letter was, it must be said, purely Utopian; and it certainly was not consistent

with views expressed by Dr. Doyle, both before and after its publication. However, it did credit to his heart if not to his head. It was the outcome, probably, of a too generous and over sanguine impulse, to which, with alterations of gloom and despair, Dr. Doyle was subject during his career. One would have thought the letter would at least have tended to allay the bitterness of sectarian feeling by showing how much the two Churches believed in common. But unhappily no diminution of theological hostilities followed its publication.

Indeed, particular attention was paid by the apostles of "the Second Reformation" to the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. What a triumph if they could but win some converts from the flock of "J. K. L."! A branch of the Bible Society was accordingly established in the town of Carlow, and copies of the Scriptures were circulated broadcast through the diocese. "They tell us," wrote Dr. Doyle in one of his letters, referring to one of the boasts of the Bible Society, "of the number of Bibles they distribute, and where is the difficulty of thus sowing the seed by the side of the highways? Do not the pawn-offices in every town bear testimony of their profusion?" Two of the most noted controversialists on the side of the Established Church, Rev. Robert Daly, subsequently Bishop of Cashel, and Rev. Richard Pope—whose public

controversy with Father Tom Maguire in Dublin was the big event of "the Second Reformation"—visited Carlow in November, 1824, accompanied by another zealot, the Hon. and Rev. E. Wingfield (brother of Lord Powerscourt), and challenged the priests to a disputation on the Scriptures. The glove was taken up by four priests of the town—Nolan, O'Connell, M'Sweeny and Clowry—and the theological contest came off in the Presbyterian Meeting House, Carlow, on the 18th of November, with Colonel Rochford in the chair. It ended, not in the greater honour and glory of either of the creeds, but in black eyes and bloody noses. Great excitement naturally prevailed in the town. The people swarmed into the building, and when it was packed, gathered outside it in thousands, determined on showing that might at least was on the side of the Catholic Church in Carlow, and a riot ensued, one of the incidents of which was the flight for their lives of the Protestant champions over a high wall at the back of the meeting-house. That Dr. Doyle was strongly opposed to this absurd polemic warfare is clear from his *Vindication of the Irish Catholics*, and his *Essay on the Catholic Claims*. Oral controversy, in his opinion, tended only to excite bad feeling and worse language. He was no narrow sectary, who looked upon every rival creed as the abomination of desolation, but a broad

minded and liberal man who saw that there was good in every form of religion. He was away in Lismore recruiting his health, when the controversy took place in Carlow; and it is said that the first he learnt of it was from the report in the newspapers. However, when the Evangelicals proposed to hold another disputation in his diocese, in the following year, he prohibited his priests from taking part in it.

But "the Second Reformation" continued to run its stormy and ineffectual course. It is impossible to read of its proceedings without coming to the conclusion that its chief exploiters were animated more by political rancour than religious zeal. The cause of Catholic Emancipation was resistlessly advancing to success; and alarmed for their ascendency the authorities of the Established Church in Ireland were determined to combat it in every way. At the meetings held under the auspices of the movement, and in the pamphlets which poured from its printing-presses, every measure of reform for the amelioration of the condition of the Catholics was denounced. The ignorance, degradation and lawlessness of the peasantry were pictured in lurid colours, and ascribed to the baneful influence of their religion; and the cry that such a people were unfit to be admitted to the Constitution was reiterated so often that one is forced to the conclusion that most of the active promoters

of the movement were actuated by a hostility to Catholic Emancipation, rather than by the very amiable desire to save the souls of Catholics from eternal perdition. Few converts were made. Much boasting was indulged in, however. Weekly bulletins were issued from Dublin and circulated through the country, in which the converts were numbered by thousands; but investigation always played sad havoc with these statements. Thousands upon thousands of pounds were spent on the movement, and the only result was the further embitterment of the passion of religious animosity which has always been the bane of Ireland.

CHAPTER VII.

EMANCIPATION OF THE CATHOLICS.

IN 1822, following the defeat of Ponsonby's Bill, the cause of Catholic Emancipation reached its lowest ebb. Public feeling in Ireland had almost entirely subsided, or if it found a voice at all it was heard only in wrangling over the vexed question of the Veto. "The country was then in a state of comparative repose," writes Richard Sheil, "but it was a degrading and unwholesome tranquillity. We sat down like galley-slaves in a calm. A general stagnation diffused itself over the national feelings. The public pulse had stopped; the circulation of all generous sentiment had been arrested, and the country was palsied to the heart." In Parliament the fortunes of Emancipation were correspondingly gloomy. The

cause had on its side the greatest orators, the ablest Parliamentarians, the keenest intellects, the wisest statesmen, with few exceptions, in both Houses of the Legislature; but while there was in the Commons a small majority in favour of the concession of the Catholic claims, oratory, reason and statecraft had made, as yet, but little impression on the dull dead weight of prejudice which leavened the King and the Lords.

The reactionary and bigoted character of the House of Lords was, about this period, strikingly illustrated. A Bill to give the Parliamentary franchise to Roman Catholics in Great Britain, which had been conceded by the Irish Parliament to Irish Roman Catholics in 1793, was passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords. It is impossible to conceive any reason, but the blind intolerance of religious bigotry, for this action of the hereditary chamber. The proposed concession was of a most unimportant character. The Catholics of Great Britain were few in number, and so scattered over the country that their influence at elections would have been imperceptible. Even in the House of Commons the cause of Emancipation had lost way. Canning and Plunket, the two foremost champions of the Catholic claims, had accepted office; and their hitherto clamant and eloquent tongues were thereby placed under restraint.

Such was the position of the question of Emancipation in 1822—the people in Ireland, apathetic and disorganised; its advocates in Parliament, listless or muzzled, when Dr. Doyle issued his famous pamphlet, *A Vindication of the Religious and Civil Principles of the Irish Catholics*, by "J. K. L." The work is in the form of a letter addressed to the Marquis of Wellesley (brother of Wellington), who at this time was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and was known to be favourably disposed towards the Catholic claims. It is not easy in these days to appreciate the great interest and even sensation evoked in the first quarter of the century and many years previously, by the appearance of a well-informed and trenchant political pamphlet. The Press and the platform, which are now the greatest engines of attack and defence in controversies of all kinds, were practically unknown, or only in the infancy stage, during the struggle for Emancipation. The pamphlet was still, as in the time of Swift, the chief weapon of political warfare, and a powerful writer was in those days the great political force which the orator and the debater is in ours. The *Vindication* aroused the dormant energies of the Catholics into full vigour again. It had an immense circulation through the country. Some of its most striking passages were also printed on placards and posted on the walls of

town and village where they were read aloud to admiring groups. After Mass, too, on Sundays in the country districts the pamphlet was read to the peasantry. In every circle of society it created a sensation. The eloquence and passion of its passages acted on the despised and degraded Catholics like the inspiriting blast of a bugle on depressed troops. The country was, indeed, stirred to its very depths by the little book. All the most powerful writers of the ascendency Church were enlisted to combat its views, and pamphlet after pamphlet poured in reply from the press.

O'Connell and Richard Sheil, taking advantage of the public attention which the *Vindication* was the means of again concentrating on Emancipation, founded in 1823 the Catholic Association, which soon became the best organized and most formidable of the many bodies established since 1805 for the advancement of the Catholic claims. The Association, which had its headquarters in Dublin, consisted of members paying a guinea, and associates paying a shilling per annum. Dr. Doyle was the first prelate to join the Association, and his example was followed by most of the other bishops. The priests, who also came in in large numbers, were enthusiastically welcomed by O'Connell; for they furnished to the Association active representatives of the most

potent influence in every parish in the land. They made "the Catholic Rent"—another of O'Connell's ideas—a great success. The "Rent," consisting of subscriptions of one penny per month collected from the associates at the chapel gates principally, soon reached the amount of £500 a week. This fund enabled the Association to subsidise a newspaper, the Dublin *Evening Post*, in which its meetings were fully reported, and all cases of local oppression revealed and denounced; to send barristers and attorneys, accompanied by reporters, to Petty Sessions Courts and Assizes to defend actions for the non-payment of tithe, or to bring local tyrants to account for deeds of unlegalised injustice. The Catholic Association, in truth, became all-powerful in the land. It was suppressed by the Government in 1825, though the country was never so free from crime and outrage as under its sway. O'Connell, however, revived it again with a slight alteration in its title—he called it "The New Catholic Association"—but with identical methods and aims. "I can drive a coach-and-six through any Act of Parliament," the great Tribune used to say, with characteristic audacity and egotism, and he was right.

The year 1825 was an important year in the struggle for Catholic Emancipation. It not alone witnessed the futile suppression of the Catholic Association, but

saw the appearance of a remarkable series of twelve letters on the state of Ireland, by "J. K. L.;" the appointment of Select Committees of both the Lords and the Commons to inquire into the condition of Ireland—before which Dr. Doyle and O'Connell were examined at great length; and the passage through the House of Commons of another Relief Bill, but only to be again rejected by the Lords. In the same Session of Parliament, in which the Catholic Association was suppressed, a resolution, moved by Sir Francis Burdett (a somewhat eccentric and erratic Radical), in favour of the Catholic claims, was, in spite of the opposition of Sir Robert Peel, carried by a majority of 13—the numbers in the division being 247 for the motion, and 234 against. Three Bills were at once introduced embodying the policy of the resolution. The first was a Relief Bill; the second was for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders, and raising the qualification of voters in the counties to freeholds of £10 in annual value; and the third provided for the payment of the Catholic clergy by the State. Under the third Bill the four Catholic Archbishops were to receive £1,500 a year each; the twenty-two bishops £1,000 each; three hundred deans £300 each; and the priests from £60 to £200 a year—the total amount to be spent in annual subsidies being £250,000. The Bills for the

disfranchising of the forty-shilling freeholders, and the subsidising of the clergy, were derisively known as "the wings," as it was hoped with their aid to float the Relief Bill, over the anti-Catholic prejudices of both Houses of the Legislature, into the haven of the Statute Book. The Relief Bill and the Disfranchising Bill were carried through the Commons—the Relief Bill by a majority of 27 on the third reading—and the third Bill was successfully making its way through the various stages of the Lower Chamber when the House of Lords threw out the Relief Bill by a majority of 48. The three Bills were then dropped by their promoters.

This was the last attempt made to secure the influence of the priests on the side of the British Government in Ireland by making them its dependents. Dr. Doyle took up a position of uncompromising hostility to the proposal, and denounced it before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in March, 1825, on the eve of the introduction of the Bills. He was asked if such an arrangement would be acceptable to him, if it had the sanction of the Pope. "Were he to give his sanction," replied Dr. Doyle, "I think we should oppose the matter here. I think he would not sanction it; but were he to do so, we should not agree to it. For my part, I would not; I should resign the office that I hold rather than

assent to such a thing. I would first remonstrate against it; I would remonstrate a second time against it; and if this were not sufficient to ward it off, I should certainly resign my office; and I hope there is not a bishop in Ireland who would not do the same." But in a letter dated "Cheltenham, 7th April, 1825," and written to the Right Hon. A. R. Blake (an Irish Catholic who held a post in the Castle, and is described by Mr. FitzPatrick as "the confidential friend and adviser of Lord Wellesley,") he suggests an extraordinary compromise in regard to the contemplated provision. He writes :—

"I confess that had I an opportunity of communicating my ideas on the subject to the Government, I should never think of suggesting that plan which now seems to be under consideration. My objections to it are so strong that no consideration but the fear of retarding the settlement of the country could prevent me from enforcing them with the public. But though this plan be so objectionable to my mind, that my wish to arrest its progress is only overruled by my anxiety for Emancipation, yet I do not blame anyone for wishing to attach, by means of a State provision, our Order more strongly to the Crown—though the very idea seems to imply either a wish to make tools of us, or what is not less offensive, namely, that we have not been as loyal and as well-affected as we ought. But I do not complain of this on account of anyone; as all men in these matters may justly abound in their own sense—and there are few, indeed, who are acquainted with the diligence and the unwearied zeal

with which we have laboured, in recent as well as in more remote times, for the good of the State, as well as for the interests of our own people.

"Undoubtedly, whatever plan the Government might devise for carrying their intentions into effect would not be the less wise or salutary if it were adopted after hearing the opinion of those who were to be immediately affected by it. I have made this reflection in order to record, at least with you, that the mode of providing for the Catholic clergy in Ireland, which I have seen detailed on paper, was not devised by us and though it may be submitted to us, will never be approved of by me."

Dr. Doyle then proceeds to state his own plan for subsidising the Catholic clergy :—

"In the event of a provision being made, it should proceed on the principle of connecting the Catholic clergy, not with the Crown, but with the State; and of preserving inviolate the mutual dependence and connection of the priesthood and the people, with and upon each other. For this purpose an Act of Parliament might provide that the parishes now existing or to exist hereafter, in each diocese, should be classed by the bishop; and that a vestry of each parish, composed of Catholic freeholders, should be enabled to vote and levy by assessment from off the parish an annual sum, not exceeding £——, for the maintenance of a parish priest of the first class, and so on in proportion for those of the other classes; and another annual sum of £—— for house-rent; the vestry to be enabled in like manner to levy the sum of £—— for the curate, or each of the curates, whilst assisting, by order of the bishop, in the dis-

charge of duty within the parish. The stipend of the curate should be fixed and uniform, for many reasons with which it is useless to trouble you, whilst that of the parish priest should be so varied as to enable the parishioners to increase *to a certain extent* the income of a zealous, diligent, charitable pastor, or to diminish it in case of neglect, avarice, or worldly affections prevailing over him. Thus the necessary independence of the parish priest would be provided for, the law making it imperative that his income should not be less than a certain sum, whilst his attention to the wants of his parishioners would be stimulated, if not secured, by their having a power to increase somewhat such income in proportion to his deserts. The bishop might be provided for by a percentage, to be paid by the parish priests out of the sums rated by the vestry for their maintenance respectively; but this provision should be fixed and invariable in its amount, so as not to be liable to diminution or increase by the union or dissolution of unions or parishes."

Mr. FitzPatrick states, on the authority of Bishop Kinsella—a very intimate friend of Dr. Doyle at this period—that the Government accepted this scheme. That, however, can hardly have been so; for the Bill for the State payment of the clergy was passing through the Commons in its original form, when the Lords stopped all legislation in the matter by throwing out the Relief Bill. The scheme, in so far as it made the people and not the Government the paymasters of the priests, had something to

recommend it; but it is safe to say that it would have been unworkable. It would have meant the imposition of two tithes; the old for the support of the Protestant clergy, and the new for the maintenance of the priests—a burden that would have been impossible for the people to bear. Of course, the objection to the State endowment of any clergy, even by indirect taxation or by profits arising from secured national property, appears in our days—when the voluntary system is almost universally accepted as the best—in a more objectionable light than it did in the first quarter of the century; but it is almost certain that the Catholics would have objected to the transformation of their voluntary "dues," into an imperative rate; and to the Protestants the assessment in aid of the priests would have been an injustice as bitter and as indefensible as the wrong done to the Catholics in compelling them to contribute to the support of the clergy of the Established Church. Dr. Doyle, as is apparent from his letter, saw some of the objections to the plan, but he thought they were outweighed by its advantages. His main object was to give the control of the clergy—so far as they ought properly to be controlled—to the people, locally, and not to the Government. "Even our present mode of support," he writes in the same remarkable letter, "which I prefer to any other, is

liable to many and very serious objections, so difficult is it to approach to perfection in human affairs."

Dr. Doyle's objections to the obnoxious "wings" were clear and unequivocal. During his stay in London in 1825 many unsuccessful attempts were made to induce him to give them his sanction and support. His opposition to the sacrifice of the forty-shilling freeholders was unyielding; and in the matter of a provision for the clergy he would only go in the way of a compromise to the extent indicated in his letter to Mr. Blake. O'Connell was not so unassailable and steadfast. The great Tribune was a past master of cajolery and flattery, and yet no man was more susceptible than he to flattery and cajolery. In Ireland he vowed in characteristically extravagant language that he would welcome death on the scaffold or on the battle-field, rather than yield an inch on the questions of a subsidy for the priests, and the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders; but in London, when he came into contact with the Parliamentary advocates of the Catholic claims, he was, indeed, as pliable as clay in the potter's hands. His essentially mild and compromising evidence before the Select Committee of 1825 affords a curious and instructive contrast with his violent speeches in Ireland. Perhaps it was that O'Connell, with wily diplomacy, was all things to all men, playing on them

for his own ends. At any rate, he expressed approval of the State provision for the Catholic clergy, and the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders before the Select Committee, and gave his support to "the wings" during the passage of the Bills through the House of Commons. He told the Select Committee that he thought the State should possess a legitimate influence over the Catholic priests, and that that would be best provided by a State provision; also, that as the forty-shilling freeholders were "part of the live-stock of an estate," and "in some counties were sold as regularly as cattle," they might very well be abolished.

For these opinions a good deal may be said, and probably they expressed O'Connell's true and genuine convictions; but they brought him for a time general unpopularity and opprobrium in Ireland. A meeting of the parishioners of St. Audeon's, in Dublin, was held to denounce "the wings," and O'Connell, who attended, and, indeed, was there on his trial, stated in the course of a long speech in self-defence, that while in London he had been in communication on these questions with two prelates who were, he said, "the ornaments of Ireland"—Dr. Doyle and Dr. Murray, the Coadjutor Archbishop of Dublin. "Can I offer a better plea," he said, "than when I say that I did nothing, said nothing, which had not their entire concurrence

and sanction," and he added, with brutal frankness —if the statement were true—that the prelates had been duped by the Government. When Dr. Doyle read this speech he wept like a child. He asked his friend Dr. Kinsella, to reply on his behalf, and the reply was crushing. It was clearly established that Dr. Doyle in his *Letter on the State of Ireland*, published in the February of the year, condemned both the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders and the State provision for the clergy; that in March of the same year, before the Select Committee he again protested against the State provision—the question of the forty-shilling freeholders not being referred to in his evidence—while O'Connell before the same Committee approved of both proposals. In reply, O'Connell shifted, or tried to shift, most of the blame on to the shoulders of the reporters. It was not so much that he had been inaccurately reported, but that statements had been attributed to him which he had never used. He said that he had made no allusion at all to the question of the forty-shilling freeholders, and that his statement that the bishops had been duped by the Government had reference to the incident of 1799, when, as we have seen, some of the Catholic prelates expressed in writing their willingness to agree to the Veto and a State subsidy for the clergy in return for Catholic Emancipation. This misunder-

standing led to a coldness between O'Connell and Doyle, and their relations never again warmed into the friendship and intimacy which prevailed previously.

The unpleasant relations between the two great leaders of the movement for Catholic Emancipation became more accentuated by an incident which occurred in the town of Carlow towards the end of the year. O'Connell attended a meeting in the town in support of Emancipation. Strangely enough, he seemed to be still enamoured of "the wings," notwithstanding the undoubted fact that popular feeling was strongly against them. Perhaps he was convinced that without them the Relief Bill could not possibly be floated into the Statute book. He appealed to the Carlow meeting to accept a resolution in favour of "the wings," and again urged as the main argument in their support the allegation that the bishops had agreed to them. Dr. Doyle was informed of the proceeding, and at once repairing to the hall in which the meeting was assembled, made a vigorous speech in vindication, as he said, of his character and that of the prelates with whom he co-operated. He indignantly denied that the bishops had given their assent to the proposed State provision for the clergy. "What my opinion was I declared in London to my right reverend brethren," said he; "I repeated it since in Dublin. I may have sometimes mentioned it in

private conversation; and it was this—that if the prelates were led to approve of a provision emanating from the Treasury—if the ministers of Christ were to be paid by the ministers of State for dispensing the mysteries of God, then in that case I would not create dissension amongst them; but sooner than that my hand should be soiled by it, I would lay down my office at the feet of him who conferred it; for if my hand were to be stained with Government money, it should never grasp a crozier, or a mitre ever afterwards be fitted to my brow. This was and is my fixed determination." Again, at a dinner which was given in the evening after the meeting by Dr. Fitzgerald, the President of Carlow College, Dr. Doyle, in responding to the toast of his health, which was proposed by Lord Killeen (son of the Earl of Fingall) said: "Our hands shall never be stained by the acceptance of a paltry bribe. In the present state of affairs the Catholic Church could never, in case of such a compromise, be secure or pure. Never shall the shackles of my country be transferred upon my faith."

We get some further glimpses of incidents between O'Connell and Dr. Doyle during these proceedings at Carlow, and their effect on O'Connell from a letter he wrote in December of the same year to Dr. Donovan, a clergyman who enjoyed the friendship and confidence of the bishop:—

"I know you are intimate with Dr. Doyle, and in a kind of despair I write to you in strict confidence about him. His mind is full of something towards me that, indeed, I do not understand. In truth, he is so *high* in my opinion—I respect and admire his talents and qualifications so much—I know and feel his incalculable value—I estimate the magnitude of his utility so justly, that I can scarcely conceal the anguish his hostility to me produces. I am, of course, convinced that such hostility arises from conscientious conviction in his mind. I have said or done something that he judges to be wrong, and his conduct to me is certainly regulated by that conviction. The *attack* of Mr. Kinsella, the omitting to participate in the provincial meeting at Carlow, the speech at the College dinner, the interference the next day under the supposition *that I had accused the prelates of inconsistency*, the total absence of a recognition of an error *in fact* on the subject, even after I had explained, the personal salute which I was obliged literally to extort from him—all these circumstances convince me that I have said or done something to make Dr. Doyle displeased with me. Could you, my respected friend, find out what it was? Believe me, most sincerely, that I would not ask you to find it out if I were not resolved to repair it when discovered. It is, indeed, painful to me that a man whom I so unfeignedly respect and reverence should entertain towards me sentiments of an adverse nature. Perhaps it is ambition which makes me desire his co-operation instead of his opposition; but if it be I deceive myself. I think that it is a sincere desire to serve Catholicity and Ireland which regulates my anxiety to have his countenance and protection. Do not, I beg of you, let him know I have written to you on this subject. I write merely to throw off a burden from my heart and feel-

ings, and with the simple wish of procuring such information as may enable me to avoid in future that which has created present displeasure to him. I have written unconnectedly, but that is because I feel more on this subject than I can express."

Prone as O'Connell was to answer coldness with indifference and jibe with jeer, the efforts he made to retain the good opinion of Dr. Doyle, are, perhaps, the strongest testimony to the force and influence of "J.K.L." in the public affairs of Ireland at the time.

It will be noticed that Dr. Doyle said nothing at the Carlow meeting against the proposal to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders.

"As to the resolution," said he in conclusion, "I know there is a division of sentiment about its adoption or rejection. I shall not throw the weight of my opinion, whatever it may be, into either scale. It is my duty rather to withdraw and beseech the God of peace to banish all dissensions from amongst you."

However, while the clerical "wing" was rejected, the disfranchising "wing" was approved by the meeting. The forty-shilling freeholders were doomed. It is plain that though O'Connell made many heroic declarations that nothing could possibly induce him to give up the forty-shilling freeholders, he, and most of the other leaders of the movement were, as the result shows, quite willing to sacrifice them on the altar of

Catholic Emancipation. It must be said that these voters had not as yet done anything to earn the gratitude and esteem of the country. They had always voted at their landlords' call, since their creation in 1793; but in the General Election of 1826 they revolted, at least in two counties, against the domination of the lords of the soil, and while they encompassed their own destruction, gave an immense impetus to the cause of Emancipation, by ousting the territorial landlords from the representation of the counties of Waterford and Louth—Lord Beresford and Baron Foster—and returning two strong supporters of the Catholic claims, Mr. Villiers Stuart, a local landowner in Waterford, and Mr. Dawson, a retired barrister in Louth. Two years later, in Clare, they made further opposition to Emancipation impossible by the election of O'Connell. But as we shall see later, not even these bold and daring deeds—for, be it remembered, the ballot did not then exist—which redeemed all their former supineness, induced the leaders of the movement to try to save them from disfranchisement and destruction.

On the whole, the Parliament elected in 1826 was less favourable to the Catholic claims than its predecessor, for a very bitter and unrelenting anti-Catholic spirit prevailed in all grades of society in Great Britain. A motion in favour of taking into

consideration the question of Emancipation, which was moved early in the first session of the new Parliament in 1827, was rejected by a majority of four—the numbers being 272 for and 276 against; and Sir Robert Peel also took up a most uncompromising attitude towards any concession whatever to the Catholic claims. But, though the outlook for Emancipation seemed black and unpromising, events were really rapidly moving towards the final triumph of the cause. Lord Liverpool, the leader of the Tory party, and Premier for the preceeding fifteen years—who had taken office on the understanding that the question of Emancipation should never be raised by any member of the Cabinet—was stricken with paralysis and resigned. George Canning was commissioned by the King, George IV., to carry on the Government, and this he succeeded in doing with the aid of a Coalition Ministry of Tories and Whigs. The accession of Canning to the Premiership gave great joy to the leaders of the Emancipation movement in Ireland. His name and his fame as a great Parliamentarian were closely identified with the Catholic question. He had been for years the most consistent and the most powerful advocate of Emancipation in Parliament, and, without doubt, he sacrificed for it preferment and advancement. Bu now that he had reached the Premiership, and the Catholics

felt assured that Emancipation was at last within measurable distance, he shattered his great reputation as an advocate of the Catholic claims by announcing that the question should occupy the same indefinite position in his Ministry as in former Governments. Perhaps he had not the nerve and force to face the tremendous opposition he would, undoubtedly, have aroused had he taken up the question; perhaps he was bidding his time, waiting for more favourable circumstances. But such a time never came for Canning. He died a few months later, in August, 1827, and his death brought into power the men who were destined to carry Emancipation. After an unsuccessful attempt by Lord Goderich to form a Government, consequent on the death of Canning, the king sent for the Duke of Wellington, and another Coalition Ministry was formed. Sir Robert Peel was Home Secretary and leader of the House of Commons. Catholic Emancipation was still to be an open question, but Wellington and Peel were strongly against it.

In June, 1828, Dr. Doyle addressed a public letter to the Duke of Wellington on the subject of Emancipation. It is one of the most remarkable productions of the pen of the great ecclesiastic, and for freedom and originality of thought and expression rivalled the famous letter on the Union of the Churches. He

pointed out that the dangers which the opponents of the Catholic claims seemed most anxious to guard against were "the encroachments of the See of Rome, or from the influence which the Irish Catholic clergy are supposed to possess over the laity of their communion," and proceeded to show that those apprehensions were groundless. "J. K. L." argued that it was not desirable either to remove or to diminish the influence of the priests, as it irresistibly tends to preserve order, to inculcate submission to the law, and obedience to every constituted authority. He declared that if the laws were made equal and the Government administered impartially, such clerical influence as was liable then to abuse would wholly disappear. "If after this mode of proceeding should have been adopted, the Catholic clergy were found to exercise an improper influence, the Government, supported by the good sense of the people, and assisted by the Catholic bishops, could make and enforce such regulations as must effectually confine the priesthood to the discharge of their own professional duties." But as to the desire then entertained in some quarters of neutralising this influence by the distribution by the State of gifts and pensions to the Irish priesthood, Dr. Doyle declared it was hopeless. "The Catholic clergy never will partake of any provisions, of whatso-

ever description, which will render them liable to even a suspicion of being detached from the people; and the Established Church never can find her security in the moral degradation of any priesthood." As to "encroachments of the See of Rome," Dr. Doyle pointed out that they were almost obsolete. Nevertheless, he would be glad to see the principle of domestic nomination and appointment established in Ireland. Catholics would, he said, be subject to inconvenience so long as the Pope held in his hands the unqualified right of appointing bishops; and it would be desirable to have the election of bishops vested in those who have the most direct and immediate interest in their appointment, by an arrangement calculated to exclude that foreign influence and encroachment of which Protestants seemed so much in dread. "Were the Government," he added in a very significant sentence, "to act frankly and cordially with the Catholic clergy and people, and availing themselves of the support thus to be obtained, propose to the Pope an arrangement which should render the Catholic Church in Ireland more national, and the appointment of its prelates entirely domestic, there is little doubt that such a proposal, properly urged, would be acceded to." Dr. Doyle had clearly in his mind the appointment of a Patriarch, as head of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and he urged this view on his brother prelates; but,

as in the case of his proposal for the Union of the Churches, the suggestion of a Patriarchate in Ireland, only evoked condemnation, and even distrust and suspicion of his orthodoxy, amongst the other members of the Episcopacy who were utterly opposed to any weakening of the direct ecclesiastical connection between Ireland and Rome.

In 1828, during the first session of the Wellington and Peel Administration, Sir Francis Burdett moved a resolution in support of the Catholic claims and carried it by a majority of six. Like previous motions of a similar character it probably had little or no effect in accelerating the movement of the Government towards Emancipation. The Clare election which came off in the middle of the same year was the turning point in the great controversy; it marks an epoch in the history of the religious liberty of the Irish people. How it came about may be very briefly stated. Mr. Huskisson, a Canningite, and favourable to the Catholic claims, left the Government because of a division of opinion on some trivial matter, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, the member for Clare, was appointed to the vacant post of President of the Board of Trade. Vesey Fitzgerald was a very worthy gentleman, a warm friend of Catholic Emancipation, a popular landlord, a member of a family long connected with Clare, and the son of Mr.

Prime-Sergeant Fitzgerald, who was an anti-Unionist in the Irish Parliament. The thought of opposing the re-election of such a man would not have been entertained for a moment were it not that, immediately after the formation of the new Ministry, a resolution was adopted by the Catholic Association to fight every supporter of the Government in Ireland. This resolution was evoked by the sentiments of determined opposition to Emancipation at all hazards, to which Wellington and Peel had given frequent expression, and was moved by O'Connell. But nevertheless, it is a curious fact that, had O'Connell been allowed his own way in the Catholic Association, there would have been no contest in Clare. Influenced by Lord John Russell, who considered the action of Wellington in supporting the Bill for the repeal of the Test Acts (excluding Dissenters from Corporations), which had just been carried through Parliament, entitled him to the gratitude of all Liberals, O'Connell moved, at a meeting of the Association, to rescind his own resolution so far as the candidature of Vesey Fitzgerald for Clare was concerned. Fortunately for the cause of Emancipation and for his own fame, O'Connell failed to carry his motion; and fortunately, also, for the same reasons, the selected candidate of the Catholic Association, Major MacNamara, declined to stand against his good

friend and neighbour, Vesey Fitzgerald. In a few days after O'Connell was on his way to Clare as the candidate of the Catholic Association, bringing with him the blessing of Dr. Doyle. "Farewell, my dear friend," wrote the bishop in a letter urging the electors of Clare to do their duty, "may the God of truth and justice prosper you."

The contest, needless to say, was most exciting. It lasted five days, when Vesey Fitzgerald retired badly beaten, the numbers being: O'Connell, 2,054 votes; Vesey Fitzgerald, 1,075 votes; and on July 5th, 1828, O'Connell was declared elected member for the County of Clare. The popular victory created a most profound impression throughout the kingdom. The Government, however, showed no sign outwardly of yielding. Lord Anglesey, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was recalled in January, 1829, for having declared in a public letter to Dr. Curtis, the Catholic Primate, that the time for conceding Emancipation had arrived. However when Parliament met in February, the King's Speech showed that the Government had given way. Peel's position was now a very curious one. He was still utterly opposed in principle to the concession of Emancipation, but he now felt convinced that it must be granted in order to save the influence of the Church from being impaired by the belief that she was intolerant; and the authority of the State

from being weakened by domestic dissensions, if not by Civil War—that Church and that State which he had so often previously declared would be given over to ruin and disaster if Roman Catholics were admitted to Parliament. He was inclined to retire from the Government altogether as a means of escape from the difficulty. Wellington, however, was opposed to this course, and urged him to test the feeling of his constituents on the question. He did so. He resigned his seat for the University of Oxford, sought re-election as an Emancipationist, and was defeated by a majority of 146. The graduates of Oxford would not have Emancipation at any price. Peel was then returned unopposed for the pocket borough of Westbury. He escaped defeat merely through the accident of "the Protestant Candidate" having failed to turn up in time for nomination.

A majority in favour of Emancipation existed in the House of Commons, which was elected in 1826, when there had not been even a whisper of any intention on the part of the Government to yield to the Catholic claims. The feeling in Great Britain was unquestionably strong against Emancipation, and there is no doubt that if the Government had gone to the country on the question they would have been defeated. But, fortunately for the great cause of religious toleration, there was no General Election.

The Relief Bill was carried through the two Houses of Parliament without much difficulty, thanks, perhaps, in a great measure to "the wings" by which it was supported in the ordeal. One of "the wings" was new. The old "wing" for the subsidising of the Catholic clergy was dropped. Peel was opposed to the Veto because, in his opinion, it meant the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church, and as the State payment of the clergy involved a compact with Rome, it was equally repugnant. What Peel desired was to curtail the political power of the priests, and with that object in view he disfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders. That was one "wing." The second and new "wing" was a Bill for the suppression of Monastic Orders in Ireland, which actually became law, but was never put into operation. Both O'Connell and Dr. Doyle assented, in the end, to the sacrifice of the forty-shilling freeholders. "It is the price, the almost extravagant price," said the former "of the inestimable good which will result from the Relief Bill." In a letter from Carlow, dated 14th March, 1829, to Sir Henry Parnell, Dr. Doyle regretted sincerely that the disfranchising Bill was found to be necessary to the carrying of Emancipation. "Such, however, is the anxiety prevailing here for the success of the other Bill," he continues, "that no effort that may be made to excite opposition to the Bill for

regulating the franchise will be successful. For my part, I shall remain quiescent."

To whom, it may be asked, is the credit of carrying Emancipation most largely due? "The credit of this measure is not mine," said Peel, in the course of the debates in the Commons. "It belongs to Mr. Fox, to Mr. Sheridan, to Mr. Grattan, and to an illustrious right hon. friend of mine now no more—Mr. Canning." "To you is due the honour of having converted Peel and conquered Wellington," said O'Connell to the Clare electors. Mr. Lecky says, "this great victory was won by the genius of a single man"—O'Connell. Mr. Gladstone, in his famous pamphlet entitled *Vatican Decrees*, refers to Dr. Doyle as "the prelate who, more than any other, represented his Church and influenced the mind of this country in favour of concession at the time of Emancipation."

CHAPTER VIII.

NATIONAL EDUCATION AND THE RELIEF OF THE POOR.

R. DOYLE was, as we have seen, one of the foremost leaders in the movement for Catholic Emancipation; but he found time to forward other plans and schemes which tended, more directly, perhaps, to ameliorate the moral and physical degredation of the people. With him, Churchman though he was, Catholic Emancipation was but a means to an end; and that end was not so much the exaltation of the Catholic Church in Ireland, as the making of the lot of the people brighter and happier. In all his actions, and in all his writings, the social reformer is manifest. During the turmoil and tumult of the agitation for Catholic Emancipation, he laboured

to found in Ireland a system of primary education, subsidised by the State, in the benefits of which every creed would participate, and to establish the legal obligation of the well-to-do to aid in the alleviation of destitution and physical suffering amongst the unfortunates in the battle of life. He held that it was the duty of the State to educate its children, and to see that the sick, the decrepit, and the aged were not in need of solace and the necessaries of existence. These propositions are the commonplaces of our time; no one now denies them. Indeed, they have been on the Statute books of the country for years. But in the days of Dr. Doyle they were still considered by many to be subversive of all law, human and divine.

Thackeray, who made a tour of Ireland in 1841, seven years after Dr. Doyle's death, and has left us an interesting record of his impressions of the country and its people in *The Irish Sketch Book*, refers—in connection with his visit to Carlow—to Dr. Doyle. He writes: "He was the best champion the Catholic Church and cause ever had in Ireland; in learning and admirable kindness and virtue, the best example to the clergy of his religion; and if the country is now filled with schools where the humblest peasant in it can have the benefit of a liberal and wholesome education, it owes this great boon mainly to his noble exertions, and to the spirit they

awakened." This tribute is well-deserved, and is, perhaps, all the more weighty because of the tendency of Thackeray, in *The Irish Sketch Book*, to be sarcastic at the expense of many of the Irish public personages of the time.

Dr. Doyle was fully convinced of the importance of education as a means of improving the social condition of the people. "I have always considered," he said, "the education of the poor as an essential means of bettering their condition, and of promoting the peace of society and the security of the State." From the school-house, morality, peace, and contentment would flow, and it was his ambition to have in every parish one of those centres of social progress. "If Providence," said he, "but gives me life to see every parish in the diocese furnished each with a convenient church and well-ordered male and female schools, I will end my course in joy." As we shall see, he fully realised that ambition, though death took him early.

The opportunities of primary education were at this time very few, and the means were ridiculously inadequate. The lowest order of the peasantry, the agricultural labourers, were, as a rule, absolutely illiterate; and the vast majority of the class that was able to read and write were taught in hovels, or under a spreading hedge, in summer time, by men of no training—nomadics who wandered over the country,

spending a month here and a month there, imparting the rudiments of education in exchange for a breakfast or dinner, or for a corner close to the kitchen hearth in the night time. It is true, the time had passed when the education of the Catholic was banned by law. The State no longer considered it necessary, in self-defence, to keep the Catholic ignorant. But though the ban had been removed since 1782, no attempt to place the means of education within the reach of the humblest and the lowest was made on anything like an adequate scale until the National School system was founded in 1832. Any primary schools worthy of the name that did exist when Dr. Doyle began his work as an educational reformer, were founded and endowed for the avowed purpose of converting Ireland to Protestantism. This was the aim and object of the old schools, established early in the eighteenth century—such as the Royal Schools, the Erasmus Smith Schools, and the Charter Schools—and also of the schools of the Association for Discountenancing Vice, founded by the bishops of the Establishment in 1792, and aided in their proselytising work by grants of money from the State since 1800.

In 1812 a Commission, appointed by the Government to inquire into the subject of primary education in Ireland, recommended the subsidising of schools

by the State, in which no attempt was to be made "to influence or disturb peculiar religious tenets of any sort or description of Christians." For this purpose, the Commission recommended that State aid should be given to a Society which had been established in the preceding year with the object of promoting the primary education of the poor in Ireland. This Society, which had at its head some of the leading Protestants and Catholics of the time, had its offices in Kildare Place, Dublin. It, therefore, came to be known as the Kildare Place Society, and its schools in the country were known as Kildare Place Schools. The recommendation of the Education Commission was adopted by the Government. The first grant of £7,000 was given to the Kildare Place Society in 1814.

The Kildare Place Society did excellent educational work for some years. It established many schools throughout Ireland, and circulated excellent reading-books on travel, biography, literature, and science, which displaced, in those parts of the country where its influence prevailed, the deleterious or nonsensical books then largely in use in other schools, such as *The Feast of Love; The Effects of Love; The History of Captain Grant, the Gentleman Highwayman; The Arabian Nights; The History of Moll Flanders*, and *The Pleasant Art of Money Catching.* The subsidy

which it received from the State was granted "for the education of the poor without religious distinction," and in the first years of its existence the Society imparted in its schools a sound moral and intellectual education. The system was not all that the Catholics desired; but it was the best at their disposal, and they largely availed of it. Unhappily the actions of the Society soon began to excite feelings of distrust and apprehension in the minds of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy. The Society, be it remembered, though it had O'Connell amongst its Vice-Presidents, was managed solely by Protestants, and its system of education was devised entirely by Protestants. There is no doubt now that it was gradually transformed by the predominating Evangelical element on the board of directors into an engine of proselytism; and that in many an innocent-looking but insinuating guise it taught doctrines which tended to undermine the religious beliefs of the Catholic children attending its schools.

The first note of alarm was sounded by Dr. MacHale (late Archbishop of Tuam), who, at this time, was a Professor in Maynooth College. He wrote a powerful series of letters to the Press, signed, "Hieraphilos," in which he charged the Kildare Place Society with proselytism in its schools, and with

actually devoting portion of the money which it received from the State for the education of the poor "without religious distinction," in aid of such undisguisedly proselytising bodies as the London Hibernian Society and the Society for Discountenancing Vice. One of the rules of the Society strictly forbade all controversial teaching. Nevertheless the directors of the Society issued an order to their teachers that the reading of the Scriptures without note or comment was to be made an indispensable part of the instruction of all the pupils. This was the rock on which the Kildare Place system of education, which set out in 1817 with such high hopes and brilliant prospects, was shattered to pieces. The directors of the Society must have known that it was against the principles of the Catholic Church to allow to children unrestricted access to the Bible—an attitude in which the Catholic Church was then and always has been supported by the High Church section of the Anglican communion —and that the promulgation of an order for the reading of the Scriptures without "note or comment" must, inevitably, have led to the withdrawal of the Catholic children from the schools. But the Evangelicals, with whom "the open Bible" is an essential principle, had a majority on the Council of the Society, and no doubt they honestly held fast to the conviction that it was better that the Society should go to wreck and

ruin rather than that there should be any compromise with what they regarded as error. Lord Cloncurry and the Duke of Leinster—two liberal-minded Protestants—and O'Connell retired from the Society; and the Catholic children were removed in large numbers from its schools throughout the country.

The action of the Kildare Place Society had the result of further inflaming the already sufficiently fierce religious animosities of the country. "They serve to generate discord, heart burnings, and almost a civil war in every village," wrote Dr. Doyle to his friend, Sir Henry Parnell. On this question of education, as well as on every other question, which at that time occupied public attention, "J. K. L." voiced the opinions not only of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, but of Catholic Ireland generally. At a meeting of the prelates held in 1822, he was directed to draw up a paper for presentation to Mr. Charles Grant, the Chief Secretary, embodying their views on the subject. This paper—an ably but temperately written document—declared that the Kildare Place Society had been unable to fulfil, in the case of the Catholics, the intention of the Legislature in placing at their disposal a fund "for the education of the poor without religious distinction," because the doctrines it taught in its schools were adverse from the principles of the

Catholic Church. In order to remove the distrust of the Society which prevailed, the letter to the Chief Secretary suggested that the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin be appointed a Vice-President of the society, and that six parish priests of the city, or any other six persons nominated by the Archbishop, and approved by the Government, be added to the Committee; that a compilation of the Scriptures, sanctioned by the Archbishop, be substituted in place of the Bible for the use of Catholic children; and that no book be used by the Society to which three or more members of the Committee objected. The reasons in support of these suggestions were thus set out by Dr. Doyle:—

"First, that they do not seem to infringe materially on the present rules of the Society, and are so consonant to its principles of extending the blessings of education to all, without interfering with the religion of any, that without them these principles cannot be carried into effect; next, that from a variety of causes the Catholics of the country will always look with distrust to any system of education devised and conducted exclusively by persons professing a religion different from their own, nor can a reasonable hope be entertained that they will cheerfully or generally avail themselves of its advantages until it meets with the cordial support and approbation of their pastors. Also, because the reading of the Sacred Scripture in schools by children is opposed both to the principles and discipline of the Catholic Church, inasmuch as

she considers such practice as tending to diminish the reverence which the professors of her faith should entertain for the Word of God, to unsettle their religious belief by giving occasion to young and ignorant persons to form erroneous judgments on many passages of the Scripture difficult to be understood, and which have ever been interpreted in different ways by divers persons and not infrequently to the great detriment of the most venerable institutions both in Church and State."

However, the Kildare Place Society rejected the proposals of the Catholic prelates, and Parliament refused to interfere. In 1821 the leading Catholics, with the co-operation of some liberal-minded Protestants, founded the "Irish National Society" for the education of the poor, without religious distinction; but the efforts of the Society to obtain a subsidy from the State having failed, it soon collapsed. The Catholics were, therefore, thrown on their own resources locally to establish schools for the children of the poor of their own faith. There were many difficulties in the way of their achieving great things in that direction. It was not easy, for instance, to obtain sites for schools. The landlords, generally, favoured the Kildare Place system of education, and therefore, not a few of them refused to grant sites for the proposed Catholic schools. In many dioceses the chapels were used as school-rooms, or rude temporary buildings for the purpose were erected in

the grounds or graveyards attached to the chapels. Wherever it was found impossible to obtain the necessary accommodation, the priests—unwilling to withdraw the pupils from one school, without having another to receive them—allowed the children to continue to go to the Kildare Place schools. But, nevertheless, the attendance of Catholic children in these schools rapidly diminished. In 1824 the Society had 100,000 pupils attending their schools. In three years they lost half that number owing to the agitation against their system, which Dr. Doyle, in face of much discouragement, even from his brethren in the episcopacy, kept alive—by speeches, letters, and pastorals—for a period of ten years, until the present National system of education was established.

Dr. Doyle was unquestionably in favour of an undenominational system of primary education. He considered that the training of the young was a National concern—that it was a duty the State, in its own interests, was bound to discharge; and having been, himself, educated in a "mixed school," he believed that an undenominational system of education would tend to allay that religious animosity, which, in his day, was the fruitful source of many of the miseries of Ireland. "I do not see," he writes in one of his *Letters on the State of Ireland*, "how any man wishing well to the public peace, and who

looks to Ireland as his country, can think that that peace can ever be permanently established, or the prosperity of the country secured, if children are separated at the beginning of life on account of their religious opinions." In his view children of all sects ought to receive together a moral and intellectual education; and religious instruction should be imparted to them separately by their own pastors. The National system of education, which was established in 1831 by Mr. Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby), who was Chief Secretary for Ireland at the time, embodied that principle. It received the full concurrence of Dr. Doyle, Archbishop Murray, and all the other members of the Catholic episcopacy; and was warmly approved in Parliament by Daniel O'Connell and Richard Lalor Sheil; while on the other hand, the Nonconformists, and the Evangelicals of the Established Church, who had had control of the defunct Kildare Place Society, just as bitterly assailed it. The system continued to receive in the main the support of the Catholic bishops, (though Dr. MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, strenuously opposed it from the first), till the death in 1852 of Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin—who had a seat on the National Education Board since its foundation in 1831—when Dr. Cullen, on succeeding Dr. Murray, proclaimed that the system

was contrary to the "spirit and practice" of the Catholic Church; and since then the prelates have been unanimous in their efforts to have primary education conducted on denominational lines.

Dr. Doyle did not live to see realised the other scheme for the amelioration of the condition of the people on which he set great store—the establisment of a legal provision for the relief of the sick and the indigent. He was dead four years when the Poor Law system was, in 1838, extended to Ireland; but his name is as closely associated with the origin of our system for the relief of the poor as it is with the establishment of our scheme of National education. Previous to 1838, no legal organization existed in Ireland for the relief of the sick, the infirm, and the indigent. The principle that society is bound to provide for the destitute, or at least to see that no person shall perish through want of the necessaries of life, had been adopted for years in almost every civilized state except Ireland, which was probably the poorest country then in the world, and therefore the most in need of a legal provision for the relief of the needy and necessitous. Nor was there even lay organizations, save here and there in a few districts, to discharge the duty the State left unfulfilled. To private charity, unorganized, spasmodic, and uncertain, had the unfortunate in life's battle alone to look for succour and assistance. But it

was the poor that mainly supported the indigent. Those who had a little gave freely and generously to those who had nothing at all. The sick, the mendicant, the infirm, the orphan and the infant—every form of poverty and helplessness—had, as a rule, to look to poor neighbours for aid and succour; and so far as ways and means allowed, they did not look in vain. It is a very old saying, and a very true saying, that in Ireland the poor are the best friends of the poor.

Dr. Doyle was opposed to the extention to Ireland of the English system of poor relief—not the present division of the country into Unions, each with its workhouse and infirmary, and a poor-rate compulsorily levied on owners of property; but—as it consisted at that time—the distribution of a fund raised locally by rates for the assistance of the destitute. It would seem from his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1825, to inquire into the state of Ireland, that Dr. Doyle was more in favour of the appointment of "a Committee in each parish who would be legally entitled to ascertain the number and the condition of paupers, and to distribute for their relief such collections as would be made on Sundays at the several places of worship, and such donations as they could obtain either from absent gentry or the resident gentry in times of more than ordinary distress." "I would be almost afraid," he

adds, "to give them any power of assessment;" and yet he describes his system as "a modified system of poor-rates." His plan was, really, an organization of private charity; its directors would have no legal powers, and the contributions to its funds would be purely voluntary. This, I think, will be made clear by another extract from his evidence. "From my knowledge of the state of the poor in seasons of scarcity, and the many impositions practised upon the benevolent, and the extreme distress that arises from want of a simultaneous effort for the relief of the poor by persons well acquainted with their situation, I think great misery prevails now which would be effectually removed if there were in each parish a legal and standing committee who would ascertain who were the poor in reality, and who were not, and who would be entitled to appropriate to their relief collections to be made at the different places of worship." He would, in a word, leave the relief of genuine pauperism to the operation of private benevolence controlled by local committees.

He soon, however, came to see that the voluntary system—"a system by which," as Sheil so well expressed it, "charity is mulct, while parsimonious opulence escapes from contribution"—would not meet the evil, and that the only true remedy was a legal provision. He no longer desired to leave the relief of

suffering humanity to an agency so wayward and unstable as the impulse of the charitable; he wished to have it recognised, not as a moral duty alone, but as an imperative legal obligation on all citizens, from which there should be no evasion or escape. These are the sentiments to which he gave expression in several public letters, and before the Select Committee to take into consideration the state of the Irish poor, and the best means of improving their condition, which, as the result of his powerful appeals, the Government appointed in 1830. The labours of the Select Committee, as usual, bore no fruit in the way of ameliorative legislation. They collected a mass of evidence, most useful to the historian, for the lurid pictures it presents of the awful social state of Ireland in that period; but it does not seem to have had any good effect at Westminster.

Dr. Doyle, however, was determined to keep the question to the front, and this he succeeded in doing, though O'Connell was just then stirring the public feeling of the country to its very depths by inaugurating his movement for the Repeal of the Union. He published in March, 1831, a letter, which occupies 133 large octavo pages, *On a Legal Provision for the Irish Poor, and on the Origin, Nature, and Destination of Church Property*, addressed to Mr. Spring Rice (afterwards Lord Monteagle), who took a deep interest in

all matters affecting the material well-being of Ireland. In this letter—one of the most powerful and convincing documents he ever penned—he insisted on the right of the indigent to succour from a rate assessed on property, and on the appropriation of tithes to the purposes for which they were originally intended—the education and relief of the poor. Even O'Connell, who had always been a stout opponent of a legal provision for the destitute, was profoundly moved by the persuasive eloquence and logic of the letter.

"My lord," he wrote from London, March 29th, 1831, "you have convinced me—your pamphlet on the necessity of making a legal provision for the *destitute* Irish poor has completely convinced me. The candour and distinctness with which you state the arguments against that provision, and the clear and satisfactory manner in which you have answered and refuted those arguments, have quite overpowered my objections, and rendered me an unwilling, but not the less sincere, convert to your opinions. I candidly acknowledge that you have done more—you have alarmed me, lest, in the indulgence of my own selfishness as a landowner, I should continue to be the opponent of him who would feed the hungry and enable the naked to clothe themselves."

The resistance to a legal system of poor relief was inspired, principally, by the selfishness of property-holders. Even O'Connell, with all his denunciation of the wrongs of the peasantry, was animated in his

opposition to the Poor Laws, by a feeling of self-interest. The phrase in his letter to Dr. Doyle—"the indulgence of my own selfishness as a land-owner"—is significant, and he did not long retain the generous sentiments to which he gave expression in that communication. The very next year—on January 4th, 1832—he denounced in a speech of great force, any and every scheme for a legal provision for the poor in Ireland. Mr. Fagan in his biography of O'Connell states that O'Connell was altogether opposed to the principle of a Poor Law, however modified; and that when he advocated it in 1831 in his letter to Dr. Doyle, and again in 1836, in reply to a resolution of the Trades Union of Dublin, he did so to satisfy popular feeling and against his own convictions. Private benevolence was in O'Connell's opinion quite sufficient to relieve the needs of the destitute. To Dr. Doyle, O'Connell's change of attitude naturally brought pain and disappointment. It led to an immediate public correspondence of a recriminatory character, which ended in a breach of friendship between these two great men that was never again healed. A long letter by Dr. Doyle, in which he controverted the arguments of O'Connell, was thus opened:—

"I have at present no hope of effecting another change in your opinions on this important subject;

and if I allude to those which have taken place in your mind, it is not by way of taunt or reproach, but to remind you, and the public also, that your judgment on this matter has not only vacillated—and whatever vacillates is weak—but that it has at different times, whilst the subject remained unchanged, determined itself, not in different, but in opposite ways. These changes, moreover, according to your own avowal, have not been the effect of heat or passion, or of feeling of any sort; neither have they resulted from a want of meditation—they have been the fruit of long watchings and laborious reflection. I infer from this, and I say it with all due respect, that whether upon this subject you be right or wrong, you are not an authority to be followed; for authority, to be such should be exempt from change. But if I despair of your reconversion to an earnest and eager approval of Poor Laws, and if I do not deem you an authority on this subject, why, it may be asked, do I now address you? I do so for the two following reasons—first, to prevent, as far as I can, that portion of the public with whom your opinions are paramount from being led into error by you; and secondly, to set free from deformation that mode of relieving the Irish poor of which I myself, with many honest and able men, have been the consistent and unwearied advocates."

O'Connell's reply was also an able and caustic document. One extract from it will suffice to illustrate not only O'Connell's position, but the tone and temper of the controversy :—

"The charges of Dr. Doyle are founded upon a false assumption—they are based upon a complete

petitio principii; they are grounded upon exceedingly bad logic—and the logic I will not spare. I say the widow, the aged, the orphan and the infirm ought to be supported. It is the bounden duty of every man who has means to save and to feed the indigent and the hungry. It is the moral duty of all to take care of the poor. But I distinctly deny their legal or political right to a legislative provision—that is my solemn opinion. Dr. Doyle thinks otherwise; and as he has a perfect right to hold his opinion, I am sure I am equally entitled to hold mine. But I have my system of Poor Laws for Ireland—a repeal of the Union. Let us have our Parliament again, and we shall require no poor-rates. Irish people! they want to make you the slaves of the rich; they want to make you degraded mendicants, dependent on alms. I want to make you independent of alms, relying on the fertility of your soil and the produce of your labour."

O'Connell also complained that these attacks should have been made on him on the eve of his departure for Parliament, paralysing, as he put it, his exertions in the cause of his native land, to which Dr. Doyle, in a second letter, replied :—

"If you number my letter among those assaults, I will only say you provoked it by your attack on the interests of the poor; and you, not I, selected the time of the contest. No man can be anxious to contend with you, and I the last of all; but while I have life and strength, if the cause of the poor be not hopeless, I will not cease to contend for them even against you. You may endeavour to deter me by wishing that someone whom you less regarded had written my letter,

that you might visit the temerity as it deserved. But do not spare. It is just that every man bear his own burden; nor do I wish to owe aught to the favour of any man, be he king or subject, powerful or weak, rich or poor. Your Poor Laws for Ireland are a 'Repeal of the Union.' I hope for Poor Laws—I am not so sanguine as to Repeal, on account of the vast impediments placed in the way of that consummation, which, if not extorted by violence, but accorded to the united will of the Irish people, is so devoutly to be wished."

Time has played havoc with O'Connell's doctrine of *laisser faire*. It is becoming more and more recognised that it is the duty of the State to hold out a succouring hand to her citizens who are unable to help themselves in periods of destitution and sickness. Perhaps O'Connell's action in the early Thirties is explained by the grave disclosures made before a Parliamentary Committee which had just concluded an inquiry into the administration of Poor Law relief in England. It was shown that the system—which was worked, without any central supervision, and consisted entirely of affording relief by grants of money, or supplies of food—was prolific of extravagance, jobbery and fraud; and that thousands of the rural population, in regular employment, were recipients of relief, which they did not need. By an Act passed in 1834 the workhouse system was established; and the administration of relief was brought under the control of a central authority, which ulti-

mately developed into the Local Government Board. O'Connell, however, opposed to the last every attempt to introduce into Ireland any system of Poor Law relief. Of the two countries, Ireland, with racial animosities and religious feuds sharply dividing its rich and its poor, its aristocracy and its peasantry, and deadening the impulse of benevolence, was more in need of a legal system of relief. And yet, while in England the system grew gradually from the days of Elizabeth, shaping itself to the needs and demands of the time, Ireland had no system of poor-relief at all till 1838, when the English law was, without any practical experience of its suitability, extended to this country.

There was, indeed, one important modification of the English law as applied to Ireland. Out-door relief, which was still allowed in England, was altogether prohibited in Ireland. The poor were forced into the workhouses. Inside these forbidding institutions families were separated, the wife from the husband, the child from the parent; and thus were violated the two strongest instincts of our race, probably—family affection, and love of home. That certainly was not the system of poor-relief which Dr. Doyle so ably and so persistently advocated.

CHAPTER IX.

AFTER CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

HE passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act was expected by many to satisfy the religious and national aspirations of the Irish people, and to inaugurate an era of tranquillity, contentment and well-ordered progress in the country; if indeed, it did not afford an immediate cure for all the ills of Ireland, social, political and theological. Dr. Doyle was among those who entertained the most sanguine hopes of the good results of Emancipation. He was asked, in the course of his examination before the Parliamentary Committee of 1825, what particular or general benefits would, in his opinion, accrue to Ireland by the removal of the Catholic disabilities.

His reply to the question is worth quoting in full; showing as it does the great and good things he hoped Ireland would gain by Emancipation.

"I think," said he, "that the general benefits produced by it, would be incalculable. I am quite confident it would put an end to those religious heats and animosities which now prevail so generally. I am also of opinion it would tranquilise the public mind effectually, and make us all sit down quietly to promote our local and general interests. I also think that the country, being thus intent on its internal improvement, the capitalists of England, would find it to their interests to go amongst us, and to employ to their own advantages, as well as ours, their capital and skill and industry upon those vast resources with which Ireland abounds. It is in that way, I think our general interests would be promoted by it. As to the particular interests to be promoted by it, I should think in a vast community like ours, abounding with talent, and now becoming well acquainted, many individuals would show themselves deserving of attention, and acquire those situations from which profit and honour would be acquired to themselves and their families; and if only one individual of the community had only this prospect before him, that would cause all others in his neighbourhood to look up to the State, and to labour with the Government for the public good. In fact, I think it would knit together and effectually secure the affections of the multitude, as well as of individuals, and make us one people immediately, and I hope in a few years, a very happy and prosperous people."

Catholic Emancipation being now conceded, Dr.

Doyle believed that Parliament would give some of its attention to the devising of means for the improvement of the social condition of the people, to which he had always attached more importance than to political reforms. His bright hopes are fully set forth in a pastoral he drew up at a meeting of the Catholic bishops in Dublin in January, 1830, and which, signed by the assembled prelates, was circulated throughout Ireland. Civil and religious liberty had been established. Ireland, so long distracted by religious feuds, had been rendered happy and contented by a great act of justice, and the counsellors of His Majesty—conspicuous amongst whom was Wellington, "the most distinguished of Ireland's sons—a hero and a legislator—a man selected by the Almighty to break the rod which had scourged Europe—a man raised up by Providence to confirm thrones, to re-establish altars, to direct the councils of England at a crisis the most difficult, to staunch the blood and heal the wounds of the country that gave him birth"—had in contemplation further measures for the welfare of the country. The voice of the agitator was therefore to be heard no more in the land. The people were to deprecate any attempt to trouble their repose on the part of "sowers of discord or sedition," and the wild and criminal oaths of the secret societies were not even to be named amongst them. The

bishops also rejoiced that the Act of Emancipation relieved them of the necessity of taking any further part in political agitation. "It was a duty," they said in this pastoral, "imposed on us by a state of things which has passed; but a duty which we have gladly relinquished in the fervent hope that by us or our successors it may not be resumed." But unhappily these bright anticipations were soon dispelled, and the prelate who penned the last significant sentence which I have quoted from this very remarkable pastoral was, within a twelve-month, the most prominent figure in an agitation, which was brought to the very verge of actual rebellion by many sanguinary conflicts between the people and the forces of the Crown.

That Catholic Emancipation was a great healing measure, and that, in its ultimate effects it has been most beneficial, not only to Ireland, but to the Empire, cannot be denied. But it was too much to expect—as most people at the time did undoubtedly expect—that it would at once have remedied all the evils which had afflicted Ireland for centuries. Events quickly proved that the fears and alarms of the opponents of Emancipation were as exaggerated as the hopes and expectations of its supporters. The ascendency party were convinced that their end—if not the end of the world—was nigh; that the immediate ruin of their caste was inevitable. To their astonishment and pro-

found delight, Emancipation wrought little or no change in the established order of things. The spoils of Government, which they had believed they would be unable to retain after Emancipation, were still safe and secure in their hands. Not a single Catholic was called to any of the offices of the State for which Emancipation had made him eligible. The ascendency party retained the monopoly of all the real elements of power—the offices of the State and the administration of the laws—and so the bogey of Catholic Emancipation, on a closer acquaintance, lost all its terrors.

And how fared it with the people? The great force behind the movement for Catholic Emancipation was undoubtedly social discontent. The peasantry were convinced that if Catholic members were elected to Parliament rents would be greatly reduced, long leases be the universal rule, and the tithe be abolished for evermore. But of course the removal of the Catholic disabilities did not produce at once any of the effects the peasantry had expected, and disillusionment and disappointment ensued. In fact, the first immediate results of Catholic Emancipation, as far as the peasantry were concerned, were disfranchisement and eviction. A craze for large farms had set in, and as the abolition of the forty-shilling freeholders had deprived small holdings of their political value to the

landlords, their unfortunate occupants were turned out in thousands without the slightest compunction. The parson, too, persisted in collecting his tithe as if the Emancipation Act had never been passed. No wonder, then, that Ireland in the years following the removal of Catholic disabilities was as disturbed as in the years immediately preceding it. The grievance which pressed most heavily on the people, and for which the least could be said in extenuation, was the imposition of tithe; and on the abolition of that hateful impost the people now set their hearts.

The agitation against tithe spasmodically rose and declined, according as the agricultural seasons were prosperous or bad, during the previous fifty years or more; but in the winter of 1830, there began a National movement against the impost, animated by a fierce and stern determination to get rid of it once and for ever. Tithe had been denounced at times by O'Connell and Dr. Doyle, during the progress of the movement for the removal of the Catholic disabilities; but after the Act of Emancipation neither of them—though they filled the largest and most prominent places in the public life of Ireland—took part at first in the new agitation. O'Connell in one of his public pronouncements after Emancipation, his *Letter to the People of Ireland*, dated January 7th, 1830, gives the abolition of tithes the ninth place only, in a list of eighteen

social and political grievances for which he said he would endeavour to obtain redress in the House of Commons; and in the constitution of "The Society of the Friends of Ireland," the first of that long series of organizations he founded between 1830 and 1840, such reforms as "the repeal of the duty in Ireland on Malt;" "the repeal of the excise on paper in Ireland;" "the repeal of the mischievous sub-letting Act," and "the repeal of the Vestry Bill," are mentioned before "the abolition of tithes." Dr. Doyle in a letter to his niece, written in July, 1830, states that he was mainly interested in the completion of his Cathedral at Carlow (the foundation stone of which he laid on Easter Monday, 1828), and that so far as public questions were concerned he had a thought only for a legal provision for the poor and the establishment of a National system of education.

It is, indeed, difficult to suppress a smile at the political pronouncements of O'Connell at this juncture. The repeal of the taxes on malt and paper is given a prominent place in his programme; the tithe question is merely mentioned as a matter of small importance, and there is no word at all about the Repeal of the Union. However, the Repeal of the Union at this time, and, indeed, during all the years of the fight for Emancipation, occupied a large share of O'Connell's thoughts. But he discreetly determined to feel his

way first before he brought the question prominently to the front, as he was apprehensive that the pastoral of the bishops against further agitation would prevent the country rallying behind him. But the Government, without intending it, set at rest all such doubts in the mind of O'Connell. "The Society of the Friends of Ireland" was suppressed by the Lord Lieutenant (the Duke of Northumberland) on April 24th, 1830, and the indignation aroused in the country proved to O'Connell that the people were by no means satiated with agitation; that they had grievances still too real and too pressing to allow them to sit down quietly to the enjoyment of the privilege of voting for Catholic members of Parliament, and that they would enthusiastically support a movement for the Repeal of the Union. O'Connell immediately answered the proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant by establishing "The Anti-Union Association for Legislative Relief"—the main object of which was to repeal the Union—and this being as quickly suppressed, was followed by "The Society of Irish Volunteers for the Repeal of the Union," which, after a brief existence, was also proclaimed. O'Connell, most resourceful of leaders, then inaugurated a series of public breakfasts, at which all his prominent followers gathered round the board and discussed Repeal with tea and toast.

All this, needless to say, tended to inflame the public mind on the question of Repeal. Dr. Doyle had no part whatever in the movement. He certainly did not encourage it. He had at this time a generous but discreet confidence in the Government, and thought it would be better to concentrate public attention on such social questions as education and poor relief. Attempts were made by both Repealers and Unionists to enlist him on their side in the struggle, but the position he took up was practically one of neutrality. The aristocracy, headed by the Duke of Leinster, tried in vain to get his signature to a declaration which they issued against Repeal. "Being unable at present to judge whether the repeal of the Act of Union be practicable, I think it better, as yet, to abstain from making any public declaration on the subject," he wrote, on October 27th, 1830, to the Duke of Leinster. "If the present movement in favour of the Repeal be not founded on the true interests of Ireland, it will shortly and of itself subside. Should the case be otherwise, it cannot be desirable that your Grace, and the noblemen and gentlemen who think with you, should be committed against the general will of the country." What he desired was public discussion, free and unfettered, to ascertain whether Repeal was practicable, and also what would be its probable effect, if carried, on Great Britain as

well as on Ireland. The action of the Government in suppressing the various Repeal Associations, therefore, greatly troubled him; and their neglect in not introducing those measures of social reform, on which he had set his heart, was sapping the confidence he had extended to them in the first flush of generous feeling after Emancipation. The *Post*—a Dublin journal, edited by Mr. F. W. Conway, which had been favoured with most of Dr. Doyle's public letters—in an article condemning the Repeal movement, quoted the words of the bishop after the passing of the Emancipation Act—"the road to improvement in Ireland is now open"—and urged the agitators to cease from inflaming the passions of the people, and to follow the wise and pacific counsels of one who had done so much to promote the great cause of civil and religious freedom. Dr. Doyle promptly replied:—

"At that time I endeavoured to persuade a rustic population, greatly injured and distressed, to return from a state of almost open insurrection to a state of submission and of peace. I placed before them my own hopes, which I thought were well-founded, and I induced them, by writing and exhortation, to adopt my opinions. I then expected the 'Relief Bill' would be acted upon; that Ireland would be governed justly, and her people rescued by Government from local oppression, and placed under the protection of equal and impartial law. I did expect that the Legislature

would lose no time in removing the gross abuses which existed in our administration; in visiting and reforming all our Corporations; in repealing laws most odious and oppressive to the people; and, above all, in providing a good system of education for youth, and some support, however scanty, for our hordes of destitute poor. I hoped for all this, and I infused my own hopes into the breasts and minds of many thousands. But were these hopes realised?—was any one object of them verified?—was a single step taken by the Government which could lead me to expect that this system of governing Ireland had in any respect been changed? The Catholics and the friends of the Catholics—I say it advisedly—were excluded from all places of trust, honour, and emolument, as carefully as they had been under the Richmond Administration. There was no change in the mode of exercising patronage. The Church Establishment, with its tithe and vestry laws, and all the Corporations of towns and cities, remained in their former state. The Grand Jury laws were not altered—the Sub-letting Act not amended—Mr. Brownlow's excellent Act not countenanced—the Galway Franchise Act thrown out by the Premier—the Kildare Place Society, employed, as it were, by the Government, and paid by the people, to disturb the peace, to spread abroad religious discord, and to mar the progress of education; but, above all, the ejected tenantry left to perish by thousands, and no provision made, or, I fear, seriously designed to be made, for the poor."

Dr. Doyle was, as this letter indicates, beginning to feel that the United Parliament, sitting at Westminster, could never be got to give its attention to the remedial legislation which the deplorable condition of Ireland

rendered imperative ; and that the only hope for the regeneration of the country lay in the establisment of a native Parliament in Dublin. However, in November, 1830, an event occurred which, in his opinion, wrought a complete change in the political situation. The Tory Administration of Wellington and Peel, which had carried Emancipation, was defeated in the House of Commons on a motion moved by Sir Henry Parnell, in reference to the Civil List expenses of the reigning Monarch, William IV., and they immediately resigned. A Whig Ministry, formed by Earl Grey, succeeded to office. This Ministry contained many able and distinguished statesmen—such men as Lords Lansdowne, Melbourne, Brougham, and Russell, who had always professed a deep and sincere sympathy with the movements for Emancipation and the settlement of the tithe grievance ; and Lord Anglesey—who was Lord Lieutenant in 1829, under the Tory Administration, and had been recalled for his public declaration in favour of Emancipation before the question had been taken up by the Government—was again sent to Ireland as Viceroy, with Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby) as Chief Secretary. The *personnel* of the new Administration inspired Dr. Doyle with fresh hope that the Parliament of the United Kingdom would, after all, heal the social ills of Ireland. A change in his attitude towards the Repeal

movement became at once apparent. He no longer showed any sympathy with the agitation. There is nothing in his writings, however, to indicate that he was opposed to Repeal on principle. It is true that in his famous letter on the Union of the Churches, he rejoices that the Irish Parliament, which, he truly says, excluded the Catholics from the Constitution, "first through bigotry, and the fear of the Pretender, and afterwards through the less worthy motives of religious intolerance and selfish monopoly" was "happily extinguished." His mind was of the practical and commonsense order, and, therefore, he always approached the question of the Union from the utilitarian rather than from the sentimental or Nationalist point of view. O'Connell declared that he would rather have the Irish Parliament, with all the penal laws in operation, than the United Parliament with Emancipation. Dr. Doyle, on the other hand, preferred the United Parliament, to which Catholics were admitted, to the Irish Parliament, with its bigotry and intolerance, and its selfish ascendency legislation. He would have gladly welcomed Repeal, in the interest of Ireland, and he would have striven for it with heart and soul if he had thought it at all possible of accomplishment. But he was convinced that it was utterly impracticable; that England would yield it only to superior force; and consequently he objected to the

people being deluded by false hopes, and to their strength being wasted in a struggle for an impossible object, when, with a friendly Whig Administration in office, the popular movement, wisely directed, might obtain such sorely needed measures as the abolition of tithe; the establishment of a National system of Education, and a legal provision for the relief of the poor.

O'Connell, however, did not show by his public conduct that he agreed with these views. The Repeal movement from its inauguration in 1830 to its final collapse in 1848 had its ebbs and floods; its risings and subsidings at regular stages; but probably, at no period of its history, did it rise to a height of popular excitement so menacing to the stability of the Union as during 1830-31, the first year of the Whig Administration of Earl Grey. Lord Anglesey tried to crush the movement by proclamations and prosecutions, but O'Connell with matchless resource and supreme daring beat him at every point. "Give us the word, O'Connell and let us at them" was a cry that was frequently heard at "monster meetings" throughout Ireland. O'Connell did not give the signal for revolt which hundreds of thousands of his followers ardently desired; but to the amazement and bewilderment of the rude and unsophisticated peasantry—who for months were convinced that any hour might bring

them "the word" that they were to fight for the independence of Ireland — he suddenly dropped Repeal altogether. Perhaps, the most curious feature of O'Connell's strange change of front in 1831, is that he vouchsafed no explanation of it in his public letters or speeches. He simply ceased all allusion to Repeal — he was as silent on the question as if it never had an existence; and his public utterances were now confined to insisting on the necessity for Parliamentary Reform, a question which was then agitating England from end to end. We find, however, in O'Connell's private correspondence, the mystery fully unravelled. Probably at no period of his career did he ever seriously contemplate a recourse to physical force; but certainly in 1831 he became thoroughly apprehensive of the fierce spirit of rebellion he had aroused in the country, and gladly availed of the means of escape from his dangerous position, afforded him by a private intimation from the Ministry, that if he dropped Repeal and helped them to carry a Reform Bill they would afterwards give their attention to the removal of Irish grievances.

To Dr. Doyle this change of policy on the part of O'Connell was heartily welcomed. He thought the test of time should be applied to the intentions of the new Government; that before they were condemned they should be given the opportunity of translating

their fair and friendly promises with regard to Ireland into the Acts of Parliament. But on the other hand, he had no sympathy whatever with the coercive action of the Lord Lieutenant. In letters to Sir Henry Parnell and Lord Darnley—a correspondence which was laid before several influential members of the Ministry—he strongly condemned the repressive measures by which Lord Anglesey was vainly trying to crush the agitation ; and as strongly urged that the country could be quieted only by ameliorative legislation.

The *volte face* of O'Connell brought supreme relief to the Government also. Lord Anglesey had exhausted almost every constitutional expedient for crushing the Repeal agitation, and had failed. The great agitator was more than a match for the entire Ministry. With him against them, they found it absolutely impossible to govern Ireland by the ordinary law, and even with a stringent Coercion Act at their back it was a task of herculean difficulty. But now the Government had O'Connell on their side fighting lustily for Reform, and they determined to try to make the alliance permanent. A post in the Administration was offered him through the medium of Sir Henry Parnell (who was in the Ministry as Secretary for War) and Dr. Doyle ; but O'Connell rejected it, and rejected it with the full concurrence of Dr. Doyle, as the latter states

in a letter on the subject to Sir Henry Parnell, because the offer was unaccompanied by a definite pledge of a satisfactory character, that measures for the improvement of the condition of Ireland would be promptly introduced by the Government after the Reform Bill had passed. The negotiations, however, were continued till December, when they completely broke down.

It is certain that at this period of his career, O'Connell would have gladly accepted the post of Attorney-General for Ireland if he could have obtained from the Government, at the same time, an unequivocal pledge that they would deal with Irish grievances when the question of Reform was settled. It is superfluous to add that personal aggrandisement was not the motive which inspired O'Connell in seeking office. No post in the Government could have brought him the emoluments—not to speak of the popularity—he enjoyed as leader of the Irish people. The "O'Connell Tribute," which was subscribed by his followers in compensation for the loss of his income at the Bar, was worth him at least £10,000 a year. He was willing to take office only and solely because he felt convinced—and this apparently was the view also taken of the matter by Dr. Doyle—that he could render good services to Ireland as a member of the Administration. But the Government could not be

got to give the pledges which O'Connell demanded. Rumours of the negotiations had got abroad, unfortunately for all the parties concerned. The Government were attacked in Parliament for endeavouring to placate the Irish agitator by the offer of a situation; and O'Connell was assailed in Ireland as a self-seeker and a possible traitor. How disastrously to the relations between Dr. Doyle and O'Connell the affair ended is thus told by Dr. Doyle in a letter to Sir Henry Parnell, dated, Carlow, 23rd December, 1831:—

"I saw him in Dublin and impressed on him my views and wishes. He was then, I doubt not, fully prepared to adopt them and act accordingly; but I hoped and led him to hope, that what you informed me of from Paris would be communicated to him in a very short time. Several days elapsed, and I returned here from Dublin before your last, but one, letter arrived. This was so indefinite that, knowing his temper and mind, I thought it better not to inform him of it. During this long interval the agitators and the public Press assailed him continually. He thought his popularity was escaping from him, and that the Government intended only to delude him. He became ill-tempered and by degrees ferocious until he recanted all that he had said of a wish to serve the Government, and atoned for his temporary moderation by the most unqualified abuse of friends and foes. He even charged me with being deluded by Lord Anglesey, and with having sought to delude the unhappy people who are leagued here to subvert all rights of property

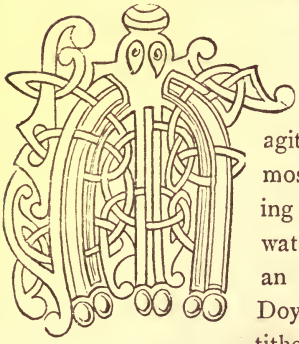
and defeat the operation of all laws. I could have rebuked him publicly, but I thought it better to remonstrate privately with him. I did so, and he has written me a long and laboured explanation. I know not what can be done with him now."

This breach between O'Connell and Dr. Doyle, widened as it was still further at this time by their disagreement on the question of a legal provision for the poor, kept them apart during the few years of life that now remained to the bishop. They fought together once more for a brief period in the tithe agitation, but they never met again in friendly intercourse, and each seems to have entertained, ever afterwards, a distrust of the other. What was more, O'Connell, who was now at the zenith of his popularity, did not scruple to attack Dr. Doyle publicly. The great Tribune had a marvellous command of bitter, cruel sarcasm, and he employed this most dangerous gift unsparingly against everyone, in the popular party as well as outside it, who were unable to see eye to eye with him in all things. He charged Dr. Doyle and Lord Cloncurry with frequent visits to the Castle, and with having had their independence sapped in the enervating atmosphere of the Viceregal Court. As a matter of fact Dr. Doyle, though often invited, never even dined with the Lord Lieutenant, and only once visited the Castle in order to pay his respects to Lord Anlgesey as

the Viceroy of a liberal Government who professed the best of intentions towards Ireland. The bishop felt most keenly these public attacks made upon him by O'Connell. "Ah!" he exclaimed on one occasion, "why does he seek at this crisis to weaken my influence with the misguided people whom God has confided to my care? Why appeal to the passions of an excitable and ignorant multitude for the purpose of sinking me in their estimation. It is cruel to brand me before my flock with sordid and corrupt motives, of which he well knows I am as free as the babe unborn."

CHAPTER X.

THE TITHE AGITATION.



MEANWHILE, the tithe agitation was assuming the most formidable and menacing proportions. It got its watch-word, its war-cry, in an inspiriting phrase of Dr. Doyle—"Let your hatred of tithes be as lasting as your love of justice." His pamphlet on *The Origin, Nature and Destination of Church Property*, which he published in March, 1831, had given the movement a great impetus; and, coupled with the letters and pastorals he subsequently issued, from time to time, denouncing the iniquity of the impost, led him to be regarded, even more than O'Connell, as the personification of the determination of the people to

contribute no more out of their hard-won earnings to the support of a Church which to them was alien and heretical.

The efforts of the Protestant clergy or their agents to collect the tithes by seizing farm produce was generally met by passive resistance. It was not legal to break open a door in order to get at the stock or chattles of a defaulting tithe payer. Scouts were therefore constantly on the watch for the approach of a raiding party; and when that fact was announced by the blowing of horns, the cattle were hurriedly placed under lock and key in the out-offices. But if the cow or the crops or the household furniture, were seized and put up for auction, no one bought. In some cases, however, the resistance was not passive, but active. At Newtownbarry a conflict took place in 1831 between the people and the forces of the Crown, in which several of the peasantry were killed. At Carrickshock in the same year, the people, armed with scythes and pitch-forks, attacked a force of police, accompanying some process-servers, utterly routed them, and killed eighteen of the force, including the commanding officer.

Parliament met in December, 1831, and Committees were appointed by both Houses to inquire (1) into the collection and payment of tithes; and (2), the distress of the Protestant clergy consequent on the difficulty

of collecting the tax. The important question of the justice or injustice of tithes was outside the terms of reference to the Committees; but it was found impossible to exclude it from the evidence taken by them. Dr. Doyle was one of the witnesses. Much of his direct examination was devoted to the historical aspect of the question—the origin and objects of tithes; in which he displayed great erudition and the keenest subtlety of scholastic disputation; but it was when the members of the Committee of the House of Lords endeavoured to confound him by the lawlessness—as they regarded it—of the part he had taken in the movement against tithes that his evidence became most interesting. Several witnesses had testified to the ease with which tithes had been collected until the publication of Dr. Doyle's letters. In certain districts the tithe was gathered in one week without any difficulty. But in the next week the people were aroused to a terrible state of excitement, and the parsons or their agents were groaned and mobbed when they attempted to resume the collection of the one-tenth of the produce of the land which the law allotted for the support of the clergy of the Established Church. What had wrought this sudden transformation in the attitude of the tithe-payers? On the intervening Sunday at all the Masses in the parish chapels one of Dr. Doyle's fierce on-

slaughts on the tithe system was read, and the people were told, on the authority of the great Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, with whose renown they were familiar, that the only way in which they could get rid of the hateful impost was to refuse to pay it. They were to use no violence; they were simply to adopt the attitude of "passive resistance"—to allow their goods and chattels and crops to be seized, if the parsons cared to do so, but to absolutely refuse to pay voluntarily even a single farthing of the tithe.

Some of the members of the Committee seemed to think that Dr. Doyle would find it impossible to attempt even to reconcile this advice with the ethics of law, and they consequently pressed him closely on the point. "The payment of tithes was," they argued, "enjoined by the law, the law was binding on the conscience of every subject, and must be obeyed until altered or repealed." Dr. Doyle admitted that the law sanctioned tithe. But the law had also sanctioned at one time or other, the burning of witches; the persecution unto death of men, women and children, for obeying the dictates of their own conscience, in the matter of religion; the slave trade, and all manner of monopoly, tyranny, rapine and fraud. Indeed, there was hardly anything iniquitous or absurd in the history of mankind, that had not behind it at one time the force of a legal

obligation. Laws, after all, were but the work of frail and fallible humanity. There was nothing sacred about them; there was nothing to ensure their absolute justice. If they were essentially bad, and wrought harm or wrong in operation, their amendment or repeal could only be obtained, as experience showed, by the public exposure of their pernicious effects. The people might be led into excesses in seeking a remedy for the abuses of a bad law, but the mere apprehension of such an evil was no reason why an effort should not be made for the redress of wrong. "When Sydney," said he, "opposed the levy of ship-money the prerogative of the Crown was said by the judges to be legally exercised; yet Sydney is held up as a martyr to English law. The Revolution of 1688 was certainly contrary to law; yet we glory in it, and date our happiness and prosperity from that event."

"Had you not reason to think," he was asked, "that that sort of advice addressed to the people in the then state of Ireland, would be ill received by His Majesty's Government, and disapproved of highly?" "Certainly," he promptly answered. "In writing pastorals I never look to the Government as a Government. I have always a view to the peace of the country and to the law, but I feel myself totally unconnected with the Government, entirely independent of them, and though bound in duty as a subject to

give them any support in my power, my business in society has no reference to them; so that in writing pastorals I look only to the interests of religion, and to the good of the people over whom I am placed Bishop through the providence of God." "I do not pretend to be deeply versed in the law of England; but I understand the law of justice," was his reply to another question which urged that his doctrines and counsels in regard to tithe were antagonistic to the law of the land.

"The landlord gives the land for the rent; but the parson gives nothing for the tithe. This saying is in the mouth of every person in Ireland from the cowboy to the gentleman," said Dr. Doyle also. Tithes were really "the patrimony of the poor." They were originally designed mainly for the relief of the destitute, and the Established Church, which was but the trustee for the administration of the tithes, had abused its trust by diverting the tithes from their proper functions. He did not advocate the abolition of the impost; but suggested that it should be paid into the hands of trustees, consisting of Protestants and Catholics, appointed by the House of Commons, who would apply it to the relief and education of the poor, and in other ways that tended to improve the social well-being of the people.

It was urged on behalf of the Protestant clergy,

that the tithe should be converted into a land tax to be paid by the landlords. This course would have saved the parsons the trouble and odium of collecting the obnoxious impost personally or by their agents; but, as it was understood that the landlords were to recoup themselves for the payment of the tax by increasing the rents, little or no relief would have accrued to the peasantry from such a settlement. The grievance lay in the existence of tithes—or rather in the purposes to which they were applied—and not in the mode of their collection; and, of course, a change in the manner of its imposition would not render the tax any less obnoxious, That, however, was the solution of the tithe difficulty which Parliament ultimately arrived at in 1838—five years later—but the Committees, in their reports, confined themselves to merely recommending a grant in aid to the suffering Protestant clergy. There were nearly as many non-resident, as resident, clergymen in Ireland, at that time. Some of the absentees had benefices varying in value from £800 to £3,000 a year; while the stipends of the resident clergy were in many instances as low as £60; and the later were undoubtedly enduring great distress owing to the refusal of the people to pay tithes. Accordingly a sum of £60,000 was issued from the Consolidated Fund for the relief of the clergy; and seeing that it was impossible for

them to collect the tithes, the Government undertook the task, making the tithes—so far as the arrears for the previous year, 1831, were concerned—debts to the Crown. This duty, which the Government so lightly undertook, could have only been discharged in any event with the greatest difficulty. But the situation was further complicated by a declaration of the Government in favour of a "complete extinction of tithes." The series of resolutions on which was founded the Tithe Bill—introduced by the Government, but which did not then pass—contained the following declaration :—

"That it is the opinion of this House with a view to secure both the interests of the Church and the lasting welfare of Ireland, a permanent change of the system will be required, and that such a change to be satisfactory and secure, must involve a complete extinction of tithes, including those belonging to lay impropriators by commuting them for a charge upon land, or in exchange for an investment in land."

No doubt, what the Government meant by this ambiguous use of the phrase, "a complete extinction of tithes," was the transformation of the impost into a tithe rent-charge, payable by the landlords ; but the people read the words as meaning what they in fact expressed—the complete extinction of tithes ; and looked upon them as a justification of their resistance to tithes, whether the demand for payment was made

by the parsons or by the Government. "Arrah, boys, have ye heard the news?" exclaimed O'Connell, in one of his speeches. "The Lord Lieutenant has become the tithe-proctor of all Ireland," and the roars of laughter by which the sally was greeted expressed the light-hearted indifference with which the peasantry regarded the appearance on the scene of the Crown as the collector of tithes. The efforts of the Government to collect the impost was no more successful than the efforts of the parsons. Indeed, the agitation against tithes increased in volume. The refusal to pay became universal in the provinces of Leinster and Munster. Cattle and goods were seized in lieu of the tax, but, as before, no one would buy them when they were put up for sale by auction; the defendants in the numberless prosecutions instituted by the authorities received the honored title of "tithe-martyrs;" and most appalling circumstance of all, the bloody scenes of Newtownbarry and Carrickshock in 1831, were repeated at Mullinahone (Tipperary), and Carrigtwohill (Cork) in 1832—so determined was the resistance offered by the people of these districts to seizures by the forces of the Crown for the non-payment of the tax. The result of the efforts of the Governmento collect the tithes was that £12,000, out of an arrear of £60,000, was recovered at a cost of £27,000 and the loss of hundreds of lives—shot, or

bayonetted, or hanged on the one side, or barbarously murdered on the other.

Dr. Doyle was now in very indifferent health. Indeed, the shadow of death was already upon him, and the miseries of the country, and his own helplessness to heal them, preyed upon him more keenly than they would have, perhaps, had he been blessed with the buoyancy of spirits which accompanies physical health. In the autumn of that terrible year, 1832, he wrote as follows to Sir Henry Parnell, member for Queen's County :—

"My Dear Sir,—It is well, if even now, at the eleventh hour, the Ministry become wise, or at least desist from proceedings which bespeak on their part something worse than fatuity. But, whilst they speak with you of ceasing to provoke hatred and spill blood, their deputies here are busied issuing decrees, and our roads are covered with horse, foot and artillery, as if about to commence a regular campaign. The public hatred against them is at its height; and to bespeak confidence in their intentions would be to expose one's self to utter derision. I really do not know one individual in Ireland who could be brought to confide in them. You know how I hoped in them against hope; but I have ceased to think of them, except with bitter sorrow. Their conduct has rendered law vile; and the administration of it more than ordinarily hated; but, what is worse, it has called forth in the democracy a spirit which no law can appease nor force subdue; and which tends every hour to the breaking up of all the old relations of society, and

precipitating the reform of abuses, to the great risk of the public safety. See it in your county, where Pat Lalor will be your colleague, if not your successor, in the representation; in Kildare, where probably More O'Ferrall will be replaced by an adventurer from the North; in this county, where they would go to Calcutta, if necessary, to find an opponent to both Whigs and Tories. All this have the Ministers done in despite of your advice, and of the opinions of every man who knows the workings of this country. I will look with anxiety for the change you expect; but until I witness it, the prospect of its coming shall have no effect upon my mind or conduct."

In December, 1832, after the passing of the Reform Act, to which Dr. Doyle gave strenuous support, Parliament was dissolved and the General Election resulted in the return of the Whigs, under Earl Grey, to power again. In Ireland the elections turned altogether on the question of Repeal. O'Connell had once more unfurled the flag of Repeal, and it was carried to victory in no fewer than thirty-five of the constituencies. As Dr. Doyle feared, even Sir Henry Parnell was defeated in Queen's County. "I apprehended several weeks past that which has occurred; and which I laboured unremittingly, but in vain to avert," he wrote to Sir Henry on the 20th December. When the new Parliament—the first elected under the Reform Act which was carried by the votes of the Irish members, for there was a majority of the British

members against it—assembled early in 1833, one of its first deeds was to pass, despite the determined opposition of the Repeal members, another most rigorous Coercion Act for Ireland. All political associations were suppressed. No meetings of any kind, even for petitioning Parliament, were allowed. In districts proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant the ordinary tribunals of justice were superseded, martial law established, and every accused person tried by court-martial. No person could appear outside doors, between sunset and sunrise in these districts, without rendering himself liable to arrest; any dwellinghouse could be broken into at any hour of the night, and the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended for three months in respect to every person arrested under the Act. Such were the Draconian provisions of the Coercion Act introduced by the Premier, Earl Grey. And yet with all its rigours it received the support—though not the publicly expressed support—of Dr. Doyle. In a private letter to Mr. Henry Lambert (one of the M.P.'s for Wexford), dated March 1st, 1833, he wrote:—

"If, however, we are not to have good Government, or wise laws—and I see no prospect of either—I prefer Lord Grey's Bill to any other less despotic measure. If we are to be subjected to a despotism, let it be the despotism of gentlemen, though but twenty-

one years of age, not of the brutal *canaille* composing the Trades' Unions and Blackfeet confederacies. The honest and industrious people of this country will suffer less and prosper more under the iron rule of the constituted authorities—let these be whom they may—than under the yoke of the impious and seditious, who now torment them and drive them into all manner of folly and excess. I have not busied myself in examining the details of Lord Grey's Bill. It is complete in its kind. There is no use in softening it. Let the terror of its intolerable severity prevent the necessity of enforcing it; but where enforced let it go forth unrestrained. I have been very unwell, and am as yet scarcely better. I do not think the ills of the country affect me, for my health has been declining these last three years."

During 1832, about 9,000 agrarian crimes were committed in Ireland; and of these as many as 200 were murders. Leinster was the chief seat of the agrarian war; and living as he did in the very centre of the disturbed area, the criminal excesses of the people stirred Dr. Doyle profoundly. He himself had laid down the principle that the only certain way to have a bad law reformed was to break it or to refuse to obey it. "Do not pay tithes," he said to the people, "evade the law, let your goods and chattels be seized, let yourselves be imprisoned, and still refuse to pay this iniquitous impost." But it was a turbulent period, a period not only of hot and unbridled passions, but of bitter class animosities and cruel social oppres-

sion; and to add to the wild unrest of the country the cholera was carrying off the peasantry in thousands. It was a time, too, when the work of bringing popular pressure to bear on Parliament for the redress of wrongs was—in the absence of those potent agencies, the telegraph wire and the penny morning newspapers—exceedingly difficult, slow and uncertain; and, therefore, the sublime spectacle, which Dr. Doyle had pictured to himself, of a Nation refusing, but passively and crimelessly refusing, to obey an iniquitous law was unhappily impossible of accomplishment in the case of a hot-headed, impulsive and passionate race like the Irish. He was a man of a nervous, sensitive and impressionable temperament; a man of impulse and emotion; and his soul revolted against the murders, the incendiary fires, the maiming of human beings, the houghing of poor dumb cattle, which took place at his very doors. The mood of despair into which he fell during the last few months of his life—the mood of disappointed hopes and crushed illusions—is shown by the following letter to Lord Cloncurry, the last he wrote on the condition of the country:—

"CARLOW, *March 3rd*, 1834.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I had partially recovered from a long illness, but have again relapsed into such a state of debility as to be incapable of applying my

mind to any subject requiring attention. Should it please God that I be again enabled to attend to business, I shall derive great gratification from the study of your lordship's work.

"Perhaps it is in part owing to the state of my health that my hopes of the improvement of the country are weakened. I thought there was more intelligence and virtue among the middle classes of our people than there now appears to me to be. Their conduct at the period of the last General Election, and since, in suffering themselves to be deceived, and then bestrode by the basest tyranny that ever established itself for any length of time in these latter ages, compels me, God knows how reluctantly, to doubt whether there be sufficient soundness in the community to render it capable of profiting by any liberal system of legislation. As to the lowest classes of the people, their demoralisation is extreme, and they thirst for disorder. I am very much of opinion that if there be a chance remaining of yet rescuing the country from the evil genius which troubles and torments it, and of placing the people within the fold of the law and constitution, a measure large and comprehensive, such as your lordship's proposes to be, would be most likely to attain those ends."

A pathetic figure—not, indeed, without the element of solemnity—Dr. Doyle presented in the closing year of his life, as he stood alone, warring against wrong and injustice on the one side, against crime and outrage on the other, and unhappily warring in vain. He was bitterly disappointed with the failure of his exertions to restore peace and order in his own diocese.

It is certain that the labour, anxiety, and vexation attending the bishop's fruitless crusade against the secret societies in his diocese sapped his constitution. The thought that not even his own flock—the people of his own diocese—were amenable to his exhortations was, indeed, heartbreaking to a man of Dr. Doyle's temperament. "Men of Queen's County," he began one of his addresses to the peasantry, "my blood is upon you!" "Ah, my people!" he exclaimed on another occasion with mingled pathos and anguish, "you have broken your bishop's heart!" But peace and order were indeed utterly impossible under the hideously unjust social conditions which then prevailed. Dr. Doyle himself frequently proclaimed that fact. "Should this party, or this people, whichever it may be called," he writes in one of his eminently sane and logical public letters, "remain neglected by the legislature; should their grievances be left unredressed; should their poor be left to perish; should their children be left a prey to Evangelicals and Methodists; should their religion continue to be insulted; should the agent and the tithe-proctor and the churchwardens, like the toads and locusts, come still in succession to devour the entire fruit of their industry; should their blood when wantonly spilled go unrevenged, we need no Pasterini to foretell the result. We have only to refer to our own history or open the volume of human

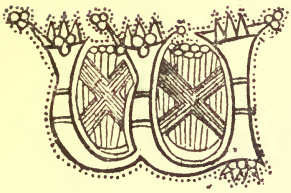
nature in order to ascertain it." The Irish people are admittedly least given to social crimes than any race in the world; and they have an unequalled capacity for the endurance of suffering and misery. They are kindly, good-natured and hospitable; happy and light-hearted in the gloomiest of surroundings, and, under calamities which appear to them to be the acts of God, are peaceable and contented to the verge of passive fatalism. How bitter then must be the social oppression which has so often driven this race to agrarian and political crimes of such savage atrocity, as to make the kingdom shudder.

It only remains to relate briefly the legislative results, of the tithe agitation. In 1833, following the Coercion Act, one million sterling was advanced to the parsons in compensation for the tithes due and unpaid for the preceding three years, amounting to the enormous figure of £3,250,000; and "The Church Temporalities Act" was passed, abolishing "Church Cess," or local rates levied to keep the edifices of the Church in repair; extinguishing ten of the twenty-two bishoprics by absorbing the sees (on the deaths of their respective bishops) in the dioceses adjoining; and all benefices in parishes which did not contain fifty Episcopalians. The Bill, as originally introduced, contained a clause known as "the appropriation clause," proposing to apply the surplus revenues of

the Church—that is to say the revenues derivable from the property and tithes of the suppressed sees and benefices—to secular purposes for the benefit of the country. But this beneficent clause, which was the main recommendation of the Bill in the eyes of the Irish people, met with such opposition in both Houses (and even in the Cabinet, from Stanley, the Irish Chief Secretary) that it had to be dropped. "The Church Temporalities Act" was, of course, only a palliative for an admitted grievance. It did very little, indeed, to relieve the burden of tithes. It was not until 1838—four years after the death of Dr. Doyle, and in the second year of the reign of Queen Victoria—that "the Tithe Commutation Act" (the fifth Bill on the subject introduced between 1834 and 1838) was passed by the Government of Lord Melbourne, after a determined struggle with the Lords. The Act transformed the impost into a rent-charge, fixed at 75 per cent. of the existing tithe—the deduction of 25 per cent. being for the cost of collection—and payable by the landlords.

CHAPTER XI.

HOME LIFE.



E have now done with the public career of Dr. Doyle. We find him at its end in bitter estrangement from O'Connell, and out of sympathy with the movement for the Repeal of the Union. "Doyle is a very able man, a man of the world, dislikes O'Connell, but is obliged to act in concert with him," wrote Charles Greville of *Greville's Memoirs* in 1828. "Doyle, conscious of his own talents, is deeply mortified that no field is open for their display, and he is one of those men who must be eminent in whatever cause they are engaged." There is a good deal of truth in this estimate of Dr. Doyle, by a shrewd observer of men and things, who was Clerk of the Privy Council from 1820 to 1860; and saw much of the inside of

politics during that period. But, as we have seen, the bishop after Emancipation found it impossible to act any longer in concert with O'Connell; and completely broke away from the domination of the great Tribune.

Undoubtedly in the last year of Dr. Doyle's life there was a tendency to Conservatism in his political opinions. But apart from that, many of the actions of O'Connell, as a politician, jarred rudely on his rigid sense of truth and honesty, his austere rectitude, his sensitive, spiritual and intellectual nature; and the often coarse and reckless public speeches of the mighty agitator—wheedling, coaxing, bullying, badgering, ridiculing and abusing his opponents by turns—did violence to the bishop's sense of the seriousness, responsibility, and even solemnity of the position of a leader of a people. His independent and somewhat imperious nature, too, did not allow him to shape, for expediency sake, his opinions and conduct on public questions at the will of any leader no matter how great or how powerful. He followed steadily and undeviatingly the guidance of his own conscience and will in all things, social and political; and he did not hesitate to criticise fearlessly and condemn unsparingly whenever he found himself unable to agree with any of the declarations or tactics of O'Connell. But "the Liberator" lorded it supremely over Ireland. His position broad-based upon the people's will and

affection, enabled him to bear down all opposition to his policy, even on the part of a popular and eminent ecclesiastic like Dr. Doyle; and while he himself was impervious to attack he could assail—and assail rudely and unjustly—with damaging effect, anyone that dared to step out from the popular ranks and cross his path. Whispers that the bishop was not quite orthodox in his Catholicity were circulated towards the end of his career, by his political enemies; and when the announcement of his death was made a member of O'Connell's Parliamentary following, named Finn, rushed into the coffee-room of a hotel at Carlow and exclaimed, "The tyrant of Braganza is dead!"

But before we take leave of the great "J. K. L." altogether, we will turn aside for a time from the noisy and distracting arena of political and polemical strife, to see what manner of man he was in his own house; and how he appeared to his relations and friends, and to others who were brought into close relations with him.

His income, according to his evidence before the Parliamentry Committee of 1825, varied from £450 to £500 a year. The disparity between the incomes of the Roman Catholic bishops, and the bishops of the Established Church at this period was remarkable. The Protestant Archbishop of Armagh was in the

receipt of the princely income of £20,000, while the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin—the richest diocese in Ireland—never received more than £1,000 or £1,200 a year. Dr. Doyle also stated in his evidence that he had heard the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh say that his income never amounted to £500. "The writer of this letter," he says, in one of his *Letters on the State of Ireland*, "is connected with upwards of 200,000 Catholics, rich and poor; and he receives from them all little more than *one-third* of what a neighbouring parson receives from the tithes of a *single parish*, and this pittance he shares freely and affectionately with his children who are the poor."

For three years after his consecration Dr. Doyle lived in a modest and humble house in the town of Carlow. He evidently found it difficult to make both ends meet at this period of his career. His niece, Mary Howlett (afterwards Mrs. Cooney), was always taken freely into his confidence in regard to his domestic affairs. He wrote to her in 1820, a year of terrible privation in Ireland, "You are singularly fortunate in not suffering more from the depression of the times. Will it surprise you that I am very much affected by them, so as to be poorer than I have been since I came to Carlow; and though I am a strict economist I can scarcely avoid increasing my debts. I have but one boy and two maids;

they use and waste more than I can afford, so, contrary to my intention, I have been obliged to write to Mrs. Dillon to send me little Mary to take care of what I cannot attend to myself, and in order that I may be able to dismiss one of my maids." "Little Mary" was one of his relations in Wexford; but she does not seem to have been available, for I find him writing to his niece a few months later:—"Many thanks for the servant who, being elderly, very religious, and a total stranger to Carlow, is likely to answer me very well. She can get through all the business of my house unaided, and can easily do so until my fortune increases, and the calls on it diminish, which will probably be a very distant period. But I have no great inclination for expense, and still less for hoarding money." In 1822 he left his residence in Carlow for a country house called Old Derrig, with thirteen acres of land attached, about a mile from the town. "The house, avenue and garden are fine," he writes, "and will enable me to indulge that love of solitude which has grown with me from my youth."

In 1824 he had visiting him at Old Derrig two sisters, "Mariana" and "Catherine" (daughters of a Dublin banker), who had been brought up Protestants but became Catholics and ultimately joined an order of nuns. Dr. Doyle met "Mariana" at a reception in

Rutland Square, during one of his rare appearances in Dublin society circles, and a very strong feeling of friendship was mutually formed. Through "Mariana" he got to know "Catherine," and became even more attached to her. It must be said that he had not an exalted opinion of women, intellectually, but he was very fond of their society, and most of his published correspondence is addressed to women. All these letters are couched in the most genial and playful language. Writing to "Mariana" in March, 1824, inviting her and "Catherine," who was very ill, to Old Derrig, he appears in a light very different from his customary sombreness and reserve :—

"I hope the mercury may remove her pains, and that she will begin to recover strength. The weather, too, will be getting steadier and more warm; the flowers here will be blown; the fields and trees will have put on their rich new clothing, and the seat from which I write will acquire a renovating virtue. Tell her all this, and let her hasten to accept of all these blessings in exchange for her presence at Old Derrig. Here there will be no *Bushe* [a caustic controversial preacher], to stick its thorns—no mad religionist to vent his ravings. Ling from Rush, maccaroni from Naples, and some Attic salt imported by J. K. L., with whatever his dear child may add to the Lenten fare, will be the only *material* portion of the household stores. Of *spirits*, indeed, there will be a great variety—plain, rectified and sublimated. I will myself engage to supply them, and only require of her to

infuse some of those exquisite essences of hers, which will convert them all into liqueurs more exhilarating than the nectar of Old Jove. Tell her I feel all her pains, and sympathise with all her sufferings, and that I commend her earnestly to God."

"Catherine" had given him the name of "the Hermit of Old Derrig." In a letter to "Mariana" from Robertstown, dated 29th April, 1825, he writes, alluding to "Catherine":—

"From the exhausted state of my mind I am unable to write you a very long letter. I am just going to dine at Mr. Dease's. I must remain in that neighbourhood until after Sunday, and whether I can go up to town before my return is somewhat uncertain. If not I shall be deprived of the pleasure of seeing my dear child until June next, when she may be so much restored as to come to cull the flowers at Old Derrig, which always droop in the absence of the Hermit, who unhappily is driven from there in the summer; but probably they may continue in bloom till his return, if only a genial breath fell upon them from the countenance of his friend or a tear of sympathy for the absence of their solitary guardian. Tell her how much and how truly I rejoice at the prospect of her thorough recovery; bless the little, the good Sarah for her blessing to me, and with best respects to her who is blessed by you all—your mother."

"Mariana" and "Catherine" accepted the invitation of the bishop, and proceeded to Old Derrig. To "Mariana" we are indebted for an interesting glimpse of the place and its famous occupant:—

"It was a large, wild and neglected, though picturesque place, the house scantily furnished, except with old books, especially Latin. His visitors wanted nothing because (as went his apology for this) St. Paul said that bishops should be hospitable. His own usual mode of living was as simple as possible. His little St. Bridget's Chapel in the garden was a room about twelve feet long and about ten in breadth, with plain, whitewashed walls, and there he daily said Mass, and there I have seen tears roll abundantly from his eyes, after the consecration in the Holy Sacrifice. But oh! our evening conversations with a chosen few—the wonderful versatility of thought and language—the sudden and yet connected transitions from divine subjects to the most amusing trifles! We would often have, in half-an-hour, quotations from Job, David, Augustin, Byron, Moore, Shakespeare and Swift—in a word, hours would seem moments in his company. One favourite exercise of his amazing intellect, and clear reasoning powers and tact of persuasion, was to argue in favour of any proposition till all his hearers agreed that it was the most desirable thing that could be; whereupon he would begin to argue against the conclusion, and as he went we would all go with him, and end by restoring the question to its original doubtful position."

His relations consulted him through his niece, Mary Howlett, on all sorts of domestic questions. His advice was largely sought for, and most willingly given in times of illness, difficulty and misfortune, and he was ever ready to share in their sorrows as well as in their joys. He even acted as "match-maker" for

them. "I am rejoiced to think that my friend John is the principal heir," he writes to his niece, "I was thinking of providing him with an amiable wife in this country; but the recent accession to his means may lead him to look for more fortune than she possesses." In a letter to his niece written in 1824 he says—"Mrs. D—— has written to me for money, and given me such a picture of her sufferings as made me sick at heart. I wish we could make all these things concur to the salvation of our souls, and I pray God that he may preserve you in life to assist in relieving the miseries of your fellow-creatures. As for my part, my whole time and thoughts are now occupied with the distress of the poor, who are almost starving in hundreds about me, and extorting from me what is necessary for my own subsistence—but I cannot withhold it from them for my own sake." In another communication he writes—"I hope to go down for a week or two in July to see Ally, and endeavour to advise her upon the affairs of her family." Again—"I perceive you have not relinquished your art of match-making; but is not the folly or the confidence of that little urchin quite amusing when she says that 'she can get as good as he is at any time.' Did she never hear of people dying old maids, or of never getting a second offer? I wish you would strive to marry her to some person or other, for I will not be quite secure

until she is disposed of. Keep fast, I beg of you, the money you have for her or you never will again possess so much. As to the mother, nothing could improve her condition; and if she get her husband to settle his interest on the young children, I shall give her, as I have always been doing, some little assistance. This year, indeed, has been one of pinching distress to me, for all the poor people about me were starving, and I was obliged to give every shilling I could get." Frequently he had to deal with relations who were disposed to give him trouble. "Mrs. —— came, here," he writes to his niece, "and I sent her home saying that I could not interfere by advice or otherwise in her business, nor shall I. Her mother wrote me a furious letter. Thus we are repaid for our money and pains; but I hope God may reward us. I am perfectly indifferent about what they may say or think of me."

It must be apparent from these letters that Dr. Doyle possessed real kindness of heart and warmth of friendship. To his intimate friends he was cordial, good-humoured and affable; but as a rule he was reserved and austere, and sometimes even arrogant and repellant in manner. He seemed to have been impatient of dullness, faults, and defects in persons with whom he was brought into contact, and he took no pains to conceal his intellectual contempt for them.

Towards his priests he adopted a rather cold and distant demeanour. The diocesan dinners which he attended were as a rule depressing social events. "His reserve extended with irresistible contagion to those around him," writes a contemporary clergyman, "and few ventured to speak above their breath." Another priest writes that at times he was "as joyous and as playful as a child, abounding in anecdote and witty repartee." "Very ascetic, but at times as playful as a kitten," is another brief contemporary portrait by a priest of the diocese. He was aware that his austere coldness had a depressing effect on his priests. "As long as I remain these gentlemen won't enjoy themselves," he said on one occasion to the host of the dinner, as he retired after the removal of the cloth. He was a great conversationalist in one sense, he could dilate for hours in company—congenial or uncongenial—on such subjects as politics, logic and abstruse theology; but he had no small talk, and he seems to have almost entirely lacked humour. "Few priests ventured to raise their voices above a whisper at any table where Dr. Doyle presided," writes Mr. FitzPatrick. "He talked the whole time in his own grand and rather authoritative voice. Even most of the bishops with the exception of Archbishop Kelly were dumb. They seemed not disposed to hazard a collision of opinion with him."

His priests, however, if they did not love him—for in truth, he was lovable only to the few who knew him very intimately—had intense admiration for him as a great ecclesiastic and as a leading publicist. They availed of the occasion of his brilliant examination before the Parliamentary Committees of the Lords and Commons on the state of Ireland in 1825, to present him with a fine episcopal residence close to the town of Carlow, in order, as they expressed it, to "fix the attention of posterity on the period and on the prelate." The residence cost £2,500, and is known as "Braganza House," a name given to it by its previous occupant, Sir Dudley Hill. It is surrounded by pleasant grounds and is close to the beautiful Barrow, on whose banks he was born, as it flows by New Ross.

The ability and argumentative power, and the marvellous learning and knowledge he displayed in his examination before the Parliamentary Committee, greatly enhanced his reputation. During the ordeal before the Lords' Committee the Duke of Wellington left the room for a few minutes to refer to some Parliamentary document. "Well, Duke," asked a peer who met him, "are you examining Dr. Doyle?" "No," replied his Grace, drily, "but Doyle is examining us." The bishop, however, did not think very highly of his examiners, nor did he speak very

complimentary of them afterwards. When he returned to Carlow there were great popular rejoicings; bonfires blazed in the streets; windows were illuminated; addresses were presented to the bishop, and he was entertained to several banquets. Of course, his examination was the subject of much conversation. "My Lord, didn't you feel a little nervous before all these big wigs?" said one of his favourites amongst his priests. "You have often made a poor fellow yourself smart in the pulpit, and some of us might not be disposed to put yourself in a similar position." "I confess," he replied, "that when the name 'James Doyle, titular Bishop of Kildare,' was sonorously called, I did feel a tendency to what you have said—especially when the large cold grey eyes of Lord Eldon rising from a string of notes, at last rested upon me. My embarrassment, however, wore off, and ere the examination had been five minutes going on, I felt I was all their daddies." "Daddies" was a familiar College expression, and meant "masters." "Pshaw!" he exclaimed, on another occasion, "such silly questions as they put and over and over repeated. I think in all my life I never encountered such a parcel of old fools."

In a little book, entitled, *The Morning of Life*, published in the 'Fifties, we get some interesting glimpses of Dr. Doyle. The book is a memoir of

Miss Bessie Anderson and Miss Sarah Anderson, sisters and natives of Carlow. Their father was a Presbyterian, but they were brought up in the faith of their mother, a Roman Catholic, and on the death of their father, when they were young, Dr. Doyle was appointed their guardian. They were intended by their mother and guardian for a religious life, but both of them, when they became of age, joined the Protestant Church. This action caused the greatest pain to Dr. Doyle, who was deeply attached to his wards. But it was not a step that was taken hurriedly by the ladies. "The two sisters communicated their doubts to Dr. Doyle, who warned them against indulging such thoughts," writes the author of *The Morning of Life*, "and lent them books which he considered would set their minds at rest." After two years of consideration and deliberation, the two sisters repaired to Braganza House to tell Dr. Doyle that they had finally determined to leave the Catholic Church. The bishop stood up before them and for two hours, with a face keenly expressive of the agony he felt, he delivered a most impassioned address of supplication and warning, falling back in his chair in the end, overwhelmed with fatigue and emotion. A curious circumstance then happened. When the sisters were about to leave the room at the close of the interview, still determined on the course they had decided to

take, it was found that Sarah could not rise from her seat, having lost the use of her limbs from a stroke of paralysis, brought on, according to her biographer, by suppressing her emotion during that long heart-rending address. The bishop was greatly agitated. "If this were known abroad," said he, "it would be said to be a visitation of Providence. We must keep it quiet."

After the sisters became Protestants, Dr. Doyle's intercourse with them continued as friendly and as intimate as ever. Sarah was confined to bed; but Bessie had full liberty to resort to his house and enter his study whenever she chose, and she often gladly availed herself of that privilege. "Sometimes when she entered," writes her biographer, "he was busy writing, and would raise his finger to prevent her speaking. She would therefore take a book, and sit down quietly and read waiting till he was disengaged; or she would watch his varying countenance as he wrote those stirring papers on political subjects which were published in the journals of the day. Frequently he would enter into a long dissertation on philosophy or science, or else discuss some metaphysical subtlety till he quite bewildered Bessie and perhaps himself also." These frequent visits of Miss Anderson are said to have become at last extremely troublesome to Dr. Doyle. "When refused admission to the

bishop," writes Mr. FitzPatrick, "she would sometimes spend the entire day in the garden at Braganza, either pacing up and down the walks, or constructing a grotto of moss and shells. Dr. Doyle, on one morning that he had denied himself to Miss Anderson, pulled down the blinds in the drawing-room, lest she should observe him from the garden. He alluded to her on this occasion as 'that poor, cracked creature.'"

Dr. Doyle never at any time of his life enjoyed rude health. Early in his career as bishop traces of suffering began to show on his expressive face, and the droop of feebleness came to his form. But in 1833 his constitution entirely broke down, and in May of that year he visited Harrowgate and Cheltenham, accompanied by his relative, Father Martin Doyle, in search of health. Writing to a lady a description of Harrowgate, he says:—"*All* the people are the most civil and obliging you can imagine. The great bulk of them are Dissenters; they are as hostile as you are in Ireland to the Established Church, and hate the tithes as cordially as we do. I am an object of curiosity to many of them, and the kindness I meet from them is very gratifying." Again he writes, in a playful mood:—"There are four-wheel carriages here for hire, drawn each by two asses—they are delightful vehicles; and myriads of asses with saddles

for ladies to ride upon. If I remain here, I shall get one of those donkeys, and ride on a side-saddle. I may be stared at for a day—but the English people don't wonder long at anything." The holiday, however, did not do him any good. He felt some inward premonition or presentiment of a speedy end; and fearing that death would overtake him in England, he grieved that his body might not be brought home to Ireland for interment. "Well," he exclaimed, with a touch of grim humour, on at last reaching Dublin, "I have escaped from the thief, and I did not leave my bones in heretic England, after all." With all his physical debility and weakness, he continued to discharge the multifarious and onerous duties of his office; and not till April, 1834—two months before his death—did he recognise the necessity of appointing a coadjutor, which had been earnestly pressed upon him during the preceding two years by his intimate friends.

His will, which he wrote a few days before his death, consisted of the words:—"All things that I possess came to me from the Church; and to the Church and to the poor let them return all." A story was circulated after his death that he had died a Protestant, and the preposterous tale is even told to-day in Evangelistic circles in Ireland. Some colour of probability is lent to it by the outspoken, inde-

pendent, and, in some things, not quite orthodox views expressed by Dr. Doyle in religious matters. But it is utterly without foundation. Dr. Doyle died as he had lived—a devout and earnest child of the Church of which he was so distinguished a prelate. On the morning of his death, he made his confession to Dr. Nolan (who succeeded him in the See of Kildare and Leighlin), received the Holy Eucharist and the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and Masses were offered up at Braganza House, the Cathedral, the College, and in the neighbouring parishes, for the grace of a happy death, and for his eternal salvation.

The end came at nine o'clock on Sunday morning, the 15th of June, 1834, at Braganza House. Dr. Doyle was then in the forty-eighth year of his age and the fifteenth of his episcopate. On the following Tuesday the remains of the greatest Irish prelate of the Catholic Church since the Reformation were conveyed to the Cathedral in a funeral procession two miles in length and including 20,000 persons, and interred in a grave opposite the high altar, amid the solemn and impressive ritual of the Church, and the sorrow, not only of the diocese, but of the entire nation. A splendid piece of marble statuary from the chisel of the Irish sculptor, John Hogan, has been placed in the Cathedral, as a National memorial to Bishop

Doyle. At the feet of the bishop a figure, symbolical of Erin, lies crouching in an attitude of utter abandonment to grief. Well, indeed, might Ireland weep for the untimely end of a son who loved her with all the intensity of a passionate heart, and served her wisely and well.

The New Irish Library.

(*From the* WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.)

THE IRISH LIBRARY—OLD AND NEW.

"Educate that you may be free." So wrote Charles Gavan Duffy in the *Nation* some fifty years ago. And the veteran Young Irelander is still true to the sentiments of his youth. The Young Ireland Party differed from all Irish parties in this: it was an educationist party. Others sought to remove the material grievances of the country, or to advance the cause of Irish nationality by political agitation pure and simple. But the Young Irelanders went farther. They tried to educate the people. "Politics are vulgar," says Sir John Seeley, "when they are not liberalised by history." This was the view of the Young Irelanders, and they sought to impart sound political instruction, based on historical knowledge, to their fellow-countrymen. They were not content with the work which might be done in this way in the columns of the *Nation*. Duffy founded an "Irish Library," and gathered around him the most brilliant members of his staff to write for it, and the "Library of Ireland" soon became as popular as the *Nation* itself. These books may not pass unscathed through the fire of historical and literary criticism which is poured upon all work in our day. But they supplied a decided want fifty years ago, and are still deservedly popular among a large class of readers.

The idea of continuing this library seems to have

occurred to no one during all the years that Duffy has been out of Irish political life. It remained for him, after an absence from Ireland of some forty years, to continue the work which he himself began. Three years ago he formed the project of founding a New Irish Library. He had to encounter many difficulties, but he overcame them all, and a set of the volumes is now before us. The first volume of the library (published in 1893) was "The Patriot Parliament," by Thomas Davis. Many years ago Davis collected materials for a history of the Irish Parliament of 1689, but buried them in the *Dublin Magazine*. Of these materials Mr. Lecky writes in his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century":—"By far the best and fullest account of this Parliament with which I am acquainted is to be found in a series of papers upon it (which unfortunately have never been reprinted) by Thomas Davis, in the *Dublin Magazine* of 1843. In these papers the Acts of Repeal and of Attainder are printed at length, and the extant evidence relating to them is collected and sifted with an industry and skill that leave little to be desired." Little need be added to these words in praise of "The Patriot Parliament," which is a reprint of the papers mentioned by Mr. Lecky, with an introduction by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy. Controversy still rages over the work of the Irish Parliament of 1689. We have the views of Lord Macaulay, of Froude, and of Mr. Lecky himself on the subject. But it is not too much to say that the fullest and most judicial account of this Parliament has been written by Thomas Davis. Indeed, final judgment must be pronounced on its work upon the facts, statutes, notes, and proceedings so admirably set out in "The Patriot Parliament."

"The Patriot Parliament" was followed by a very

different sort of work, but equally excellent of its kind, "The Bog of Stars," by Mr. Standish O'Grady. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy has exercised the wise discretion of not selecting his writers from Irish Nationalists only. He has Unionists on his staff as well. Mr. O'Grady is a Unionist, and fitly follows one of the noblest of Irish Nationalist. "The Bog of Stars" is a series of graphic pictures of Elizabethan Ireland. There are many people who will not take their history from the Dry-as-dustians—people who hate chronicles and love stories. Mr. O'Grady is one of the most interesting of historical story-tellers. He has the faculty of fixing what he wills in the memory of his readers, while keeping close to the main facts of history. No more entertaining book of its kind has been written about Elizabethan Ireland than this.

The next book in order of merit is certainly Dr. Douglas Hyde's "Story of Early Gaelic Literature." Dr. Douglas Hyde is one of the most fascinating Gaelic writers of the day. People at one time shrank from reading early Irish history because it was uninteresting, and often absurd. This was the fault of the writers, not of the facts. In Dr. Douglas Hyde's hands the old objections disappear. In the book before us he treats of the early use of letters among the Irish, early Irish learning, native poets, Irish romances, early Christian writers, and other topics abounding in interest. Each chapter is full of information, written in excellent English, and disclosing a wealth of knowledge, and a capacity for conveying that knowledge, which leave little to be desired. Dr. Douglas Hyde loves his subject, and invests it with many attractions.

We must place next to Dr. Hyde's book Mr. Alfred

Perceval Graves's "Irish Song Book." Mr. Graves is the energetic and popular secretary of the Irish Literary Society, London, and the author of "Father O'Flynn." Sir Charles Gavan Duffy could not have chosen a better editor for a book on Irish song. Here are collected, "with original Irish airs," the best known and best liked Irish songs from Moore's "Erin, the Tear and the Smile" to Lady Dufferin's "Irish Emigrant." Mr. Graves has written an excellent introduction, and valuable notes. "The New Spirit of the Nation," edited by Mr. Martin MacDermott—a collection of ballads and songs by writers of the *Nation*, published since 1843—and Mrs. Lynch's "Parish Providence"—an admirably written story, though hardly an Irish book—conclude the first series of the "New Irish Library."

The second series has begun with a work which will not only command the attention of Irishmen, but which will enlist the sympathies of intelligent English readers. It is the "Life of Patrick Sarsfield," by Dr. Todhunter. Sarsfield is one of the most charming characters in Irish history. "This gallant officer," says Macaulay, "was indeed a gentleman of eminent merit, brave, upright, honourable, careful of his men in quarters, and certain to be always found at their head on the day of battle. His intrepidity, his frankness, his boundless good nature, his stature, which far exceeded that of ordinary men, and the strength which he exerted in personal conflict, gained for him the admiration of the populace. It is remarkable that the Englishry generally respected him as a valiant, skilful, and generous enemy, and that even in the most ribald farces which were performed by mountebanks at Smithfield, he was always excepted from the disgraceful imputations which it was then the

fashion to throw on the Irish nation." Sarsfield was unquestionably the hero of the Jacobite war in Ireland. His name is associated with the one brilliant victory of the Irish—the defence of Limerick in 1690; and there is every reason to believe that, but for the insane jealousy of the gallant St. Ruth, he would have turned Aughrim into a crowning success instead of a disastrous defeat. As it was, his retreat from the field under tremendous difficulties was a masterpiece of generalship. The story of Sarsfield's life is now told for the first time. Dr. Todhunter, like Mr. Graves and Mr. Standish O'Grady, is a Unionist; but it would be very difficult to discover his politics from his "Life of Sarsfield." The book is fair and impartial.

Sir Charles Gavan Duffy could not have made a better selection for the first volume of the new series of the library than "Sarsfield," and we are glad to know that the books which are immediately to follow are worthy of the companionship of the gallant soldier. The next book in the series is to be "Owen Roe O'Neill," by Mr. Taylor, Q.C., to be succeeded by "Swift" by Mr. Ashe King, and a "Short Life of Thomas Davis," by Sir Charles Gavan Duffy himself. We should like to see this second series completed by a life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell and a life of Wolfe Tone—both among the most remarkable men in Irish history.

*** *By the kind permission of the* WESTMINSTER GAZETTE *the Publisher is able to reprint the above article, which appeared in the issue of November 13th,* 1895.

The New Irish Library.

EDITED BY

SIR CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY, K.C.M.G.,

ASSISTED BY

DOUGLAS HYDE, LL.D., AND R. BARRY O'BRIEN.

Small crown 8vo, paper covers, 1s. each; cloth, 2s. each.

LIST OF THE VOLUMES.

1. The Patriot Parliament of 1689, with its Statutes, Votes and Proceedings. By THOMAS DAVIS. Edited, and with Introduction, by Sir C. G. DUFFY, K.C.M.G.

"The Introduction is in itself a most valuable summary of the story of Ireland during the Stuart period. Together with Davis's work, it forms a book of which no student of Irish history or Irish politics can afford to remain in ignorance. We congratulate Sir Charles Gavan Duffy on a pledge fulfilled and a new service to Ireland begun."—*Freeman's Journal.*

"Davis was one of the most brilliant of that brilliant group of Nationalist writers who arose in Ireland in 1848. The papers . . . . which are now reprinted . . . . are by far the most valuable of his contributions to Irish history. Mr. Lecky, in his history, has spoken of them with much admiration, and has adopted many of their conclusions."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

2. The Bog of Stars, and other Stories of Elizabethan Ireland. By STANDISH O'GRADY, Author of "Finn and his Companions," etc.

"It is in the Sidneian sense, poetry, and poetry of a high order. . . . . No political bias has pulled this book awry . . . . and the book is great."—*Journal of Education.*

"'The Bog of Stars'—one of the most beautiful stories ever told."—*Bookman.*

3. The New Spirit of the Nation. Edited by MARTIN MACDERMOTT.

"Will meet with universal welcome. . . . . It is a service rendered to Ireland and her fame in letters to rescue some of these less-known lyrics and stories in polished verse lovingly and tenderly from the danger of oblivion."—*Irish Times.*

"A remarkable shillingsworth of poetry."—*Freeman.*

4. A Parish Providence: A Country Tale. By E. M. LYNCH. With Introduction by Sir CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY.

"We recommend this little book to all who would learn the amount of good which may be accomplished by one man, provided he is sufficiently strong and sufficiently self-sacrificing."—*Guardian.*

"All persons who have the true welfare of the Irish people at heart cannot do better than read 'A Parish Providence.'"—*Academy.*

5. The Irish Song Book. With Original Irish Airs. Edited with Introduction and Notes, by ALFRED PERCEVAL GRAVES, M.A., F.R.S.L. Second Edition. *Also a large paper edition, price* 5s.

"In the modest little volume under notice, it must be admitted that Mr. Graves has contributed materially to the preservation of some of the old Irish music, together with the words of the songs."—*Musical News.*

"An admirable and representative garnering."—*Saturday Review.*

6. The Story of Early Gaelic Literature. Illustrated by extracts from Old Poems and Sagas. By DOUGLAS HYDE, LL.D.

"A most interesting book, a book that was long wanted, a book that will set men thinking, a book that cannot fail in rousing a widespread desire to know something more of the language and literature of the Irish Celts."—*Speaker.*

"It will be probably a surprise at least to most Englishmen to learn that only Greek literature rivals the Gaelic in antiquity and in interest; and of this Dr. Douglas Hyde, who is as accomplished a classical as he is an Irish scholar, must succeed in convincing them."—*Truth.*

7. The Life of Patrick Sarsfield (Earl of Lucan). With a Short Narrative of the Principal Events in the Jacobite War in Ireland. By Dr. JOHN TODHUNTER.

"Furnishes a brilliant picture of the principal events of the Jacobite War in Ireland."—*Black and White.*

"Full of facts carefully got together. . . . . Symmetrical and compact."—*Daily News.*

8. Owen Roe O'Neill. By J. F. TAYLOR, Q.C.

"Since Mitchel's sketch of Hugh O'Neill, no Irish historical monograph at once so graphic, so incisive, so rigorous and so romantic has been added to the small library of genuine Irish literature."—*Freeman's Journal.*

"Owen Roe O'Neill was a chevalier, sans peur et sans reproche, and Mr. Taylor has written a biography in every way worthy of his subject."—*Star.*

"In dealing with the complicated politics of the time, considerable historical insight is shown."—*Dundee Advertiser.*

9. Swift in Ireland. By RICHARD ASHE KING, M.A.

"Much practical information, much matter for study and for reflection."—*Speaker.*

"An interesting book, dealing with an old subject freshly."—*Globe.*

"It is written with great vigour and a certain pithy incisiveness."—*Leeds Mercury.*

10. A Short Life of Thomas Davis. By Sir CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY.

"The book is well written, and . . . . does equal credit to the head and to the heart of the veteran writer."—*Glasgow Herald.*

"It is needless to say anything in recommendation of this interesting and touching biography."—*Manchester Guardian.*

A Final Edition of Young Ireland. A FRAGMENT OF IRISH HISTORY—1842-1846. Illustrated with Portraits, Autographs, Facsimiles and Historical Scenes. By the Hon. Sir C. GAVAN DUFFY, K.C.M.G. *In two parts, extensively illustrated, price 2s. each, paper; or in one volume, handsomely bound, cloth, price 5s.*

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

From the "NINETEENTH CENTURY."

"No doubt the Young Ireland movement contributed greatly, as Sir Charles Duffy contends, to purify and ennoble the national agitation. It substituted for the crafty and often vacillating plans of O'Connell's later years, an open, direct, and generous national policy. As a revolutionary movement it was a failure. It had not got to the heart of the peasantry. The influence it has since had upon the Irish people has sunk gradually with time into their minds and their feelings. In that way it is more powerful to-day than it was in its own time."—JUSTIN MCCARTHY, M.P.

From the "CONTEMPORARY REVIEW."

"I cannot dismiss the volume without bearing witness to his scrupulously fair treatment of those—some of them no longer able to defend themselves—with whom he came into conflict. He is eminently fair to O'Connell, and finds excuses for him even when he is obliged to condemn him."—REV. CANON MACCALL.

From the "FREEMAN'S JOURNAL."

"'Apologia pro Sociis Meis': So Sir Gavan Duffy might have fitly named this book. Suppressing himself so far as it was at all possible in narrating a history of which he was so great a part, he has devoted unwearied labour and a literary power which has few rivals to the task of raising an enduring memorial to his old associates, friends, and fellow-workmen; and he has done this with an enthusiasm and freshness of zealous conviction which fill every reader of his work with wonder. How vivid it all is! Five-and-twenty years ago Mr. Duffy left Ireland, struck down, not only by the catastrophe of 1848, but by a second discomfiture—the failure of his efforts, in company with Frederick Lucas and George Henry Moore, in the cause of the Irish tenant. In the Australian land, to which, in sad discouragement he bent his way, he found the career denied to him at home. Fortune, distinction, eminence awaited him. In that land sons and daughters grew around him. A son of his but the other day

held a high position in the late ministry at Melbourne. It might have been well deemed that he had transplanted his whole self, his hopes, aspirations, and affections to that new world. But no; all this career of honour and success seems but a pallid phantom in comparison with the memory of the days in which to him and his fellows the day dawn of a liberated Ireland seemed near its breaking."

A Life Spent for Ireland: LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF W. J. O'NEILL DAUNT, Edited by his Daughter, with a Preface by W. E. H. LECKY. *Demy 8vo, cloth, with Frontispiece*, 16*s*.

England's Wealth Ireland's Poverty. By THOMAS LOUGH, M.P. With Diagrams. Demy 8vo; cloth, 7s. 6d.

This book is an enquiry into the economic aspect of the Irish Question. It does not touch directly upon the question of "Home Rule," but is confined to an investigation of the causes which have led to the present Irish depression in trade and agriculture and the decrease of population.

Mr. Lough has devoted prolonged consideration to this part of the Irish problem, and he was one of the witnesses examined before the Royal Commission on the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland.

The book will contain numerous diagrams and tables illustrating the economic condition of the country.

The Autobiography of Theobald Wolfe Tone: A Chapter from Irish History, 1790–1798. Edited with an Introduction, by R. BARRY O'BRIEN. 2 vols., with Photogravure Frontispiece to each, 4 Steel Plates, and a Letter in Facsimile. Roy. 8vo, cloth, 32s.

Grania Waile: A West Connaught Story of the Sixteenth Century. By FULMAR PETREL. With Frontispiece and Map. Crown 8vo, cloth, 6s.

WORKS BY W. B. YEATS.

Poems. By W. B. YEATS. Crown 8vo ; cloth. 7s. 6d.

Irish Fairy Tales. Edited by W. B. YEATS, Illustrated by JACK B. YEATS. Being Vol. 7 of "The Children's Library." Post 8vo, pinafore cloth binding, floral edges, 2s. 6d. each.

Titled Corruption: The Sordid Origin of some Irish Peerages. By J. G. SWIFT MACNEILL, M.P. Being vol. 8 of "The Reformer's Bookshelf." Large cr. 8vo, 3s. 6d. each.

The Brehon Laws. By LAURENCE GINNELL. Crown 8vo., cloth, 5s.

Love Songs of Ireland. Collected and Edited by KATHARINE TYNAN. Being vol. 12 in the "Cameo Series." Demy 12mo., half-bound, paper boards, price 3s. 6d. Also an Edition de Luxe, limited to 30 copies, printed on Japan paper. *Price on Application.*

Ireland. By the Hon. EMILY LAWLESS. Being vol. 10 of "The Story of the Nations." Each volume is furnished with Maps, Illustrations, and Index. Large crown 8vo, fancy cloth, gold lettered ; or Library Edition, dark cloth, burnished red top, 5s. each. Or may be had in half Persian, cloth sides, gilt tops. *Price on Application.*

WORKS BY STANDISH O'GRADY.

The Chain of Gold ; or, In Crannied Rock. Crown 8vo, cloth 5s.—Boys' Edition, with 16 full-page Illustrations, cloth gilt, 5s. *See*, also, "The Irish Library."

Finn and his Companions. Illustrated by J. B. YEATS. Being vol. 11 of "The Children's Library." Post 8vo, pinafore cloth binding, floral edges, 2s. 6d.

WORKS BY Dr. DOUGLAS HYDE.

Love Songs of Connaught. Being the Fourth Chapter of the "Songs of Connacht." Now for the first time Collected, Edited, and Translated. Crown, 8vo, paper, sewed, 2s. 6d. nett. Second Edition. *See*, also, "The Irish Library."

The Three Sorrows of Story-Telling. Small crown, 8vo, paper, 1s. nett.

John Sherman, and Dhoya. By GANCONAGH. (Vol. 10 of "The Pseudonym Library.") Third Edition. Paper, 1s. 6d.; cloth, 2s.

The Parnell Movement. Being the History of the Irish Question from the Death of O'Connell to the Suicide of Pigott. By T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P. Cloth boards, 2s.

The Need and Use of Getting Irish Literature into the English Tongue. An Address by the Rev. STOPFORD A. BROOKE at the Inaugural Meeting of the Irish Literary Society in London. Small 4to, paper covers, 1s.

The Revival of Irish Literature. Being Addresses by Sir CHARLES GAVAN DUFFY, K.C.M.G.; Dr. HYDE, and Dr. SIGERSON. Price 1s., paper; 2s. cloth, gilt top.

The Past History of Ireland. A Brief Sketch by S. E. B BOUVERIE PUSEY. Paper covers, 1s.

A Child's History of Ireland. Edited by R BARRY O'BRIEN, Author of *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland*, etc., etc. Map. Cloth, 2s. 6d

---

LONDON:

T. FISHER UNWIN,

PATERNOSTER SQUARE, E.C