

HIS GRACE MOST REV. DR. WALSH

ON

THE PAMPHLET, "UNITY OF IRISHMEN."

At the opening of the Father Mathew Centenary Hall, Church Street, Dublin, January 25th, 1891, His Grace Dr. Walsh, in the course of his address, said :—

"We felt called upon to make an effort

TO CLOSE UP THE DIVIDED RANKS.

We set ourselves to the work of bringing together, if not within the discipline of the same society, at all events into friendly co-operation, every one of those amongst our people who might be found sincerely desirous of striking anyhow an effective blow to check the ravages of drink in Dublin (applause). We can lay claim to no credit for the idea of working upon this broad basis as if it were an idea of our own. We had before us an example that, in a matter of moral reform such as this, we could have no reason to feel ashamed of copying. There has been for years in England an organisation known as

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION,

in which there is room provided for every practical opponent of intemperance (hear), not for total abstainers only, but for all others as well. It is well known what good work that association has done. In Ireland, too, amongst our Protestant fellow-countrymen, there is a similar organisation, constructed on similar lines (applause). Now, if I may digress for a moment, this reference to our Protestant fellow-countrymen and their work in the cause of temperance reminds me of a matter that I should not, I think, omit to speak of here to-day. This is the first time that an opportunity has come to me to refer to it in public. I am sure that I express the feelings of all of you here to-day when I say that one of the most pleasing features of the Father Mathew Centenary was the part that was taken in the public proceedings of the day by

THE PROTESTANT ARCHBISHOP, LORD PLUNKET

(applause). Most unfortunately for me, the arrangements that were made for the celebration of the centenary in Cork and in

Dublin made it absolutely impossible for me to be present at the celebration in either city. I explained this at the time. It was, I need hardly say to you, a matter of deep regret to me then. It has been a matter of regret to me ever since. But what I now wish to say about it is that by no means the least of the grounds on which I regretted my absence from the centenary celebration was that it deprived me of the opportunity of meeting on that common platform in O'Connell street and at the Mansion House the Protestant prelate who so generously went there to give testimony by his presence of his high appreciation of the work that had been done for Ireland by the Capuchin friar in whose honour the city that day kept festival (applause). *Now, why do I refer to this matter at all?* It is because of

A VERY SHAMEFUL MISSTATEMENT

that has come under my notice within the last few days. It would, I feel, be a failure in duty if I were to omit mentioning it, and denouncing it as an infamous falsehood, on the very first opportunity that has come to me of doing so. It is a statement made by some very ignorant or very malicious person in a pamphlet published I cannot say where. Oddly enough, the author of the pamphlet has sent it to me with his most respectful regards and sincere good wishes (laughter). But see what he says about me. There are many amusing and strange things in the pamphlet. The author of it may be—I do not doubt that he is—a simple-minded person who believes them all to be true. But evidently he looks upon the revelation that he has to make about me as a point of the very highest importance. He reserves it for a grand climax. He keeps it for his last page. Here it is (laughter). He begins with the Inquisition. That is a good beginning. It always promises well in a pamphlet of this sort. 'That the Inquisition,' he says, 'still has its terror for our Irish clergy'—he means me—'cannot be denied. Only a few weeks past we had evidence of it.' Evidence! See what his notion of evidence is. 'We were told,' he says, 'before the Father Mathew Centenary that the two Archbishops would stand on the one platform and join hearts and hands in giving honour to the memory of one of Ireland's most beloved and gifted children, the Apostle of Temperance. What happened?' Now comes his evidence about the Inquisition, and the state of abject terror of it in which, as he says, I live (laughter.) He asks then, 'What

happened?' Here is his answer—'When the day arrived,' he says, 'it was found that his Grace Dr. Walsh was absent; of course there was an excuse, but no one, I think, who has the privilege of Dr. Walsh's acquaintance'—well, I am glad to know that he thinks it is a 'privilege' to have my acquaintance (laughter and applause). This is very complimentary to me. But I am bound to take the point out of the compliment by telling you that whoever else may have this privilege, as he calls it, he certainly has not (laughter), so that although his words seem to imply the contrary, he certainly is not in a position to speak from personal knowledge. But no matter about this. I take the compliment as graciously and as gravely as I can. Let us hear his 'evidence' about the Inquisition. 'No one,' he says, 'who has the privilege of the Archbishop's acquaintance will for one moment entertain the idea that, if left to the guidance of his own Irish heart, he would be absent or refuse to stand'—as if I had refused to stand—'shoulder to shoulder with Lord Plunket on that memorable occasion. We must, therefore, look abroad for the reason of Dr. Walsh's absence. No doubt Dr. Walsh would have been there, but what could he do when his Mephistopheles at the Vatican'—he means our holy Father the Pope—'said, No, that is a good act, you must not do it!' (Loud laughter.) Now that is the sort of stuff that is printed and put in circulation with the dishonourable purpose of stirring up dissension between Irishmen."

[The general opinion expressed by those who read the pamphlet and the remarks on it by his Grace is that he left the matter much as it was. It is difficult to conceive any more important duty than that of showing a good example to the laity of both Churches, but, unfortunately for Ireland, it seems the *Divide et impera* policy could not be neglected even for one day. The opportunity of thus allaying the fears of the opponents of Home Rule was allowed to pass by owing to some important business at Maynooth, the nature of which the public are left to guess as best they can. There are three degrees of importance as of anything else, and it might be positive, comparative, or superlative, from the checking of weekly accounts to the canonizing of a saint. What part "Mephistopheles" took in the important business still remains a subject for meditation as far as the general public are concerned.]

Nine Important Questions.

Many very excellent Roman Catholic friends of mine who read my letter to Most Rev. Dr. Nulty have expressed surprise that his Lordship did not make some effort to regain his "lost sheep" by rebutting, if possible, the grave charges against the Italian organisation he so efficiently represents contained in that letter.

His Grace Most Rev. Dr. Walsh does not appear to have had time sufficient when he referred to it in his address, and possibly may have considered it more the duty of Dr. Nulty than his own. Let that be as it may, some of my Roman Catholic friends are of opinion that many matters in that letter are not alone "amusing and strange," but so startling as to deserve some authoritative pronouncement.

I have consequently been requested, on behalf of my enquiring Roman Catholic friends, to submit in the most respectful and friendly spirit the following

NINE QUESTIONS

for the kind consideration of Most Rev. Dr. Nulty.

First.—Is or was the Bull of Adrian IV., uncanonically conceding a country he had no title to—namely, Ireland—to King Henry II., a reality; and, if so, why have the people of Ireland been taught by the representatives of Vatican interests that it was a fraud, a forgery, a myth, and not a reality? (See Appendices 4, 5, and 6.)

Second.—Does the Modern Church of Rome teach the same Christian doctrine from the Holy Scriptures taught by St. Patrick and his successors up till the sitting of the Council of Cashel (1172), when, under pressure of the temporal sword of England and the spiritual sword of Rome, the independent native Catholic Church of Ireland was forced to submit to annexation to the diocese of Rome?

Third.—Are the Irish Catholic Clergy of the present day sufficiently educated in matters concerning "Faith and Morals" to instruct our people without the intervention of Italian prompters; and, if so, are they sufficiently independent and patriotic to adopt the advice of the inspired prophet Jeremiah, who speaks to us in these words—

“ Thus saith the Lord, Stand you in the ways and see and ASK for the old paths which is the good way, and walk ye in it and ye shall find refreshment for your souls ” (Jeremiah vi. 16, Douay Bible) ;

and if the Clergy are not sufficiently independent, what is to prevent the laity putting them in a position perfectly independent of Italian coercion? The Church is the congregation of *ALL the faithful*, not a college of cardinals or Jesuits—secret wirepullers, the “power behind the Pope, the would-be rulers of all the world.”

Fourth.—Does the Modern Church of Rome teach the same Christian doctrine taught by St. Peter, recorded in the book of the Acts of the Apostles and in the two Epistles of St. Peter? and does the Pope sit in the Chair of St. Peter or on the Throne of the Cæsars?

Fifth.—Was St. Ambrose correct in stating—“ *They have not Peter's heritage who have not Peter's faith* ”?—(*De Pœnit* 7).

Sixth.—Has the Modern Church of Rome fallen away from its original purity of faith once and for ever *delivered unto the saints* (St. Jude), and become a mixed Political and Ecclesiastical organisation promoted on clerical lines, using or abusing, as the case may be, the reverence of the laity for God and their ignorance of Theology?

Seventh.—Is the Papal Bull *Cane Domini* enforced in Ireland, and are the Roman Catholic laity bound (generally unknown to themselves) by the Creed of Pope Pius IV. to aid the Clergy in administering its coercive enactments when possible? (See page 11.)

Eighth.—Is the account of the conduct of the Popes recorded by the historian Leopold Von Ranke a reliable historical statement (see Appendix 7), and, if so, is it fair to the people of Ireland to hold up the Popes as “Infallible guides in Faith and Morals—links in an unbroken chain of Saintly Pontiffs—Successors of St. Peter—and vicars on earth of the meek, merciful, and loving Jesus who died for our redemption”?

Ninth.—Is it a fact that it is now admitted by the best Roman Catholic historians that there is not a particle of primary or reliable evidence to sustain the tradition so implicitly believed by our forefathers concerning St. Peter being bishop of Rome for twenty-five years, and if there be, where is it to be found?

Any Roman Catholic who refers to the chronological table at the end of the Douay Bible will see that the Vatican authorities are weak on this point, and apparently without a leg to stand on in their claim from St. Peter.

In that table the principal events in the life of our Lord are accurately noted, also many events in the life of St. Peter, but the event of most immeasurable importance to the Roman Church is

clouded. According to tradition St. Peter is supposed to have been seven years Bishop of Antioch, from whence he removed to Rome in or about the year 42 vulgar era, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, and remained Bishop of Rome until the year 66, in the reign of Nero, when he was martyred with St. Paul.

There is no mention of his coming to Rome until the year 68. when we read in the chronological table about this time St. Peter and St. Paul came to Rome and were shortly after put to death. How then could he be twenty-five years Bishop of Rome?

We find by the same table that about the year 39 St. Peter fixed his see at Antioch. Then he could not have been in Rome before 46, and even thus he could only be 22 years in Rome.

This question was fully considered in Rome on the 9th and 10th of February, 1872. The discussion took place in the hall of the ACADEMIE PONTIFICIA, TIBERINA, kindly left at the disposal of the disputants by the Pope, when to the great surprise of the Vatican authorities three of the ablest Roman controversialists, FABIANI, CIPOLLA, and GUIDI, with all the literary and historical treasures of Rome at their command, failed to produce a particle of reliable evidence that St. Peter was ever in Rome even for one hour.

On the other hand, their opponents SCIARELLI, RIBETTI, and GAVAZZI showed from the Douay Bible that St. Paul admitted no one was with him but Luke; that so far from being in Rome, St. Peter's mission was to the Jews, as St. Paul's was to the Gentile (Acts xiii., Gal. ii.); that St. Peter faithfully performed his mission to the Jews, and suffered crucifixion by them in the Jewish manner with his head down, that being considered the more humane, as a fire being in some cases lighted under the unfortunate victim's head by friends, death ensued quickly by asphyxia. Our Lord suffered death at the hands of the Romans in their fashion, head erect.

I now most respectfully, on behalf of my Roman Catholic friends, submit the foregoing questions to the kind consideration of Most Rev. Dr Nulty, my late very highly esteemed Bishop, and feel assured our Roman Catholic friends in Westmeath who always read anything emanating from the cultured pen of his Lordship with great interest, will look forward anxiously for his most welcome pronouncement in solution of those important questions.

I have the honour to remain,

My dear Fellow-Countrymen,

Faithful to God and Ireland,

WILLIAM PENTLAND.

APPENDICES;

APPENDIX No. 1.

HIS GRACE LORD PLUNKET ON THE CREED OF ST. PATRICK.

On the 17th of March, 1890, Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, presided at the usual Annual Special Prayer for Ireland Meeting, held in the Union Buildings, Abbey Street, Dublin, and in the course of his address said :—

“ It seems to me a cause for great thankfulness that in the life and teaching of him who is called ‘ the Apostle of Ireland,’ by whom Christianity, if not introduced, was certainly established in this land, we have a centre around which Evangelical Christians of various denominations can rally. There may, of course, be a difference between us as to which of our Churches most nearly represents the Church which St. Patrick founded ; and on this subject none of us would be content to have our tongues tied upon other occasions ; but UPON THIS GROUND AT LEAST WE CAN NOW ALL THANKFULLY UNITE—we all accept ST. PATRICK’S CREED as he himself has given it to the world and as it is to be found in that translation of his works which is, I suppose, in all your hands. I remember well an occasion when at one of the Conventions held annually within these walls, all who were present joined in reciting together that grand old pronouncement of the Christian faith, the Nicene Creed, showing thereby that Evangelical Protestantism was not built up on merely empty negations, but had for ITS FOUNDATION A POSITIVE BASIS OF ETERNAL TRUTH. Now, that Creed and the Creed of St. Patrick

are almost identical, and both agree in lending no countenance to the twelve novel articles added to the primitive standards of faith by the Council of Trent. It is, therefore, I repeat, a cause for thankfulness that around THE CREED OF IRELAND'S PATRON SAINT WE CAN MEET and furnish a solid token of one Christian union.

“There is a spurious form of Protestantism—a weak-kneed, invertebrate Protestantism—which, under the specious guise of a false liberality, minimises and vapours away all those serious differences which distinguish the religion of the Church of Rome from ours. There is another form of spurious Protestantism which finds vent in feelings of bitter animosity against those WHOM, AS OUR FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN, WE SHOULD LOVE. But there is a more true type of Protestantism, which leads us, while thankfully recognising the essential truths that WE HOLD IN COMMON WITH OUR ROMAN CATHOLIC BRETHREN, to protest with all our hearts and minds against the dangerous innovations whereby those truths have been overlaid and defaced, and which leads us, therefore, IN A SPIRIT OF LOVE, to strive and to pray that our fellow-countrymen may yet RETURN TO THE PURE FAITH AS PREACHED BY ST. PATRICK AND HIS FOLLOWERS IN DAYS OF OLD.

“The duty of patriotism, to my mind, is not something to be proved by argument. It is an instinct which asserts itself; and with us it is something more—it is a CHRISTIAN OBLIGATION. How startling are the words of the patriot Apostle—‘I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh.’ How touching the words of our Lord when, after His crucifixion at the hands of His own fellow-countrymen, He gave directions that they who were to go forth and preach to all nations should ‘begin at Jerusalem!’

“This leads us to the further thought of Christian intercession. Oh! that we all valued more the privilege of united prayer—oh! that we all understood better its power. . . . *May the day arrive when all who dwell in this country may be united together by a common bond of Christian patriotism.* Yes, may the time arrive when all who, when this St. Patrick's Day recurs from year to

year, are proud to wear the shamrock on their breasts, may have in their hearts beneath a resolve—as evergreen and as fresh—to make known throughout the length and breadth of their native land the good tidings, the Evangel, which has made themselves so glad.”

Extracts from “*National Responsibilities.*”

APPENDIX No. 2.

THE CREED OF ST. PATRICK AND THE CREED OF
POPE PIUS IV. COMPARED.

THE CREED OF ST. PATRICK.

“There is no other God besides GOD THE FATHER and His Son JESUS CHRIST, whom we confess to have been from everlasting with His Father, and who was begotten before all things were made, visible and invisible; and who was made man, and overcame death, and ascended into heaven to the Father. And God gave unto Him all power over every man in heaven and in earth, and under the earth, that every tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord and God. We believe in Him, and expect that He will come again to judge the quick and the dead, and will render to every man according to his works. And He has poured out upon us abundantly the gift of the HOLY GHOST, the pledge of immortality; who maketh us to believe and obey, and to be sons of God the Father, and to be fellow-heirs of Christ, whom we confess; and we adore one God in the Trinity of the Sacred Name.”

THE CREED OF POPE PIUS IV.

“I believe and profess with a firm faith all and every one of the things which are contained in the Symbol of Faith which is used in the Holy Roman Church, namely:—

[THE NICENE CREED.]

“I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible:

“And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten of His Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten not made, Being of one substance with the Father; By whom all things were made, Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man, And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried, And the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And He shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead: Whose kingdom shall have no end.

“And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins, And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.”

[TWELVE NOVEL ARTICLES.]

"I. I most steadfastly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the same Church.

"II. I also admit the Holy Scripture, according to that sense which our Holy Mother, the Church, has held and does hold, to which it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures: nor will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

"III. I also profess, that there are truly and properly seven Sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all for every one; to wit, Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Order, and Matrimony; and that they confer grace; and that of these, Baptism, Confirmation, and Order cannot be reiterated without sacrilege; and I also receive and admit the received and approved ceremonies of the Catholic Church, used in the solemn administration of all the aforesaid Sacraments.

"IV. I embrace and receive all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the Holy Council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

"V. I profess, likewise, that in the Mass there is offered to God a true, proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist there are truly, really, and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood; which conversion the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation. I also confess, that under either kind alone, Christ is received whole and entire, and a true Sacrament.

"VI. I constantly hold that there is a Purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

"VII. Likewise, that the saints, reigning together with Christ, are to be honoured and invocated; and that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be held in veneration.

"VIII. I most firmly assert that the images of Christ, of the Mother of God, ever Virgin, and also of other saints, may be had and retained: and that due honour and veneration are to be given them.

"IX. I also affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

"X. I acknowledge the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church for the Mother and Mistress of all Churches; and I promise true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, Successor to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.

"XI. I likewise undoubtedly receive and profess all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the Sacred Canons and General Councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent; and I condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies which the Church has condemned, rejected, and anathematized.

"XII. I, N. N., do at this present freely profess and truly hold this true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved; and I promise most constantly to retain and confess the same entire and inviolate, with God's assistance, to the end of my life. *And I will take care, as far as in me lies, that it shall be held, taught, and preached by my subjects, or by those the care of whom shall appertain to me in my office; this I promise, vow, and swear, so help me God, and these holy Gospels of God.**

It should be borne in mind that the Nicene Creed, with which St. Patrick's Creed is nearly identical, was, up to the date of the Creed of Pope Pius IV.,

* The words in Italics constitute this Creed the oath of all beneficed Priests, Professors, and Bishops, who must take it: and these words are used when it is administered to them.

the authorized standard of Faith, and test of Church communion in Christendom. It was declared of it by the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), that if any one should dare "to compose, or to profess, or to offer any other form of faith to them wishing to be converted to the acknowledgment of the truth, whether from Paganism or from Judaism, or from any sort of heresy, that these, if they were Bishops, should be deposed from their Episcopacy; if clergymen, from their clerical office; and if laymen, they should be subjected to an anathema." The same Nicene Creed was pronounced by the Council of Trent itself (A.D. 1546) to be "That principle in which all who profess the Faith of Christ necessarily agreed, and that firm and only foundation against which the gates of hell shall never prevail." And yet a few years after the foregoing declaration, the above new Creed, including 12 Novel Articles, was promulgated by Pope Pius IV. as "The true Catholic Faith, without which no one can be saved," or in other words, as the new test of Church communion in the modern Church of Rome, and, as such, an innovation upon the ancient standards of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christendom.

If anything were wanting to prove the departure of the present Church of Rome from ancient precedents, it is to be found in the course which was adopted within the last few years by the first so-called Ecumenical Council held since the Council of Trent. At all former Councils since that of Nice (including the Council of Trent itself), the proceedings had been opened by the public profession of the Faith of the Church as contained in the Nicene Creed. In the Council to which I refer, that ancient custom was superseded by a profession of the new Creed of Pope Pius IV.

I know that the *Thirty-nine Articles* of our Church are sometimes strangely described as innovations analogous to those of the Twelve Articles of the Creed of Pope Pius IV. But setting aside the fact that our Articles do not contain any novel doctrine, but are merely reiterations and developments of ancient truths, or protests against modern error,—the great point of distinction consists in this, that our Articles are only a *declaration of opinion* to which the clergy of our Church are required to subscribe, and have never been authorized as a Creed, or *test of Church communion*—still less as a form of faith, "*without which no one can be saved.*"

APPENDIX No. 3.

ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THE ANCIENT CHURCH OF IRELAND AND THE CHURCH OF ROME.

Cardinal Boronius (Annal., A.D. 604, lxx.) thus describes the divergence between the ancient Church of Ireland and the Church of Rome:—"Eadem plane quæ *Britanni*, pariter et *Scoti* [*i.e.*, the Irish] erant *Schismatis* fuligine tincti ac *discessionis* ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ rei."*

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

The following is the testimony of a Roman Catholic work which recently attracted no little attention—"In the west, the Irish and the ancient British Church remained for centuries autonomous, and under no sort of influence of Rome."—*The Pope and the Council*, by JANUS, 2nd edition, p. 85.

Professor Stokes, in his work on *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, quotes (p. 156) from Bede (Bk. II., c. 4) the letter written by Laurentius (second Bishop of the Anglo-Norman Church), about 605 A.D. This letter was

* Undoubtedly in the same way in which the Britons equally with the Irish (Scoti) were tinged with the smokiness of Schism, and accused of separating from the Church of Rome.

addressed, on behalf of the Roman See, to the bishops and abbots of Ireland, and is, according to Dr. Stokes, the earliest historical document connecting Rome and Ireland. The passage quoted is as follows :—

“When the Apostolic See, according to the universal custom which it has followed elsewhere, sent us to these western parts to preach to Pagan nations, we came into this island, which is called Britain, without possessing any previous knowledge of its inhabitants. We held both the Britons and the Scots (*i.e.*, the Irish) in great esteem for sanctity, believing that they had proceeded according to the customs of the universal Church; but becoming acquainted with the errors of the Britons, we thought the Scots (the Irish) had been better; but we have discovered by Bishop Dagan coming into this aforesaid island, and by the Abbot Columbanus in France, that the Scots (the Irish) in no way differ from the Britons in behaviour; for Bishop Dagan, coming to us, not only refused to eat with us, but even to take his repast in the same house where we were entertained.”

As Professor Stokes remarks, “It is quite clear from this epistle, that hostility and separation between the Roman and the Irish party were bitter, clear, and distinct, when an Irish bishop would not even eat in the same house or beneath the same roof as his Roman opponents.”

Professor Stokes, in a subsequent chapter (p. 316), refers to a letter written (nearly five centuries after that of Laurentius) by another Anglo-Roman prelate, Lanfranc, to Torlogh O’Brien, in very much the same strain, and says of it :—“It quite disposes of the notion that the Irish Church succumbed to Roman supremacy and Roman discipline, when it consented, three hundred years earlier, to receive the Easter Cycle of the Western Church.”

It should be added that for long after the connection which took place between the Irish and the Anglo-Roman Church at the Synod of Cashel, the Irish as a nation protested against the intrusion of the foreign rule. In the fourteenth century, the native Irish Princes addressed an indignant remonstrance to Rome, setting forth the evils they suffered from the tyranny of the Anglo-Roman Church. But they got very little satisfaction from the Pope. Indeed, in all the disputes between the English intruders and the Irish natives the Roman Pontiff generally took the part of England. (See Theiner’s *Vetera Monumenta*, p. 2, a collection of documents about Ireland drawn up by Papal authority, and dedicated to the late Cardinal Cullen). Nor were the Anglo-Roman Prelates more favourably inclined, for from the celebrated Statute of Kilkenny (A.D. 1367), it appears that they went so far as to excommunicate those who admitted *Irish Ecclesiastics to Benefices* among the English colonists in Ireland. (See *Wordsworth’s Sermons*, pp. 150-153).

APPENDIX No. 4.

BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV.

Authorizing the Invasion of Ireland by King Henry II.

“ADRIAN, Servant of the servants of God, to His Son in Christ Jesus, Henry, King of England, sends greeting and Apostolic Benediction :—

“The desire your Magnificence expresses to advance the Glory of your name on earth, and to obtain in Heaven the Prize of eternal Happiness, deserves, no doubt, great Commendations. As a good Catholick Prince, you are very careful to enlarge the Borders of the Church, to spread the knowledge of the truth among the barbarous and ignorant, and to pluck up Vice by the roots in the Field of the Lord: And in order to this you apply to us for Countenance and Direction. We are confident, therefore, that by the Blessing of the Almighty, your undertaking will be crowned with a success suitable to the noble motive which it sets you upon it. For whatever is taken in hand

from the principle of Faith and Religion never fails to succeed. It is certain, as you yourself acknowledge, *Ireland*, as well as all other Islands which have the happiness to be enlightened by the Sun of Righteousness, and have submitted to the Doctrines of Christianity, are unquestionably *St. Peter's* Right, and belong to the jurisdiction of the *Roman* Church. We judge, therefore, after maturely considering the enterprize you propose to us, that it will be proper to settle in that Island Colonies of the Faithful, who may be well-pleasing to God.

"You have advertised us, most dear Son in Christ, of your *Design of an Expedition into Ireland, to subject the Island to just laws*, and so root out Vice, which has long flourished there. You promise to pay Us out of every House a Yearly Acknowledgment of one Penny, and to maintain the Rights of the Church, without the least Detriment or Diminution, upon which Promise, giving a ready ear to your request, *we consent and allow that you make a Descent* in that Island to enlarge the Bounds of the Church, to check the progress of Immorality, to reform the manners of the Natives, and to promote the Growth of Virtue and the Christian Religion. We exhort you to do whatever you think proper to advance the Honour of God and the Salvation of the People, whom we charge to submit to your Jurisdiction and own you for their Sovereign Lord; provided always that the Rights of the Church are inviolably preserved, and the Peter-Pence duly paid. If therefore you think fit to put your Design into execution, labour above all things to improve the Inhabitants of the Island in Virtue. Use both your own, and the endeavours of such as you shall judge worthy to be employed in this Work, that the Church of God be enriched more and more, that Religion flourish in the Country, and that the things tending to the Honour of God and Salvation of Souls, be in such manner disposed, as may entitle you to an Eternal Reward in Heaven and an immortal Fame upon Earth."

The learned historian, "Rapin," from whose great work the above translation is taken, thus comments on the Papal missive:—"These," he says, "are the foundations of Henry's pretensions to *Ireland*. In reading the *Bull* it is hard to know which of the two acted with the greatest dissimulation, the King or the Pope. Henry alleged false pretences to cover his ambition, and Adrian pretended to believe him, in order to have the disposal of a country which belonged not to him, and the transferring it to a Prince who had no manner of right to it. But it is easy to discover through all these disguises the motives which influenced the Pope. *Ireland had not yet acknowledged the superiority of the Roman See over the whole Christian Church*. This was the immorality which was to be rooted out of the field of the Lord. Submission to the Bishop of Rome was the seed which was to be carefully sown and cherished to the end, that the *Roman* Church might reap a plentiful harvest. What else can be meant by spreading a knowledge of the Truth where the Christian religion was so long before embraced?"—*National Responsibilities*, by HIS GRACE LORD PLUNKET.

APPENDIX No. 5.

FATHER BRENNAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE MANNER KING HENRY II. PROCURED THE BULL OF POPE ADRIAN IV.

"This was the memorable period in which Henry II. was placed on the throne of England, and about the same time (1154) Adrian IV. succeeded Eugene III. in the chair of St. Peter. Henry had for years secretly contemplated the conquest of Ireland, and that a similar design had engaged the attention of some of his predecessors, ever since the subjection of the See of Dublin to that of Canterbury, is an opinion amounting to more than a mere probability. Henry, who had artfully studied the natural disposition and religious temperament of the Irish, saw distinctly the profound reverence

with which that people were always ready to entertain every injunction emanating from the holy See: accordingly he resolved to procure by all means the solemn sanction of the Pontiff, before he should venture on so daring and hazardous an enterprize. An opportunity soon presented itself, and Henry availed himself of it. Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breepsere) was an Englishman, and to him did Henry make application through the agency of John of Salisbury, then Chaplain to Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury. John's request, like the reasons on which it had been grounded, was no doubt a precious compound of Christian zeal and disinterestedness. He prayed that his master might be merely permitted to take possession of Ireland, for the purpose 'of extending the boundaries of the Church, of announcing to an unlearned and rude people the truths of the Christian faith, and of extirpating the weeds of vice from the field of the Lord.'*

"Adrian, anxious for the aggrandizement of his country, or as Cardinal Pole expresses it, *induced by the love of his country*,† lost no time in complying with the agent's request. He accordingly furnished Henry with the celebrated document or Bull, by which he makes over all Ireland to that Monarch, requiring only, that the rights of the Church may be preserved inviolate and that a *denarius* should be paid annually from every house to St. Peter. That this document is unquestionably authentic cannot be doubted, notwithstanding the opinion of some writers to the contrary. It is published in the Annals of Baronius, and copied, as that learned author declares, from the *Codex Vaticanus*. John XXII. has annexed it to his celebrated Brief addressed to Edward II., in the fourteenth century: in short, John of Salisbury, in his work entitled 'Metalogicus,' actually acknowledges that it was by his means the King of England had obtained this Bull from Adrian IV.

"Ad preces meas illustri Regi Anglorum Henrico II. concessit (Adrianus) et dedit Hiberniam jure hæreditario possidendam, sicut literæ ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem. Nam omnes insulæ de jure antiquo, ex donatione Constantini, qui eam fundavit et dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam Ecclesiam pertinere."‡—*Metalog.* L. 4.

"Henry, although having this document in his possession, was soon sensible that some other pretext must be assigned for the invasion of Ireland, besides the pretended reasons alluded to in the Bull. Nor was it long until the opportunity, so ardently wished for, had been afforded him by means of the perfidious and profligate Dermot Mac-Morogh, King of Leinster. § This detestable tyrant, having been abandoned by his vassals and deposed by Roderic O'Connor, King of Ireland, had recourse to Henry II., who was then in Aquitaine, and casting himself at the feet of that Sovereign swore allegiance and offered him the supreme dominion of his kingdom, in case he should be reinstated. The English Monarch, having been at that time involved in great difficulties himself, could not assist him with any considerable force; he, however, caused letters patent to be issued, in which he recommends the case of Dermot to his subjects and encourages such as might be inclined to volunteer their services. Dermot proceeded on his journey until he came to Bristol. Here he met and conversed with Richard, surnamed Strongbow, Earl of Chepstow or Strigul, who engaged to go over into Ireland the ensuing spring, upon condition that Dermot should give him in

* See Bull of Adrian.

† In his speech delivered A.D. 1554, and quoted by Usher (Syll. Note to Adrian's Bull).

‡ "At my entreaties he (Adrian IV.) gave and conceded to Henry II., the illustrious King of England, Ireland, owned by right of heritage, as is witnessed in his own letter of to-day. For all the islands, by ancient right of holy gift of Constantine, are said to belong to the Roman Church."—(*Metalogicus*.)

(John of Salisbury appears to refer for title to a document now admitted to be a forgery—namely, the decretal of the Emperor Constantine. It should also be borne in mind that Rome never conquered Ireland, consequently the Pope had no right to Ireland, even canonically.)

§ Giraldus Cambrensis treating of Dermot Mac-Morogh draws the following character:—"Nobilium oppressor, humilium erector, iustus suis, exosus alienis; Manus omnium contra ipsam et ipse contrarius omni."—*Hib. expug.* L. 1. c. 6.

marriage his only daughter Eva and settle upon him the succession of his whole inheritance in that kingdom. Passing through Wales, he there negotiated with Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, both Normans and maternal brothers, and having promised to reward them amply they readily engaged to espouse his cause.

"Henry II., who had now become jealous of the progress of Strongbow, resolved to lose no time in proceeding to Ireland. He accordingly landed at Waterford, on the 18th of October, A.D. 1171, with an army consisting of 500 knights and about 4000 armed followers.† Here he was waited upon by Dermot Mac-Carthy, King of Desmond, who submitted to him and put hostages into his hands. From Waterford Henry marched to Lismore and afterwards to Cashel, in which latter city Donald O'Brian, King of Thomond, swore fealty and acknowledged himself his vassal. The example of these princes was followed by O'Felan of the Desies, Mac-Gilla-Patrick of Ossory and others. Henry next proceeded to Dublin, where O'Carroll, Prince of Ergal, and O'Ruarc of Breffny made submission; while Roderick O'Conor still continued in his kingdom of Connaught, and the princes of the northern districts of Ulster refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of a foreigner.

"Henry having been now sovereign of Leath-Mogha (the southern half of Ireland) thought it high time to commence his long boasted reformation of the Irish Church, according to the terms expressed in the Bull of Adrian IV. For this purpose, he directed that a Synod should be convened at Cashel early in the ensuing year, 1172, and that notice in due form should be given to each of the archbishops and bishops of the kingdom. At this Synod, neither the Primate Gelasius nor any of the Ulster bishops attended.

"Christian, Bishop of Lismore, the legate apostolic, presided; there were present O'Hullican, Archbishop of Cashel, Laurence O'Toole of Dublin, and Catholicus of Tuam, together with their suffragan bishops and some abbots. Henry, on his part, sent to this Synod Ralph, Archdeacon of Landaff, Nicholas his chaplain and other ecclesiastics. In this convocation, the mighty engagements entered into by Henry were to have been fulfilled, and the Church of Ireland was to be reformed; how effectually all these objects had been achieved, the following decrees passed in the Synod of Cashel will best enable us to determine.

"It was decreed: 1. That the faithful throughout Ireland do contract and observe lawful marriages, rejecting those with their relations either by consanguinity or affinity.‡ 2. That infants be catechised before the door of the church, and baptised in the holy font in the baptismal churches. 3. That all the faithful do pay the tithes of animals, corn, and other produce to the church of which they are parishioners. 4. That all ecclesiastical lands and property connected with them be quite exempt from the exactions of all laymen. And, especially, that neither the petty kings or counts, or any powerful men in Ireland, or their sons with their families do exact, as was usual, victuals and hospitality or entertainments in the ecclesiastical districts, or presume to extort them by force; and that the detestable food or contributions which used to be required four times in the year from the farms belonging to churches by the neighbouring counts, shall not be claimed any more. 5. That, in case of a murder committed by laymen and of their compounding for it with their enemies, clergymen their relations are not to pay part of the fine (or Erick), but that, as they were not concerned in the perpetration of the murder, they are to be exempted from the payment of money. 6. That all the faithful, lying in sickness, do, in the presence of their con-

† Ware.—O Flaherty, Ogy.

‡ By this decree it was intended to establish in Ireland that portion of the ecclesiastical law by which, in those times, marriage was prohibited within the seventh degree of consanguinity and affinity. This law could not be conveniently enforced in Ireland, in consequence of the system of clanship which then prevailed in this country. It was found to be equally inconvenient in many other parts of the Western Church, and was on that account, soon after modified and reduced, as it now is, to the fourth degree.

fessor and neighbours, make their will with due solemnity, dividing, in case they have wives and children (excepting their debts and servants' wages), their moveable goods into three parts, and bequeathing one for the children, another for the lawful wife, and the third for the funeral obsequies. 7. That due respect be paid to those who die after a good confession, by means of masses, vigils, and decent burial. Likewise, that all divine matters be henceforth conducted agreeably to the practices of the holy Church, according as observed by the Anglican Church.*

"Such were the regulations of the Synod of Cashel—such the mighty reform brought about by Henry II., and to effect which, public plunder, rapine and sacrilege had been perpetrated, while the face of the country was deluged with the blood of the people. These decrees were, however, totally disregarded by the Irish clergy and their flocks; the tendency of some of them was too perceptible, and having been furnished already with ample and salutary laws of discipline confirmed at Kells and in previous councils, to these they conscientiously adhered. Henry was soon after obliged to return to England, having brought himself into serious difficulties by being implicated in the murder of St. Thomas a Becket.

"During all this time neither the Bull of Adrian IV. nor the confirmatory Brief of his successor Alexander III. had been publicly produced. The English Monarch had too much policy not to perceive that the shameless and unfounded aspersions contained in these documents would but produce one general burst of indignation from both clergy and people; nor did he venture to publish them until three years afterwards (1175), when the precarious state of his affairs in Ireland loudly called for some hitherto untried and desperate effort. In that year Henry II. sent Nicholas, Prior of Wallingford, and William Fitz-Adelm to Ireland with both the Bull and confirmatory Brief.† They landed at Waterford, and, having summoned a meeting of the bishops, here these curious documents were for the first time read in Ireland.‡ They had no effect whatever in healing the wounded feelings of the people, the unsparing rapacity of the invaders having been such as to place the wretched condition of the natives beyond the power of all human endurance. At length a negotiation took place at Windsor, between the English Monarch and Roderick O'Connor, in which it was stipulated that Roderic, as King of Ireland, should continue in full possession of his ancient hereditary dominions on condition of his paying to Henry a certain tribute. Roderic's ambassadors on this occasion were Catholcus, Archbishop of Tuam, Concors, Abbot of Clonfert, and Laurence his chancellor, together with St. Laurence O'Toole, who happened to be at that time engaged on some ecclesiastical business in England.

"It was now generally hoped that the Bull of Adrian as well as the Brief of Alexander would be patiently allowed to rest in oblivion, or at least that these documents would not be officially enforced; however, in 1177, Cardinal Vivian, who had been sent to Ireland as legate apostolic, arrived in Dublin and immediately convened a Synod of bishops and abbots. In this Synod, the Cardinal maintained Henry's right to the sovereignty of Ireland, in virtue of the Pope's authority, and even insisted on the necessity of unqualified

* Giraldus, Hib. expug. chap. XXXIV.

† The following is the confirmatory Brief of Alexander III.: "Alexander, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to his dearly beloved son, the noble King of England, greeting, grace and apostolic benediction. For as much as things given and granted upon good reason by our predecessors are to be well allowed, ratified and confirmed; We, well considering and pondering the grant and privilege for, and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland to us appertaining, and lately given by Adrian our predecessor, and following his steps, do, in like manner, confirm, ratify and allow the same; reserving and saving to St. Peter, and to the Church of Rome, the yearly pension of one penny out of every house, as well in England as in Ireland. Provided also, that the barbarous people of Ireland, by your means, be reformed, and recovered from their filthy life and abominable conversation; that as in name, so in life and manners, they may be Christian; and that, as that rude and disordered Church, by being by you reformed, the whole nation may also with the possession of the name, be in acts and deeds, followers of the same."

‡ Giraldus, L. 2. chap. VI.

obedience from all persons under pain of excommunication. He likewise allowed the invaders liberty to enter the churches and take from thence whatever provisions the people had, for sake of safety deposited therein, on condition that a reasonable price should be paid for them to the pastors of these churches.* The cardinal had, it seems, been under some serious obligations to De Courcey and other adventurers, and most likely considered all this as a sort of instalment for the large debt of gratitude which it is certain he had owed to them. What kind of impression this singular conduct of the legate had made on the minds of the clergy assembled history has not thought proper to hand down to us; however, it is certain that the people of Ireland, plundered and outraged as they had been, were but little inclined to pay any attention to this indiscreet exhibition of clerical diplomacy and extravagance.

“These proceedings together with the publication of the documents themselves had now created such a ferment in the public mind, that the measures, contemplated in the late Synod of Dublin, were censured and condemned by all. It was well known that Henry’s agents had been actively employed at Rome, and it was equally certain that an imposition alike gross and mischievous had been practised on the Pontiff. While some, therefore, inveighed bitterly against the Cardinal, many were aggrieved at the calumnies which had been cast on the nation, and all felt indignant at the baseness and treachery of the minions by whom those misrepresentations had been so artfully and widely circulated.

“Such had been the distracted state of the nation when, in 1179, summonses were issued by Alexander III. for the meeting of the third general Council of Lateran. On this occasion the following Irish Bishops set out for Rome: Laurence O’Toole of Dublin, Catholicus of Tuam, Constantine O’Brian of Killaloe, Felix of Lismore, Augustin of Waterford, and Brictius of Limerick. These Prelates were received in Rome with marked attention, and particularly Laurence O’Toole, whose jurisdiction over the suffragan sees of Glendaloch, Kildare, Ferns, Leighlin and Ossory was at this time confirmed by Alexander III.† This Pontiff, having now an opportunity of conversing with some of the heads of the Irish Church, was at length convinced that, in the confirmatory brief which he had drawn up for Henry, he had been grossly imposed upon, and that the terms employed in that official document were as severe as they had been uncalled for; as a mark, therefore, of his feelings on the subject, he not only put into the hands of Laurence a Brief confirmatory of the above-mentioned rights, but moreover appointed him his legate apostolic throughout Ireland. In the discharge of the duties belonging to this apostolic legation Laurence had to encounter much anxiety and many difficulties.

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whom Henry II. had sent over, as well to reform ‘the rude and disordered Church of Ireland, as to convert its barbarous people from their filthy life and abominable conversation,‡ were, it appears, with few exceptions, a set of the most incontinent profligates. That characters of this description should have anything to do with the Church of his native country was a heart-rending reflection to the pure mind of Laurence. Anxious, therefore, to remove this crying scandal with which Irishmen had been hitherto unacquainted, and to afford his Holiness himself an opportunity of witnessing the hopeful manner in which the Church of Ireland was to be reformed by Englishmen, Laurence sent one hundred and forty of them, who were convicted of incontinency, to Rome for absolution, although he had, at the time, the power of absolving them himself.§

“The See of Dublin had been, at this period, richly endowed; the revenues of which Laurence applied to the use of the poor and afflicted, while he himself led a life of rigorous austerity. To the Archbishopric of Dublin, in 1180, belonged Swords, Lusk, Finglass, Clondalkin, Ireland’s Eye, Tallagh, and many other places; also the parish Churches of St. Thomas, St.

* Giraldus, Hib. expug. l. 2. chap. XVII.—Ware, Annals at A, 1177.
 † Vita S. Laurent. chap. XXIII. ‡ Bull and Brief. § Vita S. Laurent. chap. XXIII.

Nicholas, St. Werburg, and St. Patrick, in the south suburbs of the city. These ample revenues the Saint employed in works of unbounded charity, and during the great famine, by which the nation had been then visited for three years, he is said to have afforded daily relief to no less than 500 persons, besides the crowds of applicants who were constantly pouring in from the country. St. Laurence continued to discharge the duties of his pastoral office and of his legation until his death, which took place in France, on the 14th of November, A.D. 1180.*

"On the death of St. Laurence O'Toole, Henry II. despatched Jeffery De la Hay, his chaplain, and a clerk of the Legate Alexius to Dublin, with orders that the revenues of the See should be immediately seized on and collected by them into the Exchequer.† Henry had, at this time, an intention of transferring the dominion of Ireland to his son John. In order, therefore, to prepare the way for his reception, that Monarch took care that none but an English ecclesiastic should be appointed to preside over a See of such rank and importance. The person whom he recommended was John Cumin, an Englishman, who, besides being learned and eloquent, had also filled an ecclesiastical situation in the royal palace for several years. He was accordingly elected at Evesham, in Worcestershire, on the 6th of September, A.D. 1181, by some of the clergy of Dublin, whom the King had assembled there for that purpose, and the year afterwards was consecrated at Velletri by Pope Lucius III.‡ That same year, John Cumin obtained a Bull from Lucius III., which conferred some important privilege on the Archdiocese of Dublin, and which in aftertimes had occasioned much controversy between the archbishops of that See and the primates of Armagh.§ Four years had now elapsed between the death of St. Laurence O'Toole and the arrival of his successor John Cumin in Dublin; during which time the King's exchequer, as it is natural to suppose, must have derived no inconsiderable share of benefit. On the following year (1185) John, Earl of Morton, son of Henry, arrived at Waterford, accompanied by the famous Gerald Barry (Giraldus Cambrensis) as his tutor and secretary.|| The new Archbishop, John Cumin, as being the first Englishman who had ever been placed over an Irish See, considered it now high time to open his administration by some memorable act of his pastoral care and solicitude. This he did by causing a provincial Synod to be held about the middle of the following Lent in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity (Christ Church), Dublin. The decrees passed at this Synod were of a ritual and disciplinary character; most of them had been already sanctioned either by long prescribed usage, or by positive acts juridically ratified in many of the previous synodical meetings of the prelates of Ireland. The 13th Canon is a publicly recorded and well merited encomium on the high character of the Irish priesthood: while the 19th, which regarded the payment of tithes, had, notwithstanding the decree of the Council of Cashel, continued almost a dead letter; nor were these tithes paid in Ireland except within the pale, or that mere fractional portion in which the English influence had predominated.¶]

"The exemplary chastisement, which St. Laurence O'Toole had been obliged to inflict on numbers of the English clergy for their incontinency and scandalous lives, was not after all, it appears, sufficient to prevent the evil. They still continued to pour into Ireland; while one party seemed to outstrip the other in unrestrained licentiousness and open debauchery. Such unheard of profligacy could not but call forth the just reprobation of the Synod. Its proceedings having been generally opened by a sermon, on the first day the Archbishop himself preached on the sacraments. On the second day Alban O'Mulloy, Abbot of Baltinglass and afterwards Bishop of Ferns, delivered an

* See chap. III.

† Ware, Annals, 1180.

‡ Ware Bishops.

§ See chap. II. Dublin.

¶ Ware, Annals, Writers.

¶ The 19th Canon provides, "That tithes be paid to the mother churches, out of provisions, hay, the young of animals, flax, wool, gardens, orchards, and out of all things that grow and renew yearly, under pain of an anathema, after the third monition; and that those, who remain obstinate in refusing, shall be obliged to pay the tithes more punctually for the future."

impressive and powerful lecture on the subject of clerical continency. In this discourse the learned O'Mulloy took occasion to dwell on the unsullied character of the Irish clergy, and then, in mixed terms of grief and indignation he inveighed most bitterly against the English and Welsh clergy who had come into Ireland, upbraiding them with having polluted the altars of his country by their filthy and abominable crimes; while in tears of anguish he assailed them, that such crying scandal had never been heard of in the sanctuary of the Irish Church, until aliens and adventurers had been authorized to come in amongst them. This discourse was not without the desired effect. The learned O'Mulloy had scarcely returned from the pulpit when these English ecclesiastics began, by mutual recrimination, to accuse each other, one endeavouring to shew that the other was more criminal than himself: and thus did they publicly expose themselves to the contemptuous disgust and indignant scorn of the Irish clergy. Numbers of them were on this occasion convicted, and accordingly the Archbishop suspended them from their ecclesiastical functions and the enjoyment of their benefices.* Or the third day, Gerald Barry, by order of the Archbishop, preached a sermon, or rather poured forth a torrent of abuse on the Irish clergy and, in fact, on the whole nation. In this unmeaning tirade, Giraldus made a public display not only of his malevolence, but even of his utter ignorance of ecclesiastical antiquities and of the customs and manners of the Irish people. Among other matters he accused them of being too fond of indulging themselves over their cups.† With all his prejudices, however, he was obliged at the stern command of truth to draw the following admirable character of the Irish clergy: "The clergy (he says) of this country are very commendable for religion, and among the divers virtues which distinguish them, they excel and are pre-eminent in the prerogative of chastity. Likewise, they attend regularly and vigilantly to their psalms and hours, to reading and prayer; and remaining within the precincts of the churches do not absent themselves from the divine offices, to the celebration of which they have been appointed. They also pay great attention to abstinence and sparingness of food, so that the greatest part of them fast almost every day until dusk and until they have completed all the canonical offices.‡"

"The proceedings of this Synod served, in no small degree, to check the haughty domineering spirit of Giraldus. The disgraceful conduct of his countrymen, and the public exposé which had just been made, worked so strongly on his feelings, that he refused the vacant See of Ferns which had been then offered to him by his patron Prince John, and soon after returned to his own country. It appears that several of the English ecclesiastics had, by this time, found means of obtaining a settlement in that diocese; for which reason it was the anxious wish of the native clergy, and indeed of Archbishop Cummin, that no person but an Irishman of zeal and firmness should be appointed to preside over it. All eyes were now fixed on Albin O'Mulloy, and having been accordingly consecrated,§ this determined and religious Prelate soon began, by purging his diocese, to teach these new-fashioned English reformers the practical and proper meaning of Irish discipline and of Irish morality."—*Rev. M. J. Brennan, O.S.F., Eccl. Hist., vol. 1, pp. 305-320.*

* Fleury, l. 74.—Giraldus de rebus a se gestis.

† The prevailing Celtic custom of enjoying some beverage after the principal meal was observed among the ancient Irish, as in fact it is among their descendants to this day. To a person unacquainted with such a national usage, as Giraldus Cambrensis actually had been, it might appear somewhat singular; he does not, however, accuse them of heedlessness, as is evident from the term *potores*, which he thought proper to employ on the occasion.

‡ Girald. Top. Hib. D. 3.

§ It may be proper to remark, that Albin O'Mulloy and also his predecessor Joseph O Herbe have been sometimes styled Bishops of Wexford. In the charter of the Abbey of Dunroddy, to which Joseph had been a witness, he subscribes himself Bishop of Wexford; and it is certain that in the Bull which John Cummin had obtained from Lucius III., in 1182, this See is called "Episcopatus Wexforiensis." It is probable that they might have had some intention of translating the See further in consequence of the rising importance of the town of Wexford at this time; however, after the death of Albin O'Mulloy, the prelates of this Diocese were invariably styled Bishops of Ferns.

APPENDIX No. 6.

DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF IRELAND DURING THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY UNDER ANGLO-ITALIAN
CLERICAL RULE.

“When the reader takes into account the opulent state of the Irish Church at this period, with its possessions, tithes and power, and then throws back his thoughts on those early ages of the sixth and seventh centuries, when the clergy of Ireland depended solely on the gratuitous contributions of the people, what a glaring contrast. In those ancient days of Ireland's splendour, and when its clergy were strangers to both wealth and civil power, there were seminaries of learning in every province of the kingdom, and in which the Briton, as well as the distant foreigner from the Continent, was received and embraced with welcome. But now, in the fourteenth century, we have tithes, and church-lands; our Prelates are Treasurers, Escheators, civil Justices, and Lord-deputies, and yet there is not in the whole kingdom one solitary establishment which could in the most remote sense deserve the name of a public seminary or a national college. Archbishop Lech saw and felt the importance of this shameful grievance, and in the July of 1311 he obtained from Pope Clement V. a bull for founding a public school or University in Dublin. Had the Archbishop lived, this national undertaking would have certainly succeeded, but his death occurred on the 10th of August in the same year, and thus was the design of a general literary establishment abandoned until it had been revived by his successor about seven years afterwards.

“Alexander de Bicknor, Prebendary of Mainoth and at that time High Treasurer of Ireland,* was elected as his successor and consecrated in 1317, at Avignon, by the Cardinal of Ostium, Michael de Prato. During the following year Alexander was appointed Lord-justice of Ireland, and on the 9th of October (1318) was enthroned and received by the clergy and people of Dublin with unbounded applause.† Considering the power and the ample means now placed at his command, it is but natural to expect that the plan of education, so laudably commenced by his predecessor, would have been reassumed and at once successfully completed. The undertaking was, no doubt, patronized by the new Archbishop, and even advanced to a certain extent, but it soon proved to be a failure, and that in a manner which speaks very little for either tithes or ecclesiastical wealth. In 1320 Alexander procured from Pope John XXII. a confirmation of the previous bull granted by Clement V., according to which this intended literary foundation was resanctioned. Three doctors of divinity were then appointed, namely, William Hardite of the order of Preachers, Henry Congry, a Franciscan, and Edmund Karnardin. At the same time William Rodiart, Dean of St. Patrick's, was made Doctor and teacher of Canon law, and was also the first Chancellor of the University.‡ This seat of literature continued to flourish during the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III., that is for about half a century, but after that period it was neglected; it was suffered to decline and fall to the ground, merely through want of means necessary to meet the contingent expenses of the establishment.

“In giving even an outline of the deplorable condition of Ireland during the administration of Alexander de Bicknor and of his predecessors Sir Roger Mortimer and the Earl of Carrick, language becomes almost useless. Fraud, murder and rapine were crimes of just as ordinary occurrence as the rising sun. An Irishman had no law, redress or protection. If an Englishman murdered an Irishman, it was useless to look for satisfaction in a court of justice; the more noble and worthy the victim, the more merit and honour

* Rymer, Ten. 3 p. 180.

Ware, Annals, ad A. 1318.

‡ Ware's Antiq. p. 87.

did the murderer receive at the hands of his countrymen. Hence property and life itself became insecure and almost worthless. The generality regarded death as sweeter and more valuable than life; in short the whole Irish people were goaded, maddened and driven headlong into the very depths of the blackest despondency. Under such circumstances, nature even instinctively seeks for relief—nor were the people of Ireland satisfied to submit any longer to such grinding oppression. The brilliant success which had, at that time, attended the Scottish arms under the gallant Bruce, and particularly the memorable victory which that hero had obtained over the English army at Bannockburn, had so raised the spirits and confidence of the Irish and the chieftains of Ulster in particular, that with one consent they addressed themselves to Robert Bruce, as their brother and kinsman, and offered to place the crown of Ireland in his hands. This offer was accepted, and in May 1315 Edward Bruce, brother of Robert, landed in Ulster with about 6000 men and asserted his claim to the new sovereignty. He was immediately joined by all the Irish Lords of Ulster: many of the English settlers also flocked to his standard, among whom may be noticed Walter and Hugh de Lacy, with their numerous adherents. Several engagements took place, in which the English were routed, while their towns were burned and their castles levelled to the ground.* In the meantime, Edward Bruce was solemnly crowned at Dundalk, and almost all Ireland now declared in his favour. It was in this critical posture of affairs, and when Ireland was on the verge of being wrested out of the hands of England, that Edward II. had recourse to a new expedient and applied to the court of Rome, earnestly supplicating the interposition of the Sovereign Pontiff. John XXII. was at that time Pope, and so successfully did the English agents manage their business at Rome, that a solemn sentence of excommunication was fulminated against Robert and Edward Bruce, including their adherents and all the enemies of Edward II. No nation on the face of the earth has perhaps ever manifested more reverence to the chair of St. Peter, than the people of Ireland. The Sovereign Pontiff they justly looked upon as their spiritual Father, and being sensible that English policy and misrepresentation had been artfully employed in causing this ecclesiastical censure to be fulminated, they came to the resolution of doing justice to themselves and their country, by laying a fair, circumstantial detail of their sufferings before the holy Father. Accordingly they presented to John XXII. a remonstrance setting forth, in language the most affecting, the wretched state of their unfortunate country, and the grinding oppression which, under the government of England, they had for so many years endured. This document, forming such a picture of human suffering as cannot be found in the annals of any other nation, could not fail of making a deep impression on the mind of his Holiness, and accordingly he addressed the following letter to Edward II., King of England.

“ Being actuated by paternal solicitude for the increase of thy power, most beloved Son, we with earnest exhortation invite you to direct your mind to certain subjects, on which the peace of your people and the tranquillity of your realm as well as your honour and renown most vitally depend. Wherefore it behoveth you to receive these our observations with a becoming mind, and to show yourself inclined and ready to put them into execution. Behold, therefore, we have received certain letters directed from the nobles and people of Ireland to the Cardinal Nuncios of the Apostolic See and by them transmitted to us, in which among other things we find, that, whereas our predecessor of happy memory Adrian IV. did, on certain terms distinctly laid down and specified in his apostolical letters, give and grant to your ancestor Henry II., of renowned memory, the domain of Ireland, that same Monarch and his successors the Kings of England, so far from observing the nature and form of these terms, have at every period and even up to this day, unlawfully transgressed them and have oppressed that people with afflictions, slavery and persecution, such as cannot be any longer endured. Nor was there any on

* Ware's Annals, ad. A. 1316.

found who would remove these oppressions or manifest the least compassion for their sufferings, although frequent recourse has been had to you, and the loud cry of this oppressed nation must have at least sometimes reached your ears. Wherefore being unwilling to bend under such misery and sufferings any longer, they have been brought to the necessity of withdrawing from your dominion altogether and of calling on another to rule over them. These things, most beloved son, if founded on truth, are completely at variance with our views, desiring as we do, nothing more ardently than the advancement of your happiness and prosperity. You should, therefore, diligently examine into these matters, and with ready affection cause such measures to be adopted as you know would be agreeable to your Creator, and carefully abstain from everything which might provoke the wrath of God against you—that God and Lord of revenge, who by no means despises the groans of the afflicted, and who on account of injustice is described to have rejected his own chosen people and transferred their kingdom to another. We are also the more anxious, that, in these sinful times, you should freely direct your attention to these matters, by which the hearts of the faithful might be drawn to a grateful sense of obedience, and avoid everything which might tend to separate them from the reverence which belongs to you.—And because it is of the utmost interest that a remedy be at once and effectually applied to these evils, we earnestly solicit thy royal Excellency, that taking these matters into prudent consideration and conferring with thy discreet council, you will command and cause such a speedy and satisfactory correction of the aforesaid wrongs and oppressions, that you may be pleasing in his eyes by whom you reign; and by doing what is equitable and upright on your part, every cause of just complaint may be removed, and thus the people of Ireland, directed by sound counsel, may be obedient to thee, as to their Lord. But if (which may God avert) they should then choose to continue in rebellion, they will in that case turn their cause into open injustice; while you must stand inexcusable before God and man. In order, therefore, that the oppressions of which the people of Ireland complain may be more fully laid before your view, we transmit to your Mightiness the aforesaid letters addressed to the Cardinal Nuncios, together with a copy of the documents which the aforesaid Adrian, our predecessor, granted to Henry II., King of England, regarding the concession of the land of Ireland.*

“Whether in consequence of this paternal admonition or owing to the precarious posture of his affairs, the English Monarch began now to show a degree of concern for the sufferings of the people of Ireland, and some promises at least were held out. Bruce continued still in the field, while a dreadful famine accompanied with pestilence prevailed from one extremity of the nation to the other. Sir John Birmingham, who, in 1318, had the command of the English army, was sent by the Lord-deputy, Alexander Bicknor, into Ulster. Bruce, with a force superior in number but not in discipline, met him at Dundalk; a desperate engagement ensued in which many and splendid proofs of bravery were displayed; victory at length appeared on the side of the English, and Edward Bruce with many of his best officers was left among the slain. After this signal defeat, Birmingham received the earldom of Louth as the reward of his services, while the Archbishop rose still higher in the favour and esteem of his sovereign.

“The influence which Alexander Bicknor possessed at court was gaining strength every day, inasmuch that four years after he had been appointed Lord Justice of Ireland he was sent by the Parliament of England as Ambassador into France together with Edmund, Earl of Kent, younger brother of Edward II.† It had been well for the Archbishop himself and for those immediately under his jurisdiction had he abstained from mixing himself up with the state of affairs of those times. Ambition and a spirit of ascendancy formed no inferior trait in the character of Alexander even long before he had been exalted to an high dignity in the Church. He advanced rapidly into

* Vat. Epist. 900.

† Thomas of Walsingham, Hyp. Noust.

power, and stepped from one office to another until at length he found himself in the midst of the labyrinth, without being able to make his way, unless by means of guides as inexperienced as they were treacherous. It was by causes such as these that he had brought himself into serious difficulties not only with the Primate of Armagh, but also with his own suffragans, and particularly with the Bishop of Ossory."—*Rev. M. J. Brennan, Eccles. Hist., vol. 2, pp. 3-10.*

APPENDIX No. 7.

LEAVES FROM THE LIVES OF THE HOLY FATHERS.

From Ranke's "History of the Popes."

"CHAPTER II.—THE CHURCH AND ITS TERRITORIES IN THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

"Extension of the Ecclesiastical Dominions.

"Whatever judgment may be passed on the popes of the earlier times, certain it is they had always grand interests in view—the care of an oppressed religion, the struggle with paganism, the propagation of Christianity among the northern nations, the establishment of an independent hierarchal power. Grand designs and achievements nurture the dignity of man's nature, and these their efforts upheld the greatness of the popes at a loftier pitch. But now those times were gone by, and with them the tendencies they had occasioned: the schism was allayed; and the unpalatable conviction was to be digested, that no hope remained of effecting any combined system of operations against the Turks. The result was, that the head of the church applied himself especially, and more decidedly than at any previous time, to the interests of her temporal dominions, and devoted all his efforts to their furtherance.

"This course was in accordance with what had long been the characteristic temper of the age. 'Formerly,' it had been said by a speaker in the council of Basle, 'I was of opinion that it would be well were the temporal power wholly dissevered from the spiritual. But now I have learned that virtue without strength is ridiculous, that the Roman pope, without the hereditary possessions of the church, would be but the lackey of kings and princes.' This speaker, who had influence enough in the assembly to determine the election of pope Felix, declares it not very objectionable that a pope should have sons, who might uphold him against tyrants.*

"This matter was subsequently regarded in another light in Italy. It was looked on as a thing of course that a pope should promote the interests of his own family, and he would have been censured had he not done so. 'Others,' says Lorenzo Medici, writing to Innocent VIII., 'have not so long postponed their efforts to become popes, and have given themselves little concern to evince such delicacy and forbearance as your holiness has manifested for such a length of time. Now is your holiness not only excused before God and man, but one might perhaps even venture to blame this punctilious conduct, and ascribe it to another motive. Zeal and duty force it upon me as a point of conscience to remind your holiness, that no man is immortal, that a pope's importance is just what he chooses to make it; he cannot make his dignity hereditary: nothing can he call his own but the honours and the benefactions he has bestowed on his kindred.† Such was the counsel given by the man who was regarded as the wisest in Italy. He was certainly an interested party; he had married his daughter to the pope's son; but he

* See an extract from this speech in Schröck, vol. xxxii, p. 90.

† A letter of Lorenzo's, without date, but apparently of the year 1499, since it speaks of the 8th year of Innocent VIII. Fabroni Vita Laurentii, p. 390.

would never have ventured to express himself so roundly and unreservedly, had not the views he propounded been those admitted currently and without question among the higher classes.

"There is an intimate correspondence between the two contemporaneous facts, that the European states despoiled the pope of a portion of his privileges and that the latter began to apply himself to purely secular enterprises. His primary quality, in his own eyes, was that of an Italian prince.

"No great length of time had elapsed since the Florentines had overcome their neighbours, and the house of Medici had established its authority. The power of the house of Sforza in Milan, of that of Aragon in Naples, and of the Venetians in Lombardy, had all been achieved and secured within the memory of the existing generation. Might not a pope too fairly entertain the hope of founding a still greater inalienable sovereignty in the domains which were regarded as the hereditary possessions of the Church, but which were actually under the sway of a great number of independent rulers?

"Pope Sixtus IV. was the first who deliberately, and with effect, applied himself to the purpose; Alexander IV. followed it up with extreme vigour and extraordinary success; and Julius II. gave the scheme an unexpected turn with permanent results.

"Sixtus IV. (1471—1484) conceived the plan of founding a principality for his nephew Girolamo Riario in the fair and fertile plains of Romagna. The other Italian powers were already contending for the preponderance in those regions or for their possession; and if the question had been one of right, the pope's title was manifestly better than that of any of them: but he was far from being a match for them in political strength and in warlike resources. He did not scruple to make his spiritual power (in its nature and intention exalted above all earthly purposes) subservient to his worldly views, and to plunge it into all the temporary intrigues in which these involved him. As the Medici chiefly stood in his way, he mingled in the dissensions of Florence, and drew down upon himself, as is well known, the suspicion that he had been privy to the conspiracy of the Pazzi, which led to their murderous attempt before the altar of a cathedral—that he had been accessory to this—he, the father of the faithful! When the Venetians ceased to favour the pretensions of his nephew, as they had long done, the pope was not content with abandoning them to their fate in a war to which he himself had impelled them, but even went so far as to excommunicate them for continuing it.* He acted no less arbitrarily in Rome; he persecuted the Colonnas, the opponents of the Riarios, with savage ferocity, wrested Marino from them, and caused the house of the prothonotary of Colonna to be taken by storm, himself made prisoner and executed. The victim's mother went to St. Celso in Banchi, where the corpse lay, raised the severed head by the locks, and cried: 'This is the head of my son; this is the faith and honour of the pope. He promised if we surrendered Marino to him, that he would release my son; he has now got Marino; my son too is in our hands, but dead! Look here, and see how the pope keeps his plighted word.†'

"Such were the means by which Sixtus IV. achieved the victory over his enemies, foreign and domestic. He did actually succeed in making his nephew lord of Imola and Forli, but it cannot be questioned that, however his temporal splendour gained thereby, his spiritual influence lost infinitely more. An attempt was made to assemble a council against him.

"The time, however, was at hand when the deeds of Sixtus were to be undone. Not long after him Alexander VI. ascended the papal chair.

"Alexander had, all his days, known no other principle of conduct than to enjoy the world, to live in luxury, and to satisfy his lust and ambition. It

* The *Commentarii di Marino Sanuto* on the Ferrara war were printed in Venice in 1829; at p. 56, he treats of the pope's desertion. He cites the words of the Venetian ambassador: "Tutti vedranno aver noi cominciato questa guerra di volontà dal papa; egli però si mosse a rompere la lega." [It is notorious that we commenced this war at the pope's desire: but he broke the league.]

† *Alegretto Alegretti: diari Sanesi*, p. 817.

seemed to him arriving at the summit of bliss when he was at last invested with the highest spiritual dignity. Old as he was, this feeling seemed to impart to him fresh youth. No irksome thought was allowed for one night to trouble his repose. His only thought was, how to compass his own advantages and heap pomp and honour on his sons: never did he seriously devote himself to any other purpose.*

"This was the sole principle at the bottom of all his political alliances which had so great an influence on the affairs of the world: how a pope was disposed to marry his children, endow and enrich them, was a weighty consideration in determining all the political relations of Europe.

"Cæsar Borgia, Alexander's son, trod in the footsteps of Riario. He began at the self-same point, and his very first movement was to drive Riario's widow from Imola and Forlì. He held on his course with daring contempt of consequences, and what the other had attempted or but begun, he carried out to the end. Let us observe the mode of proceeding he adopted: it may be described in a few words. The ecclesiastical state had hitherto been kept divided by the factions of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, the Orsini and the Colonnas. Like the other papal families, and as Sixtus IV. for example had done, Alexander and his son allied themselves at first with one of the two, the Orsini or Guelf party. With the help of this alliance they speedily succeeded in mastering all their enemies. They drove the Sforzas from Pesaro, the Malatestas from Rimini, and the Manfredi from Faenza; they seized those powerful and strongly fortified towns, and presently founded them into a powerful lordship. No sooner had they advanced so far, no sooner had they rid themselves of their enemies, than they turned against their friends. In this respect there was a marked difference between the Borgias and their predecessors, the latter of whom had always been trammelled by the party to which they had attached themselves. Cæsar Borgia, without hesitation or compunction, assailed his own confederates. The Duke of Urbino, who had hitherto aided in his aggrandisement, found himself suddenly, and without the least warning, entangled in his toils, and with difficulty escaped, a hunted fugitive in his own domains.† Upon this, Vitelli, Baglioni, and the heads of the Orsini determined to show him at least that they were capable of resisting him. He on his part said: 'It is right and fit to betray those who are the masters of all treachery;' he decyed them with deliberate, profoundly calculated cruelty into the trap he had laid for them, and mercilessly despatched them. After he had tamed both parties in this fashion, he stepped into their places; gathered their adherents, the inferior nobility, round him, and took them into his pay: he kept the territories he had seized in subjection by force of severity and terror.

"And thus Alexander saw his warmest wish fulfilled, the barons of the land annihilated, and his house in train to found a great hereditary principality in Italy. But he soon had to feel practically of what the aroused passions are capable. Cæsar would not brook the participation of his power with any relation or favourite. He had caused his brother, who stood in his way, to be murdered and thrown into the river. He had his brother-in-law assailed on the very steps of the palace.‡ His wife and his sister nursed the wounded

*Relazione di Polo Capello, 1500. M.S. (See Appendix No. III.)

† Many other interesting particulars relative to Cæsar Borgia are to be found throughout the fourth volume of M.S. Chronicle of Saints; some letters of his too are given; one to Venice, Dec. 1502, and one to the pope, in which he subscribes himself: "Vro. Sctis. humilissimus servus et devotissimus factura."

‡ Diario de Sebastiano di Branca de Telfini. M.S. bibl. Barb. n. 1103, relates atrocities of Cæsar's such as the following: Il primo, il fratello che si chiamava lo duca di Gandia, lo fece buttar in fiume: fece ammazzare lo cognato, che era figlio del duca di Calabria, era lo piu bello giovane che mai si vedesse in Roma: ancora fece ammazzare Vitellozzo della città di Castello, et era lo piu valent'uomo che fusse in quel tempo. [First he caused his brother, who was named the duke of Gaada, to be thrown into the river: he had his brother-in-law assassinated, who was the son of the duke of Calabria, and the handsomest youth ever seen in Rome: furthermore, he caused the assassination of Vitellozzo of the city of Castello, the most gallant man of that day.] He calls the lord of Faenza lo piu bello figlio del mondo, the handsomest youth in the world.

man; the latter dressed his food with her own hands for fear of poison: the pope had a guard set on his house to protect his son-in-law from his son: Cæsar mocked at all these precautions, saying, 'What has failed at noon may easily be done in the evening.' When the prince was now convalescent, he burst into his chamber, turned out the wife and the sister, called in his bravo, and had his unfortunate brother-in-law strangled. For as to his father, on whose life and station he only looked as means towards his own aggrandisement, he had not a thought of treating him in other respects with the least consideration. He slew Alexander's favourite Peroto beneath the pontifical mantle, as the victim clung close to his patron: the blood spurted in the pope's face.

"For a time Cæsar had Rome and the ecclesiastical states in his power. He was a man of surpassing beauty; so strong that in the bull-fight he would strike off the bull's head at a single blow; liberal-handed, not without traits of magnanimity; voluptuous, bloody: how did Rome tremble at his name! Cæsar needed gold and had enemies—every night the corpses of murdered men were found in the streets. Every man held his breath; for there was none who might not fear that his own turn would come next. Those whom violence could not reach, were taken off by poison.*

"There was but one spot on the earth where such deeds were possible: that spot alone, where unlimited temporal power and the highest spiritual authority were united in the same individual. This spot Cæsar occupied. Even monstrosity has its perfection. Many sons and nephews of the popes have attempted similar things, but none ever carried them to such a pitch. Cæsar was a virtuoso in crime.

"Was it not, from the very first, one of the most essential tendencies of Christianity to render such violence impossible? And Christianity itself, and the position of the supreme head of the Church, were to serve to call it forth.

"In truth it needed not then that a Luther should by and by arise to denounce in such deeds the direct opposite of Christianity. The cry arose at the very time, that the pope was preparing the way for antichrist, that his care was devoted to the fulfilment of the satanic, not of the heavenly kingdom.†

"We will not follow in detail the particulars of Alexander's history. He once purposed, as is but too notorious, to take off one of the richest cardinals by poison: but the latter succeeded by bribes, promises, and entreaties, in gaining over the pope's chief cook; the confection which had been prepared for the cardinal was set before the pope, and he died himself of the poison he had intended for another.‡ After his death a far different result arose out of his schemes from that he had contemplated.

"It was always the hope of the papal families to acquire for themselves hereditary rank and possessions; but it usually happened, that with the life of the pope fell the power of his kindred, and their greatness set as it had risen. If the Venetians looked on unmoved at Cæsar Borgia's doings, though there were indeed other reasons for this, yet one of the most cogent consisted in the observation of this habitual course of things. They judged, "it was after all but a fire of straw; after Alexander's death things would return of themselves to the old course."§

"But this time they were deceived in their expectations. A pope succeeded, who indeed made it his task to appear the very opposite to the Borgias, but who, for that very reason, was in a condition to carry out their schemes; only he did so by a different route. Pope Julius II. (1503—1513) enjoyed the

* To the multitude of notices extant on this head I have added something from Paolo Capello. Upon all remarkable occasions of death, men thought immediately of poisoning by the pope. See a letter in *Sanuto* respecting the death of the cardinal of Verona: *Si giudicia sia stato atoscato per tuoril le facultà, perche avanti che spirasse el papa mandò guardie attorno la casa.* [It is thought he was poisoned in order to seize his wealth, because before he died the pope set guards round the house.]

† A loose sheet MS. out of *Sanuto's Chronicle*.

‡ *Successo di la morte di papa Alessandro.* MS.

§ *Prinli Cronaca di Venezia.* M.S. *Del resto poco stimavano, conoscendo che questo acquisto che all' hora faceva il duca Valentinois sarebbe foco di paglia che poco dura.*

inestimable advantage of finding opportunity to satisfy the pretensions of his family by peaceable means ; and he provided for them the hermitage of Urbino. Thereupon he was at liberty, unmolested by the importunities of his dependants, to gratify that innate passion of his, now inflamed by the circumstances of the times and by the consciousness of his dignity, the passion for war and conquest—but that on behalf of the Church and for the benefit of the papal see itself. Other popes had sought to provide principalities for their nephews or their sons : he set his whole ambition on enlarging the domains of the Church. He must be regarded as their founder.

"He found the whole territory in the utmost confusion. All who had been able to escape from Cæsar by flight, were now returned, the Orsini and Colonna, the Vitelli and Baglioni, Vaani, Malatesta and Montefeltri ; the factions were on foot again in every part of the country, and they fought out their feuds in the very Borgo of Rome. Julius has been compared to Virgil's Neptune lifting his serene head above the billows and calming their fury with a glance.* He was dexterous enough to rid himself of Cæsar Borgia, and to possess himself of his castles and his dukedom. He contrived to keep the lesser barons under curb, a task rendered easy to his hand by Cæsar's practices : he was cautious not to set over them cardinals whose avarice might cause a fresh outbreak of the old refractory spirit ; † as for the more powerful who refused him obedience, he grappled with them without parley. He reduced that Baglione, who had again mastered Perugia, within the bounds of lawful subjection. John Bentivoglio was compelled in advanced age, without the power of resistance, to render up the sumptuous palace he had founded in Bologna, with its inscription in which he had too hastily declared the fulness of his good fortune : those two very powerful cities acknowledged the immediate authority of the pontifical chair.

"Yet with all this, Julius was for a long time far from the goal in view. The Venetians were in possession of the greater part of the coasts of the ecclesiastical state ; they were by no means disposed to yield them up freely, and they were greatly an overmatch for the pope in war. He could not shut his eyes to the fact that his assailing them would be the signal for a general commotion of all Europe. Ought he to risk this ?

"Old as Julius already was, keenly as he had experienced a long life's vicissitudes of good and evil fortune, and the hardships of war and exile, aggravated by the consequences of intemperance and debauchery—he yet knew not what it was to entertain fear or irresolution ; even in his advanced years he possessed that grand quality of manhood, indomitable courage. He made but small account of the princes of his time, thinking he could overlook them all ; to the very tumult of a general war did he look with most hopes of gain : his only care was to be always in command of money, so as to seize the favourable opportunity with all his might : he desired, as was happily said by a Venetian, to be lord and master of the game of the world : ‡ he waited the fulfilment of his desires with impatience, but he kept them confined to his own breast. If we enquire what was the circumstance that enabled him to assume his peculiar attitude, we find it was, above all things, that he was free to avow his natural tendencies, nay openly to profess them and make them his boast. The re-establishment of the state of the Church was regarded by the world of that day as a glorious enterprise, it even considered it a religious one : all the

*Tomaso Inghirami, in *Fes*, Notizie intorno Raffaele Sanzio da Urbino, p. 67.

† Machiavelli (*Principe*, c. xl.) is not the only one who remarks this : in Jovius, *Vita Pompeii Colonna*, p. 140, the Roman Barons under Julius II. complain, principes urbis familias solito purpurei galeri honore pertinaet pontificum livore privari ; [that the chief families of the city were deprived of the wonted honours of the purple by the obstinate malevolence of the pontiffs.]

‡ *Sommario de la relation di Domenico Trivixan*. MS. "Il papa vol esser il dominus et maestro pel jocho dei mundo." There also exists a second report of Polo Capello of the year 1510, whence a few notices are inserted in the Appendix (No. V.) Francesco Vettori, *Sommario dell'istoria d'Italia*, MS. says of him : Julio piu fortunato che prudente, e piu animosa che forte, ma ambizioso e desideroso di grandezze ultra a modo. [Julius was more fortunate than prudent, and more courageous than strong, but ambitious and desirous of grandeur to an immoderate degree.]

pope's steps were directed towards this one end, this was the idea that animated all his thoughts; they were, if I may so express myself, steeped in it. As he now engaged in the boldest operations, staking everything on the upshot of the game (he took the field in person, and was drawn into Mirandola, which he had conquered, over the frozen ditches and through the breach), as the most decided mischance could not make him give way, but only seemed to waken new resources within him, he was successful accordingly. He not only recovered all his own places from the Venetians, but in the hot war that ensued, he made himself master at last of Parma, Piacenza, and even Reggio, and laid the foundation of a power such as never pope before him had possessed. The most beautiful of lands from Piacenza to Terracina belonged to him. He had always sought to appear in the character of a liberator; he dealt benignantly and wisely with his new subjects, and acquired their good will and attachment. Not without alarm did the rest of the world see so many warlike populations obedient to a pope. Time was, says Machiavel, there was no baron so petty who did not despise the papal power; now it is looked on with respect by a king of France."—*Ranke's Hist. of the Popes*, pp. 15-18.

SAINT PAUL'S PROPHECY.

"Let no man deceive you by any means: for unless there come A REVOLT FIRST, and the man of sin be revealed, THE SON OF PERDITION,

"Who opposeth, and is lifted up above all THAT IS CALLED GOD, or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, SHEWING HIMSELF AS IF HE WERE GOD.

"Remember you not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things?

"And now you know what withholdeth, that he may be revealed IN HIS TIME.

"For the MYSTERY OF INIQUITY already worketh: only that HE WHO NOW HOLDETH, do hold, UNTIL HE BE TAKEN OUT OF THE WAY.

"And then THAT WICKED ONE SHALL BE REVEALED, whom the Lord Jesus shall kill WITH THE SPIRIT OF HIS MOUTH; and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming: him,

"Whose coming is according to the working of Satan, in all power, and SIGNS, AND LYING WONDERS,

"And in all seduction of iniquity to them that perish: BECAUSE THEY RECEIVED NOT THE LOVE OF THE TRUTH THAT THEY MIGHT BE SAVED. Therefore God shall send them THE OPERATION OF ERROR, TO BELIEVE LYING:

"That all may be judged who have not believed the Truth, but have consented to iniquity.

"But we ought to give thanks to God ALWAYS for you, brethren beloved of God, for that God hath CHOSEN you first-fruits unto salvation, in sanctification of the Spirit, and faith of the TRUTH."—2 THESS. ii. 3-12, Douay Bible.

[By a curious coincidence the Pope shows himself on his throne *above* the high altar in St. Peter's, *above* all that is worshipped, *above* the host "which is called God."]