

CHURCH OR PROTESTANT SECT? THE CHURCH OF IRELAND, HIGH CHURCHMANSHIP, AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT, 1822–1869

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ABSTRACT. *The Church of Ireland has been regarded as almost devoid of a high church element and as unreservedly hostile to Tractarian claims. This article questions these assumptions. It considers the evidence for an influential, if minority, high church tradition within the Church of Ireland and shows how far its adherents during the 1830s and early 1840s looked to English Tractarians for support. The very raison d'être of the Irish church was questioned under the reforming and erastian pressures unleashed by a whig ministry in the early 1830s. Tractarian rhetoric stressing apostolical descent and continuity was echoed by Irish high churchmen in their concern to demonstrate that they belonged to a church that was not a creature of the state and was no mere Protestant sect; Irish high churchmen held many theological and spiritual ideals in common with the early Tractarians, but guarded their independence. Irish high churchmen and English Tractarians nevertheless became estranged: the Protestant credentials of Irish high churchmen were suspect as a result of the low church and Evangelical backlash against 'Puseyism'; Irish high church attempts to put church principles into practice, notably over the foundation of St Columba's as an establishment to educate Roman Catholic converts in high church teaching, were cold-shouldered by English Tractarians. The Irish high church tradition survived but was weakened by Roman Catholic undermining of its assumption of apostolical continuity as well as by ultra-Protestant critiques. Disestablishment in 1869 paved the way not for a high church 'restoration' on the Caroline model, as Irish high churchmen wished and as early Tractarian rhetoric assumed, but for the completion of an Evangelical ascendancy rooted in the Irish Articles of 1615 and the church of James Ussher.*

Historians tend to regard the fact that the spoliation of the Protestant Irish church in 1833 should have acted as the occasion for John Keble's assize sermon on *National apostacy* which heralded the rise of the Oxford Movement as a matter of irony. The sense of paradox has been sharpened by an historiography which regards Tractarianism as an alien force in relation to the Church of Ireland. Recent scholarship has emphasized the continuity and vitality of the high church tradition in the pre-Tractarian Church of England,¹ while the dominance of high churchmanship in the Scottish episcopal church is accepted beyond dispute.² Within the Church of Ireland, however, high

¹ P. B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in context: Anglican high churchmanship, 1760–1857* (Cambridge, 1994).

² See R. Strong, *Alexander Forbes of Brechin: the first Tractarian bishop* (Oxford, 1995); P. B. Nockles, "'Our brethren of the north': the Oxford Movement & the Scottish episcopal church", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History (JEH)*, 47 (1996), pp. 1–28.

churchmanship has been commonly regarded by historians as weak or almost non-existent. It has been assumed that the Irish church provided no fertile ground for the theological ideals of the Oxford Movement to take root.³ Fr Austin Cooper recently has qualified this assumption. None the less, while citing examples of Irish Anglican high churchmanship, Fr Cooper focuses on the political dimension of the Irish church's response to the whig reforms of the 1830s.⁴ The present article will explore more fully the high church theological character of Irish Anglicanism in the 1830s and 1840s. The Oxford Movement initially gave Irish high churchmen the opportunity to prove that they belonged to a church and no mere Protestant sect. This article will show how Irish high churchmen consequently engaged sympathetically with English Tractarians, and only gradually adopted a critical posture.

The high church tradition within the Church of Ireland had its roots in the Caroline era. It comprised a roll-call of Stuart divines such as John Bramhall, archbishop of Armagh, Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down and Connor, William King, archbishop of Dublin, and provided England with prominent Nonjurors such as Charles Leslie and Henry Dodwell.⁵ During the reign of Queen Anne, high church feeling was vocal in the Irish houses of convocation. This tradition did not entirely die out during the Hanoverian era; it could claim representatives such as the famous philosopher George Berkeley and Joseph Stock, bishops of Cloyne and Killala, who regarded Presbyterianism as a more deadly enemy than Romanism,⁶ and the devout and mystical layman and scourge of Arianism, Philip Skelton (d. 1787).⁷

The theological tradition identified with the Church of Ireland has been Calvinism; a view given credence by the Calvinist character of the Irish Articles of Religion of 1615.⁸ The 'Orange' nature of the post-Revolution political ascendancy further strengthened the Protestant credentials of the Irish

³ For examples of this historical assessment, see *Recollections of the Irish Church* (London, 1877), p. 188; J. T. Ball, *The reformed Church of Ireland, 1537-1886* (London, 1886), p. 253; D. H. Akenson, *The Church of Ireland, ecclesiastical reform and revolution, 1800-1885* (London, 1971), pp. 207-8; R. B. McDowell, *The Church of Ireland, 1869-1969* (London, 1975); D. Bowen, *The Protestant crusade in Ireland, 1800-70* (Dublin, 1978). For contemporary views, see n. 16.

⁴ See A. Cooper, 'Ireland, and the Oxford Movement', *Journal of Religious History*, 19 (1995), pp. 62-74.

⁵ F. R. Bolton, *The Caroline tradition of the Church of Ireland with particular reference to Bishop Jeremy Taylor* (London, 1958), p. 1.

⁶ J. Stock, *A reply to the Rev. Dr. Campbell's 'Vindication of the principles and character of the Presbyterians of Ireland'* (Dublin, 1787), pp. 36-7. See P. Kilroy, *Protestant Dissent and controversy in Ireland, 1660-1714* (Cork, 1994), ch. 3.

⁷ See S. Burdy, *The life of the late Philip Skelton, with some curious anecdotes* (Dublin, 1792).

⁸ A. Ford, 'The Church of Ireland, 1558-1634: a puritan church?', in A. Ford, J. McGuire, and K. Milne, eds., *As by law established: the Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 52-68. Nineteenth-century high churchmen admitted the Calvinist and 'puritan' ascendancy in the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church of Ireland. See C. Wordsworth, *The history of the Church of Ireland in eight sermons*, Sermon viii, 'On the Church of Ireland as a national religious establishment' [1866] (London, 1869). Recent scholarship has demonstrated the extent to which the English imposition of Laudian or 'Caroline' ideals on the Calvinist Irish church of Archbishop Ussher represented an erosion of local Irish custom and autonomy. See A. L. Capern, 'The Caroline church: James Ussher and the Irish dimension', *Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), pp. 57-85.

church, but interests of state – the pursuit of security through the anglicization of Irish society – often outweighed religious concerns such as evangelization utilizing the medium of the Irish language.⁹ High churchmen became marginalized. The Evangelical revival of the later eighteenth century represented a reaction against Erastian trends in the Irish church from the 1720s onwards, under a succession of whiggish primates. The Hanoverian Church of Ireland was deemed by later high churchmen and Evangelicals alike to have been a haven for English clerics seeking family aggrandizement or personal fortune and as a convenient place of exile for troublesome clerical critics of the British government of the day. John Jebb, bishop of Limerick, maintained that until the 1820s, with but few exceptions, ‘not a single appointment, high or low, has taken place in Ireland, on the ground, which, with every wise government, and every well ordered church establishment, ought to stand first... the ground of theological learning and attainments’.¹⁰ In the pre-Tractarian era, Irish Anglican Evangelicals, while moderate in their attitude to Ulster Presbyterianism and Protestant Dissent, shared to some extent in the high church opposition to doctrinal latitudinarianism or low churchmanship; terms that were then synonymous. It was only the Oxford Movement controversy that led Anglican Evangelicals into being classed as low churchmen.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, religious considerations were given higher priority in the counsels of church and state in Ireland,¹¹ but it was the Evangelical and low church dimension within the church which was bolstered by a series of concerted Protestant missionary campaigns from the 1820s onwards aimed at winning over native Roman Catholics; campaigns supported by a crop of new Evangelical-dominated societies such as the Irish Society (1818), Scripture Readers’ Society (1822), Irish Reformation Society (1828), and Established Church Home Mission (1828), and designated as a ‘second Reformation’ to complete what three centuries of Protestant political ascendancy in Ireland had failed to achieve – the conversion of the native population to Protestantism.¹² High churchmen, with some reservations, welcomed the ‘second Reformation’ of the 1820s and cited Sir John

⁹ For sympathetic reappraisals of the religious character of the eighteenth-century Church of Ireland, see S. J. Connolly, ‘Reformers and highflyers: the post-Revolution church’, and D. Hayton ‘Did Protestantism fail in early eighteenth century Ireland? Charity schools and the enterprise of religious and social reformation, c. 1690–1730’, in Ford, McGuire, and Milne, eds., *As by law established*, pp. 152–86. Moreover, the decay of Anglican confessionalism in Hanoverian Ireland was offset by the continuing vitality of a Protestant confessionalism which rested on the cultivation of a united front against Rome. See C. D. A. Leighton, *Catholicism in a Protestant kingdom: a study of the Irish Ancien Régime* (London, 1994), ch. 3.

¹⁰ J. Jebb (senior) to Hornby, 8 Nov. 1831, C. Forster, *The life of John Jebb D.D.* (London, 1837), p. 703.

¹¹ For example, see K. Milne, ‘Principle or pragmatism: Archbishop Brodrick and church education policy’, in Ford, McGuire, and Milne, eds., *As by law established*, pp. 187–94.

¹² Bowen, *Protestant crusade in Ireland*, especially ch. 5; J. Wolfe, *The Protestant crusade in Great Britain, 1829–1860* (Oxford, 1991), ch. 2. On reasons for the ‘failure’ of the Irish Reformation, see A. Clarke, ‘Varieties of uniformity: the first century of the Church of Ireland’, in W. J. Shiels and D. Wood, eds., *Studies in Church History*, xxv (Oxford, 1989), pp. 105–22.

Richardson's inquiry of 1712 as evidence that Protestantism's failure lay in reliance on political rather than religious means for its propagation.¹³

High churchmen fought their corner but were conscious of being an embattled minority within the Church of Ireland. A leading spokesman of the Irish high church party, James Henthorn Todd of Trinity College, Dublin, was candid in his appraisal of the dominance of what he called 'the ultra-Protestant or Puritanic party'. Todd lamented that the other party was made up of 'drones, if I may so call them, who do nothing but what decency or inferior motives require them to do – and these last unfortunately are popularly called the high church party'. He complained that zeal had 'hardly any channel except an irregular one to manifest itself in', and that 'the bishops in opposing as they must do, these irregularities are properly regarded as the opponents of spiritual religion and the advocates of laziness and worldliness in the clerical office'.¹⁴

In the climate of ultra-Protestant hegemony that prevailed in early 1830s Ireland, Tractarianism seemed an intrusive deviation; an 'unreformed', 'quasi-popery', which appeared to militate against the revived Evangelicalism which was taking hold within the Irish church. In an essay in his *Short studies on great subjects* (1883), James Anthony Froude drew an antithesis between the Church of England which was 'becoming semi-Catholic' and the Church of Ireland which 'left Catholicism to those to whom it belonged';¹⁵ a view based on the formative impressions from his sojourn with an Irish Anglican Evangelical family during the summer of 1841. Froude's view was widely shared; most Irish high churchmen were also convinced that Tractarian principles failed to capture the Irish church, because Irish Protestants were too well acquainted with Romanism to 'feel any inclination to approach more closely to it, whether in doctrine or practice'.¹⁶

The indirect influence of Evangelicalism on the established church in Ireland was marked, but numbers of convinced Evangelicals may have

¹³ 'Charges of the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel', *British Critic*, new ser., 2 (July 1827), p. 1; 'The Irish Reformation', *British Critic*, 3 (Jan. 1828), pp. 1–55. The high churchman, Charles Blomfield, bishop of Chester, warmly supported the work of Protestant conversion and 'beginning of reformation' in Ireland at this date. Trinity College, Dublin (TCD), Jebb papers, MS 6396, no. 278, Blomfield to J. Jebb (senior), 27 Mar. 1827. On the Irish political context for the revival of anti-Catholicism among Anglican high churchmen after 1798, see J. J. Sack, *From Jacobite to Conservative: reaction and orthodoxy in Britain, c. 1760–1832* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 240–3.

¹⁴ Birmingham Oratory (BO), Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 26 Apr. 1837. James Henthorn Todd (1805–69): Irish language and biblical scholar, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, Regius Professor of Hebrew, 1849. *Dictionary of National Biography*; G. O. Simms, 'James Henthorn Todd (1805–69)', *Hermathena*, no. 160 (1969), pp. 1–20.

¹⁵ J. A. Froude, *Short studies on great subjects* (London, 1883, 4th ser.), p. 207.

¹⁶ S. Butcher, *The conservative character of the English Reformation, viewed with reference to the present state of the church. A sermon preached in Christ Church cathedral, Dublin, on Sunday February 16, 1862, on the occasion of the consecration of the Rt. Rev. John, Lord Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross* (Dublin, 1862), p. 28; E. Knox, *A Charge delivered at the annual visitation held in Limerick, 30 August, and in Kilkenny, September 1842* (Limerick, 1843), p. 17. Irish Anglican Evangelicals made the point still more forcefully. See J. H. Singer, *A charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Meath, at his primary visitation, in September 1854* (Dublin, 1854), p. 11. See also n. 138.

represented a minority, albeit vociferous.¹⁷ During the three decades prior to the dawn of the Oxford Movement in 1833, the native high church tradition in Irish Anglicanism revived. An Irish Anglican Evangelical, Edward Nixon, conceded in 1842: ‘long before the Oxford Tracts were known to us, strong church feeling was growing up in Ireland amongst the working clergy’.¹⁸ In 1844, a German observer even asserted that most of the zealous Irish clergy were high churchmen who had ‘a very decided feeling on the individualities of their church’.¹⁹ A distinguishing mark of Irish high churchmen had been a tendency to regard Protestant Dissent in terms of heresy and schism rather than mere denominational difference. In contrast, Anglican Evangelicals were more conscious of common ground with Protestant Dissenters. In the 1810s and 1820s, Irish high churchmen were critical of their Evangelical brethren who supported the Hibernian Bible Society partly because such societies appeared to blur distinctions between church and Dissent and were potentially subversive of church discipline and parochial order.²⁰ Irish Anglican Evangelicals, such as Robert James M’Ghee, in turn attacked high church critics of the Bible societies for popish leanings.²¹ Peter Roe’s *The evil of separation* (1815) was evidence that Irish Anglican Evangelicals were not unmindful of the danger to the establishment of separatist principles. By the 1840s, Irish Anglican Evangelicals were placing an increased stress on church order.²² An editorial in the Irish Anglican Evangelical *Christian Examiner* insisted in 1840: ‘we are churchmen; episcopalians on principle and by preference; we shall not be found on the side of anything that militates against church order and episcopal authority’.²³

Pre-Tractarian high churchmanship asserted Anglican apostolical continuity and repudiated Romanism within Britain as a schismatical intrusion. As a weak numerical link in the theological armoury of Anglicanism, Irish high

¹⁷ Bowen, *Protestant crusade in Ireland*, p. 62.

¹⁸ St Columba’s College (SCC), Founders MSS, III, no. 72, Nixon to Adare, 6 Dec. 1840.

¹⁹ H. Uhden, *The Anglican church in the nineteenth century: indicating her relative position to Dissent in every form, and presenting a clear and unprejudiced view of Puseyism and orthodoxy. Translated from the German... by W. C. Humphreys* (London, 1844), p. 105.

²⁰ See W. Phelan, *The bible not the Bible Society* (Dublin, 1817); A. O’Callaghan, *The Bible Society against the church and state, and the primitive Christians* (London, 1817); J. E. Jackson, *Reasons for withdrawing from the Hibernian Bible Society* (Dublin, 1822).

²¹ W. M’Ghee, *The bible, the rights of conscience, and the established church vindicated: being an answer to the Rev. William Phelan* (Dublin, 1817), pp. 54–6.

²² S. Madden, *Memoir of the life of the late Rev. Peter Roe, A.M. rector of Odogh, and minister of St. Mary’s, Kilkenny* (Dublin, 1842), p. 264. The author maintained (p. 266) that Irish Anglican Evangelicals had since the appearance of Roe’s work learned to take the ‘higher ground’ of the primitive and scriptural basis of the divine authority of ministerial orders. For other evidence of this trend, see Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), Golightly papers, MS 1808, fo. 92, Miller to Golightly, 12 Mar. 1841; fo. 126, Miller to Golightly, 17 Feb. 1842.

²³ *Christian Examiner*, new ser. 1 (Jan. 1840), p. 2. Another Irish Anglican observer commented in 1842: ‘Church feeling is rapidly on the increase here and many who a very few years ago would have rejected any *bona fide* superintendence of the Bishops would be far from making the slightest objection to it now.’ Bodleian Library (Bodl. Lib.), MS Eng Misc. e. 117, fo. 153, Crosthwaite to Gladstone, 20 Nov. [1842].

churchmen had particular need to construct a framework of historical legitimacy for the minority establishment; more especially after 1800 when the Act of Union appeared to blur the identity of the Church of Ireland as 'a free national church'.²⁴ Irish Anglican Evangelicals identified the Irish church with Calvinism and the Church of Rome with antichrist.²⁵ High churchmen, following the Laudian polemicist, Peter Heylin, disavowed the Irish church's Calvinist heritage as the alien import of disaffected English and Scottish puritan nonconformists,²⁶ and rebutted Irish Roman Catholicism primarily on historical grounds.²⁷ In a tradition of apologetic dating back to Archbishop James Ussher's *Discourse of the religion anciently professed by the Irish and British* (1623) and Sir Richard Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana* (1689), the Protestant Church of Ireland's lineal continuity with a 'biblical' early Irish church of St Patrick, largely independent of Rome, was proclaimed. Irish Romanism was repudiated as a later corruption, culminating in the twelfth-century subordination of Ireland to Rome by St Malachy; Rome's titular claim to Irish sees being presented as a seventeenth-century innovation.²⁸

In the era preceding and comprising the Oxford Movement, high churchmanship in Ireland was represented by: William Magee, archbishop of Dublin, Lord John George Beresford, archbishop of Armagh, James Edward Jackson, dean of Armagh, Thomas Elrington, bishop of Ferns, Charles Elrington (son of Thomas), James Henthorn Todd and William Archer Butler, Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, Richard Mant, bishop of Down and Connor, John Jebb, bishop of Limerick, Stephen Kyle, bishop of Cork, Edward Stopford, archdeacon of Meath, Henry Cotton, dean of Lismore, A. O'Callaghan, master of Kilkenny College, James William Forster, archdeacon of Aghadoc and vicar-general of Limerick diocese, Charles Boyton, vicar-general of the diocese of Raphoe, John Fitzgibbon, prebendary of Donoghmore, Christopher Darby, Rector of Kells, Henry Newland, Andrew Boyd, William Hales, Richard Gibbings, William Phelan, and James Phelan. Each made claims for the primitive and canonical credentials of the Church of Ireland.²⁹ This tradition of scholarly apologetic found its apogee in Richard Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland* (2 vols., 1840), W. G. Todd's *The church of St Patrick* (1844), and Henry Cotton's six-volume *Fasti ecclesiae Hibernicae* (1848–78).

Irish high churchmen claimed that their theological position, resting on the admission of a limited church authority and a subordinate role for apostolic

²⁴ Bolton, *Caroline tradition*, p. xiii.

²⁵ B. W. Mathias, *An inquiry into the doctrines of the Reformation, and of the United Church of England and Ireland, respecting the ruin and recovery of mankind* (Dublin, 1817).

²⁶ Ford, 'Church of Ireland, 1558–1634', pp. 52–3.

²⁷ W. Eames, *An apology for the United Church of England and Ireland or, a vindication of the doctrines of the established church, from the Calvinistic sense ascribed to them* (Dublin, 1817). See also R. Mant, *The history of the Church of Ireland* (2 vols., London, 1840), 1, p. 387.

²⁸ W. Hales, *An essay on the origin and purity of the primitive church of the British Isles, and its independence upon the Church of Rome* (London, 1819).

²⁹ Examples of the genre include: H. Newland, *An apology for the established church in Ireland* (Dublin, 1829); R. Mant, *Episcopal jurisdiction asserted* (Dublin, 1834); A. Boyd, *Episcopacy, ordination, lay-eldership and liturgies* (Dublin, 1839).

tradition, represented the only sure basis of opposition to what they regarded as Romanist pretensions.³⁰ Irish Anglican Evangelicals were blamed by high churchmen not for opposing Rome too strongly but for the faulty or inadequate weapons they used against Roman claims. They were deemed to have given a handle to Roman Catholic controversialists by undervaluing the ecclesiastical lineage and ministerial order of the Irish church, and neglecting what high churchmen held to be the testimony of primitive tradition against the papal supremacy and other Roman Catholic doctrines.³¹ Irish Anglican Evangelicals joined with high churchmen in appealing to the ancient independence of the Irish church,³² but their suspicions of the high church agenda made them wary of this line of apologetic, and found expression in strictures on Cotton's *Fasti* for neglecting 'the history of that most interesting portion of our church that may be denominated evangelical'.³³ Irish high church polemic cut both ways, alienating both Roman Catholics and Evangelicals. Charles Elrington's later comment on Archbishop Magee of Dublin's primary charge in 1822 is revealing: 'The language of his first Charge is very high church and had not the Catholics taken offence, the Evangelicals would. I heard one of their leaders returning from the cathedral say there had not been such a Charge since the days of Laud'.³⁴ Whereas, whig latitudinarian bishops tended to minimize differences separating the United Church of England and Ireland from the Church of Rome, Irish high church bishops such as Thomas Elrington, Richard Mant, and Archbishop Magee, often to the dismay of whig politicians, insisted on an implacable gulf between the two.³⁵

³⁰ J. Phelan, *The Catholic doctrine of Tradition, as opposed to that of the Church of Rome* (Dublin, 1829); J. E. Jackson, *The two main questions in controversy between the churches of England and Rome* (Dublin, 1825).

³¹ For a classic statement of the Irish high church case against papal supremacy, see W. Hales, *A survey of the modern state of the Church of Rome, with additional observations on the doctrine of the pope's supremacy* (Dublin, 1788).

³² *Christian Examiner*, 4 (1840), pp. 103–4; 117–22. See also E. Nangle, *The ancient Catholic church defended against Romish novelties* (Dublin, 1834), pp. 3–98; C. Elizabeth, *Letters from Ireland, 1837* (London, 1838), p. 112; R. Murray, *The church of St John in Ireland. A tract for the times* (London, 1841); W. P. Walsh, *St Patrick and the Holy Catholic church in Ireland* (3rd edn, Dublin, 1854). For an Irish high church variant of the genre, see Hales, *An essay on the origin and purity of the primitive church of the British Isles*.

³³ *Christian Examiner*, 15 (Sept. 1851), p. 127. Edward Hoare, dean of Anchory and chaplain to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, warned that a too great emphasis on the antiquity and original independence of the Irish church would only play into the hands of Romanists: 'you hereby sanction the principle of referring to antiquity as a test of truth, thereby confirming him in his attachment to the church of Rome, which he can easily prove to be the more ancient, if he confine the research backwards to a thousand years, with which most antiquarians would be satisfied'. E. N. Hoare, *The tendency of the principles advocated in the 'Tracts for the times' considered in five letters addressed to a candidate for holy orders* (London, 1841), pp. 40–1. The post-Emancipation era spelt the end of a period of interaction between Irish Anglican Evangelical and high churchmen. See T. C. F. Stunt, 'Evangelical cross-currents in the Church of Ireland, 1820–1833', *Studies in Church History*, 25 (1989), pp. 215–21.

³⁴ TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 91, Elrington, n.d. [c. 1831].

³⁵ See W. Magee, *A charge delivered at his triennial and metropolitical visitation, in St Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, on Tuesday 10 October 1826* (Dublin, 1827), p. 38; R. Mant, *Letter to Lord Melbourne on whether*

The debt which the Tractarians owed, in their teaching on Justification, the sacraments, and value of apostolical tradition, to the writings and influence of Bishop Jebb, and the Irish layman Alexander Knox, Jebb's life-long friend and correspondent, is well-known. Jebb's *The peculiar character of the Church of England* with its *Appendix* (1815) in defence of patristic tradition as a subordinate rule of faith had a formative influence on Newman's formulation of the *via media* in his controversy with the Abbé Jager in 1834–6 and in his *Prophetical office of the church* (1837);³⁶ the *Appendix* also formed part of the *catena patrum* of Anglican divines in favour of tradition cited in Tract 78.

Alexander Knox's influence on the Tractarians was more ambivalent. According to James Hornby, the editor of Alexander Knox's four-volume published *Remains* (1834–7), there was no Catholic doctrine for which the Tractarians were contending, which Knox had 'not been fighting over, and winning solid ground for, during the whole of the present century'.³⁷ Certainly, Knox's high doctrine of Christian priesthood and his advanced eucharistic and sacramental teaching marked him out as a precursor of the Tractarians.³⁸ Knox's views on Justification as an 'imparted' rather than 'imputed righteousness' also closely foreshadowed Newman's position in his *Lectures on Justification* (1838).³⁹ It was even argued that both Alexander Knox and Bishop Jebb were 'the only begetters' of the Oxford Movement; that 'Knox begat Jebb, and Jebb begat Rose and Pusey and Newman'.⁴⁰ Pusey's biographer, H. P. Liddon, following Newman and Keble, rejected this view.⁴¹ While respectful of Jebb's teaching, the Tractarians were critical of the tone of some of Knox's views; Newman remarked that Knox 'seems to say dangerous things... Froude did not like him',⁴² while both Keble and William Copeland complained of Knox's eclecticism;⁴³ Keble even wondered how 'Bishop Jebb could have held him up as a guide in delicate points'.⁴⁴

the Church of Rome agrees with the Church of England in all the fundamentals of Christianity (London, 1836). Mant's work was an answer to Melbourne's latitudinarian suggestion that because the two churches were so similar, Protestant church missionaries should not be sent among Irish Roman Catholics. The Melbourne administration even tried to suppress a leading organ of the Protestant missionaries, *The Achill Herald*. 'The Reformation in Ireland – Irish Church missions', *English Review*, 16 (1852), p. 363.

³⁶ L. Allen, *John Henry Newman and the Abbé Jager: a controversy on Scripture and Tradition (1834–1836)* (London, 1975), p. 5.

³⁷ Hornby to Newman, 31 Mar. 1840, *Letters and diaries of John Henry Newman (LDN)*, ed. G. Tracey, vii (Oxford, 1995), p. 288. ³⁸ *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, 3 (Oct. 1842), p. 43.

³⁹ Y. Brilioth, *The Anglican revival: studies in the Oxford Movement* (London, 1925), ch. 14.

⁴⁰ G. T. Stokes, 'Alexander Knox and the Oxford Movement', *Contemporary Review*, 3 (1887), pp. 184–205.

⁴¹ H. P. Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey* (4 vols., London, 1894), I, pp. 260–2.

⁴² Cited in D. Newsome, *The parting of friends: a study of the Wilberforces and Henry Manning* (London, 1966), p. 197. However, for Newman's qualified appreciation of Knox, see *British Critic*, 25 (Apr. 1839), pp. 400–2; Newman to Hornby, [5 Apr. 1840], (*LDN*), vii, pp. 288–90.

⁴³ [W. Copeland], MS 'Narrative of the Oxford Movement' [ed. W. Borlase, 1881], n.p.; Bodl. Lib., MS Eng Misc. d. 134, fo. 273, Keble to Coleridge, 23 Oct. 1838.

⁴⁴ Bodl. Lib., MS Eng Lett. d. 124, fo. 59, Keble to Ogilvie, 6 Mar. 1833.

Tractarian teaching, such as the appeal to the rule formulated by Vincent of Lerins of a Catholic consent of the Fathers as a test of true doctrine, was prefigured in the writings of several pre-Tractarian Irish high churchmen besides those of Knox and Jebb. These Irish precursors of the Movement have been overlooked. For example, many Irish high church critics of the Bible societies, like the Tractarians at a later date, rejected the ultra-Protestant principle of private judgement and insisted that holy scripture needed an authoritative interpreter, and could not be understood without note or comment. James Phelan's *Catholic doctrine of tradition* (1829) closely foreshadowed John Keble's *Primitive tradition recognised in holy scripture* (1837). The close connection between the origins and early phase of the Oxford Movement and a high church campaign to reassert the apostolicity of the Protestant Church of Ireland only appears paradoxical to historians who view high churchmanship through the distorting lens of later Anglo-Catholicism.

Pre-Tractarian high churchmen in Ireland maintained close contact with their English counterparts. While privately critical of their 'high and dry' rigidity and antipathy to Evangelicals, Bishop Jebb of Limerick was a life-long friend and collaborator of those leading London high churchmen known as the Hackney Phalanx, such as Henry Handley Norris, Joshua Watson, and Thomas Sikes.⁴⁵ Jebb's public eirenicism – he could preach the same sermon at both Hackney and Hackney's natural Evangelical counterpoise, Clapham, and be well received in both rival camps – must have puzzled the Phalanx;⁴⁶ though in private correspondence the bishop sometimes adopted the more intolerant tone of Phalanx members and of his Irish high church brethren, fulminating against the 'moral rottenness of Evangelicalism' and the 'unnatural alliance' of churchmen 'with sectaries and fanatics'.⁴⁷ It was Norris, widely known as 'the bishop-maker', who used his influence with the ministry of Lord Liverpool to gain episcopal preferment for Jebb,⁴⁸ just as that other Phalanx supporter, the archbishop of Canterbury, Charles Manners-Sutton, had refused in the 1820s to consent to the elevation of prominent Irish Evangelicals such as Robert Daly.⁴⁹ Jebb was also close to leading Oxford high

⁴⁵ J. Jebb (senior) to A. Knox, 19 June 1820, C. Forster, ed., *Thirty years' correspondence between John Jebb, D.D., F.R.S., bishop of Limerick, Ardferit and Aghadoc, and Alexander Knox, Esq., M.A. &c.* (2 vols., London, 1834), II, p. 433.

⁴⁶ TCD, Jebb papers, MS 6397, no. 539, J. Jebb (senior) to R. Jebb, n.d. [1833]. Jebb criticized members of the 'Hackney Phalanx' for being too anti-Evangelical. See Bodl. Lib., MS Eng Lett. d. 123, fo. 41, J. Jebb (senior) to Ogilvie, 16 June 1820; TCD, Jebb papers, MS 6396, no. 98, J. Jebb (senior) to R. Jebb, 10 July 1820. Jebb was also critical of Bishop Mant for being too anti-Catholic. Bodl. Lib., MS Eng Lett. d. 123, fo. 47, J. Jebb (senior) to Ogilvie, 27 Jan. 1827.

⁴⁷ TCD, Jebb papers, MS 6397, no. 339, J. Jebb (senior) to R. Jebb, 10 Apr. 1829.

⁴⁸ As early as 1820, three years prior to his preferment to the see of Limerick, Jebb paid tribute to Norris's exertions on his behalf. TCD, Jebb papers, MS 6396, no. 96, J. Jebb (senior) to R. Jebb, 3 July 1820.

⁴⁹ The refusal was on the grounds that the archbishop regarded Daly as 'fanatical'. Charles Forster commented: 'I sincerely trust that the Archbishop of Canterbury may live long enough to keep us from such Bishops'. TCD, Jebb papers, MS 6396, no. 110, Forster to J. Jebb (senior), 15 Nov. 1820. Forster's hope was not to be fulfilled, though Daly's preferment to the bench was delayed until 1842.

churchmen such as Charles Ogilvie of Balliol College, Martin Routh, president of Magdalen, and Sir Robert Inglis. The bishop spent his last years in retirement in Wandsworth, where he exerted an important influence on rising younger high churchmen such as Hugh James Rose and W. F. Hook.⁵⁰ For Hook, Bishop Jebb was ‘a right worthy successor of the Holy Apostles’.⁵¹ The venerable bishop acted as a spiritual counsellor to Hook’s wife, Anne. It was also partly Hook and Rose who helped familiarize the Tractarian generation with Bishop Jebb’s theological principles and ‘apostolic witness’ as a primitive bishop who fitted the episcopal role-model with which Newman and others sought to inspire the clergy in 1833.

The Hibernian link with the Hackney Phalanx was cemented by the elevation of Richard Mant to the Irish bench in 1820, and by other contacts, such as between George Miller of Trinity College, Dublin, and Henry Handley Norris; Miller and Norris shared information on the supposed dangers to Ireland of Jesuitism, which Norris regarded as ‘at the bottom of all the revolutionary movements on both sides of the water’.⁵² It was the Irish high churchmen and anti-Catholic controversialist, William Hales, rector of Killeshandra, who reputedly first designated his circle of London high church friends, headed by Watson and Norris, with the collective title of the ‘Hackney Phalanx’.⁵³

The rise of Tractarianism further strengthened Anglo-Irish high church links. Irish high churchmen such as William Palmer were among the staunchest early supporters of the Oxford Movement. Before coming to Oxford in 1828 and being incorporated at Worcester College in 1831, Palmer had studied under Dr George Miller at Trinity College, Dublin, and was a product of a newly improved ordination course in the diocese of Limerick under the tutelage of Bishop Jebb.⁵⁴ In Oxford, the future Tractarian leaders, Newman included, were impressed by Palmer’s scholarly *Origines liturgicae* (1832) which sought to demonstrate the primitive and Catholic basis of the book of common prayer. Writing to Hurrell Froude in 1832, Newman acknowledged that Palmer’s research had convinced him that the Church of Ireland was truly apostolical and that Romanism in Ireland was schismatical.⁵⁵ Newman’s friend, John Bowden, commended the resistance of ‘the calumniated Church of Ireland’ as an example for English churchmen.⁵⁶ It would also seem that Palmer had a hand in Newman’s own education in high churchmanship and that Newman consulted the learned Palmer when preparing his *Arians of the fourth century* (1833). The scholarly and personal relationship of the two men was close at this time, as is borne out by Palmer’s comment in a letter to his mentor, Bishop

⁵⁰ W. R. Stephens, *The life and letters of Walter Farquhar Hook* (2 vols., London, 1875), I, pp. 209, 227, 264.

⁵¹ TCD, Jebb papers, MS 6398, no. 435, Hook to J. Jebb (senior), 11 May 1831.

⁵² TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 89, Norris to Todd, 12 Nov. 1838.

⁵³ E. Churton, *Memoir of Joshua Watson* (2 vols. London, 1861), I, p. 97.

⁵⁴ Forster, *Life of John Jebb*, pp. 182–3.

⁵⁵ Newman to Froude, 8 Jan. 1832, *LDN*, ed. T. Gornall and I. Ker, III (Oxford, 1976), p. 4.

⁵⁶ Bowden to Newman, 3 Apr. 1832, *ibid.*, p. 34.

Jebb, in the summer of 1833: ‘A particular friend of mine, Mr Newman of Oriel, is about printing a history of Arianism between the Councils of Nice and Constantinople, which will, I have no doubt, be worthy of his learning and great abilities, and which I hope you will approve’.⁵⁷

Even the romantic radical Froude, with his extreme Nonjuring and Stuartite sympathies, temporarily assumed the mantle of Lord Eldon and British Protestant constitutionalists of the 1820s, in advocating a tactical revival of the ‘Orange’ spirit as an expression of anti-liberalism. Thomas Elrington, bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, a leading advocate of Irish church resistance to whig reform, was not at this stage the object of Tractarian disapproval that he was later to become. On the contrary, both Froude and Newman welcomed the uncompromising stand against whig reforms made by Bishop Elrington in 1831–2.⁵⁸ Like other future Tractarians, Froude’s attitude was partly provoked by the current alliance of Roman Catholics, whigs, and Presbyterians. Protestant constitutionalism, however, did not rest easily with Tractarian ideology, and eventually was jettisoned.

Irish high churchmen were part of a wider Orange front which regarded Catholic Emancipation, the Reform Act, and suppression of the Irish sees as a plot to subvert the established order in church and state in the years 1829–33. Such diverse parties as Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, secularists, and political radicals were blamed for a deep-seated conspiracy to overthrow the Irish church. In apocalyptic mood, Irish high churchmen were looking for allies, if not saviours, who would eschew compromise and engage in agitation and confrontation. The initial enthusiasm for the Oxford Movement of Palmer and other Irish high churchmen is explained by the early Tractarian readiness to take up the cause of the Irish church against what they saw as the Erastian legislative interference of the whig government of Lord Grey.

The message of the early numbers of the *Tracts for the times* to the bishops and clergy – ‘magnify your office’ – had a particular relevance for defenders of the Irish branch of the United Church in 1833. Presbyterian as well as Roman Catholic critics had often taunted apologists of the Irish establishment with the query: ‘where is the Church of Ireland... by what authority – or what is it?’. High churchmen took up the challenge.

The rationale for establishment on the grounds of civil utility, expounded by William Warburton and William Paley in the eighteenth century, had been an insecure basis on which the Church of Ireland, a minority body in a Roman Catholic country, could rest secure.⁵⁹ High churchmen such as Archbishop Magee and Bishop Elrington appealed to the more solid religious criteria of primitive truth – defined as the faith enshrined in the early ecumenical

⁵⁷ TCD, Jebb papers, MS 6397, no. 530, W. Palmer to J. Jebb (senior), 20 Aug. 1833.

⁵⁸ Froude to Newman, 29 Jan. 1832, *LDN*, III, p. iv.

⁵⁹ William Paley’s utilitarian rationale for establishment was questioned as ‘subversive of the Protestant government of Ireland’, by Richard Woodward, bishop of Cloyne, in 1787. See R. Woodward, *The present state of the Church of Ireland, containing a description of its precarious situation, and the consequent danger to the public* (London, 1787), p. vii; Stock, *Reply to Dr Campbell’s ‘Vindication’*, p. 21.

councils – and apostolical order. The *Tracts for the times* built on this line of defence, employing arguments that supplied positive answers to the non-conformist and Roman Catholic taunts that the Irish church was a merely political institution and creature of the state.

Of the original Tractarians, Arthur Philip Perceval was closest to Palmer and most in tune with traditional Irish high church apologetic. In 1839 Perceval requested information from Archbishop Beresford of Armagh regarding Irish consecrations, so that he could ‘show by actual records, that Your Grace and Your Grace’s colleagues are the real descendants by imposition of hands of the ancient Irish episcopate’.⁶⁰ Palmer’s enthusiasm for the early *Tracts* was encouraged by the way in which their emphasis on apostolical succession and church authority could be utilized in support of the claims of the beleaguered Irish church. He later explained:

while residing in Oxford during the troubled years from the political apostasy of Peel to 1833, and while thoroughly sympathising with the high and steadfast principle which the University as a body exhibited during those years of peril, I had not happened to meet others who felt with me on matters affecting the church, especially ... the Church of Ireland.⁶¹

Palmer’s faith in the Tractarians as potential revivifiers of the Church of Ireland was widely shared by native high churchmen, Archbishop Beresford included.

Irish high churchmen were conscious of a neglect in inculcating doctrines of church authority and apostolical succession in clerical education. Todd complained to Bishop Kyle in 1837:

there is a serious and radical defect in the education of our clergy. They are not taught to be churchmen. The peculiarities of our own church polity are all studiously kept out of sight and that in a country where they have to contend with the Presbyterians on the one hand and the Papists on the other. Our [Trinity College, Dublin] two years’ Divinity course was a great improvement but it does not effect this object, for what is the course read by the students? Paley’s *Evidences*, the Greek Testament, parts of Maclaine’s translation of Mosheim and parts of Burnet on the Articles – all low church books and one of them avowedly and strongly Presbyterian. How can we hope to have our clergy episcopalian in their feelings, when we sap the very foundations of Episcopal principles by teaching them a Presbyterian church history?⁶²

In this context, the *Tracts for the times* were an inspiration for high churchmen

⁶⁰ Armagh Cathedral Library (ACL), Beresford papers, no. xi, fo. 156, Perceval to Beresford, 14 June 1839.

⁶¹ W. Palmer, *A narrative of events connected with the publication of the ‘Tracts for the times’, with an introduction and supplement extending to the present time* (London, 1883), p. 39.

⁶² TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 54, Todd to Kyle, 1 July 1837. This view was reiterated by another Irish high churchman, John Godley, who claimed: ‘The great fault of the Irish clergy is ignorance. Most of her ministers are zealous, pious, hardworking men, but with few exceptions, wholly uninformed in the writings of churchmen either of our own or foreign countries ... They are Evangelicals of the Milner & Romaine school, & have more acquaintance & sympathy with the opinions and works of Dissenters than with those of our great divines, still less than with those of the Fathers’. LPL, Selborne papers, MS 1861, fos. 85–6, Godley to R. Palmer, 16 Mar. 1843.

in Ireland, challenging their Anglican Evangelical and low church brethren, who neglected points of church polity in controversy with Rome. Irish high churchmen felt their position could only be strengthened, and their Romanist and Evangelical enemies confounded, by Tractarian polemic in favour of apostolical succession. Dean Jackson's view was typical: 'the evangelical, but for the timely intervention of the Oxford men, would have reduced our church to a level with the numerous sects about us, by removing the solid foundations on which she stands'.⁶³ It was for this reason, that Charles Elrington expressed gratitude to the authors of the *Tracts*, 'for bringing forward many invaluable principles of our church, which had almost fallen into oblivion'.⁶⁴

John Jebb junior (1805–86), nephew of the bishop of Limerick, John Clarke Crosthwaite (1800–74), Richard Gibbings, Lord Adare (1812–71), William Monsell of Trevoe (1812–94) and his cousin, Charles Henry Monsell, John Robert Godley (1814–61), William Alexander (1824–1913), and Aubrey de Vere (1814–1902), were Hibernian high churchmen who either visited Oxford or followed William Palmer in becoming domiciled there in the 1830s and early 1840s; there were many instances of Irish churchmen using the Trinity College, Dublin, privilege, to become incorporated into the University of Oxford. The younger Jebb, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1827, served as prebendary of Limerick Cathedral from 1832 to 1843, and curate of East Farleigh, Kent, where he befriended the Tractarian vicar, Robert Wilberforce.⁶⁵ The Wilberforce connection provided an opening to Tractarian Oxford. Both Jebb and Crosthwaite became friends and correspondents of Newman and Pusey and the Mozley brothers, and were not infrequent guests at Oriel College.⁶⁶ They came into contact with Hugh James Rose, and other leading English high churchmen such as W. F. Hook, W. E. Gladstone, and Benjamin Harrison.⁶⁷ Both Jebb and Crosthwaite were encouraged to contribute to the high church *British Magazine*, which Rose edited from 1832 until his death in 1838,⁶⁸ and which Crosthwaite was to edit from 1844 until 1849. Newman even solicited Crosthwaite to contribute to the then Tractarian *British Critic* under his editorship in 1838; Crosthwaite being invited to review Palmer's *Treatise on the church of Christ*.⁶⁹ Henry Manning was so impressed with 'Mr Crosthwaite's name and writings' that in 1840 he recommended him for a position in the Chichester diocese at the recently founded theological college; Manning's only reluctance was prompted by an unwillingness 'to draw off the life-blood from Ireland'.⁷⁰ Another prominent Irish high churchman, Richard Gibbings of Trinity College, Dublin, met Newman and other Tractarians,

⁶³ ACL, Beresford papers, no. xi, fo. 157, Jackson to Beresford, 20 June 1839.

⁶⁴ C. R. Elrington, *Apostolical succession* (Dublin, 1839), p. vi.

⁶⁵ *LDN*, ed. G. Tracy, vi (Oxford, 1984), p. 4.

⁶⁶ Newman's sister, Harriett Mozley, gave a vivid description of Crosthwaite, on his visit to Oriel College in October 1840. D. Mozley, ed., *Newman: family letters* (London, 1962), p. 92.

⁶⁷ British Library (BL), Gladstone papers, MS Add 44204, fols. 96–7, Harrison to Gladstone, 4 Jan. 1840. ⁶⁸ TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 38, Rose to Todd, 27 Sept. 1836.

⁶⁹ Newman to Todd, 19 Mar. 1838, *LDN*, vi, p. 217.

⁷⁰ LPL, MS 1680, fo. 147, Manning to J. Jebb (junior), 24 Apr. 1840.

during his period of incorporation at St Mary Hall, Oxford, in 1837–8.⁷¹ Lord Adare and the Monsell family imbibed similar Oxonian influences. Edwin Quin, Lord Adare, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and was Conservative MP for West Glamorgan from 1837 to 1850. Much interested in Irish archaeology, Adare eagerly embraced Tractarianism. He spent much time in Oxford in 1839–40. Coming under the influence of Newman, with whom he conducted a theological correspondence, Adare became a Roman Catholic in 1855.⁷² William Monsell matriculated at Oriel College in 1831, though he never took a degree. In 1836 he married the sister of Lord Adare, and was MP for Limerick from 1837 until he was created Lord Emly in 1874. While he came under Tractarian influence, William Monsell's friendship with Newman only developed after they had both become Roman Catholics.⁷³ Charles Henry Monsell, William's cousin, and third son of Thomas Bewley Monsell, archdeacon of Derry, was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1837, who followed Palmer's example, in being incorporated at Worcester College and being awarded an Oxford MA in 1840. After his marriage, Charles Monsell and his wife, Harriett, came under Pusey's theological influence.⁷⁴ John Robert Godley, later founder of the Canterbury settlement in New Zealand, was another Irish émigré to Oxford. The son of John Godley of Killegar (1775–1863), the younger John Godley, went up to Christ Church, Oxford, and became the life-long friend of the young Oxonian high churchmen Roundell Palmer, Henry Manning, and W. E. Gladstone. Called to the Irish Bar in 1839, Godley regarded reading the *Tracts for the times* as his 'hobby', and expounded their teaching to his father and friends.⁷⁵ Another Irish high churchman, William Alexander, later primate of the Church of Ireland, was born in Derry, and matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1841, just before the publication of Tract 90. Alexander soon came under Newman's spell, going without his dinner at Exeter in order to hear Newman preach. For Alexander, Newman at this time took on the persona of a prophet or an apostle – a Jeremiah or St Paul.⁷⁶ Aubrey de Vere, of Trinity College, Dublin (1814–1902), who later became a Roman Catholic, 'inherited conservative and High-Church views' from his Limerick Anglo-Irish family, and was similarly attracted to Tractarianism after a visit to Oxford in the early 1840s.⁷⁷

Among the Irish Anglican parochial clergy, Tractarian sympathizers included: W. A. Fisher, rector of Kilmoe from 1840 to 1880 who, according to his biographer, 'delighted' in reading the *Tracts for the times*;⁷⁸ William Henn,

⁷¹ Richard Gibbings (1813–88) of Trinity College, Dublin, BA (1835), was the editor of *An exact reprint of the Roman Index Expurgatoris* (Dublin, 1837). On 9 December 1837, Gibbings breakfasted with Newman in Oriel College common room, bringing with him a letter of introduction from J. H. Todd. *LDN*, vi, p. 176. Gibbings was to become Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Trinity College, Dublin, 1863–78.

⁷² See *LDN*, vii, p. 539.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 530–1.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 530; T. T. Carter, *Harriett Monsell: a memoir* (London, 1884), pp. 11–13.

⁷⁵ C. E. Carrington, *John Robert Godley of Canterbury* (Christchurch, 1950), p. 12.

⁷⁶ *Primate Alexander. Archbishop of Armagh. A memoir edited by Eleanor Alexander* (London, 1913), ch. 4.

⁷⁷ W. Ward, *Aubrey de Vere. A memoir* (London, 1904), p. 22.

⁷⁸ *Forty years in the Church of Ireland; or the pastor, the parish, and its people, from 1840 to 1880* (London, 1881), p. 8.

of the diocese of Derry;⁷⁹ and Henry Wynne, rector of Ardcolm, Co. Wexford, who was ‘in entire sympathy with the Oxford Movement’, and whose library contained ‘the books which the Oxford school delighted to honour’. Henry’s son, Frederick Wynne, recalled in later life that he had been ‘brought up on the *Christian Year* and Manning’s *Sermons*’.⁸⁰ Moreover, recent Tractarian publications such as Newman’s *Lectures on the prophetic office of the church*, Manning’s *Rule of faith*, John Fuller Russell’s *Judgment of the Anglican church*, and various works by William Palmer, were used by Thomas Moriarty of the Irish Society in Protestant missionary campaigns among the native Catholics of Dingle in the late 1830s and early 1840s.⁸¹

Irish high church support for the Tractarians seemed natural in the context of the 1830s. Irish high churchmen were surprised that the high church revival should have emanated from within the Church of England. Henry Wilberforce’s account to Newman of the younger Jebb, after Jebb’s visit to Oxford in 1836, is revealing:

Jebb is indeed a cheering man; cheering, I mean, because, without being at all of your school or Pusey’s, he has come by original study of Christian antiquity to exactly the same conclusions... About nine months ago when he came from Dublin he did not know that there were any persons of Apostolical views in the English church. He told me that, if he had known it about three years ago, when he was doubting where to reside, he would certainly have taken up his abode at Oxford.⁸²

Irish high churchmen looked to Newman for support and inspiration. As late as 1839, an anonymous correspondent who signed himself ‘presbyter Hibernicus’ expressed to Newman the hope that from his pen, ‘something may yet be added more calculated to confound and awe the multitude of opponents, and clear the half-fainting hearts of the few and feeble upholders of church principles in this country’. He assured Newman that

a want is felt here by those whose wants you and those acting with you would most sympathise with and be most anxious to supply, and who are at this moment assailed on all heads with an unseemly, nay! a rabid violence, to sustain which requires a faith and patience that sympathy from such a quarter would scarce fail to confirm and augment.⁸³

In similar vein, in 1838, a Dublin solicitor, a Mr Graham, informed Newman that amidst ‘a howling wilderness of bigotry, misrepresentation and intolerance’, there were ‘many hearts (even here) sympathetic with yours and anxiously looking to your exertions in the cause of God and truth’.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ *Primate Alexander*, p. 73.

⁸⁰ J. Hannay, *The life of Frederick Richards Wynne D.D. bishop of Killaloe* (London, 1897), p. 6.

⁸¹ SCC, Founders MSS, 1, no. 125, Moriarty to Adare, 16 July 1841; 1, no. 93, Murphy to Sewell, 10 Apr. 1841.

⁸² H. W. Wilberforce to Newman, 22 Nov. 1836, A. Mozley, ed., *Letters and correspondence of John Henry Newman during his life in the English church* (2 vols., London, 1891), II, p. 216. Newman made light of Jebb’s importance. In a note to his copy of this letter, Newman commented: ‘June 18, 1862. I believe I never saw Mr Jebb. I have preserved one long letter of his of this year 1836.’

⁸³ BO, Newman papers, ‘Presbyter Hibernicus’ to Newman, 17 Oct. 1839.

⁸⁴ Graham to Newman, 28 Dec. 1838, *LDN*, VI, p. 5.

The Irish church's response to the challenge of whig legislation was not one of mere accommodation and tactical retreat in order to preserve temporal privileges. Certainly, the Tractarians were dismayed that many Irish high churchmen, such as Bishop Thomas Elrington, Charles Elrington, and Edward Stopford, should concede the principle of royal interference in matters ecclesiastical. Bishop Elrington was criticized by Newman for admitting the legality of the Irish church temporalities bill of 1833; Elrington argued from historical precedent that parliament could regulate episcopal jurisdiction.⁸⁵ For Newman, the bishop overlooked the new situation whereby the legislature was no longer the representative of Anglican laity. Moreover, the bishop had confined the argument to the history of deposition of bishops, 'as if Churches had no rights of their own'. Newman accused the bishop of countenancing 'an Erastian principle',⁸⁶ and Elrington's position recently has been characterized as 'unashamedly Erastian'.⁸⁷ In his call for acceptance of the 1833 bill, however, the bishop insisted that the inherent spiritual powers of the episcopate were not at stake; the arrangement of dioceses was a civil matter, albeit involving clerical consent.⁸⁸ For Hugh James Rose, the debate between the bishop of Ferns and Newman, conducted in the *British Magazine*, represented a legitimate difference of opinion between different schools of high churchmanship; a difference perhaps akin to that which pertained between Hanoverian high churchmen and later Nonjurors in the preceding century. Rose inclined to Newman's side, but insisted that the bishop's opinions were 'entertained by very many of the best Churchmen, and anti-erastians whom I know'.⁸⁹

Bishop Elrington's views were in line with those of mainstream English high churchmen; in contrast, Irish Anglican Evangelicals such as Robert M'Ghee were closest to the absolutist posture of the Tractarians in 1833, in demanding ecclesiastical independence.⁹⁰ Todd, Crosthwaite, and other high churchmen, however, went as far as Newman and his followers on the subject of church and state. Newman's uncompromising view that the Irish church bill of 1833 annihilated the 'substantive witness for the Lord Jesus Christ' of an independent church,⁹¹ found ready acceptance in this quarter. When Newman asked his friend Todd whether he would contribute to the *British Critic*, he clearly expected Todd to raise points of dissent from the *Tracts for the times*. As he told Todd: 'I think if we disagree on any point perhaps it is (you see I am doing my utmost to find some ground of quarrel) about the church establishment. Certainly some of us have gone lengths on this subject'.⁹² Todd's

⁸⁵ T. Elrington, *Letter from the bishop of Leighlin and Ferns to the clergy of the united dioceses on the Church Temporalities Act* (Dublin, 1833), pp. 6–7.

⁸⁶ Newman to the editor of the *British Magazine* [Rose], *LDN*, ed. I. Ker and T. Gornall, iv (Oxford, 1980), p. 165. ⁸⁷ Cooper, 'Ireland and the Oxford Movement', p. 69.

⁸⁸ Elrington, *Letter*, p. 7. ⁸⁹ Rose to Newman, 24 Mar. 1834, *LDN*, iv, p. 225.

⁹⁰ R. J. M'Ghee, *The last stand for the church. A letter to the deans, archdeacons and clergy of the Church of Ireland* (Dublin, 1833), pp. 8–10. Ironically, the high churchman Archdeacon Stopford regarded M'Ghee's claims for church independence as savouring too much of Romanism! Cooper, 'Ireland and the Oxford Movement', p. 71. ⁹¹ *LDN*, iv, p. 165.

⁹² Newman to Todd, 19 Mar. 1838, *LDN*, vi, pp. 216–17.

response was revealing. He insisted that he was not ‘at all bigotted to William III’ and, echoing Tractarian sentiments, condemned the Revolution of 1688 for its worldly and spiritually debilitating impact on the church; the Revolution was ‘a great national sin, an attempt on the part of men to take the reigns of Providence into their own hands’.⁹³ Irish high churchmen, however, were as divided on the historical question of 1688 as in their response to the Irish church bill of 1833.

In 1837, the whig government sought to have the state prayers commemorating 5 November (the day of the ‘deliverance’ wrought by William of Orange in 1688 as well as of the deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot in 1605) omitted from the service in the lord lieutenant’s chapel in Dublin, out of political deference to the Roman Catholic party of Daniel O’Connell. The response of Irish high churchmen was varied. Todd and Crosthwaite supported the proposal, but Charles Elrington and Bishop Kyle strongly opposed the concession. As Todd explained to Newman, Elrington, like most Irish churchmen, was a ‘Revolution Protestant’ or ‘an old Whig of the Revolution times’ who did ‘not view the doings of King William as I do’. Like most contemporary high churchmen, Elrington was convinced of the civil and political blessings of 1688, but as Todd pointed out, even Elrington disliked ‘the tone of the service for the 5th of November’.⁹⁴ Moreover, according to Todd, Elrington at least defended the service on high and principled grounds. The defence of royal prerogative in matters ecclesiastical had a long high church lineage. For Bishop Kyle, arguing from within this tradition, it was enough that ‘the Acts of Uniformity did not destroy the King’s prerogative as head of the Church to issue forms for special places and purposes’.⁹⁵ On the other hand, Archbishop Whately of Dublin and other whig latitudinarian churchmen opposed retention of the 5 November service, but ‘on grounds still lower and more deplorable, than even Revolution Protestantism’.⁹⁶ Todd’s objections were quite distinct from those of Whately.

In contrast to most Irish high churchmen, Todd fully shared the Nonjuring sympathies and ‘theoretical Jacobitism’ of Newman, Froude, Keble, and Pusey. Todd’s position, like that of the Tractarians, was more than a merely political preference. For Todd, as for the Tractarians, a theological principle was at stake – the church’s inherent right of passive resistance to state tyranny, as upheld by the later Nonjurors such as Collier, Brett, Cartwright, and Deacon, and the ‘usager’ party among the persecuted eighteenth-century Scottish episcopal church. Thus, Todd assured Newman:

I should feel no difficulty in writing for the *British Critic*, so far as principles are concerned... With respect to the established church, I am fully persuaded that the

⁹³ BO, Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 28 May 1838. Similarly, J. H. Todd’s brother, W. G. Todd, maintained that ‘the revolution of 1688 has injured the Irish church in every possible manner’ and that ‘Orange principles’ were ‘plainly subversive’ of the church’s authority and influence. W. G. Todd, *A history of the ancient church in Ireland* (London, 1845), p. 159.

⁹⁴ Ibid., Todd to Newman, 4 Dec. 1837.

⁹⁵ TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 68, Kyle to Todd, 23 Apr. 1838.

⁹⁶ BO, Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 4 Dec. 1837.

present theory of our endowments being the property in fact of the state, held by us in trust for the performance of certain political functions, expedient or beneficial to society, does place us in a sort of captivity and tie up our hands... I fully believe that our sovereigns were allowed to step into the usurped power of the Popes, even over the spiritual freedom of bishops in their own dioceses, and that kings have no more right to exercise such a power than the Pope had... Whether any of you have gone, or wish to go greater lengths than this, on the subject of an establishment of religion, I do not know, – but I think I can go thus far with you.⁹⁷

Todd's position, more uncompromisingly high church than that of Bishop Elrington, was in tune with Newman's view of a bishop being an absolute 'pope' in his diocese.

The theological affinity of Irish high churchmen with the early Tractarians also covered questions of spirituality, sacramental teaching, liturgy and worship, rites and ceremonies. For some, sympathy for the Tractarians was confined to issues of apostolicity and church order. According to Todd, Charles Elrington had 'no sympathy with the religious part of the Oxford Movement'.⁹⁸ For others, however, this was the most attractive aspect of Tractarianism. Todd admired Tractarian spiritual zeal as the surest high church antidote to Evangelicalism; no longer could Irish Anglican Evangelicals claim a monopoly of spiritual fervour. The zeal which in Ireland too often 'spreads itself in schismatical irregularities, must have space to exercise itself legitimately within the church'. The only remedy was 'to observe the feasts and fasts of the church of our forefathers, or indeed I might almost say our grandfathers did, and not to be afraid of being called Papist, or anything beginning with P, except Puritan'.⁹⁹

Tractarian spirituality drew on the ascetical element in the high church tradition, with an emphasis on fasting, repentance, self-denial, religious retirement, and the principle of reserve in communicating religious knowledge. Several Irish high churchmen shared the religious ideals of the Oxford Movement in this respect. J. H. Todd's brother, W. G. Todd, went further than most Irish high churchmen in his readiness to concede that the primitive Irish church was 'neither Protestant nor Papist, but Catholic, – having much in its system which ultra-Protestants would now condemn'. Todd enumerated monasticism, celibacy, and asceticism, as the features which clearly distinguished the early Irish church from modern Protestantism.¹⁰⁰ Both Todd brothers welcomed the Oxford Movement's attempt to recover this decayed spiritual heritage, and tried to harness a distinctively Irish contribution to this revival. In 1839, J. H. Todd informed Newman that 'several clergymen have preached up Lent and fasting this year, that never thought of such things before'. He also reported that Charles Boyton, a former leader of political Orangemen at Trinity College, had preached a sermon before the University

⁹⁷ Ibid., Todd to Newman, 28 May 1838.

⁹⁸ SCC, Founders MSS, III, no. 127, Monsell to Adare, 2 Mar. 1842.

⁹⁹ TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 121, Todd to Elrington, 26 Aug. 1841.

¹⁰⁰ W. G. Todd, *The church of St Patrick: an historical inquiry into the independence of the ancient Church of Ireland* (London, 1844), pp. 3–4.

of Dublin in favour of the eucharistic sacrifice, thereby procuring for himself several newspaper attacks.¹⁰¹ Todd proudly told Newman that not only was celibacy adopted as the rule of life among Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, but that fasting was increasingly enforced amongst them.¹⁰² Todd, Crosthwaite, the younger Jebb, and other Irish converts to the high church cause such as Lord Adare and William Monsell were also at one with the Tractarians in recommending mortification of the flesh; which, Jebb insisted, ‘our church recommends at least, and which good men of all ages have practised, especially at stated times’ and ‘which was never disused till the last century of indifference and secularity’.¹⁰³

The principle of reserve in communicating religious knowledge, popularized by Isaac Williams in Tract 80 and Tract 87, was a distinctive feature of the Tractarian devotional temper which marked it out from Evangelical spirituality. Todd and Crosthwaite, like Bishop Jebb and his nephew, witnessed to the same spiritual principle and temper. According to the younger Jebb, Todd and Crosthwaite’s depth of spiritual feeling led them ‘rather to avoid conversation upon the more internal matter of Christianity, except when called to do so, in the unreserved intercourse with most intimate friends’. He made clear that ‘this disposition is mine, it was my father’s and the bishop’s, to say nothing of many whom I believe to have been among the most eminent saints’.¹⁰⁴

The Tractarian concern for liturgical order and emphasis on the beauty of holiness as expressive of the sacramental principle represented a reaction to the Evangelical exaltation of preaching and scripture reading. Irish high churchmen, however, were no less committed than the Tractarians to restoring liturgical order and reverence in public worship in the face of low church and Anglican Evangelical laxity. In 1844, William Maturin introduced weekday services in Lent in his church of All Saints, Grangegorman, Dublin.¹⁰⁵ At about the same period, Henry Wynne ‘restored and beautified the parish church of Ardcolm’ and ‘established a weekly celebration of the eucharist and a daily service’.¹⁰⁶ Even the Irish Anglican Evangelical Peter Roe, as minister of St Mary’s, Kilkenny, restored observance of saints’ days.¹⁰⁷ The common

¹⁰¹ Todd to Newman, 15 Apr. 1839, *LDN*, vi, p. 62. Todd feared that Boyton’s high church sacramental views would make it difficult for him to obtain a curacy: ‘wherever he goes, his name will bring upon him the imputation of Puseyism’. TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 142, Todd to unknown correspondent, 17 Jan. 1843. On 29 June 1840, Boyton was introduced to, and took tea with, Newman in Oriel College. *LDN*, vii, p. 350.

¹⁰² BO, Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 21 May 1839. While Todd did not ‘pretend to admire a monastic state beyond his neighbours’, he fought hard against attempts to repeal the celibacy statute at Trinity College, Dublin. TCD, Beresford Papers, MS 2770, no. 192, Todd to Stopford, 14 Feb. 1838.

¹⁰³ TCD, Jebb papers, MS 6398, no. 62, J. Jebb (junior) to unnamed correspondent, 11 Feb. 1842.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, no. 62, J. Jebb (junior) to unnamed correspondent, 18 Feb. 1842.

¹⁰⁵ E. H. F. Campbell, *A hundred years of life at Grangegorman, 1828–1928* (Dublin, 1928), pp. 7–8.

¹⁰⁶ Hannay, *Life of Frederick Richards Wynne*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ A. R. Acheson, ‘The Evangelicals in the Church of Ireland, 1784–1859’, Ph.D. diss., Belfast, 1967), p. 62.

impression of a puritan banishment of prayer book rites and ceremonial from the Irish church is not reflected in the account of a German observer in 1844, who noted:

several forms which the Puseyites desire to restore to the church service in England, never have been laid aside by the Irish Church. It is the custom there to hand the alm's plate in the pews. The prayer for the church militant continues to be read in many churches... In the attitude of prayer, during different parts of the service, the Irish Protestants have adhered much more closely to the instruction of the rubric than in England. These facts appear to have hitherto escaped the notice of the dissentients on both sides.¹⁰⁸

Other evidence, however, points in the direction of liturgical neglect. On a visit to Ireland in 1846, Lord John Manners lamented a common neglect of rubric and lack of ritual. In Kilkenny cathedral, he complained, 'everything... externally and internally, wore a cold Calvinistic hue, and gave a fair promise of success to the magnificent Roman Catholic cathedral hard by, which Mr Pugin is erecting'.¹⁰⁹ The Irish Anglican primate, Archbishop Beresford, blamed his church's failure to attract more native Roman Catholics on her lack of choral services, an unimpressive liturgy, and paucity of ritual.¹¹⁰

After his translation to Down and Connor in 1823, Bishop Mant's efforts to enforce the rubrics and observance of saints' days eventually provoked Irish Anglican Evangelical charges of 'Puseyism'.¹¹¹ Mant's campaign against liturgical discrepancies in the conduct of public worship in his diocese, however, was quite independent of the Oxford Movement. In 1837, Todd was at the forefront of opposition to attempts to curtail or shorten services in the chapel of Trinity College, Dublin.¹¹² His election to the treasurership of St Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, was 'a great victory for the church party here' and a blow to Evangelical prebendaries who opposed the efforts of the dean to revive the daily service. Once in office, Todd set about increasing the number of choral services, introducing a procession of the choir and other ceremonies. Todd even considered wearing a cope in the administration of the sacrament, arguing that if he were dean he would have no hesitation. Todd eventually declined on grounds of liturgical custom; the cope had never been sanctioned by the Irish canons as it was by the English canons after the Reformation. Had Todd adopted vestments, this would have been 'made a point against me and

¹⁰⁸ Udden, *Anglican church in the nineteenth century*, p. 105.

¹⁰⁹ Lord John Manners, *Notes of an Irish tour* (London, 1849), p. 73. Even the Anglican Evangelical *Christian Observer* complained that in Ireland, 'the Anglican stranger is perplexed at seeing men standing during prayers; and with their backs to the communion table', and that 'in various instances there is not so accurate an observance as there should be of some of the rubrics and canons of our united church'. *Christian Observer*, 42 (Oct. 1843), pp. 616–17.

¹¹⁰ *A charge delivered at the annual visitation, 1845. By John George, lord archbishop of Armagh* (London, 1846), p. 19.

¹¹¹ W. B. Mant, *Memoirs of the Rt. Rev. Richard Mant, D.D.* (Dublin, 1857), especially pp. 422–5; E. Berens, *A memoir of the life of Bishop Mant* (London, 1849). See also S. Kerr, 'Tolerant bishops in an intolerant church: the Puseyite threat in Ulster', *Studies in Church History*, 21 (1984), pp. 343–55.

¹¹² TCD, Beresford papers, MS 2770, fo. 161, Todd to Stopford, 7 Nov. 1836.

I would have to stand high handed against the practice of all our bishops, and against the only shadow of a high church party we have in Ireland, such men I mean as Elrington and the archdeacon of Dublin'.¹¹³ Todd, however, sought other means of improving public worship. In 1837, he reported to Newman that he had begun lectures in Trinity College chapel on the ancient liturgies, rites, and ceremonies of the church, and that he had established a society among the students for the cultivation of choral music. He expressed the hope to Newman that 'by these means... some sort of sound church feelings will be infused into the students. I have great faith in the cathedral music as tending to give new church feelings'.¹¹⁴

In the face of low church opposition, Todd advocated the necessity of observance of rubrics such as turning to the east when reciting the creed. He also defended the erection of crosses on churches. In private correspondence, Todd regularly criticized examples of slovenliness or irregularity in public worship. After witnessing a consecration performed by Archbishop Whately in 1836, he complained: 'his manner of reading is so irreverent and undignified, that I felt as if I could have walked out of chapel – he was very near omitting the Litany... then he omitted the Offertory altogether'.¹¹⁵ On a visit in 1844 to the Achill Island mission run by the Irish Anglican Evangelical, Edward Nangle, Todd found even more grounds of offence:

he took us into his church, as I thought for evening prayer... Nangle got into the reading desk, and without gown or surplice, but just as he was, he gave out a hymn... and concluded with a very long extempore prayer, into which he introduced sundry attacks against Popery... and so ended the service which was exactly similar to the worship of the Dissenters. Now if Mr Nangle is allowed to introduce into his church (which I presume is licensed by the bishop) these presbyterian and Cromwellian novelties, I would be glad to know why I may not introduce copes and crucifixes, and now and again in a quiet way say Mass?

Todd was offended by the 'exceedingly ugly and abominable' church fittings, and the 'presbyterianised' communion service. He admired Nangle as an individual, but lamented: 'the poison of his puritanism infects everything here'. The missionary had 'no daily service, observes none of the holydays of the church, except perhaps Xmas, or some such holiday, and in fact there is no recognition of the church, except on Sunday; and then it is more through preaching than through prayer'.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ TCD, Jebb papers, MS 6398, no. 58, Todd to J. Jebb (junior), 6 Nov. 1837.

¹¹⁴ BO, Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 2 Jan. 1837. Todd's lectures on the liturgy, however, had several precedents. As early as 1809, the Rev. D. H. Nash lectured on the Roman breviary and missal to students at Trinity College, Dublin. TCD, Jebb papers, MS 6396, no. 8, Nash to J. Jebb (senior), 16 Jan. 1809.

¹¹⁵ TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 26, Todd to Kyle, 13 June 1836. Todd blamed Whately as 'the man who was the first to introduce, under episcopal sanction, into the Irish church the innovation of administering the Holy Communion after the manner of the Presbyterians'. SCC, Founders MSS, iv, no. 43, Todd to Adare, 10 Aug. 1841.

¹¹⁶ SCC, Founders MSS, iv, no. 142, Todd to Elrington, Easter Monday 1844. Examples of the Irish church's liturgical laxity abound. Pusey was horrified by a report in 1845 that the altar at St

John Crosthwaite, author of a liturgical treatise, *Communio fidelium*,¹¹⁷ and John Jebb junior worked alongside Todd in reviving public worship.¹¹⁸ Crosthwaite gathered liturgical collections for an edition of the prayer book with musical notes, while Todd planned ‘a sort of thesaurus’ of Anglican church tones for the use of choirs. Todd aimed to ‘collect materials for doing, for the musical tones of our church’s devotions, what my friend Mr Palmer has done for the words – to trace those tones through the various liturgies of the East and West’.¹¹⁹ Todd was also responsible for the revival of the choral service in the American episcopalian church.¹²⁰ In 1843, after becoming rector of Peterstow, Herefordshire, the younger John Jebb published his monumental liturgical treatise, *The choral service of the United Church of England and Ireland*. The inspiration for and background to Jebb’s work was the Irish high church tradition in which he had been reared. *The choral service* was dedicated to James William Forster, archdeacon of Aghadoe. In it, Jebb warned against Tractarian ceremonial excess, but stressed that an Irish liturgical revival had long predated the Oxford Movement. Jebb cited the example of the recital of the ‘Gloria in Excelsis’ as a practice that had been observed by the Reverend John Fitzgibbon, vicar of St John’s, Limerick, and prebendary of Limerick cathedral, ‘long before the revival of ancient practices had become a matter of general attention, and when public opinion took a contrary direction’. Jebb claimed Fitzgibbon as

one proof among many which might be adduced, that the recurrence to the best usages of the Church of England is not a project of yesterday, but has been a matter long

Patrick’s Anglican cathedral in Dublin had to be ‘covered over with a net like a fruit tree, to prevent people sitting there’. Pusey to Todd, 21 July 1845, Pusey House (PH), Pusey papers, Liddon bound volume (LBV), 128/32. Irish high churchmen were also shocked by the ‘puritan’ attitude to public worship of Robert Daly, bishop of Cashel: ‘on his first going to Waterford, he found in use the cathedral books of “Altar Services”, which he caused to be changed for others, as he objected to the name of altar being given to the communion table’. H. Madden, *Memoir of the late Rev. Robert Daly, D.D. late Bishop of Cashel* (London, 1875), p. 308. See also the Tractarian Samuel Wood’s horrified report of his Irish tour to his friend Newman in 1836: ‘You see in many villages ruined churches unroofed and covered with ivy, and within a few yards of them R.C. chapels newly and neatly built; and in the towns, where there are Protestant congregations, we have heard nothing but *Peculiar* [i.e. Evangelical] sermons, and found nothing but Bible Christians, co-operating with Dissenters and giving up everything but the name of Churchmen for fear of Popery’. Wood to Newman, 29 Aug. 1836, *LDN*, v, p. 373.

¹¹⁷ J. C. Crosthwaite, *Communio fidelium: an historical inquiry into the mode of distributing the Holy Communion, prescribed by the United Church of England and Ireland* (Oxford, 1841).

¹¹⁸ Crosthwaite’s pressure led to a restoration of daily services in both Limerick and Armagh cathedrals. TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 45, Crosthwaite to Kyle, 18 Nov. 1836. John Godley of Killegar stated in 1842 that weekday services were becoming common in the larger Irish Anglican churches. LPL, Selborne papers, MS 1861, fo. 80, Godley to R. Palmer, 24 Dec. 1842.

¹¹⁹ PH, Pusey papers, PUS 126/, Todd to Pusey, 5 July 1838.

¹²⁰ PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/3, Todd to Pusey, 10 May 1841. Even high churchmen in Ireland, however, were guarded in their expression of sacramental views. Todd criticized Charles Elrington for having ‘subscribed [to] a work in which the word altar, sanctioned by St Paul, and by the whole Catholic church, has been repudiated’. TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 140, Todd to Elrington, 28 July 1843.

desired and sought after, by independent minds, in the most distant parts of her communion.¹²¹

Irish high church preoccupation with liturgical renewal was best exemplified in the foundation in 1840 of St Columba's college, Rathfarnham, near Dublin, as an educational institution designed to inculcate pupils in the principles of the prayer book. In a return to earlier practice, Gaelic editions of the prayer book were produced; the aim being 'a full Irish service every Sabbath which of itself in a few years would train boys or young men for the Irish ministry'. The founders comprised native high churchmen who had become allies of the Tractarians, such as Lord Adare, Lord Dunraven, William Monsell of Trevoe, and Todd, but the guiding spirit was William Sewell, Fellow of Exeter College.¹²² The founders did not approve of the methods of Protestant Evangelical missionaries, such as Edward Nangle on Achill Island, Dawson Massy in Carlow, and George Gayer who built up a substantial Protestant colony at Ventry, Co. Kerry, in winning converts among native Roman Catholics.¹²³ They aimed to conduct missionary work with more regard to ecclesiastical order and what they regarded as the sacramental principles of the prayer book. They felt that ever since the Reformation the Irish clergy had failed to make much impression on the Romanism around them because many of them had cast off distinctive marks of the church and, in recent years, often amalgamated with Protestant Dissenters. In an indirect attack on Protestant missionaries such as Nangle, the letter of instruction of the founders outlined a distinctively high church model of reclaiming converts:

We are particularly desirous that their [converts'] minds should be directed to the true sense and nature of the sacraments, reverencing them as means of grace, generally necessary to salvation, and looking on them as the great channels, through which the spirit of God makes us at first members of Christ, and afterwards strengthens and refreshes our souls.¹²⁴

According to Todd, it was precisely 'the danger of converts from Popery being carried away into low and almost heretical views of the sacraments and sacramentals, that led, amongst other things to the idea of establishing such a college'. The aim was to provide such converts

with a resting place, which will exhibit to them our church in a catholic position and

¹²¹ J. Jebb (junior), *The choral service of the united Church of England and Ireland. Being an enquiry into the liturgical system of the cathedral and collegiate foundations of the Anglican communion* (London, 1843), pp. 512–13. In 1843, however, the Evangelical dean of Limerick was reported to have suppressed chanting of the Creed in the cathedral. TCD, Todd papers, MS 6398, no. 68, J. W. Forster to J. Jebb (junior), 25 Nov. 1843.

¹²² SCC, Founders MSS, 'Foundation book', 'Narrative by Lord Adare'. See also G. K. White, *A history of St Columba's College, 1843–1974* (Dublin, 1981).

¹²³ On Irish Protestant colonies, strongly supported by Anglican Evangelicals in England, see Bowen, *Protestant crusade in Ireland*, pp. 204–5; Wolfe, *Protestant crusade*, p. 39.

¹²⁴ SCC, Founders MSS, 'Foundation book', 'Narrative by Lord Adare'; *ibid.*, 1, no. 35, Adare to Gayer, 20 Oct. 1840; W. Sewell, *Protestantism and popery: a sermon preached in the parish church of Adare, Limerick* (London, 1842), p. 14.

aspect, so that they may see in her that purity of which they are in search, and at the same time not to be compelled to cast off all that is primitive and catholic.¹²⁵

Many English high churchmen became alienated from the Oxford Movement when the Tractarians repudiated the English Reformers. The publication of Hurrell Froude's *Remains* in 1838, revealing Froude's denigration of Cranmer, Jewell, and others, marked the beginning of a parting of the ways. Irish high churchmen, wedded to an albeit conservative reverence for the Reformation settlement as a guarantor of their church's apostolicity, shared in the widespread alarm over the *Remains*. The Reformers were sacrosanct as restorers of apostolical Christianity and destroyers of the abuses of popery.¹²⁶ Todd, however, was in advance of his high church colleagues in identifying with Tractarian unease over the conduct and views of the English Reformers. To Newman's surprise, Todd informed him:

As to Cranmer and Jewell, I cannot justify their low views of sacraments and sacramentals, or the Erastian principles that Cranmer, at least, seems to have adopted... I have long been in the habit of regarding the Reformation as an event in which the Providence of God, and not the foresight or wisdom of any set of men was manifested, in the preservation of our church... I am by no means disposed to praise any of the Reformers personally, or to set up their writings... as a sort of standard of doctrine to which we ought to conform ourselves.¹²⁷

Significantly, Todd did not share in the general high church disapproval of the publication of Froude's *Remains*. Even Charles Elrington condemned the 'high and dry' Godfrey Faussett's attack on the Tractarians in May 1838, as 'most unreasonable'.¹²⁸

Todd's agreement with his Oxford friends was exemplified in his commendation of Isaac Williams's Tract 86.¹²⁹ In his Donnellan Lectures (1838), Todd echoed Newman's rejection, in his *Advent sermons on antichrist* published as Tract 83 in the same year, of the view that the Church of Rome was the antichrist.¹³⁰ Todd's Lectures gave great offence in Anglican Evangelical circles.¹³¹ He even apologized to Newman for differing slightly from him in his interpretation of prophecy.¹³² Todd also defended Tract 90,¹³³ and even

¹²⁵ PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/10, Todd to Pusey, 17 Nov. 1841.

¹²⁶ For example, see T. Woodward, ed., *Sermons, doctrinal and practical. By the late Rev. William Archer Butler. Edited, with a memoir of the author's life* (Dublin, 1850), p. 368; Wordsworth, 'On the Church of Ireland as a national religious establishment', p. 299.

¹²⁷ BO, Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 28 May 1838.

¹²⁸ TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 84, Elrington to Todd, 29 Oct. 1838. Elrington, however, zealously supported the Protestant Martyrs Memorial at Oxford, proposed in 1838 and erected in 1841. SCC, Founders MSS, III, no. 155, Beresford to Monck Mason, 19 Apr. 1842.

¹²⁹ PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/2, Todd to Pusey, [23 June] 1840.

¹³⁰ J. H. Todd, *Discourses on the prophecies relating to Antichrist in the writings of Daniel and St Paul, preached before the University of Dublin at the Donnellan Lecture, MDCCCXXXVIII* (Dublin, 1840), 'On the Roman Empire and the fourth beast', pp. 67–85.

¹³¹ In low church circles, Todd was 'supposed to go quite as far as Dr Pusey and Mr Newman, in his tenderness to Popery'. SCC, Founders MSS, III, Darby to Adare, 30 Sept. 1841.

¹³² BO, Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 18 June 1840.

¹³³ PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/3, Todd to Pusey, 10 May 1841.

condemned the suspension of Pusey from preaching by the Oxford authorities in 1843 after his controversial sermon on the eucharist, as ‘a wretched piece of party spirit’.¹³⁴

Irish high churchmen, however, with notable exceptions such as John Robert Godley, W. A. Fisher, and Henry Wynne, remained mostly unfamiliar with the contents of the *Tracts for the times*; even the younger John Jebb admitted in 1841 that he had scarcely seen any Tractarian publications.¹³⁵ Although as early as 1836, Newman had hoped that either Todd or the younger Jebb would set up a depot for the *Tracts* in Dublin,¹³⁶ there continued to be complaints as late as 1839 that Tractarian publications could not be procured, even in Dublin.¹³⁷ None the less, Todd maintained in 1839 ‘that in the dioceses of Derry and Raphoe the Tracts are read with avidity’, and that ‘everyone is talking of them so that... the leaven will work its way’.¹³⁸ Most Irish high churchmen, however, maintained a cautious detachment from the Oxford Movement, even while they sympathized with its original ideals. Todd himself insisted to Newman in 1839: ‘I had adopted and preached your main doctrines, before I ever saw or heard of a Tract for the Times’.¹³⁹ His support was not unconditional. As early as 1837, he had privately complained that the ‘Oxford party’ were ‘always smelling low churchism, even where it does not exist’ and that they were ‘singularly injudicious and too theoretical’.¹⁴⁰

Even younger Irish high churchmen in the 1840s such as Lord Adare,

¹³⁴ PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/20, Todd to Pusey, 8 June 1843. Todd conceded to William Monsell that his name had injured the popularity of the St Columba’s scheme with the clergy, ‘for you know I am nearly as bad as Pusey himself’. SCC, Founders MSS, iv, no. 45, Todd to Monsell, 22 Aug. 1841. Dr Christopher Wordsworth (senior), master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and leading member of the ‘Hackney Phalanx’, distinguished Elrington as an ‘Anglo-Catholic’ from Todd, whom he considered ‘verged nearer towards Oxfordism’. LPL, Wordsworth papers, MS 2148, fo. 324, C. Wordsworth (senior) to C. Wordsworth (junior), 17 May 1846.

¹³⁵ TCD, Jebb papers, MS 6398, no. 60, J. Jebb (junior) to unnamed correspondent, 15 Mar. 1841. For Jebb’s strictures on Tract 90, see LPL, Selborne papers, MS 1680, J. Jebb (junior) to Keble, 15 May 1841.

¹³⁶ Newman to H. W. Wilberforce, 22 Oct. 1836, *LDN*, ed. T. Gornall, v (Oxford, 1981), p. 374.

¹³⁷ BO, Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 21 May 1839; Graham to Newman, 28 Dec. 1838, *LDN*, vi, p. 5.

¹³⁸ BO, Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 15 Apr. 1839. Dean Hoare in 1841 conceded: ‘influential persons are now making strenuous exertions to spread the principles advocated in the *Tracts for the times*, and similar publications in this country, and that these efforts appear to be increasingly successful, especially among students in divinity preparing for holy orders’. Hoare, *Tendency of the principles advocated in the ‘Tracts for the times’ considered*, pp. iii–v. By 1842, another Irish Anglican Evangelical was complaining that Tractarian error ‘has appeared among us’. W. Atwell, *Dr Pusey answered, in a letter to his Grace the lord archbishop of Canterbury, in which the chief errors of the new system are exposed, and the prevailing tendency to Romanism traced to its true causes* (Dublin, 1842), pp. 3–4. On the other hand, see the comment of Dr George Miller in 1841: ‘In this country we are I think sufficiently safe. There is I believe in the University [Trinity College Dublin] only one Puseyite, Dr Todd, one of the editors of the *Ecclesiastical Journal*; and I can reckon only thirteen others.’ LPL, Golightly papers, MS 1808, fo. 119, Miller to Golightly, 2 Dec. 1841. English Tractarians themselves played down Irish support. See n. 167.

¹³⁹ BO, Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 21 May 1839.

¹⁴⁰ TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 55, Todd to Kyle, 11 Aug. 1837.

Charles and William Monsell, Aubrey de Vere, and William Alexander who, with their Oxonian experiences or links, appeared most closely allied to the Tractarians, kept a certain distance from the Movement. This younger group of Irish allies of the Movement were described by the younger John Jebb as exponents of ‘a good high church spirit... free from those ultra opinions which we have to deplore among so many of our friends in England’.¹⁴¹

Charles and Harriett Monsell, and William Alexander, went furthest in their enthusiasm, but then drew back.¹⁴² Alexander, who used to walk out to Newman’s ‘monastery’ at Littlemore and who nearly followed Newman to Rome in late 1845, turned against his former spiritual master and criticized Newman and his followers for being ‘ignorant of the Reformation and of the Reformers’.¹⁴³ Aubrey de Vere, who became a Roman Catholic in 1851, for a time also experienced a repulsion against the Movement. De Vere concluded that the Puseyites were doctrinaires, deficient in a sense of the practicable.¹⁴⁴ William Monsell and Lord Adare, both later converts to Rome, while admitting that they had held ‘low church views till our attention was called to the subject by the Oxford Tracts’, insisted that they only supported Tractarian principles on the assumption that ‘the same views were held by our Reformers, by our standard divines and in our services and were believed by the early church’.¹⁴⁵ The assumption proved to be flawed. Adare deprecated the Tractarian ‘tone of depreciation of our liturgy’ and the ‘very general elevation of Nicene over Anglican principles’. He and William Monsell expressed their primary allegiance to the ‘principles of our church, not those peculiar to Oxford teaching’.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, not all Irish churchmen who visited Oxford when Newman held sway were drawn to Tractarian teaching. Arthur Blennerhassett Rowan (1800–61), educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and curate of Blennerville, near Tralee from 1824 to 1844, visited Oxford in 1840 and corresponded with Newman.¹⁴⁷ In 1843, he published lively but hostile letters on the Oxford Movement under the pseudonym ‘Ignotus’. His other publications included *Newman’s popular fallacies, considered in six letters* (1852).

The early rapport of Irish high churchmen with the Tractarians did not survive Newman’s Tract 90 in 1841 or Pusey’s ill-timed visit to a Roman Catholic nunnery and attendance at mass in a Dublin chapel, when he was accused of conducting himself as a papist.¹⁴⁸ Todd had hoped that Pusey’s visit to Ireland would allay Protestant fears and, as he told Pusey, if he were to preach in Dublin, this might ‘convince people that you do not wear a Pope’s tiara or a cardinal’s hat’.¹⁴⁹ Pusey’s actions, on the contrary, played into the hands of the extreme Protestant party in the Irish church and placed his Irish

¹⁴¹ TCD, Forster papers, MS 6392, no. 36, J. Jebb (junior) to C. Forster, 5 Jan. 1842.

¹⁴² Carter, *Harriett Monsell*, p. 11. ¹⁴³ *Church of Ireland Gazette* (15 Apr. 1933), p. 208.

¹⁴⁴ Ward, *Aubrey de Vere*, p. 22.

¹⁴⁵ SCC, Founders MSS, I, no. 44, ‘Outlines of a letter from W. Monsell and Lord Adare to Mr Rowan’ (Dec. 1840).

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, v, no. 1, Adare to Sewell, 4 July 1841.

¹⁴⁷ *LDN*, vii, p. 540.

¹⁴⁸ Bodl. Lib., MS Eng Misc. e 117, fo. 353, Crosthwaite to Pusey, 10 Sept. 1841.

¹⁴⁹ PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/3, Todd to Pusey, 10 May 1841.

high church friends in a vulnerable position; even Todd complained, ‘we shall have to suffer for his nunnery doings’,¹⁵⁰ while Pusey’s biographer, Liddon, conceded: ‘it does not seem to have occurred to him that the troubles consequent upon Tract 90 might not be diminished by his visit at such a moment’.¹⁵¹

The outcry against Tract 90 damaged the St Columba’s College scheme. St Columba’s was portrayed as ‘a Pusey colony’,¹⁵² with its founders accused of ‘labouring to gain to Puseyism the Irish clergy’.¹⁵³ A withdrawal of support from moderate Irish Anglican Evangelicals such as Edward Nixon, Arthur Blennerhasset Rowan, and the trustees of the Irish Society’s mission at Ventry ensued. As Rowan conceded to Lord Adare: ‘it would be idle to pretend that we were not chiefly influenced by a dread of giving way to the opinions now reviving at Oxford’.¹⁵⁴ Irish high churchmen took fright. The primate, Archbishop Beresford of Armagh, a patron of St Columba’s who was regarded as favourably disposed towards the Tractarians,¹⁵⁵ condemned the principles of Tract 90 in a published charge. William Sewell’s attempt, however, to dissociate himself and St Columba’s from any Puseyite taint, by a public disavowal of the principles of Tract 90,¹⁵⁶ failed to convince Irish Anglican Evangelicals.¹⁵⁷ In response to Tract 90, the hitherto avid reader of the Tracts, W. A. Fisher, rector of Kilmoe, tied up all his copies and ‘put them out of reach on the top of his bookcase, and never opened them more’.¹⁵⁸ The need to distance the high church cause in Ireland from Tractarian excesses prompted the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* under Crosthwaite’s editorship to take an increasingly anti-Tractarian line,¹⁵⁹ which Todd, acting as a mediator between the increasingly estranged Crosthwaite and Pusey, vainly tried to restrain.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁰ TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 122, Todd to Elrington, 6 Sept. 1841. The ‘Hackney Phalanx’ shared this disapproval of Pusey’s Irish activities. Bodl. Lib., MS Eng Misc. e. 117, fo. 117, Churton to Crosthwaite, 21 Apr. 1842; SCC, Founders MSS, II, Norris to Elrington, 29 Oct. 1841.

¹⁵¹ Liddon, *Life of Pusey*, II, p. 243.

¹⁵² LPL, Golightly papers, MS 1808, fo. 113, Miller to Golightly, 11 Oct. 1841.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, fo. 86, Miller to Golightly, 23 Feb. 1841.

¹⁵⁴ SCC, Founders MSS, I, no. 47, Rowan to Adare, 6 Dec. 1840.

¹⁵⁵ In 1841, Todd could assure Newman: ‘The Primate favours you in his heart, although he is very anxious about committing himself.’ BO, Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 18 Mar. 1841; LPL, Golightly papers, MS 1811, fo. 112, Miller to Golightly, 30 Sept. 1841.

¹⁵⁶ W. Sewell, *A letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, on the publication of no. 90 of the ‘Tracts for the times’* (Oxford, 1841), p. 10; Sewell, *Protestantism and popery*.

¹⁵⁷ ‘[Sewell] has seized the opportunity to publish a letter, nominally to Pusey, but really to Messrs. Magee and the Irish peculiars [i.e. Evangelicals].’ Church to Rogers, 14 Mar. 1841, M. C. Church, ed., *Life and letters of Dean Church* (London, 1895), p. 33. On the failure of Sewell’s letter to remove Irish Anglican Evangelical scruples, see SCC, Founders MSS, III, Maxwell to Adare, 25 Sept. 1841.

¹⁵⁸ *Forty years in the Church of Ireland*, p. 8.

¹⁵⁹ Bodl. Lib. MS Eng Misc. e. 117, fos. 194–5, Golightly to Crosthwaite, 12 July 1842.

¹⁶⁰ TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 139, Todd to Elrington, 8 July 1841; PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/22, Todd to Pusey, [5 Oct.] 1843; LBV 128/23, Todd to Pusey, 17 Oct. 1843. On Crosthwaite’s resignation as editor after his appointment to a London living, Todd urged that a new editor make a public disclaimer in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* of recent virulently anti-Tractarian articles; a move opposed by Charles Elrington. PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/31, Todd to Pusey, 5 Mar. 1844.

Rowan's influential *Letters from Oxford* (1843), and Bishop Mant's episcopal charge of 1842¹⁶¹ also cooled Irish high church support for the Movement, though Mant's charge, while attacked as 'Puseyite' by some Evangelicals, was criticized by both Elrington and Todd for its cold, dry tone.¹⁶²

The readiness of English Tractarians to ditch their erstwhile Irish allies was evident by the late 1830s. As early as 1836, Newman was receiving disturbing reports from his friend Samuel Wood, corroborated by John James, Henry Wilberforce's brother-in-law, about the irregular and apparently profane proselytizing methods of the Protestant missionary on Achill, Edward Nangle.¹⁶³ In the same year, Hugh James Rose as editor of the English high church *British Magazine* was complaining to Todd: 'so many of your clergy are poor churchmen that they will not endure sound doctrine'. A Dublin bookseller informed Rose 'that the *British Magazine* bears a bad character in Ireland as being too high church for anybody but Dr Elrington, Mr Todd and one or two more'.¹⁶⁴ The publishers of the *Tracts for the times*, Rivington's, rejected a proposed new high church periodical for the Irish church because of fears that the market would be too limited,¹⁶⁵ though the foundation of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* in 1840 filled this void.

John Keble's *National apostasy* sermon of 14 July 1833 arguably had launched the Oxford Movement in defence of a besieged Church of Ireland. By 1836, Keble had lost sympathy with the Irish Anglican clergy whom, he now believed, regarded the apostolical succession as no 'more than a feather in the church's cap', without sacramental significance.¹⁶⁶ When Pusey proposed to visit Ireland in 1838 in order to establish a closer connection with Irish high churchmen, Newman's disciple, James Mozley, ridiculed the idea. Mozley remarked to his sister Anne, 'at present I believe there are only two High Churchmen in Ireland, Mr Todd and Mr Gibbings, the editor of the *Index Expurgatoris*, so that there would be little to do in that way, just now'.¹⁶⁷ Sewell's campaign against Irish Romanism and his Jesuit-phobia became an object of Tractarian satire.¹⁶⁸ In response to Crosthwaite's expostulations against the 'romanizing' of the more extreme Tractarians, Pusey coolly

¹⁶¹ See R. Mant, *The laws of the Church: the churchman's guard against Romanism and puritanism in two charges, June and July 1842* (Dublin, 1842).

¹⁶² TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 140, Todd to Elrington, 28 Aug. 1843.

¹⁶³ Newman to H. W. Wilberforce, 22 Oct. 1836, *LDN*, v, p. 372–4. In a letter to Newman from Athlone on 29 Aug. 1836, Newman's Tractarian friend, Samuel Wood, gave him a critical report (*LDN*, v, p. 373) on 'the proceedings of a Mr Nangle'. Wood complained: 'His [Nangle's] point of attack on the peasantry is Transubstantiation, upon which he used Rationalistic and ludicrous arguments. In this sad way he has converted about sixty persons.'

¹⁶⁴ TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 19, Rose to Todd, 24 Mar. 1836.

¹⁶⁵ TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 18, Rivington to Todd, 18 Mar. 1836.

¹⁶⁶ Gloucestershire County Record Office, Prevost papers, D 2692, no. 14, Keble to Prevost, 27 Sept. 1836.

¹⁶⁷ J. B. Mozley to A. Mozley, 4 Mar. 1838, A. Mozley, ed., *Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley* (London, 1885), p. 174.

¹⁶⁸ National Library of Scotland, Hope-Scott papers, MS 3668, fo. 113, Rogers to Hope, 28 Apr. 1841. On Sewell's role in the Irish high church revival, see L. James, *William Sewell: a forgotten genius* (London, 1945); D. E. Cottrell, 'William Sewell' (Ph.D. diss., Nottingham, 1972).

informed his friend: ‘I know we must make allowances for your position relatively to Romanism and the low church in Ireland, but so must you for our position in England’.¹⁶⁹ Pusey abandoned the classical high church apologetic which asserted, in Crosthwaite’s words, that ‘Romanism in Ireland is a schism of the most unchristian sort’.¹⁷⁰ Pusey conceded to Crosthwaite in 1841, he no longer thought that

we can call the Romanists altogether schismatics in Ireland. I think Palmer etc. use the argument too drily. Before we can call them schismatics, we must have something more than the succession. We have no right to condemn them for not recognising us, as the church of St Patrick, when we are so little like it.¹⁷¹

Pusey subscribed £25 to the fund for St Columba’s College, in order to show that he was ‘not romanising’,¹⁷² though the founders only reluctantly accepted his subscription for fear that it would provoke low churchmen into withdrawing theirs.¹⁷³ Pusey, however, did not sympathize with the founder’s aims, because he no longer supported proselytizing among Roman Catholics on any basis, since it might involve ‘bringing people to a system practically laxer than their own’.¹⁷⁴ Other Tractarians such as Lord John Manners also pointed to the ‘danger of setting a premium on apostasy’.¹⁷⁵ Todd did not share such scruples. For Todd,

the chance of a convert adopting the low views of the sacraments etc. which unhappily prevail in our church, great an evil as it is, does not appear to me to be at all comparable to the evils which are prevalent in the Romanism of Ireland.¹⁷⁶

For all his apparent eirenicism towards Rome, Pusey’s attitude to Irish Roman Catholics was not softened by his visit to Ireland and remained as negative as that of Todd; in Ireland, Pusey assured Todd, Rome ‘condescends to the corrupt longings of the people in order to retain them’.¹⁷⁷ In contrast, Newman’s disillusionment with the Irish church was to form a stage in his eventual retreat from Anglicanism. Todd regarded Newman’s exposition of the Anglican *via media* in his *Lectures on the prophetic office of the church* (1837) as too

¹⁶⁹ Bodl. Lib., MS Eng Misc. e. 117, fo. 311, Pusey to Crosthwaite, 15 Oct. 1843. Pusey could be rather patronising in his attitude to the Irish church. See his comment to Todd: ‘I hope that there is something yet in store for your unhappy portion of our church; at least, I saw *some* earnest young men when among you; and the very vehemence of the present attack seems to imply that there is something to be attacked’. Bodl. Lib., MS Eng Misc. e. 117, fo. 318, Pusey to Todd, 15 Oct. 1843.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., fo. 353, Crosthwaite to Pusey, 10 Sept. 1841. Even Todd held that Irish Roman Catholicism represented ‘a schismatical and grossly heretical body’. TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 216, Todd to Stopford, n.d.

¹⁷¹ Bodl. Lib., MS Eng Misc. e. 117, fo. 356, Pusey to Crosthwaite, 1 Oct. 1841.

¹⁷² SCC, Founders MSS, iv, no. 130, Todd to Adare, 7 Mar. 1842; *ibid.*, iii, no. 46, Pusey to Todd, 3 Jan. 1842.

¹⁷³ SCC, Founders MSS, iv, no. 130, Todd to Adare, 7 Mar. 1841; *ibid.*, no. 137, Todd to Adare, 14 Mar. 1841. ¹⁷⁴ PH, Pusey papers, PUS 112/5, Pusey to Todd, Nov. 1841.

¹⁷⁵ SCC, Founders MSS, iv, no. 43, O’Brien to Adare, 31 Aug. 1841.

¹⁷⁶ PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/10, Todd to Pusey, 17 Nov. 1841.

¹⁷⁷ PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/4, Pusey to Todd, 12 May 1841; Pusey to Newman, 15 July 1841, Liddon, *Life of Pusey*, II, p. 245.

theoretical and tentative. Todd questioned Newman's contention that 'the *via media* has never existed except on paper', and insisted that 'Anglicanism as such has produced a much greater influence upon the religious character of the nation than you seem to have admitted'.¹⁷⁸ As with Pusey in 1841, in 1838 Todd hoped to enlist Newman, in efforts to put *via media* teaching into practice in Ireland. He tried to frighten Newman with the bugbear of Irish popery:

until you come to Ireland... you will never thoroughly understand Popery. Not even the *Tracts for the Times* themselves, which some people think the very quintessence of Popery, will give you such a knowledge of the working of that system as a trip of a week into the mountains of Connemara or the Joyce country.¹⁷⁹

Newman declined the invitation; his contact with Irish Roman Catholicism, apart from some correspondence with Charles Russell, a young professor at Maynooth College, would only commence in the 1850s, long after his conversion to Rome. In 1862, Newman added a revealing note to his copy of Todd's letter of invitation to Ireland, in which he stated that it 'shows the fears that he [Todd] has lest, taking a theoretical view of Catholicism, not a real and practical one, I should move in a direction, adverse to the Anglican interest'.¹⁸⁰ There was truth in Todd's perception, but as yet, Newman's view of Irish Roman Catholicism remained coloured by his Tractarian Anglican political prejudices against the apparent alliance of Irish Romanists with whigs and radicals.¹⁸¹

Newman rejected the Irish church as a suitable vehicle of the *via media* prior to his first doubts over the integrity of Anglicanism in the summer of 1839. In February 1838, an Irish Anglican layman, William Traill of Bushmills, Co. Antrim, canvassed Newman's support for an ambitious plan for the restoration of the ten suppressed Irish sees.¹⁸² Newman refused to countenance the scheme. In his copy of his negative response to Traill's plea, Newman inserted a significant admission, over the top of which he was careful to note, 'and this was not inserted in my letter': 'I cannot trust the present body of the Irish church and would rather trust liberals as I would trust bishops.' The draft notes of Newman's reply as sent, however, were no less candid: 'The bulk of my letter was to urge that, till we agreed together, till we repented as a church, till we gave up politics, till we acted under our bishops quietly, all attempts at outward reformation, was but rebellion against God, who had put us under oppressors as a judgment on us.'¹⁸³

Irish high churchmen were dismayed by Tractarian coolness towards St Columba's College, especially in view of Todd's efforts to prevent Irish

¹⁷⁸ BO, Newman papers, Todd to Newman, 26 Apr. 1837.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., Todd to Newman, 27 Feb. 1838.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ See P. B. Nockles, 'Newman and early Tractarian politics', in V. A. McClelland, ed., *By whose authority? Newman, Manning and the Magisterium* (Bath, 1996), pp. 79–111.

¹⁸² *LDN*, vi, pp. 201, 269; BL, Gladstone papers, MS Add 44357, fos. 89–90, Traill to Gladstone, 5 Mar. 1840.

¹⁸³ Ibid. Newman's suspicions, however, about Traill's plan were widely shared in Irish high church circles. See TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 62, Mant to Todd, 24 Jan. 1838.

Anglican Evangelicals from infiltrating the committee in order to pursue their own anti-‘Puseyite’ agenda.¹⁸⁴ William Monsell vented his frustration in a letter to William Sewell in late 1840: ‘Is the *quod semper, quod ubique, et ab omnibus* only used by them [Tractarians] when it suits their purpose and then laid up on the shelf?’ None the less, faith in Tractarian support was not yet extinct. Monsell still hoped that the Tractarian leaders would

see the true state of the case and give the Irish church the benefit of their exertions, the consolation of their sympathy and I hope before long to see an article in the *British Critic* from Newman’s pen stating the case of the Irish church and teaching the English clergy that the day of confessors is not past and that they must exert themselves on behalf of their brethren in Ireland.¹⁸⁵

Such expectations were misplaced. By 1844, Todd was lamenting ‘the infatuation of English churchmen throwing Ireland overboard under the notion that they are themselves safe’,¹⁸⁶ even while privately admitting to Pusey that he understood waning English high church sympathy ‘with this unhappy branch of the church, where Puritanism, Calvinism & Zwinglianism, have undermined the faith, and almost usurped the place, as they have the name, of orthodoxy’.¹⁸⁷

The Maynooth crisis exposed new divisions. Irish high churchmen supported by some English old high churchmen equated the Peel ministry’s increase of the government grant to the Roman Catholic seminary at Maynooth in 1845 as akin to the whig suppression of Irish bishoprics in 1833.¹⁸⁸ Most English Tractarians, on the other hand, remained unconcerned; they were unwilling to fight the battle of 1833 over again, as Irish high churchmen demanded. For some, notably Gladstone, this unwillingness was dictated by a concern for social justice;¹⁸⁹ for others, it was because they regarded the Church of Ireland as having forfeited her Catholicity and claim to be a true church.¹⁹⁰ Irish high churchmen were dismayed that former English allies from 1833 should appear in the mid-1840s to form what Todd called ‘a coalition with Irish papists’.¹⁹¹

In conclusion, the British context of high churchmanship has been neglected in an over-emphasis on the Church of England. Insofar as Tractarian principles were perceived as in accord with a native Caroline tradition, they were welcomed by an influential minority high church party in Ireland. As Newman testified in his *Apologia*, the Irish church influenced the Oxford Movement. Anglo-Irish high churchmanship represented a two-way link. While the role of

¹⁸⁴ SCC, Founders MSS, iv, no. 141, Todd to Adare, 15 Mar. 1842; *ibid.*, no. 158, Todd to Adare, 16 Apr. 1842. ¹⁸⁵ SCC, Founders MSS, v, no. 32, Monsell to Sewell, Nov. 1840.

¹⁸⁶ TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 142, Todd to Elrington, Easter Monday 1844.

¹⁸⁷ PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/22, Todd to Pusey, [5 Oct.] 1843.

¹⁸⁸ LPL, Wordsworth papers, MS 2143, fos. 139–41, W. Palmer to C. Wordsworth (senior), 22 Apr. 1845.

¹⁸⁹ P. Butler, *Gladstone: church, state and Tractarianism: a study of his religious ideas and attitudes, 1809–1859* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 93–123. Todd deplored Gladstone’s altered line. TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 142, Todd to Elrington, Easter Monday 1844.

¹⁹⁰ West Sussex County Record Office, MS 96, no. 50, Manning to S. Wilberforce, 28 Apr. 1845.

¹⁹¹ TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 146, Todd to Elrington, 24 July 1844.

Irish-born Anglican Evangelical clergy in England such as Hugh McNeile has been recognized, the influence of Irish-born high churchmen such as Crosthwaite, Palmer of Worcester, and the younger John Jebb has been overlooked. Concern for the Church of Ireland and her Protestant missions to Roman Catholics was not restricted to English Evangelicals, but for a time was shared by English high churchmen.¹⁹²

The Hibernian–Oxonian axis which formed the backbone of the Oxford Movement's origins in 1833 only gradually waned as Tractarianism came to diverge from an older high churchmanship. Irish high churchmen lamented that the excesses of the Movement played into the hands of their low church opponents; Tractarian defiance of Anglican episcopal authority set a poor example of obedience to a low church party in Ireland that had begun to show a greater respect for ministerial order. Irish Anglican Evangelicals such as the learned Thomas O'Brien, bishop of Ossory, and Robert Daly, bishop of Cashel, orchestrated the backlash against Tractarianism;¹⁹³ the Irish high church party was damaged because its links with the early phase of the Movement had been close. The result, Todd lamented with some exaggeration in 1843, was that 'Calvinistic or Puritanical views are everywhere triumphant'.¹⁹⁴

In order to justify its privileged existence, the Church of Ireland needed to be as intolerantly Protestant as possible. After its initial promise of support, Tractarianism increasingly undermined the Irish establishment's *raison d'être*. Puseyism posed a threat to the political as well as theological identity of Irish Anglicanism, and even high church bishops could not afford to be tolerant.¹⁹⁵ The 'Romanizing' course of the advanced wing of the Oxford Movement ensured that high churchmen in Ireland would remain a minority party; too Protestant for the advanced Tractarian and 'Romanizer', too 'popish' for the Anglican Evangelical, and too narrow, rigid, and conservative for the

¹⁹² See L. H. Lees, *Exiles of Erin* (Manchester, 1979). On Hugh McNeile, an Ulsterman and graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, see J. A. Wardle, 'The life and times of the Rev. Dr Hugh McNeile, DD, 1795–1875' (M.A. diss., Manchester, 1981).

¹⁹³ James Thomas O'Brien, bishop of Ossory, never forgot Newman's disparaging reference (in Newman's *Lectures on Justification* in 1838) to his treatise on Justification (1833), and thereafter pursued him 'with the steadiness of instinct, and with the spring of a "cuddled resentment"', from his first [episcopal] charge in 1842 to his last in 1866'. W. G. Carroll, *A memoir of the Rt. Rev. James Thomas O'Brien, D.D. (late lord bishop of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin)* (Dublin, 1875), p. 15. Bishop O'Brien, however, stood out among Irish Anglican Evangelicals for his learning. On his elevation to the see of Ossory in 1842, Todd commended him as 'a very clever and excellent man', but warned that he would be 'a most bitter enemy to us'. SCC, Founders MSS, iv, no. 22, Todd to Adare, 9 Feb. 1842. While condemning the 1843 episcopal charge of Bishop Daly of Cashel as 'weak and puerile', Gladstone 'spoke in high praise of the bishop of Ossory's Charge'. TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 142, Todd to Elrington, Easter Monday 1844.

¹⁹⁴ PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/22, Todd to Pusey, [5 Oct.] 1843.

¹⁹⁵ Ker ('Puseyite threat in Ulster', p. 352), exaggerates the 'tolerance' of certain Church of Ireland bishops towards Tractarianism, a tolerance which he relates to their English background and lack of 'sensitivity'. The explanation does not hold up. According to Todd in 1843: 'our difficulty is this, that our bishops for the most part are against us and those which are for us (as Down, Meath, Armagh etc.) are afraid'. PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/19, Todd to Pusey, 1 May 1843. In another letter, Todd maintained: 'our bishops are all either lukewarm or violently opposed'. PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/22, Todd to Pusey, [5 Oct.] 1843.

latitudinarian. As a party, Irish high churchmen were as hostile to the Presbyterians of Ulster as to Roman Catholics;¹⁹⁶ their room for manoeuvre was limited. Bishop Mant's efforts to enforce rubrics and the principles of church architecture may have provoked an Irish Anglican Evangelical outcry,¹⁹⁷ but the English-born high church Mant was no less intolerant of Tractarianism than were his Irish Anglican Evangelical brethren on the bench; he merely defined what constituted 'Tractarianism' more narrowly than they did. Against Roman Catholics, Mant was as implacable in hostility as Robert Daly, and zealous in warning the laity of his diocese to 'touch not the unclean thing'.¹⁹⁸ Protestant intolerance also prompted George Miller, a moderate high churchman and critic of Evangelical irregularity, to threaten legal proceedings against any 'Puseyite' clergy in the diocese of Armagh who taught 'that there is in the celebration of the Lord's Supper any properly sacrificial act whatsoever'.¹⁹⁹ Yet Irish Anglican Evangelicals remained unappeased. Symptomatic of the waning influence of Irish high churchmanship was the closure of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* in 1850, owing to declining readership. In spite of its increasingly anti-Tractarian animus, the periodical had suffered from being branded as 'the mouthpiece and support of the Tractarian party in Ireland', and Irish Anglican Evangelicals exulted over its demise.²⁰⁰ Irish Anglican Evangelical triumphalism also revealed itself in the depiction of eleven clergymen from the diocese of Limerick who in 1851 signed a declaration in favour of Bishop Phillipott's view of baptismal regeneration and against the Gorham Judgement, as popish malcontents.²⁰¹

High churchmen were never able to 'capture' the Church of Ireland in the way in which they dominated the Scottish episcopal church. Irish disestablishment highlighted the contrast. Richard Chevenix Trench (1807–86), the high church Protestant archbishop of Dublin from 1863, poet and one-time ally of the Tractarians who had attended the Hadleigh conference which launched the Oxford Movement in July 1833, feared that disestablishment could carry the danger that 'the Church of Ireland might turn out after all to be no Church but only a Protestant sect'.²⁰² For an independent, national Church of Ireland meant a recovery not of the short-lived and English-based Laudian phase of her history, but of her own Calvinist roots and the autonomous doctrinal heritage of the *Irish articles* of 1615; the church of Ussher, not Bramhall. The Irish church's Protestant purge of the book of common prayer and Protestant revision of her canons, in the early 1870s, in the wake of

¹⁹⁶ In 1842–3, the high churchman Charles Boyton was engaged in bitter theological controversy with the Presbyterians of Ulster. TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 131, Todd to unknown correspondent, 17 Jan. 1843.

¹⁹⁷ *Ecclesiologism being the letters of 'Clericus Comorensis', as originally published in the 'Belfast Chronicle'* (Belfast, 1843); Ker, 'Puseyite threat in Ulster', pp. 350–1.

¹⁹⁸ W. B. Mant, *Memoir of the Rt. Rev. Richard Mant*, pp. 394–6.

¹⁹⁹ LPL, Golightly papers, MS 1808, fo. 138, Miller to Golightly, 20 Oct. 1845.

²⁰⁰ *Christian Examiner*, 5th ser., 1 (Oct. 1850), p. 337.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 5th ser., 1 (Oct. 1850), p. 295.

²⁰² R. C. Trench, *Letters and memorials* (2 vols., London, 1888), II, p. 130.

disestablishment, sealed the triumph of the low church party. As if foreseeing this unwelcome development and aware of their church's increasingly minority status, Irish high churchmen had become less ready to defend the Irish church in terms of a distinctive national identity. It had once been in the interest of Irish high churchmen to emphasize their church's separate identity when keeping unwelcome developments in the English branch at bay. Thus, Irish high churchmen had taken comfort in 1850 with the suggestion that their church was not legally affected by the Gorham Judgement.²⁰³ By the 1860s, however, in spite of growing English indifference to the fate of the Irish establishment, Irish high church rhetoric began to reassert the inseparable unity of the two branches of the established church.²⁰⁴ Yet, as an English high church barrister pointed out, there had never been any real ecclesiastical union of the two branches, and no 'recognised organ of the churches was ever consulted on the matter';²⁰⁵ the idea of a 'United Church of England and Ireland' was essentially an act of parliament uncanonical notion. Irish high churchmen were forced back on to a variant of the old 'garrison' argument for the Church of Ireland, which entailed an unfortunate emphasis on the 'Englishness' of the Church of Ireland clergy and laity, and which made the establishment more vulnerable to Roman Catholic criticism.²⁰⁶

The 1820s and the period 1849–54 witnessed limited Protestant missionary gains in Dingle, Connaught, Achill Island, and elsewhere, but the proselytizing excesses of Irish Anglican Evangelicals, appearing to exploit the Great Famine of 1846, provoked charges of 'souperism' and inspired an Irish Roman Catholic backlash led by Cardinal Cullen.²⁰⁷ The character of some of the converts made by the Irish Society were regarded as suspect,²⁰⁸ and the high church founders of St Columba's gradually played down the missionary dimension, itself never prominent,²⁰⁹ of their original plan. British governments, notably Melbourne's whig administration, discouraged proselytizing campaigns as disturbing the social and political order. However, the lack of any

²⁰³ *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, 11 (Apr. 1850), p. 51.

²⁰⁴ See, for example, [S. Armstrong], *A letter to the Rt. Hon. Lord Dufferin and Clondeboye on the subject of the Irish branch of the united church. By a clergyman* (London, 1868), p. 14; T. Woodward, *The Irish convocation: should it be revived?* (Dublin, 1861), p. 34.

²⁰⁵ *The Irish church establishment. The speech of J. D. Coleridge, Q.C. delivered in the House of Commons, April 3rd, 1868* (London [1868]), pp. 7–8. ²⁰⁶ Bowen, *Protestant crusade in Ireland*, p. 299.

²⁰⁷ D. A. Ker, *Peel, priests and politics: Sir Robert Peel's administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1841–1846* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 56–9; D. A. Ker, 'A nation of beggars': *priests, people, and politics in famine Ireland, 1846–1852* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 205–74. See also D. Bowen, *Souperism, myth or reality: a study in Souperism* (Cork, 1970).

²⁰⁸ There were complaints by Irish Society missionaries that some Roman Catholic clerical converts in their custody were consumed by jealousy, craftiness, and a lawless zeal, and showed 'hate of the party they have left, rather than love of that which they have joined'. SCC, Founders MSS, IV, no. 43, O'Brien to Adare, 26 Oct. 1841; *ibid.*, 'Foundation Book', 'Narrative by Lord Adare', pp. 67–71.

²⁰⁹ Lord Adare commented to Gladstone in 1841: 'we have no idea of making the conversion of men in the district anything like a prominent part of the scheme'. BL, Gladstone papers, MS Add 44358, fo. 97, Adare to Gladstone, 1 Sept. 1841.

long-term increase in Irish church members in itself made disestablishment more inevitable, as the value of the Church of Ireland as a political adjunct of the British garrison in Ireland waned.

While the Irish high church tradition was weakened by the excesses of the Oxford Movement in England, it survived. According to Archbishop Whately in 1850, the strength of what he called the ‘Tractite’ party in Ireland, ‘was not inconsiderable’;²¹⁰ its continued influence was reflected in the restoration of St Columba’s College to official favour and prosperity in the 1850s and 1860s.²¹¹ The Irish high church tradition was also boosted by the foundation in 1866 of the Irish Church Society. The narrow plank occupied by Irish high churchmen, in self-conscious isolation from the rival religious systems of Irish Roman Catholicism and Evangelical Protestantism, was implicit in the Society’s inaugural statement, wherein its founders stated their desire

to afford to every earnest churchman increased facilities for the study of the ecclesiastical history of this country, so that making himself thoroughly acquainted with the true principles of his church he may be ready not only to maintain her prerogative, but to combat on right grounds, and to refute successfully the arguments of her Romish adversaries.²¹²

High churchmanship continued to be represented at the parochial level by such figures as Frederick Wynne, later bishop of Killaloe, and William Maturin, the first rector of All Saints, Grangegorman, Dublin, who has been described as ‘in the direct line of the Laudian and Caroline churchmen’, and as ‘an early Tractarian’ in ‘the school of Knox and of Jebb’.²¹³

The foundation of the Irish Church Society, however, might be interpreted as a sign of weakness rather than of the vitality of Irish high churchmanship; forty years after the high church revival spearheaded by Archbishop Magee, why was it necessary? In truth, Irish high churchmen had been forced on the defensive against a resurgent Roman Catholicism as well as Evangelical Protestantism by mid-century. With the prop of establishment collapsing, the high church basis of Irish Anglican apologetic, as expounded by Magee, Mant, and Cotton, took on a new importance. At this critical juncture in the 1860s, however, Irish high church claims to continuity were undermined by the research of original sources by William Mazière Brady, rector of Kilberry, Co. Meath, a typical Irish Anglican scholar-cleric.

Irish high church self-confidence had already been dented prior to Brady’s challenging scholarship. In the 1840s, the Irish high church assumption of a lineal continuity between an ancient and modern Protestant Irish church had been assailed by the Roman Catholic controversialist, Daniel Rock.²¹⁴

²¹⁰ Oriel College, Hawkins papers, letterbook III, no. 297, Whately to Hawkins, 4 Nov. 1850.

²¹¹ PH, Pusey papers, LBV 128/34, Todd to Pusey, 10 Jan. 1859.

²¹² Representative Body of the Church of Ireland, Irish Church Society papers, ‘Fair minute book’ (statement of W. Maturin and J. H. Todd).

²¹³ G. A. Chamberlain in *Church of Ireland Gazette* (15 Apr. 1933), p. 208.

²¹⁴ *Did the early church in Ireland acknowledge the pope’s supremacy? answered in a letter to Lord John Manners from Daniel Rock, D.D.* (London, 1844).

W. G. Todd's response, *The church of St Patrick* (1844), had restated the old arguments in favour of an independent early Irish church, but was notably more defensive in tone than most Irish high church apologetic; Todd merely claimed that the public should have the 'opportunity of considering what may be said on the other side'.²¹⁵ To his brother J. H. Todd's dismay, W. G. Todd eventually converted to Rome. W. M. Brady took a similar route. In his *Alleged conversion of the Irish bishops to the reformed religion* which went through five editions in two years, Brady questioned the pivotal high church claim, supported by the early Tractarians, that the Irish Protestant bishops were descended from the medieval church. Partly on the basis of his findings, Brady converted to Rome and subsequently exploited the Vatican archives to produce a magisterial exposition of the episcopal succession in the British Isles; an Irish Catholic riposte to Cotton.²¹⁶ Citing admissions made by W. G. Todd as to the monastic and 'ritualist' character of the early Irish church, Brady also questioned the high church assumption of identity between the ancient Irish church and the 'Reformed Anglican church now in Ireland'.²¹⁷ Undaunted, Irish high churchmen continued to insist on the Church of Ireland's exclusive claims to an ancient Celtic lineage²¹⁸ – the name of Columba had been deliberately chosen for the college at Rathfarnham as an assertion of communion with the ancient saints of Ireland – on the supposed 'Eastern origin of the Primitive Irish Church',²¹⁹ and on a patristic scholarship which delighted in uncovering supposedly 'romish forgeries' or 'tamperings' with texts of the writings of the Fathers;²²⁰ the latter, being an *idée fixe* about which even the early Tractarians were sceptical.²²¹ Rome was still portrayed as a 'schismatical sect' in Ireland, and for a few, remained the 'abettor of treason and rebellion'.²²² Even that closest of Irish allies of the Oxford Movement, William Palmer of Worcester,

²¹⁵ W. G. Todd, *Church of St Patrick*, p. vi.

²¹⁶ A. Ford, 'Standing one's ground: religion, polemic and Irish history since the Reformation', in Ford, McGuire, and Milne, eds., *As by law established*, pp. 1–14.

²¹⁷ W. M. Brady, *Essays on the English state church in Ireland* (London, 1869), especially pp. 130–5. Brady (p. 7) insisted that the term 'Irish church' as applied to the Protestant communion in Ireland was a complete misnomer. See also W. M. Brady, *The episcopal succession in England, Scotland & Ireland, 1400 to 1875* (1st edn, reprinted with a new introduction by A. F. Allison, Farnborough, 1971).

²¹⁸ E. A. Stopford, *The unity of the Anglican church and the succession of Irish bishops. An answer to the Rev. William Mazzière Brady D.D.* (Dublin, 1867).

²¹⁹ R. Murray, 'Outlines of the history of the Catholic church in Ireland', TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 120; J. H. Todd, *St Patrick apostle of Ireland: a memoir of his life and mission* (Dublin, 1864).

²²⁰ R. Gibbings, *Roman forgeries and falsifications; or, an examination of counterfeit and corrupted records, with especial reference to popery* (Dublin, 1842).

²²¹ Newman commented to Todd in 1838: 'Some friends of mine are sceptical on the point, i.e. that Romanists have done no more (which is enough in all conscience) than the Tract Society does with [Joseph] Milner's works etc. etc.' TCD, Todd papers, MS 2214, no. 64, Newman to Todd, 19 Mar. 1838.

²²² J. Jebb (junior), *Six letters on points connected with the present state of the church, with a postscript* (London, 1851), letter 1, p. 4; R. Gibbings, *An introductory lecture on ecclesiastical history, delivered in Michaelmas term, 1863* (Dublin, 1863), p. 29.

appeared to support the Protestant mission of proselytizing in Connaught in 1851.²²³

The model of ‘reverence for Catholic antiquity with cordial attachment to the Reformed church’ – the model expounded by Bishop Jebb and Alexander Knox and which the early Tractarians had propagated – remained, but was expounded largely in the anti-Roman Catholic spirit of Archbishop Magee and Bishop Mant rather than with the eirenic overtones associated with Alexander Knox and Bishop Jebb. The unsettling experience of the Oxford Movement for Irish high churchmen had confirmed rather than softened an inherited bugbear image of Irish Roman Catholicism, and had left them destined to remain a minority within a minority.

The misgivings of Archbishop Trench, the one-time Cambridge Tractarian collaborator, were to be proved justified. The final release from state control in 1869 did not bring the triumph of high church or ‘Catholic’ principles within the Church of Ireland, on the Tractarian model as the rhetoric of 1833 might have predicted. On the contrary, by a supreme irony, the Oxford Movement which had been born in defence of the Church of Ireland, seemed ultimately, in defiance of its original intention, to have shown her up after all ‘to be no Church but only a Protestant sect’.

²²³ *A memoir of the Very Rev. Richard Butler, dean of Cloacmacnois, and vicar of Trim. By his widow* (1863) [not published], p. 158.