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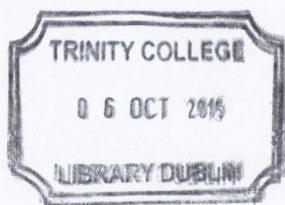
Confederal School of Religions, Peace Studies and Theology

*James Henthorn Todd, a Tractarian at Trinity:
Making Ireland in the Mid-Nineteenth-
Century*

by

Patricia (McKee) Hanna

**This dissertation has been submitted for
the degree of Doctor in Philosophy
University of Dublin
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Director: Dr. Andrew Pierce**



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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

In the following chapters I have created a biographical portrait of Todd as a Tractarian at Trinity College, Dublin and studied the variety and range of his texts which contributed to making Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century.

In the first instance I have taken note of the argument that the Church of Ireland was little more than a 'sect' by the end of 1869, the year of Todd's death. Analysis of eighteenth century political ideology, as preached in sermons, contributes to this view of 'sect'-like thinking connected to the defence of the state and the mission to convert the native population to a minority church. I have taken up the idea that the introduction of a national system of education in 1831, at primary level, followed by his experience of founding a new Irish secondary school with friends, called St. Columba's, and finally his contribution to the 1853 Government Report on Trinity, all generated a balanced and modest contribution to change, as seen in his texts and letters. I have followed this with the idea that Todd contributed to generating a nationally acceptable level of religious discourse on the subject of the interpretation of biblical prophecy, through two Donnellan lecture series at Trinity, in 1838 and 1841. Finally, in his published manuscript sources of Irish history, I argue that he contributed to the need to formulate an accurate national historical narrative. He used his post as assistant Librarian and the Librarian at Trinity to catalogue and publish manuscript sources which had never before appeared in print. Despite the odds then, and instead of settling for a 'sect'-like legacy, I see Todd as someone who, strove to find the 'eirenicon', if possible, in difficult times. He helped to open up the new media of communication which an Enlightenment legacy brought to Ireland and grasped the idea of a post-Reformation Enlightenment Bible. While a Tractarian at Trinity, from 1833 to 1869, and influenced by Newman, Pusey, Rose, and Maitland, he made a valuable contribution to the making of Ireland.

James Henthorn Todd was born on 23rd April, 1805 in Dublin, the eldest of fifteen children. He was sent to Aldeborough School, inspired by the educational practices of Gregor von Fenangle. There he learnt the ancient and modern languages and sciences of the day. He entered Trinity College, Dublin in 1822 and graduated with an honours Bachelor of Arts degree in 1825, having taken the Gold Medal Course in Science. He spent several years as a grinder, or giver of grinds and private tuition, as his father died in 1836, leaving the family dependent on him. In 1831 he obtained a fellowship in Trinity, when Bartholomew Lloyd became Provost, he encouraged him in his efforts to begin writing up the first printed history of Trinity College, Dublin. He was made assistant librarian in 1837, and also Dean of Residence or College Chaplain. In 1833 he became a member of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin.

Elected to the chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, Todd was made treasurer in 1837 but could not take emoluments due to the enactment of legislation abolishing the ten Irish Sees. He was elected a Regius Professor of Hebrew in Trinity in 1849 and appointed a Senior Fellow. He contributed to the first survey of Trinity for the Government in 1853 and gave a valuable record of the reforms he had encouraged at the Divinity School. He founded the Irish Archaeological Society in 1840 and it became the joint Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society in 1853. He became Secretary to the Royal Irish Academy from 1847 to 1855 and was elected President in 1856. He served for six years, contributing to the papers and proceedings of the Society from 1836 onwards. He was part of the Irish Intellectual revival, and credited in the national dictionaries of biography with contributing greatly to the study of Irish history, manuscripts, archaeology and literature and the development of Celtic Studies. In 1836 he and a group of friends decided to found a new public school for boys with an Irish based curriculum and affirming the Church of Ireland worship and ethos. A strong churchman he was said to have been only one of two Tractarians in Ireland would take the *Tracts for the Times*, the other being his friend Dr. Charles Elrington. He died on 28th June, 1869, at the family home in Silveracre, Rathfarnham, county Dublin in 1869. He was buried in the small graveyard beside St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, following a large funeral, his grave marked by a simple celtic cross.

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Major Works of James Henthorn Todd

Todd began publishing books in 1833 with the first published history of Trinity printed as a Historical Preface to the first College Calendar and list of Graduates. He traced the history using manuscript sources from the College Library and began his history by highlighting the early and medieval schools of learning associated with the Irish church.

In 1836, he published a criticism of existing government efforts to establish a national system of primary education, which ran into several editions and argued that what was needed was a system which took into account the needs of children and a religious education programmer based on a joint (but future) translation of the Bible. He had in mind a new translation which would merge the Jerome, (Wycliffe), and King James translations and did not wish to rely on lesser polemic editions. In this he was seeking to read a post-Reformation, Enlightenment Bible.

Todd was reprimanded by Lord John Russell MP and branded an anti-government critic on the matter of education. From 1838 to 1846 he delivered and published two major Donnellan lecture series on the subject of the interpretation of biblical Prophecy. He accompanied the two works on prophecy with the publication of original Wycliffe manuscripts from the Library in Trinity and work on the Waldensians, a breakaway catholic and reformed group he was very interested in defending. The main argument of the Donnellan lectures was to point out the error of the protestant papal Antichrist tradition.

In 1844 he began publishing for the Irish Archaeological Society, and compiled two volumes of hymns, the *Leabhar Imuinn*, collating hymns and lives of the Irish saints, which appeared in three instalments. He planned to publish a fourth before his death, but the third was published posthumously. These proved to be a help in preparing for one of his major publications, the life of *Saint Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, published in 1864.

He then edited the colourful and poetic account of the Battle of Clontarf, circa 1014, as found in a manuscript source called the *Cogadh Gaehdel re Gallaibh* and traced some of the earlier source manuscripts associated with it, like the Brussels MSS and the fragments in the Book of Leinster. The *Cogadh* was published in 1867 along with a work on the Waldensian manuscripts. Finally he published an illuminated page from the *Book of Kells*, with a short commentary, using a fascimile copy made by Margaret Stokes.

TODD'S MILIEU:

Todd lived during a period of slow reform and rapid change in Ireland as the old Irish parliament in Dublin was replaced by the Act of Union in 1801 and a representative parliament was established in Westminster, to govern Ireland on the basis of granting Catholic emancipation. The reign of terror following the French Revolution of 1789 had led to both the Irish Rebellion of 1798 and a reassessment of the value of revolution in favour of reaction and reform. A religious and enlightenment legacy lived on beyond the French revolution in various ways, not least in revivals of devotional life in Ireland and the British Isles among various segments of the population, from those led by millennial speculations about the end of the world, to the religious devotion of the laity in the Roman Catholic church and the evangelical and high church revivals in the Anglican Churches in Great Britain. Religion, however, in the nineteenth-century, became increasingly tied up with national identity and the eventual search for the nation state of Ireland in 1916 and 1922. The long nineteenth-century also saw several crises of faith of one kind or another, often by a perceived challenge from the field of empirical research, such as dating and chronology, or early scientific positivism. The challenge at the time, as Todd recognised it, was how an ordained clergyman and intellectual in the Church of Ireland could increasingly find points of reference between religion and the new sciences based on a joint upholding of empiricism, while at the same time promoting religious faith and devotion, without increasing sectarian tensions or aiding secularization. Todd held to the ideal of a harmonious national religious life, with a revived national church, and of course he favoured the Church of Ireland for the task. Given the legacy they had inherited regarding sectarianism, this was a challenge.

The nineteenth-century in Ireland had begun with the false promise of parliamentary reform for Roman Catholics, not achieved for twenty-eight years until the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1828, and the lessening of the Tithes or Church taxes for the Established church, which were abated in the 1830s. This in turn brought about the final end of the Penal laws in Ireland and paved the way for democratic changes in all aspects of national life. Enlightened reform marked Todd's *milieu* from the 1830s and brought all manner of challenges, especially for a university established by law as an Anglican university in 1592.

The changes in law in Ireland in the 1830s highlighted existing insufficient arrangements for university, primary and secondary education, run along denominational lines. The Kildare Place Society had already attempted to go beyond denominational enrolment for the very young, but it was held up by questions of representation and the need for a joint curriculum, as Todd recognised. Confrontation of the various aspects of the educational system in Ireland was a prophetic exercise.

The initial government plan to carry out 1832/3 the contentious Westminster Reform Act in Ireland by the introduction of non-denominational national school education carried much alarm for all church leaders in the British Isles, regardless of denomination and they generally and consistently opposed it, forcing the fall of the Peel government over the question, while at the same time many churchmen, including Todd, acknowledged that the situation regarding the quality of education at all levels had to improve. Todd resisted educational reform by politicians as he thought the Westminster government in precarious balance between Whig and Tory was too blunt an instrument to ultimately reform education in Ireland. In this he was a true Tractarian and in his letters to politicians like Peel and Gladstone he lobbied them about the state of educational reform in Ireland, arguing that it needed to be worked out in a more informed fashion while offering him some specific solutions based on information at ground level. He was therefore an Irish non-juror, that is to say he did not serve any King or parliament to any excessive degree if it went contrary to his conscience. The term Tractarian was introduced by Charles Benson in 1839 to describe anyone who read and followed with interest the *Tracts for the Times*, published from 1833 onwards as short pamphlets on the state of the country written from the University of Oxford by a group of university clergymen. Todd was at home with such a group of public-spirited dons like himself who were immersed in becoming a voice of resistance, at time when clergy were becoming more professionalized into a middle-class group of intellectuals, who formed a sort of professional 'clerisy'. He became known in the Dublin milieu, together with those who formed learned societies, who all worked together as a sort of clerisy. They included native scholars of great achievement like John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry who worked with Todd on the Irish manuscripts and it is the view of some theorists of the nineteenth-century that the native tradition was stifled and taken over during this century, a view contested in many ways by current biographers. The Dublin clerisy included men like Samuel Ferguson, lawyer and poet, who banded together with others to found the *Dublin University*

Magazine (DUM) first published in Edinburgh, and likened to the Edinburgh Blackwood's magazine. The print medium of the magazine and journal became a way of rounding up the different voices and reactions of the day and Todd founded his own Irish Tractarian journal at the time, in 1840. By the late 1840s things had begun to change, and from the time of the appointment of Paul Cullen as Archbishop of Dublin, the Roman Catholic Church became more ultramontanist in response to perceived dangers of science and liberalism. Newman took against liberalism and left the Church of England in 1845. These shakings of the foundations affected the churches in different ways, and brought about the parting of friends, as Newman put it before the second spring of Catholicism in England, at places like St. Marys' College, Oscott for the training of Catholic ordinands. The idea of a university began to grow larger, and university life became a way of asking and answering all kinds of questions, like how science and religion should meet and on what terms. The Broad Church movement flourished, led by essays from Cambridge and in Dublin by men like Whately, who was a friend of sorts with Todd by 1848. The term "scientist" was first coined in 1835, for those who studied natural philosophy, as it expanded to become the natural sciences. An important link which influenced Todd, but which is often forgotten, is the presence of a positive enlightenment tradition which drove forward many forms of broad 'scientific' research and helped forge a common ground among intellectuals in Europe and Ireland, not least in terms of the manuscript sources for biblical scholarship. Ireland was different from some other continental European countries in that, as a type of colony, economic progress became increasingly dependent on English economic interests and English protectionism, a point Swift had grasped in the eighteenth-century. Todd knew Swift's writings well and he too argued against an overall over-reliance on England, as part of his Tractarian principles. The country would export food again while the poor at home starved in the era of reform. Those dependent on the potato crop were hardest hit from 1835 onwards with the Great Famine lasting from 1845 to 1852. The estimated decline of the population is still circa three million, and everything changed from that point onwards. Todd became increasingly aware of how fragile the recall of the Irish past was and heavily involved himself in the production of Irish history, as a voice who attempted to reconcile the divided historical past with a re-formed Ireland. In addition to famine, in Todd's *milieu* the country was swept by fatal outbreaks of disease, which sometimes led his own family to be alarmed. An epidemic of Asiatic cholera nearly

killed Todd's mother and brother in 1831, and he lost his close friend and colleague, the Rev. Alexander McLean in 1837 to a form of cholera exacerbated by work.

In 1869, the year Todd died, the Church of Ireland became disestablished and moved further away from defending the English state. Todd realized that the loss of ten Irish bishoprics in 1833 and the tithe reforms had paved the way for further government reform, some of which was against the interests of the Established Church. He set out, in his various writings, to form cogent argument around the difficult praxis of reform, especially in relation to education, from 1830 onwards.

Todd's writings must be examined again today for what they show us about considered reform arising out of both necessity and rigorous internal and external review and examination. So too must his writings on the combined agenda for the integration of hermeneutical developments in reading the Bible, especially in relation to the exegesis of prophecy, which he saw as a means of achieving political stability in Ireland. Overall his writings reveal the reaction of a religious intellectual in Ireland both against his *milieu* and for it. He placed his writings in the public square in opposition to tendencies which would completely polarize debate into violently opposed belief systems, backed by a political ideology which divided society only into Protestant and Roman Catholic, planter and Gael. He discovered that enlightened study of the shared heritage of the Christian past could contribute to political stability in mid nineteenth-century Ireland. After his death, as the clergy and people of Ireland continued to go their separate ways, the great polity of shared cultural nationalism and religious peace based on learning and scholarship, which he had advocated in various ways, became a more or less a shattered dream.

A critical biography of him in his *milieu* is therefore all the more important. The existing assessments of him in his *milieu* are inadequate as they do not sufficiently contextualize his contributions and integrate his theological learning with the praxis of stability, reform and high church, catholic religious practice. A significant portion of the assessments of him run along traditional nationalistic lines, post 1916, and convey a superficial awareness of the highly nuanced debates of the Oxford Movement and the high church Tractarians in Ireland, of which he can be considered to be the most articulate. Indeed, contrasting views of Todd run throughout the critical assessments of him to date and make a strong case for a fresh reassessment of him in the present day.

INTRODUCTION

In chapter one I examine the way in which Todd, as a Tractarian, developed his written ideas on education in Ireland at primary, secondary and university level, together with his views on vocational training for the priesthood. I place these in the context of his interest in reform, at a time when the threats to the Irish Established church were increasing, such as the tithe war of 1831-1838, the Irish Church Temporalities Act of 1833, the Repeal Movement led by Daniel O'Connell and the 'devotional revolution' in the Irish Catholic Church. A significant 'second spring' following the re-introduction of the Catholic episcopate to England led to a rise in the popularity of expressions of papal infallibility which prompted Todd to write an educational pamphlet against the interpretation of it as a historical doctrine of the early church. He was supported in Dublin by Archbishop Whately, aligning Todd more with the broad church for a time, and he may have been influenced in his educational thinking by Thomas Arnold and Rugby, when setting up St. Columba's public school in 1841. The chapter is based therefore on a representative selection of educational texts in different forms and mediums, including his false Papal letter which contains much educational material, all of which Todd wrote in the context of current debates on the subject of education. The debate about Trinity and the admission of Catholic teaching staff reached the Westminster parliament through Sir Thomas Wyse in 1844, and Todd's response is included in the chapter.

In chapter two I examine how Todd dealt with the problems posed by prophetic biblical exegesis in Ireland, around an important question of interpretation which caused sectarian tension, namely, the figure of the papal Antichrist, based on the books of Daniel and Revelation. I show how he traced the rise of this interpretation, supposedly from twelfth century Waldensians, and examine how he used a rational, critical approach to the biblical texts and source

documents. I set Todd's belief in the rational interpretation of scripture in relation to the rational nature of the Enlightenment, Christian Deism and a religious enlightenment legacy. The chapter highlights his two major Donnellan lecture series on prophecy and his work on the Waldensians.

In chapter three I examine Todd's editorial work on the sources of Irish history, that is the manuscript sources from the early, middle and later medieval Irish period, which, through centuries of copying and editing, were finally lodged in university libraries by wealthy patrons. He took these manuscripts from their relative obscurity in the library and edited them as source texts in translation for the writing of national history. I examine his critical editions of three major source texts in the wake of the early Oxford Movement, when interest in the early liturgy of the Church increased, and which Tractarian churchmen like Todd in Ireland took up in relation to their own 'national' church. Todd's two volumes on the lives of the Irish saints are examined and linked to his critical biography of the life of Saint Patrick and his edition of a battle text which combined family genealogies, a vivid and poetic description of invasion of Ireland by the Danes and Norsemen, and a complex set of more highly rated and reliable source texts which involved him in research in a number of different libraries in mainland Europe, especially at the Royal Library in Brussels and at the Franciscan library of St. Isidore's in Rome.

Beginning with the first theme, churchmanship in the Church of Ireland, it can be divided into the time of the early church in Ireland, time from c.1700 to 1833, the religious vitality from 1833 to 1845 as generated by the Oxford Movement, and the development of liturgical renewal which followed from 1845. In terms of Oxford Movement historiography, the term 'Tractarian' was first coined in 1839 and simply described someone who was interested in reading the Oxford University *Tracts for the Times*. In Ireland, different phases of the Oxford Movement came and went, drawing from the influence old Irish high churchmen and Caroline divines. The years of debate between Todd and Newman, the reform of the liturgy and the cathedral chapters, educational improvements and other benefits like the reform of the Divinity School in Trinity, all occurred during the lifetime of Todd, so he is very much part of the historiographical journey of the churchmanship of the Movement and he goes beyond it at times in terms of the

development of a modest broad church movement in Ireland.

In relation to Todd's churchmanship and the initial construct of the Church of Ireland as a low, Puritan church, one failure which has united historians from 1536 onwards is the way in which the 'state religion' never managed to attract the native population, or as James Murray noted, 'the state was ultimately unsuccessful in securing the allegiance of the indigenous population to its religious dictates', and this applied from the time of the Elizabethan church and Tudors right up to the early nineteenth-century 'second reformation' movement.¹ Nora F. O'Callaghan has noted that

the theme of 'church and state' dominates modern ecclesiastical historiography: it is set against a background of sectarian dispute, perhaps inevitably, as the political position of the established church was challenged, by the new industrial wealth of the north-east that brought dissenters into the 'political nation' and by the slowly-rising tide of democracy that brought in the catholic masses, leading with a certain inevitability to the Irish Church Act of 1869.²

Robert Eccleshall has written a seminal account of Anglican political thought, as expressed in political sermons, in Ireland after 1688. He explored the 'colonial elite' and their 'unfinished mission of civilizing the native poor by anglicizing them, through the constitutional theories fabricated in the century after the Glorious Revolution', and he turned to the sermons delivered on 'political holy days' for proof of widespread belief in the mission of the Established Church of Ireland. Whether this is truly reflective of the laity remains an open question.³ However, the context of these sermons is, he reminded us, a state church, 'miserably endowed', and covering only a tenth of the population, and 'more akin

1. Richard Murray, 'The Church of Ireland: a critical biography, 1536-1603' Part I: 153-1603, *Irish Historical Studies* vol. xxvii, no. 112, (November, 1993) pp. 345-352, p. 345.

² Nora F. O'Callaghan, 'The Growth of Sectarianism in Ireland in the late Eighteenth Century' p. 165 as quoted in 'Irish Ecclesiastical History Since 1500, by Mgr. Patrick J. Corish, Maynooth, pp. 154-172 in Joseph Lee (ed.) *Irish Historiography 1970-79* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1981).

³ Robert Eccleshall, Ch. 2 'Anglican political thought in the century after the Revolution of 1688', in D. G. Boyce, R. Eccleshall and V. Geoghegan (eds.) *Political Thought in Ireland in the since the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1993) pp. 36-72, p.36

to a privileged sect than a national church'.⁴ It had a 'siege mentality' fostered by the 1641 rebellion, occupation from 1689 to 1690 by the forces of James II, and is scarred from fear of 'Jacobite invasion, Catholic sedition' and 'Presbyterian fractiousness', all of which reminded the small Anglican population of its vulnerability and sense of being a 'precarious minority.'⁵ This theme lingers in the nineteenth-century and Nockles has pointed out that one of the definitions of an Irish high churchman, or a 'distinguishing mark'; was the way in which they had 'a tendency to regard Protestant Dissent in terms of heresy and schism rather than mere denominational difference.'⁶ Nockles has given an important survey of the historiography of the Oxford Movement, both from the point of view of continuity with the old eighteenth-century church and with types of high churchmanship, including the Irish kind, which as Bowen noted also noted, was somewhat more low church, even at its highest, than in England. This made the famous English Oxford Movement leader at the time, John Henry Newman, suspicious of Irish Tractarians like Todd, and this is further examined in chapter two. Nockles has also contributed to a review of writings on the Oxford Movement in the twentieth-century, especially around its centenary in 1933.⁷

⁴ Ibid., p. 37

⁵ Ibid., p. 37

⁶ Ibid., p 37

7. Peter Benedict Nockles, 'Church or Protestant Sect? : The Church of Ireland, High Churchmanship, and the Oxford Movement, 1822-1869' *Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), pp. 457-493, Nockles examined the continuities and discontinuities between the old High Churchmen, the Tractarians and the Oxford Movement in *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857*, (1994) and prepared the way for this in other articles and papers, 'The Oxford Movement: Historical Background, 1780-1833' (1986) and 'Church parties in the Pre-Tractarian Church of England, 1750 - 1833' (1993). These and his later work, 'A Disputed Legacy: Anglican Historiographies of the Reformation from the Era of the Caroline Divines to that of the Oxford Movement' (2001) and 'Survivals or New Arrivals? The Oxford Movement and the Nineteenth-Century Historical Construction of Anglicanism' (2003) and 'The Oxford Movement in an Oxford College: Oriel as the cradle of Tractarianism' in S. J. Brown and P. B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement: Europe and the Wider World, 1830-1930* (Cambridge: University Press, 2012) pp. 11-33 all add up to an outstanding contribution to the interpretation of the development of the Oxford Movement from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century. In Nockles' Introduction to a 2001 re-print edition of what he calls a *tour de force* on the Oxford Movement by Christopher Dawson (1889-1970), first published in 1933 as *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement*, he places Dawson within what I consider to be a valuable historiography of the Oxford Movement. He noted that the early reminiscences by Arthur Perceval, William Palmer, Samuel Francis Wood and William Ward gave first-hand accounts by those who tended to be regarded more as critics and renegades, while Dean Church was scholarly and erudite, but partisan in his *Twelve Years* (1891), now regarded as a literary classic. Henry Parry Liddon gave the full biography of Pusey, in four volumes, (1893-1894) followed by the overall histories of G. Wakeling, S. L. Ollard and C. Kelway.

The idea that the Church of Ireland was a defensive 'sect', belonging to a minority 'state church' recurs in Nockles work and he sees a sect like mentality at work in the way in which Bishop Richard Mant, an English high-church bishop in Ireland who knew Todd, re-constructed the Church of Ireland as an apostolic, national church. This closely followed the apostolic defense of the Church of England, as put forward by the Tractarians, a defense to which Todd subscribed. Yet it is also argued by historians of the same period, that Mant and Todd, as Tractarians, really contextualized the Church of Ireland in a new way, one which opened up possibilities of protest and inclusiveness in a new form.

Christopher Dawson, in 1933, saw as the defining mark of the *spirit* of the Oxford Movement, as a belief in Divine authority. He also saw it as a protest

7. cont. Christopher Dawson (1889-1970) marked the celebrations and the mood of Anglo-Oxford Movement as the source of the Anglo-Catholic revival has never been straightforward, a well-made point regarding Oxford Movement historiography. Dawson saw much of the liturgical revival become normalized and main-stream in the different established churches, by the end of the nineteenth-century a point taken up for further study in S. J. Brown, 'Scotland and the Oxford Movement', in S. J. Brown and P. B. Nockles, (eds.) *The Oxford Movement*, (2012), pp. 56-77. Dawson reacted against the denominational limitations of Anglo-Catholic historiography, and also against Geoffrey Faber's psychological study, *Oxford Apostles: A Character Study of the Oxford Movement* (1933) which he saw as reductionist. Owen Chadwick in his survey, 'The Oxford Movement and its reminiscences' (1983) overlooked Dawson's contribution. Dawson saw the Oxford Movement as standing for the preservation of the spiritual identity of Christianity. It wished to restore a catholic conception of an objective providential order in history as related to the present time, which Dawson saw as the defining mark of the *spirit* of the Oxford Movement, together the idea of belief in Divine authority as a protest against excessive secularization and meddling in church affairs as practised by the modern state. All of the above points are taken from his Introduction to Dawson, noting a valuable contribution to contextualizing via historiography, the Oxford Movement, and all of which followed on from his essay on the Church of Ireland and Todd (1998). The only point of difference I might have with Nockles regarding Todd is that he had many overlapping circles of learning which might not be reflected sufficiently in his remarks on Todd, who was well-connected to different networks of learning and cultures of knowledge within and beyond in the Irish context. 'The Oxford Movement: Historical Background, 1780-1833' was published in 1986 and 'Church parties in the Pre-Tractarian Church of England, 1750 – 1833' in 1993. These and his later work, 'A Disputed Legacy: Anglican Historiographies of the Reformation from the Era of the Caroline Divines to that of the Oxford Movement' in 2001 and 'Survivals or New Arrivals? The Oxford Movement and the Nineteenth-Century Historical Construction of Anglicanism' in 2003 and 'The Oxford Movement in an Oxford College: Oriel as the cradle of Tractarianism' in 2012, mean he has made an outstanding contribution to the interpretation of the development of the Oxford Movement from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century.

against excessive secularization and domination in church affairs as practiced by the modern state. Todd, borrowing from Mant, could have been working along these lines as he sought to re-create an eirenic national church. The nineteenth-century historian Desmond Bowen has used the term 'eirenicon' to refer to a historical event which did not succumb to current sectarian prejudice and he highlighted the positive work carried out within the framework of 'souperism' in his close study of the Great Famine. Bowen found areas of co-operation between Roman Catholic and Church of Ireland clergy who died helping their flocks in the Spring of 'Black '47'. Bowen explained the 'eirenicon' as the tension between finding examples of sectarianism versus contributions to ecumenism in the narrative of national history.⁸

The years of the Great Famine from 1845 to 1852 did however change Ireland and took away much that had been good in the form of toleration and trust between the denominations. It has been one of the most difficult of events to correctly interpret for writers on nineteenth-century Ireland. The Great Famine and the economic imperatives around it did lead to a devaluation of the role of the Irish Protestant clergy and people, although this is partly corrected by work from Bowen. Todd, I think, became an ambivalent figure in the light of post-famine Ireland. He was part of a church which initiated the Penal Laws, collected tithes from non-members, sought religious conversions, and was linked to the colonial parliament at Westminster by the Act of Union of 1801. There was, in Ireland, a deeply traumatic silence in the aftermath of the famine years, and, until the early twentieth-century, it was a taboo subject. Recent short economic history studies have definitively shown how Ireland's economy in the nineteenth-century was influenced by British and Imperial protectionism, especially during the years

⁸ Desmond Bowen, *Souperism: Myth or Reality? A Study of Catholics and protestants during the Great Famine* (Cork: Mercier Press, 1970) p.7

preceding the Great Famine. This insight was foretold by Edmund Burke in 1795, in *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity* when he wrote, 'Of all things, an indiscreet tampering with the trade of provisions is the most dangerous, and it is always worst when men are most disposed to it....' (9)

An essay by Denis O'Hearn, 'Ireland in the Atlantic Economy' in a collection of essays edited by Terence McDonough called *Was Ireland a Colony?* with an afterward by Terry Eagleton, contains new insights by O'Hearn into the economic constraints at work in Ireland the nineteenth-century in relation to the Great famine, the global economy and empire building.¹⁰ O'Hearn analysed the cotton and linen industry between 1780 and 1830 in Ireland, arguing that Irish cotton was deliberately made peripheral, due to the need to find a permanent dominant market for English cotton. He noted that Ireland entered a transition period in the early and mid-nineteenth century, as England moved to a free trade imperial, non-protectionist economic model, with devastating consequences for Ireland. This economic transition had a serious impact on the timing, duration and outcome of the Great Famine, stated Christine Kinealy in her essay, 'The Evidence of the Great Famine'.¹¹ She stresses the importance of Dublin Castle and the power and control of the Chief Secretary of Ireland over matters great and small throughout the nineteenth-century. (This a point to be borne in mind when considering Todd's outspoken views on education: it explains why we find Todd writing letters to Gladstone and many more to the Chief Secretary of Ireland at Dublin Castle, about matters much more trivial and to do with his reduced economic position as Cathedral treasurer or prebendary at St. Patrick's in Dublin.) The English government treasury left matters loosely in the control of the Castle, especially with regard to the fate of the money saved by the abolition of a number of Irish Sees or dioceses, in the Irish Church Temporalities Act of 1833; even today, there may not be a clear record of how that money was re-distributed. Todd took up the cause against the government to campaign for

⁹ Quoted in Don Akenson, *An Irish History of Civilization, Volume Two: Half the Globe's our Home and America's Century* (London: Granta Books, 2006) p. 4

¹⁰ Terence McDonough, (ed.) *Was Ireland a Colony? Economics, Politics and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005) pp.3-6 3-26

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48-

clarity of legislative reform as applied to all cathedral chapters in Ireland and demanded that the legislation be amended.

As Kinealy observes, the expected benefits for Ireland from the devolved wealth of the English coffers never materialized, so Todd may have been writing in vain. The expected benefit of access to the vast trading networks of the Empire never materialized for Ireland either in the early and mid-nineteenth century, as many commentators testify. Peter Gray saw Victorian Ireland as having faced a severe subsistence crisis less than fifty years after the much-heralded benefits of the Act of Union. Kinealy makes the same point and quotes Isaac Butt, a friend of Todd's in the College, who said that:

in a country that is called civilized, under the protection of the mightiest monarchy upon earth, and almost within a day's communication of the capital of the greatest and richest empire in the world, thousands of our fellow creatures are each day dying of starvation.¹²

S. J. Connolly, in his *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, for the *Studies in Irish Economic and Social History* series, studied the Church of Ireland, the Roman Catholic Church and the Presbyterians in a comparative way with regard to the effects on their numbers during the Great famine, together with movements of religious revival and changes in spiritual direction and emphasis. He provides the statistical breakdown of the numbers in these three main Irish religious denominations, particularly from 1834 to 1861. In 1834, 80.9 % were Catholic, 10.7% were Church of Ireland and 8.1% were Presbyterians. The Catholic population increased slightly up to 1845 then took its most serious decline, as numbers fell by 30% by 1861, while Church of Ireland and Presbyterians fell by 19%. This left 77.7% Catholic, 12% Church of Ireland and 9% Presbyterian in 1861, while 77,000 belonged to other smaller denominations, like the Baptists and Quakers and a small Jewish population which rose from 400 to 4,000 between 1861 and 1901. Numbers were unevenly distributed across the

¹² Ibid., p.48

country, with the North East having the most Presbyterians and Church of Ireland, while Munster and the west of Ireland were mainly Catholic. Emmet Larkin has proposed a religious revival in the Irish Catholic church in the early nineteenth-century, due to the shortage of clergy prior to the Great Famine. In the various denominations, religious faith for the laity, and even the clergy, was more than mere assent to the formulaic or familiar trappings of an institutional church.¹³ Describing the new ideology promoted by Archbishop Cullen and Archbishop John McHale in the mid-nineteenth century, after the famine, Connolly noted that it was distinguished by 'its political conservatism, its exaltation of papal authority and its acceptance of a dogmatic, combatative theology.'¹⁴ This makes the achievements of the Irish Archaeological Society, formed by Todd and others, and the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society of 1853, all the more remarkable, 'even if prompted by financial prudence'. The Irish Archaeological Society became debt ridden by 1850, as the landed classes could no longer afford to pay for their membership subscription or contribute to new publications. Its merger with the Celtic Society was therefore a happy outcome to many problems and it prompted the turn to publications which all Irishmen would like to purchase. Yet, despite the remarkable work of this society, the trend to publish separate narratives in the post-famine period continued until the revisionisms and reviews of colonial/postcolonial debates of the 1980s.

The nineteenth-century is now seen through the critical field of historical revisionism, with postcolonial studies a branch of this field. Revisionist Irish historiography was given a definite shape by an essay collection edited by Ciaran Brady, *Interpreting Irish History: The Debate on Historical Revisionism*.

¹³ Emmet Larkin, 'The 'devotional revolution' in the Irish Catholic Church' *American Historical Review* (1972);

¹⁴ S. J. Connolly, in his *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Ireland, Studies in Irish Economic and Social History* 3, (Dundalgan Press for the Economic and Social History of Ireland Society, 185, 1987, 1994)

It remains a standard work, with ‘for’ and ‘against’ arguments around the application of revisionist critical theory to Irish history and a useful record of the thinking of T.W. Moody and R. D. Edwards. The essay, ‘An Agenda for Irish History, 1978-2018’ by Edwards cannot be underestimated. Other contributors include Brady himself, F.S. L. Lyons, Oliver McDonagh, Roy Foster, Stephen Ellis, and Ronan Fanning, all arguing in the ‘for’ corner for shades of revisionist writings of Irish history. The well-known controversy generated by Brendan Bradshaw who took issue with aspects of revisionism, represents the early ‘against’ corner, where he was joined by Desmond Fennell, Kevin O’Neill, Brian Murphy, Seamus Dean, Hugh Kearny, Alvin Jackson, Cormac Ó Gráda, Anthony Coughlan and M.A.G. Ó’ Tuathaigh whose essay, ‘Irish Historical ‘Revisionism: State of the Art or Ideological Project?’¹⁶ raised important issues which have yet to be resolved.

Declan Kiberd’s important work, *Inventing Ireland* was approved by the wider world of literary criticism and postcolonial writers like Edward Said, who called it ‘a dazzling, bravura performance’ and Terence Brown’s *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History 1922-2002*, went through many revisions and reprints.^{17, 18} The work of Roy Foster, especially his *The Irish Story: Telling Tales and Making It up in Ireland* (2001) and his later work on Yeats are seminal. In *The Irish Story*, Foster discusses a contemporary to Todd in the journal print culture of the 1830s and 40s, William Carlton, who as Yeats wrote, ‘began drifting slowly into Protestantism’ following a Lough Derg pilgrimage’.¹⁹ Here, as Foster points out, Yeats sifts the nineteenth century for ‘a canon of Irish literature’ to be ‘expressed in reading-clubs’, new editions of out-of-print authors and publicized lists of ‘Best Books’ for the Irish literary revival of early

¹⁵ Ciaran Brady, *Interpreting Irish History: The Debate on Historical Revisionism* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1994)

¹⁶ M.A.G. Ó’ Tuathaigh ‘Irish Historical ‘Revisionism: State of the Art or Ideological Project?’ in Brady, pp. 306-326

¹⁷ Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* (Dublin: Vintage, 1999)

¹⁸ Terence Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History 1922-2002*, (1981, 1985, 2004)

¹⁹ Roy Foster, *The Irish Story: Telling Tales and Making It Up In Ireland* (London: 2001)p. 117

twentieth century.²⁰ Yeats did not have much time for Swift, Goldsmith or Sheridan, Maria Edgeworth or Charles Lever in this later revival. Indeed men like Todd fell out of favour, as representatives of an oppressive rational, linear, authoritarian classification system, symptomatic of the worst of enlightenment thinking in Ireland, from the point of view of the Romantic movement. This exclusion from the later canon even extended to O'Donovan because he wrote an Irish Grammar. It was only with the advent of the second wave of postcolonial studies and with more recent publications which question this trajectory that the selection processes like those exercised by Yeats become clearer for their own rigid and linear logic.

Anita Loomba in her book *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* summarizes the problems for a second wave of revisionist postcolonial scholars.²¹ Turning to the first wave, she criticizes the overuse of jargonistic terms by certain writers and the danger of encouraging a rarefied attitude to culture and literature. She points to the analysis of postcolonial studies by Stuart Hall who had observed that it was the bearer of powerful unconscious investments which could be used in a negative way. She notes the infighting among critics who accuse each other of confusion or of complicity with colonial rather than postcolonial thought forms. This poses the question of who writes and reads postcolonial studies, as noted earlier by Ó'Tuathaigh in his discussion of the applications of a vague postcolonial rebellion. The postcolonial reality is too important, Loomba argues, to be the possession of the fashion of the western academy.

In relation to the application of postcolonial studies to economic realities in the mid-nineteenth century, O'Hearne, for example, has argued that Ireland suffered from being a colony of the British Empire. He defined a colony as having several characteristics and concluded that Ireland was a colony up to the end of the nineteenth-century. He saw an empire legacy at work from the sixteenth century in Ireland; territorial conquest, implantation of settlers, control of the indigenous population, a new economy to benefit the conqueror,

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p 117

²¹ Anita Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 2nd edn. (London, 2005)

exploitation of raw materials and the use of cheap or enslaved labour. While acknowledging Nicolas Canny's argument that Ireland was a 'kingdom' rather than a colony, O'Hearne suggested that Ireland was a colony but, as noted, it went through a disastrous period of transition in the early and mid-nineteenth century. The main question, as the postcolonial writer Edward Said claimed, was whether people, once free, were capable of rising above partisan bias in order to become acquainted with the 'other'; though Said did not neglect to point out that the question of whether Ireland was or was not a colony, was still an important one. In his Afterword, in *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, he stated that the question,

is no mere antiquarian or academic squabble, since what is at stake is the whole question of Irish identity, the present course of Irish culture and politics, and above all the interpretation of Ireland, its people, and the course of its history.²²

The first postcolonial studies of Ireland gave the definition of 'post-colonial' to any people or persons who successfully rebelled, often by force, against government by a foreign power. Colonial power was defined as one which coerced, threatened or took away native rights to self-government and economic autonomy, or shattered a time-honoured, natural sense of belonging. The framework provided by Eagleton imports Marxist underpinnings, leading to the larger question of the framework for economic justice which underlies postcolonial studies.²³

²² Clare Carroll and Patricia King, *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory*, (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003) p.177

²³ Ireland and the colony have been discussed by David Lloyd, Angela Burke, Declan Kiberd, Luke Gibbon, Roy, Foster and Terence Brown, but nowadays Ireland appears in edited collections of global postcolonial discourse and revisionism, related to the end of the empire worldwide. This may not have any impact on Todd and Ireland in the nineteenth century however, it may simply point to the underpinning of this particular discourse. Gregory Castle in *Postcolonial Discourses: An Anthology*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), places Irish history in a global context and keeps company with the global trends of revisionist nationalism, colonial discourse analysis, literary interpretation, gender and the rights of women, questions of race, diaspora and identity. Franz Fanon, Edward Said, Homi K. Bhaba, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Robert J. Young and Stephen Slemon all take up issues regarding the interpretations of history, with similar questions which once related to interpreting the Irish past, but now are set in the global

Among other women writers, Angela Bourke reported on the native oral tradition in the nineteenth-century, especially in relation to the role of women in a subsistence economy.

Luke Gibbons contributed his views of the expansion of French revolutionary politics from Ireland to America in 'The return of the native': The United Irishmen, culture and colonialism' in a collection of essays, edited by Daire Keogh and Kevin Whelan, *1798: A Bicentenary Perspective*.²⁴ He explored further how 1798 and the American civil war were linked. Marianne Elliot has written a full length biography of Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen who preceded Todd in Trinity.

Stephen Howe in *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture*, is a good example of a thorough survey and a general application of postcolonial criticism to general movements in Irish history.²⁵ Howe honours earlier work of scholars such as Said and the colonial discourse analysis which followed the publication of *Orientalism*. Imperial historians, Howe noted, who study Ireland as a colony see Ireland, like Gibbons, in terms of the wider English/British colonial expansion to the New World. In some ways, Howe thought that the field of imperial history had divided Ireland further into North and South. He leans towards the Imperial historical point of view, and pays tribute to, among others, the work of the late Frank Wright on Northern Ireland, which analysed border communities in terms of native and settler typologies.

Howe provided numerous typologies of imperialism and colonialism as a

context. Ireland, India, Africa, the Caribbean and the Commonwealth sit side by side. Lloyd is strongly represented in several essay collections for his, 'Adulteration and the Nation' which appears in Castle's collection, and his well-known essay, 'After History: Historicism and Irish Postcolonial Studies' appears a collection by Clare Carroll and Patricia King, *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory with an Afterword by Edward Said* (Cork, 2003, pp 46-62). Eve Patton takes issue with Lloyd in her own biography, *Samuel Ferguson and the Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2004), accusing him of being heavy-handed in his dealing with Irish Protestant intellectuals like Ferguson.

²⁴ Luke Gibbons, 'The return of the native': The United Irishmen, culture and colonialism' in Daire Keogh and Kevin Whelan (eds.) *1798: A Bicentenary Perspective*. Dublin, 2003. *1798: A Bicentenary Perspective* (Dublin, 2003)pp. 52-74 Daire Keogh and K. Whelan

²⁵ Stephen Howe in *Ireland and Empire: Colonial Legacies in Irish History and Culture*,(Oxford: OUP, 2000 and revised in 2002

helpful way of navigating the historical field, and two of these seem relevant to interpreting Todd. Howe noted the three turns: first, the classic revolutionary overthrow; then the midway position of development stymied by an ill-fated Act of Union, which relates greatly to Todd; and, finally, the cultural and psychological difficulties of the legacy of colonialism, which also might apply to Todd. This is followed, according to Howe, with reference to the current Irish Marxist analysis of the European Union as the foreign power shaping Ireland today. The EU is at least as powerful as a colonial overlord, Howe thinks, but this is a very limited view for some commentators who are more pro the EU. Howe noted that Ireland is, in Imperial history, a former British colony, as of 1922.

Howe has also contributed to *Historiography in Ireland and the British Empire* (2004, where he expressed the opinions that Said knew little of Irish history and that Eagleton has changed his attitude towards postcolonial theorizing from ambivalence to downright hostility.²⁶ Howe comments on the work of Seamus Deane, Declan Kiberd and David Lloyd as follows. Deane, he thought, wrote that early revisionists were guilty of a naive and dogmatic positivism and were blind to the demands of critical theory. They were not prepared to acknowledge the fictional and mythological nature of all historical narrative, a point taken up in memory studies by Ann Rigney in *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation: Three Narrative Histories of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1990)]. Howe surmises that some of Deane's critics were not too far off the mark when they suggested that he was an old fashioned nationalist at heart, like other Field Day writers. Rigney has contributed to the revisionist field of historic-literary analysis in the edited collection.²⁷

²⁶ Kevin Kenny (ed.) *Historiography in Ireland and the British Empire*, (Oxford, 2004), Howe pp. 220-250

²⁷ Ann Rigney *Imperfect Histories: The Elusive Past and the Legacy of Romantic Historicism* (Cornell, 2001) and to memory studies in 'Scarcity and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory, a paper for 'Cultural Memory in France; Margins and Centres' (International Conference, October 30-1 November 2003 and available online. Her analysis of the Scottish writer of historical fiction, Sir Walter Scott, appeared in essays like 'Portable Monuments: Literature, Cultural Memory and the case of Jeannie Deans' (*Poetics Today* 25.2, 2004, pp261-396). She wrote also in the field of

Terry Eagleton, in *Scholars and Rebels in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, attended to the colonial intellectual in the early and mid-nineteenth century, especially in relation to the Irish intellectual revival.²⁸ The term ‘Irish Intellectual Revival’ is used by William. J. McCormack and David Dickson to describe the 1830s-50s in Dublin. McCormack finds Samuel Ferguson of great interest as a member of this intellectual network, and Ferguson, like Todd and George Petrie, were from families of Scottish networks and descent, whose ancestors were connected to Edinburgh and possibly to some of the different aspects of the Scottish Enlightenment. McCormack described ‘an articulate and talented movement among Irish intellectual Protestants’ – made up of figures such as Ferguson, Todd, Petrie, and others – whose ferment lay ‘in somewhat earlier and in less local areas’.²⁹

In his first chapter, ‘Colonial Intellectuals’, Eagleton refers briefly to the work of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci and in particular to his definition of intellectuals as belonging to two mutually exclusive categories, the organic

national remembrance and collective memory in ‘Fiction as Mediator in National Remembrance’ (eds. Stefan Berger, Linas Eriksonas and Andrew Mycock, *Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media and the Arts* Oxford, 2008 pp 79-96) and ‘Divided Pasts: A Premature Memorial and the Dynamics of Collective Remembrance’ (*Memory Studies* 1.1 January, 2008 pp 89-97). In collaboration with Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning and Sarah B. Young, she contributed, ‘The Dynamics of Remembrance: Texts Between Monumentality and Morphing’ (*Cultural Memory Studies, An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, pp 345-353). There are many who query the too easy shift from individual to collective memory and the relationship between memory and history. In *History and Memory*, (Manchester, 2007) Geoffrey Cubitt sees an imagined relationship between history and memory that needs further analysis, especially around current assumptions about the connections between memory and the individual, remembering in society and memory and the transition from tradition. In chapter five, ‘Social memory and the collective past’ he examines events and afterlives, commemorations and connections, the individual and the collective past and memory in crisis.

²⁸ Terry Eagleton, *Scholars and Rebels in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1999)

²⁹ W. J. McCormack, ‘The Intellectual Revival (1830-1850)’ in Seamus Deane and W. J. McCormack, *Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*, (Dublin: Field Day Publications, 1991) p. 1173.

intellectual and the classical or traditional intellectual. The traditional intellectual fosters ‘an anti-modern faith in transcendent value and disinterested enquiry, while the scientists, political agitators, and social engineers play the part of Gramsci’s ‘organic’ intelligentsia, as social functionaries for whom knowledge has a practical, emancipatory force.’³⁰ Such a split between classical intellectuals concerned with the transcendent and the permanent, while organic intellectuals favour the practical outworking of things was sometimes hard to maintain. Eagleton describes families of intellectuals who lived in Dublin in Todd’s day, and provides us with a sense of the larger networks of the intellectual families who lived in the centre of Dublin in the mid-nineteenth-century. His argument follows the lines of social historian Noel Annan, who claimed that in the nineteenth-century university profession in England was like one large ‘intellectual aristocracy’ put together by those who did not come from great land or privilege.³¹ This began to replace the landed gentry and to colonise the university, church and society in intergenerational convoys from the early nineteenth-century onwards, as clergy in the universities – like Todd – became more professionalised. Eagleton thinks that there is a likeness between the English intellectual families and the Dublin intellectuals and antiquarians, whom he also likens to the Bloomsbury group of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century. Eagleton can lapse between analyses of a long comparative list of wider networks and the Irish ‘colonial intellectual’ in a singular sense, to convey what sometimes seems like a list of individuals.

However, that ‘highly selective and abstracted’ description of intellectual networks was succinctly criticized by the Enlightenment and social historian Robert Darnton, in what he called the ‘great-book, great-man’ genre of intellectual history; this is noted too by Jonathan I. Israel in his own sublime great-book, great-intellectual history, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man 1670-1752* and, *Radical Enlightenment and Democratic*

³⁰ Eagleton, *Scholars and Rebels* p.2

³¹ Noel Annan, *The Dons: Mentors, Eccentrics and Geniuses* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

Enlightenment.³² Israel presents the Enlightenment as both an episode in intellectual history and a present event that has not gone away.

Todd can be placed in several overlapping and complex networks descended from the Enlightenment, which range from his churchmanship to helping him to produce the 'literature' of a nation. Conservative and radical responded to the Enlightenment in unexpected ways, and as Roy Porter has noted in his study of the Enlightenment in England, religious reflection was part of a discourse shaped by an implicit acceptance of Enlightenment norms, while religious discourse was not annihilated by the Enlightenment rejection of aspects of a French totalitarian church.³³ The French Church, religious authority, and the fracturing of what Israel calls 'the deeply splintered and reduced' nature of religious authority, 'owing to the unresolved Reformation splits within Christendom', helped to create an alternative.³⁴ Enlightened religious discourse remained as a much needed component for a well-ordered society and Todd held the view that the power of inspired rationality should be used for the enlightenment of national religious life. This meant accepting parts of the Enlightenment discourse, while rejecting other aspects, along the lines of what Sorkin calls a European 'religious Enlightenment' process of accommodation, which occurred at different rates across the branches of religion in Europe.³⁵ A religious Enlightenment consensus thus emerged from within the Enlightenment to replace the Reformation splintering of Christendom, according to Sorkin. Furthermore, a completely reductionist view of religion does not explain the continued existence of religious devotion.³⁶ In their survey of the Church of England from 1689 to 1833, John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor note that

³² Jonathan I. Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man, 1670-1752* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)p.15 ; *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.; *Democratic Enlightenment* (Oxford: OUP, 2011).

³³Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2000)

³⁴ J. Israel, *Enlightenment Contested* p. 663; David J. Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton NJ: PUP, 2008)

³⁵ S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford: OUP, 1992)

³⁶ Nigel Yates, *The Religious Condition of Ireland 1770-1850* (Oxford, OUP, 2006); S. J. Brown,

there was much more to the Church of England than erastian opportunism; many people were religiously devout, and evidence suggests that often clergy strove to provide pastoral care and attentive ministry.³⁷

The subject of the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment is of interest for the Irish circle of antiquarians on several levels.³⁸ Colin Kidd has studied both Ireland and Scotland in terms of Gaelic antiquity and national identity, and has opened up the idea of an Enlightenment circle. This social network of influence filtered downwards in Ireland and Scotland to include men like Todd. In her biography of Samuel Ferguson, a contemporary of Todd and part of his close social circle, Eve Patten notes how Ferguson was influenced in his civic ideal and the development of a civic culture in Ireland, by his reading of the Scottish Enlightenment tradition and how its 'ideological presence in the cultural *habitus* of nineteenth-century Ireland remains intriguing, and raises a number of related questions concerning the workings of the professional middle-class sensibility in the Irish capital'.³⁹ She further speculates: 'How, for example, might we distinguish a culture of civic virtue, self-consciously rooted in communal scholarship and engagement, from the more familiar dynamics of nineteenth-century cultural nationalism'?⁴⁰ This is a very good point which could also be made in relation to the work of the Royal Irish Academy, an intellectual network that Todd was greatly engaged in all his life. She adds that Irish cultural nationalism has been 'typically seen as Protestant compensation for political loss and a Catholic foothold for Repeal'.⁴¹ The identification of a civic impulse, 'derived from classical and Scottish models', acts, she thinks, in both assisting and impeding the pull of an 'imperial hegemony', in the Dublin circle of literary, antiquarian and scientific engagements.⁴² This theme runs across chapter three

and T. Tackett (eds.) *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660-1815* vol. vii *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (Cambridge, CUP, 2006)

³⁷ John Walsh, Colin Haydon & Stephen Taylor, *The Church of England c.1689 –c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993).

³⁸ Colin Kidd, 'Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland'. *English Historical Review* no. 109 (November 1994): 1197-1214.

³⁹ Eve Patten, *Samuel Ferguson and the Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), p.15

⁴⁰ *ibid.* p.15

⁴¹ *ibid.* p. 15

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 15

of the thesis as Todd undertakes the publication of a number of sources for reconstructing Irish history. There is also an important early flagging of a fusion culture in the intellectual networks in Dublin by McCormack, who noted civic and public forms of technology worked to aid the production of literature. McCormack sees even the Poor Law as an aid to promoting intellectual revival as, ‘the impact of the railways and the controversy over Poor Law provisions for Ireland’ were among the other more practical influences that society as a whole ‘experienced as a series of powerful traumas’ from the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, to the aftermath of the famine.⁴³ These events served to advance technology in different ways, and Ferguson describes the men who brought railways to Ireland as part of the Dublin intellectual revival.

McCormack, Dickson and Eagleton all agree that a strong, public magazine culture, particularly in Dublin, emerged to give voice to the myriad of ways in which the intellectual revival took place. McCormack noted that ‘the improvement in printing technology...opened up wholly new areas of society to literacy and the communication of ideas’.⁴⁴ This is supported by the historian of the Enlightenment, Jonathan Sheehan, who has described how new media of communication worked in Edinburgh. The Edinburgh-led *Dublin University Magazine* (1833-77) was edited by Ferguson for a time.⁴⁵ It arose alongside the *Dublin Penny Journal*, a very popular magazine featuring work on Irish history by John O’Donovan, George Petrie and others in the Dublin circle. The success of the *DUM* led Thomas Davis and Charles Gavin Duffy to form a rival journal, *The Nation*. The magazine that Todd founded, *The Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, in 1841, the *British Critic*, a high church magazine which ran alongside the *Tracts for the Times*, and the *British Magazine*, were all influential journals of the day. In chapter two I concentrate on the way in which they reported the first series of Donnellan prophecy lectures by Todd. McCormack notes that, in Dublin, this early Victorian revival was influenced by

⁴³ Seamus Deane & W. J. McCormack (eds), *Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing* (Dublin:1991, p. 1173)

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.1174

⁴⁵ Ferguson edited the *DUM* and had some contact with the Edinburgh based publisher.

the intellectual concerns of a wider world and saw another important link with Samuel Taylor Coleridge, whose *Biographia Literaria* of 1817 drew attention to the dangers of flooding the market with ‘pamphlets, papers and penny-dreadfuls’⁴⁶

The *DUM*, *British Critic* and *British Magazine* certainly wished to avoid the ‘penny dreadful’ market and aimed higher, but the sensationalism of reporting is vividly conveyed in the Todd prophecy reportage as noted at the end of chapter two.⁴⁷ Jonathan Sheehan, argues that it is possible to think of the Enlightenment, not in terms of a dualistic opposition between religion and the Enlightenment, but to redefine the dialogue partners so that Enlightenment ‘would encompass such diverse elements as salons, reading circles, erudition, scholarship and scholarly techniques, translations, book reviews, academies, new communication tools including journals and newspapers, new or revived techniques of data organization and storage (dictionaries, encyclopedias, taxonomies) and so on.’⁴⁸ These, he says, ‘are not inherently anti-religious or do they force the Enlightenment to react to a blind process of secularization.’⁴⁹ This is similar to what Robert Darnton in America and Roy Porter in England have suggested and it shifts the focus to the media of communication, the networks of knowledge and cultures of learning that must have continued to expand in the nineteenth-century. Sheehan takes account of Jonathan Clark’s argument that the whole eighteenth-century hegemony of church, state, law and parliament disappeared virtually overnight between the Test Act of 1828 and the Reform Bill of 1832. This he says this requires acceptance of such a sudden and abrupt end to ‘the collapse of the *ancient regime*’ that it ‘becomes virtually inexplicable.’⁵⁰ He also thinks that J. G.

A. Pocock became involved in publishing a detailed biography of Edward Gibbon in relation to the transmission of Enlightenment scholarship because Gibbon

⁴⁶ W. J. McCormack, ‘The Irish Intellectual Revival, p. 1174

⁴⁷ Jonathan Sheehan, ‘Enlightenment, Religion and the Enigma of Secularization’ *American Historical Review*, vol. 108 no. 4(October, 2003) pp.1061- 1080,

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1076

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1076

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1069-70.

offered some sort of escape from the dualistic separation of theology versus science so Pocock concentrated on other aspects of the transmission of knowledge which the Enlightenment generated via the various mediums of communication. This is a most interesting theory in relation to the 'Irish intellectual revival' which could also have been seen as a religious and devotional revival, but still part of a larger European realignment after 1789. Perhaps the Irish intellectual revival helped an earlier religious Enlightenment to take on a different form and allow for common, representations Irish Christian past to emerge from the shadows. Sheehan in writing about a religious Enlightenment in Europe notes that there is now the possibility of religion emerging from the corners designed for it by the merging of Enlightenment and the process of secularization. He examines the acceptance of the view that there is the possibility of realigning the narrative of the enlightenment to see that there was a place for the religious *in* the Enlightenment, thus replacing the earlier consensus which held to the view that the Enlightenment was responsible for the killing religion. This debate has a bearing on the work of the 'enlightened antiquarians' as O'Donovan liked to describe to both himself and Todd, and it certainly questions the view that no trace of religious intellectual life remained in Europe, other than that which acceded or accelerated the processes of secularization. Sheehan notes that 'even the vaunted nineteenth-century' idea of 'the secularization of the European mind' has also 'fallen on hard times.'⁵¹ It is more a question of 'the secularization of scholarship in the twentieth-century' than 'a reflection of any real historical trend' he quotes from Margaret Lavinia Anderson.⁵² Todd may have been influenced in his biblical exegesis and biblical scholarship by Edward Gibbon, who was in turn influenced by William Robertson and David Hume. J. G. A. Pocock, Colin Kidd, Karen O'Brien and Nicholas Phillipson have written on the subject to the development of the historiography of history writing especially in relation to providence and history. In Todd's case, I argue that he worked with a rational, empirical approach to critical biblical scholarship and the writing of history with regard to the evidence of the variant

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1063

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp.1061- 1080, p. 1063

manuscript sources. There is some comparison to be made with *The Poetics of the Old Testament* by J. G. Herder and the wider European Enlightenment and religious heritage which combined the development of the study of languages in translation, with manuscript variant sources and empirical historical research. This process began around the time of the Reformation and was intensified during the Enlightenment.

In chapter one I acknowledge Todd's debt to the early European Enlightenment tradition which gave him a belief in the ultimate unity of all knowledge in relation to the Creator. Francis Bacon and Isaac Newton held that belief in the essential unity of all things. Todd did not fear exploring the unknown, he did not, in general terms, oppose 'revelation' to scientific cultures of enquiry. He was confident that a more 'scientific', literal, empirical, positivist outlook would form the hermeneutical framework for interpreting biblical texts and historical sources. He wanted above all, to avoid over-imaginative, speculative interpretations which contributed to sectarian tensions in Ireland.

The religious element of the European Enlightenment legacy has always been hotly debated, a revisionist topic to be studied amidst the interpretations of diverse strands of the Enlightenments, and of Scottish, English and Irish Enlightenment histories in particular. I have been guided by the recently-published work of Karen O'Brien. In her 'English Enlightenment Histories, 1750-c.1815', she acknowledges the debt of writers in Todd's day to Edward Gibbon. In turn, she links Gibbon to the Scottish Enlightenment, and to the influence of David Hume's *History of England* (1754-1788).⁵³ O'Brien quotes J.G.A. Pocock who described Gibbon, not Hume, as the culmination of the European 'Enlightenment narrative'.⁵⁴ Pocock's *Barbarism and Religion*, discusses Gibbon's Enlightenment historical narrative, noting the rise of various forms of civil power and the waning of clerical power in state affairs, and claims that this narrative is to be found in the works of Scottish, Italian, and French

⁵³ Karen O'Brien. In her 'English Enlightenment Histories, 1750-c.1815' (eds.) José Rebase, Jasayuki Sato, Edoardo Toraralo, and Daniel Woolf, *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, 1400- 1800*, (Oxford: OUP, 2012, pp 518-535)

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.518

Enlightenment writers, among them Hume, William Robertson, Pietro Giannone, and Voltaire.⁵⁵ Gibbon is unique among them, according to Pocock, (as quoted by O'Brien) in that he 'deeply absorbed the tradition of Arminian thought that underpins' the European 'Enlightenment narrative'.⁵⁶ Protestant Arminian thought connected civil action, salvation, religious doctrine and human culture in a genuinely religious Enlightenment tradition. This specific religious Enlightenment tradition, according to Pocock, deeply influenced Gibbon. The Arminian religious outlook in general found sympathy with Scottish Calvinists, who, he argues, were in favour of 'the new science of morals' which was also 'embedded in the English quest for toleration and moderation'.⁵⁷ This important link is highlighted by O'Brien who notes that the work which springs to mind to support this vital connection in religious Enlightenment narratives is that of David Jan Sorkin in *The Religious Enlightenments: Protestants, Jews and Catholics from London to Vienna*.⁵⁸ Sorkin distanced himself from a study of the Enlightenments which viewed them simply as the criticism and overthrow of clerical power and the rise of a secular culture. He demanded that the deeper religious strands of thought embedded in Enlightenment narratives be brought to the fore. William Warburton was one biographical example Sorkin cited in his argument for religious toleration and he praised him for the fine balance he laboured to bring about between church and state. Yet Warburton was seen by Newman to be of a generation of men whom he accused in the *Tracts* of being erastian, that is, content to hand over too much power to a secular parliament. In the 1830s things had changed so much for the Tractarians in this regard that Newman, Todd, Pusey and Keble could seriously question whether the English parliament was essentially still the lay synod for the Church of England, as Warburton had assumed. The lay synod idea had given rise to many problems for those who were non-conformists, Jews, Roman Catholics, or Atheists.

⁵⁵ Pocock, J. G.A. *Barbarism and Religion*. Cambridge: CUP, 1999-2014.

⁵⁶ O'Brien, p.518

⁵⁷ O'Brien, p. 519 and 'note 6: J. G. A. Pocock, 'Clergy and Commerce: The Clerical Enlightenment in England' in *L'Es dei Lumi: Studi Storici sul Settecento Europeo in Onore di Franco Venturi*, 2 vols (Naples, 1985), i. 523-561.').

⁵⁸ David Jan Sorkin in *The Religious Enlightenments: Protestants, Jews and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton, 2008)

Todd had all of Warburton's works in his library, as a respected but dated Anglican writer in the tradition of Laud and Hooker. Sorkin's work ends at the end of the eighteenth century so he can sufficiently bypass the dated nature of Warburton's religious thinking for the Tractarians by the 1830s and argue that he is a key example of religious Enlightenment thinking because of his emphasis on a 'heroic moderation' in the balance of church-state affairs. This shows the complex transmission of the religious Enlightenment legacy at work beyond 1800. Moderation is a key element in the Enlightenment narrative, together with the quest for toleration. Here my thesis argues that toleration was the key which freed a later generation of men like Todd from being imprisoned in their own exclusive Church-State narrative, which could not cope with dissenters, Socinians, Presbyterians and the like. The religious Enlightenment emphasis on toleration – as passed down from Laud, Hooker, Warburton, Hume and Gibbon to the 1830s generation – meant that a new generation could discern its outline and mould it into a positive force for moderate reform. In addition, in the case of Todd, I argue that it gave him a generosity towards Roman Catholic co-religionists. He could reject the reformation error of the Pope of Rome as the Antichrist and seek a catholic and reformed church that went beyond mere toleration. For a Protestant in Ireland in his day, this was very freeing and enabled him to explore beyond the puritan horizon in Ireland, as he called it, to study the early church fathers, pre-reformation history and historical sources.

O'Brien thinks that the Scottish Gibbon helped to create a revival of interest in England for ancient Britain, Roman Britain, Anglo-Saxon history and the medieval heritage, arising out of his religious Enlightenment tradition and the taste for a 'more philosophical kind of history in the late eighteenth century'.⁵⁹ Britain, she notes, and particularly London had a 'lively printing industry' which gave rise to collaborative productions of historical narrative.⁶⁰ It is true to say that print collaborations around historical narratives flourished between London, Dublin and Edinburgh in the early and mid-nineteenth-century. The English Camden Society and the Rolls series, in which Todd was heavily involved, are good examples

⁵⁹ O'Brien, p.520

⁶⁰ O'Brien, p.520

of this late-flowering legacy. Subscription publications were also popular in the late eighteenth century, and the Scottish Bannatyne Club in Edinburgh, founded by Sir Walter Scott, led to the 1840/50s Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society and shared publications between the book-clubs and Royal Academies. The English Royal Society of Antiquarians published Todd's last work in London in 1869, containing fine facsimile illustrations by Margaret Stokes of two illuminated MSS in Trinity College, Library, re-printed in a quarto limited edition for the society members and friends. There was a taste for Voltairian history in England, according to O'Brien, especially work which 'foregrounded a critical or skeptical authorial perspective on source materials, on the fanaticisms of the past, even on the value of history itself: and weighed evidential probabilities against the known features of human nature and human motivation'.⁶¹ This matched the final editorial intentions of Todd the historian in a way which links him to Leopold Von Ranke.

The Scylla of violent revolutionary Irish nationalism on the one hand and the Charybdis of a static Protestant English colonial establishment on the other offered a challenge to Todd. Today, at a time of interest in religious Enlightenment narratives, post-colonial studies and epistolary projects for the web, he is an important figure because he can be included in all three of these major revisionist projects with ease. He had the pithy prose and wit of the Enlightenment mind combined a deep loyalty to the Church of Ireland so was a religious intellectual. He rose above his own hegemony at crucial times and maintained an overall view of the fractured nature of the divided Christian past which needed to be placed on a more tolerant footing. He nurtured an extensive web of correspondence, as part of the intellectual revival so, in all, he was more than just a colonial figure representing the old establishments. The following chapters explore his writings and mention his extensive letter correspondence, where the letters illustrate his writings.

⁶¹ O'Brien, p521

Chapter One:

Todd's Writings on Education and Reform, 1833 to 1853.

The years from 1833 to 1853 were productive for Todd. He wrote up a brief history of Trinity, created a false letter from the Pope, gave important lectures on prophecy, travelled to the continent and explored the manuscript sources of Waldensian, Albigensian and early Irish church history across Europe. He improved the library in Trinity, maintained an extensive correspondence and wrote on the subject of education. In this chapter I gather together and examine the different kinds of texts Todd wrote on educational subjects from 1833 to 1853. A non-denominational national school system was introduced to Ireland in 1831, as a landmark event. The Great Reform Act of 1832 followed, and the Irish Church Temporalities Act of 1833 brought further reform to Ireland. These momentous reforms were to generate great opposition from the clergy of all denominations, as the imperial Westminster parliament continued to debate the topic of education and reform. In the houses of parliament educational reform was treated as aspect of what was increasingly referred to as 'the Irish question' and educational reform introduced by parliament at Westminster sparked several of Todd's writings. It was for him a question of how to go about acceptable educational reform in the best possible way, as he thought that educational reform was necessary. The high church party and Tractarian debate from 1833 onwards objected the intrusive role of parliament in the affairs of the church, and this attitude extended to educational matters for Tractarians like Todd. However, he knew that educational debate had been taking place for some time before the new primary school initiatives were introduced in 1831. The Commissioners of Irish Education produced major reports in 1825-1826, following earlier reports published in 1812.⁶²

The outline of the new system was given in public voice in what became

⁶² A good background to the first and second reports of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, 1825-1826, has recently been published by friends of the late Garret Fitzgerald called *Irish Primary Education in the Early Nineteenth Century: An Analysis of the first and second reports of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, 1825-6* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2013). It places the 1831

known as the Stanley Letter, written by Edward Stanley to Augustus FitzGerald, the 3rd Duke of Leinster, in October 1831. In fact, for forty years the state education system had been the subject of enquiry in Ireland and the government reports, which cover the whole of Ireland, increasingly gave detailed accounts of teachers, schools and the curriculum. There were many aspects to the national primary education system introduced in 1831, therefore, which were the result of studying the existing patchwork systems already in place. The Hedge Schools were one example of the way in which ‘hidden Ireland’ and the world of Gaelic poets and hedge school masters flourished.⁶³ These slowly came to an end together with the state sponsored parish, diocesan, royal and charter schools. Despite the uneasy relationship between the Westminster parliament and her Irish ‘colony’ and serious opposition from the clergy and people of Ireland, the national school education plan went ahead but without the non-denominational religious education component. The Irish charter schools would have found the transition to non-denominational religious education particularly difficult as their stated aim was to ‘to rescue the souls of thousands of popish children from the miseries of idleness and begging’, and as Antonia McManus pointed out, see to it that ‘through education, the Irish would be politicized and socialized along loyal, law abiding lines.’⁶⁴

Todd’s own early education was formed in the Regency period during the waning of the Georgian house of Hanover, and he was sent to a very independent and forward sort of early school, outside the general run of educational establishments in Ireland, but a good example of the way in which an independent school could be set up in Ireland at the time, by a group of gentlemen interested in the teaching of the German monk and educator, Gregor von Feinaigle (1760-1819). The crown as well as parliament were heavily involved in the subject of educational decision making and many government

reforms in context and was written by friends of the late Irish politician, who took a great interest in Irish primary education in the early nineteenth century, as a statistician. It was published by the Royal Irish Academy Monograph Series and outlines the formation of the school run by the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, known as the Kildare Place Society, which was founded in 1821. The background to the 1825-6 report has been written by Gillian O’Brien, an account of Irish primary education in 1824, by Garret Fitzgerald, and school attendance and literacy in Ireland before the Great famine, by Cormac Ó Gráda.

⁶³ Antonia McManus, *The Irish Hedge School and Its Books, 1695-1831* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002, reprinted 2006).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p.237

reports involved a cross-section of the population. Queen Victoria would pay her first state visit to Ireland in August 1849. She and Albert visited several educational establishments in Dublin, including the library in Trinity where Todd was her guide for her first visit to the Long Room Library. He showed her and her husband the illuminated *Book of Kells*, and *Book of Durrow* and the O'Brien Irish harp and the Library became a tourist destination in her wake as by 1851 the number of visitors had risen to over eight thousand per year, according to Todd's report to the Royal Commissioners who published their findings regarding Trinity College, Dublin in 1853. She also visited the Kildare Place Model School, and liked the ethos there. Before coming to Dublin she called to see the first of her three new Queen's Colleges, to be built in Cork, Galway and Belfast. In Cork, she encountered a statue of herself being hoisted up to the top of a building in the partly completed quadrangle, part of a set of buildings designed by Sir Thomas Deane. These colleges were a new educational initiative to cater for the growing middle-class Catholic population who could attend Trinity but could not be promoted to high rank on the staff, due to the founding statutes and purpose of the College which was to educate young men for ordination in the Church of Ireland. This issue greatly pre-occupied Todd and he dreaded the thought of a mixed and contentious group of Fellows arguing over the syllabus and pay at Trinity.

Todd's various writings on educational topics cover this period very well, and are an interesting way of studying it from the point of view of those who experienced it as it happened. He, like the Catholic majority and the Presbyterians of the North East of the country, was ambivalent about the legitimate power and scope of parliament in terms of educational reform, and identified in 1836 with the strong non-juror tradition of the Anglican church, beginning with the Glorious Revolution, when certain Established clergymen opted out of loyalty to the crown and parliament. This made his approach more like that of the disaffected Catholic population and the Presbyterians, and he adopted something of a subversive tone towards the proposed new national school system, in a satirical letter purporting to come from the Pope in 1836.

Todd's movement away from a simple ecclesial *apologia* narrative, written along standard denominational lines, and his intellectual turn to a more 'scientific' approach to the study of ecclesiastical and national history and biblical sources

occurred as his writings on educational matters progressed. In the 1836 piece there is evidence of both bombast and his ability to distance himself from church and political parties with an ironic and somewhat humorous way of summing them up. By the time of his later work in 1848, written against the teachings on papal infallibility at a Catholic seminary in England called Oscott, he was part of the realignment of the Tractarians after Newman left in 1845. Those who stayed, like Todd, were not prepared to relinquish their theological objection to the doctrine of papal infallibility and in fairness Newman, even as a Catholic, may not have agreed with it either. Todd's prose was outspoken and direct on the matter of papal infallibility being taught to Catholic ordinands in England, and it was a most controversial topic in both Ireland and England. He turned to the work of the early church Fathers in earnest on the subject of papal infallibility.

There are six educational texts selected to represent his views on education at different levels in this chapter, the 1833 history of Trinity College, Dublin, the 1836 false letter from the Pope, the 1841 school prospectus for the proposed new Irish public school, St. Columba's College, which set out educational goals and ethos, his 1845 reply to a speech in parliament on academical education in Ireland by Sir Thomas Wyse, the 1848 Oscott pamphlet on papal infallibility and the answers he submitted to the 1853 Royal Commissioners Report on Trinity College Dublin.

There are certain things which preoccupied him in terms of education arising from this selection. He was particularly concerned about the failure of Catholic and Protestant clergy in Ireland to agree on the necessity of a common scholarly translation of the Bible to teach the children at primary school level. It was a major stumbling block for him, an obstacle to a non-denominational school system which seemed insurmountable. He worked mainly with the Greek, Hebrew, Septuagint, Jerome, Vulgate and the King James translations of the Bible. He had, in his own library, a large collection of biblical manuscripts and was particularly interested in early comparative translations of the Bible. He read polyglot translation and the Hebrew texts both before a vowel punctuation system was added, and after editions began publishing it with the text. The 1853 Report gives an interesting summary of the texts he set for his students and his lecture content, as noted below. He collected the rabbinic commentaries and was familiar with the

Cabal, the secret and mystical writings of the Jewish people. The manuscript editions of his Hebrew Bibles were listed in the auction catalogue of his library, after his death. He therefore paid particular attention to the way in which the Bible would be taught in the proposed new system.

Deep within his educational writings there is his preoccupation with finding a common way forward, the presence of a problem solving and practical mind yet one hampered by all the obstacles which lie in the way of such an outcome. We can speculate that he was really an organic intellectual, and was seeking an agreed form of religious toleration though educational reform, that is seeking to establish the rules of play in this new dawn for Ireland, in order to bring about social harmony. He as much as states this as his aim, in the depths of the 1836 editions of the false letter. He naturally wished to establish any educational change on a rational and even statistical basis, if possible, and the 1853 Report affords an insight into how education began to become quantifiable and measurable, for assessment purposes, at university level in Ireland. The Report came out just after Newman had delivered an eloquent series of addresses in Dublin on the purpose of a university education, a complete contrast to the more 'scientific' 1853 Report, but none the less, an important contribution to the wider debate on the meaning and relevance of university education in Ireland, as an essential component of a functioning civic society. Newman was unhappy with the way in which the Archbishop of Dublin, Paul Cullen, wanted to shape the new Catholic university of which he was Rector, on a trial basis, from 1851. Todd in Trinity continued to centre his thinking on various practical forms of improvement which would raise the standard of education within Trinity, cater for larger numbers, keep the quality of education for ordinands and ordinary students alike on an upward trend and improve the library in every way from how new books were to be introduced to readers, to a printed catalogue of every copy of book or manuscript, whether donated, obtained by copyright or by purchase, and how to gain space for new acquisitions and employ more library staff and assistants. In his religious thinking, as a Tractarian, he often returned to the changes of the twelfth century, as these represented for him the turning away from the 'catholic' or universal church as the unified basis of Christendom.

The early and medieval church therefore still held for him this essential unity, as seen in his turn to the early Church Fathers in the Oscott pamphlet, and despite the need for reform, he held to the universal Christian church as an ideal, before the reformation splintering. It influenced him in his desire to restore a catholic faith within the reformed tradition in Ireland, and revive the Established church as a national church.

It is interesting that the pamphlet he published correcting a Westminster parliamentary speech about university education in Ireland, delivered with theatrical flourish by Sir Thomas Wyse, was first printed in the magazine he founded, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*. It was read and annotated by Gladstone at Christmas, on the 21st of December, 1844, and again many years later on the first day of February in 1873.⁶⁵ It demonstrates the power of the journal market at the time. The Tractarian type tract on papal infallibility, sparked by some teaching to ordinands at the Catholic St. Mary's College, Oscott, near Birmingham, was first published in the *British Magazine*, as a series of articles from April to November, 1848. It was collated by Todd into a single pamphlet and published in London and Dublin at the end of 1848. The *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State, Discipline, studies and Revenues of the University of Dublin* was published in 1853, as a H.M.S.O.L report conducted by Royal Commission, appointed in April 1851 and chaired by Archbishop Richard Whately of Dublin. It was ironic that a non-juror like Todd made some very good contributions to the Report, especially about reforms to the Divinity school in Trinity. It was never widely circulated yet contained some of the most valuable educational information for the period.

Todd was at home in the journal print culture and enjoyed using it as a public forum for reaching the masses. Yet literacy levels in Ireland were dire. They would

⁶⁵ Gladstone's annotated copy is held in the British Library and work was in progress on a catalogue of his annotations when Dr. Matthew Bradley of the staff of the British Library sent an email text ((07/01/2009) '...Gladstone owned two items by Todd 1) Books of the Vaudious: the Waldensian MSS preserved at Trinity College Dublin' –this is extremely lightly annotated, (just a couple of lines and some financial calculations at the back). He appears to have read this volume on 13/08/65, according to his diary. The other is a pamphlet, 'Remarks on some statements made by Sir Thomas Wyse' ...Gladstone recorded reading this twice, once on 21/12/44, and then again (many years later!) on 01/02/73.'

only rise many years after the national school education system was introduced. Sean Connolly tells us that ‘by 1861, 46% of Catholics aged five years and over were unable to read or write, compared with 16% of Anglicans and 11% of Presbyterians.’⁶⁶ At least 60% of Catholics were illiterate at the beginning of the new national school education period. So magazines and pamphlets which circulated from Dublin to London and beyond, and which generated further public response and debate, were confined to a more middle-class audience at the beginning of this period, although this improved as time went on. The Victorian reading public enjoyed outspoken, lively, and topical pieces which defended a religious view by a cogent argument, so Todd’s style of writing on education was well suited to the more deliberately oratorical and controversial prose tone of the magazine articles of his day adopted. When placed within a revisionist framework his writings could be said to be the work of a modest Irish public intellectual. The term “public intellectual” in relation to Ireland was suggested by Edward Said in his biographical study of the outspoken Church of Ireland clergyman Jonathan Swift. Said named Swift as the first Irish public intellectual in the modern sense, in a seminal revisionist chapter on Swift in *The World, the Text and the Critic* (1983).⁶⁷ Swift was type of Irish intellectual voice within the Church of Ireland which was admired and imitated by clergymen like Todd, though they may not have always reached the heights of his famous *Drapier Letters*. Todd’s circle in Dublin at the time of the formation of a magazine which became to some extent their mouth-piece in Victorian Ireland, the *DUM*, has been analysed by Terry Eagleton, as mentioned in the Introduction, and he has thrown up many interesting parallels with other social developments. He describes the Irish Victorian antiquarian scholars and rebels as beginning to form a particular socio-intellectual group, under political siege from Catholics, and a *bourgeoisie* as suggested by Perry Anderson, a ‘social force with its own sense of collective identity, characteristic moral codes and cultural *habitus*’, he argues, quoting Anderson.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ S. J. Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dundalgan Press, 1985, 1987, 1994) p. 5

⁶⁷ Edward Said, *The World the Text and the Critic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1983)

⁶⁸ Eagleton, *Scholars and Rebels*, p.53, and note 12, p. 151.

This may be true, although there were different *habitus* which overlapped. Todd is also referred to as a romantic nationalist during this period.⁶⁹ I consider him to be moving in the direction of a modest ‘scientific’ empiricist, a pragmatic reformer with an established church background, and aware of a movement towards empirical research in Ireland and Europe. The education pamphlets of this period are, however, in contrast to the much longer books of his Donnellan public lectures on prophecy, which he delivered in Trinity in 1838 and 1841 and later printed with extensive footnotes. He does not have time for such lengthy work in the pamphlets. The only one which is lengthy for this type of publication is a collected edition of short journal articles on church and papal infallibility, which stretches to 172 pages. The educational selections do not have collated manuscript footnotes either, although he uses his manuscript research on the texts of the early church Fathers for the papal infallibility pamphlet. Instead they are a collection of topical pieces, a bit like the work in the *DUM*. They place him in the public sphere so that when he publishes his hermeneutical examination of biblical texts, he is already a public voice from the university sector, representative of the *DUM* and magazine cohort, who socialized together and included the Dublin families he knew, like the Wildes, the Stokes, the Graves, the Hamiltons, the Trenches, and the Balls, who were part of a ‘miniscule intelligentsia...likely to trade their ideas over dinner’, as Eagleton noted in *Scholars and Rebels* on page forty-three. No doubt it included the junior and senior Fellows at Trinity, from time to time.

In 1827, in search of work and without as yet a foothold on the staff at Trinity, Todd decided to gather up all the historical material he could find in the archives of the library at Trinity College, Dublin in order to publish the first printed history of the University. He was encouraged by the reforming Provost Bartholomew Lloyd (1772-1837) to do this, and we know this because he wrote to the Provost about this undertaking in 1827. He asked the Provost if the Board would pay for an antique print type to use in the proposed history. The newly elected Provost replied, ‘...thank you for all the trouble you have taken in collecting and preparing for the press the materials of a history of our university which were

⁶⁹ Damien Murray, *Romanticism, Nationalism and Irish Antiquarian Societies 1840-80*, Maynooth Monograph Series, (Maynooth: Maynooth University Press, 2000)

never before presented together in any one publication and of which many in a short time would be lost.’⁷⁰ The College Library archives provided his sources in the dusty archives and included the ‘Register of the College’ in the handwriting of Provosts Travers, Alvey, Temple and Bedell, the ‘Particular Book’ on parchment of 1595, the rents, benevolences, commons and stewards of ‘The Book of Accounts’ and the ‘Proctor’s Books’, all of which he later lodged for safety in a Muminments Room in the College. He also consulted the ‘Senior Lecturer’s’ book of handwritten names of all the students, the name and profession of their fathers, their date and place of birth, dating from January 1637/8, the ‘Book of the Registrar of Chambers’, and the ‘Buttery Books’ containing the names of members of the College. He read the record of Provost Steele, (1661), which he later described as ‘wonderfully disjointed and out of order for many years’ in the 1868/9 *A Catalogue of Graduates...from the earliest records to July 1868 with Supplement to December 19, 1868*.⁷¹ He also consulted the manuscript copy of a recent professor known to him in Trinity, John (‘Jackie’) Barrett, Professor of Divinity and ‘the eccentric... Librarian from 1791 to 1808 who wrote on Swift and the zodiac and edited an important palimpsest of St. Matthew’s Gospel (Codex Z) which he identified among the College manuscripts’ as noted by the College historian, J. V. Luce.⁷² Todd first wrote up a clearly written account by hand of the history of the College and placed this in the College archives without signing his name. It was later attributed to Dr. Barrett by several of the College historians, but Barrett’s handwriting was almost illegible according to Todd, so it is more likely his own account. He organized a transcript of the manuscript hand of Barrett, which he then annotated in preparation

⁷⁰ Dublin, Trinity College, Dublin, TCD MS 2214/2, Provost Bartholomew Lloyd to J. H. Todd, 18th August, 1827.

⁷¹ *A Catalogue of Graduates who have proceeded to degrees in the University of Dublin from the earliest records to July 1868 with Supplement to December 19, 1868*. (1869, Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Foster, and London, Longman, Green, Reader & Dyer, Historical Introduction by Todd, p.vii,

⁷² J. V. Luce, *Trinity College Dublin The First 400 Years*, (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin Press, 1992, p. 78 n.4. Dr. Jackie Barrett, taught many students including the novelist Sheridan Le Fanu, who fondly remembered him in his published memoirs of the College as an eccentric don who often repeated the phrase ‘do you see me now’ much to the amusement of students. He also ran from a regiment of undergraduate soldiers drilling in the College at the time of the 1798 Rebellion, thinking that they were aiming to fire at him.

for his first published history.⁷³ Barrett was never Provost, but Todd's own distinctive hand, very legible, clear and bold, in black ink, annotates the transcript margins. Todd's handwriting is well described by the historian of St. Columba's College, G. K. White: 'To this I will only add that to anyone who works through the archives of St. Columba's, anything written by Todd is a refreshing oasis of clarity and sanity, frequently enlivened by delicious touches of humour; and his handwriting is as clear and beautiful as his thought.'⁷⁴ While he was at this work, he rescued three important record books belonging to the Bursar's Office which Archbishop Magee of Dublin kept in his library for thirty years and which were mistakenly sent for auction on his demise. All this Todd tells us in a most interesting reflective account of his work in the Historical Introduction to later College Calendar published in 1869. The missing works refer to the history of the European universities, and to the universities of Scotland and Germany. He was most likely interested in the work of J. G. Herder in several ways, as a Hebrew scholar, as mentioned in the Introduction, and also in chapter two and also as a folklorist and German scholar. Here he shows his interest in the history and development of continental and British Isles universities.

All his historical research on the College emerged as a Historical Introduction of sixty-three pages, which preceded the first College Calendar. It was published in 1833 as *The Dublin University Calendar M.DCCC.XXXIII, Corrected to November 20, 1832*⁷⁵. It received critical acclaim in the *DUM* in 1833:

This is the first attempt of the kind made for the silent sister, as Trinity College, Dublin is sometimes termed, but unlike most first attempts it is as perfect in its plan, arrangements and details as though it had been of many years' standing. The information is admirably digested and as a standard book of reference it possesses great value.⁷⁶

It is astonishing to think that this was the first printed historical and ecclesiastical

⁷³ This MSS journal transcript by Barrett is now in the University of Cambridge Library. (Cambridge University Library, MS. Add. 707, *Historical Collections relating to Trinity College, Dublin (from its foundation to about 1814) copied from the manuscripts of Rev. Dr. Barrett, Provost of Trinity, with marginal additions by the late Dr. Todd.*)

⁷⁴ G. K. White, *A History of St. Columba's College, 1834-1974* (Dublin: The Old Columban Society, 1980) p.8

⁷⁵ James Henthorn Todd, *The Dublin University Calendar M.DCCC.XXXIII, Corrected to November 20, 1832* 1833, Dublin: William Curry Jun. & Co., 1833)

⁷⁶ G.O. Simms, *Hermathena* No. CIX (Autumn 1969), (Dublin: Hodges Figgis and Co. Ltd.) p.7

apologia for an Irish university which had been in existence since 1591, as Lloyd acknowledged to Todd in his letter. W. MacNeill Dixon, professor of English Language and Literature published a College history in 1902.⁷⁷ He drew on work by Heron, Taylor and Stubbs, all of whom published College histories after Todd. He may have been mistaken to publish his own work in summary form in the College Calendar, but it may have been the economics of the day. A partisan College history by Dennis Caulfield Heron arose out of a controversy in which Todd was involved. *The Constructional History of the University of Dublin with some account of its present condition and suggestions for its improvement*, in 1847, by Heron, was an account of his challenge to the College Board to be awarded a Scholarship on completion of his exams.⁷⁸ He, as a Roman Catholic student, refused to take the usual oath contained in the Declaration of Supremacy and the decision of the Board went against him. However the Board did found the non-foundation Scholarships in 1854, a move suggested by Todd as the Heron case progressed, in letters to his circle of correspondents. All tests were abolished by the Fawcett Act of 1873, except for those teaching in the Divinity school, again suggested by Todd as this and other educational controversies progressed. Thus the early nineteenth-century histories of the College were in response to the educational conflicts of the day. In 1845, W. B. S. Taylor published a *History of the University of Dublin*, as a form of reply to Heron, and J. H. Stubbs published a *History of the University of Dublin* in 1889 as a more factual record. Todd was the first of four nineteenth-century men who published a history of the College. The first history of Trinity to be written by a woman occurred in the twentieth-century, after Trinity had admitted women, Constantina Maxwell, was published in 1946 and she included forty-nine illustrations and much historical research.⁷⁹ The next histories were R.B. McDowell & D. A. Webb in 1982, J.V. Luce in 1992, and various specialist works like V. Kinane & Anne Walsh on the history of the Library in 2000 and a

⁷⁷ Dixon drew on a description of Provost Bartholomew Lloyd by 'Dr. Walker' who wrote that he was, 'the most devoted, the most enlightened, and the most energetic governor the University ever possessed'. (W. Mac Neill Dixon, Trinity College, Dublin, London: F. & E. Robinson and Co. 1902, p.183).

⁷⁸ J. Heron, *The Constructional History of the University of Dublin with some account of its present condition and suggestions for its improvement*, (Dublin: J. McGlashan, 1847)

⁷⁹ Constantina Maxwell, *A History of Trinity College Dublin, 1591-1892*, (Dublin: The University Press, Trinity College, 1946).

valuable guide to the paintings and sculptures by Anne Crookshank & David Webb, published in 1990, which gave short biographies of the portraits and busts. This work built on the 1865 catalogue which Provost Richard MacDonnell thought would 'enable him to assign names of the subjects of unknown portraits'.^{80, 81} Luce, in his history of Trinity, tells us that the first official Calendar appeared in 1833, because 'a Junior Fellow, James Henthorn Todd, who had been elected in 1831, took the initiative in compiling the material for it, and contributed a long and important introduction on the history of the College.'⁸² Luce also noted the tribute paid to Todd by the historian W. E. H. Lecky, who spoke in 1892 at a grand banquet for six hundred guests to celebrate the tercentenary of the College. He referred to 'the Celtic researches of scholars like Todd, Ferguson, Stokes and Reeves, and...expressed the hope that 'whatever new powers may arise', Trinity would remain 'the home of sober thought, of serious study, of impartial judgment, of earnest desire for truth, building up slowly, steadily, and laboriously the nobler and more enduring elements of national life.'⁸³ This is a judgment of Todd that is very important and Lecky was referring to a tradition of scholarship which he thought had been adhered to in his own century by the previous generation, at least. The early national biographies concur with this assessment, although later historiography by as little as twenty years made it a different portrait, as R. Foster has already pointed out. The historical work of men like Todd and the other antiquarians was swept away by political considerations and many of them would not have recognised themselves in the way assigned to them by Patrick McSweeney in 1913: 'For even as the materials for studying Irish history were slowly being collected an arranged in a way that might facilitate dispassionate analysis, a tendentious and political priority was taking over. It is doubtful that the great antiquarians...would have recognised themselves under the title given by the Reverend Patrick McSweeney in his study of their

⁸⁰ Anne Crookshank & David Webb, *Paintings and Sculptures in Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin Press, 1990) p.9

⁸¹ Todd had a bust made for him by the College after his death, which was placed in the Long Room Library but due to a cleaning error, the head was separated from the base, according to later family narrative, as supplied by the late Dr. Kirker, who thought that it might be possible to re-assemble it, in the future.

⁸² J. V. Luce, *Trinity College Dublin: The First Four Hundred Years* (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin Press, 1992)

p. 82

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 112

historical work in 1913: *A Group of Nation Builders*. But that is what constituted their importance to retrospective opinion.’⁸⁴

The history of the College by Todd had some twists and turns, as will be seen by later analysis, but the second work I examine closely in this chapter is written in a medium which tended to disguise its valid and painstaking historical contribution to the debate on primary education. Todd wrote a ‘letter’ purporting to come from Pope Gregory addressed to the Roman Catholic Bishops and Archbishops of Ireland. First published in 1836 and composed with a long Latin title, the letter was addressed to Ireland, seeming from Pope Gregory XVI. This publication at first was taken as genuine and he was complimented for his accomplished Latin by Roman Catholic scholars, and by Pusey in Oxford, when it emerged that he was in fact the author. The first edition of the *Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Gregori Papae XVI, Epistola ad Archiepiscopos et Episcopos Hiberniae (Datum VI, Idibus Septembris, anno 1832). A Letter of Our Most Holy Father, by Divine Providence, Pope Gregory XVI to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Ireland. Translated from the Original Latin* was published in London by J. G. and F. Rivington in 1836, and they were the publishers of the *Tracts for the Times*. It seems to have been more of his own initiative than that of the Board of the College, although he must have been given encouragement by someone who influenced his thinking on the merits and difficulties of the new national non-denominational system of education of 1831. At least three re-print editions followed the first, which contained his defense against his critics, all published in pamphlet form during the year of 1836. *The Reply to Pope Gregory’s Late Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland with a Preface Establishing the Authenticity of that Document*, was published in London by James Ridgway and Sons, *A Second Edition of a Pamphlet Lately Published under the title of A Letter of our most Holy Father by Divine Providence, Pope Gregory XVI to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland with An Explanatory Introduction by the Author*, was published in Dublin by Milliken and Son, and *Remarks on A Pamphlet Lately Published under the title of A Letter of our most Holy Father by Divine Providence, Pope Gregory XVI to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, by the Author*, was again published in

⁸⁴ R. Foster, ‘History and the Irish Question’ *Transactions of the Historical Society* 5th Series, vol. 33 (1983) pp.169-192, p.171

Dublin by Milliken and Son. *Remarks on A Pamphlet Lately Published under the title of A Letter of our most Holy Father by Divine Providence, Pope Gregory XVI to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, [being an Explanatory Introduction]* appeared with a bound copy of other educational material in the ‘Singer Tracts’, published by the Dublin University Press for the year 1836. These editions show the trouble Todd took in answering his critics through an intense bout of pamphlet publishing. The foray left a mark against him in the government offices of the Chief Secretary of Ireland and at Westminster, as in the later editions he published a letter in the press against him from Lord John Russell, who accused him of making trouble for the Government. The contents of this letter are included in the review of the texts later in the chapter. It is certainly a highlight in the arc of his pamphlet publishing.

In reality all the 1836 editions expressed his considered views on the merits and obstacles of the changes proposed by the Board of Commissioners for National Education in 1831. The method of how the joint religious instruction was to be taught to pupils by different visiting clergy of the main religious denominations using an agreed joint syllabus to teach ‘mixed’ classes of children also bothered him as access to schools began to prove difficult. The entire original plan was gradually rejected as unworkable by the clergy of the three main denominations with opposition from the Presbyterians led by Henry Cooke, the Catholics by Archbishop McHale of Tuam and the Church of Ireland by Primate Beresford, while the Archbishop of Dublin, Whately, embraced the plan. Todd objected to the religious instruction clauses in 1836, on the grounds of the educational unsuitability of presenting young children with passages of biblical texts with doubtful translation value, as noted, and accompanied by explanations too complex for young children to grasp, a reference to the commentary Whately was preparing for the new system.

Swift published his anonymous *Drapier’s Letters* in Dublin protesting against the government at Westminster in true non-juror tradition of the eighteenth-century in Ireland, and was soon identified as the author. The same unveiling happened to Todd for his criticisms of the practicalities of the government plan. In terms of using a literary genre to express an ironic point of view, Todd it was successful, and some, like his friend John O’Donovan, got the joke in terms of what he called his Swiftian publication. Others like

Pusey saw the connection to another precedent, a fictitious letter purporting to come from the Pope in praise of the clergy at Oxford University, written and circulated instead by an anonymous critic and called *Pastoral Epistle from His Holiness the Pope to some Members of the University of Oxford, faithfully translated from the Original Latin* and published in the same year of 1836 in London by B. Fellows. Here the Pope supposedly heaped lavish praise on the Tractarians. Todd knew of this attempt and thought the author was a cleric called Rev. Dickson, the English curate in Dublin to Archbishop Whately. They too may have got the joke, so perhaps he felt himself to be in good company. Beresford, the Primate, publicly defended him, as he recorded in one of the later editions. Pusey told him that his was a superior attempt and took issue with the Oxford publication by Dickson in *An Earnest Remonstrance to the Author of the "Pope's Pastoral Letter to Certain Members of the University of Oxford"* which again was published in 1836 in London by the famous J. G. & F. Rivington. The public clamour raised in Exteter Hall, the Strand, London, which held a crowd of up to three thousand, caused an outcry in the London papers as the letter was held up to the crowd as a genuine approval from the Pope for the new primary educational scheme in Ireland. Todd had some regretful moments as he took upon himself a defense of the meaning of the term 'fictitious' in the published editions and retractions, as quoted later in the chapter. The curse of Swift, as some Church of Ireland clergyman called it, seemed to be upon him.⁸⁵

It took some time for the controversy over his authorship of the political letter to die down and Todd did not venture into print again on educational matters until he wrote a fundraising prospectus for St. Columba's College in 1841, forging ahead on the formation of a new Irish public school influenced by Arnold and Rugby, but with an Irish historical past and using the Irish language in the classroom and in the Church of Ireland liturgy and worship. The progress of the small band of dedicated Tractarians was described in the contemporary diary and more fully by the history of St. Columba's College by G. K. White, who thought highly of Todd and his role over many years as benefactor and friend. White's summary of Todd's contribution is moving and sincere, as

⁸⁵ Sir Henry Grattan had remarked of the late eighteenth-century clergyman, Dean Kirwan of Killala, 'The curse of Swift was upon him, to have been an Irishman and a man of genius, and to have used it for the good of his country!' Henry E. Patton, *History of the Church of Ireland for Use in Schools* (Dublin: Ist. edn 1902, this edition, 5th, 1943)p. 100

well as factual, and gives an idea of the commitment he made to this educational school project:

-one of the original four Founders, governor till 1845, Trustee from 1846, Fellow from 1848 to 1857, Visitor from 1857 till his death. But that is only part of the story. From December 1840, when he joined the founders, he had a unique place among them as the only one regularly resident at the centre of things in Dublin, and he was from 1841 to 1853 the main channel of communication with Beresford, who trusted him. From 1841 to 1843 he was the most active in the search for a site, and in 1848-9 he was apparently unaided in the choice of Hollypark and the erection of the first buildings there. In 1845 and 1846, when opposing religious forces threatened to tear the College asunder, it was saved by nothing so much as by Todd's determination to preserve it at all costs and by his realistic acceptance of the facts, even though this involved doing violence to his own personal and religious sympathies. He found and in effect appointed all the Wardens from Williams to Rice. When Beresford withdrew his support at the end of 1853 there can be little doubt that only Todd's courage saved the College from despair and dissolution. From 1856, if not earlier, Todd was the only effective support of St. Columba's, apart from its Wardens and kept the College going by his personal guarantee of its bank overdraft.⁸⁶

White based this opinion on access to many personal and private letters now held in the school and accessed with permission. They extend to at least five volumes and give a close insight into the running of the school. There were many crisis, the first being the dismissal of the first Warden after it was discovered that he had married a relative of Todd's and there could be found no married quarters. Then Rev. William Sewell of Exeter College, another Warden, became hysterically ill, followed by the conversion to Catholicism of three of the Founders, along with Todd's own brother, and finally Beresford's withdrawal of his personal funding to the school, as it was accused in the press of supporting the Catholic church in Ireland. Yet, as White noted, at Todd's very large funeral, 'impressive in those days', it was 'attended by the President of Maynooth and two other Roman Catholic priests.'⁸⁷

Todd worked on the prospectus of St. Columba's with a circle of Irish Tractarians like Edwin Richard Wyndham-Quin (1812-1871), son of Henry Windham Quin and Caroline Wyndham of Dunraven Castle, Glamorganshire, and Dunraven Castle and estate at Adare, county Limerick. Edwin, MP for Glamorganshire, was one of the founders who

⁸⁶ G. K. White, *A History of St. Columba's College 1843-1974* (Dublin: Old Columban Society by the Dublin University Press, 1981) p. 87

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.87

converted to the Roman Catholic church before he became Lord Dunraven and the Third Earl of Adare. Edwin's sister's husband, William Monsell, (1812-1894) 1st Baron Emly of Tervoe House, Clarina, county Limerick, who married Lady Anna Maria Charlotte Wyndham-Quin in 1835 also converted. Augustus Stafford O'Brien, (1811-1857) of the O'Brien family in county Clare at Dromoland Castle was also involved in the founding of St. Columba's and became a Roman Catholic. William Monsell and Edwin were friendly towards and socialized with Nicholas Wiseman, John Henry Newman, Montalembert and W. G. Ward. Monsell was described by a biographer, Matthew Potter, as 'reared in an atmosphere of devotion to the union with Britain, loyalty to the Church of Ireland and adherence to the Tory party' an interesting mouthful.⁸⁸ The prospectus gained the approval of Primate Beresford at the very beginning. He was the son of the first Marquis of Waterford, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, who donated £500 to the founding of the school in 1841. The prospectus was posted from Trinity by Todd to potential benefactors in many parts of the British Isles and the continent. The school opened at Stackallan House, county Meath with a small number of pupils ranging from 7 to 17 years of age before moving to Hollypark, Rathfarnham in county Dublin where Todd bought a family home at Silveracre, Rathfarnham circa 1853.

Todd launched his own Irish Tractarian journal, the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, in the same year as the founding of the school and used it as an educational magazine from which he launched his criticism of an Irish MP at Westminster, Sir Thomas Wyse, for his contribution to a debate in the house about university education in Ireland. The article appeared in the October edition of 1844.⁸⁹ As often happened, the journal article became a separate published pamphlet with the title, *Remarks on some Statements Attributed to Sir Thomas Wyse, Esq., M.P. in his Speech in Parliament on Academical Education in Ireland, 19th July, 1844*. It is noteworthy that this pamphlet made it into a large and representative collection of pamphlets on 'Education' in Ireland of the early and mid-nineteenth-century. Other works included those by Sir Henry Parr, W.R. Hamilton, Sir Edward Baines, Scott F. Surtees, Richard Burgess and Walter Farquhar Hook in *A Collection of Letters relating to Education in Great Britain, 1829 – 1847*, bound in by the

⁸⁸ Matthew Potter, 'William Monsell, 1st Baron Emly of Tervoe' *Old Limerick Journal*, p. 58 n/d).

⁸⁹ *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, October, 1844, Dublin, Hodges, Smith & Co. 1844.

Dublin University Press.

Todd was very unhappy at the direction taken by the Catholic seminary in England at Oscott because of their teaching on papal infallibility so he published *The Search After Infallibility. Remarks on the Testimony of the Fathers to the Roman Dogma of Infallibility* with the London publisher John Pelham in 1848. It was his reply to the Rector at the College from 1840 to 1847, the auxiliary Bishop Nicholas Wiseman, who was appointed a Cardinal two years later in 1850. He took to task one of the lecturers on the staff at St. Mary's, Oscott House, the college of the 1840s, established on an earlier foundation to educate sons of the Roman Catholic gentry in England. It came to include the middling professional classes and to train young men for the priesthood, somewhat like he must have envisaged as the role of St. Columba's in Ireland, except the Church of Ireland ordinands would have been sent to Trinity College in Dublin. Oscott attracted some former Anglican priests for re-training and Newman preached a famous sermon there 'The Second Spring' in 1852, in the highly decorated gothic chapel which was designed by Pugin, another friend of the Irish circle and of Edwin in Adare where he redesigned his castle. The College came increasingly to represent the re-flowering of English Roman Catholicism in the mid-nineteenth century, in its most conservative form, forming a link for English Roman Catholics which represented their persecution from the repressive penal times to their neo- gothic medievalism of the new College chapel. The College had various lecturers for short periods of time and the secondary school was dropped, while the seminary remained. Rev. Timothy O'Connell D.D. was the offending lecturer whom Todd did not think was teaching along the right lines. O'Connell lectured at St. Mary's Oscott from April 1840 to September 1842. He produced a pamphlet in 1847, perhaps of a sermon given in Dublin, entitled: *Strictures on the Discourse delivered by his Grace Archbishop Whately, in the Cathedral of Christ's Church, Dublin, on the Search after Infallibility: with Scriptural Evidences in support of the Catholic Dogma of Church Infallibility*. This was before the dogma on papal infallibility of the First Vatican Council, but Todd was worried that there was no empirical or valid historical precedent for this teaching, so he turned again to his research and reading of the works of the Early Church Fathers. He was not against the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Britain in his Oscott pamphlet, but saw an irony emerging from the

developments represented by O'Connell at Oscott House. The public reason for re-establishing Roman Catholic dioceses and bishops was given as the need to train clergy to minister to devout, destitute Irish Roman Catholic emigrants from Ireland who left for England in their thousands as the famine years wore on. It was pastoral work taken up by his own brother Rev. William Gowan Todd when he became a Catholic priest in England, but Todd felt that men like Wiseman importunately seized the moment to seek to convert the English Tractarian clergy to the Roman Catholic church, as well as minister to the Irish population now destabilizing cities and towns in England by their sheer numbers. He had no objection to the further religious education of ordinands, but he took exception to teaching papal infallibility which he argued could not be justified either in Scripture or by historical empirical evidence. This view was shared by the later Trinity Provost and Regius Professor of Divinity and Provost, George Salmon, (1819-1804) who published his lectures on papal infallibility delivered to the Divinity school in Trinity. He quoted from Dr. Maurice's tract, *Doubts concerning Roman Infallibility: (1) whether the Church of Rome believe it* and noted, 'I used Dr. Maguire's tract in the form in which it was modernized by the late Dr. Todd' in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* December, 1851.⁹⁰ Todd's work of 1847 and 1851 left a legacy which others followed when seeking to teach this topic in the Divinity school in Trinity.

Todd was closely involved with the question of how the clergy in England should respond to the great number of Irish immigrants who left Ireland as the country became prone to shortages of food from 1839 to 1845. The famines from 1845 to 1852 only exacerbated an already difficult situation of poverty for many in Ireland. The 1841 census showed that 85% of the Irish population had no land, or had less than 5 acres – this was a fragile situation which forced dependence on one small crop. In the year of 1841 alone, three hundred thousand Irish emigrants travelled to England, often to London, while later famine emigrants went to Liverpool and the industrial cities in Lancashire and the North of England, and from there to America. The numbers of Catholic Irish in England created unease in the Church of England, especially after Newman published Tract 90 in January 1841, attempting to demonstrate that the Thirty-Nine Articles could be interpreted in a catholic sense by the Church of England. Clergymen in England felt that Newman had

⁹⁰ George Salmon *The Infallibility of the Church*, (London: John Murray, 1923) p.173

opened up the vista of England as a non-Anglican country for the first time since the English Reformation, and at a time when Jews, non-conformists and Roman Catholics were beginning to receive more recognition of their right to access and participate in education, parliament and the religious life of the country.

Todd's Oscott paper on papal infallibility was weighted to display his considerable reading of the early church fathers as he, like the other Tractarians, believed that they were closer to the apostolic church than any other age. Yet his own textual interpretations and scholarly reading was put to the test on this question, conducted against the background of Whately's sermon in Dublin condemning it, the Rev. Dr. Timothy O'Connell criticizing him for his 'liberal' remarks and Todd's backing of Whately in Dublin by a tour de force of the early church Fathers. What originally sparked Whately to preach on the topic is not known, other than it was the time of the re-introduction of the Roman Catholic bishops to England. The Rev. Dr. Richard O'Connell was an unknown figure. There is little mention of him in any other teaching role than his short time at Oscott, and he heard the Archbishop preach in Christ Church cathedral in August, 1847. He died not long after this controversy came to the fore.

In Newman's collected lectures of 1838 on *The Prophetic Office of the Church* he commented negatively on the subject of church and papal infallibility, where, in lectures three and four, he discussed the 'Doctrine of Infallibility Morally Considered' and the 'Doctrine of Infallibility Politically Considered', while at the same time, he understood that the Roman Catholic faith required certainty of belief.⁹¹ Professor G. Salmon noted in his own Lectures on papal infallibility to the ordinands in Dublin in 1899 that when Newman was a member of the Roman Catholic church, for him, papal infallibility 'was a doctrine so directly in the teeth of history, that Newman made no secret of his persuasion that the authoritative adoption of it would be attended with ruinous consequences to his Church, by placing what seemed an insuperable obstacle to any man of learning entering her fold.'⁹²

Todd turned to the testimony of St. Irenaeus, St. Clement of Alexandria, the works

⁹¹ J. H. Newman, *Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church Viewed Relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism* (London: J. G. & F. Rivington, 1838)

⁹² *Ibid.*, 1923 edn. Salmon, p.21

of Tertullian, Origen, St. Cyprian, St. Cyprian of Jerusalem, St. Basil the Great, St. Augustine, St. Cyril of Alexandria and St. Jerome. Commentators on the Oxford Movement have noted that the early tracts were most successful, because they were very short and could be read at the table over breakfast by working clergy. Todd's *British Magazine* articles, where the material on papal infallibility first appeared, were short, but became a 172 page publication when collated together with footnotes, not encouraging the kind of brevity that could be read at the breakfast table in one sitting although a chapter on each of the Fathers was possible. He presented the Tractarian ideal of a pre-reformation, universal church which could serve as a model for the current situation of tension between the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. The universal catholic church model of the early Church Fathers could not promote the infallibility of the papal office for settling disputes because it was an unsatisfactory reading of early church history and had not received universal consent. The infallibility pamphlet marked an interesting development in of his work in relation to papal infallibility, as it was another point for him to turn to a time before the Reformation splintered the universal church and diminished the power of denominational ecclesial narratives. It looked towards the higher ideal of empirical history, while acknowledging the imperfection principle, or the notion that nothing could be perfect in an imperfect world. He apologised in the preface for the lack of time in preparing material.

The Tractarians who remained after 1845 in the Church of England and the Church of Ireland, like Todd, became greatly interested in the Early Church Fathers at this point, and sought to make them available to a wider reading public. Pusey began work on re-printing editions of the Fathers for an ambitious project to make all of them available to the reading public. He began in 1841 and wanted Todd to be involved. Todd was keen to publish an edition of one of the Fathers and went to consult with Pusey at Oxford, with this in mind. This can be seen from the letter he wrote to Pusey at the time, and quoted below. He also formed a study group in Trinity among the students and staff in order to read the Early Church Fathers in translation and discuss their application to the current affairs of the day and controversy in the church, like papal infallibility. Simms tells us that he forged a middle position as 'a strong churchman, who was 'neither for

Pope nor for Puritan' and believed in the credentials of his communion.'⁹³ He noted that Todd travelled widely in Europe shortly before he wrote the text on *The Search after Infallibility* and he quotes a contemporary review of the Oscott pamphlet stating it had a 'mild temper and moderate spirit.'⁹⁴

Following the publication of his reflections on the Early Church Fathers, Todd became involved in the early 1850s in writing the first university educational review of Trinity College, Dublin for the Westminster parliament, a paradox of sorts for a man who had been outspoken against too much parliamentary intervention in Irish educational affairs. The *DUM* of 1833 had referred to 'The silent sister, as Trinity College, Dublin, is sometimes termed' yet the Report of 1853 was hardly silent. Todd gave his answers to the long list of questions as both professor of Hebrew and official College Librarian. The Report contained the answers all the members of the College, and as each man finished his part, it was sent by internal post to the next professor to fill in, below the previous person's work, until the Report was completed, with the final remarks made by the Provost and the Visitor, who at the time was Primate Beresford. There was a long and thorough list of questions to be answered about the structure, discipline, syllabus, lectures, examinations, holidays, and even the opening and closing times of the Library in summer and in winter, as well as much important information about the Library.

The 1853 Report showed up the advantages for Trinity of the early 1830s reforms in university education as it moved away from the private tutorial system of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century, when in 1834, as suggested by Todd, the tutorial system became based on the duty of lecturing to the whole body of students instead of each tutor lecturing to his own pupils. The reform of the Divinity school by honours courses and examinations, and the introduction of new subjects all added to the strengthening of the Dublin University from 1830 to 1850. Now the management system of the university became a matter of national concern the internal running of the University a matter of public scrutiny and collated empirical statistics. Later Trinity historians have held the view that Trinity emerged ahead of Oxford and Cambridge in most areas and were proud of the statistical records which emerged using this type of

⁹³ Simms, *Hermathena*, (1969) p. 9

⁹⁴ Simms, *Hermathena*, p.11 and p23 with note which refers to 'TCD Todd Ms.140.'

analysis. Luce noted that ‘the period after 1851 can show no reforms as far-reaching as those of the 1830s’.⁹⁵ Constantina Maxwell noted some subject areas like Mathematics and Science where Trinity truly forged ahead of Oxford or Cambridge. The examination for Moderatorship in Ethics and Logic was introduced from 1834, while ‘the Cambridge examinations date from 1856.’⁹⁶ ‘Trinity College...was then in advance of the more conservative Oxford and Cambridge’ she states, and ‘during the nineteenth century ...her construction became more democratic, her curriculum wider and more practical.’⁹⁷ Dixon noted that in the early and mid-nineteenth century ‘while Cambridge slept, unconscious of the dawn of a new day, Dublin was awake.’⁹⁸ He noted the effect Bartholomew Lloyd had as it was he who ‘introduced the new principles to the College...and showed the way to the English mathematicians, and laid the foundation of the school of which McCullagh, Humphrey Lloyd, Sir William Rowan Hamilton, Jellett, Dr. Salmon, the present Provost and the late George Fitzgerald are great outstanding names.’⁹⁹ McDowell and Web provide good background details to the quality of the 1853 Report as it surveyed the strides made by reform. It was Todd’s earlier critic, Lord John Russell, who announced, in April 1850, ‘that a Royal Commissions were to be appointed to inquire into the finances and educational work of Oxford and Cambridge.’¹⁰⁰ He ‘made no mention of Dublin’ at first, they note, ‘conscious, no doubt, of the way in which his predecessor in office had burnt his fingers on Irish University problems’ but this soon changed and the College got on with the business of a full enquiry when the Commission was appointed in 1851.¹⁰¹ The Commissioners were Archbishop of Dublin, Richard Whately, Maziere Brady, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, William Parsons, the third Earl of Rosse, James Wilson, Bishop of Cork, Mountiford Longfield, Professor of Feudal and English Law and Edward Cooper of Markree Castle, county Sligo. They were ‘...from easy-going Tory to middle-of-the-road Whig’.¹⁰² The Provost and Brady died in the

⁹⁵ Luce, *Trinity College Dublin* p. 104/5

⁹⁶ Maxwell, *A History of Trinity College Dublin* p. 194 n.13

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-192

⁹⁸ Dixon, *Trinity College Dublin* p. 184.

⁹⁹ Dixon, p. 184

¹⁰⁰ R. B. McDowell & D. A. Webb, *Trinity College Dublin 1592-1952 An Academic History* Dublin: Trinity College Dublin Press, 2004, p. 204.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.204.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 205

following months and William Fitzgerald, then a Professor of Moral Philosophy in the College, wrote a damning letter to Whately about the prospective candidates for the post of Provost, complaining, perhaps most unfairly of the Tractarians that ‘...anyone I do believe would be better than Todd...I have a great regard for him but I am convinced he would throw the whole weight of his position into the Tractarian scale...’ and thus, because of his religious persuasion as a Tractarian, Todd lost out on becoming the next Provost at the time of the Royal Commission.¹⁰³ He was also too outspoken a critic of some of the Westminster moves on education. ‘On the whole the Commissioners’ questions were answered candidly, clearly and honestly, and the report, with its evidence, forms a rich source of information...about the daily life of the College in mid-century’.¹⁰⁴

The report details recommended cuts in the salaries of some of the positions in the College. The salaries increased a great deal from 1834, due to the change in the tutorial system, the granting of the franchise to graduates by the 1832 Reform Act, an increase year on year in numbers of students and additional revenues from lands and College property. Todd was not particularly wealthy and the Bursar earned much more than him. He worked in the library on some tasks without a salary, yet he seemed to have spent his salary on helping his family, donating money to St. Columba’s and collecting together a large private library, full of valuable books and manuscripts which gave him access to much specialist knowledge and centuries of specialist collections of manuscript sources. Private libraries, like that of Narcissus Marsh, for example, are increasingly seen as part of the evolution of the Enlightenment, together with the Academies and the Encyclopedias, proof of the enlightenment belief in the pursuit of knowledge, whatever the cost, as a form of liberation and discovery. In addition to the manuscript collections, works on theology and biblical interpretation, current pamphlets and magazines, sermons and comment on topical issues, Berkeley, Swift and Edmund Burke in their full collected editions had their place on the shelves of his library. Burke, the Lord Rector of Glasgow University, was considered Enlightenment figure in both Scotland and Ireland in his day, as recent studies have noted.¹⁰⁵ S. J. Barnett has commented on the relationship between learning, scholarship, religion and enlightenment as have B. W. Young, Roy Porter and

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 206-207

¹⁰⁴ McDowell and Webb, p. 208.

¹⁰⁵ F. P. Lock, *Edmund Burke* 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998,2006), esp. vol.i chapters 4-5.

Peter Harrison in relation to the England, the enlightenment and ‘religion’.¹⁰⁶ Andrew Pierce has noted that ‘religion too is a contested term. Peter Harrison has argued that the modern notion of ‘religion’ derives from the English Enlightenment, in which different religions began to be understood as the varying species (religions) of a common genus (religion).’¹⁰⁷ Pierce concluded that the conceptual tools always come too late, and that the cultural accommodations of Liberal Protestantism and the cultural rejections of Catholic orthodoxy failed in the nineteenth-century to confront the problems of loss which modernity generated. Instead he proposed a ‘suitably-nourished imagination, and a disciplined willingness to remain in a state of ambiguity’ as the solution to the constant attempts to come to terms with what ‘Enlightenment’ and ‘Religion’ mean, both separately and when put together.

Whether Todd became a Liberal Protestant or a catholic orthodox believer is an interesting question. He began to forge aspects of both together into a fusion of what was around him. Perhaps for him also, the conceptual tools for understanding modernity remained tantalizingly out of reach.

The year of 1830 became something of a watershed, as noted by many commentators on this period, marking the ‘boundary between the relatively stable period’ which preceded it ‘and the succeeding period of rapid development and reform which flowed from the simultaneous political triumph of the Whigs and the appointment of Bartholomew Lloyd as Provost’ as noted by McDowell and Webb.¹⁰⁸ In his own life, the death of his father left a long shadow. Charles Hawkes Todd Senior died suddenly of an embolism in 1826, leaving fifteen children, one as yet unborn, and a widow with little means. Charles was a medical surgeon and had begun to put in place a new national system of hospital provision for the mentally ill around Ireland, county by county. He was a lecturer of Anatomy and Surgery at the Royal College of Surgeons at St. Stephen’s Green, and Todd may have inherited a love of an incisive, clinical diagnosis of a problem,

¹⁰⁶ S. J. Barnett, *The Enlightenment and Religion* (Manchester, University Press, 2003); B. W. Young, *Religion and the Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: OUP, 1998); Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2000); Peter Harrison, *‘Religion’ and the Religions of the English Enlightenment* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990).

¹⁰⁷ Andrew Pierce, ‘Enlightenment and Religion: Whither the twain might meet?’ Paper delivered at the Miltown Institute, Dublin, October 2012.

¹⁰⁸ R.B. McDowell & D. A. Webb, *Trinity College Dublin, 1592-1952* (Dublin: 2004 edn.) ,p 91; (1st edn. Cambridge, 1982)

even if it was to do with education rather than medicine. Todd carried on the more forensic side of the family tradition by taking the Gold Medal Exam in Science in 1823 and graduated with distinction in the same year one of his brothers, Richard Cooper Todd, was born, in 1824. He began to look for a means of earning a living for the family and may have given up thoughts of medicine when he gained the special prize in Hebrew in 1826, a *Biblia Hebraica, cum punctis, a Frey, 2 vols* published in London in 1812. In 1829 he was given his premium in Trinity, the year that Catholic Emancipation in Ireland was finally granted, as the last of the Roman Catholic Relief Acts became law. It marked a significant change for the country. The previous Catholic Relief Acts, of 1778, 1782 and 1783 were suspended and Daniel O'Connell was returned to Westminster as an Irish MP.

It is not strictly true to say that Todd's publishing career began in 1833 with the College Calendar. The beginnings of his publishing career are instead obscure. It has been suggested by Simms that Todd became involved in undergraduate print journalism before 1833. He is associated in the national dictionaries of biography with founding a magazine in 1825 called the *Christian Examiner*. However, the founding of this is also attributed to two other men, Rev. Caesar Otway and Dr. Joseph Henderson Singer. Barbara Hayley omits him in her detailed analysis of print publications of the period.¹⁰⁹ Otway resigned as editor of the *Christian Examiner* in 1831 to take up a post at the *Dublin Penny Journal* and most of the articles, letters and comments were written anonymously. A review painted an extreme picture of 'Popery in Ireland' in the January 1827 edition. The only solution, according to the scribe was 'the extension of scriptural education and scriptural principles in Ireland' *Christian Examiner* (January, 1827). This educational phrase may be a reference to the 'second reformation' campaign running in Ireland at the time. The piece continues,

The excuse for the conduct of a Priesthood that had in all its gradations stained its sacred functions, had enlisted the ministry of religion in the cause of political feuds, and made its altar ring with the most blasphemous denunciations, pretensions, madness... secular and unscriptural... horror...fetters on body and soul'...

The effect, as Irene Whelan notes, was that the 'second reformation' campaign

¹⁰⁹ Barbara Hayley, 'Irish Periodicals from the Union to the Nation' *Anglo-Irish Studies*, ii (1976) pp. 83-107; See also Barbara Tilly, 2005), 'Trading Knowledge: The Irish Builder and Nineteenth-Century Journalism' in *Review LISA*, vol. 3. No 1. (2005) pp.110-120.

by evangelical Protestants in Ireland in 1820s served ‘to strengthen the authority of the priests’ and ‘increase Roman Catholic intransigence, while helping to ‘tighten Catholic ranks’.¹¹⁰ The January 1826 edition of *The Christian Examiner* did carry a hopeful summary of the purpose of establishing the magazine and this would have represented some of the aims of the founders of the *DUM*:

They have tried the experiment of a Monthly Periodical which is attached to no prevailing party, and advocates no fashionable creed; which is too liberal to please the bigot and perhaps too grave to attract the frivolous: they have tried the experiment and by the kindness of their friends and the public they have succeeded; they have evinced that Ireland possesses a native talent far beyond what her friends had hoped and the Establishment retains an energy exceeding what its enemies had feared.¹¹¹

Todd wrote in 1857 to Henry Bradshaw at the Library in Cambridge and confided:

I am anxious to send you [material] in consequence of its bearing upon your most interesting discovery of the Irish Apocrypha. I printed it (now nearly a quarter of a century ago) in an Irish magazine now extinct: & I knew I had some copies of it to be stowed away, but so safely that it required a tedious search through piles of papers to find one. At length I succeeded. You will see that I was aware that the MS. in Marsh’s Library is a copy & not the original. Look at the last note p12 from which it appears that the original was deposited by Abp. Marsh in the Library of Trinity College Dublin, from which it was taken & lost in Marsh’s lifetime. It was probably taken to England by Provost Huntington, when he fled away, at the disturbances of James II. See an account of him in Ware’s Bps (Raphoe) & in the Dublin University Calendar for 1857, & see the Catalogus Libror. Storum Anglia et Hib. where the Irish Apocrypha, called Bp. Bedell’s Bible, as Marsh remarks, stand the last article in the Catalogue of MSS in T.C.D... I have sent you two copies of the enclosed, that you may if you please get one of them put into the MS [at the Library in Cambridge]. I may mention that I caused all of Abp. Marsh’s correspondence in the Bodleian Library to be transcribed & I have a copy of it, which would be well worth publishing, if a publisher could be found. It would throw great light on the literary history of that time, as his correspondents were men of the highest learning and in the learned world of the period. It is at your service, if you would like to see it, but it is a big, heavy book. ...Could you work the subject into a paper for the Royal Irish Academy? I will examine the MSS in Marsh’s Library for you and add the results to your paper.¹¹²

‘Nearly a quarter of a century ago’ would have been in 1832 or 1833, so while he was writing the short history of Trinity, he was also contributing to the print journal culture of

¹¹⁰ Irene Whelan, *The Bible War in Ireland, The ‘Second Reformation’ and the Polarization of Protestant-Catholic Relations, 1800-1840* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2005) pp 170-171

¹¹¹ Preface, *The Christian Examiner, A Church of Ireland Magazine by Members of the Established Church* (Dublin, 1826), pp.iii-iv

¹¹² Cambridge. Cambridge University Library, Bradshaw Collection, J. H.Todd to H. Bradshaw, 1857

the time, so it could have been the *DUM*, except it was not extinct in 1857. The letter does show that he was generous in helping to pass on his research to help others. Some of his print contributions are overlooked and not listed. The 1857 Calendar and the 1868 Calendar are associated with him.¹¹³ Therefore his contributions may still come to light for this early period from graduation to 1831 when he became a junior fellow in Trinity. As Barbara Hayley noted 'over a hundred and fifty periodicals were launched between the Act of Union in 1800 and the Rising of 1848'.¹¹⁴

While the origins of his journalist career are not pinned down for certain, and Simms thinks that he took on a kind of hack journalism for a time in order to help the family survive, we do know that on 18th August, 1827 Lloyd replied to his letter and encouraged him to go on with preparations for the College history. Lloyd promised Todd every assistance from the College Board, if only they could be located in the long vacation of the summer of 1827:

In such an undertaking it is but reasonable to expect from the Board every assistance in their power to afford and I am persuaded that they would now [at] once agree to your proposal for the purchase of a fount of new type, which seem to be required, could the members be now assembled. I find however that they are so much scattered as to leave us no hope of having a regular Board for several weeks. In this case your plan will be to apply to them individually and if you can obtain the consent of any from others -besides mine which you have- and the Bursar will have no difficulty in giving his order to Gibson for the purchase. How I hope you will be able to effect this without much trouble as Doctors Phipps and Sadlier are in College - and the address of the others can be had by applying at their College or own Residences. Doct. Wale will perhaps be found at Seapoint or Kingstown, Dr. Hodgkinson is now with his son-in-law Bardain in the County of Armagh, and you have only to find his post town and Doct. MacDonnell (who will probably be required to supply the place of poor Doct. Sandes at the Board (for some time to come) is I believe at Killiney - such is all the information I can give at present and it is but scanty - should you suppose that there is anything more which I can do to forward your undertaking, you have only to let me know. Being always most truly yours, Bar. Lloyd.¹¹⁵

There were excellent postal services underway in Ireland at this time so letters were sent

¹¹³ He was ill at the time of the publication of the 1869 Calendar and there was a gap in the proof reading for the published edition, for which he was later censured.

¹¹⁴ B. Hayley, *Anglo-Irish Studies* p.83

¹¹⁵ Dublin, Trinity College Dublin, TCD MSS 2214/2 B. Lloyd to J. H. Todd, 18th August, 1827

and received swiftly.¹¹⁶ Todd never published a referenced, full-length history of Trinity, for reasons which remain unclear. The circumstances of the day were turbulent, regarding Trinity, and perhaps this delayed him, or he had much work elsewhere. There was also the matter of his first Introduction and starting point for the history. The Board may not have backed him with the new print type, perhaps in Irish font, although he worked with this later. The public perception of Trinity at the time was that of ‘some thirty Catholic enrolments as against some 300 Protestants annually’ as Colin Barr noted in his essay, ‘University education, history, and the hierarchy’, which examined the level of suspicion among the Roman Catholic hierarchy with regard to Trinity in the 1830s.¹¹⁷ Archbishop Paul Cullen actively discouraged Roman Catholic students from attending Trinity and was hostile to the new Queen’s Colleges as they came along. Students were asked, by Archbishop John McHale of Tuam, to take part in Trinity at their peril as education there was an ‘infidel scheme’ towards ‘the enslavement of our Church’ and Catholic students ‘could not attend the lectures on history, logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, geology or anatomy, without exposing their faith and morals to imminent danger, unless a Roman Catholic professor...be appointed for each of those chairs’.¹¹⁸

Todd opened the Historical Preface of the *Calendar* of 1833 with a discussion on the early origins of Trinity: ‘That schools of learning existed in Ireland at a very early period is a fact...the success of which determined why the yoke of Rome was for so long resisted by the Irish Church...a very numerous body among the clergy of Ireland...devoted themselves to the monastic life, or to the propagation of religion and learning in foreign countries: and by these missionaries, schools and religious houses were founded in many

¹¹⁶ The British and Irish Post offices were amalgamated in 1831 and a uniform penny post system was established from 1840. 9.5 million letters were delivered in 1839 and 65 million by 1870. Post was addressed to the nearest postal town and delivered by hand.] Todd was interested in print and may have wanted to re-print the Irish and English documents in a facsimile way for his history. The College had its own printing press and in Dublin there was no shortage of printers, 118 book printers and traders by 1793 and an additional 34 presses in provincial towns by 1800. The Copyright Act of 1801 meant that Trinity College Library received a copy of every black and white edition of a book printed in the British Isles. Todd as librarian decided to ask the College to pay a small sum for large, colour print editions. The Board, in 1827, was small in number and they its members appeared to know where others took their holidays.

¹¹⁷

Colin Barr, ‘University education, history, and the hierarchy’ ed. Lawrence W. McBride *Texts, Contexts, and Memory in Modern Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003, pp62-79) p. 62

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63

parts of France, Spain, Italy, Germany and Britain.’¹¹⁹ A certain amount of Tractarian influence may be seen in his reference to the monastic orders of the early church as the historical model for Trinity, a thought that would have startled the married and the puritan in Trinity. One of the sources he quoted at the beginning of the 1833 work was O’Driscoll’s *History of Ireland*, volume one, who was of the opinion that Irish monks ‘were remarkable generally for considerable talent and for bold, liberal and vigorous views’, which might have been a description of himself, at times.¹²⁰ Todd referred to ‘the remains of ancient Irish literature which are still preserved in the various libraries of these countries and on the Continent’ about which he was very interested at the time, and noted the *Rerum Hibern. Scriptores* (1814-1826) by Dr. Charles O’Connor, grandson of Charles O’Conor of Belangare, the great Gaelic scribe. The ancient parochial divisions and the ‘numerous ruins of the old parish churches’ gave evidence of the existence of many schools and colleges in Ireland in remote times. There was express evidence for this from the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical historians, he noted, who ‘in the seventh century received their education in the schools of Ireland’.¹²¹ Men like Alcuin, ‘preceptor of Charlemagne, tells us this of the celebrated Willibrod, whose life he has written in prose and verse’. Willibrod was born in Northumbria, became Bishop of Utrecht in the eighth century, and received his education in Ireland. Todd saw this as a valuable link between the early Irish church and the monastic learning from Ireland. He noted that this was corroborated by Mosheim in his *Ecclesiastical History*, a German Lutheran ecclesiastical historian who published in German in the mid- eighteenth-century and who was read in the College by the students. Mosheim quoted Alcuin’s poetry regarding the career of Willibrod, who studied for twelve years in Ireland. Todd then moved forward to the work of Bede, who wrote that foreign students, like the Anglo-Saxons, were instructed and supplied with books by the Irish Colleges, especially in the time of the Bishops Finan and Colman. He quoted the full reference for this information from Bede in a Latin footnote.¹²² He continued with the history of early education in Ireland as linked to the monasteries, from which he saw Trinity as emerging in 1592. ‘Mr. Stuart’s History of

¹¹⁹ James Henthorn Todd Historical Preface to 1833 *Calendar*, p.1

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* pp.1-2

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.2

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 2-3 Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, III cap 27

Armagh' published in 1816, was another important source history with regard to the monastic foundation at Armagh. The monastic foundations in Ireland produced a flourishing Irish economy and a large population, in excess of the present day, he noted. Ireland was filled with learned men when learning on the continent was discouraged. Pope Gregory I, 'in order to advance sacred learning' burnt the books of the Palatine Library, including the works of Livy, while 'in Ireland, at that period, papal injunctions had no force, and hence the learned and ingenious were necessarily driven to this island.'¹²³ He referred to the historical prose of the late eighteenth-century Edward Ledwich (1739-1823), in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, first published in 1790, with a second edition in 1804, for reference here, noting that on page 353 of this work, Ledwich is of this opinion, in a review of Irish Literature in the Middle Ages. Todd noted that the most remarkable monastic schools were in Armagh, which was 'said to have been founded by Patrick' which could claim that there were at one time seven thousand pupils attending the monastic school at Armagh. Here he referred to the work of Florence McCarthy on Armagh. Todd continued that the Irish *Annals* noted that in 1169, Roderick O'Connor was 'the last native monarch of Ireland', and it was [granted] to the chief master of Armagh, ten oxen a year on condition that the school be kept open to students from Scotland as well as from all over Ireland'.¹²⁴ The School of Clonard had a history written by the founder, St. Finnian and published by Colgan. 'Under the miraculous guidance by an angel' Colgan was led to a place called *Cluain-Iraird* where he founded his monastery near Armagh.¹²⁵ There, 'like the sun in the firmament, he enlightened the world with the rays of his virtues, and wholesome doctrine, and miracles.'¹²⁶ A large monastic school was founded at Ross, or *Rosnalithre*, of the later Cork, Cloyne and Ross diocese, attributed in the sixth century to St. Fachnan, as was the cathedral church at Kilfenora, in county Clare. Schools of Irish learning sprang up in monastic foundations at Lismore, Clonfert, Bangor, Rathene, *Beg-Eri*, Cashel and Down. In the ninth century, Viking disturbances and raids forced Irish men of learning like Johannes Scotus Erigena to flee abroad. Well versed in Greek and Latin, and in the philosophy of Aristotle, he was the

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 4 and footnote

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6

first to blend scholastic philosophy ‘with the mystic, and formed them into one system’, Todd noted.¹²⁷ Todd concluded that, ‘in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, Ireland still preserved her literary reputation.’¹²⁸ English scholars like Osburn of Canterbury and William of Mamsbury said learning was second nature to the Irish scholars, and Osburn was a good judge of learning, as he was known himself for the beauty and elegance of his Latin and his ‘matchless skill in music.’, Todd also noted.¹²⁹ Todd referred to a tract written by Gillibert, Bishop of Limerick, published by Archbishop Ussher, concerning the state of the Church about the year 1130. Gillibert was the first Papal Apostolic Legate to Ireland, charged with bringing the Irish Church closer to Rome. The twelfth century Synod of Cashel in 1172 brought this to pass, as the Irish bishops gave the Irish church to Henry II and so the Irish church passed to the control of the English church, which in turn was controlled by Rome. However, ‘the Reformation indeed restored the church to its ancient principles, but the continuance of Romanism in the form of a distinct sect...prevented her recovering her ancient vigour’ wrote Todd, thus displaying his early established ideas in relation to the twelfth and sixteenth century church in Ireland.¹³⁰ As Leerssen, Foster and Eagleton have noted, there were many attempts by the problematic elite to become the vanguard in the nineteenth-century, but there is also a genuine attempt to construct an Irish historical narrative here, linking Trinity with the Irish monastic past. Todd continued, ‘The literature of Ireland has suffered a still more permanent deterioration, and the political discords of the country have marred the success of every attempt to revive its ancient spirit’ for the Synod of Cashel led to the Irish sees being filled by English clergymen, ‘devoted to the papal interest’.¹³¹ Two centuries later a petition was sent to the Pope asking him to found a university in Dublin by men who wished to preserve the monastic and Catholic link in Ireland. A copy of the Bull from the Pope, in the Register of Archbishop Allan, gave a favourable ear to the establishment of land were ‘men skill-full in learning and fruitful in the Sciences’ could ‘by wholesome doctrine’, sprinkle the land ‘like a watered garden to the Exaltation of the Catholic faith.’

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 8

¹²⁸ Ibid., p.8

¹²⁹ Ibid., p.9

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 10

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 11

¹³²Allan hoped for ‘University of scholars and a general school... in every science and lawful faculty’, established, ‘to flourish forever’.¹³³ However, the papal Bull fell to nought after the death of Archbishop Lech in 1313. Todd consulted the Statutes drawn up in Mr. Mason’s *History of St. Patrick’s Cathedral*, Book 1, chapter 14, written by Archbishop Bignor of Dublin, for the state of university in 1320. The University went ahead and lectures were given in Divinity, Civil and Canon law, ‘and other clerical sciences for some time’.¹³⁴ There were some traces of this work in the reign of Henry VII and Henry VIII until the dissolution of the monasteries in Ireland as a result of the English Reformation. The canons of the Cathedral of St. Patrick’s remained the only officers of this early papal university while in 1563 Queen Elizabeth attempted to revive some learning for the young at this ancient cathedral place. However, this too failed and in 1586 a parliament assembled in Dublin pursued the idea of establishing Grammar Schools in every Diocese. The following year a move was made in parliament to establish a University in Ireland and in 1584 it was proposed that St. Patrick’s Cathedral convert revenue and close the Cathedral in order to establish two new Universities and several Colleges. The abolition of St. Patrick’s in order to facilitate this new university project was defeated by Archbishop Loftus, who was later appointed as the first Provost of a new University, founded on 3rd March, in the thirty-fourth year of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, by letters patent, in 1591. The Charter enacted that ‘a College be erected in a place called *Allhallows* near Dublin, for the education, institution and instruction of youths and students in the arts and faculties, to endure for ever’.¹³⁵ It was to be called, (and Todd puts this in capital type) ‘COLLEGIUM SANCTAE ET INDIVIDAE TRINITATUS JUXTA DUBLIN A SERENISSIMA REGINA ELIZABETHA FUNDATUM’.¹³⁶ One Provost, three fellows and three scholars started the University, ‘in the name of more’.¹³⁷ The Provost, Fellows and Scholars were to be ‘forever a body corporate’ and if there was a vacancy due to the death of a Provost, it was to be filled within three months. The Provost and Fellows could ‘make and confirm from time to time laws, statutes, and

¹³² Ibid., p. 12

¹³³ Ibid., p 12

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 13

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 26

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.26-7

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 27

ordinances' as they saw fit, and 'choose from the statutes of Oxford and Cambridge' such as they saw fit for the purpose of teaching the liberal arts in Ireland, which was to occur at no other place'.¹³⁸ The students could take Bachelors, Masters and Doctoral degrees. A Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor could be nominated by the Provost and the majority of the fellows. All 'goods, chattels, lands, tenements, and hereditaments' belonging to the Provost, Fellows and Scholars should be exempt from 'all burdens, taxes, tallages, cesses, subsidies, exactions, compositions or demands whatsoever, either in time of war or peace'.¹³⁹ These detailed quotations illuminate much of what Todd held to for the rest of his life as a Tractarian, so are worth quoting here as an insight into the formation of his historical narrative.

The transition from monastic learning to bardic history and from there to the eighteenth-century historical prose of the miscellany is here set out in most interesting detail. Was it historical prose in the postmodern revisionist sense? It was what the 'revisionist' 'enlightened' 'scientific' antiquarians took to work with in their endeavours and it is the transition from 1833 to 1860 that is most interesting. Todd linked all this to education at university level, a most original move where it is interesting to search for parallels. As Colin Kidd noted 'Gaelic antiquity was a topic of central importance to the course of the Enlightenment in both Ireland and Scotland... In eighteenth-century Ireland, Gaelic antiquity was harnessed to characteristic Enlightenment ideas of latitudinarianism and civil religion', while in Scotland he sees Gaelic antiquity linked to 'the progress of mankind from rudeness to refinement.'¹⁴⁰ Todd was not so much interested in latitudinarianism or in any nominal civil religion, as in learning and progress through public information about the common past. Kidd mentions 'stadialism', perhaps a distraction from the pervasive idea of a golden age of early monastic learning in Ireland, as put forward by Todd and many others. Ossianic literature as Kidd says, 'kept Gaelic antiquity at the heart of the Scottish Enlightenment.' He gives a summary of the link in Irish political culture between ethnic identity and civility, seeing it as being introduced in the sixteenth century by Edmund Spenser (1552-1626), Sir John Davies (C. 1570-1626), and *Gilraldus Cambrensis*, whom Todd was interested in for the manuscript sources.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p 29

¹⁴⁰ Colin Kidd, 'Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland' *English Historical Review* 109, (November, 1994) pp. 1197-1214, p.1197-8

A perceived link by the seventeenth century New English, between Irish Brehon Law, gravelkind and tanistry, saw it as 'hindering the social stability necessary for economic development' in Ireland.¹⁴¹

Todd quoted from the College archive collection of letters from the seventeenth century, including one from Bishop Bedell after he was appointed Provost. It was addressed to Archbishop Ussher and dated April, 1628. It asked Ussher to consider extending the stay of the Fellows to twelve years at the University, as they were on a lesser footing than Cambridge and London. Bedell consulted with a Mr. Ward in Cambridge and a physician who had a patent for the College of Physicians in London. Bedell wrote in another letter that the scholars were not permitted by the tutors to go into town unless by permission, as 'the streets of Dublin were very foul'.¹⁴² However the scholars became practiced in taking their gowns up in their arms so that seemed to solve the problem. Provost Bedell drew up a new Charter which was incorporated into the University by Royal authority. The power of appointing a Provost became the preserve of the Crown and Visitors were cut from eight to two. Todd ended his history of Trinity by noting that the four terms of the University were changed by Archbishop Laud to correspond with the terms at Oxford.

It may have surprised the Irish Victorian reader of the day that Todd should seek to explain the history of Trinity from long before the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, who was usually credited with founding the Irish University in 1591 as an instrument of the Crown in Ireland. It may have seemed like a forced or contorted argument. However, as in the bardic histories of Ireland, such was the importance of lineage to establish credibility that historical argument had to refer to the most illustrious and civilized past. Kidd has made the argument that in Ireland, the break with the past was not as severe as with the Scottish Enlightenment, that there was a certain 'elision of time' and that in the late eighteenth-century, 'Irish antiquarians had less of the theoretical apparatus necessary for the detection of socio-cultural anachronism.'¹⁴³

The *Calendar* was well received and Todd was praised in the *DUM* as Simms noted, for the way in which he organized his material and summarized his findings. It is

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 1198-9

¹⁴² Todd, Historical Preface to the 1833 *Calendar*, p. 44

¹⁴³ C. Kidd, *Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity* p. 1211

possible to view this history as part of a distinct protestant antiquarian culture, defined by Foster as ‘a system of beliefs, attitudes and ways of thought, in a sense mediated and refined through an understanding of history’.^{144, 145} The early and mid-nineteenth century antiquarians in Ireland were able to garner the fruits of earlier work, and Catholic and Protestant sympathizers ‘to Gaelic cultural projects’ could ‘achieve a fruitful accommodation.’¹⁴⁶ Kidd pointed out that ‘the powerful, positive and resilient image of Gaelic culture constructed by early modern Irish antiquarians had traversed the quicksand of Enlightenment’ and continued to survive in the Celtic revivals of the nineteenth-century, which linked back to variant earlier versions of Milesian antiquarianism.¹⁴⁷ ‘The forms and aims of enlightened Irish historiography were crucial to this survival’ he noted, and the detection of historical anachronism was certainly one of them.¹⁴⁸

In the second edition of the *Calendar*, published in 1834, the history of Trinity started in 1591. The entire first part of the history of the University was cut and instead Todd provided a brief chronological table listing the amendments to the statutes from the seventeenth to the nineteenth-century, that is from 1668 to 1833, together with some general material pertaining to the Calendar. Perhaps it was thought unnecessary to repeat the Introduction of the previous year, and Todd was adding further material to support it, which could not be printed in the first Historical Preface, as it would have made it too long. Perhaps there was some internal disagreement as to why a history of Trinity should begin with Irish monastic learning, promote a monastic ideal, and quote Gaelic civilization as argued by Bede, Ussher, Keating, Ware, and Ledwich. Todd did not explain the cut, so we do not know how he viewed the second edition of 1834. Letters and correspondence at this time give some idea of the mood of the times. He was very preoccupied with the decision of Archbishop Whately to establish a new Divinity School in Dublin under his own control. The Protestant Defense Association was formed which

¹⁴⁴ R.F. Foster, *The Irish Story*, p.38

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.38. Foster referred to the more general survey of Irish historiography in *Culture and Anarchy* by the historian F.S. L. Lyons, which spoke of ‘an anarchy of the mind’, or some kind of rejection of external authority ‘that sprang from the collision within a small and intimate island of seeming irreconcilable cultures, unable to live together or to live apart, caught inextricably in the web of their tragic history’.

¹⁴⁶ C. Kidd, *Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity* p.1213

¹⁴⁷ C. Kidd, p.1213

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.

in much later times opposed the development of Ritualism in the Diocese of Dublin.¹⁴⁹

In May 1834, Todd received a letter from Charles Lindsay, Bishop of Kildare, who helped to form the Protestant Defense Association, and he returned to him the outline of a plan for 'a new College of St. Patrick's Dublin' under parliamentary consideration at Westminster, a plan put forward to place the education of ordinands outside of the scope of Trinity, and against, as Todd saw it, the founding instructions stating that the purpose of the University was not just to teach the liberal arts but produced men of learning for the Established Church. Todd responded to the idea by Whately by suggesting the development of satellite residential quarters in the city for Trinity's ordinands, as enrolled postgraduates, and based in residence beside the two main cathedrals of St. Patrick's and Christchurch in Dublin. This of course made perfect sense in the light of his 1833 historical outline. Provision could be made, he thought, for houses for some of the new Professors or Fellows. New posts of employment could be created and men hired to teach a new agreed syllabus. He thought of there should be generous scholarships for the less well-off students, and that graduate B.A. ordinands could be kept on the College books but not asked to pay fees. It was an ingenious solution and he thought it would ameliorate the plans by the Archbishop but bring about needed improvements in Trinity. All this he outlined in a letter to an unknown recipient, perhaps Archbishop Whately, written on the 18th April, 1834.¹⁵⁰ Nothing seems to have come of his suggestions, although they were a way forward to expand the practical training of the Divinity school ordinands, and perhaps would have revived the Dublin cathedrals via offering placement for the students in training. It would have revived the cathedrals as graduate teaching schools in the early nineteenth-century in Dublin. The shades of his Tractarian influences were apparent.

By May of 1834, he was conscious that Bishop Lindsay was supplying him with further information about the plan, although now it did not come directly from the Archbishop of Dublin. Charles told him that there was 'a great disinclination on the part of the first rank of the RC will -if I rightly understand the present feeling concerning

¹⁴⁹ 'Ritualism in the Diocese of Dublin: A Correspondence between the committee of the Protestant Defense Association of the Church of Ireland and His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin' (Dublin: 1889) at the National Library of Ireland, Call Number, P1793

¹⁵⁰ Dublin, Trinity College, Dublin, TCD MSS 2214/4, J. H. Todd to an unknown recipient, perhaps Archbishop Whately, 18th April, 1834.

Popish Ascendancy- be easily raised against such a measure' as 'they are already surrounded by a power which they feel too mighty for them and a Protestant alliance will be hailed with delight' because 'they will not be too prominently called forward to display themselves.'¹⁵¹ In that same month, Todd received a letter from the Hon. Frederick Shaw, at Westminster. Shaw wrote in an almost illegible script, in the manner of a hasty scribble, so only guess work supplies what was in that letter, while a few days later Todd gave a summary of it in a letter sent to Bishop Samuel Kyle of Cork, which gave his outline of what was happening in relation to Archbishop Whately's proposed new Divinity College in Dublin:

I do not know exactly how you view the question of the New Divinity College, proposed by the Archbishop of Dublin, but I dare say you will at all events like to hear what our proceedings in reference to it have been. The plan was devised on the consent of the government obtained before anyone here, except the Provost, knew anything of it –and even he had but a very vague account of the matter given him –it appears that the Archbishop in company with Dickinson called on the Provost, so far back in December last, and mentioned the think to him –The Provost, in a general way, gave some kind of assent to it, without I suppose very well knowing what it was, except that it was something very fine,....¹⁵²

Todd's reading of this situation was correct and somewhat humorous, and there is a similar version of events given in McDowell and Webb.¹⁵³ They were not particularly complimentary about Whately's personality. 'By his failure to comprehend his milieu, his lack of the patience necessary to await the moment when criticism might be heeded, and his complete confidence in the strength of his own arguments, he soon won the reputation, which was not wholly deserved, for stubborn arrogance and meddling eccentricity'.¹⁵⁴ A newspaper called the *Recorder* noted that if the New College went ahead then there would be no reason to keep Trinity as a Protestant Corporation. Martin Hewitt has taken the period c.1830 to be a watershed, by which he meant that it marked the end of the Georgian era, the eighteenth-century, and the formation of Victorian Ireland and Britain.

¹⁵¹ Dublin, Trinity College, Dublin, TCD MSS 214/5 Charles Lindsay, Christ Church, Dublin to J. H. Todd, Trinity College, Dublin, 9th May, 1834

¹⁵² Dublin, Trinity College, Dublin, TCD MSS 2214/7 J. H. Todd to Bishop Samuel Kyle, Cork,, 13th May 1834. The rest of this long letter continues in an endnote ii.

¹⁵³ McDowell and Webb, (2004 edn.) pp.

¹⁵⁴ 165-168 *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.)

¹⁵⁵ Leerssen sees it as a saddle-back period of change in Ireland as do McDowell and Webb, when the university began to move in favour of change. Akenson reminds us that change could come from a reforming Provost of the moderate Tory variety such as Lloyd, as much as from the later ‘sensible, heartless Whiggery’ of Lord John Russell.¹⁵⁶

In the end, Todd was somewhat won over by Whately and when he wrote to Bishop Kyle again in Cork, he told him that Whately ‘gave us a very long and a very clear account of the origin and process of the whole design and entered at great length to the whole question’.¹⁵⁷ Whately’s object, Todd continued, was ‘not merely to provide additional instruction for Divinity students in subjects not sufficiently pursued, or not read at all there, but also to provide a place where he might in some degree superintend personally the progress and studies of the students’ in order to prevent any appearing at an examination for Holy Orders unprepared. It ‘materially altered my view of the practicality of reconciliation as the question stood’, he noted, and then he suggested ‘an additional professor or two, in our Divinity School and under the control of the Board’.¹⁵⁸ Elrington urged him to draw up a paper on the way he conceived this as coming about, which he did, and it went to the Lord Lieutenant to decide the matter between all interested parties. Whately then agreed that if the Lord Lieutenant thought it more practical to extend the Divinity School and give up the New College plan then he would abide by his decision. A vote by the Board resulted in an even decision both ways, but those who voted against the Provost were represented as having voted for the New College. Todd then received a letter from the Hon. Frederick Shaw which ‘said he thought the government would abandon the measure’ and another letter from Dickinson who said that ‘the Bishop of London and all the English Bishops he had seen were warmly in favour of the plan, that to establish similar Colleges in England was the basis of every measure of Church Reform that any of them had thought of and that in short, what was here regarded as novel and dangerous was in England looked upon as the best

¹⁵⁵ Martin Hewitt, ‘Why the notion of Victorian Britain does make sense’ *Victorian Studies*, Spring, (2006) pp. 396-433. Hewitt is mainly arguing for the continued use of the term Victorian even though it spans an almost impossible amount of attributes, a long time period coinciding with Victoria’s reign and full of changes. The boundary between Victorian and other eras is not necessarily universally agreed. M. Hewitt, ‘Why the notion of Victorian Britain does make sense’ *Victorian Studies*, (Spring, 2006) pp. 396-433.

¹⁵⁶ D. Akenson, *An Irish History vol ii* p. 6

¹⁵⁷ Dublin, Trinity College, Dublin, TCD MSS 2214/7, Todd to Bishop of Cork, 13th May, 1834

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, (TCD MSS 2214/7).

means of saving the Church.’¹⁵⁹ Then a further letter arrived from Boyton, the Irish Unionist, saying that the ‘Government had abandoned the design, and that they always looked upon the Archbishop of Dublin as a very troublesome person who is always proposing some new measure or some unheard of Reform – and that they would be very glad to send him back to St. Alban Hall if they could.’¹⁶⁰ Todd is not sure what credence to attach to this last remark but on the whole there the business ‘rests for the present’, he told Kyle.¹⁶¹

Three years later Todd took up the subject of the educational provision for primary school children in Ireland and in 1836 published what must be one of the most unusual educational tracts, a false letter from the Pope. In the first edition, he contended, as noted above, that the flaw in the new national school provision for religious instruction by the clergy was the want of a shared and agreed English translation of the Bible. The solution was a joint new translation of the Scriptures, but he saw this as being a long way ahead of the present circumstances. *A Second Edition of A Pamphlet Lately Published under the Title of A Letter of our Most Holy Father by Divine Providence, Pope Gregory XVI to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland with an Explanatory Introduction by the Author* was published in 1836 a short time after the first edition, by Milliken and Son, booksellers to the University, in 1836. The third edition was entitled *The Reply to Pope Gregory's Late Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland with a Preface Establishing the Authenticity of that Document*. It was published in London almost at the same time as the second edition, by James Ridgeway and Sons, in 1836. It is in the reply of the third edition that we get some insight into the wider educational picture that he experienced, especially the educational project at the Kildare Place School in Dublin, about which he had much to say in the third edition. In discussing the criticisms made against the earlier editions, that the author (that is, in reality, Todd writing as an anonymous satirist), said that ‘it would be useless to make any assertions concerning the authenticity of the following Letter:- as every reader must decide for themselves. ‘He’

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., TCDMSS 2214/7

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., TCDMSS2214/7

¹⁶¹ Ibid., TCDMSS2214/7

then added that ‘it *might* still be nothing more than a fictitious composition.’¹⁶² It was the job of the Preface, he argued, to ‘prepare his reader for a just estimation of those proofs hereafter’ concerning the Letter ‘which has now created such a sensation.’¹⁶³ ‘Rational minds will be always ready to reconsider the grounds upon which any opinion has been founded’ and ‘every question must be ultimately decided according to the evidence produced.’¹⁶⁴ He rehearsed again coverage of the Letter in the *Standard* ‘and other respectable newspapers’ on the subject of the letter being preached on by Mr. McGhee at Exeter Hall. Many there thought it was a genuine letter from the present Pope Gregory, and it so alarmed a large crowd of over four thousand at the Strand in London, that ‘the respectable publishers’ may have been at fault, or it may not have been their fault at all as ‘Messers Rivington’ did inquire accurately into the character of the letter before they undertook its publication.’¹⁶⁵ If it was a fictitious document, ‘they might still certainly have consented to undertake its publication’ as the facts were that a ‘gentleman of respectability’ whose name has been ‘altogether suppressed’ (it might have been his brother in London, or a mutual friend), saw the letter for sale and ‘it occurred to him that he could put it into the hands of Rev. Mr. McGhee, his friend, who was at that moment preparing himself to submit to the public certain documents’.¹⁶⁶ This started the whole furore regarding the letter in London. Todd then described Mr. McGhee in somewhat unflattering terms: he ‘is not a very young man’ but one who has ‘taken part in distinguished polemics for a series of years’.¹⁶⁷ McGhee was ‘accustomed to theological argumentations’ and ‘it has been many years since he was very justly distinguished by his ardent and glowing defence of a cause’.¹⁶⁸ In one case, which seemed to have rankled with Todd as it could have been himself, Mr. McGhee impugned someone who ‘though enrolled in the service of the Established Church, he denounced as a Papist in disguise’.¹⁶⁹ Here Todd’s high church and Tractarian credentials may have been the target

¹⁶² J. H. Todd, *The Reply to Pope Gregory’s Late Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland with a Preface Establishing the Authenticity of that Document*. (London: J. Ridgeway and Sons, 1836) Preface p. v

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. vi

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. vi

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. ix

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. ix

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xii

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xii

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xii

of the remarks in the context of his prophecy lectures. In any event, the said person who had come to the fore for criticism by McGhee, operated as an ardent Protestant. He continued, 'the individual so called...had been honoured by a Fellowship in Trinity College', and 'was countenanced by the Bishops of the Established Church'.¹⁷⁰ McGhee preached at length in London to 'a crowded and most respectable auditory', using his own 'ingenuity' and 'his own talents for polemical disquisitions'.¹⁷¹ Had he 'scrutinized into dates, hunted out facts with a lynx-eyed penetration, compared them on with another', then things might have turned out differently.¹⁷² 'Voluminousness' and 'volubility' were instead his hallmarks and they led him astray in his preaching. McGhee even boasted that the letter had done 'in one day' what 'all the penetration and skill of Mr. Pitt, aided by the Houses of Legislature, after the most strenuous efforts, had failed to establish'.¹⁷³ The crowd 'applauded the watchfulness of the man who brought it forward' and as a result the anonymous author was then accused in the *Standard* of forgery.¹⁷⁴ This was a criminal charge against an important and respected person, the Pope, and so it fell to 'the editor' to understand the nature of the letter and put forward a further explanation. Todd then introduced the clever literary idea of the letter being a 'pasquinade' and not a forgery. A 'pasquinade' is an anonymous satire or lampoon, displayed or delivered in a public place, and the practice referred back to the idea of the talking statues of Rome.¹⁷⁵

Todd went on to speak of the unenviable role of the new National Board of Education, appointed by the Government to implement the National School system. They were caught in a difficult situation when the sites for the building of the new national schools became a contentious religious issue. The Board sought to be fair and 'in those districts where the Protestant landlords have refused to allot ground for the building of a

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p, xiii

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. xiv

¹⁷² Ibid., p. xiv

¹⁷³ Ibid., p.xiv

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p.xiv

¹⁷⁵ The pasquinade originated in satirical poems in a broad Roman dialect, often criticizing the Pope or the papacy, were written by Roman citizens and attached to a statue know as the figure of Pasquino. The statue was a third century B.C. sculpture unearthed again in the fifteenth-century and first used in the sixteenth-century by Cardinal Olivero Cafafa, who decorated it with witty Latin epigrams, on St. Mark's day, in Rome. The custom grew up of the talking statue as a designated place for the citizens of Rome to express their views on the current Pope or papacy.

school-house, care has been taken to offer the accommodation of some building in the proximity of a chapel', which was an interesting anomaly.¹⁷⁶ Yet this solution sometimes pleased no one in Ireland. However there were several different parties in the Anglican church and the characteristics of the *High Church party*, (as seen through the eyes of the Pope) were:

men who are hostile to Roman Catholics and Dissenters of all kinds, individually; who would keep them out of all places, civil and political, because they do not belong to the Established Church; but at the same time, they uphold strenuously our leading notion of human authority, as well as many of our doctrines, which rest on this foundation. They agree with us in maintaining that some human being should prescribe religious opinions to others... They differ from us at present as to who should exercise the authority in question. This difference, however, may not last long; for if the Established Church were to cease to exist, many of them would unite with the Catholics, rather than with any class of Protestant Dissenters, on the ground that the Church of Rome has episcopacy and apostolical succession.'¹⁷⁷

A different class of Protestants, called *Liberals*, are 'desirous that all civil and political privileges should be equally open to men of all religious denominations'. In contrast to the High Church party, 'they maintain that Christianity and right notions of it, are to be supported, not by penal laws and restrictions, civil or political, but by reasoning, by instruction, by the diffusion of knowledge, and by the good examples which Christians should afford to each other'.¹⁷⁸ This he feels is a good example and in addition, they 'are not at liberty to give up the exercise of their own judgment and reason which God has conferred on them' except where God has superseded this, by 'granting to others a power of working miracles'.¹⁷⁹ 'Many of the *High Church party* would say of some of them, that they were 'right in their doctrines, and wrong only in their mode of getting at them', he concluded.¹⁸⁰

Todd then moved on to the work of 'The Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion' or the APCK as it later became known. The Society received a small parliamentary grant but due to the

¹⁷⁶ J. H. Todd 3rd edition, *Reply* p. 29

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 61

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.61

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 61

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 61

apathy of the gentry, were barely able to supply each parish with a single school. This meant that many districts in Ireland had no school whatsoever. The schools 'were confined to Protestant masters', and supervised by the Established clergy, who gave religious instruction, using a Church Catechism. 'It seems to have occurred to many most respectable Protestants, that this system was not, in its nature, fully adapted to the general wants of the country'.¹⁸¹ They in turn formed the Kildare Street Society whose rules were very different from the Association. Roman Catholic children 'were admissible and admitted' and Roman Catholics were placed on the managing Committee. 'No school received aid till the local patron declared in writing that he had no rule against a Roman Catholic being school-master.'¹⁸² 'No Catechisms or books belonging to any religious denomination exclusively, were permitted to be used'.¹⁸³ It was not required to teach the whole of the Bible but only the whole of the New Testament, as placed 'in the hands of the scholars, while it was left to the local patrons to determine whether it should be the Authorized or Douay Version, or both in the same school.'¹⁸⁴ The clergy of both Roman Catholic and Established churches visited and examined the children, 'as they pleased', and asked questions 'of a very general nature merely'.¹⁸⁵ The Society felt this was more fitted to 'the general circumstances of the country', so more grant money was given from Parliament to the managing committee, where the clergy of the Established Church were not members.¹⁸⁶ The only flaw in this arrangement was that the Committee were 'marked by their hostility to Catholic Emancipation'.¹⁸⁷ This caused 'strife of tongues' at the meetings of the Committee, and also 'the unrestricted use of Scripture' became a 'political feeling' rather than a 'religious conviction'.¹⁸⁸ At this time 'controversy was raging with regard to the Bible Society'.¹⁸⁹ The result was that 'Protestant members were successful within the walls of the Society, and the Roman Catholic Barristers without.'¹⁹⁰ The Roman Catholic clergy then argued that they should use extracts from Scripture,

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 63

¹⁸² Ibid., p.64

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 64

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 64

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 64

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 64

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 64

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 64

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 65

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 65

rather than the whole Bible, and the practical question remained as to what these should be, and why. Some argued that a single verse of Scripture, read every day while the children held in their hands on the Scriptures, would suffice for the rules of the Kildare Street Society to be 'upheld everywhere in Ireland'.¹⁹¹ This discretion in applying the rule was not accepted by the Committee and some began to wonder if they were offering 'a pretence to liberality, assumed not because liberal feeling were really entertained, but because it was expected that the priests would not avail themselves of it'.¹⁹² Roman Catholics felt that 'their co-operation ...was far from being desired', and this brought down the scheme of the Kildare Street school being extended to a national system. The debate transferred to the House of Commons, 'an assembly bound by duty to consider whether the money of the nation was judiciously expended or not'.¹⁹³ The 'ministry of the day' ...'honestly doubting whether a system to which four-fifths of the people were opposed, could be represented as national' withdrew their grant to the Society.¹⁹⁴ Then 'suddenly a change of ministry took place; and it fell to the lot of Lord Grey and his party to do, what it was known the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel had previously resolved should be done.'¹⁹⁵

Todd (or 'the editor') accepted that the small Kildare Place Society had to give way to 'an alternation in the education-machinery', and that it could not be expected that the Kildare Street Society would be 'an effective instrument for establishing and conducting schools in which the attendance of scholars... was voluntary'.¹⁹⁶ The solution lay, he said, in finding 'what was the best of practicable systems', and this fell to Lord Stanley. The Commission of Enquiry had been established in 1806, and fourteen reports were delivered, by 1812, the last report signed and agreed by the Lord Primate, the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishop of Killala, and the Provost of Trinity, and it became the whole new government sponsored national primary education plan for Ireland. The general plan aimed not to 'interfere with the religious tenets of any', with all 'under one

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 67-68

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 68

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 69

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 69

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 69

and the same system', as the leading principle.¹⁹⁷ A Board of Commissioners with extensive powers of enactment was then empowered 'to receive and dispose of Parliamentary Grants for building and endowing schools', and this meant that the government would provide for everything, land, buildings and even school books. They would also train well-qualified men who would instruct the young in moral principles and religious living. Yet a controversy arose in 1824 between the RC and Established Bishops. Religious instruction in a particular denomination was to occur 'at a proper time and in other places', and this was contested by some of the clergy.¹⁹⁸ 'The improvement and civilization of the country' was at stake, yet endless wrangling continued and confusion reigned.¹⁹⁹ Who, Todd argued, had the power to influence the young effectively? It was like trying to control the influence of the wind over the waters. Then again the variations of readings amongst existing manuscripts of the Old and New Testament meant there was no agreement of interpretation that was not liable to objection. Yet he concluded that 'the peace of the country requires' and the 'spirit of Christian religion demands' a resolution.²⁰⁰ 'Kindly affection' among the young, 'accustomed to intermingle in childhood while the heart is still open to the kindly affections and before the jealousies and rivalries of manhood have commenced' meant that education of all together is the best way to encourage toleration in Ireland. He added a general lesson for the children that were the most important of all:

Christians should endeavour, as the Apostle Paul commands them, 'to live peaceably with all men (Rom. Xii. 18) even with those of a different religious persuasion. Our Saviour Christ commanded his disciples to 'Love one another'. He taught them to love even their enemies, to bless those that cursed them, and to pray for those who persecuted them. He himself prayed for his murderers.'²⁰¹

This particular edition is quoted from at length because there is no other record of what Todd did contribute to the educational debates of the time. Kenneth Milne has written of this period, but omits mention of Todd.²⁰² It is possible to detect in this later edition that

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 71

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 74

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 74

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 78

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 79

²⁰² See for example, Áine Hyland & Kenneth Milne, (eds.) *Irish Educational Documents. Volume 1. A selection of extracts from documents relating to the history of Irish education from the earliest times to*

Todd had both wished to gently 'send up' the whole question but was genuinely engaged in a sort of sympathy with his opponents in the different corners, as if the exercise had made him put himself in the other person's place and explain their thinking in the form of a dramatic dialogue.

Todd's social circles brought him into contact with various groups outside the church and university. O'Donovan, his antiquarian comrade, 'sent him up' about the false letter of 1836, (and again in the same vein in 1841). He wrote to Todd on 30th August, 1836, 'I assure you that I never believed it possible that you could commit such a bull as to forge a Bull in the 2nd quarter of the 19th century, when all the world are strenuously labouring in the field of truth. I shall be in town now for some time...' ²⁰³ He, like Todd, began to be more than skeptical of the work of some of the scribes and historians, including Zeuss, and told Todd that 'Dr. O'Connor disgraced our literature by his monstrous ignorance' in his reference to Round Towers. ²⁰⁴ O'Donovan often worked from the home of the Petrie family in Dublin. He sometimes described his travels for the Ordinance Survey to Todd, to keep him up to date with the mapping work. 'I am now entering Roscommon, a very historically interesting county and I fear I shall have to trouble you often... PS I suppose you have seen this town [Athlone]. Though a formidable fortification, it is perhaps the ugliest town in Europe. ²⁰⁵ In June 1837 he wrote that he was sending a list of thirteen 'hard words' to Todd, and told him that he was writing a letter of introduction to Samuel Ferguson about himself, 'the following letter of introduction is more than amusing, being written for a Papist by a Tory of the first blood'. ²⁰⁶ O'Donovan wrote to Todd describing the loss of his son through an influenza epidemic which invaded his lungs:

I have been doing very little since I saw you last, in consequence of the death of my little boy. Indeed I never knew what grief was before, though I lost many friends of more importance to me than my present loss. ...Fierce grief shoots a pain through the heart! O Absolom my son! I expect to be able to attend you tomorrow night at 6 half o'clock, though

1922 (1987) (Out of print). Dr. Milne has also contributed a chapter 'Principle or Pragmatism? Archbishop Broderick and the Church Education Policy' in Alan Ford, James Maguire and Kenneth Milne (eds.) *As By Law Established: The Church of Ireland Since the Reformation* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1995)

²⁰³ Dublin, National Library of Ireland, (NL) MS 5443/2, John O'Donovan, 21 Great Charles Street, Dublin, to James Henthorn Todd, 30th August, 1836

²⁰⁴ Dublin, NL5443/5 John O'Donovan to J. H. Todd, 8th February, 1840

²⁰⁵ Dublin, NL MS5443/3 John O'Donovan, Athlone to James Henthorn Todd, 2nd June, 1837.

²⁰⁶ Dublin, NL5443/4, John O'Donovan to James Henthorn Todd, 13th June, 1837

my mind is labouring under temporary insanity, but I trust I shall be able to get the better of myself tomorrow.²⁰⁷

O'Donovan referred again to the false letter in this same letter, saying that Dr. Mac Hale of Tuam,

...told me it was a great pity that the Irish people had formed such a notion of Dr. Todd in consequence of one sequil to those which Dean Swift was wont to fire at the public and he says that if he were not afraid of injuring Dr. Todd, he would have sent his influence to renounce that false impression long since! He certainly is a very prudent man!²⁰⁸

Todd wrote the prospectus for St. Columba's College amidst the networks and distinct cultures, to which he belonged, and often his social life among the landed gentry, the antiquarians, the journal writers the clergy and the founding members of St. Columba's merged. Todd very much looked forward to the times he was able to get away from Dublin and stay at Adare Manor county Limerick with Lord Edwin, where he met Edwin's wife, and his mother and father. The senior Lord and Lady Adare, as well as Edwin, were interested in supporting St. Columba's. He wrote an affecting letter of condolence to Lady Adare on the loss of one of her children. However he could be said to have confined himself to the 'Great House' culture in Ireland although at the Royal Irish Academy socialized with many of them. Men with landed estates often had town houses in Dublin and so the social circles were intermixed, more so than London, as Constantina Maxwell noted in her history of Trinity. In Dublin, Todd often entertained in his rooms in Trinity, inviting John O'Donovan to dine with him at six, for example and setting up the Irish Archaeological Society. O'Donovan worked also at the home of George Petrie whose family held a regular salon, as did Samuel Ferguson and his wife, Lady Mary Catherine Guinness, and as did the Oscar Wilde's mother. They knew of his quest to found the new Irish public school and he circulated many clergy, bishops and archbishops with the prospectus. O'Donovan worked on an important Irish Grammar for

²⁰⁷ Limerick, University of Limerick, Dunraven Papers, D3196/7 John O'Donovan, 5 Portland Street, Dublin, to Dr. Toddy, Rev. Dear Sir, Noon, 18th 1841

²⁰⁸ Ibid.,

the use of the pupils. It was published in 1845.²⁰⁹ There were many residential town houses and Dublin professional families often entertained with parties, evening dinners and balls. Women held the power of the salon to co-ordinate such soirees. Lady Mary Guinness, of the famous Dublin brewery family, described some gatherings at her town house in Dublin with her husband, Samuel Ferguson.

Todd was part of this golden circle too and sometimes joined travel expeditions and visiting parties who went on expedition to the Irish countryside. He also visited from time to time Lady Gore Booth and Sir Robert at Lissadel House in Sligo, accompanied by his sister Caroline. Edwin Adare had married Augusta Goold, of Fota House, Cork, in 1836 and the Goolds and the Gore Booths were related. The Gore Booths appear to have been distant relatives of Todd. After spending the day at Lissadell House with his sister, he travelled with her to Cape Clear island, off Baltimore in county Cork, then went round the lakes of Killarney, on up to Derry and then to the Giant's Causway. They travelled together to the small town of Dungiven where he left Caroline to stay with another sister. 'I have taken her to spend a couple of months with another of my sisters who is married and settled in this village', he wrote to Edwin.²¹⁰ He began corresponding with Professor Renehan at Maynooth on behalf of the Adare family who wanted to research their family coat of arms. He was also working on the plans for the launch of his high church journal when he stayed in Adare in 1840, much to amusement of one of Adare's cousins, Augustus Stafford O'Brien MP, and another friend, Aubrey de Vere, who referred to the Toddism and Toddyism rising up in Dublin. William Sewell, Warden of St. Columba's, who also knew the Dunravens of Adare and their cousins the Monsells, was part of this literary plan and they were all instrumental in the founding St. Columba's.

The combined efforts of the Adares, Todd and William Sewell, and the Monsells came to some fruition in 1840. They began to search in earnest for a suitable site for the new school, and worked on a prospectus that would celebrate the Irish language, culture, learning and ancient civilization, and uphold a Church of Ireland ethos. They were looking to fill a gap in the educational provision for the young in Ireland, as Protestant well-off families at that time had to send their sons to the English public school system

²⁰⁹ John O'Donovan, *A Grammar of the Irish Language. Published for the use of the Senior Class in the College of St. Columba. By John O'Donovan, LL.D. Member of the Irish Archaeological Society* (Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co. 1845)

²¹⁰

Limerick. UL D3196/1/10/3, J. H. Todd to Lord Edwin Dunraven, Adare, 28th September, 1850).

when they reached a certain age. Todd sought ways of meeting this need in Ireland, with a distinct fusion of Irish networks and cultures.

In the history of Irish educational expansion there is a flourishing streak of utopianism. The founding of educational communities with socialist ideals had briefly flourished in Ireland with the Ralahine community in county Clare, inspired by Robert Owen. Todd had some utopian Irish educational communities of short duration to draw on from around the country. The 1830s were noted as a time of brief socialist optimism and commune building in Ireland. Earlier utopian thinkers like Francis Bacon had dreamed of the educational community of New Atlantis and Bishop George Berkeley planned his ideal Irish educational commune to be located in the Bahamas. The 'second reformation' educational and religious community at Ventry in county Kerry survived beyond its foundation in the 1820s because it aimed to convert Irish speaking Roman Catholics and was supported by English evangelicals. Todd, Adare and William Monsell were very interested for a time in locating their proposed new school in Ventry. Todd corresponded with the Moriarty brothers in Ventry for a time and these letters, which are lodged in the St. Columba's College private archives at the school, tell of his explorations and questions. A small group, including Todd, who were sympathetic to the Tractarian Movement, visited Ventry but found the community ideals too restrictive. They then travelled round the Irish countryside visiting other educational and religious communities, like the one on Achill Island, county Mayo. Here too Todd could not agree with the methods of education and appealed to Church of Ireland for help and financial support via the early editions of the prospectus, which was more tractarian in tone.

A journal kept by Edwin traced the progress this small group from 1839 to 1844. 'One day I met Dr. Boyton in London' Edwin wrote in the spring of 1840... 'he took a good deal of interest in the matter, and seemed quite surprised to find Moriarty so good a Churchman. We formed an outline of three plans'.²¹¹ The three plans were 'to found a school as proposed by Moriarty, to create a Professorship of Irish at Trinity and to form an Institution for young men between College and Ordination.' Dr. Boyton asked Adare, 'How can you be sure that boys whom you have educated in your Irish school or sent to College will afterwards go into the Ministry?' In the light of this the plan then evolved to

²¹¹ Limerick, University of Limerick (UL) Dunraven Collection, Journal, D/3196, unnumbered extract, here and for the following quotations.

recruit Irish scholars from Ventry. 'In the spring of 1840, Mr. Sewell resolved to make a tour throughout Ireland, and I [Edwin] met him at Dunboe in July...but his mind was so much occupied with other things, and our visit so short...I trusted he would visit Ventry in the company of William Monsell.' Adare then travelled to Achill with Sewell, 'and we had ample opportunities of observing what great obstacles the low church plan of operations created to the progress of a sound reformation in Ireland'. William Monsell took up the narrative saying that in the Autumn of 1840, Sewell came to Tervoe (his estate at the Curragh Chase in county Limerick.) Ventry had succeeded because it 'consisted in the Irish speaking minister there located and the Church principles which he advocates'. In December 1840 they met at Adare Manor, with Todd arriving on the 23rd, December. 'We had various meetings from day to day' and together visited various locations:- Abbeyfeale, Kilgarvan, Carrick, Tarbert, and also someone suggested Tervoe. They postponed a decision until the following summer. 'The idea of the Culdees was suggested' after Adare read a book by Dean Murray and no doubt had heard of Iona. Lord Dunraven senior then became a founder and benefactor. Arrangements were made 'for Dr. Todd to go to the Primate', and at the feast of the Epiphany, 1841. The then Viscount Adare, or Edwin, William Monsell, William Sewell, and Todd agreed that Augustus O'Brien, Lord Oxmantown, Arthur Perceval, William Gladstone MP, Rev. Charles Elrington, Sir William Heathcote, Lord Ventry, Hon C. A. Harris and Rev. Wiloughby Balfour would be approached. Lady Adare, Mrs Cromie and other unnamed ladies were also to be asked if they would help. At a following meeting the names of D. Boyton, Sir W. R. Hamilton, Professor Butler, and James Hope, a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, were also suggested, but not carried. The draft prospectus, was then

laid before the Primate in the presence of the Bishop of Down. His grace expressed his most warm approbation of our plan and suggested that on account of the prejudices that might be excited against us if it was supposed that we were forming a nucleus for a third party in the Church, higher than the existing High Church Party, we should add to our number of governors, the Dean of Armagh (Jackson) and the Dean of Lismore (Cotton), tried men in whom all Irish churchmen had confidence. We gave this proposition mature consideration.

They decided to discuss the matter at greater length with the Primate while he was in London. 'William Crosthwaite [possibly James Clarke Crosthwaite] came up from Cape Clear to meet us... and we all thought him well fitted to take an important office in our

Institution, and as preparation for this he determined to make a tour of inspection through all the districts in which conversations are going on throughout the country'. A 'meeting took place in Exeter College, Oxford, between Lord Adare, Mr. O'Brien, W. Sewell, and Dr. Todd'. The body of Governors on the 29th May, 1841 consisted of 'eight noblemen and gentlemen, the Earl of Dunraven, Viscount Adare, W. Monsell, A. O'Brien, the Dean of Lismore, the Dean of Armagh, W. Sewell and J. H. Todd. On Trinity Sunday, Todd and Monsell decided 'to travel Ireland in search of a site' but would avoid 'the county Tipperary' as too troubled, with 'the counties of Limerick, Kerry, Clare, Cork, being preferred', and 'if possible the place chosen should be contiguous to the banks of the Shannon... where we can buy the advowson of the living', but the site was ideally 'not very near a town' yet 'where the population is peaceable, water good, waste lands contingent, fee simple, lease forever.' Armed with this list Todd, Monsell and Adare set off and there are some exclamation marks at the end of the list, 'all this for converts from Romanism!!!' which may have been supplied by either Adare or William Monsell.

Todd holidayed in Kilkee in county Clare for several weeks before they began their travels and Todd wrote some letters to Elrington in Dublin while there, expressing his dismay at the low church liturgy conducted by visiting clergymen.²¹² The original prospectus read as follows:

It has been resolved in humble reliance on the Divine Blessing to establish for the spiritual and temporal improvement of Ireland, an Institution, which seems peculiarly called for by the present circumstances of that country. In the instruction of the Irish peasantry, their native language is a most important requisite, and indispensable in the case of at least half a million who speak or understand no other; it is therefore proposed to found a Classical Collegiate School, in which, beside the usual preparation for the University, boys may be taught to speak Irish with facility. By these means it may be possible to accomplish an object long since earnestly recommended by Bishop Bedell, Robert Boyle, Archbishop Marsh, Archbishop King, and other eminent men, that of raising up within the Irish Church a body of Irish-speaking Clergy. The more to familiarize the students with the use of the language, the persons employed in the subordinate offices, and in the building and works of the Institution will be selected from those members of our Church who speak Irish; many of whom having recently abandoned the errors of Popery, are deprived by their

²¹² In various asides he gave a good sketch of this bathing place for the gentry and gentlemen and women alike and stayed at Merton Lodge, an appropriately named hospitable boarding house in the West End of Kilkee, which seemed very much to his liking, as it had for roaring turf fires, clean linen, comfortable beds and good food.

conversation for any means of employment and exposed to various persecutions. It is proposed to offer these persons not so much a temporary shelter and protection, as an opportunity of such training, discipline, and instruction, in the principles of our Church, as may fit them for Schoolmasters, confidential Servants, and other important situations. His Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland has been pleased to allow the whole Institution to be placed under his immediate superintendence and control, so to qualify them not only to assist generally in the improvement of the Country, but to discharge, if the Bishop and Clergy should wish, to employ them in the Office of Readers or Catechists; a class of men now very extensively and successfully employed in Ireland, and by the Colonial Bishops, but who require much previous instruction to render their services permanently beneficial and safe.

The dated nature of this prospectus gives some idea of the mind-set of the group and their way of understanding Ireland at the time. Todd travelled again to Ventry, and found that there Mr. Moriarty gave instruction in the Pentateuch, the Liturgy, the Bible, the Church Catechism, Palmer's Ecclesiastical History, Wordsworth's Greek Grammar and the Irish Grammar. This, Todd felt, was not quite enough. In January 1842, a letter of approval came to them which 'was received from Dr. Pusey, stating that Dr. Todd's letter to him [not now extant] had entirely removed his objections to our College, and that he was willing to subscribe 320 pounds, provided it appeared on the face of our Prospectus that we did not propose to send out or educate lay teachers'.²¹³ On 11th January, 1842, 'a letter of reply was written to Dr. Pusey informing him that we were about to publish a new Edition of our Prospectus and that a copy would be sent to him –Also to Dr. Cotton informing him of Dr. Pusey's offer.' On 10th January, 1842, Dr. John Jebb arrived at Tervoe 'and consented to be named as a co-operator'. Then, on 13th January, 1842, Todd was 'appointed as Chief Secretary for all Ireland, and... authorised to employ a clerk to assist him in the duties of the office'. Todd went ahead and made an offer to Rev. Maturin, relative of Charles Maturin, the Irish novelist, to ask if he would be the first Warden, and appointed a Matron. At the end of that year, 'the palace of Elphin' was to be fixed as a temporary site for the opening of 'the Irish Collegiate School'. In April, 1843, a meeting took place on the 7th 'at Dr. Todd's rooms' in Trinity, and he reported that he had visited Stackallen House in county Meath with an architect, who examined the rafters, roof, floors and ceilings, despite there being a sitting tenant. Todd found 'an intelligent

²¹³ Journal entry dated 8th January entry, 1842.

builder' to prepare an estimate. It then emerged at the meeting that Rev. Maturin was married to a relative of Todd's [the Matron] and needed appropriate married quarters to house a family. This caused consternation. 'A long conversation ensued in which it was resolved to write to Mr. Maturin a letter to be submitted to Lord Dunraven', explaining that they could not provide family accommodation right away and expressing regret at his resignation. Mr. Singleton, was then appointed Warden, as a temporary arrangement. Todd was requested to 'draw up a paper defining the duties of the Principal' and seek to resolve the problem of the sitting tenant at Stackallen. Todd wrote a sad letter to Maturin, to clarify that 'you will consent to say that our separation has taken place because the Governors were unable to give you immediately or within the year the accommodation which was contemplated', and so the matter was resolved after Todd had extracted this promise from the disappointed Maturin and the Matron.

The Dunraven journal entries show, on a daily basis almost, the way in which the College evolved, somewhat painfully at times, and in the midst of religious conflict in Ireland. In the later history of St. Columba's, G. K. White added tactfully that, gradually, a good number of the original intentions of the founders fell away, such as the merging of trained Irish speaking servants with the sons of the gentry, as this proved too utopian an ideal to realise. The six young men sent from Ventry were not pleased with their lodging and lack of financial reward and soon wanted to go home. Todd arranged scholarships for the pupils to encourage parents to send their boys to the school and perhaps they misjudged the way in which the Ventry young men should have been treated. They began to build up some teaching staff. Adare spoke to Captain Larcom of the Ordnance Survey about a 'drawing master' and Todd enquired about a Master in Modern Languages. The statutes were revised again, and a master for drawing, French, Fencing and Italian was appointed. Todd began to form a College Library and Catalogue, and later donated many of his personal collection of Irish artefacts and valuable treasures of antiquity to found a school museum. They later had to be sold when the school fell on hard times in the early twentieth-century. A printed appeal sought to raise £20,000, 'from all persons interested in the welfare of Ireland, and in the success of a great experiment in Church education.' This was followed by a printed booklet 'outlining the first visitation of the College' at Stackallen, 'describing the college, buildings and 'arrangements made with Mr.

O'Donovan, one of the best Irish scholars now living, for the publication of a complete Irish grammar for the use of the higher classes.' This was in September 1844: in October 1844, a pupil arrived who became a great Irish scholar and civil servant in India, Whitley Stokes, the son of the Dublin physician, Dr. William Stokes. He entered St. Columba's as a pupil aged fifteen and a half and then left the following year to go to Trinity. He and Todd kept in touch over many years and when Stokes returned to Ireland he greatly advanced work on Irish MSS, in particular the Tripartite life of Patrick, and paid tribute to the work Todd had done for his own modern biography of Patrick.

The journal has been quoted at length to give the flavour of the original endeavours for this educational experiment, which sought to rise about the 'sect' and the puritan in Ireland, but somehow still contained some of the language of the 'second reformation', while it strove to enter into the world of harmonious learning for all social classes and incorporate Irish languages and learning. Todd became the 'Chief Secretary' at work, an indication of the level of responsibility it took to start the school, and after, to keep it in running, which he did for the rest of his life. Although there is the colonial about it, and the great house culture, they sought to place the school in a wider context and go somewhat beyond the 'second reformation' ideology.

The way in which Todd approached the next educational endeavour which came his way, was to formulate a reply to Sir Thomas Wyse, M.P. and become more involved in the debate on university education in Ireland at Westminster. There were three main topics of the day important in parliament in 1844: admitting Roman Catholic Fellows in Trinity, raising the status of Maynooth and founding a Roman Catholic university in Dublin. Todd explained that 'the following remarks first appeared in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* for October, 1844. They are now reprinted, in the hope of giving them a more extensive circulation, and also because it has been observed, that some of the statements commented upon have since been repeated by Mr. Wyse in a speech delivered at a public meeting in Cork.'²¹⁴ *Remarks on Some Statements Attributed to Thomas Wyse, ESQ., M. P. In His Speech in Parliament on Academical Education in Ireland, July 19th 1844* was published in Dublin in the same year of 1844.

²¹⁴ James Henthorn Todd, *Remarks on Some Statements Attributed to Thomas Wyse, ESQ., M. P. In His Speech in Parliament on Academical Education in Ireland, July 19th 1844* (Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Co., 1844) p. 5

'To those who are familiarly acquainted with any subject, false statements respecting it often appear so absurd, that it seems like a waste of time to attempt any formal refutation of them', he began. But this is folly and 'the history of the Irish Church, of the last few years at least, is striking proof of this.'²¹⁵ 'The statements so often made in and out of Parliament about the supposed abuses of the Church of Ireland, the overgrown wealth of its benefices, its rich sinecures, and multifarious enormities' that they are the staple of newspaper articles and eloquent speeches, yet 'the Parliamentary returns demonstrated the utter falsehood of the great majority of such calumnies'.²¹⁶

The calumnies formed the basis or 'the real foundation of Acts of Parliament, and even to this day noble lords and honourable gentlemen get up in their places, and forgetting the very existence of Church Temporalities' Acts and Ecclesiastical Commissioners, suppression of Bishoprics, and Rent-charge commutation, become eloquent in declamation against abuses that never existed...'²¹⁷ The 'great errors' of Mr. Wyse in his parliamentary speeches about the University, on the subject of academical education in Ireland were that the 'honourable member from Waterford', suggested three measures, firstly 'to open the emoluments and honours, as well as studies, of the University of Dublin to Roman Catholics as well as Protestants', secondly to raise the College of Maynooth 'to the dignity of a theological faculty of the said University', and the thirdly 'to found and maintain a Roman Catholic University, with equal rank, endowments, and privileges, with those of the University of Dublin.'²¹⁸ Wyse, in his first motion implied that no emoluments, honours or studies were at present open to Roman Catholics at Trinity. This was not the case, Todd said, as 'Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, nay, even Jews, may and do study there and take degrees in the Arts'.²¹⁹ All the faculties did not require tests of any kind, except Theology, which required the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty. The honours of the University were open to all, the annual prizes and gold medals, the Vice-Chancellor's Prizes, were open to every student, regardless of religious denomination. The emoluments were open to all, 'except those which belong to the members of the Corporation' which was founded to promote

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.5

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.5-6

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.6

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.6

'the education of the Clergy and Laity of the Church'.²²⁰ The sizarships, which grant a free education, with commons, rooms free of charge and all exhibitions and minor offices are open to Roman Catholics and other non-Anglicans.

Todd did not mention in his argument that the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy did not encourage any young men to take up this freedom of education and Wyse, for his own reasons, as a Catholic graduate of Trinity, did not mention it either, perhaps because he disagreed with it. The Fellowships and scholarships were not open to Roman Catholic or Dissenter, Todd went on in his defence, 'because they were founded for the education of our clergy', and to do so 'would defeat the object of their foundation.'²²¹ This was true but it was also the case that the university was founded to provide a liberal education for students. 'Our cathedrals and parochial endowments, they tell the world, belonged to them [the RC's] before the Reformation; and this seeming argument has such an appearance of plausibility'²²². However, this was a falsehood, in relation to Trinity, noted Todd, and in a footnote he quoted from a speech made at Cork by Wyse, which showed his own affection for his College days: 'I was educated in that University myself, I find its recollections, in many instances, twine around my heart with the dearest remembrances of my earliest years. I have never forgotten the friendships of its Fellows, and of its students...the feeling of honourable ambition...generous rivalry... and as a Roman Catholic myself... I never had to complain of any interference from the Institution with respect to my religious opinions,' and this was reported in the *Southern Reporter* on November 14th 1844. The 'vague hereditary claim' said Todd, of Mr. Wyse in Parliament was therefore hard for him to bear.²²³ In the *Times* report of the parliamentary speech by Wyse, in the 20th July, 1844 edition, Wyse mixed up his history of the University, in Todd's opinion, by saying that 'the University was generally supposed to have been founded by Elizabeth. Strictly speaking, it undoubtedly was; but that foundation was only atonement for the destruction of an old University of Ireland', thought Wyse. This of course, in a strange historical twist, struck at the heart of Todd's earlier 1833 historical Preface, undoubtedly known to Wyse as a College student who would have read the

²²⁰ Ibid., p.8

²²¹ Ibid., p. 9

²²² Ibid., p.10

²²³ Ibid., p. 11

Calendar. The confiscation of the monasteries in Ireland meant that university education for Catholics fell, said Wyse, when ‘in consequence of the interference of Sir. H. Sydney, Elizabeth was induced to found the present University for the education of the youth of Ireland, without reference to their creed.’ Todd pulled Wyse up for suggesting in the historical founding documents said that Trinity was founded without reference to creed, and for the suggestion that Queen Elizabeth destroyed the old university, which was dissolved long before, he argued, and therefore not an historically accurate or true statement about Elizabeth I. The argument put forward by Wyse was taken up in the next century as Trinity moved away from the idea of educating ordinands for the Church of Ireland. John R. Bartlett has argued that Trinity moved away from teaching Divinity to teaching Theology in the 1970s but this argument may not have passed Todd’s approval, should he have ever come across it. Bartlett concluded ‘our founders, we believe, would rejoice to see that over four centuries the chair of theological controversies has given way, via the chair of divinity, to the chair of theology; and that the professor of theology serves not just one tradition but the whole community.’²²⁴

We can see that history of Trinity was, for Todd and Wyse, a series of important chess moves; they were both able men, both graduates, and it is on points of interpretation that they differed, as both know how to narrate the history of the University within the context of the history of Ireland. Todd referred in his argument to the Bull of Pope Clement in 1311, which fell obsolete on the death of the Archbishop of Dublin, John Lech, in 1313, but this was not the cause of the dissolution of the monastery, as Wyse had claimed. He quoted again Mason’s *History of St. Patrick’s*, and Harris’s edition of Ware’s *Antiquities*. Todd then put forward other reason to show that the old monastic foundation had lost all emoluments so therefore was not an endowed University by the time of the suppression of the monasteries. He concluded that Wyse had put forward in the public domain at Westminster, ‘such a misrepresentation of history’, that it must fall to the ground on any serious examination. He added for good measure, ‘Queen Elizabeth, therefore, is the real and only founder of the University of Dublin’ an ironic twist when

²²⁴ John R. Bartlett, ‘From Divinity to Theology in Four Centuries’ in C. H. Holland (ed.) *Trinity College Dublin and the Idea of a University* (Dublin: Dublin University Press, 1991) pp.224-237, p.237

considering his work of 1833.²²⁵ Elizabeth I incorporated the charter of the College of the Holy Trinity, and licensed a site given by Archbishop Loftus. Yet he confessed that very little progress was made at that time to make Trinity ‘a permanent establishment, and its real efficiency as a place of education’ took a century or more to materialise.²²⁶ Todd referred the reader to the Dublin University Calendar for the year 1833, giving his own page numbers, 21-23, and quoting from the plan of Sir John Perrott of 1585. He also referred to the Elizabethan University foundation and purpose. However, he omitted, in his argument, to mention that his own historical preface of that same work of 1833 began with a monastic history of Ireland, linked directly to Trinity which proceeded through the early Irish and mediaeval church to 1591 in a continuum. Thus the starting point, as chosen by Wyse, who was also a parliamentary agitator on the side of Daniel O’Connell, took leave of an argument that Todd had made years before, but reached an entirely different conclusion, thus displaying the problem of writing history, for all the claim to objectivity or scientific verification. Both men referred to the Charter and the body of Statutes granted to the University by King Charles I, which filled the University with ‘those whose opinions were most violently opposed to Romanists’, as ‘the first Provost and Fellows were of the party known by the name of Puritans’ and both seemed to dislike this era.²²⁷ Todd mentioned in a footnote that the first Provost, Walter Travers was ‘a well-known opponent of Hooker, and a noted leader of the Puritan party’.²²⁸ Travers, he says, was succeeded by Henry Alvey, who was also ‘a zealous Puritan’, much to Todd’s dismay, as he admitted in other circumstances. He quoted the prescription of two oaths in Latin which a Fellow had to take, in order to receive his salary. ‘These oaths are still both in force’, he said.²²⁹ The Scholars were ‘not required to take the oath declaring the supreme authority of Holy Scripture, nor are they made to pledge themselves to resist heretical opinions’ but both Scholars and Fellows were required to take the oath against Papal supremacy. This was not repealed until 1870, just after Todd’s death, much to the relief of the Provost Humphrey Lloyd, son of Bartholomew Lloyd, who was in favour of the change. Todd quoted again the Latin Statutes of 1637, to illustrate his point. He

²²⁵ J. H. Todd, *Remarks*, p. 20

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.22

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.21

noted that the 1793 Act of Parliament which authorized the admission of Roman Catholic students continued to make them inadmissible to the Corporation of the College. Any religion, 'which imposes upon its followers an allegiance to a foreign power' [the Pope of Rome?] is inconsistent 'with a full and unconditional loyalty to the crown in these realms', a neat but somewhat nasty political argument from an Irish scholar who was not averse to stating the error of believing in a papal Antichrist or his objections to papal infallibility.²³⁰

He must surely have had his wider audience in mind, readers throughout the British Isles and MP's like Gladstone. This made Wyse and others who objected to the Oath of Allegiance a 'seditious' revolutionary. It was quite fair, he thought for Mr. Wyse 'to ask for endowments for his own religion, and to seek their advancement of his party by all *lawful* means', as 'no one could blame him for this', but 'he has no right to lay claim to the endowments which were intended by those who originally created and bestowed them, for the education of *our* clergy and the maintenance of *our* Church'.²³¹ It is not clear if he would help him gain these endowments while keeping his own, if this were possible, but presumably this is what he meant. He hoped 'the Legislature of this country will never be persuaded to consent to so gross a violation of all the rights of property', again, a direct appeal to the heart of the British establishment.²³² All charitable and religious foundations would be dealt a fatal blow, and 'such a measure would shake the security of all landed property in Ireland'.²³³ Todd's dramatic conclusion followed, if Trinity fell, '...on what grounds can the endowments of Oxford and Cambridge be defended?...the one must be the necessary consequence of the other: *principle* can no longer be pleaded, the question must then become one of time and expediency only'.²³⁴

The writing of history bound up with ecclesiastical apologetics stayed the course for many years to come. Revisionism began to dismantle such narratives as less than rational prose. History contains within itself its own instability. As S. J. Brown states, in an age of reason, it was less and less defensible to maintain and established Church for a small minority of the population, so 'by the end of 1827' [much less 1841], 'it was

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.25

²³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27

²³² *Ibid.*, p.27

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 27

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.28

becoming clear that the Union of Britain and Ireland could not be consolidated on the basis of the Protestant confessional State.’²³⁵

In summing up this chapter, it is clear that the literary works on education written in tract form by Todd were based on his response to his *milieu* and that he did not set out to become an educational intellectual who had no loyalty to any party. Instead he responded to the pressing educational questions arising from Catholic Emancipation, parliamentary reform and the apparent ideal of introducing non-denominational education to Ireland at all levels. In this sense he reflected the experience common to many in the different churches who saw non-denominational education as representing the complete loss of control of their denominational religious education. He repeatedly made strong cumulative arguments which tore apart the educational merit of introducing low grade non-denominational religious education at primary, secondary, university and ordinand level.

However, the church party divisions which had begun to emerge within the Established Anglican Church, and which made him a Tractarian, indicate that there was no monolithic Protestant Established Church from which to take comfort, in either England or Ireland, but instead this particular early and mid-nineteenth century Church was engaged in a fierce internal debate about tradition and reform. Todd therefore represented the dilemma of the Tractarians who played for high stakes in the internal shake-up of erastian church state relations, while rationally defending their church in the public sphere by tracts. These developments are clearly exacerbated when he began to write on prophecy.

²³⁵ ‘S. J. Brown,(2001), *The National Churches of England, Ireland and Scotland 180-46* (Oxford: OUP, p.137).

CHAPTER TWO

‘OXFORD HERESY AT TRINITY’: PROPHECY TEXTS, ‘LITERAL’ INTERPRETATION AND THE ERROR OF BELIEVING IN A PAPAL ANTICHRIST

Todd’s two major texts on prophecy and the papal Antichrist are the main focus of this chapter, together with their background and reception. They explore what he meant by the ‘literal interpretation’ of biblical prophecy in Ireland in his *milieu*. The texts were composed at a time when there was a heightened public interest in the meaning of the ‘last things’, and he interpreted them as a Tractarian and high church sympathiser interested in apocalyptic prophecy. The background to his prophecy exegesis is his ongoing work in education: in the university, church, academy and public sphere, together with his personal and social life in Dublin. When all are taken into account they give a full picture of the way in which the texts explore a very topical question from his own unique vantage point as a writer on church and public life. The prophecy texts entered into the market square to take up the preoccupations of the print world, the burgeoning power and importance of magazine culture, and the expanding social and cultural networks of the Irish Intellectual Revival. The texts were published in 1840 and 1846, and covered a total of twelve lengthy lectures, delivered by him in the College Chapel, between 1838 and 1841, as part of a lecture series set up by a late eighteenth-century woman, Ann Donnellan, to examine topical religious questions in a learned manner and encourage lively conversation and debate. The lectures were open to the entire College community and the public and delivered on Sundays. Todd added detailed introductions and notes to the published texts so they represent a major expenditure of energy and commitment in his career, and gained him his D.D.²³⁶ The chapter also shows how material he published separately on the restoration of the kingdom to Israel, the manuscript texts of John Wycliffe (1330-1384) on early reformation catholic and theology, and manuscript sources associated with the continental Waldensians all added to the work he prepared for

²³⁶ James Henthorn 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, 1838* (Dublin: Dublin University Press, 1840);

— *Six Discourses on the Prophecies Relating to Antichrist in the Apocalypse of St. John. Preached before the University of Dublin at the Donnellan Lecture* (Dublin: Dublin University Press, 1846).

the Trinity prophecy lectures and used this material to support his main arguments. The Waldensian communities began in Lyon c.1170 as a lay catholic break-away group who embraced voluntary poverty, denied purgatory and followed Peter Waldo. They were linked with the doctrine of the papal Antichrist as extracted from the prophetic books of Daniel, St. Paul, Revelation and the Apocalypse of St. John. Todd traced the origin of the doctrine of the papal Antichrist as given in the church histories and decided that they were wrong, and also became convinced that excessive embellishment of prophetic biblical texts could produce results very different from the original intention of the Author.

There is evidence to suggest that Todd succeeded in his major challenge of shaking the religiously intolerant views and assumptions of those who believed in the literal coming of a papal Antichrist and identified this figure as Pope of Rome. The church histories which supported this teaching were eventually dropped from the Divinity curriculum in Trinity and church historians like Mede, Miller and Horsley were eventually seen as no longer relevant.

The wider context for the topic of prophecy ranged from the Tractarian interest of Newman and his followers, groups who studied the prophecies together and formed new religious communities, leaders and interpreters of the prophecies of the bible in the churches and sects, work by poets, novelists and painters, in an age deeply influenced by speculation about the end of the world, the second coming of Christ, the second coming of the Antichrist, the millennial reign of the righteous, the glorious Rapture, and Divine judgment and wrath as expressed in the historical events of the day. All of these would have been known by and influenced Todd as he set out to clear a path among them and devise a rational interpretation of prophecy.

Speculation regarding the date of the coming of the Antichrist before the end of the world and of the return of Christ increased in the British Isles from the late eighteenth century to the 1860s, and spread to America. One Trinity College, Dublin graduate, Rev. John Darby, who attended the lectures in the Divinity School and was ordained in the Church of Ireland, founded a break-away religious movement followers became known as the Plymouth Brethren. They

believed in the literal and imminent coming of Christ. Darby may have been influenced by William de Burgh, another Trinity graduate who preached a series of twelve lectures on the immanent coming of Christ. Darby was a leading member of the bible meeting group in county Wicklow, hosted by Lady Powerscourt, and they were in turn linked with other prophetic groups like English Albury group, who met at the same time in England, led by Henry Drummond. Todd had some Tractarian conversations by letter during the genesis of his Donnellan prophecy lectures, especially from 1834 to 1840, with both John Henry Newman who was interested in rejecting the papal Antichrist, and Samuel Roffey Maitland. The latter was a librarian at Lambeth who overthrew the teachings of George Stanley Faber, Bishop Horsley and Mede, and who particularly attacked Faber's popular *Sacred Calendar of Prophecy* (1828). Faber wrote *A Dissertation on the Prophecy contained in Daniel IX, 24-27: Generally Denominated the Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks* (1811) and *A Dissertation on the Prophecies ...Relative to the Great Period of 1260 Years* (1806) and was responsible for the popularizing a numerical date for the end of the world, earlier introduced into Irish Anglican ecclesiology and eschatology by men like Ussher. Exegetical prophetic leaders such as Darby, Drummond and Irving generally resisted the wider context of the development of European biblical criticism. They were suspicious of critical readings of the bible which did not also interpret historical events of the day as part of the fulfilment of prophecy. Todd's work on the Antichrist, as based on the readings of Daniel and Revelation, was an attempt to move away from seeing current history as the enactment of prophetic judgment, and remove a doctrine which caused misunderstanding between Protestants and Roman Catholics in Ireland.

David Hempton has written of the connection between evangelicalism and eschatology and noted that the development of a 'hard biblical literalism' left evangelicals wide open to the mid-century attacks from biblical criticism and 'science', and Nicholas Phillipson has written on the theme of providence in history in relation to William Robertson in Scotland, arguing that Robertson, a highly regarded moderate Enlightenment figure in Edinburgh, used 'conjectural history' to transform the older 'philosophical' history and re-interpret the

‘the nature and workings of providence’ in his historical narratives.²³⁷ Both these works give contexts of interpretation for Todd in eighteenth-century contexts from the old evangelical world and the enlightenment writing of history, and illustrate how he tried to steer between an increasing demand for biblical literalism among the evangelicals of the mid-century on the one hand and scientific positivism or a determinism on the other, which excluded completely the working of providence. He expressed this course of thinking in his own theory of the ‘literal interpretation’ of prophecy.

Todd’s move to overthrow the long held Protestant doctrine of the papal Antichrist, and to replace it with a more charitable catholic and early reformation interpretation was opposed by some of his contemporaries. Edward Bickersteth (1786-1850) for example, an English evangelical active in the Church Missionary Society (CMS), wrote an entire book denouncing Todd’s second series of Prophecy lectures in Trinity from the point of view of the literalist. Bickersteth helped to form the Irish Church Missions in London in 1849 with another English clergyman, Rev. Alexander Dallas, and they opposed the Tractarians in England and Ireland. Bickersteth and a group of evangelical Church of Ireland clergy in the Diocese of Ardagh, deemed him to be an Oxford Movement heretic in Trinity. However he received support for his arguments and exegetical integrity of his work from the Provost and the Board of Trinity, from John Henry Newman in Oxford, Samuel Roffey Maitland and his supporters, and his course of interpretation was held by later scholars in the Church of Ireland to be correct. George Salmon, who lectured in Trinity in the Divinity School after Todd, rejected the papal Antichrist as unnecessary for salvation by 1900. Instead, it could be safely viewed as Reformation polemic, taught by Luther, but better left within the sectarian polemics of the later Reformation. Todd was in line with

²³⁷ David Hempton, ‘Evangelicalism and Eschatology’ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980) pp. 179-194; Nicholas Phillipson, ‘Providence and progress: an introduction to the historical thought of William Robertson’ in *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire* (Cambridge: CUP, 1997) pp. 55-73, p.57. There may be some parallels between Todd’s idea of imperfection in the prophecies and Robertson’s idea of the imperfection of religion: ‘so unable are the limited powers of the human mind to form an adequate idea of the perfections and operations of the supreme being...’ p.71

biblical scholars on the Continent in terms of his contextualisation of eras of time and who rejected a too literalist or fundamentalist approach to the reading of the prophetic Scriptures. These included men like Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), whose *Essay on Luke* (1825) Todd held in his library and J. G. Herder (1744-1803), who began to interpret the Old Testament as the language of the visionary and the poet. Herder helped introduce the interpretative framework of *Wissenschaft* which gave critical scholarship of the bible some further tools to contextualize the texts. This can be seen as part of a wider movement to produce what Jonathan Sheehan has called the Enlightenment Bible, arising as ‘the reigns of scholarship were relaxed that it might invent a new Bible for post confessional Europe... to move beyond the doctrinal nuances that had shed rivers of blood in the early modern period.’²³⁸ Todd had two copies of Herder’s work on the poetry of the Old Testament in his library, but could not, it seems, get an English translation of the *Geist der Ebraischen Poesie*, 2 vols. , published in Leipzig in 1825 and Paris edition, *Historie de la Poesie des Hebreux*, trad. par De Carlowitz, published in 1845. Todd slightly predated the critical framework of biblical interpretation developed at the University of Cambridge by Westcott and Hort, in his work on the ‘literal interpretation’ of the prophecies. He had the whole works of Bishop John Lightfoot (1601-1675) in his library, re-published in 1825, not to confused with Bishop J. B. Lightfoot (1828-1889).

The ascription that the Pope and his office were a living Antichrist derived from and used the vivid language and manifold descriptions of evil in the prophetic literature. At the time of Todd’s work, prophetic literature was not perceived as particular narrative genre within the Bible, to be approached with sophisticated literary criticism as part of a particular genre and language, but he was alert to the ‘signification’ of the language, and referred to it in his preface as it related to ‘literal inspiration’. The prophetic books were originally written by those enduring persecution, exile and profound dislocation, for their religious beliefs, in at times mystical and coded language, that excluded some and included

²³⁸ Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp.27-28

others. This style of composition offered encouragement and perseverance to the oppressed and excluded others from completely understanding the text. These texts were therefore sometimes taken up by revolutionary leaders who read the entire exodus story as a form of encouragement for the overthrow of oppressive powers. However, these texts taught that momentary persecution in this life was part of a larger and longer cosmic battle between good and evil, light and darkness and the eschatological redemption of the world through suffering. The book of Daniel was a particular example of faith under the oppressive power of King Nebuchadnezzar while the book of Revelation expressed the final teachings of the end time when Christ would come again in glory, when the church was under persecution from the Roman empire. Thus the second coming of Christ was eagerly awaited by the early church, and the Antichrist was predicted to precede the eschatological end time, by a period which could extend to up to a thousand years, as it became clear that the second coming was not as imminent as the early disciples first supposed. In order to square the prophetic texts with the expectation of the second coming, millenarianism, sometimes known as millenarism, re-ignited as each century or thousand years came and went, as a popular topic of debate. This was especially so at the end of the eighteenth-century. A millennium of one thousand years, 1260 days or years, would take place either before or after Christ's second coming, and meant that every Christian should respond to the signs and warnings of the times and dates were provided by prophetic leaders of the final end of the world together with a re-popularization of the schema of interpreting the book of Daniel according the different empires of oppression from Roman times to the current day. This is a somewhat simplistic summary, in order to place this providential prophetic teaching in some sort of order, and to explain why it was so popular in Todd's day, and give a reason as to why he chose this particular subject. As David Bebbington and many others have remarked many of us have lost the facility to negotiate this material so that the re-emergence of so many interpretative strands and groups from 1800 to 1850 in England, Ireland and North America are clear, with the Second Day Adventists or Mormons, the Irvingites and Catholic Apostolic Church, the Darbyites and

Plymouth Brethren, as the main contenders.²³⁹ Todd was responding from the Church of Ireland to this field, and was greatly influenced by Maitland, although his treatment is much fuller and more complete, approaching to a *suma* for his day.

As an example of the popular prophetic interpretations alive in Ireland at the time the Donnellan lectures were delivered, two diverse groups who used them to further their cause can be cited. The application of prophetic providence, judgement, deliverance and salvation was applied to Catholic Ireland by evangelical preachers during the 'Second Reformation' movement of the 1820's, where the emphasis was on Divine judgement. The evangelical parties then reformed under the banner of various protestant evangelical groups like the Irish Church Missions, established from London in 1843. Ye the same prophetic texts were also appropriated by Catholic agrarian activist groups like the 'Rockites' based on the mythical Captain Rock, whose militia learnt that prophetic millenarian teaching involved expecting and assisting in the extermination of protestants from Ireland. Both groups referred to Manuel de Lacunza (1731-1801), whose work *The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty* was re-printed in 1827 and that of Pastorini O.S.B., the pen name of Charles Walmesley (1722-1797). Darby in Powerscourt and Drummond in Albury also read Lacunza and Pastorini, and were influenced by them. The 'Rockites' reformed in the 1840s in West Limerick, near to the landed estates of Edwin, Lord Adare and William Monsell, Lord Emly and forced the emigration of many Palatine farmers from their land.²⁴⁰

²³⁹ David Bebbington notes that today are not conscious that 'the granting of the vote to a wider public in Britain was a sign of the imminence of the second coming', announcing the 'chariot-wheels of the coming King'. See Crawford Gribben & Timothy Stunt 'Introduction' *Prisoners of Hope? Aspects of Evangelical Millennialism in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1880* (Carlsile: Paternoster Press 2004, p.3), David Bebbington, 'Foreward' in Gribben and Stunt, *Prisoners of Hope*, pp. x-xii.

²⁴⁰ Fintan O'Toole Review of James S. Donnelly, *Captain Rock: The Irish Agrarian Rebellion of 1821-1824* Cork: Collins Press, 2009 in the Irish Times, 13th February, 2010, Weekend Review p. 12. 'Rockism was a religious cult as well as an economic revolt. Though respectable Catholic opinion, led by Daniel O'Connell, did its best to cover up this dimension of the violence, it is clear that the ideology of the rebels was defined by the exotic watchword of Pastorini. Signor Pastorini was the pen name of Bishop Charles Walmesley, whose reading of the Book of Revelations led him to predict in the 1770s that God's wrath would be poured out to punish Protestant heretics in 50 years' time.'

Todd objected to the imputation of prophetic significance to specific historical events, but did not want to abandon the prophetic office of the church. Instead he wished to establish the proper boundaries for the interpretation of prophecy when it came to literal or political events. Todd wished to debunk the prophetic interpretations of the Anglican Faber who from 1806 to 1853 re-popularized the exact date of the end of the world which he thought would happen in 1844, just as Todd was preparing the second Donnellan lectures of 1841 for publication. Assisted by the work of Maitland, he even more thoroughly dismantled Faber in the second set of lectures. He linked Faber to earlier key writers on the papal Antichrist, especially Joseph Mede (1586-1639), who produced a key to interpreting the book of Revelation and Bishop Samuel Horsley (1733-1806), who sought to discern the hand of providence in the events of the day and taught a belief in the papal Antichrist, based on his readings of the book of Daniel. Todd and Maitland worked in the context of William Miller (1782-1849) in North America, and the Millerites, who were a similar American Baptist group. They predicted the end of the world in 1843 and influenced the Irvingites, led by Edward Irving (1792-1834) who was born in Edinburgh and founded the Catholic Apostolic Church in London. He was later upstaged by Henry Drummond of the Albury Park meetings who like the Irish group at Powerscourt House in county Wicklow from 1831 to 1833, read Pastorini and Lacunza. Darby was said to have attracted around 400 people to the Bible meetings in Powerscourt in 1831. Darby, Drummond and Irving were charismatic personalities, who led an upsurge in *glossolia* and personal experience of the Holy Spirit. They could be said to be leaders of a form of religious revival which gave currency to the contemporary climate of millenarian expectations.

Classical Anglican Church teaching on prophecy was expressed in what Newman called the prophetic office of the church, which linked the evidence of providence in history to the providential destiny of the chosen people. However

A more detailed account of West Limerick can be found in a article by Gerard Curtin, 'Religion and Social Conflict during the Protestant Crusade in West Limerick, 1822-49', *The Old Limerick Journal*, (Winter), 2003, pp. 43-53. See also James S. Donnelly, *Captain Rock*.

See pp. 53-4 of Curtin.

the identity of the latter day children of Israel, in Todd's day, became a contentious issue as increasingly it seemed to lie outside the conventional Anglican established churches when they followed a more latitudinarian line. Yet the latter day children of Israel were told to expect various forms of rapture both in the present and in the glorious rapture come and this posed a threat to the Anglican Established Church in many ways. There was agreement that those who were not chosen, as the children of Israel had been, would face a Day of Wrath, punishment and retribution, so the stakes were high and the charismatic preachers realized they had a certain power operating beyond the control of the Established church. It was not only the preachers who tapped into this public interest, large paint canvases exposing the fiery judgement which would befall an apostate city like London, were painted by John Martin, and hung in public galleries and drew almost two million people to see them. Martin painted the coming of the last days of the Apocalypse from 1812 to 1854, *Belshazzar's Feast* (1820), the *Seven Plagues of Egypt* (1823) and the *End of the World, or the Great Day of His Wrath and the Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah* (1851-1853). Martin, like William Blake, helped to express the dismay felt by a growing number of Victorians at growth of industrial England as a place of soot, dirty and filth, with the mechanisms of industrialization creating misery and broken lives, especially for children. This gave rise to the passing of the various *Factories Acts* (1833, 1847, and 1850) and humanitarian interventions. There was also, at this time, a rise in a strong undercurrent of popular anti-Catholic sentiment, not always confined to the more extreme evangelicals, but expressed across a spectrum of British public opinion.²⁴¹ The destiny of the Empire as chosen by God to educate and civilize the globe seemed threatened as the English cities began to fill up with refugees from the famines in Ireland who were not tied to a view of the Britain as a protestant state.

The question of the Jews who were outside the prophetic destiny and salvation of the Christian church became an issue for Todd and he preached on

²⁴¹ See Michael G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992)

this topic in 1837. Anglican apologetics also addressed this question as Disraeli rose among the ranks at Westminster, later to become a popular politician with Queen Victoria. The United Bible Society for the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701) influenced Joseph Frey to found the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews in 1809 and Todd's sermon was delivered in London and again for the Irish branch of the Society in Dublin. *The Restoration of the Kingdom to Israel, A Sermon Preached in the Chapel of the Molyneux Asylum on Sunday 29th October, 1837*, was published by the University Press in 1837. It is an interesting work which preceded his Donnellan Lectures by one year. In it he set out his hermeneutical framework for understanding the providential destiny of the Jewish people in relation to Christian prophecy:

It is a most useful exercise to look back from modern times and modes of thinking to the early history of our holy religion: to imagine ourselves placed in the same circumstances as the original disciples of the Lord, to consider how they felt, and how they reasoned, and to compare what the Scripture tells us of their views and feelings with the opinions and the expectations which are now commonly entertained in the Christian Church. (Preface, v).

He then went on to place a future gathering of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Jesus around a heavenly banquet table, as the final resolution of the now separate Jewish/Christian state. It would come about because God would release the Jews from their 'fearful state of judicial blindness' and 'gather them' to the one table, in a future time to come, known only to Him. In the meantime, the Christian church was not a substitute for the Jewish Synagogue, and one was neither higher nor better than the other, as both remained incomplete until the end time. He added that he believed in a literal afterlife as comfort and solace for the disunion and grief of this world, a thought echoed in his Donnellan texts.

Todd's first lectures were delivered in 1838, on the eve of the worst and most excessive famine years in Ireland in the nineteenth century, although few were aware of it at the time. Prophecy and providence were subsequently invoked to explain such an event, and for some, the famines in Ireland were seen as God's judgement on an errant Catholic people. Men like Rev. Alexander Dallas took the view that 'the Irish famine of 1845-47 was not only as an opportunity to convert

the Romanists of Ireland but a judgement from God on Irish Roman Catholics', as Miriam Moffatt explained in her history of the Irish Church Mission. ²⁴² Dallas interpreted God's judgement on Catholics 'for having stubbornly clung to their religion: "The truth of the Scriptures was verified in the groans of the dying and their wails for the dead" which the ICM saw as the fulfilment of biblical prophecy.' ²⁴³ Dallas preached that 'an enlightened people will supply their place; and instead of demoralising the inhabitants of England, by the vices and deceptions of Romanism and feeding the cravings of a vulture like priesthood', the converted Catholics would, if 'educated in Ireland in the truths and doctrines of the vital Christianity' bring 'peace and good will among men.' ²⁴⁴

Rev. Nangle was a similar type of clergyman in the West of Ireland and he set up an Irish speaking community for converts and their children on Achill island in county Mayo. Todd went to visit it in 1844, and found that he did not like the arrangements there:

Yet Rev. Nangle...is disappointing...the poison of his Puritanism infects everything here. All is on so mean and temporary a plan –the accommodation for the children so very bad – and all the arrangements so exactly corresponding that I scarcely look for any permanent good, unless a better spirit should spring up. ²⁴⁵

He was very happy with the discussions in Irish which accompanied the services in the church:

Rain...we have seen the colony to the greatest possible disadvantage...At ten o'clock we went to hear Nangle catechize his adult class in Irish. He read the 2 parts of Matthew & then proceeded to ask questions...which were answered with great avidity by old men & old women, pouring forth their Irish with great volubility and from all corners of the room. It was very interesting and pleasant to see... ²⁴⁶

In England, as the famine progressed, different reactions were taking place.

²⁴² Miriam Moffatt, 'The Society for Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics: Philanthropy or Bribery?' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, vol. 30 No. 1, (January 2006)

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 32

²⁴⁴ *Dublin Charities, being a Handbook of Dublin Philanthropic Organizations and Charities Complied and Published by the Association of Charities*, (Dublin: J. Falconer, 1902) p. 185

²⁴⁵ Dublin, Trinity College, MSS 2214/148, James Henthorn Todd to Charles Elrington, 11th August, 1844

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

English peers at their clubs discussed such things and there were some who thought massive famine would cleanse a country which was becoming overpopulated. The more extreme evangelicals (or Puritans in Todd's terms) saw the successive potato crop failures as 'the punishment of an angry providence', while for premillenarians, the blight was a 'national judgement' sent to punish Ireland and Britain for the sin of idolatry embodied in the Maynooth Act...'. The 1795 Act sought to establish the seminary for training Catholic clergy in Ireland, while the Maynooth Grant arose from the Charitable Bequests Board of 1844-5, which sought raise the status of the seminary to a university and augment the Government grant to help train Catholic clergy.^{247, 248} Just as the granting of limited franchise and the Reform Bill of 1832 were seen to herald the four horsemen of the apocalypse, as Crawford Gribben, Timothy C. F. Stunt and David Bebbington noted, so too the Poor Law Relief Act of 1838, which divided the country into 130 Poor Law 'unions', and the Charitable Bequests Board, while the bad harvests that preceded the 1847 to 1852 Great Famine were similar.²⁴⁹ The problem of the Irish in England became tied in with Maynooth and the Irish University question, as they impeded 'the providential destiny of the empire' because of their religion.²⁵⁰ Irish emigrants left behind them an increasing number of legislative changes, increasing the clearance and eviction by landlords, the increasingly disease ridden poor houses, and charges of soupism against relief efforts by all religious groups except the Catholic church. Peel was returned after a general election in 1841 and some English interpreters in 1843 saw Daniel O'Connell and feared that he might be the Antichrist himself. 'The Albury circle, led by Drummond, found no difficulty in compressing both popery and democracy into the figure of Antichrist as in the Great Britain of Daniel O'Connell and Catholic Emancipation this was a plausible opinion', as noted W.

²⁴⁷ Peter Gray, *Famine, Land and Politics: British Government and Irish Society 1843-1850* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1999) p.102

²⁴⁸ Donal A. Kerr, *Peel, priests and politics: Sir Robert Peel's administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland 1841-1846* (Oxford: OUP, 1982)

²⁴⁹ Crawford Gribben and Timothy C. F. Stunt (eds.) *Prisoners of Hope? Aspects of Evangelical Millennialism in Britain and Ireland 1800-1880. Forward by David Bebbington* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2004)

²⁵⁰ Peter Gray, *Famine, Land and Politics* p.102

H. Oliver.²⁵¹ The sense of prophetic panic increased, and gave a heightened sense of threat to the Protestant religion and therefore the state in Ireland.

In the context of this heightened fear and alarm regarding the fulfillment of prophecy, both in England and Ireland, Todd opened the first Donnellan Lectures with a quotation from the Anglican biblical scholar, Richard Hooker (1554-1600), who said:

I hold it for a most infallible rule in the expositions of Sacred Scripture, that where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentiousness and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words as alchemy doth or would the substance of metals, maketh any thing of what it listeth and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing.²⁵²

It was from this generation of churchmen that he formulated his idea of the 'literal interpretation' of Scripture. Whether Hooker had in mind the prophecy texts in particular when he wrote this general rule, is open to question, and Todd took his general argument forward by placing this particular type of language and genre of Scripture in this framework. In the opening lecture he explained very clearly his choice of the term 'literal'. Firstly he thought of it in relation to how prophecies had been accomplished since the beginning of the Christian Church and as it related to the Jewish and Christian people in the current situation:

The literal accomplishment of so many and indubitable prophecies, is a pledge to the Christian Church, that the promises and predictions whose fulfilment is yet to come, will likewise be brought about, in a manner equally literal and equally undeniable. The fulfilment, for example, of God's threatening of wrath and vengeance on the Jewish people, their dispersion into all lands, towards the four winds of heaven, and their being made a proverb, a by-word, and an astonishment, - prophecies whose exact accomplishment we have daily before our eyes, - are a pledge to us that the prophecies of love and mercy, which are in store for that people, - the gathering of them from the heathen, their restoration to the land of promise, and the grafting them again into their own olive tree, - will be

²⁵¹ W. H. Oliver, *Prophets and Millennialists: the Uses of Biblical Prophecy in England from the 1790s to the 1840s* (Auckland: University Press, 1978) p.42

²⁵² James Henthorn 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 in College Chapel after Morning Service on Certain Sundays* (Dublin: University Press, 1840)

accomplished, in God's good time, as literally and as undeniably.²⁵³

Secondly, 'the prophecies relating to the second coming, the revelation and destruction of the Antichrist, which heralded the final triumph of peace, morality, and religion', will receive a 'literal' accomplishment in a future time. This is because the prophecies which have already been fulfilled quicken faith and hope about prophecies 'whose accomplishment is undoubtedly already literally accomplished in the future, or 'a literal fulfilment of the things which shall be hereafter.'²⁵⁴ Thirdly, in the matter of the obscurity of some of the prophetic writings, the Church cannot fully lift the veil of anything which God intends to remain in obscurity, but God has dealt with us 'in the revelation of his will to man', and when men make enquiries with the tools of human knowledge, they can see the results:

Difficulties in the arts and sciences, which to a past generation were mysterious and insuperable, have now yielded to long and laborious experiments, or to patient thought and calculation; and, as in natural science, we cannot say how far man's knowledge may in the end be permitted to reach, or what are the phenomena whose real causes he shall never know, so also in the knowledge of God's word we can never tell now far the obscurity of which we complain, is removable by sober study and careful comparison of one portion with another, or how far it was intended that or that prediction should be dark for ever.²⁵⁵

The obscurity and 'widely discordant systems and theories' which have arisen around the interpretation of prophecy have their real source 'in the interpreters of them', rather than in the prophetic texts, and 'if only the Christian Church would set itself to study the revelations' in 'humility and teachableness, without reference to any modern controversy, however vital and important that may seem to us', God would make known its true meaning of the prophecy. Like science and the arts, interpretation became a matter of 'phenomena' and 'facts', rather than 'weapons of controversial warfare'.²⁵⁶ He aimed at an irenic interpretation of the prophecies, one which would not 'distort for party purposes the plain and obvious

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.4

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.4-5

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.14

import of the sacred words'.²⁵⁷

To be clear about the 'literal interpretation' of prophecy, it was necessary for Todd to turn to his Tractarian influences for, as he said, it was necessary to turn to see how the sacred words of prophecy were received and understood by the primitive Church, as it existed before 'the warped judgement of modern commentators', and also because they were only 'a few generations removed from the Apostles', so may have preserved a light which was later extinguished in subsequent times. He quoted Bishop Samuel Horsley (1733-1806), but only in his support of the view that the insights of the first ages concerning the last times would eventually be restored. In his footnotes at the bottom of the page, it is clear that he thought that Horsley was one of those eighteenth-century clergymen who believed that the early church fathers supported the view that Daniel XI referred principally to Antichrist, and held this to be the general opinion of Antiquity. Todd is about to take issue with him. Todd referenced his quotation concerning Horsley to a text composed by him, 'Letter II, to the Author of 'Antichrist in the French Convention', which had appeared in an article (and he does not name the author) in the *British Magazine* of 1834. Rev. Hugh James Rose was editor at this time, but Maitland took over in 1835, and Todd and Maitland met Rose in Lambeth when he came to dine at breakfast. Rose was for a time a chaplain at Lambeth and seemed to Maitland and Todd to be paying for the magazine out of his own pocket. Maitland had been publishing articles in the *British Magazine* on prophecy since 1826, and it is interesting that Todd contextualized his first lecture within the magazine culture created by these two high Churchmen in England. He was well qualified to place himself in the midst of it, as his lengthy conversations by letter with Maitland, who had given him much of the source material used by him in the magazines.

In his lecture, he went on to dissociate his own views from those of Horsley on the matter of the ancients and Antichrist 'it is true that there are points in the ancient opinions about Antichrist which I am far from undertaking to defend', he stated, because on such points both the ancient and the modern writers

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p.14

‘have indulged their imagination’ and have gone ‘beyond the text of Scripture’ by ‘inducing from it a mystical interpretation’ and ‘a meaning it was never intended to express.’²⁵⁸ Hooker had already given reason for rejecting the more elaborate allegorical methods of interpreting Scripture favoured by some of the later Church Fathers. It was this allegorical method which, in Todd’s opinion, had led to later men like Horsley taking up the papal Antichrist interpretation from the prophecies in Daniel.

Todd made this one of his central points of the lectures, that is with regard to material in the Fathers and how it could be interpreted in later generations, to exegetes like Hooker who established the general principle of interpretation, and to the tradition guarded by men like the eighteenth-century Horsley who misread the Fathers. The ‘literal interpretation’ of the papal Antichrist did not take this route. He then turned to his second main point, the general ‘great and leading outline’ on the main question of the interpretation of the Antichrist in and argued that both the primitive church, and ‘the most learned and zealous defenders of the modern system of interpretation’ agreed that ‘until about the twelfth century of the Christian era, ‘the conclusions about the Antichrist of modern times were ‘utterly unknown to the Church’, so he asked rhetorically if this meant that up until the twelfth century, the primitive church was mainly wrong? He noted that Mede had argued that the modern church should ‘set aside the authority of the primitive church and prepare the way for an interpretation of the prophecies about the Antichrist, which he admits were unknown to the ancients’, in contrast to Horsley but with the same conclusion.²⁵⁹ He noted that Mede was prepared to suggest that it was the fault of the Waldenses who brought into the universal church the interpretation of the papal Antichrist,

in a treatise purporting to have been written very early in the twelfth century, who had for the first time applied these prophecies to the Papal corruptions, asserting that the state of the Church at that period, and not any individual, was the Antichrist of prophecy, the whore of Babylon, the fourth beast of Daniel, the man of sin, the son of perdition.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 16

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 17

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 18

Here he had arrived at the main point of his own particular line of enquiry regarding the general framework of the interpretation of the prophecies, and in the rest of the first series of lectures he devoted himself more closely to the interpretation of the different 'beasts' as described in the book of Daniel and what they were said to represent, apart from the papal Antichrist. However, he made another interesting point on the twelfth century interpretative framework, to take apart Mede, Mosheim and others, by noting that it was Mosheim and Mede who misinterpreted Joachim, the Abbot of Fleuri, by saying that Joachim believed that the immediate coming of the papal Antichrist was prevalent in the church from the tenth century. This was more than a century too early for Mede's calculations to work regarding the introduction of it by the Waldenses, but 'it is certain' he explained in a foot-note, 'that we may find in all ages a disposition to look for the revelation of Antichrist as at hand.'²⁶¹ All the more ancient writers, he thought, supported the better interpretation that an individual Antichrist would appear at the end of the world, preceding the second coming of the Lord, and such an Antichrist for him 'will be connected with the Jewish, rather than with the Gentile Church.'²⁶² This interpretation is very much from Todd and a unique emphasis by him, so in his capacity as a Hebrew lecturer in Trinity, what did he mean?

If he meant to transfer the opprobrium of the man of sin to the Jewish church, instead of leaving it in the Roman Catholic church then this is a very suspect interpretation of the real meaning of the Antichrist. It would be an impossible point for scholarship today to accept. However, since he did not wish to be like those who looked for the revelation of the Antichrist everywhere, he may have meant here that in some future time, when all are in one olive branch, around the table of Abraham, Isaac and Jesus, that the Antichrist will attack all religious belief systems as evil. There is no further elaboration to any great degree on this point, and he went on to dismiss Mede's chronology of the 'time of the end' as related to how Mede thought that the word 'days' in prophetic language meant 'years', 'an assumption which a living writer has completely

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p 18 foot-note i.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 18

refuted', [that is, his friend Maitland], in his 'First and Second Inquiry into the Grounds on which the prophetic Period has been supposed to consist of 1260 years.'²⁶³ He noted that the Hebrew calculations had been ably discussed by the Rev. Alexander McCaul, D.D., of Trinity College, Dublin in his 'Remarks on an Article in the ninth Number of the *Morning Watch*, published in London by Nisbet, in 1831, and also a 'celebrated foreign theologian' who we infer from the footnotes was called Wagenseil, gave his judgement in favour of Maitland and McCaul, as did another authority called Sir John Marsham, while the Hebrew scholar, [we infer again as Wagenseil] wrote that the chronology of Numbers and Ezekiel refuted the meaning of 'days' as interchangeable with 'years'.

Todd continually returned to the work of Maitland in his Trinity lectures, who in his Second Inquiry reasoned that 'literal days' and 'literal years' meant the normal period of time associated with such statements. Todd thought that a day was from sunrise to sunset, and that the word 'day' should not be read as an elaborate prophetic allegory which might mean three hundred and sixty years. Todd concluded that 'there is no reason whatsoever for supposing that the twelfth century was the period designated in the prophecy as the time of the end or that any peculiar light was then to be shed upon the true meaning of the prophecies relating to Antichrist and the latter times', in the twelfth century in particular or by some prophetic calculation. The contrary was true, that the end time would be connected with the 'restoration of the Jews' and this would occur be not long before the final judgement, when, as the angel said in Daniel in XII, 1-2: 'Thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.'²⁶⁴ He noted the Hebrew, Latin Vulgate and Syriac translations of this text, and concluded that the prophet Daniel had a very extraordinary vision, but that it was not for his generation to know when this would occur, as all that could be inferred was that it would take place in a future time. He quoted from the book of Acts, chapter one, verses six

²⁶³ Ibid., p. 19 foot-note k

²⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 21.

and seven:

Lord wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel? And he said unto them, it is not for you to know the times or seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power'.²⁶⁵

In summation, this first lecture was a lengthy introduction by him to his main points of interpretation, intended to be a thorough refutation of much of the prophetic speculations he considered to be erroneous in the Anglican scriptural tradition. He was not able to clear the Fathers from all ingenious speculation, but wished to use them as a guide in his own work of refutation. To quote Sheehan, he wished to reverse the 'rivers of blood' caused by the erroneous accusations made against the breakaway groups in the twelfth century and the interpretative framework of Mede. Instead he wished to be and more in line with the church fathers. Sheehan talks of a postconfessional Bible and the prophecy lectures are a good example of this in practice, in Ireland. Yet, in hindsight, one cannot help but wonder about the problem of Todd's scholarly work being misinterpreted by a divided audience when it came to the subject of prophecy in Ireland. He delivered the lecture without the long explanatory footnoted references added later in his books, and some of the nuances of his interpretation must have been lost on both the press and the public. There is not much mention in the ensuing magazine coverage of his points about the Antichrist as arising from elsewhere. In his opening text he defined the problem as the misappropriation of biblical material to addresses realities not envisaged by the original writers. He used Maitland's work of refutation of Mede and his school and did not expect anything other than a scholarly debate to follow. He and Maitland worked in comparative peace on background material for several years prior to the lectures in 1838, and the high church Maitland dimly realised that his arguments would be misinterpreted by divided RC and Protestant exegesis. In 1835 Maitland wrote to Todd to congratulate him on his choice of topic:

As to the subject you propose for your lectures, I think it will be excellent –and I shall be exceedingly glad to give any help I can – I have a good mass of collections, which I wish you would come over (why not at Christmas time?) and have a look at – or if you cannot, I can send them to you. ²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 22-23, footnotes

²⁶⁶ Dublin, TCD MSS 2214/15, Samuel Roffey Maitland to James Henthorn Todd, 18th April, 1835.

Maitland had a manuscript which ‘wants pasting up of various scraps’ of writing gathered together after the first of his researches, but the original gave a ‘pretty full view of the Doctrine of the Fathers and writers from the second to the sixteenth century’ who did not think in terms of prophecy as meaning the papal Antichrist. In the midst of this early work and correspondence the death of the Rev. Alexander McClean, with whom he shared all his ongoing research in Dublin, set him back as death came to his own scholarly circle. Todd wrote to Charles Babbage explaining what had happened to McClean in late 1835:

It will grieve you to be told that your friend, my most dear and beloved intimate and associate McClean is no more –he died of Typhus fever on Friday last the 27th November, in him I have lost what can never be replaced, the friend of my early days, for fifteen years at least, scarcely a day past without my being more or less in his society, we read together for Collegiate honours, we walked together and examined each other during our undergraduate course and we obtained together without rivalry the highest office in the College, in short he was a friend to whom I could freely tell the inmost thoughts of my soul and I believe we had not secrets from each other... It is painful to think of his illness was brought on by over exertion and confirmed by neglect, he was one of the Examiners for honours this year and this laborious office added to his other duties and imposed on him the fatigue under which he sank; for three days he was not in bed till 4 o'clock in the morning...²⁶⁷

The first whiff of alarm to his carefully prepared Donnellan lecture five, as he was well into a discussion of the various beasts, appeared in the Dublin and provincial newspapers. It was carried across to Oxford by a summary of the news from Ireland which appeared in a long summary article in the *British Magazine* and ran in their February edition of 1839, with the title, ‘The Present State of the Popish Controversy in Ireland’. It carried a report from the *Limerick Chronicle* which was copied in the *Cork Advertiser* on 24th November, 1838, which said:

An extraordinary lecture was delivered at Trinity College chapel, on Sunday last. Several thought that Father Tom Maguire was the preacher; but it appears it was one of the junior fellows who had commenced a

²⁶⁷ London, British Library, Add.37189/205 James Henthorn Todd to Charles Babbage, 29th November, 1835

series of sermons on the Prophecies.’²⁶⁸

The account from the *Limerick Chronicle* was then picked up by the *Warder*, which printed a lengthy summary of Todd’s lecture accusing him of taking ‘Maitland and the Paleyites in England’ as his guide, and this at least was somewhat correct. The *Warder* continued, ‘What the Limerick theologian means by *Paleyites* it is hard to say. Perhaps it is a mistake or a misprint for *Puseyites*, and means the doctrines held by the ‘cloistered knaves’ at Oxford...unless it be meant that everything which Dr. Pusey believes...is *Puseyism*.’²⁶⁹ This put Todd the Tractarian on the spot in Dublin. The lectures in Trinity then went into the *Dublin Christian Record* where they were commented on in an article which ran on the 3rd December, 1838, as ‘The Rev. Dr. Todd’s sermon in Defence of Popery’. It began ‘Two priests were lately in one of the Popish Bookshops, not far from Essex Bridge, and entered into conversation on the news of the day. Dr. Todd’s defence of Popery was not of course forgotten...one of them, elated beyond measure, expressed his joy and gratitude in strong terms, that the Rev. Doctor was doing their work admirably well within the walls of our Protestant university’. The piece concluded, ‘Only yesterday, Archdeacon Magee preached in Christ’s Church, and we understand paid his respects to the ‘Todd heresy’, in very intelligent and intelligible language’ which brought to an end the *British Magazine*’s coverage, which concluded that the preceding press cuttings gave some idea of ‘the feelings of the religious part of the Irish community’.²⁷⁰ ‘What will Mr. Todd do now?’ the magazine asked, ‘Could he have preached the lecture if he had anticipated such a result?’ The *British Magazine* thought that, ‘it is most sad to see a newspaper theologian...setting forth the belief that the pope is Antichrist as a doctrine necessary to salvation’ but acknowledged that certain aspects of religious controversy in Ireland were beyond his comprehension, ‘the writer confesses that he has never so far understood Irish politics as to be able to decide whether certain emanations of opinion should be ascribed to Toryism,

²⁶⁸ *The British Magazine* February 1, 1839, Original Papers. The Present State of the Popish Controversy in Ireland, pp, 125-141

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 126

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 127

Conservatism, Whiggism, or Radicalism, so singularly do they seem to him to be mixed and coloured by Orangeism.’²⁷¹ Here the writer adds a footnote, stating again that as an Englishman he does not understand Ireland, but he thinks that ‘popery’ and ‘radicalism’ are ‘pretty much convertible terms.’²⁷² He added, ‘hence arises the most curious cross and puzzle in the newspaper view of the matter. The ‘Puseyites’ are ‘papists’ therefore they are ‘Radicals.’ Mr Todd denies that the pope is Antichrist, therefore he is a ‘papist’ that is a ‘Puseyite’, that is a ‘Radical’.²⁷³ He concluded, ‘Dr. Sadlier says that Mr. Todd is right about the pope, and therefore, he is shewn up as the ‘Puseyite Provost’.²⁷⁴ Rev. Tresham Dames Gregg (1800-1881), Chaplain at Swift’s Alley Free Church in Dublin from 1837, who had entered into a recent polemical discourse lasting nine days with a man called Father Thomas Maguire, it went on from 29th May 1838 to 7th June, 1838 at the Round Room in the Rotunda in Dublin, also joined in the fray of the condemnation of Dr. Todd. Gregg had already published his views in 1832 on *The Doctrines Formulated by the Romish Bishops in Ireland*’ and in 1847 he published a full condemnation of Todd in *Free Thoughts on Protestant Matters*, when Chaplain of St. Nicholas within, Dublin. He was something of a rogue preacher and regarded as a nuisance by Archbishop Whately.²⁷⁵

Todd knew that Gregg was the author of a *Dublin Record* piece on 3rd December, 1838 and the *British Magazine* in their survey noted that Gregg was a man who was not shy to ‘take a rise’ at the Donnellan lecturer. Gregg wrote in the *Dublin Record* that ‘the Christian public thinks, and justly too, that in Mr. Todd’s peculiar situation as a lecturer to a set of young men... in the matter of his sermon...nothing could be more ill-judged than the adoption of the course indicated by the notice of his lecture’.²⁷⁶ Gregg argued that ‘Mr. Todd’s proceeding is at variance with his principles as a Churchman...in the United

²⁷¹ Ibid. p. 128

²⁷² Ibid. p 128 Footnote marked by an * in the magazine

²⁷³ Ibid. p 128 Footnote marked by an* in the magazine

²⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 128 Footnote marked by an* in the magazine

²⁷⁵ T. D. Gregg, *Free Thoughts on Protestant Matters, in one volume* (Dublin: W. Curry Jun., & Co.,1847)

²⁷⁶ British Magazine p. 129

Church of England and Ireland, considered a Protestant Church.’²⁷⁷ Gregg wrote a letter of complaint to the paper, arguing that Todd was out of step with Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Bradford, Taylor, Fox, Tindale, Bale, Mede, Ussher, Newton and Jewell’ and had ‘set at nought’ the Scotts, Milner, Faber and Bickersteth, while being indifferent to their ‘well grounded authority’.²⁷⁸ The *British Magazine* added by way of reflection on Gregg, ‘Surely the minister of Swift’s-alley is rather outdoing the ‘cloistered knaves’ in his doctrine of tradition: but the way in which he arranges his authorities.’ The *British Magazine* stated, somewhat ingeniously, that it was only trying to ‘show the footing on which the controversy stands in Ireland’. Gregg wrote again in 20th December, 1838 edition of the *Dublin Record* in a piece, seemingly lifted from the *Limerick Chronicle* which carried the title, ‘The Oxford Heresy’:

The doctrine of the Puseyites has received no countenance in Ireland, on the contrary, their absurd and preposterous views are repudiated by all who are eminent in the country for learning, piety, or discretion, with the solitary exception of the Rev. Mr. Todd, a gentleman who has already earned for himself a very unenviable notoriety. Their published works entitled, ‘Tracts for the Times’ as literary productions are below contempt, and the shallow sophistry exhibited throughout, evinces anything but honesty of purpose.’²⁷⁹

It is easy to see how such coverage generated further interest in his lectures and soon it was time for the Provost to step in and defend him. First however, there was the reaction of the Diocese of Ardagh, beginning with the Rev. Martin, a Trinity graduate who took exception to his final lecture in December 1838 on I Timothy iv, verses one to three, where Todd discussed the apostasy of the latter times, defining the characteristics of that apostasy, and refuting arguments that it had already been fulfilled in the ancient Gnostic and Manichean heresies. He concluded the sixth lecture by saying that the Church of Rome still held to its Christian foundations, and to think otherwise was to misrepresent the whole design of prophecy and the progress of the Reformation.

On the 15th December, 1838, the Rev. Martin, Rector of Killeshandra,

²⁷⁷ *ibid.* p. 129

²⁷⁸ *ibid.* p. 130

²⁷⁹ *ibid.* p. 129-130 Footnote with *

county Cavan, wrote a letter to the *Dublin Evening Mail* from Lahard, near Killeshandra. It was carried in the *British Magazine* of 15th January, 1839 in a further edition of reportage of the progress of the lectures in Trinity. Martin referred to a report in the *Evening Mail* of the 14th December, 1838, regarding ‘a sermon preached in the college chapel, by Rev. Mr. Todd’, where an attempt was made ‘to divert the first three verses of the 4th chapter of St. Paul’s first Epistle to Timothy, from that application of them which is usual amongst protestants...and in which the preacher is also said to have expressed a hope on a future occasion to pursue the subject, and to shew that the prophecies in the Apocalypse are not applicable to the Romish church, no more than this part of the apostolic writings.’

²⁸⁰ In response, he ‘begs leave as a former fellow of Trinity College and incumbent of one of her benefices’ to say that:

As the college and the clergy are generally, though very unfairly supposed, in some degree, to sanction the opinions so publicly or authoritatively promulgated, unless there be some express disavowal of them, I beg leave, as to express my own humble dissent from those positions which I regret to see attributed to Mr. Todd, believing them to be as unfounded, in point of fact, as they are, under the circumstances of the country, highly unseasonable, and of a mischievous tendency.²⁸¹

In the meantime the clergy of the Diocese of Ardagh held their own meeting, on the 10th December, 1838, without the presence of the Dean of Ardagh, and composed a joint document in the form of several resolutions, which soon appeared in the *Dublin Statesman*. ‘At that meeting’ on the 10th December, called to discuss Todd, it was unanimously resolved:

1. That we cannot but view with extreme sorrow the progress of certain opinions which have emanated from a few divines in Oxford, and which it is to be feared have found some advocates in this country also, tending to overthrow the fundamental grounds of the protest raised in the sixteenth century by the blessed reformers against the apostasy of the church of Rome.
2. That we, would feel ourselves unworthy of the name of protestants and more especially minister of the Church of England, if we did not lift our voices in opposition to sentiments (proceeding from whatever quarter they may) which make light of the awful errors of popery, -errors denounced by God in his

²⁸⁰ *British Magazine* vol.15, 15th January, 1839 (London: J. G. & F. Rivington, 1839) pp.87-90.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 89

word as marking the spiritual Babylon, from whose soul-destroying abominations all Christians are commanded to flee.

3. That venerating as we do the memories of our pious forefathers, who 'loved not their own lives unto the death', in contending against the pope as "the Antichrist" of the New Testament, and the papal system as "the apostasy of the latter days", we can never consent to relax in any degree the high standards of Protestantism bequeathed to us by those holy martyrs, or confound the everlasting distinction between the word of God, and the traditions of men which they have handed down.
4. That we have met as a Diocese to record these our unanimous and deliberate opinions.....²⁸²

The resolutions were signed on behalf of the clergy by George Crawford, LL.D – Vicar-General of Ardagh. However the clergy did not quite get away with sending this as a unanimous view from their Diocese, as Dean R. Murray, who really agreed with them, it turned out, but was annoyed at not being at the meeting, wrote to say that he had not been there,

Nor does it appear to me suitable that fifteen clergymen, meeting for a purpose different from that stated in the requisition, should sign for the entire body of the clergy, who, whatever be their sentiments on the subject of the resolutions then passed, had certainly no opportunity of expressing them on that occasion.

The editorial comment in the *British Magazine* said that the Ardagh clergy 'feel as if the ground has been taken from beneath their feet by the Rev. J. H. Todd' ... and Todd then wrote to the Editor of the *Dublin Evening Mail* in reply to the charges made against him:

As you have interpreted my silence into an admission of the truth of the statements which have been made against me respecting my lectures, lately preached before the university, I feel it right to say, what the particular lecture that has given such offence is but one of a series of which only on-half has as yet been delivered; and that, as soon as possible after the completion of the course, they shall be published. I must only hope that those who value truth will, in the meantime, suspend their judgement, until they shall be in possession of the only fair and legitimate grounds upon which a correct judgement can be formed.

The sole cause of my silence hitherto, under a most unjust and calumnious imputation, has been my strong conviction that great mischief is done to religion by clergymen suffering themselves to be led into newspaper controversy; and I could not help indulging a hope, that no person who has

²⁸² Ibid., p, 87f

ever had the slightest acquaintance with me, or my opinions, would give a moment's attention to the absurd misrepresentations that have been made of my motives and sentiments in the public prints.²⁸³

At last, the Provost, Franc Sadlier rose to the occasion and wrote in defence of Todd.

Rev. and Dear Sir,

I have read with much surprise your letter, in the *Saunders* of this day, protesting against the opinions put forward in Mr. Todd's late Donnellan lectures, and seeming to say, that it was your duty and your right to do so, as a former fellow of our college. Did you forget that the heads of the college were present when those lectures were preached, and that, so far from their being disapproved of by them, there was not a single dissenting voice against Mr. Todd's being continued Donnellan lecturer from this present year on the same subject, though it is rather unusual for the same person to hold this office two years in succession? Could they have well given a stronger proof that they considered the opinions he put forward to be sound and true, and useful for our theological students?

You say that Mr. Todd's opinions 'are in the present state of the country, unseasonable and mischievous'. You must pardon me for differing from you entirely on these grounds. The application of the prophecies in question, by some protestants, to the Romish church, has been long a cause of bitterness and hatred between us and our Roman-catholic fellow Christians. If this application be unfounded, as Mr. Todd has shewn it to be, the sooner this error- this root of bitterness and division- is removed, the better. To expose and condemn it is the very opposite of 'unseasonable' and 'mischievous'. I trust that he will succeed with his readers, when he prints his lectures, as well as he did with his hearers, when he preached them, and that, *plus valeat lingua quae legatione surgitur pacis quam quae clasicam canit*'.

Dean Murray then wrote back and said that he did believe that the papal system was the apostasy of the latter days, and that not just the seven heads but the whole beast would be revived as a false prophet, and harlot, and go into perdition. A further piece appeared in the *Limerick Chronicle* entitled, 'Toddism!' which spoke of the considerable sensation made by Todd in his final lecture, where he denounced Mede and Bartholomew Newton, and departed from the true meaning of the text, and so on. In the end, the whole controversy blew over, but the reactions as cited give some idea of the opposition to his first series of prophecy

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 87f

lectures. The fifteen clergymen and the Dean of the Ardagh diocese were representative of the Second Reformation movement, and Martin had been a strong supporter of Lord Farnham when he put forward his own candidate in the local elections, only to be opposed by a candidate supported by Daniel O'Connell in 1828/9. Martin wrote a tract, *Reform Considered. Designed to Show the Danger of the Proposed Reform Bill*, which was published in Dublin in 1831.

Newman wrote a long review when the book was published in 1840. It followed a lengthy letter correspondence between them about the nature of the Oxford Movement and the way in which Newman wanted the *British Critic* to speak with one voice, although he seems to refer to it as 'the Review'. On the 19th March, 1838, before the lectures had been delivered but during the period he was working on them, Newman sent him a letter:

We wish of course that the Review should speak with one voice, and not write against itself in separate articles. Now as far as I know, I really do not think you would disapprove of anything we were likely to say. The point on which, judging at a distance, disapproval on your part was most likely, was the Revolution question...WE are as strongly opposed to the Romanist as the existing system in these countries, as you can be; though we do not like abusing them...We have perhaps a very high view of the abstract power and position of the Church as a ruling body, but them, considering it to be in captivity, we hold it a Christian duty to obey our Masters, as the Jews obeyed Nebuchadnezzar. It there any point, will you let me ask, on which there is likely to be any serious difference between us?²⁸⁴

Later Newman wrote in retrospect, giving a different view of what he called 'the Irish Establishment' in 1875.

I had at that time, 1838, a great distrust of the soundness of the Irish Establishment, and thought the clergy radically Evangelical and did not much care to undertake their cause, viz. on the state of things a letter of Dr. Todd's and unluckily destroyed one of Archbishop Mant's...the Sees were destroyed by the fault of the Irish Bishops and clergy.²⁸⁵

In a letter found while on a research visit to Pusey House and examined there, it reveals that Todd wrote back to Newman on 26th March, 1838. He was answering

²⁸⁴ John Henry Newman, *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, ed. at the Birmingham Oratory with notes and an Introduction by Gerard Tracey, vol vi, The Via Media and Froude's Remains, January 1837 to December 1838*, (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1989) p. 201

²⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 201

the previous letter from Newman about speaking with one voice, and said that he 'would feel no difficulty whatsoever in writing for the *British Critic*'. He then went through some Church history points that Newman had raised and disputed him on one important point, with regard to Ireland,

With respect to our Established Church, I am fully persuaded that the 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 expedited or beneficial to society, does place us in a sort of captivity & tie up our hands –it gives our political rulers and influence in sacred things especially in appointments to bishoprics & other spiritual promotions, which is highly injurious and corrupting to the Church.²⁸⁶

He thought that 'perhaps the principal point on which we are likely to differ is the historical interpretation of the prophecy. I am convinced that all prophecies must be understood literally –that spiritual interpretation of Scripture (as it is called) is most unsound and dangerous.'²⁸⁷ This is an important point for him to raise, since Newman had dismissed Maitland as too much an old high churchman, yet in his review of Todd's first Donnellan lectures, he gave Maitland some credit for his work on prophecy. Todd told Newman that he knew many examples of spiritual interpretation from the Fathers, from Cyprian onwards, 'but I think it will be seen that the more antient the writer the less his is disposed to indulge in this sort of imaginary interpretation.'²⁸⁸ This ties in with what he subsequently said in the lectures, and perhaps he ignored too much that this method was devised to attract attention, to impress more deeply an important spiritual truth on the imagination and emotion of the hearer, in an oral biblical culture. However, Todd did not think that he and Newman would differ very much for, 'I should take for granted that you will differ from me in this –perhaps we may agree more nearly than we anticipate.'²⁸⁹ He added that he believed in 'the literal restoration of the Jewish kingdom and worship', the 'personal reign of Christ on the throne of David', for 'the appearance of Antichrist who I think will be an individual and a man (not a series of Christian bishops)' and also that there will be 'a literal coming of a literal

²⁸⁶ Pusey House, envelope marked 'Newman and the *British Critic*'.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

Elijah ' who was one of his favourite prophets.²⁹⁰ The two witnesses spoken of in Revelation will be Enoch and Elijah, he thought. Turning to the meaning in prophetic language, 'a day' he stated that 'it means a day and not a year.'²⁹¹ So he has given Newman a breakdown of his lecture preparations in the hope of receiving a reply. He then tried to chase up some articles he had sent to the *British Critic* which appeared to have been lost. He and Crosthwaite had sent of a letter to Maitland outlining their plans, but nothing had come of it. He gave him a paper on 'on the Evidence about the Irish education, which I afterwards threw into a form of a letter and sent it to the *British Magazine*, where it has not yet appeared', he told Newman.²⁹² He then added as a sort of footnote that he would give Newman's letter to Crosthwaite so that he could answer for himself about sending in material, reiterated that he would have no difficulty in being a contributor to the *British Critic* but would do nothing until he heard back from Newman. Todd was kept waiting and it is somewhat sad that Newman, while asking for pieces from Ireland, did not seem to chase up one from one of the very few men who were his equal in Ireland, and who was exploring in a deeper way than Newman was at the time, the Protestant interpretation of the papal Antichrist. It shows that there was a certain shade to Newman's view of the 'Orange' clergy in the Church of Ireland and he did not much support Tractarian efforts away from his own surroundings. In his later thoughts he seems to have blotted out this letter, and tarred all Irish clergy as being low church and evangelical. Todd ended his March letter by asking Newman to come to Ireland in the summer, and regretted that he could not come over for 'even a week or ten days,' as he would love to be 'within reach of Oxford, there is no place I would rather visit', he told him, but being Dean of the College that year, he has to find a Deputy if he left the College and this was very difficult.²⁹³ He therefore thought he would be working over the summer. In a further letter he asked Newman if they would print his paper sent on Irish education, and Newman replied and he

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid.

wrote again to say that he was glad to find that they differed little on the question of the 'literal interpretation' of Scripture.²⁹⁴

These were busy years for Todd, he was full of energy and Simms says that 'in the University, nothing is done without him. Everyone who has any single-hearted desire to do good there, or to carry out any real improvement, invariably looks to him in the first place for his counsel, approval and assistance.'²⁹⁵

Newman wrote an intense review of Todd's first prophecy *Discourses* as it marked the passing away of the papal Antichrist in the minds of many nineteenth-century clergyman, and was therefore a watershed period this way. Newman's review appeared in the *British Critic* in October 1840, and it was written in the form of the plural, editorial 'we', when he was editor. It seemed as if he had a great crowd of people all reading the review and coming to similar conclusions, an editorial convention, but quite marked in the piece. He argued that the Church of England was as much the Antichrist as the Pope of Rome, as what applied to one branch of the Christian church, applied to all, or *nostra res agitur*, as he put it, so the Antichrist should be found in the Church of England as well as the Church of Rome.²⁹⁶ 'In doctrine we entirely agree with Dr. Todd' ...as 'the Discourses which Dr. Todd has recently given to the world, are, perhaps 'the first attempt for a long course of years in this part of Christendom to fix a dispassionate attention and a scientific interpretation' on the papal Antichrist in the writings of Daniel and St. Paul.'²⁹⁷ Dr. Todd 'is methodical, careful, and accurate in his investigations, and clear and unaffected in his manner of presenting them before his readers'.²⁹⁸ If the work had a fault, it was one attributable to all Irish Anglicans, he thought, (and the fault he noticed may have come as a surprise to the clergy in Ireland), for

²⁹⁴ John Henry Newman, *The Letters and Diaries* vol. vi continuing from p. 201

²⁹⁵ Simms, *Hermathena*, p.17

²⁹⁶ J. H. Newman, 'The Protestant Idea of Antichrist', *British Critic* (October, 1840)p. 2 and reprinted in *Essays Critical and Historical 2* at: <http://www.newmanreader.org/works/essays/volume2/antichrist1.html> pp 1-25, from Newman Reader. Accessed 20/07/2009. This numbering is different from the older version which carries the page numbers 391-440, so p.1 = p.391, and so on.

²⁹⁷ *ibid.* p. 1.

²⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p.1

it was the opinion of the magazine that:

far from imposing a meaning upon Scripture, in order to make it tally with events in the history of the day, if he has a fault, it rather lies in his proving too little from it; that is in his being rather bent on disproving what others advance than in establishing, according to the sense of the Catholic church, anything positive and substantial instead.²⁹⁹

Yet he noted that Todd elevated the ancient and catholic Anglican writers in opposition to the ecclesiastical errors of Mede, Miller and the current writings of Faber. Newman restated that Anglican catholicity meant that ‘before we assert that a branch of Christ’s Church, not merely has evil extensively prevailing within it, but is actually the kingdom of evil’ it would be better to remember that ‘the Church, the dwelling-place of the Most High’ in its entirety is being attacked. It is better to be ‘very cautious of forming a judgement against particular branches of the Church, unless we are very certain what we are saying’, he cautioned.³⁰⁰ Perhaps Newman was being disingenuous here, as there were many Church of England clergymen, including himself who had thoroughly believed in the papal Antichrist up to that point. He continues, ‘we are thankful to Dr. Todd for the careful and learned work which he has presented to the Christian public; and with the hope of strengthening the Scripture argument to which he has for the most part confined himself’, we shall, ‘here employ ourselves on some collateral thoughts’. One of these is that in comparison to Dr. Arnold, whom ‘we are sorrowfully conscious that we do not agree’, Arnold had ‘a deeper philosophy’ in his ‘two Sermons on Prophecy’ than Todd did in the *Discourses*. He did not elaborate on Arnold at this point but went on to mention the dangers of complacency and lack of unity in the Church.

If dreadful scenes still await the Church, if they have been foretold, and foretold that Christians may be prepared for them, no calamity can be greater than a belief that they have already been fulfilled, and that there is nothing to look out for or to fear; no device of Satan can be more crafty than to make us think that they are not to come, that they have come to pass already, - nay, that they have been fulfilled in a branch of the Church herself, that Church which was ordained by her Divine Author ever to be one, all over the earth, and to live in internal peace, not in mutual reviling and accusations, in strife and hatred. ³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p.1

³⁰⁰ Ibid., p.2

³⁰¹ Ibid., p.2

Newman adopted a warning tone at this point in the review, and again reiterated that 'Scripture contains intimations of the coming of a special enemy of Christ and his Church, of great power, craft, and wickedness'.³⁰² He was not throwing out the idea of a literal second coming, or of how oppressive, evil and worldly power will return to threaten the Church. Who first appropriated the papal Antichrist, 'when was it first detected and by whom' Newman asked, and quoted extensively from Todd. He explained Todd's 'the three independent families of heresy' which gradually formed and matured from within the Roman Catholic church between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. However, Todd did not call the Waldenses heretics, so this part of the review is incorrect. Newman went on to summarise Todd, saying he spoke about the Albigenses as deeply flawed and influenced by the Manichaeic heresy, [but not as heretics], the Waldensians as being 'of a much purer and more respectable character' about whom Todd had 'brought together a mass of information' on the subject of the papal Antichrist, and he praised his notes 'at the end of his Lectures' which 'form one of the most interesting parts of his work.'³⁰³ The 'Waldenses' group were 'far from wishing to separate, as they in the first instance attempted to take a place in the Church', Newman summarised, from Todd's work, but in the thirteenth century were accused of apostasy by the Pope. The third group, who arose from within the Roman Catholic church in the same way as the Albigenses and the Waldenses, came to oppose the corruptions of the Pope as breakaway followers of St. Francis.³⁰⁴ The mendicant friars arose at first within the Roman Catholic church as followers of St. Francis who sought to elevate Francis above the Pope, and as a result, the order split into factions. Here Newman quoted Todd directly, that 'the court of Rome, as was naturally to be expected, opposed these extreme opinions,

³⁰² *Ibid.* p.5

³⁰³ *Ibid.* p.5

³⁰⁴ Newman appears to think, at one stage, that Todd described the Vaudois as another separate group of mediaeval heretics but the term Vaudois is really another name for the Waldensians who moved to live in Vaud in Switzerland.

and supported the modified interpretation of the Franciscan rule. (p. 31).³⁰⁵ The Fratericielli or the extreme Celestine-Ermites, who broke away from the Franciscans, said Todd, denied the right of the Pope to interpret or rule. These spiritual Franciscans were much indebted to the writings of Abbot Joachim, and later seventeenth and eighteenth century church historians like Mede and Milner misinterpreted the prophetic interpretations of Abbot Joachim on the Waldenses. They could not be said with any accuracy to be responsible for the origins of the papal Antichrist, according to Todd. The errors of the papal Antichrist therefore arose from another source. Newman then highlighted the personality of one principal interpreter of the papal Antichrist, Bishop Newton, in a somewhat memorable way. He saw him as someone who had revived the errors of inaccurate Protestant ecclesiastical history on the subject of the Antichrist, and the later ‘the colour put upon the words of Abbot Joachim by Bishops Hurd and Newton’ was echoed by living expositors, like McNeile and Irving. However, they were opposed by Burgh, Maitland and Todd.³⁰⁶ ‘Now Mr. Maitland is one of the few persons who have undertaken to sift the facts on which the ultra-Protestant interpreters of the Prophecies rely’, and he ‘brought to light many strange mistakes in their statements so as to make the candid reader very suspicious’.³⁰⁷ Instead of continuing to distort the facts of history and explain away the Scriptures, it was better to look for illumination from works like Todd in the *Discourse*. He put forward, said Newman, a ‘bold’ and ‘decisive’ argument to contradict Hurd, Newton, Irving and McNeile. So, ‘let a candid Protestant decide’, declared Newman, ‘is he prepared to match Warburton, Newton or Hurd’ or follow a different interpretation? Newman then gave a description of his own of Bishop Newton, including his love of anticipating his morning chocolate the night before with his evening muffins, a man ‘so liquorish of preferment, whose most fervent aspiration apparently was that he might ride in a carriage and sleep on down’ while his life consisted of ‘literary ease at best’ and ‘whose highest flights

³⁰⁵ Ibid. 5 of Newman and p. 31 of Todd.

³⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 9

³⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 9

attain but to Downing Street or the levee’³⁰⁸ He quoted from William Palmer’s work as used by Todd on the life of Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, a nephew of Pope Pius IV, who tried to distribute the wealth of his family to the poor and displayed hospitality, abstemiousness, charity and learning. Did he qualify as ‘a limb of Antichrist?’ asked Newman, or did St. Francis de Sales? – of whom Palmer also gave an account, as noted by Todd. To finish the review, Newman made a general statement about Englishmen, who in their feeling and judgement, ‘do not start with abhorrence from the members of the Church of Rome, so surely this is a clear proof that they do not really account Rome to be Babylon...we are surely fighting with a shadow’, if this is not the case, and even if ‘in their closet’ they think one thing, ‘they do not say so, in proportion as they come into contact with those whom they denounce. They keep their ground’, but ‘they do not give way’ and this is the true meaning of calling Rome ‘the seat of Antichrist – nothing more than that it has the spirit of Antichrist in it...that it has in it Satanical *principles*.’ Yet these same principles are also ‘in Protestant countries and Protestant systems of doctrine’, but not quite to the same degree.³⁰⁹

In this review Newman both endorsed and distanced himself from Irish clergymen and took a view similar to his old mentor, now the Archbishop of Dublin. Whately wrote to the Bishop of Llandaff not long after his transfer from Oxford to Dublin in 1832 that ‘the English apply all they hear of the Irish national character to the Roman Catholics, and imagine that Protestants...are much such men as themselves’, yet ‘a Roman Catholic and an Orangeman (with of course, individual exceptions) are much more like each other than either of them to an Englishman.’³¹⁰ The solution, according to the Archbishop of Dublin, could only occur ‘with the entire extermination of at least all the adult males of the Roman Catholics’ and if any are left, ‘mark my words, there will be, on the one side, oppression and vexatious assault; on the other, assignation, burning, houghing of

³⁰⁸ *ibid.* p. 17-18.

³⁰⁹ *ibid.* p. 25.

³¹⁰ Elizabeth Jane Whately, *Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, D.D. late Archbishop of Dublin* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1866) vol.i. year of 1832, p. 34.

cattle' in outbreak after outbreak until the end of time.³¹¹

Perhaps Newman wrote for English more than an Irish audience, although he kept urging Todd and Dr. Charles Elrington to become a depot for the magazine in Ireland. He was later very unhappy in Ireland when he came to be Rector of the first Catholic University in Dublin, on a trial basis, in 1851.

Todd delivered the second Donnellan lectures in order to display, as Newman said of him, 'a dispassionate attention and a scientific interpretation on the momentous Prophecies' with typical 'candor, judgement, critical acumen, exactness of reasoning, and adherence to principles' as in his first work.³¹² In the Preface of the 1846 edition, he apologised that the lectures were delivered in the Michaelmas term of 1841, and then there was a delay of five years in putting them into print. It was because he 'had the intention of carrying on the subject by a similar examination of the remaining prophecies of the Apocalypse'.³¹³ However, he had to abandon such a plan because he became overworked and needed to take a long vacation. This was not surprising, considering the controversy, and Simms described the ghost of Ann Donnellan chasing him on the continent. In the second volume he made 'every attempt to vindicate the literal interpretation of Prophecy' and add some further exegesis on the subject.³¹⁴ He wished to answer some of the criticisms which had been made against the lectures.

Firstly, with regard to the charge of inconsistency between the term 'literal interpretation' and the use of symbol or metaphor, he did not hold to a rigid or wholly literalist view, he explained, which would make a text either wholly literal or wholly symbolical. This would be a mistake and confuse the rigidly literal with a broader use of the term 'literal' which included the use of symbol and metaphor. Again he reiterated that 'the literal sense of holy Scripture is commonly defined to be that signification of the words which the Author intended, and which his

³¹¹ Ibid.p 35

³¹² Newman, *British Critic*, 61, (1840), p.1.

³¹³ James Henthorn Todd, *Six Discourses on the Prophecies Relating to Antichrist in The Apocalypse of St. John Preached before the University of Dublin, at the Donnellan Lecture* (Dublin: University Press, 1846) Preface, v

³¹⁴ Ibid., v

contemporaries, in the ordinary use of language, would have understood.³¹⁵ The literal sense, he repeated, was the signification of the words whereby they immediately denote things.³¹⁶ On the other hand, the spiritual sense is a form of interpretation which supposed that ‘things designated by the literal sense’ denoted ‘other things not immediately signified by the words.’³¹⁷ Todd acknowledged to his readers that in ordinary speech ‘we speak of the “light of knowledge”, “the fury of a tempest,” “the anger of the waves,” without supposing for a moment that anyone would infer that we imagined knowledge to produce material light, or attributed to the winds and waves the passions of mankind.’³¹⁸ In terms of the use of symbol, St. John used metaphor in the Apocalypse, to describe a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, but where woman, sun, moon ‘are all to be understood literally’ even though we suppose ‘the Holy Ghost, by these symbols, to have signified the Christian Church, or the Jewish nation, or the Mother of our Lord’.³¹⁹ The allegorical can be founded in the literal, such as the seven candlesticks of gold, and have a legitimate allegorical and symbolical interpretation, but again he referred back to Hooker for the use of common sense and attention to the common currency of words. This second preface showed the thought he had given to the deeper nature of the problem that a ‘scientific’ approach to language faced. The real evil, he concluded, was to try to systematize ‘the various senses of Scripture’ in a narrow way and ‘to define and distinguish the literal and the figurative, the tropical, parabolical, symbolical, typical, allegorical, analogical, and mystical interpretations’, despite a certain vagueness in the definition of these very terms. ‘The allegorical sense is often called literal’, he remarked, and the figurative interpretations confounded one another.³²⁰ In the Preface Todd still took issue with Hurd, Faber and Mede. He summed up the arguments regarding the papal Antichrist by saying that ‘it may suffice to say that

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vi

³¹⁶ The Trinity College, Dublin philosopher Bishop George Berkeley explored the relationship between word, signification and thing and Todd had a copy of his works in his own library.

³¹⁷ J. H. Todd, *Six Discourses*, Preface, vi

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, vii

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, viii

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, xi

the question, whether the Roman corruptions are to be identified with the Antichrist of prophecy, has always been regarded by our divines as an open question: which may, therefore, be soberly and fairly made a subject of inquiry without prejudice to the disputant on either side of the argument or breach of charity towards those who believe the Roman communion to be still a true, though fallen and erring, Church of Christ, in which salvation may be had.³²¹ He reiterated that he was fully satisfied for many years that neither the Pope nor the Church of Rome were the Antichrist and the old Catholic Fathers and Doctors were to be trusted as they had avoided many of the 'modern corruptions' unknown to holy Scripture. This, he argued was the true ground on which his own Church maintained and defended the Reformation. He defended therefore a spirit of catholic moderation, instead of the weapons of controversy. This may be said to approach the kind of 'heroic moderation' Sorkin found in Warburton, as an aspect of the religious enlightenment thinking, but with the qualification here added that Warburton did not seek to refute the papal Antichrist and was not overrated by Newman and the English Tractarians for his views on Church and State. The religious enlightenment did however sponsor toleration, moderation, a more polite society, civic virtue and the enlightened use of the public sphere. A. Broadie has expanded on the qualities of the Scottish Enlightenment in very carefully chosen descriptive prose which greatly brings to life the currency of the Scottish Enlightenment in society and how the Enlightenment energized social change. The moderate clergymen as represented by the five moderates chosen by Richard Sher, handed on a certain legacy. Todd was working on avoiding the excesses of interpretation which created social hatred so could be said to have had a varied form of religious enlightenment thinking behind him. He had in his own library some books on toleration from an earlier generation,

Todd's final text in the area of the prophecies was one which concerned the story of the recovery of a lost library manuscript concerning the Waldensian community. In *The Book of the Vaudois, the Waldensian Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin with an Appendix Containing a*

³²¹ Ibid., xi

Correspondence (Reprinted from the British Magazine) on the Poems of the Poor of Lyons, the Antiquity and Genuineness of the Waldensian Literature and the Supposed Loss of the Moreland MSS at Cambridge, with Mr. Bradshaw's Papers on the Recent Discovery of them, published in Dublin in 1865, he refuted for once and all the spurious interpretation of the Waldensians in the twelfth century. He explained what had happened:

In a work now almost five and twenty-years before the public, I had occasion to examine, at some length, the opinions of the learned Joseph Mede that the 'time of the end' that is to say (as he assumed), the end of the prophetic periods 1290 and 1335 days, was to be characterized by a new light communicated to the Church, as to 'the interpretation of prophecy, in accordance with the prediction (Dan. XII.4) 'May shall go to and for, and knowledge shall be increased.' He maintained that this increase in knowledge had been manifested at the beginning of the twelfth century by the discovery of a new, and up to that time unheard of principle of interpreting the prophecies relating to Antichrist.³²²

Mede had relied for his interpretation on a treatise dated 1190, which he supposed was written by the Waldenses, called the *Qual Sia L'Antichrist?*. The date turned out to have been a mistake however made by a historian called Perrin and the treatise belonged to a later time of the Reformation polemic. Faber and Gilley repeated this error, little realizing that the document they relied on was dated incorrectly and even a fake, deposited in innocence by Sir Samuel Moreland in the public library at Cambridge. Moreland in his own *History of the Churches of Piedmont* then made no reference to it. Later several of the Moreland manuscripts disappeared from the Cambridge library. Todd and the late Algernon Herbert took up the task of cataloguing all the manuscripts of old Waldensian origin and found by the old name, *Paupers of Lyon* or the 'Poor of Lyon', in the Library manuscript collection at Trinity. They thought that they had found one of the lost Moreland manuscripts from Cambridge. However the six collections of manuscripts in Trinity or the A, B, C, D, E and folio collections, which Todd published in several different editions, either as single texts from the beginning and ending of that collection or as a catalogue of the whole manuscript collection in Trinity, were instead valuable and original Waldensian manuscripts and not the later lost

³²² J. H. Todd, *The Book of the Vaudois*, Introduction, v-vi

Moreland ones from Cambridge. A Geneva manuscript was then thought to be the lost Moreland manuscript, but this was not correct. Todd published a catalogue of the original Waldensian manuscripts found in Trinity College, Dublin in 1851 and then the mystery of the missing Moreland manuscript was solved. Henry Bradshaw, who was a friend of Todd and came to St. Columba's College, was appointed as Librarian in Cambridge and he found the missing Moreland manuscript on a shelf quite near to the other Moreland manuscripts, but accidentally misplaced a short distance away, which led to it being presumed missing. It had been there all the time, misplaced by mistake, rather than lost. It could not have been written, concluded Bradshaw, until at least 1400, and was not written c.1100 as Mede had supposed. The full six original Waldensian manuscripts from Trinity were correct, and three later manuscripts, including the missing Moreland manuscript were of a later date.

In this chapter I have introduced the subject of prophecy as a topical one, and shown how Todd developed his arguments against the false interpretation of them developed in the context of reformation polemic. I have placed his work in the mainstream development of the Enlightenment Bible, as described by Jonathan Sheehan, where a post reformation Bible was sought in a less bloodied Europe, alongside other work on biblical exegesis taking place to help form a contextual hermeneutic. I have argued that he did not seek to break with the tradition, in the sense of honouring the work of the early catholic Fathers, or take away from the contribution of Richard Hooker in the sixteenth century. He wished to save his own day interpreting the papal Antichrist in a way that did not continually stir up and add to strife, and if the manuscript sources of church history could aid in this work, then he was prepared to use them. In some ways, he was formulating an alternative national biblical exegesis on a more 'scientific' footing, than the one put down by Dallas, Bickersteeth and the ultra-protestant party, seeking to replace their polemic with a more eirinic one. If Newman accused him of not putting enough into the interpretation of prophecy, perhaps it was because he lived at a terrible time in Ireland which could put too much into the interpretation of prophecy, much to the detriment of true religion. I have kept

closely to his own words in the text and sought to highlight the main framework of Christian history which he tried to develop. In the matter of the 'literal interpretation' of prophecy, it still strikes me that he used words and phrases that would have been at home in Bishop Berkeley's work, but I am not qualified to make any further comparisons as Berkeley is a philosophical rather than a historical figure.

In the following chapter, I examine the work Todd produced on the manuscript sources of Irish history, including the Irish hymns attributed to the saints in his *Leabahr Imuinn*, his life of Saint Patrick, some papers he delivered to the Royal Irish Academy and his work on the colourful and poetic account of Irish invasions, composed in the fifteenth century, the *Cogadh Gaedhel Re Gallibh* which highlighted the Battle of Clontarf, near Dublin, in 1114.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IRISH MANUSCRIPTS AND THE LIBRARY

In this third chapter, I examine the progress Todd made as he studied and published critical editions of ancient manuscripts during a period of twenty-five years. As a result this chapter follows a firm pattern. First there is an overview of his researches and papers presented to the Royal Irish Academy, with selected highlights around the three main works which he edited and published, the *Leabhar Imuinn*, or Book of Hymns, the life of *St. Patrick* and the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*. He was interested in the accurate dating of the manuscript sources, the collation of variant manuscript versions into one comparative edition with footnotes and the integration of new 'scientific' knowledge to accurately validate the colourfully presented historical material often found in the sources. A good example of his interests at work is the joint paper he presented to the Academy with fellow member, Rev. Samuel Haughton, in 1861 which detailed the time of the tides in Dublin Bay circa 1014. This he used to validate the progress of the Viking Battle of Clontarf, as found in the *Cogadh*. The networks of learning interacted with these ancient sources and fruitful scholarship developed between the Academy, the libraries he researched in Europe which housed the variants, and the Dublin and London publishing firms who were interested in publishing his research activity. He developed a growing reputation as an expert on the Irish manuscript sources, enhanced by his writing up short, pithy articles on contested points of interest in the manuscript sources for the *Notes and Queries* journal which was published in London every quarter. Thus the manuscripts increasingly came out of their hidden storage in the library archives and private library collections and were introduced to the wider world via the expansion of print technology combined with scholarly research. There was a new cultural interest and market for the manuscript sources to be seen as valid historical documents which could be integrated with other types of modern knowledge and experiment. The three main works in this area and the papers and

and research show that Todd is now part of wider intellectual development which began to produce a shared, collective narrative of a loosely gathered together national history. This is described as a turn to cultural history and cultural nationalism at this time; it ties in with the earlier-defined Irish intellectual revival and its place within an enlightenment narrative. Todd had already sought a healing of the divisions of the past through the study of a very contested past. The solution which he put forward, a strengthening of the historical understanding of the manuscripts, gradually gave way in his scholarship to the search for a common Christian or Celtic past, which for him was rooted in a rigorous examination of the manuscript sources. This marked the way forward for the establishment of the discipline of Irish and Celtic studies. To some extent this is the way in which he has been evaluated both in the dictionaries of national biography and by later reactions to Celtic romanticism by Ian Bradley in *Celtic Christianity: Making Myths and Chasing Dreams*, for example.³²³ The end of the chapter re-considers the main direction of Todd's assessment in the dictionaries of national biography, in the light of these later works, and by which he is usually assessed, and they also round off the thesis, but not before mentioning how he faltered in his later career as established by pertinent details which were kept on file at Dublin Castle.

This chapter therefore deals with the task of collectively gathering a national history which would tell the story of the past to all the people of Ireland. It was a collective endeavor at all times and the great *eirenicon* about the story of Todd is how the collective circles in which he began his work expanded to include Maynooth professors like Renehan, native scholars like O'Donovan and O'Curry, Trinity College dons like himself, the landed gentry and Prince Albert, for a time an illustrious pa-tron of the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society. What would link so many different people? It was the endeavor to create a national history, and one that would unite not only Ireland but the British Isles. Overcoming the

¹ Ian Bradley, *Celtic Christianity: Making Myths and Chasing Dreams* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1999, 2001).

past by a new, unified national education, for example, a new set of national universities, and housing the past in a dedicated national archive all became viable options towards this end. All such activity can be viewed as part of a wider democratic ordering of a learned and civilized society. In summary, Todd's manuscript productions did not occur in a scholarly vacuum, but were influenced by the construction of a contested national history.

Todd's own Tractarian interests and his Oxford Movement connections can be seen in his work on the Irish manuscript sources. He included much devotional material from the early Irish church in his publications. He was greatly interested in linking this devotional material to a contemporary celebration of celtic high church liturgy for the Church of Ireland. It would celebrate the obituaries and lives of the Irish saints as part of the liturgical calendar year. This point illustrates the way in which the Tractarians merged back into the mainstream church, according to the main historiographical interpretations, and contributed catholic innovations to reformed devotional practice which then became the standard practice or norm.

The production of the manuscript sources of Irish history developed within the context of his work as a College Librarian and it is to this immediate context that the chapter now turns. Todd brought to light many of the little-known sources for the study of Irish history which he found in the large manuscript collections held in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. He became determined to turn these into a more accessible resource, and his books, short pamphlets and addresses in the Academy can be seen as an aid to this end. He was appointed as an assistant librarian early in his career, in 1834, and later given full responsibility for the Library in 1852. He carried out this library work in combination with being a College lecturer and professor, a Precentor of the chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin and with many duties at St. Columba's College. Given all these constraints on his time, and his desire to build up the Library at Trinity, it is not surprising that the main manuscript holdings in Trinity determined his publishing career and choice of subject matter.

The Library in Trinity, by 1830, had 75,000 volumes which were added to at a rate of 1,000 per year, as McDowell and Webb note in their history.³²⁴ Todd helped to generate this increase in volume by liaising directly with the Copyright registration depot at Stationers' Hall, London. He managed to get the Board to pay the difference between being sent only black and white reproduction plates in the larger books and the slightly dearer versions which came with colour reproduction plates. In a letter of 1837, addressed to Dr. MacDonnell, Todd tells him what he wants for the library.³²⁵

My Dear Dr.

I believe I ought to have asked the authority of the board, for own arrangements I have made with our agent who collects books in London under the Copyright Act. If you think it necessary will you bring it before them on the next opportunity.

We are entitled only to uncoloured copies of such books as are published with coloured engravings, and get in Botanical and other books on natural history. The principal value of them consists in the colouring. I have therefore directed our agent to pay in such cases, the difference between coloured and uncoloured copies, which cannot in general be more than a few shillings. This he engages to do on condition that his salary be paid in ad-vance, which (as he will have to advance money) seems reasonable,

Yours very truly
Jas. H. Todd
T.C.D.
July 1st 1837³²⁶

At this stage there was no comprehensive catalogue system and the 'frequenter of literary by-ways might well find there the book he needed but there was equal chance that he would not', noted McDowell and Web.³²⁷ Todd therefore began to think about how to organize a new catalogue for the entire Library, including the manuscript holdings, which McDowell and Web note held about two hundred rare manuscripts, together with many rare early printed books. Todd was involved in the reception of the great European Fagal collection for the Library, so these could be added to the McDowell and Web figures. The 1869 Col-

³²⁴ R.B. McDowell & D. A. Webb, *Trinity College, Dublin*, p.146

³²⁵ The letter is written on thick cream paper, folded in half, and has a hole left of centre in the page, perhaps made by file hook.

³²⁶ Dublin, TCD Mun/Lib/11/20/14 J. H. Todd to Dr. MacDonnell, 1st July 1837

³²⁷ R.B. McDowell & D. A. Webb, *Trinity College, Dublin*, p.146

lege Calendar, with an Introduction by Todd, lists the works he had consulted in the Library for College history, so these provide an idea of how he first found his way around the rare book holdings.³²⁸ These were not the earliest dated manuscript sources by any means, but they included the first Registers of the College containing handwritten entries by Provosts Travers, Alvey, Temple and Bedell; the ‘Particular Book’, or the parchment fragment dated circa 1569; the Book of Accounts from a similar date; the Senior Lecturer’s books from January 1637; the Buttery Books containing the names of all the members of the College; a chronology by Provost Steele, which, he notes, was wonderfully out of order; an account of the time the College was seized by Government troops in 1689, and turned into a prison for the citizens of Dublin; three books belonging to the Library which he discovered at the sale of the contents of Archbishop Magee’s library, and was therefore in his Grace’s possession for thirty years. One of these books was a short history of European universities which mentioned especially, he noted, Scotland and Germany.

The store of manuscript sources in the Library not only fueled his histories and calendars from 1833, but it enabled him to become well-known as a manuscript and rare book expert, and a contributor to *Notes and Queries*, that quarterly journal established in 1849 for the study of language, literature, lexicography, history and scholarly antiquarianism. He began to expand the manuscript collections by organizing and paying for copies to be made, by hand, of manuscripts from collectors’ private libraries. Donations of the originals were kept in the Library and a hand-made copy sent back to the collector’s own library. He asked the Board to pay wages to the men who were employed as library clerks in the Library:

Dear Doctor,

The bearer Mr. Dobbs is the Junior Library Clerk, he is entitled to £50 a year for the Library and £20 a year as clerk of the Lending Library.
He is also entitled to £5 for making a copy of a Manuscript the original of which Dr.

³²⁸ J. H. Todd, *A Catalogue of Graduates who have Proceeded to Degrees in the University of Dublin from the Earliest Recorded Commencements to July 1868* (Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Foster, 1869). Introduction.

Radcliff gave to the Library on condition that he should get a fair transcript -which the Board agreed to pay for-

Yours truly
Jas. H. Todd ³²⁹

Dec. 23/36

He was, perhaps, uniquely placed to examine the illustrated and illuminated manuscripts, and how they could technically be reproduced. By 1867, he managed to reproduce, in his edition of the *Cogadh*, a lightly illuminated page from the Book of Leinster, one of the manuscript sources of the *Cogadh*. He had arranged for variant copies of the Book of Leinster to be placed in the library, and had organized for O'Curry to copy another vital Irish manuscript compilation, the fifteenth-century *Leabhar Breac* or Speckled Book, from which he took extracts for his publication on the Irish version of the *Historia Britonum*, called the *Leabhar Breathnach annso sis, the Irish Version of the Historia Britonum...by Nennius*.³³⁰ This was a work he published for the Irish Archaeological Society in 1848, in collaboration with Algernon Herbert, who was a member of the Society and of the Royal Irish Academy. Here, he developed his role as the knowing Editor, that is someone who presented the texts in the original and gave the reader every opportunity to evaluate them with the aid of an Introduction and foot-notes. Locating the variant manuscript sources could be a problem, yet with the help of O'Donovan and O'Curry he made many arrangements to allow this to happen. Fragments of the original manuscript of the *Leabhar Breac* were in the Library at the Royal Irish Academy, and transcripts were made for the Library in Trinity by O'Curry:

Mr. Curry has delivered to me the transcripts of the *Leabhar breac*, according to agreement, and entitled to one year's salary for transcribing Irish MSS - pounds 50,

³²⁹ Dublin, TCD Mun/Lib /11/20/ 5/J. H. Todd, probably to Dr. MacDonnell, 23rd December, 1836

³³⁰ J. H. Todd, *Leabhar Breathnach annso sis, the Irish Version of the Historia Britonum...by Nennius. Edited with Translation and Notes by James Henthorn Todd; the Introduction and Additional Notes by Algernon Herbert* (Dublin: The Irish Archaeological Society, 1848).

Oct. 15th 44 JH Todd³³¹

In 1865, after he had spent many years working in the Library in Trinity, Todd sent a request to the Board, again for more resources, which showed that the Library had advanced in serving the readers and the public. A lifetime spent juggling the limited College resources to pay for library clerks, acquisitions, maintenance of existing manuscripts, the addition of missing variants to the Library collection and work on the main catalogue lay behind it:

There are now three Library porters (one being vacant) and there is also one, not a porter, whose business is to be always in attendance in the Reading Room. He is also very useful in making small repairs, fixing labels, and books, he having been formerly a Bookbinder. It would be very desirable to have one or two attendants in the Library, who had some literary attainments. No library of such magnitude so far as I know, is entirely left to illiterate attendants – some such of course there must be, to keep the place clean, dust the books, and other menial offices - as well as to attend the gate, and watch visitors etc. Three porters (I think) are necessary – one for the Library door, who must make himself acquainted with those who are entitled to read in the Library – [letters crossed out] the other two to keep the rooms clean and to carry the books to readers. If the College could without inconvenience support one porter, a well qualified literary attendant might be obtained without any additional expense, and perhaps with a saving to the College

21 Oct. 1865

JH Todd Librarian

In 1855, following the publication of the *Leabhar Breathnach* in 1848 with Herbert, and again with the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, he published the first of three publications of the hymns to Irish saints, a major work which took him from 1855 to 1869 to complete and he hoped to add a fourth volume. He died while the third publication was in the press and a colleague in the Society brought it out for him with a sad preface, dedicating the work to the late Dr. Todd.

The first volume of the *Leabhar Imuinn*, published in 1855, was based on a work in Latin, the Lyber Hymnorum, which Todd expanded in his title to in-

³³¹ Dublin, TCD Mun/Lib/11/22/27a J. H. Todd, Trinity College, Dublin to unknown, 15th October, 1844

331a Dublin, TCD Mun/Lib/22/27a J. H. Todd, Trinity College, Dublin to Board, 21st Oct. 1865

clude information about the manuscript sources.³³² In the whole study of the *Lyber Hymnorum*, Todd lays the foundation for much of his other work. He rightly pointed out that the history of the *Book of Kells* is intimately linked with that of St. Columba, (521-597)/St. Colum[b]kille in Derry/ St. Columbus in Scotland. Todd's parallel work alongside the *Book of Kells* and *Patrick* is the hymn of St. Columba, or the '*Althus Prosator*', first printed by Colgan from an ancient copy of the Book of Hymns, supposed to be that which is now at St. Isidore's in Rome.³³³ He published this hymn in the second volume of the *Leabhar Imuiun*, which came out in two parts, a and b, in 1869, the year of his *Descriptive Remarks on the Illuminations in Certain Ancient Irish Manuscripts*. The a and b parts to the second volume have confused publishers and writers, and they seldom refer to the first volume of 1855, thinking that volumes one and two are parts a and b of volume two. There is some ambiguity in the English spelling of the second word in the Irish for 'hymns', or, as Todd explains, the antiphony, as the first 'u' in old Irish script could also be read as a 'n', that is *Imuinn*. The word 'hymn' today in Irish is usually *iomann*, though there are ancient variants such as '*immun*' meaning to sing praise to God. The first volume of the *Leabhar Imuiun*, known also as *The Book of Hymns* as well as the *Liber/Lyber Hymnorum*, contains an ancient preface to the hymn to St. Patrick by St. Fiacc, thus opening up Todd's work on the Patrick biography. The second edition, part b, of 1869 contains the full text of the hymn of Patrick. The hymns were a rich part of the liturgical devotion of the early church composed to be sung and also to inform the worshipers about the saint's biographical *vita*. A version of the parts of the hymns appears in the *Leabhar Breac*, or Speckled Book, an important source MSS for the hymns and copied by O'Curry. In the first volume of 1855, Todd edits and translates the hymn of St. Seshall in praise of Patrick, the hymn of St. Ultan in praise of St.

³³² *Leabhar Imuinn: The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland Fasciculus i*, Edited, from the Original Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin with Translation and Notes, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D. M.R.I.A. F.S.A. Senior Fellow at Trinity College and Treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin (Dublin:University Press,1855).

³³³ , *Leabhar Imuiun. The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland Fasciculus II* James Henthorn Todd (Dublin: Printed at the University Press by M. H. Gill for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1869)

Brigid, the hymn of St. Cummain Fota in praise of the Apostles and the hymn of St. Mugint. The title page for the book is in the ancient character of the *Book of Kells* and Todd is indebted to a Mr. O'Neill, from the Library, for the drawings. There is a vignette, representing the hand of God, taken from the cross at Monasterboice, a cast of which was taken to be exhibited at the 1853 Dublin Exhibition. The hand is surrounded by a nimbus or cloud of glory, as one of the most ancient emblems of the Blessed Trinity, so Todd had spent time examining this ninth-century cross, as we learn from the Preface. The hand is especially linked to the sufferings of the Saviour on the cross, and is also pictured in the lives of martyrs and saints. Several examples are to be found, he notes, in the *Iconographie Chrétienne*, and *Annales Archéologiques* of Didron, an interesting source for Todd regarding the Irish lives in the context of European martyrology and saints' lives. Todd mentions the ninth-century *Liber Precum*, located in the *Bibliothèque Royale*, as another example of where the hand is used in vignette, and this marks out his work as a considered and carefully composed edition of the hymns. Todd lists the patron Prince Albert, the earls who supported the Society together with the medical doctors, the scientists, the clergy, the leading antiquarians and the Very Rev. L. F. Renehan, D.D., President of Maynooth College who is named as one of the four Vice-Presidents of the Society. In his Introduction, or Advertisement, Todd writes,

This beautiful MS., which cannot be consigned to a later date than the ninth or tenth century, may safely be pronounced the most venerable monument of Christian antiquity now remaining in Europe. It preserves to us a considerable portion of the ritual of the Church of Ireland, as it existed before the English Conquest and before the attempt to establish uniformity with the Church of England by the introduction of the Salisbury use into Ireland, in the twelfth century.³³⁴

³³⁴ *Leabhar Imuinn. The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland. Fasciculus i*, Edited, from the Original Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin with Translation and Notes, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D. M.R.I.A. F.S.A. Senior Fellow at Trinity College and Treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin (Dublin: University Press for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1855), Advertisement.

When Todd speaks in this fashion of the Church of Ireland, he is referring to the Irish pre-Reformation church as a part of Western Christendom. It is interesting that he sees the damage done in Ireland to a consensus that had emerged in the pre-Reformation church by the Salisbury liturgy, an English interpolation which he does not care for. He noted that the hymns had never been published, and were wholly unknown to the learned in Ireland. The Latin hymns are accompanied by a gloss, partly in Latin and partly in Irish, and contain *scholia* which are very interesting from a philological point of view. They are also most valuable, because of their great antiquity, to the scholar of Celtic Literature, he added by way of placing the texts in a relevant context among the antiquarians.

The variant manuscript sources for the 1855 work link the Franciscan friary at Rosnowlough in Donegal, St. Isidore's in Rome, with work undertaken by the scribes - including O'Curry - in making facsimile copies, with the original MSS in the Library at Trinity and with the manuscript sources available at the Royal Irish Academy. Todd used the *Liber Hymnorum* in Trinity, the *Leabhar Breac* at the Academy, Colgan from St. Isidore's, Muratori from the Antiphony of Benchorensis, Ware and Villaneuva. There is another MSS copy (which Todd used in the second volume, a result of the work of Dr. Lyons and others at St. Isidore's in Rome), but in 1853, the union committee of the Archaeological and Celtic Societies asked Todd to publish the hymns using the current most available sources, which he went ahead and did, in the 1855 edition. Eugene O'Curry and Algernon Herbert are given special thanks in this publication and indicate his closest collaborators in this Archaeological and Celtic Society edition.

The progress of the Irish Archaeological Society is a good example of the turn to publishing national history in a form which would appeal to literary Irishmen, although it was financially a difficult project to carry off in the economic circumstances of the day. In August 1852 the Society met in the Board Room of the Academy. On the agenda was the bankrupt nature of its finances and there was agreement that drastic actions were necessary. The members decided that the membership should be extended to an unlimited number of Associates, who would be nominated by an existing member of the Society. However, they also decided that the members should be limited five hundred, which was

optimistic in the circumstances. This would broaden the basis of the appeal of the Society and get them out of their financial troubles. They also agreed to change their next project. Instead of publishing a rent book called the Kildare Book which belonged to a member of the Society, the Marquis of Kildare, they decided to ask Dean Butler to write up a history of the Geraldine family which would make for a better ‘publication acceptable to all Irishmen’.³³⁵ The Dean, it was reported, was disappointed because he could not get permission to access the Geraldine genealogical material so that project too had to be abandoned. The Society then asked Dr. Todd to publish *Cormac’s Glossary* or dictionary, as this project also had run into difficulty. Dr. Graves who had begun it, then had to give it up under doctor’s orders. All mental exertions were forbidden on medical grounds and he had to take a long rest. O’Donovan then volunteered to work on this manuscript and Whitley Stokes eventually published it in 1868, in memory of O’Donovan and the Society.

Meanwhile, in 1853, Todd turned to the hymns, thinking that they would have a broader appeal in line with the expanded aims of a more diverse and representative Society. At the same time he proceeded with work on ‘the curious tract on the wars of the Danes in Ireland’, or the *Cogadh*, which he hoped to publish in 1854. This did not happen and the more popular first volume of the hymns went ahead. In 1851 he and O’Donovan, who became professor of Irish at Queen’s University Belfast, began working on the genealogy and history of the saints of Ireland from the book of *Lecan* as this added to his preparations for the *Leabhar Imuinn*.

³³⁵ Minutes of the Irish Archaeological Society, 2nd August, 1852, published in the 1855 edition of the *Leabhar Imuinn*, p. 3 of pp.1- 13, following p.120 which marks the end of vol.i.

³³⁶ Fasciculus i, Edited, from the Original Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin with Translation and Notes, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D. M.R.I.A. F.S.A. Senior Fellow at Trinity College and Treasurer of St. Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin

The first volume of the hymns began with an ancient alphabetical preface followed by a hymn to St. Patrick by Sechnall, a hymn first found in the *Leabhar Breac*, and Todd mentioned that the preface to the hymn had not been published before, as Colgan omitted much of the *Leabhar Breac* Preface in his 1647 edition, which was based on a copy of the *Liber Hymnorum* in the Franciscan College of St. Isidore, in Rome. He thought that it was a copy of the manuscript in the Donegal Franciscan monastery. Ware printed this hymn in 1656, using the Franciscan copy in the Donegal Monastery, which Ussher later placed in the Library in Trinity where it became known as the *Liber Hymnorum* of Trinity College, Dublin. Muratori printed the hymn in 1713 from an eight-century MS. written in Bangor monastery, now housed in the Ambrosian Library, Milan and Vallenueva re-printed it in 1835, using Colgan and Ware.

Todd printed the text exactly from the *Liber Hymnorum* in Trinity College, Dublin, and explained that he had placed much comparative material relating to the manuscript sources in the footnotes about the variants, especially the *Leabhar Breac*, which he called 'a great Bibliotheca of various ancient works in the Irish language, chiefly ecclesiastical, now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy.'³³⁸ Todd used the *Leabhar Breac* for his wide research on Patrick's hymns and his *vita*. He borrowed the genealogy of the episcopal ministry of the co-arbs of Patrick from the *Leabhar Breac*, saying that an 'ancient list is preserved in the *Leabhar Breac* or speckled book of the Mac Egans, a MS of the later end of the fourteenth, or beginning of the fifteenth century...it's proper Irish name is *Leabhar mór Duna Doighre*, or great book of Dun Doighre, a fort near Athlone, which was the ancient residence of the Mac Egans.'[^] He also noted in his biography that 'the Hymn of St. Sechnall, or Secundius, in praise of Patrick' was said to have been written by a disciple of Patrick, 'his nephew, the son of his sister, and his successor, or rather a contemporaneous bishop with him, in the see of Armagh.' In the hymn, his 'apostleship and call to teach barbarous nations is expressly derived from God Himself, without any mention of a commission from Pope Celestine'.[^]

[^]James Henthorn Todd, *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*: p.176 and p.312

³³⁷ James Henthorn Todd, *Leabhar Imuinn. The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland Fasciculus II.* (Dublin: Printed at the University Press by M. H. Gill for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1869

³³⁸ The Alphabetical Hymn of St. Senchall, or Secundinus, in *Leabhar Imuinn*, Part I, pp. 26-27

Todd presented a paper to the Academy on the names of Patrick and declared that *Cothrige* or *Cethric* [in the Q Celtic version] was really a Welsh version of Patrick where the ch and the ph are similar and that it had nothing to do with being called after the name of one of his four masters, as was commonly assumed. Senchall, said Todd, was of the opinion that 'Patrick in his origin was of the Britons of *Ercluaide*. *Calpurn* was the name of his grandfather, who was a deacon...Patrick had four names; viz. *Sucat* was his name with his parents, *Cothrige* was his name when he was serving four masters. *Magenhast* was his name given by St. *German*. *Patricus* was his name given by Pope Celestine', thus neatly solving the problem at that time of the many Patricks, while Todd in his paper harmonises one of them in line with comparative philology practice in Welsh and Irish with reference to this practice in Greek.^{339, 340} The hymns were highly devotional material, composed to be sung in plain chant, as part of the strong liturgical tradition of the church, while utilizing the *vita* of the most important as expressions of devotion. In fact, in another hymn, the *Altus Prosator* by St. Columba, the preface to the hymn, as translated by Todd, and sung:

Now the proper manner of singing this Hymn is, that [the antiphon] *Quis potest Deo*, be sung between every two chapters: and it is thus, that its grace shall be [upon him that sings it], because it was so it was sung at first. Now there are many graces upon this Hymn, viz., Angels present whilst it is sung; the devil shall not know the path of him who sings it every day; and neither shall his enemies perceive him in the day on which he sings it; and moreover, there shall be no strife in the house in which it is frequently sung. It protects against every kind of death, except death on the pillow; and there shall be neither hunger nor nakedness in the place where it is frequently sung.³⁴¹

The hymns were even composed by the inspiration of the angels, who then accompanied it when it was sung to other famous people. Columba, who went to

³³⁸ 'The Alphabetical Hymn of St. Senchall, or Secundinus, in *Leabhar Imuinn*, Part I, pp. 26-27.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁰ J. H. Todd, 'A paper on the name said to have been given to St. Patrick, when a captive in Ireland, by his heathen masters', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vi, 1853-1857 (Dublin: M. H. Gill, 1858) pp. 292-298

³⁴¹ *Leabhar Imuinn* The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland, Fasciculus II (b), (1869)p. 223

Iona, composed his Althus ‘for seven years he was searching out this Hymn in the Black Cell without light beseeching forgiveness for the battle of Cuil Dremne...’ and during the grinding of oats in a mill for guests, the hymn was finished. Then it was taken to Gregory to the East, in return for gifts, and when the hymn was read to Gregory, ‘the Angels of God came, and they stood until that chapter was come to; Gregory also stood at that part until that time. But when it was passed, the angels sat down; then Gregory sat down, and so the Hymn was finished in that manner.’ In this way the hymns were circulated and transferred around the early monastic churches and passed into manuscript copies.

The devotional side of the hymns appealed to Todd as a way of understanding them. He also wrote up critical commentary with this in mind, as in the philology notes and comparisons. A great deal remains of the beauty of the hymns throughout. The four hymns with additional material in the first volume are an impressive collection. The hymn of St. Senchall in praise of Patrick, the hymn of *St. Ultan* in praise of St. Brigid, the hymn of *St. Cummain Fota* in praise of the Apostles and the hymn of *St. Mugint*. He planned thirteen hymns for the second and third volumes and must have intended to produce a further hymn to the Prefatory Remarks on the Hymn of St. Fiacc, in praise of Patrick. In the first volume Todd took the title page of the book, the *Leabhar Imuininn*, and put it in the script of the *Book of Kells*, thus causing a slight confusion of interpretation of the lettering. He was indebted to O’Neill, from the Library staff, for the title and drawings around the letters which appeared across the different sections and also the opening vignette drawing for all the volumes, representing the hand of God in their creation, which he and O’Neill took from the cross at Monasterboice, a cast of which was exhibited at the 1853 Dublin Exhibition. The hand was surrounded by a nimbus or cloud of glory, to signify one of the most ancient emblems of the Christian faith, the Blessed Trinity, Todd explained in the Preface. The hand was especially linked to the sufferings of the Saviour on the cross, and also pictured in the lives of martyrs and saints. Several examples could be found, he notes, in the *Iconographie Chrétienne*, and *Annales Archéologiques* of Didron, an interesting source for him regarding the Irish lives in the context of European martyrology and saints lives. He mentioned also the

ninth-century *Liber Precum*, located in the *Bibliothèque Royale*, Paris, as another example of where the hand was used in vignette, and this marked out his work as a very carefully composed edition of the hymns, published for the merged Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society in 1855. He listed, after the title page and preface, the chief patron of the Society, Prince Albert, who was very keen on the 1853 exhibition, the earls who supported the Society which produced the first part, together with the medical doctors, scientists, clergy, leading antiquarians and the very Rev. L. F. Renehan, D.D., President of Maynooth College, now one of the four Vice Presidents of the Society. He added some more remarks about the whole of the *Liber Hymnorum* which tied the whole project together:

This beautiful MS., which cannot be consigned to a later date than the ninth or tenth century, may safely be pronounced the most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity now remaining in Europe. It preserves to us a considerable portion of the ritual of the Church of Ireland, as it existed before the English Conquest and before the attempt to establish uniformity with the Church of England by the introduction of the Salisbury use into Ireland, in the twelfth century.³⁴²

When Todd spoke in this fashion of the ‘Church of Ireland’, he was at first referring to the Irish pre-reformation church as a part of Western Christendom and thinking of it as the national church of the whole country. The term ‘Church of Ireland’ thus merges between past and present, with the overall theme of its being a national, shared church for the Christian people of Ireland, rooted in the early Irish church and in the devotional life of that church. Here, in 1855, they can all share in these beautiful hymns as Christian people. The damage done to a consensus pre-reformation church in Ireland, he maintained, was when the Church of England replaced the older liturgy with the English Salisbury liturgy, which he did not care for so much as that of the Book of Hymns. Todd, moreover, noted

³⁴² *Leabhar Imuinn. The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland. Fasciculus i*, Edited, from the Original Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin with Translation and Notes, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D. M.R.I.A. F.S.A. Senior Fellow at Trinity College and Treasurer of St. Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin (Dublin: University Press for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1855), Advertisement.

that the hymns had never before been published in Ireland, in their present form, and so were wholly unknown to the learned in Ireland, that is in the post-reformation divided church. He returned to this theme in the long preface to his work on Patrick. The hymns are ‘most valuable, from their great antiquity, for the scholar of Celtic Literature’, he tells his readers. He turns to European sources in relation to Ireland, for a commonly held liturgy based on the sources of Celtic Christianity and work in future years for the student of Celtic Literature, all things which will bear fruit in years to come. 1853’s union of the Archaeological and Celtic Societies gave the impetus to publish the hymns with the most number of available sources, but not them all, in the first 1855 edition. Eugene O’Curry and Algernon Herbert were given special thanks in this publication.

The second edition, part b, in 1869, used an additional MSS copy, sent to Ireland from Rome as a result of the work of Dr. Lyons and others at St. Isidore in Rome, which contained tracings or copies of the full text of the hymn of St. Fiacc to Patrick, another of the seven *vita* written in praise of Patrick. A version of part of the hymn appeared in the older *Leabhar Breac*, or Speckled Book.

At the end of the second volume, part b, he gives an account of a transcription by Colgan of one of the earliest of the seven lives of Patrick, the short hymn or poetic panegyric by Fiacc to Patrick, which had not appeared in print before then, so this new material adds another first to this section of the work. In Part two, b, section XIX, Todd is critical of adopting the term ‘life’ for this hymn by Fiacc and thinks of it ‘only as a Poetical Panegyric upon the Saint’, a point taken up much later in 1962 by D. A. Binchy in his remarks on the reliability of the various lives of Patrick. Todd stresses in XIX that there is ‘in reality no existing printed text of the Hymn of any authority, except that published by Colgan, which was taken from his copy of the Book of Hymns, now preserved at the Franciscan College of S. Isidore, in Rome. Dr. O’Conor’s edition does not profess to have been collated with any other MS. of the original, and is, in fact, only a reprint of Colgan’s text.’ This shows that Todd is not, by 1869, relying on the work of Colgan to any great extent, is using the Dr. Lyons’ material, and is also aware of recent work in his own day on Patrick. He explains that the only

other printed source 'with any pretension to editorial scholarship' was one published by Henry Leo, in 1845, the '*Commentatio de Carmine vetusto Hibernico in S. Patricii laudem*', which he describes as 'a minute analysis of the original text, with translation where the author does not display any exact acquaintance with either Irish grammar or with Irish history.'³⁴³ He is not about to give up his celto-scepticism with regard to the veracity of the lives of Patrick, in a historical sense, but is treating them as hymns, that is part of the devotional material of the church. Therefore, concerning the lives of Patrick he was anticipating the later work of D. A. Binchy who argued that only the work written by Patrick himself, confined to his Letter and Confession, could have any claim to authenticity with regard to information about his life.³⁴⁴

Binchy's work of 1962 is regarded as ground-breaking in Patrician scholarship, yet Todd anticipated many of the later debates about the authenticity of the many lives of Patrick, and also the questions concerning the dates when Patrick was born and died, the place where he was born, whether he was sent as a missionary or as a bishop from Rome and if his mission was successful. Perhaps these were not very important to the early composers until Patrick became a name which conferred authenticity on a claim to status or land. Todd, for example, rejected Armagh as having no more claim to have been visited by Patrick than anywhere else he was said to have trod in Ireland.

Todd identified a number of obscure translations of the hymn by Fiacc, which were made in the early nineteenth-century and which are valuable for anyone tracing the number of editions of Patrick's life hidden away in work of the early and mid-nineteenth century. An example of this work is found in Todd's footnote reference to 'Mr. Patrick Lynch', who published a life of Patrick using the Fiacc hymn 'in the original Irish' in Dublin in 1810, added his own English translation and 'Colgan's Latin Version'; O'Reilly called this a correct English translation' but in Todd's opinion this is not so as 'it is very far

³⁴³ *Leabhar Imuinn*, Part II, XIX, Prefatory Remarks on the Hymn of St. Fiacc, in Praise of Patrick, p.288

³⁴⁴ D. A. Binchy, 'Patrick and his Biographers, Ancient and Modern', *Studia Hibernica*, (1962), pp. 7-173

from being so.’³⁴⁵ He also mentions a work called ‘The Pious Miscellany’ published in Dublin in 1831, by a Roman Catholic bishop, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Coyle, who ‘printed St. Fiacc’s Hymn in the original Irish, with a loose metrical English version of it.’³⁴⁶ Todd added in another footnote that Martin A. O’Brennan, LL.D., a member of the Honourable Society of Queen’s Inns, published the hymn in the original Irish, with an English translation and footnotes in volume one of *O’Brennan’s Antiquities* and in a subsequent volume, *A School History of Ireland, from the Days of Partholan to the Present Day*, dedicated to Archbishop John MacHale, April, 1848. This gives some idea of the popularity of this work, and is a reminder of the context in which Todd was working at the time.

Daniel O’Connell held monster rallies at strategic places associated with Patrick, such as the hill of Tara, thus re-politicizing Patrick within the context of the Repeal movement, so works on his life were extremely important to many. This places Todd’s treatment of Patrick in 1864 in an interesting number of contexts. He re-discovered and collated the many lives of Patrick from the ninth to the nineteenth century, and placed them in the context of the popular nature of Patrick devotion in Ireland. He offered some pointers to how the study of Patrick evolved from the 1790s in Ireland when he referred to publications of the hymn by Richard Plunket in 1791, described by O’Reilly and others as a neglected genius because he translated the original Irish into modern Irish in *An Hymn on the Life of St. Patrick: extracted, from the antient Sytho-Celtic dialect into Modern Irish by Richard Plunket, late Translator of the New Testament into Irish, who has now the Manuscript in his possession*. Plunket used modern type, and a ‘h’ as a substitute for the ‘*buailte*’ or dot over the letters to indicate aspiration in the ancient texts.³⁴⁷ This modern decision was not really approved of by Todd, who kept to the ancient script in a technological ancient script type, usually wrote a translation in English modern type and gave extensive footnotes.

Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie provided a glimpse of the way in which Patrick was adapted from the early and medieval manuscript lives

³⁴⁵ XIX, The Hymn of St. Fiacc, p. 288, footnote 2

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 288 footnote 3

and images to the seventeenth-century in 'The Most Adaptable of Saints: the Cult of St. Patrick in the Seventeenth Century', published in the *Archivium Hibernicum* (49) in 1995. A precise study of Patrick in the eighteenth-century was undertaken by Bridget McCormack in *Perceptions of St Patrick in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, published in 2000, who concluded that 'new images of the saint were only to blossom fully in the nineteenth century'; no similar work on Patrick in the nineteenth-century has been published to date.³⁴⁸ McCormack concluded her study of Patrick by noting that the 'quiet' eighteenth-century 'has nevertheless left much to ponder: a rational enlightened saint; a national saint with whom the Protestant state identified; the condemnation of popular religious traditions by the Catholic Church but also the persistence of those traditions: and the recording, adaptation and incorporation of these traditions into the writings of scholars and pamphleteers.'³⁴⁹ She particularly highlighted the work of a scholar familiar to Todd, Charles O'Connor (1710-1791), who portrayed Patrick as an 'enlightened statesman', an image recurring in both Catholic and Church of Ireland authors in the eighteenth-century. 'This image of Patrick was one which was engaged in the debate over the significance of religion for civil allegiance' and 'in essence Church of Ireland images of Patrick portrayed a rational enlightened saint whose teaching upheld the state.'³⁵⁰ O'Connor, 'a Catholic antiquarian and agitator...mentioned Patrick's connection with Rome and his teaching of that church's doctrines. However, he also claimed that Ireland was independent of Rome at the level of church discipline and structure.'³⁵¹ This is a point taken up by Todd in his own work on Patrick, for example in his short Preface.

Noting the connections between Todd and earlier scholars, J. Sheehy's study of what he termed the Celtic revival from 1830 to 1930, examined the connections between the early nineteenth-century and the early twentieth-century

13. Bridget McCormack, *Perceptions of St Patrick in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000) p.97

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 97

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 97

³⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 26

in terms of a rediscovery of Ireland's past.³⁵² Sheehy seems unique in his dates for his contextualization, which would include the aims of the Irish intellectual revival, its networks and societies, Todd's work on the *Leabhar Imuinn*, *Patrick* and the *Cogadh*, together with all his papers; and the later literary revival at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century in Ireland led by Lady Gregory, Yeats and others. There is some scepticism among the devotees of Yeats and Gregory which links their later revival to the earlier one, between 1830 and 1850, although both were concerned with the re-discovery of the Irish past. To some extent the earlier intellectual revival is left unexplored by mainstream scholars of the later literary revival, as it is seen to try to connect two diffuse and complex phenomena, separated by the terrible famines, and containing much cultural, social and political history, in periods generally treated separately by historians. However, Todd's life did span the period before and after the famines, so he may be considered a link, between the early intellectual revival and the next and following generations. Lady Gregory later appealed to the sources of Irish history for her plays and poems though in a literary and dramatic way.

In the early twentieth-century, J. K. Kenny edited volume one of *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, containing the manuscript sources for Patrick, and studies published from then until 1962 were treated by Binchy in his 1962 work on Patrick and his biographers, ancient and modern. Ludwig Bieler wrote an important work on the extant sources of the *Confessio* and the *Epistola* in 1952, and published *Works of St. Patrick* in 1953. Later Patrick scholars identified a number of pseudo-Patricks, betwixt-and-between history and myth, more on the level of King Arthur, Robin Hood or Hamlet, as E. A. Thompson popularised in 1985.³⁵³ Following the critical restatement of the Patrician problems by Binchy, Bieler published *St. Patrick and the Coming of Christianity* in 1967 and R. P. C. Hanson, *Saint Patrick: His Origins and Career* in 1968. Hanson provided a detailed analysis of Todd's 1864 work on Patrick, the best to date, which removed some of the Tractarian obscurity created by Todd's opening remarks in the short

³⁵² J. Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: the Celtic revival 1830-1930* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1980),

³⁵³ E.A. Thompson, *Who Was Patrick?* (Gateswell, Athenaum Press, 1985, pb, 1999)

Preface about the three churches, which Hanson ignored as a product of the age in which it was written; although Hanson recognised Todd's work on Irish episcopal if not apostolic succession as being largely original and new. Hanson was a close personal friend of G.O. Simms, whose TCD addresses pointed out the need to pay closer attention to Todd.

In 1999, Ian Bradley spanned the later aspects of the 1860s and 70s, and twentieth century celto-sceptics, by placing Todd in the forefront of the 'moderns', and noting how Todd 'stripped away many of the legends surrounding the saint' and also 'translated and edited a number of the early hymns and poems', in a process 'greatly aided by 'a number of antiquarian societies dedicated to publishing early texts'.³⁵⁴ Bradley cited by way of examples the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society and the Spalding Club, formed in Aberdeen in 1839. Todd knew about the Spalding Club and had their publications in his library, but he was more concerned with the Bannatyne Book Club, formed in Edinburgh by Sir Walter Scott and carried on by David Laing, as a means of communicating source texts and making them known among a wider audience. Todd's involvement in the Bannatyne and Scottish book clubs is corroborated in his detailed correspondence with Laing during the 1840s, which explored how the Royal Irish Academy and the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society could link up and support one another by promoting each other's in-house publications, and choosing manuscript source material of interest to both countries. Todd gained inspiration for his early Irish manuscript work from the Scottish antiquarian, Mr. Skeine, a friend of Sir Walter Scott, and in a letter wrote: I was very glad to meet Mr. Skeine; it is a great comfort to us in this country to meet a sane antiquarian who really knows what history is and how its sources ought to be regarded. In the short intercourse I had with Mr. Skeine he gave me a very important link which I have since brought before the Council, & which we intend to act upon. I have undertaken to edit for the Society the Irish version of the *Historia Britonum* attributed to Nennius - we have here three very authentic copies of it in Irish, with very curious interpolation in the places where the author speaks of Irish and Scottish affairs. I hope with the comparison of it with the Latin to throw some light on the language, and

³⁵⁴ Ian Bradley, *Celtic Christianity: Making Myths and Chasing Dreams*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999, reprinted 2001) p. 125

ascertain perhaps some of the antient readings of the original. We have likewise in the University library two copies of the Latin, one of them transcribed for Archbishop Ussher and prepared for the press with accurate collations of antient mss in England in the archbishop's own handwriting.³⁵⁵

Ian Bradley places Todd in a shared Scottish and Irish culture which developed from an early Victorian interest in the Gothic, and became fascinated with all things Celtic. Bradley, therefore, links three significant developments: the work carried on during the early years of the societies and their networks, the work in the 1860s and 1870s in Ireland and Scotland, and the later significant Celtic revival in society in Scotland and Ireland, which had 'a significant impact on architecture, art, music and literature, [in a] similar way to the Gothic revival' and influenced by romanticism and the rise of critical scholarship which he does not separate as a separate function. Bradley is clear that 'the concept of Celtic Christianity was also taken up to serve particular denominational and national interests', during the 1860s and 70s.³⁵⁶ However, it also produced 'more academic Celtic studies' which 'boomed with archaeological sites being properly investigated and important early texts being translated and published for the first time.'³⁵⁷ This, Bradley links to an overall revival of literature, objects and visual images, in a similar manner in some ways to Jeanne Sheehy.

In taking up his work on Patrick in 1864, Todd was a Tractarian scholar examining the history of Irish Episcopal succession, and the development of a national church, in the short Preface he wrote to accompany his life of *St. Patrick* (1864). He drew on some material in the recent general history of Ireland by Bishop Richard Mant, an English high churchman and Tractarian, who developed a three church theory to explain the divisions of the church in Ireland and combined Irish historical source manuscripts with Anglican theology in his *History of the Church of Ireland in two volumes*, (1840). Mant and Todd do not seem to have had a close relationship or much correspondence.

At the beginning of his short Preface of 1864, and before the long

³⁵⁵ Edinburgh, University Library, MS 95/19 James Henthorn Todd to David Laing, 15th September, 1842.

³⁵⁶ Bradley, p.119

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 119

introductory dissertation on the sources and the history of Ireland, Todd placed his opening salvo, *a lá* Mant, on the first page, thereby perhaps obscuring his own considerable researches over many years into the lives of Patrick, his scholarly apparatus in footnotes, tables and indexes, in addition to the three chapters of his life of Patrick and the modern celto-scepticism he exhibited throughout the three chapters on Patrick. However, it is well to quote his opening remarks as they summarize his premises and argument:

It was necessary, also, in order to correct certain popular mistakes, to draw attention to the fact that from the eleventh century to the Reformation, there were two Churches in Ireland, each ignoring, as far as it could, the existence of the other; and that since the Reformation a third Church has sprung up, deriving its succession from a foreign source; whilst the original Irish Church, properly so called, having merged into the Church of the English pale, has adopted the Reformation, and lost in a great measure its hold upon the descendants of the native tribes. This loss is to be attributed to that old and deep-seated disaffection to England which is the parent of almost all the political and social evils of the country; nor can there be a doubt that this disaffection was mainly caused, not by religious differences, but by the impolitic measures enforced in the twelfth and some following centuries, for compelling the Irish people to adopt manners and laws for which they were wholly unprepared; not to speak of the arbitrary confiscation of landed property, for the benefit of the English colonists, and the sudden overthrow of the authority of the native chieftains.³⁵⁸

There are many remarkable aspects to these two long sentences. First, there is a clear distinction made by Todd between the English colonists and the Irish pre- and post-Reformation church. Second, he disassociates himself from the Penal Laws enacted by government to disinherit the native Catholic Irish, as an ‘impolitic measure’ enforced upon them. This is a cryptic remark which needs some further explanation with regard to his implicit reference to the Penal Laws. In 1695, the first of many laws were passed by the English and later Dublin parliament aimed at preventing Catholics from worshipping openly or taking part in political and administrative life in Ireland. Catholics were also forbidden to

³⁵⁸ J. H. Todd, *St. Patrick Apostle of Ireland A Memoir of his Life and Mission with an Introductory Dissertation on some Early Usages of the Church in Ireland, and its Historical Position from the Establishment of the English Colony to the Present Day* (Dublin: Hodges, Smith, & Co, 1864) Preface, iii

take up arms or educate themselves or their children on the Continent, run schools or teach in Ireland. The Catholic aristocracy and gentry were somewhat exempt, and by 1703 still owned 14% of the profitable land in Ireland. These Penal Laws were strengthened in 1709 and Catholics were prohibited from practicing law, and from service in the army or navy. They lost the right to vote in 1728; scholarly opinion is divided as to how much the Catholic mercantile class was affected or the Catholic tenants on landed estates. Repeal agitation began in 1760, and the Catholic Relief Acts of 1778, 1792-3 and the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 removed many of the earlier stumbling blocks.

Todd stated his opposition to these English laws and then briefly outlined the main aim of his book, that it is 'the history of the plantation of Christianity in Ireland, as it is recorded in the acts of its first missionaries, Palladius and Patrick.'³⁵⁹ Todd tells his readers that he is not going to waste time on certain futile arguments about Patrick. First, he will not consider claims that Patrick did not exist at all, as these theories proceed 'from writers strongly prejudiced by party feeling, and wholly ignorant of the original sources of the history.'³⁶⁰ Second, concerning Armagh, Todd noted that the Book of Armagh, compiled in 'the third half-century after the date assigned to the death of Patrick' contains collated material 'for a manifest purpose...to prop up the incipient claims of Armagh to a jurisdiction over other Churches in Ireland.'³⁶¹ Here Todd has jettisoned his original project, a history of all the bishops and primates of Armagh connected to the Church of Ireland. Armagh 'indulged in the unscrupulous use of legend' to set up a powerful base there.³⁶² Third, with regard to Patrick being only a recently invented fable, Todd claims that it would be 'incredible that a whole nation could have combined thus to deceive themselves; and it is even more incredible that a purely mythological personage would have left upon a whole nation so indelible an impression of imaginary services', if he had been merely a mythological

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. iv

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. iv

³⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. iv

³⁶² *Ibid.* p. v

legend.³⁶³ It would not explain the Irish ‘fireside lore’, ‘local traditions’, ‘warm-hearted devotion’ and the lasting memorial to Patrick in the ‘names on hills and headlands, towns and villages, churches and monasteries’ across Ireland.³⁶⁴ Todd here comes close to describing a devotional ‘revolution’ akin to Larkin, but at a much earlier date, and he went on to say that he did not accept that Patrick was commissioned by Pope Celestine, ‘simply because’ Todd ‘believes that there is no satisfactory evidence for it.’³⁶⁵ Todd is

sincerely attached to the Reformed church of these kingdoms in which he holds the office of a priest; but he cannot perceive how the question whether Patrick had or had not his mission from Rome affects in any way the controversy which now unhappily divides the western church. The Rome of the fifth century was not guilty of the abuses which rendered the Reformation necessary in the sixteenth.³⁶⁶

Furthermore, the Roman connection is faulty in that it cannot establish that Patrick was a canon in the Church of St. John Lateran, at Rome, and ‘there is no authority even in the later and most legendary of the Lives for the statement.’³⁶⁷

Todd then debunks other fables found in the lives, like the supposed connection between St. Martin of Tours and Patrick or of Patrick’s being an Augustinian hermit, since these are tales that Todd dates to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The place known as St. Patrick’s Purgatory, Todd claims, is ‘a manifest invention of the English ecclesiastics’ who wanted to be connected to Ireland, and so its first ‘historian’, Henry of Salteri an English Cistercian monk, invented it so that they could come to Ireland and establish a connection with the Irish people.³⁶⁸ Todd did not wish to change the ancient spelling of the names of people or places in order ‘to represent to English eyes their pronunciation’, as this is an unscholarly modern practice, and the new hybrid name thus arrived at is

³⁶³ *Ibid.* p. v-vi

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. vi

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. vi

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. vi

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. vi

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. vii

often is more ‘barbarous’ than the ancient one.³⁶⁹ ‘The reader of the history of Ireland, who is ignorant of the Irish language, must therefore make up his mind to encounter this difficulty, as the reader of the history of France, or Spain, Arabia, Russia, or Poland, has to encounter the corresponding difficulty...’³⁷⁰ After the succinct Preface and some notes about vowels, diphthongs, and consonants, Todd’s dissertation examines ‘the history of the Irish Episcopal successions’, a very Tractarian project, with various tables attached, like the one showing the descent of the famous Irish family or clan, the O’Neills, divided into the Northern Hy Neills and Southern Hy Neills. Todd begins the first chapter directly related to Patrick, with the ancient church in Britain and the mission of Palladius, followed by a second chapter on the history of the acts of Patrick and his writings, carefully and ably translated by himself, and, finally in chapter three, the missionary work of Patrick in Ireland. It is worth quoting from part of his translation of Patrick’s own words in the *Confessio*, which, Todd notes, contains no reference to Pope Celestine or Rome, but explains the Divine call ‘he believed himself to have received for the work’:

‘Wherefore, I thought of writing long ago, but hesitated until now, for I was afraid of falling upon the language of men [i.e., I was afraid of attempting to write in the language of the civilized world], because I have not read like others who have been well imbued with sacred learning, and have never changed their studies from infancy, but have added more and more to perfection; for my speech and language has been changed to another tongue.’³⁷¹

Todd collates this with Patrick’s *Epistle to Coroticus*, which also makes no mention of a mission directly commissioned by Pope Celestine and provides a list of later lives which contain this material.

Todd’s ‘Introductory Dissertation’ includes some very good material on the manuscript sources, and discusses the meaning of the term ‘co-arb’. Todd thinks that Ussher wrongly translated this as *Corbe*, and he referred to the Brehon Laws where rules were laid down for the distribution of property among the

³⁶⁹ Ibid. p. vii

³⁷⁰ Ibid, p. viii

³⁷¹ Ibid, p. 311

Comarbus Cenn; the word *Comarba* was used, he thinks, to signify the ‘secular heirs’ while the *co-arb* was the religious heir, so that with Patrick it was the bishop or abbot of Armagh, while the *co-arb* of Columcille was the abbot of Hi, and so on. Todd makes clear that the role of the abbot was not that of a bishop in the modern sense. The *co-arb* was sometimes replaced by the word *haers*, or *princeps*, in the Annals of Ulster, a title given to a temporary chieftain. The secular *co-arbs* held visitations, gathered taxes and tributes, and performed secular and ecclesiastical duties connected with monasteries. These sometimes caused huge rifts and quarrels, Todd noted. Colgan had explained that the head or supreme prefect of the monasteries and families exercised power over monasteries, lands and farms loosely belonging to the church. ‘More recent history of the Irish Church, after the establishment of archiepiscopal and diocesan jurisdictions, meant that the office of the *co-arb* underwent necessary and very considerable modification’, Todd notes, ‘as land and jurisdiction of the *co-arb* were transferred to the bishop’ and the duties of the ‘*erenach*’ or sub-chief became those of a rural dean, or archdeacon.³⁷²

This is the Irish version of apostolic succession, as explained by Todd, and he must be the only Tractarian to have done so with such careful reference to manuscript sources. These findings were accepted as correct by later scholars including Hanson in his critique of Todd. Todd also noted that St. Brigid was not the first bishop of the Irish Church but was a joint bishop with ‘a holy man, a solitary, adorned with virtues’ and engaged him ‘to govern the church with her in episcopal dignity.’³⁷³ He found that bishops at that time had ‘no regular succession or jurisdiction, and that frequently there were two or more contemporaneous bishops in the same place.’³⁷⁴ Brigid ‘had her bishop under her own jurisdiction’ noted Todd.³⁷⁵ ‘She engaged him to govern the church with her’.³⁷⁶ He notes the ‘curious story told in the scholia on the Martyrology of Aengus the Culdees, of St. Brigid having been herself ordained a bishop by St. Moel, or Mel, bishop of

³⁷² Ibid. p. 161

³⁷³ Ibid. p. 12

³⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 21

³⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 13

³⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 13

Ardagh', a source supported by the feminist celtic scholar Mary Condren.³⁷⁷ [It is interesting to note that the first woman bishop in the Church of Ireland, consecrated in 2013, is the Bishop of Meath and Kildare, a diocese closely associated with Brigid and her monastic foundation in Kildare.]

In quoting directly from the short preface and the main text here, it highlights the editorial principles of Todd, the layout of the book and his main findings, and so a major piece of nineteenth-century writing again comes to light. Todd's *vita* is written from an apostolic and episcopal point of view so Patrick and Brigid are revealed as the first of a long line of Christian saints who have brought and preserved the apostolic teachings in Ireland. Todd's scholarship here highlights a point sometimes overlooked, and the apostolical thread relates a complex tracing of the apostolic ministry in Ireland, noting the major transition from monastic orders to diocesan structures. Todd notes that the bishop was subject to the abbess Brigid in Kildare and dismisses the claim that there were four bishops in Ireland before Patrick, although Todd sees him as coming after Palladius. Given Todd's Tractarian background, his manuscript interests, his earlier researches on Patrick and the aborted longer project, his biography of Patrick makes perfect sense. He presents Patrick from the point of view of his own words which he translates with care and exactness. It is a scholarly work which is considered by later patrician scholars to have been the first modern biography of Saint Patrick. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 'Of the vast modern literature the following are significant...' and Todd leads the list of seven other Patrick scholars, who are 'J. B. Burry, *The Life of St. Patrick and his Place in History* (1905) T. F. O'Rahilly, *The Two Patricks*, (1942), L. Bieler, *The Life and Legend of Patrick: Problems of Modern Scholarship* (1949), J. Carney, *The Problem of St. Patrick* (1961), D. A. Binchy, 'Patrick and his Biographers: Ancient and Modern' (1962) R. P. C. Hanson, *St. Patrick his Origins and Career* (1968), and D. N. Dumville and others, *Saint Patrick A.D. 493 – 1993* (1993).³⁷⁸ Todd is also listed by the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* for his explanation of the date and

Ibid., p 13 footnote

³⁷⁸ E. L. Cross & E. A. Livingstone (eds.) *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church 3rd Edn.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 1240

and translation of the hymn known as the Breastplate of Patrick in his 1864 work, which he traced back to the ‘Canticum Scottium’ in the ninth-century Book of Armagh, and noted that it was a *Lorica*, ‘that is to say, a prayer to protect those who devoutly recite it, from bodily and spiritual dangers’.³⁷⁹ He argued that the chronology of Patrick’s life was later altered to suit the story of his Roman mission, that he taught the alphabet to his monks and was keen to educate them, was not Irish, was born – according to the hymn of Fiacc – at *Nemthur*, lived on the family farm at *Bonavem Taberniae*, ‘and the question arises, where were these places?...the question does not seem of sufficient importance to the object of this work to be allowed much space.’³⁸⁰ However, he notes that Irish tradition favours *Nemthur* as being the fort of Alcluaid, ‘now Dumbarton, on the Firth of Clyde.’³⁸¹ Patrick, he noted, used the plural *Britanniae* to describe his country in the *Confessio*, and ‘the second and third lives, compiled after the patchwork fashion’ claim that Patrick had two different birth places.³⁸² ‘The only way of reconciling these statements is by supposing that *Bonavem Taberniae* and *Nemthur* were different names for the same place; or that *Nemthur* was a fort or town...in the region of *Bonavem Taberniae*.’³⁸³ The suggestion by Lanigan that a corruption of *Bonavem Taberniae* ‘is now Boulogne-sur-mer, however ingenious, is contrary to all the antient traditions on the subject.’³⁸⁴

Patrick’s family may have come from Armorican Brittany, or were closely connected to it, and a legend states that he was taken captive in *Bonavem Taberniae*, which must be a part of Armorican Britain, not *Britanny* and this is related to *Nemthur*, in Dumbarton. But where was this? Todd goes back to his first principles, and emphasizes that ‘Patrick says nothing of his birthplace...he asserts only in general terms that he was carried to *Hibernico*, the name he always gives to Ireland’.³⁸⁵ He was captured, however, invoked Elias, escaped from *Mulch* and his captors, endured a second captivity, returned to his parents and was then called

³⁷⁹ J. H. Todd, *Saint Patrick* p.426

³⁸⁰ J. H. Todd, *Saint Patrick*, p. 355-356

³⁸¹ *Ibid.* p. 356

³⁸² *Ibid.* p. 357

³⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 357

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 358

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 362

to convert the Irish. Todd then referred to the composition of Patrick's *Credo* and the many symbolic and real battles with pagan Druids Patrick was said to have in Ireland, notably at Tara. Todd notes that a popular Irish hymn associated with Patrick, was not written by him. Patrick was said to have had a number of encounters with the daughters of King *Laoighre*, all beautifully told in the *vitas*, before he died at Saul. The various ways in which the monks were called to order in the monasteries, develop oversight and become bishops, greatly expanded the story of Patrick and Todd also stressed their inclusion and importance in his work. He emphasized that the framework of the early church acted as the foundation for the role of the bishop in his diocese via the monastic foundations.

The reception of Todd's work on Patrick was mixed. The Catholic Archbishop of Dublin was anxious to have his nephew, Patrick Francis Moran, refute his work and dismiss 'Todd's absurd argument that St. Patrick had been a Protestant' as Bowen stated.³⁸⁶ Cullen reported that 'I think Dr. Moran has silenced all the Deans and Archdeacons of the Protestant Church on the episcopal succession. They appear all to have retired from the field.'³⁸⁷ Subsequent criticism followed from Margaret Cusack, who took the same line as Moran, and J. B. Burry who argued that Todd had underestimated the Roman mission.

Todd published his next major work on the sources of Irish history two years later, the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Galliabh* in 1867 and it was his final major source text. By this stage he was a Patrician scholar of note and had turned his attention to this work after a long acquaintance with Danish antiquarians. The Royal Irish Academy was interested in collating and dating all objects relating to Irish history, both in Ireland and abroad, and in November 1847 the RIA heard a translation of a letter from the Royal Commission for the Preservation of Antiquities in Copenhagen, dated 26 June 1847, and signed by Frederik, Crown Prince, Werlauff, Finn Magnusen, C. J. Thomsen, and C. C. Rafn. The letter began:

Mr. J. J. A. Worsaae, well known by his writings and antiquarian

³⁸⁶ Desmond Bowen, *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan) 1983 p.148-149

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 149

researches, both in his own country and in the foreign countries in which he has travelled, has delivered from the Royal Irish Academy to the Museum of Northern Antiquities of this place, a small series of specimens of Irish Antiquity, which both serve to illustrate those of the North, and are also interesting for the purpose of comparison. Of still greater importance to antiquarian science, and therefore doubly welcome and useful to us, is the valuable gift...of twelve large sheets of drawings of the most important objects of antiquity to be found in the collection of the Irish Academy.³⁸⁸

Paul Holm has pointed out that Worsaae was sent to gather up any further finds from Ireland which would advance the science of chronology, as ‘before the nineteenth century there were very few works of any serious relevance’ for ‘Scandinavian historians who generally did not deal with Irish history’.³⁸⁹ In the 1830s, in Denmark and Ireland, new results were gleaned from the manuscript sources. Holm sees this as early nineteenth-century romanticism, but then notes that, ‘inspired by the philosophers of enlightenment the “natives” (whether Amer-Indians or Irish) were believed to have an original contact with nature... but if we look for representatives of this view, we are more likely to find it reflected in the writings of O’Connell and his followers than in the more terse style of the Anglo-Irish intellectuals.’³⁹⁰ This means that the work of many scholars who see the enlightenment as producing a media communication through publishing, networking, societies and so on is conflated with what is usually thought of as the birth of romanticism via return to the native. Holm attributes what might be more of a romantic direction to the philosophers of the enlightenment. This definition of the enlightenment legacy largely contradicts J. Sheehan, Robert Darnton, Jonathan Israel and Roy Porter, for example. Holm continues, ‘Perhaps a more likely explanation of the open-mindedness of the mid-century Anglo-Irish historians may be found in contemporary efforts across the national and religious barriers to unite the Dublin middle-class and obtain more freedom from direct government by London.’³⁹¹ Holm is commenting in general on the work of the Irish antiquarians, or ‘Anglo-Irish historians’ so it is of some relevance here, but

³⁸⁸ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (1836-1869. Vol. 4 (1847-1850) pp.4-5*

³⁸⁹ Paul Holm, ‘Between Apathy and Antipathy: the Vikings in History’, *Peritia: Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland* 8 (1994)pp.151-169, p. 151

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.156

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 156

his paper is really about the connections between the Danish antiquarians and those in Dublin as brought about by Worsaae. This connection may have influenced Todd to bring out the most vivid account of the Danish invasion of Ireland, the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* but to him it was not the best version of the Battle of Clontarf, so he may have been responding to the choice of text by the Master of the Rolls series to produce an edition of the *Cogadh*. He favoured the *Annals of Tigernach*, or the *Annals of Ulster* or *Lough Ce*, which were more ancient than the twelfth century *Cogadh*, which Holm notes that Todd dated at c1100, but this date would not include the famous Battle of Clontarf, c1014. Holm dismissed Todd as a polemical editor, and claimed that his views were directed against Daniel O'Connell and the Hill of Tara, as 'Todd and other antiquarian pioneers represented the Unionist historical and political view of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy.'³⁹² It is interesting to read this classification, since Todd had Scottish family roots, was not a member of the Anglo-Irish gentry, did not think like a modern day Ulster Unionist, or write any political support for the Act of Union of 1801. Todd was a Tractarian, was molded by the early Irish church's manuscript sources, and worked closely with O'Donovan and O'Curry for over thirty years. However, closer assessment of this work is needed to give a comprehensive picture of his intentions and the preparatory work he and others engaged in to determine the accuracy of the accounts in the *Cogadh* sources, including, for example, the timing of the tides at the Battle of Clontarf.

In 1861, Todd contextualized the Battle of Clontarf in several different ways. He and the Rev. Samuel Haughton published 'The Tides of Dublin Bay and the Battle of Clontarf, 23rd April, 1014', from a paper delivered to the Royal Irish Academy on 13th May, 1861, later reprinted in the *Proceedings*.³⁹³ Todd had asked Haughton to contribute, in a scientific manner, to his work on the Battle of Clontarf, 'as he believed that such calculation would throw important light on the accounts that exist of that famous battle.'³⁹⁴ The results confirm 'in a remarkable

³⁹² Ibid., p.156

³⁹³ *The Tides of Dublin Bay and The Battle of Clontarf* by Rev Samuel Haughton and James Henthorn Todd, (Dublin: M. H. Gill for the University Press, 1861).

³⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 1

manner the ancient account of the battle', and relate back to earlier research on the Irish tides presented to the Academy in 1851.³⁹⁵ Todd added some further remarks on 'The History of the Battle of Clontarf' to the Academy on 27th May, 1861. He quoted a Danish source which alerted him to the possibility that

on the day of the battle of Clontarf, the time of the high water coincided with the hour of sunrise in Dublin Bay, [so] it occurred to me that this circumstance afforded me the opportunity of testing the accuracy of the narrative...I therefore proposed to him to investigate the question –at what hour of the day the tide was full on the shore of Clontarf on Good Friday, April 23, 1014, ...I wished to test the accuracy of that ancient tract called "The Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill" i.e. of the Irish with the Danes and other Norsemen, which I am engaged in editing, as one of the series of the Chronicles in course of publication under the direction of the English Master of the Rolls. The result of a very laborious calculation, communicated to the Academy by Mr. Haughton, at its stated meeting, was highly satisfactory. It completely confirmed the statement of the MS., showing that the morning tide was full on the shore of Clontarf at sunrise, when the battle began, at half-past five, A. M.; and that the evening tide, which so materially aided in the defeat of the Danes, took place at 5.55, P. M.³⁹⁶

Todd provided some earlier manuscript accounts in an appendix to his edition of the *Cogadh* and, perhaps for the first time in Ireland, relied on the work of Dr. Dasent and his edition of the 'Story of the Burnt Njál', a Danish source which mentioned raids on Ireland. Todd opened the *Cogadh* of 1867 with a skeptical portrayal of its overall reliability, but here, in the paper to the Academy, Todd established further details as correct about the geography and location. The 'Old Bridge' in the Norse quarter of Dublin was the only bridge over the river Life from about 1000 to 1670, so,

the battle must have extended from the wood of Clontarf to the Old Bridge, then called Dub gall's Bridge...there on the battlements, as the ancient narrative more than once tells us, stood the Danish woman and the garrison, left for the defence of the city under Citric, the Danish king, and watched from the towers of Dublin the progress of the fight.³⁹⁷

A strong north easterly wind prevailed, and is still common, Todd noted; both the Icelandic and Irish sources call it 'the battle of Brian' as Brian Bore was extolled as the victor, and the great warrior leader of the Dál Cais or O'Brien's of Munster.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., p.1

³⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 4-5

³⁹⁷ Ibid., p.5

Todd explained that Brian became King of all Munster in circa 978 after a lesser but terrible battle with the Danes.

Todd contextualized the Battle in a different way when he gave a genealogy of the family of the O'Neills and King Malachy, the dominant clan who opposed the *Dál Cais* at the time. Todd provided a topical reference to how well known and famous King Malachy was in English popular culture, which may come as a surprise today. 'There is scarcely one of our native kings so well known by name to the English public as this Malachy; every school girl in the United Kingdom who can sing an Irish melody has heard of the times "when Malachy wore the collar of gold which he won from the proud invader".³⁹⁸ Keating and others thought that Malachy's treachery caused the 'Danish Wars' but Todd dismisses this as 'destitute of all probability'.³⁹⁹ Malachy was 'inclined to insinuate himself with the Danes and Gluniarn was Malachy's half-brother, so 'alliances matrimonial and political between the Irish and the Danish families were at that time very common and Brian himself was as closely connected with the Danish royal family of Dublin as Malachy was', a little known fact if one only read the account of the Battle in the *Cogadh*.⁴⁰⁰ A warrior called Olaf appears in both the Njál and the Irish sources, either as Olaf of the Sandle, in the Irish sagas, or Olaf Quaran, in the other. The Four Masters (A.D. 977-980) offered an account of Olaf's death on Iona, indicating that he had embraced Christianity. Ragnall and Gluniarn were his sons and he may have married Donflaith, daughter of one of the O'Neils, and subsequently married Gormflaith and had Sitric, who became King of the Danes in Dublin. All these contextualization's, and more, find their way into the *Cogadh* and some of his work on inter-marriage between the Danes, Norsemen and Irish is found in his short history of the Roche family of Fermoy, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Contents of the Irish Manuscript commonly called The Book of Fermoy* which was published in Dublin by the University Press in 1868. There was much inter-marriage and family genealogy in the Irish manuscript sources; he and O'Donovan joked about the 'hard words' they came

³⁹⁸ Ibid., p.6

³⁹⁹ Ibid., p.7

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., p.7

across in the sources. ‘Dear Rev. Sir, I send you another list of hard words on which I hope P. Connell [Peadar O’Connail of Kilrush, County Clare] will throw some light, although (you may observe) he never finished his work.’⁴⁰¹

Thus the context for Todd’s work emerged: the long tasks that he and O’Donovan set themselves, the work they pieced together from the loose collections of manuscript sources, his collaboration with Lord Romilly for the Rolls series and his connections with the Danish antiquarians, all came to a golden fruition. He also presented other papers to the Royal Irish Academy and collected Scandinavian almanacs, which he handed over to Trinity. He noted many important connections from his detailed study of the manuscripts for wider circulation and the collation of different sources was often a large task. At the end of the *Cogadh* he gave some manuscript variants which corroborated with the opening description of the invasion and the Battle of Clontarf in the *Cogadh*, and the ‘great oppression over all Erin, throughout its breadth, by powerful azure Gentiles and by fierce, hard-hearted Danars, during a lengthened period’.⁴⁰² One is from the *Book of Leinster*, which notes the variants between it and the *Cogadh* and Appendix C provided a vivid account of the battle, as found in the Brussels MSS., from the Burgundian Library in Brussels. It was *Maelseachlainn’s* description of the Battle of Clontarf and it provided an interesting variant reading of the main text,

Then said Maelseachlainn, “Never did I see a battle like it, nor have I heard of its equal: and even if an angel of God from heaven attempted its description, it seems doubtful to me that he could give it. But there was one thing that attracted my notice there: when the battalions first met in conflict, each began to pierce the other, and there was a red ploughed field between us and them, and the sharp wind of the spring from them towards us; and we were not longer there than it would take to milk a cow or two cows, when no man in either host could recognise another, even though it were his son or his brother who was next him...”⁴⁰³

In this way Todd both provided other sources and went about the task of editor of the literary saga, and the final edition was received with praise by his

⁴⁰¹ Dublin, National Library, MS 5443/3, John O’Donovan to James Henthorn Todd, June, 1837

⁴⁰² J. H. Todd, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* p.2

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 250

reviewers. Lady Ferguson recorded that her husband Samuel Ferguson wrote a detailed review for Lord Romilly and placed Todd among his friends and fellow members of the Irish intellectual revival, as a celtic scholar who took part in the intellectual developments of the day, across a spectrum of interests. She reproduced letters from Todd to her husband, and commented that Todd was closely associated with Reeves, Stokes, Petrie and Ferguson both in friendship and in the pursuits of learning. Todd was 'grave and erudite, yet with a keen relish for humour', she commented.⁴⁰⁴ She highlighted his work on the Irish MSS, especially the *Cogadh*, saying 'he enriched with notes and illustrations' the MSS text, taking many of these 'from Scandinavian sources'.⁴⁰⁵ She noted that in the *Cogadh* 'The battle of Clontarf, A.D. 1014, in which the forces of Brian Boru defeated the Danes...bears internal evidence of being the work of one present at the battle of Clontarf'.⁴⁰⁶ She quoted from a published review by her husband of the *Cogadh*, as edited by Todd. It was for the Rolls Series of 1867 and appeared in an article entitled, 'Lord Romilly's Irish Publications' in 'the 'Quarterly Review of 1867'.⁴⁰⁷ Lady Ferguson observed that several intermediate MSS had been published, through the exertions of Dr. Todd and others, for 'the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Societies.

Ferguson in his review of the *Cogadh* was interested in the Njál-Saga or the burnt Njál-sagas as Todd called them in another small work, which he cross-referenced with the *Cogadh*, to highlight the tradition of burning long boats, 'The Njal-Saga has enabled Dr. Todd to give us the personal descriptions of some of the Danish leaders...Whatever a patient and laborious scholar could do to settle the text, to separate the fabulous parts from the historic, to marshal the events in right chronological sequence, to fix localities, and to show the genealogies and family connections of the principal characters, he has done with the most praiseworthy pains'.⁴⁰⁸ Ferguson's critical review also made reference to 'the Danish

⁴⁰⁴ Lady Ferguson, Sir Samuel Ferguson in the Ireland of his Day, vol.ii, (Edinburgh, Blackwood & Sons, MDCCCXCVI) p. 103

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 104

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 104

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.104

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p 106-107

pedigrees' as described by Todd, saying that 'in particular he displays a singular amount of learned research, and shows a state of family connection between the invaders and the great native houses which will be new to the best instructed scholars in these obscure provinces of British history.'⁴⁰⁹ Ferguson's overall opinion of the book was very positive: 'the book altogether is a singular instance of solid learning, devoting itself to the service of a semi-barbarous bardism which half a century ago would have been passed by as unworthy of a scholar's notice.' He concluded with a comparison to German MSS 'but such, no doubt, appeared [to be] the first commentaries on the 'Nibelungenlied' when Germany stood in relation to Teutonic literature as Ireland now does to that of her Gael.'⁴¹⁰

Todd's own health and eye-sight broke down in 1866 and he wrote to Samuel Ferguson that he had a severe problem with his eyes, no doubt given so many hours working on the manuscripts. Ferguson sent him a copy of his own poem based on the epic sagas of the MSS, called 'Lays of the Western Gael' and Todd replied to thank him for the many times they had gone out on field trips to see for themselves the antiquities of Irish history. 'Thank you very much for your beautiful book, which comes with fragrant memories of Carrick, Sliabh Liacc and Glencolumbkille. But it is at the same time a snare; for my eyes, although slowly getting better, are not yet so far recovered as to enable me to read with impunity. Ever most truly yours'. Ferguson thought to help his health by inviting him to the hot baths at Wildbad in Salzburg, Germany. Todd replied, 'I would be delighted to visit Salzburg, from its connections with Ireland. It's founder, St. Rodbert...and its famous bishop, Virgil (Fergal)...were both Irish...the account you give of the Wildbad baths is certainly also very tempting –especially combined with the pleasure of enjoying your and Mrs. Ferguson's company, and searching with you whether any recollections or traditions of Ireland still float around the Monastery of St. Peter.' He adds, prompted by his work on the Irish manuscripts no doubt, 'I have often thought that a history of the Irish ecclesiastics who were founders of churches on the Continent and in Great Britain would be an interesting book, but

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., p.107

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., p.107

my powers of working are not what they were...I have forgotten to tell you that it is impossible for me to accept your most kind invitation, - first because I am not up to the journey; and secondly, to say that water is not the cure for me...

Todd is presented by the Fergusons, in his own day, as part of a wider intellectual development which is occurring all around them, as the men who have something to give to civic culture in Ireland. Ferguson noted that

If Ireland is to reap any real intellectual benefit from the vast work of antiquarian learning accumulated during the last thirty years, comprising above fifty published volumes of substantial matter, not to speak of the collections of manuscripts acquired chiefly by private subscription for the library of the Royal Irish Academy, it is to the memory of Petrie, and to the living labours of Dr. Todd and Dr. Reeves, that her gratitude will first offer its acknowledgements.⁴¹¹

In summing up earlier references to opinion of him in the national dictionaries of biography, the conclusion reached here is that they provide an important source of information about his later work and when collected together give a fair impression of his later contributions to the narration of Irish history from the manuscript sources. The earliest biographical note was published in 1878, and the latest is the *Oxford Dictionary of Biography*, they evaluate his contribution to Irish history and literature as the defining quality of his life, and Simms in his address at the centenary celebration in 1969, took this line. Yet, as these three chapters have shown, there is much more to him and he deserved a greater examination of his contribution, even if only to shed more light on his work in Irish history and place it in the context of a credible religious conviction which contained much that was to be admired. However, the Church of Ireland narrative for Todd seemed to become a source of endless justification rather than of critical insight at times. In 1878, the *Compendium of Irish Biography* listed as his most noteworthy achievement, that, as an Irish clergyman, he made a significant contribution to Irish 'literature',

He contributed largely to the literature of his country, and took part in various movements for its advancement in arts and literature: he was, in fact, as Archdeacon Cotton designated him in 1850, "the sine quo none of every literary enterprise in Dublin." He devoted himself with zeal to

⁴¹¹ Ibid., p. 107

the study of Irish history and archaeology, and was one of the foremost workers in that great movement for the restoration and reform of Celtic studies, which marked the second generation of the present century in Ireland.⁴¹²

The thousands of manuscripts that he read, both in Ireland and abroad, were noted with favour: ‘Dr. Todd exerted himself particularly in procuring transcripts or accurate accounts of Irish manuscripts existing in foreign libraries –“endeavoring” in the words of Professor O’Curry, “to recover for his native country” as large a portion as possible “of her long lost and widely dispersed ancient literary remains.”’⁴¹³ James Willis in *The Irish Nation, its History and its Biography* in 1876 wrote that Todd was one of the illustrious and distinguished Irishmen who embodied a history of Ireland in their lives:

Few of the fellows of Dublin University have done more in recent times than Dr. Todd to redeem their Alma Mater from the opprobrium conveyed in the title of the “Silent Sister”. Not only did he discharge the duties incident to the many important academic offices he was called upon from time to time to fill with zeal and efficiency, but he was also enabled by untiring energy to contribute largely to the literary fame of the university by numerous and most valuable publications. His deep and varied researches, especially in the field of antiquarian study, are in themselves an enduring monument of his indefatigable industry and well directed talents.⁴¹⁴

The *Athenaeum* of July 3, 1869 included a short obituary notice,

James Henthorn Todd, the Irish antiquary, has passed away in his sixty-fourth year...He was chiefly known in this country and on the continent of Europe as a Celtic Scholar, and a laborious writer...he had a wide field of activity, and he was never unequal to the demands made upon his knowledge and capacity... his most important labour were his editorial works...Dr. Todd will be greatly missed in the society of Dublin and in the literature of Ireland.⁴¹⁵

In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885-1900, there is greater detail about

⁴¹² Alfred Webb, *A Compendium of Irish Biography: Comprising sketches of Distinguished Irishmen and Eminent Persons connected with Ireland by Office or by their Writings* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1878)

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*,

⁴¹⁴ James Willis, *Lives of Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen from the earliest times to the present in chronological order and embodying a history of Ireland*, 6 vols. (Dublin: McGregor Polson and Co.; Belfast: Sutherland: 1839-1847) [Vol. 1: Pt. I & II, 1839; Vol. 2: Pt. I & II, 1840; Vol. 3: Pt. 1 & II, 1840-41, Vol. 4: Pt. I & II, 1842, Vol. 5: Pt. I & II, 1843-44; Vol. 4: Pt. I & II, 1845-1847], reiss. as *The Irish Nation, Its History & Its Biography*, 4 vols. (London 1871)

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

his work on the national system of education, and improving the condition of the Irish established church. Elizabeth Marion Todd mentions his Prophecy texts and the founding of St. Columba's College with Edwin, Lord Adare, William Monsell (Lord Emly) William Sewell and others. She also mentions his work as librarian, and how he, O'Donovan and O'Curry 'classified and arranged the rich collection of Irish manuscripts', while his efforts to buy rare books, quadruple the volumes and compile a catalogue made it rank 'with the chief libraries in Europe'.⁴¹⁶

The Royal Irish Academy biography by Sinead Cusack echoes the views of Elizabeth Marion Todd. This stands in contrast with the view taken of Todd by Dublin Castle during the difficult years when he published his views on national education. Then he was described by the Lord Lieutenant, Heytesbury, as being a threat to Westminster, a learned but bigoted man without hope of promotion in either University or Church due to his outspoken but decidedly unsympathetic views on the efforts of the Westminster parliament to bring about a national reform of education.

McDowell and Webb, in their academic assessment of him, in a history of Trinity College, Dublin, give two contrasting views. First, they praise his Celtic scholarship as a valuable and sustained effort to change the course of Irish history, but later dismiss his hopes of becoming Provost because of his narrow-minded religious views and association with the Oxford Movement. However, they could have been wrong about the reasons he was not preferred; the Westminster government, who were in charge of all promotions in education and the Established state church, would not have allowed it because of his outspoken views on education.

Assessments of Todd

Two contrasting views of Todd run through the critical assessment of his work. On the one hand he is praised for his worthwhile and original contributions to the criticism of the narratives of Irish history; on the other, Todd is dismissed as

⁴¹⁶ Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, volume 56, 'J. H. Todd' by Elizabeth Marion Todd, (Oxford: OUP, 2004)p. 430

being a religious or political fanatic, as, for example, Paul Holm's labelling of Todd as a Unionist Anglo-Irishman. In all the assessments of Todd, little attention is paid to his genuine contribution to Tractarian discourses and how he shaded away from Newman in favour of a more empirical and scientific approach to the sources, whether biblical or historical. Some give him credit for his celto-scepticism and his ability to distinguish fact from fable, but he is seldom given credit for his work on the papal Antichrist, and the kindly word he received from Desmond Bowen, who called him one of the most brilliant scholars at Trinity, was not matched by others who attacked his work while he was alive.

Todd's manuscript acquisitions for the library greatly alarmed the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Paul Cullen, who thought Todd would bring down the papacy if allowed to expose the historical details of papal succession, and it prompted him to seek out his nephew in Maynooth to write an outrageously sectarian review of Todd's work on Patrick. Todd generally searched for the *eirenicon* in the dark days of Irish history and raised the bar with regard to the view that all clergymen of the Church of Ireland were absentee, erastian, upwardly mobile social climbers or members of landed gentry, a view of the eighteenth century Church of Ireland clergy put forward by Toby Barnard. In contrast, as Nigel Yates noted, the devotional aspect of Tractarianism influenced many aspects of church life, as Brown has also observed, in the Scottish Episcopal Church. In Ireland, many of the practices which he encouraged, and which were seen at the time as highly controversial, were put into practice in later years. His understanding of the background to the Prayer Book, the early devotions of the Irish church, the obits and martyrology, the lives of the saints, the saints' days, the daily religious observances and a high liturgy on Sunday, his emphasis on the catholic as well as to the reformed, were later accepted in different ways. Simms compiled a liturgical calendar celebrating the Irish saints as a great cloud of witnesses for the Irish church. The Liturgy is celebrated in the Irish language at regular times of the year in the main cathedral in Dublin. Clergy wear elaborate vestments, light candles on the altar, use wafers at their discretion. It is interesting that Lady Ferguson commented that Todd was 'a High Churchman of the olden type, in no

sense a ritualist, but every inch a priest'⁴¹⁷

Yet a clergyman historian of the nineteenth-century is a decidedly difficult occupation to defend in the early twenty-first century, so there is a gap of understanding today as to how the changes Todd thought significant on doctrinal matters, such as overthrowing the papal Antichrist, have any relevance for today. Similarly, in any review of the criticism of Todd by scholars in recent years, there is a division of opinion. While a few can place him within the definitive nature of the Oxford Movement and its effects in Ireland, others dismiss his religious convictions as hampering his objectivity. The 1933 history of the Church of Ireland left out both the Oxford Movement and Todd, and among the nation builders, there was a narrowing of Irish history caused by the revolutionary fervor of 1916 and 1922. I have tried to suggest that he was a bridge figure between pre- and post famine Ireland, between savage religious war and modern ecumenism, between early and mid-nineteenth century Irish scholarship and later contributions to this field, even in the specialist form of patrician scholarship; but, again because he was firmly rooted in Anglican theological discourse, he may be seen as no more than a partisan figure for this, in today's terms.

It is true that Todd sought to write a national history, explore a national education system and define a national church, while being a member of a minority church in Ireland, but then he was part of a much bigger religious group than the tiny minority of Church of Ireland adherents per head of population today. He also socialised and worked outside his own religious denomination, his brother was a Catholic priest, for example, and kept a large number of friendships for a long time.

To link him to an enlightenment legacy is more controversial. The Church of Ireland is not generally connected with such a legacy, so at first sight it is risky. The idea of a religious enlightenment narrative, or a diffused enlightenment based on the expanded media of communication, as suggested by Jonathan Sheehan, is not widely accepted-, nor is there an agreed definition of what a general religious enlightenment would look like. Sorkin's account of Bishop Warburton, who

⁴¹⁷ Lady Mary, *Samuel Ferguson vol ii* p. 104

practiced a heroic moderation when it came to the relationship between church and state, is not the Bishop Warburton of Newman or Froude who saw him as an erastian eighteenth-century clergyman who did not take the apostolic foundation of his ministry with enough seriousness. To say that the Church of Ireland or Todd were striving to practice a like moderation or toleration is therefore to ask for a long series of contrasts and contexts, which may be overthrown by historical or religious perspective at a later date. To link him to a religious enlightenment or to jettison the idea that the enlightenment was purely antireligious has not been attempted for any major figure in the Church of Ireland in the nineteenth-century, yet it may be possible to at least open this category in relation to him if not apply it completely.

In the end, the limitations of our understanding of scholarship in the nineteenth-century are also a stumbling block, as we are forced to go back to a time which was defined by different circumstances. A receptive ecumenical role for any church was never considered, although I note the turn to a common Christian past, and that the aims of the Irish intellectual revival are couched in the 1980s as being a search for a healing of past divisions, which in Ireland must include religion. How far Todd was able to achieve this, or how far it is possible to overcome a violent religious past, is still a matter for debate and it is often a case of reconciling various strands of history rather than expecting one very coherent narrative to emerge. Discussing Todd as a colonial intellectual is fraught, as the term itself is a loaded one, and the solo intellectual figure is undercut by men like Darnton who want to place authors in a social network, a group, a collective, like the sociological turn to collective memory in more recent times. Todd cannot be examined as an exceptional genius but as more of a flawed human being, who belonged to flawed collectives, one of which was the contemporary Christian church. He was ambivalent as to how to proceed, following the many changes brought about by competitive representative democracy and he rejected the certainty of evangelical orthodoxy which many clergymen of his day adopted, but he was not always able to chart the changes quickly enough for his own nature to respond to them without considerable examination, so as not to feel

overwhelmed by them. He is sometimes harshly judged for this, albeit with the benefit of hindsight, making a sort of anachronism of biographical narration or assessment which does not take into account the way in which change happens slowly in society.

At any rate, even if he did think like an enlightenment gentlemen in the broadest sense, one who admired the works of Francis Bacon, the enlightenment legacy was soon mixed in with revolution, nationalistic fervor, political agitation and a romanticism which flowered more fully in the Literary Revival of Gregory and Yeats. Yet in studying the draconian eighteenth-century Penal Laws, the early and mid-nineteenth-century was the first period in many centuries to see the beginning of the end of these unjust laws from 1829, so the Irish intellectual revival, despite being perhaps full of colonial intellectuals who cannot be fully defined, was a short period in which they were lifted from the past in order to see a better future for the country by the pursuit of scholarship, reading, libraries, education, and enlightenment of all moderate rather than revolutionary sorts. Yet it took exceptional men to rise above partisan scholarship, even though Todd was greatly aware of the folly of bias and sought to remove it by scientific verification of the Irish past. The topic of prophecy was one example of a religious and political discourse he sought to change by reason and learning, but perhaps forgot that he too could be full of his own biases and favourites.

There is a difference between obituary and critical assessment and the work of the biographer is to be more critical. So my assessment of Todd is finally mixed, and, as at the beginning of my work, I prefer his letter correspondence to his published works. However, the written works are a most valuable source of information, an extended conversation with learning, to be read with a mixture of shock and genuine admiration for the stunningly assembled arguments which deserve to be read again as they genuinely tell us more about how we arrived at our positions today.

CONCLUSION

In chapter one I examined the way in which Todd, as a Tractarian, developed his ideas on education in Ireland at primary, second and third level, together with his views on vocational training for the priesthood. The chapter looked at the balance between conservation and reform for Todd, at a time when threats to the Irish Established Church seemed to be increasing and ‘the ship had sprung a leak’, as he wrote to Bishop Samuel Kyle in Cork. The tithe war came to an end in 1838 and deeply affected the majority population. It prompted the political mass movements of protest led by the Catholic lawyer, Daniel O’Connell, for Repeal of the Act of Union, by peaceful protest and monster meetings. The effects of the Irish Church Temporalities Act of 1833 gradually became clear, and the Church of Ireland appeared to shrink by ten bishoprics at the request of the Government, so that Todd became something of a campaigner or rebel with regard to his wish to clarify the effects of the legislation on the Cathedral chapters in Ireland and how he thought it would affect College life, especially concerning the times of Chapel.

History of the College, Sir Thomas Wyse, the Catholic hierarchy and Newman

Todd wrote up his first history of Trinity College, Dublin from which he learnt much about the manuscript sources in the Library in Trinity. I thought that he had set his course in this early period for much of his later work. The surprising conclusion I came to was that for some reason he began his first history in the 1833 Calendar with one view on the Irish monastic foundation of the College, going right back to the early golden era of Irish monastic learning, and then in the following year of 1834, he argued that the College began with Queen Elizabeth I in 1592. This could have been a revelation of his mercurial views, despite maintaining a view of the reliability of historical knowledge, or it could have been that he was continuing where he left off, the previous year. The discrepancy between the historical preface to the 1833 College Calendar and 1834 historical preface was further revealed in some of his remarks on the speech in parliament by Sir Thomas Wyse, delivered in July 1844. Todd stated categorically in his challenge to Wyse, that the University began in 1591-2, and that any attempt to argue otherwise, as

Wyse had done in parliament in London, not merely historical error but a false leap of conjecture. Wyse used the 1833 Calendar argument to conclude that based on the assumption of the historical link between Trinity and the monastic foundation of St. Mary's Abbey, which Todd did not mention in his first preface as a place of learning, on the site of which Trinity was built, Roman Catholics should be given fellowships without having to take an oath of Supremacy. This came forward in the case brought against the University by Dennis Caulfield Herron, who argued that he should have been given a scholarship on the basis of merit and not discriminated against by the University because of his religion. While this made a fine case for the admission of Catholics to the higher positions in the College, the Catholic Church began urging their young people not to go to Trinity as it would corrupt them rather than educate them. Wyse obviously rejected this kind of thinking from the Catholic hierarchy. Newman came to Dublin in 1851 and gave a series of remarkable lectures on the idea of a university, and it is not clear, unfortunately, if Todd went to hear him, although he probably did.

The false papal letter came in various editions, in 1836, which gave much material about the state of education at the time and statistical work by Garrett Fitzgerald gave background information which was helpful to place Todd's work in context. I was glad to have read the work of Eccleshall on the political sermons in the eighteenth-century which helped to place Todd's objections to the proposed new government plan for primary school education on a national level as they related back to the role and mission of the Irish Established Church, as outlined by Eccleshall. Todd's various editions containing his defense of the papal letter emerged as a surprising source of information on the views of the Irish Established churchman like Todd in the 1830s, at the beginning of this great change. Todd said he objected to the government plan on the grounds of educational suitability and the lack of an agreed Biblical translation for the children. However it could have been that he did not like the idea of non-denominational religious education at national, primary level, like most denominational clergy in the British Isles, as Brown remarked in his analysis of the fall of the Peel government over similar educational undertaking in England.

The other main text I examined, apart from the historical prefaces of the College Calendar and Todd's reply to the parliamentary speech by Wyse, was the Oscott pamphlet

on the Church Fathers and papal infallibility and the 1853 Government Report of the University. A significant 'second spring' followed the re-introduction of the Catholic episcopate to England and led to a rise in the popularity of expressions of papal infallibility which prompted Todd to write an educational pamphlet against the interpretation of it as a historical doctrine of the early church. He was supported in Dublin by Archbishop Whately, aligning Todd more with the broad church for a time. This was a surprising alliance, as at the beginning Todd had hated the cavalier way in which Whately had gone about setting up a new Divinity College in Dublin, for the ordinands. To find himself on the same side as the Archbishop must have been quite unexpected.

The early prospectus of 1841 for St. Columba's College, was quite a mixture and the Dunraven Diary which I used, as it seemed to good an opportunity to miss, gave an account of the travels of that small band of men, Edwin, Todd, the Monsells, and occasionally Sewell, around the country looking for a suitable site. It too harked back to the political sermons of earlier times, in 1841. Surprisingly for a Tractarian, Todd allowed the first prospectus to sound like it was linked to the second reformation movement, and there was a mixed message in the school foundation which came against Todd in the case of the Ventry young men who spoke vernacular Irish and who soon went home again. There was the endless trouble with the Wardens, which began with the first appointment. Todd may have been influenced in his educational thinking by Thomas Arnold and Rugby, but in a letter to Kyle in Cork, Todd was mixed up by the Bishop with one of the people seeking to found another 'a colonization scheme' which would, in his opinion, fail because it excited expectations 'beyond the power of realization'. He warned Todd to recollect the failure of the Cavan reformation by its display of 'over-publicity, restlessness and boasting'.

The chapter is based therefore on a representative selection of educational texts in different forms and mediums, and covers extensive educational reportage of Todd as a player in the events as they unfolded. He distanced himself from the puritan views of the settlement at Achill Island, led by Nangle, and with the Irish Church Mission. This middle ground is easily lost from historical view.

In chapter two I examined how Todd dealt with the problems posed by prophetic

biblical exegesis in Ireland, around an important question of interpretation which caused sectarian tension, namely, the figure of the papal Antichrist, based on the books of Daniel and Revelation. I showed how he traced the rise of this interpretation, supposedly from twelfth century Waldensians, and examined how he used a rational, critical approach to the biblical texts and source documents. I set Todd's belief in the rational interpretation of scripture in relation to the rational nature of the Enlightenment, Christian Deism and a religious enlightenment legacy. The chapter highlighted his two major Donnellan lecture series on prophecy and his work on the Waldensians. In this chapter I had a chance to examine a much wider phenomenon, the interpretation of God's providence in historical events, and this proved a very fascinating topic from every angle. I emphasized the difficulties in interpreting providence in relation to the famine, as the second reformation legacy groups attempted to do, as it seemed like a form of conjectural history which came to the worst sort of conclusions, linking bad human behavior to a bad God who would send famines as a form of divine generosity to prompt national repentance. It was in line with earlier eighteenth-century colonial theology, but it sprang from England and London as much as from the clergy in Ireland.

Todd had a surprising affinity with Robertson in terms of his views on the distance between human knowing and the knowledge of God, although could not be termed a Christian Deist. The work of finding a post-confessional Enlightenment Bible not washed in the rivers of blood generated by the Reformation, as Jonathan Sheehan put it, was one which in some ways fell to men like Todd. The religious Enlightenment theories figured prominently in this chapter and I felt that they also linked to the way in which the media culture developed, and the way in which social interaction and exchange, like that of the Moderates in Edinburgh, helped shape the early nineteenth-century Dublin intellectual revival. Work by Eagleton figured in explaining the composition of these groups in Dublin and they in turn helped with the associations, societies, clubs and the Academy, mentioned in the final chapter.

In chapter three I examined Todd's editorial work on the sources of Irish history, when manuscript sources from the early Irish church, subject to centuries of copying and editing, were taken from obscurity in the library and used to write interpretations of national history. I examined his critical editions of three major source texts in the wake of the early Oxford Movement, when interest in the early liturgy of the Church increased,

and which Tractarian churchmen like Todd took up in relation to their own 'national' church. Todd's two volumes on the lives of the Irish saints were examined and linked to his critical biography of the life of Saint Patrick. The many surprising finds that he made about the inter-relationships between the Scandinavians and the Dubliners, opened up a new line of enquiry, and set back into poetry the vivid battle descriptions of valour and bravery of the Cogadh. In Todd's edition, the battle texts combined with family genealogies, and the vivid and poetic descriptions of invasion of Ireland by the Danes and Norsemen, revealed a more complex set of interfamily dynasties and rivalries. Todd included the more highly rated and reliable source texts which involved him in research in a number of different libraries in mainland Europe, especially at the Royal Library in Brussels and at the Franciscan library of St. Isidore's in Rome.

Future research arising out of this work might be to follow up on several areas opened up by the source material. Firstly the letters Todd wrote could be further examined in relation to some of the themes explored in this work, namely his Tractarian interests, his wide range of published work and the intellectual, social and religious networks in which he moved in Ireland and as a perigrini on the Continent. It would be interesting to follow up his manuscript research and link St. Isidore in Rome and the Irish Intellectual Revival in Dublin and see how Italian church and society functioned. After all Eagleton mentioned Gramsci often enough! There would be interesting manuscript work to be done by examining the text sent to Dublin by Dr. Lyons.

Another fruitful area of research would be to link more closely the same period in Edinburgh and Dublin and see what further parallels could be made about Enlightenment circles. There is a link to be made between the different Academies and the book clubs which interchanged knowledge and information for a while and the letter collection between Todd and David Laing is worth exploring further.

A final area of research might be in Oxford. Todd and Newman and Pusey were a constellation for a while, and they shared ideas, plans and theological interests by letter. The letter collections between them could be further clarified; to see how this affected the different directions they took to resolve key problems the church faced at the time. This would bring the churches of Ireland, England and Scotland closer together via the letter correspondences between Todd and the men in other cities, Edinburgh, Oxford, and

Rome.

Finally it would be good to bring some more women into the picture. Todd's family are under-researched and it would be good to expand the contribution of the women to the social life of the city.

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"Presentation on the part of the Knight of Glin, a gold coin, with Arabic inscription, found in the wall of a house in the townland of Killeny, near Glin." By Rev. Dr. Todd, V.P., 291.

"A translation of an Irish deed or agreement made in the year 1526, between Conla Mac Geogheghan, chief of the Kinel Fiacha, and Breasal Sionnach, alias Fox, chief of the Cloan Tadgan, both of Westmeath." By Rev. Dr. Todd, V.P., 368-369.

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- “The Rev. Dr. Todd presented to the meeting some antique relics ... a model of an ancient spear-head, sent to the Academy by Mr. Carruthers, Esq.” 253.
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- “An exhibition of a fragment of an ancient Pentateuch roll, written on leather, in the square Hebrew character, and containing a portion of the book of Leviticus.” By Rev. Dr. Todd, 275-280.
- “On the power said to have been possessed by the Irish hereditary bards, of rhyming rats to death, or causing them to migrate by the power of rhyme.” By Rev. Dr. Todd, 355-366.
- “An exhibit to the Academy of an ancient Irish reliquary, composed of brass and silver, of exquisite workmanship.” By Rev. Dr. Todd, 461-464.
- “An exhibit to the Academy of the Missagh or Miosach, a valuable Irish reliquary, supposed to have formerly contained a MS. Of the Gospels or Psalms, property of St. Columba’s College, Rathfarnham, entrusted to the Warden and Fellows.” By the Rev. Dr. Todd, 464-467.
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- “A rubbing of the ancient inscription on the base of the cross which stands in the principal street of the village of Cong”; “On a Chalice having the name of Cuchonacht Maguire, chief of Fermanagh, inscribed on it.” By Rev. Dr. Todd, 225-227.
- “A paper on the name said to have been given to St. Patrick, when a captive in Ireland, by his heathen masters.” By the Rev. Dr. Todd, 292-298. “Monday, April 14th, 1856. James Henthorn Todd, D.D., President in the Chair delivered his Inaugural Address.” 319-338.
- “An ancient Missal, and its silver box, described by Dr. O’Conor in his Catalogue of the Stowe MSS. And now the property of the Earl of Ashburnham.” 393-398.
- A Letter from James H. Todd President of the Royal Irish Academy April 4, 1857 on the Citizen and County Memoirs for the Ordnance Survey.
- “...This admirable project was strenuously supported by the Royal Irish Academy, who saw in it an opportunity of making known, and of preserving from oblivion, information of the greatest value to science, history, and topography, - information which, if the design had been carried out as originally intended and begun, could not fail to have been most beneficial to the social progress of Ireland ...”, 514-516.
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- “An ancient deed in the Irish language. With a translation by Eugene Curry.” 247-248.
- “On an electrotype model of the box of St. Molaise of Devenish Island.” By Rev. Dr.

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The above is a fully representative selection of the many papers Dr. Todd presented to the Royal Irish Academy, as he seems to have attended every one of the meetings, and the list had to be cut short for reasons of space.

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Letter to Sir John F. Crampton, Envoy at St. Petersburg, 1860

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Add. 34575 f. 289

Add. 34578 ff. 603, 663

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Henry Bradshaw Correspondence

Add. 4251 (1402)

Letter from Todd to Henry Bradshaw 1866 with Celtic design letterhead

Add. 2591

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Add. F 910

Letters to Marcus G. Beresford

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Letter to Acquilla Smith

Add. 2588 (561)

Letters misc Hennessy (William Maunsell)

Add. 4251 (635) (643)

Add. 707

History of Trinity College Dublin from foundation to 1814, copied from the ms of Rev. Dr. J. Barrett, Provost TCD with Notes in Margin by Todd

Add. 707 709.p.j.s

Troparium of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, formerly in the possession of J H Todd

Add. 710

Additions to Ware

Add. 9407

Latin lives of Irish Saints, transcripts, made from Brussels, Bibl. Royals ms. 7672-4 by Thomas French for J. H. Todd

Add. MS. 620

Edinburgh University Library

David Laing Correspondence 1840-1860

La. IV. Box 17 fols 95/10-95/51 (27) letters J. H. Todd/D. Laing

MS 95/19 James Henthorn Todd to David Laing, 15th September, 1842

Contains Prospectus of the Irish Archaeological Society and David Laing's agreement to be a local Secretary.

Lambeth Palace Library

The Carew Papers (MS596-638)

Tait Letter Collection

Tait 413 f.61 Testimonial from J. H. Todd for Rev. Charles Henry Hamilton Wright, Chaplain at Dresden, Germany.

Manchester: John Rylands Library

MS. 500 (Crawford Irish 66) translation of Latin mss of work of Col. Charles O'Kelly, with letters to and from Todd

Marsh's Library, Dublin

Record no. 38277

Notebooks of J. H. Todd about his visit to St. Isidore's Rome 1862.

(List of material he consulted)/

Maynooth, St. Patrick's College Library

Six Letters from Todd to E. O'Curry, 1843-1859

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Ainsworth (J. F.) Reports on records at St. Columba's; letters to Beresford, Todd. NL

Private Collections No. 394

MS 636 List of buyers and prices at the sale of the library of J. H. Todd compiled by John O'Daly

NL MS 5443 Nos 1-31 O'Donovan - Todd Correspondence, 1836-1858

MS 5443/3, John O'Donovan to James Henthorn Todd, June, 1837

NL MS 5373 Todd - O'Donovan letters, 1840-1859

NL MS 8319 (1-12) Lord Adare, A. De Vere, Monsell, Todd, 1816-1910

NL MS 8317 Bp. Morriarty Collection

Larcom Papers:

NL MS 7564 (includes his purchase of many of the letters of O'Donovan after his death)

NL MS 2252 46 Letters to Todd from Charles Graves, J. O'Donovan, W. Reeves, Whitley Stokes

NL MS 2253 70 Letters mainly Todd - Dean Butler of Trim with 2 letters from Todd to Lord Adare, 1840-1849.

NL MS 3038 Misc.

Pusey House, Oxford

Pusey Papers: letters between Pusey and Todd

(originals, and Liddon Bound Volumes, mainly transcripts)

Two volumes: Todd's hand-written notebooks containing a commentary on Ezekiel for a proposed series on the Old Testament Prophets

Letter from S. M. Crosthwaite, School House, Maidstone, to Dr. Henry Parry Liddon, February 11th 1889. LBV 128/42.

British Critic Papers:

Letters concerning Newman, the British Magazine and British Critic, includes letters between Todd and Newman

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Royal Irish Academy

Windele MSS

4 B and 12 L Correspondence between John Windele, antiquarian of Sunday's Well, Cork, and J. H. Todd, especially regarding a copy of Windele's book on the Cork Exhibition,

and tensions with Richard Hickcock of the TCD Library for a copy of same.

4 B 2/93 J. H. Todd tells J. Windele that he has been elected a member of the Irish Archaeological Society.

4 B 19/25 J. H. Todd and J. T. Gilbert ask J. Windele for payment of membership subscriptions to the Society.

4 B 22/93 J. O'Daly to J. Windele regarding the vacancy in the RIA left by Eugene O'Curry's death; J. H. Todd's work on the Book of Lismore

4 B 6/62 Letter to J. Windele about attempts by Conor M'Sweeny to gain access to the Book of Lecan through J. H. Todd

12 L 7/60 J. H. Todd from Brechin, Scotland to J. Windele about Round Towers at Brechin and Abernathy

12 L 10/64 J. O'Daly to J. Windele, re membership of a Celtic Society with 'influential' members including George Petrie, Abp John MacHale, Samuel Ferguson, and J. H. Todd and progress on the Battle of Clontarf

12 C 1/29 Discussion among antiquarians re Scatterry Island, Round Tower, Kilrush Co. Clare and information sent on by J. H. Todd

14 B 16/20 Letter to John O'Donovan from J. H. Todd concerning his queries on the ms material for St. Manchan in TCD and on the subject of antiquarian 'mania' in Ireland.

14 F 8/6 Letter to John O'Donovan from J. H. Todd in response to his queries on Irish language topographical terminology.

Trinity College Dublin Library

Todd Papers:

MS 2214 Correspondence 1827-1862 of Rev. Dr. James Henthorn Todd 1905-1869, Senior Fellow of T.C.D., professor of Hebrew 1849-1869, librarian 1852-1869, College bursar and registrar. He was successively treasurer and precentor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and published a number of theological works. Received from Dr. E. J. Gwynn, 8th October 1983.

Ms Q.4. 42 Account Books relating to TCD and affairs of J. H. Todd, 1852-1855

Ms 1702 Osmund of Sarum

Beresford Papers:

MS 2770-4

Stopford Papers:

MS 2209-4

Samuel Kyle Papers:

MS 10978 Autobiography of Samuel Kyle, 1717-1848, including his meeting with Bishop John Jebb and Alexander Knox

Diary of James Henthorn Todd:

MS 5944 January 1843- October 1844

Hebrew Notebooks of James Henthorn Todd:

MS 10702 1851 Hebrew Lecture Notes; Mid Term 1861, 1864 Michaelmas Term 1866

College Board Notes of James Henthorn Todd:

MS 5943 A Tribute to James Henthorn Todd from his students who have benefited from the 'valuable and friendly services of our Hebrew Lecturer during the past year,' Jan 26 1861.

Plan for the roof of the Library suggested by Dean and Woodward, Jan 1858.

MSS 227a:

1-5 Correspondence, 1840-1938

6-10 Todd's description of TCD ms 241

11-15 Mathematical papers prepared by Todd

26-34 Comments on the proof of Todd's Waldensian mss

26-35 Wycliff's preaching

35-40 Newspaper cuttings and printed items, including his first Dublin University Calendar Reviews

Misc. Ant. 373:

MS 8931/4 Photocopy Charles Todd to Henry Bradshaw from Silveracre, Rathfarnham, August 11th 1870 about his late brother's books, MSS and a copy of Ware.

University College Dublin

Letters in different letter collections: Eugene O'Curry, Dr. William Frazer, James Roe, etc.

Digital Archive Letters

LA 38/1 Letter from J. H. Todd to John E. Pigott, Oct 1 1860

LA 38/43 Letter from James McCurtin Moy, Lahinch, Co. Clare to James McClashan to DUM

LA 38/77 Letter from E. O'Curry regarding enquiries from Dr. Todd concerning the Annals of the Four Masters at Stowe

LA 38/139 Letter from J. Dillon to J. H. Todd discussing the use of herbs and traditional cures

LA 41/89 Letter from Sylvester Malone (Kilkee) to J. H. Todd, Jan 13 1836

LA 41/88 Letter to J. H. Todd from Whitley Stokes, Dec 7 1867

University of Limerick

Dunraven Collection:

D/3196/ Journal.

D3196/7 John O'Donovan, 5 Portland Street, Dublin, to Dr. Toddy, Rev. Dear Sir, Noon, 18th 1841.

D3196/I/10/3, J. H. Todd to Lord Edwin Dunraven, Adare, 28th September, 1850.

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