

The Evangelical Revival in Ireland

A Study in Christology

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Revival in the Irish church

The Evangelical Awakening lagged some fifty years behind that in the Church of England. John Wesley could refer to the 'evangelical clergy' in England, never—in the course of twenty-one visits—in Ireland. Six years after his death, however, in 1797, a Dublin bookseller supplied the 'principal names' of the evangelical clergy: twenty-nine of them, scattered throughout Ireland. Of the pioneers, the Hon. Walter Shirley was by then dead, Edward Smyth gone to Manchester, Henry Maturim—Fellow of Trinity College Dublin (TCD)—about to go to a College living in county Donegal. Smyth and Maturim had been chaplains of Dublin's Bethesda Chapel, an essentially Anglican foundation of 1784 which was denied an episcopal licence until 1825. Opposition so evinced was first directed at the Evangelicals as 'Methodists', later as 'Calvinists'. One of the ablest of the reforming bishops, the Hon. Power Trench of Elphick, preached them down as such in 1816, with Bishop Tomline of Lincoln as his oracle. But episcopal hostility was offset by the strengths and strategic advantages of the early movement: the support of titled and other influential laity, a succession of evangelical Fellows in TCD, and the cohesion which derived from it societies, especially the Hibernian Bible (1806) and Hibernian CMS (1814).

Two Fellows of TCD, Joseph Singer and James O'Brien—both divinity lecturers and future bishops—were respectively, the co-secretary of CMS and the ablest theologian of the movement. Meanwhile, the founding of diocesan clerical societies signalled the spread of evangelical principles among the clergy. The earliest of these, the Ossory Clerical Association (1800), set a high standard with its Anglican ethos, the pastoral effectiveness of its members, and the leadership of Peter Roe, the eirenic minister of St Mary's, Kilsenny.

Opposition gradually abated. Power Trench was converted when his archdeacon, William Digby, reasoned with him at length over his 1816 sermon. As Archbishop of Tuam (1819-1839) he was a national leader in the revival. Another Archbishop, William Magee of Dublin (1822-1831), famed for his *Discourses on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice* (1801), licensed the Bethesda and generally patronised the Evangelicals. Their second generation threw up strong clerical leaders in

Robert Daly, Rector of Powerscourt, John Gregg, Minister of Trinity Church, Dublin—two more future bishops—and Thomas Drew, Minister of Christ Church, Belfast. It produced also able lay leaders in Thomas Lefroy, a future Chief Justice of Ireland, Arthur Guinness, head of the Dublin Brewery, and the third Earl of Rodon. Its leading women included Lady Alicia Lifford, wife of a Dean of Armagh, who brought CMS to Ireland, Lady Charlotte O'Brien of Dromoland Castle in county Clare, a heroine of the Great Famine, and Harriet Kiernan and her philanthropic sisters in Dublin. There Bethesda Chapel retained its prominence under the chaplaincies of William Krause and John Alcock, but now shared an evangelical ministry not only with other voluntary churches, such as St Matthias' under the golden-tongued Achilles Daunt, but also by the 1850s with most of the city's parish churches.

The April Meetings in Dublin brought together Evangelicals from throughout Ireland, saw to the business of the societies, and inspired the clergy through their Annual Address. Not all the latter remained in Ireland. Large numbers went out with CMS, or to serve the young Anglican churches in Canada, the United States, and Australia—some notable individuals went to England: R.J. M'Ghee, champion of the Roman Controversy, the saintly activist William Pennefather, and Hugh McNeile, son-in-law of Archbishop Magee and (in Eugene Stock's judgment) 'unquestionably the greatest evangelical preacher in the Church of England'.¹

Preaching the CMS Annual Sermon in 1829, Singer claimed that the Society had given the Irish Church a 'missionary character'. It found expression as much in home as in overseas mission, whether in outreach to Roman Catholics or in parochial evangelism. For as the High Churchman, William Alexander, recalled for his General Synod in 1905—he had become Archbishop of Armagh in 1896—the Irish Revival had been 'almost everywhere', its preaching warm-hearted and often extemporaneous, its sermons generally earnest and simple, with 'few of that description which a much loved bishop [John Gregg] described as 'not having enough gospel to save a titmouse!'² A much-respected bishop, James O'Brien, for his part had charted the course of the Evangelical Revival (and that of the Oxford Movement) for his Ossory clergy in 1866. Although evangelical doctrines had been found by the pioneers in the Articles and liturgy, he averred, they had yet been denounced as 'new doctrines' which subverted morality and undermined the church. Nothing daunted they had preached them until they not only gained wide acceptance, but also recognition both as quintessentially Anglican, and as restoring morality and renewing the church.³

Of no doctrine was that more true than that of justification by faith. The pioneers had preached it—Shirley in 1760, Smyth in 1778, Maturin in 1801, publishing their sermons—until by 1830, in Roe's words, it was being 'set forth with a decision, a perspicuity, and a faithfulness unexampled for more than 150 years'. O'Brien himself, when Archbishop King's Lecturer in TCD, expounded it in sermons preached in College Chapel in

1832 and first published in 1833. Given at once its prominence and its apparent influence in the Irish Church, it is appropriate to assess the perception of the reformed doctrine of justification among Irish Evangelicals, and to ask to what extent that perception was informed (in Oliver O'Donovan's phrase) by 'Christological exclusiveness'.⁴

Justification by faith in Christ alone

1. Anglican and Reformed

The early Anglican Evangelicals were able to point to orthodox Anglican divines who had taught this doctrine, including Archbishop Secker and Bishops Beveridge and Horsley. In 1815, when opposition was at its height, a Dublin printer brought out an edition of Beveridge's '*Exposition of the Articles*'. . . *which treat of the Fall and Redemption of Mankind.*' But as so often, Kilkenny was ahead of Dublin. The Ossory clergy had taken up Beveridge on justification in 1802, and in a sermon in 1808, Peter Roe quoted Horsley:

That man is justified by faith, without the works of the law, was the uniform doctrine of the first reformers. It is a far more ancient doctrine: it was the doctrine of the whole college of the apostles. It is more ancient still: it was the doctrine of the prophets. It is older than the prophets: it was the religion of the patriarchs. It is the very cornerstone of the whole system of redemption.⁵

The Articles were understood as a complete evangelical statement. For the declaration of Article 11, that, 'we are accounted righteous before God' only for the merits of Christ, by faith, 'and not for our own works or deservings', had as its corollary the insistence of Article 12 that good works, as the fruits of faith which 'follow after justification', and, 'do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith'. Edward Smyth's teaching reflected this completeness. He taught that justification was a forensic term, an act of God's free grace, whereby he absolved sinners from the guilt and punishment of sin, 'by the imputation of Christ's righteousness, apprehended by faith'. He also taught that while St Paul was the enemy of human merit, he yet enforced morality: 'As he effectively guarded the gospel, by depreciating works so far as to deny them the office of justifying, so he secured the *law*, by his frequent exhortations to holiness'.⁶ A generation later, the Minute of the Ossory Clerical Association for September 1804 read:

The Doctrine of Imputed Righteousness was examined by Scripture, the articles and the homilies, and from them it appeared to be the doctrine of the Church of England and the great foundation of a sinner's hope, that, 'as by the disobedience of one, many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one, many might be made righteous', and that where the righteousness of Christ was imputed, holy desires, good councils and just works must proceed.⁷

O'Brien's exposition of 1832 was to be long valued. Thirty years on Daunt wrote in his diary that he had set out on a preaching tour armed only with his Bible and 'O'Brien's Sermons on Faith'; and John Gregg required the men whom he ordained in Cork until 1878 to study these sermons during their diaconate year.⁸

In the first two of his *Ten Sermons on the Nature and Effects of Faith*, O'Brien examined the nature of faith, in the third the nature and ground of justification, and in the fourth the connection between the two. He taught the same forensic sense, the same doctrine of imputation and the same office of faith as the pioneer Evangelicals. Justification was a 'judicial declaration of the innocence of the person justified' and involved 'not only his acquittal from having violated the divine law, but his acceptance also, as having perfectly fulfilled it'. Again, it was in Christ, and by virtue of his atonement that men were justified, and that 'by imputed righteousness no less than vicarious sufferings'. Turning to faith, O'Brien insisted that it was its office alone to justify the believer, for none of his acts, gifts or virtues, 'whether concomitants of faith, or consequences of it, share with it in this its office'. It was by faith only that:

we possess that efficacious interest in Christ's suffering, that availing title to his obedience, which shield us from the curse of the law, and secure to us its blessings and rewards.

Sensible, again like the pioneers, that the doctrine attracted both abuse and opposition, O'Brien drew on Pauline and Reformed writing to provide, in his fifth and sixth sermons, 'An exposure of the chief corruptions of this doctrine and an answer to the chief objections against it'. Finally, having 'explained, established and guarded' the doctrine, he devoted his last four sermons to the practical effects of faith - its operation in the process of sanctification, 'and how it calls into exercise and sustains, all other natural forces by which God designs to restrain and to move his people'. In doing so, he provided a detailed reconciliation of St Paul and St James.⁹

Five years after O'Brien's *Sermons* came Newman's *Lectures on Justification* (1838). In 'A Celebration at St Paul's Cathedral' on 23 November 1838, the Revd Dr John A. Newton opined that Newman had made with these 'a profound contribution to ecumenical theology', in that he 'broke through the often sterile controversy about faith and works' to see that justification is the gift of the indwelling Holy Spirit; 'who bestows both faith and renewal as his fruits'. Rather than 'playing off' faith and works against each other, the heart of the matter was St Paul's 'faith, working through love'.¹⁰ But here—and elsewhere—too much is claimed for Newman. Profound he may have been; innovative he was not. Irish Evangelicals had broken through years before.

2. A true and lively faith

In his letter of 1816 to his bishop, Archdeacon Digby told Trench that 'the true import and meaning' of justification had not yet been revealed to him.

It meant imputation of Christ's obedience to believers, so that they 'become invested with the righteousness of God himself'; while 'the application of the Redeemer's work to us individually, *that we may be saved*, is the work of the Holy Ghost, who works in us a most holy faith'.¹¹ There was enough gospel here to save a bishop, and Trench thus came to living faith in Christ.

In 1863 Daunt wrote in his diary: 'Preached on 2 Cor 5: 17, "if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature". The nature and evidence of conversion to God'.¹² There was nothing abstract about the evidence. The fruits of faith were love, holiness and obedience. Without such fruits, faith was dead—was not 'a true and lively faith'. Evangelicals understood, with St Augustine, that 'grace was given that the law might be fulfilled'. Conversion, in other words, was not real unless it transformed the entire person.

The Guinness family has been appraised by historians of the brewery as 'united by a deep and close affection and an unaffected religious faith':

They were evangelical in their persuasion and their second birth in Christ was to them an event of unique importance, by the side of which nothing else could be said to matter. Their loyalty to their church was profound and exemplary.¹³

From the earliest period of the revival the clergy grasped that if their people did not give evidence of repentance, if their faith did not express itself in love, then—whatever they might profess—they were still in their sins, in a word perishing. Their accountability was stressed in solemn terms in the Charge given by Archbishop Trench in 1823:

We are constituted watchmen to the house of Israel; and we are warned beforehand that if any soul shall perish, his blood shall be required at our hands, and on this account we are told to "watch for souls as those that must give account". But who can reflect on this and not tremble?¹⁴

Replying to an Address from his congregation in Christ Church in 1837, Thomas Drew—fearless exposé of cant, and champion of Protestant and Orange principles—touched on the heart of evangelical religion as he urged his people to seek more life, love and devotedness:

Let Christ be all in all. Let nothing short of entire conversion—nothing short of 'the life of God in the soul', nothing short of a high and holy communion 'with the Father, through the Son, by the Spirit' content us.¹⁵

The uniqueness of Christ

1. Christ-centred

In the last analysis, Holy Scripture, the Anglican Church and the reformed doctrine of justification by faith had this in common: they centred on Jesus

Christ. And Evangelicals deserved that appellation only in so far as they, too, were Christ-centred. Cardinal Newman wrote that in his youth they had brought home to him 'the vital truths of revelation'; William Gladstone that in his they had taught him the doctrine of the Cross. By contrast, their Irish contemporary, Henry Woodward of Fethard, had moved as a young clergyman in Cashel in a circle of men around Archbishop Brodrick, which included John Jebb and other Irish forerunners of the Tractarians. Among these good men, he noted, 'upon the subject of atonement there was somewhat of reserve. It was not denied—it was held as part of catholic truth: it was occasionally preached, but it was not prominently put forward'. Partly for this reason, he found within the diocese a disposition to keep 'a cautious distance' from those who had 'begun to be called the evangelical clergy'. Far from sharing it, Woodward instead joined the Evangelicals.¹⁶

A similar insight into the mind of one of the early Tractarians, R. H. Froude, is provided in Ian Ker's fascinating biography of Newman. When Froude died in 1837, Keble and Newman (then still an Anglican) were given his papers to publish at their discretion. Newman also received his private journal from William Froude, and was perturbed to discover, on reading the detail of Hurrell Froude's spiritual struggles, that—as he put it to Keble—it showed 'a young man deeply impressed by the feelings of his imperfections . . . coming to God for forgiveness, yet not a hint in his most intimate thoughts that he recollected he had a Saviour'. Since Christ's name was not even mentioned, it would be alleged that Froude had 'no real *apprehension*' of being saved, and Newman therefore proposed to suggest his profound awe and remorse as an 'explanation', a proposal with which Keble concurred.¹⁷ In marked contrast, the third of the Froude brothers, James Anthony, found that his evangelical hosts in county Wicklow were consciously and unaffectedly Christ-centred. He saw the evidence in their conversation and family devotions, in their hymns and sermons.

If there is a common thread in avowed conversion experience, it is that conversion was linked to perception of salvation through faith in Christ alone—or, as Lefroy put it of his conversion, 'a clear view of God's method of salvation for a sinner. John Wesley's discovery that 'I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation', was shared by Archbishop Trench. In his Charge of 1835 he dwelt on the meaning of conversion to God: 'What he speaks is done, and what he commands stands fast, and the righteousness of our Lord Jesus Christ becomes as truly ours... as our sin became his'.¹⁹ Conversion, then, centred in Christ. And gospel preaching, which might result in conversion, was preaching Christ.

2. Preaching Christ

An early example of faithfulness to the gospel is Henry Maturin's sermon in Raphoe Cathedral at the bishop's Visitation in 1800. His situation was delicate. he was the newest incumbent in the diocese, its sole Evangelical, and the recipient of much personal kindness on the part of the bishop.

Such, however, had been Dr Hawkins' earlier antipathy to evangelical principles in Dublin that (as his sister, Mrs Paul, had recorded) he had refused to meet Walter Shirley. Maturin had also until recently been a fellow of TCD, where the theological battle to recover orthodox doctrine was being waged by Magee and others. But knowing that orthodoxy was not enough, Maturin preached a sermon on justification by grace through faith in Christ alone. It was not such preaching as the clergy in Raphoe—or any other diocese in 1800—were used to hearing; and Maturin published his sermon in order to correct misunderstanding of it as preached. It was crafted with the same scriptural balance and completeness that informed the relevant Articles, and as it is an epitome of evangelical preaching throughout the 19th century, its peroration may fittingly be given here:

To sum up all, we must preach Christ and him crucified, as the only Saviour for perishing sinners—we must preach Christ fully, in the freedom of his grace, in the fulness of his salvation, in all his saving offices—we must preach Christ experimentally, as bringing present salvation by the power of his grace, establishing his kingdom in the hearts of his people; enlightening their minds, subduing their corruptions, renewing their natures, and changing the whole course of their desires and pursuits.²⁰

For his first sermon in St Mattias' church in 1867, Achilles Daunt took as his text St Paul's affirmation, 'Christ is all'. Bishop Singer's primary charge to his clergy in 1852 dwelt on 'preaching Christ', a theme that was to inform episcopal charges for another half century. It was taken up by the clergy. Krause warned a young clerical friend that he would often be tempted to bring something new or exciting before his people, and bade him remember that 'Christ, precious and all-sufficient, is to be the great theme of your sermons'.²¹ The Cross was central. The pulpit erected to the memory of bishop Daly in Waterford Cathedral carries the text, 'We preach Christ crucified, the power of God unto salvation'. On the Celtic cross over Bishop John Gregg's grave in Mount Jerome cemetery in Dublin is inscribed: 'I determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified'. Preaching, at once expository and practical for the most part, was typically Christocentric. John Alcock's summary of the priorities in the preaching of Charles Leslie, of Holy Trinity, Cork, may as justly be applied to hundreds of the evangelical clergy:

Did he not preach Redemption—unfold the glories of Immanuel and point the convinced soul to the finished work of Calvary? Was not Christ his theme? Christ crucified—Christ risen—Christ ascended—Christ interceding—and Christ returning to judgement?²²

This evangelical concern was shared by the laity. When in 1824 the incumbent of Dundalk, Elias Thackeray, complained to Lord Roden that the Sunday evening services in his private chapel—attended by his tenantry and some townspeople, and held after church hours—were harmful

and unnecessary, he received from that nobleman a characteristically candid response. Quoting from Thackeray's letter, Roden replied that he did not think that 'the Regulations which the Church has appointed are sufficient, *as they are administered at Dundalk*', for:

I do not think that the doctrines preach'd by the Apostles, viz. 'Salvation through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ without the deeds of law' are the prominent features of those discourses delivered from the Pulpit, I do not think as far as I have experienced that the determination of Paul to *know nothing* amongst his People but *Jesus Christ and him crucified* seems to be the View of those respected Individuals who regularly fill that Pulpit.²³

In the light of Irish emphases, there is not a little irony in what Ian Ker has seen as one of Newman's brilliant aphorisms: 'To look at Christ is to be justified by faith; to think of being justified by faith is to look from Christ and to fall from grace'. Newman's final lecture—on Preaching the Gospel—alleged that a system of doctrine had risen up during the past three centuries in which faith was rested on as the end of religion, instead of Christ:

And in this way religion is made to consist in contemplating ourselves instead of Christ; not simply in looking to Christ, but in ascertaining that we look to Christ, not in his Divinity and Atonement, but in our conversion and our faith in those truths.

Newman added that instead of preaching Christ, the 'fashion of the day' was 'to preach conversion' and to tell people 'to have faith', so obstructing their view of Christ.²⁴

It is always possible to put conversion in place of Christ, or the Church in place of Christ (or for that matter, contrition—'awe and remorse'—in place of Christ). Possible, certainly: but it is contended here that the Established Church preached Christ. People were converted and the Church strengthened—but not by preaching conversion or the Church. So, too, morality was recovered—but not by preaching morality. As M'Ghee put it, in arresting (but unattributed) lines in a sermon in 1831:

Talk they of morals? O Thou bleeding Lamb!
Thou maker of new morals to mankind—
The grand morality is love to Thee.²⁵

Whatever the validity of Newman's criticism for England, the evidence of sermons and letters, diaries and biographies, clerical discussions, episcopal charges and theological writings, is that Irish Evangelicals did not only not fall into, but recognised and guarded against the very errors that he discerned. But the evidence is stronger than the written word, for the preaching that so profoundly affected Irish lives, society and religion, did so by dwelling, not on a doctrine, but on a Person. As so often, Lord Roden put the point with simple force in a letter which he wrote home after attending Reformed worship in Turin:

We found a large congregation at Church—the Service in French—an eloquent Sermon—but no Gospel—many things in the Sermon very true and very good, and nothing tending to Socinianism—but still no free statement of a Sinner's Salvation which he referred all to faith—*Sauvé par la foi*, was often on his lips . . . *Sauvé par Christ*, I was anxious to tell him was the only source of safety, and that faith was the instrument or channel by which we received and enjoyed it.²⁶

3. Likeness to Christ

That Christ was all, was evinced in lives marked by the grace of humility. In the annual address of 1829, Roe counselled against self-confidence; 'thinking of ourselves more highly than we ought to think'. His remedy was for the clergy 'to lie low at the feet of Jesus, content to become mere learners in the school of Christ'.²⁷ Only out of humility and love might souls be won to Christ. It is certain that Bishop Trench was as much influenced by the spirit in which his 'affectionate and dutiful archdeacon' wrote to him, as by the exposition of scriptural truth that Digby's letter of 1816 contained:

O, my lord, disdain not to lay these things to heart because it is such a worm as I that am setting them before you... You see, my lord, I love you so much that I am content to run the risk of offending you by opening my mouth plainly to you, if so be that I might, under God... impart to you the knowledge that can alone enable you to live and die at peace with him.²⁸

Desire for holiness, thirst for God and intense devotion to Jesus Christ—expressed often in letters that might have been written by a Bunyan or a Rutherford—characterised these men and women. Pennfather wrote of Lady Haberton as one who had 'given up all for Christ, such a devoted spirit, a talented, singular, holy character, one who will shine gloriously in the kingdom of her Father'. In this case like had attracted like, for he himself was recalled by an old Portstewart fisherman for his humility and his conversation about 'the blessed Jesus', and by a missionary in India for 'his looks of love and holiness, that gazing as it were into heaven itself. The beauty of the Lord his God was indeed upon him'.²⁹ In 1835 Lady Powerscourt wrote to Harriet Kiernan:

I trust that you are really better and that the Lord will lend you to us a little longer—but why—we shall soon be all at home together—pointing out to one another new beauties in our Beloved.³⁰

Both ladies were in glory within a year.

Henry Maturin's preaching of evangelical doctrine and ministerial duty in Rapho Cathedral in 1800 may not have influenced his fellow clergy—Magee found discipline totally lacking in 1819—but his devoted ministry in one post for forty five years was his real testimony. As with so many in remote places, detailed information for him is hard to come by. Brooke found him around 1830:

entombed among savage rocks and cliffs and broad white strands, and wild natural arches and great mountains . . . on the shores of romantic Mulroy, amidst the roar and rush of the great waves of the Atlantic.

More than the scenery impressed him, however, for Maturin, a fluent extempore preacher, 'had words softer than the droppings of oil from a cruet'. Brooke also quoted Rowland Hill's reply to a lady who had enquired of him if he knew Maturin: 'Yes, Madam, Maturin is a charming chap—a charming chap, Madam. If a storm came on, Maturin's face and voice would make peace'.³¹ This was the man who declined the archdeaconry of Raphoe on Dr Ussher's death, three of whose four sons were ordained, and whose love for the Irish Church burned as a beacon in the north-west.

On 12 March 1847 the second Arthur Guinness wrote from Torquay to his son, Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness. He expressed his thankfulness to Almighty God for the continued prosperity of the family business, and before going on to discuss such business matters as the supplies of malt and hop, and before touching on the need for private relief initiatives during the Great Famine, then at its height, gave this reflection:

I have entered this day upon my 80th year. Surely it becomes me to speak of the Lord's patience and longsuffering towards one so utterly evil and sinful and to pray that I might be enabled through Grace to live every hour under the teaching of the Holy Spirit patiently abiding His time for calling me to that Place [of] Everlasting Rest, the purchase of the precious blood of Christ for saved sinners. Amen . . .³²

When William Alexander laid his father in his coffin in Derry, he was struck by his physical beauty, and recalled that one time Primate Beresford and Robert Alexander had been considered the two most handsome men in Ulster. But it was of the spiritual beauty of his father's character that he wrote so movingly. Again, his kinsman, Samuel Montgomery, Rector of Ballynascreen in the Sperrin Mountains, would have been unknown to posterity, like so many rural evangelical incumbents in Ulster and elsewhere, but for the notice taken of him by his distinguished relative. When he died, Alexander wrote to his brother, Sir Robert Montgomery, of 'Cousin Sam's' influence as a catechiser when he was a boy, of his advice as to reading when he began to think of ordination, and of the quiet good sense that had impressed him when he was a young clergyman. He recalled, too, how Samuel Montgomery had endured the suffering caused by his slight deformity, and his beautiful comment, 'God sometimes puts his children to be in the dark', during the severe pain of his last illness:

It was always pleasant to think of such a specimen of a good old kind gentleman and Rector in that beautiful place. All these things are but memories now, and we shall not hear again that kind, genial voice. It has been a gentle life and a gentle death. Truly he was a servant of Him—'who did not strive

nor cry, nor was His voice heard in the streets'. His life was hid with Christ in God—and when we see him again it will be in glory.³³

It is not difficult to understand why, for Primate Alexander, 'the old Established Church' lay 'in deep and tender distances and in unforgettens faces and unforgettens graves.'

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NOTES

- 1 *History of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol I (London, 1899), p. 374.
- 2 Presidential Address, *Journal of the General Synod* 1905.
- 3 *A Charge to the Clergy of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin* (Dublin, 1866).
- 4 *On the 39 Articles* (Paternoster, 1993), p. 76.
- 5 *In A Sermon Preached in St Mary's, Kilkenny* (Dublin, 1808), p. 30.
- 6 *Twelve Sermons on the Most Important Subjects* (Belfast, 1778), pp. 194–5.
- 7 S. Madden, *Memoir of Peter Roe* (Dublin, 1842), p. 87.
- 8 R. S. Gregg, *Memorials of John Gregg* (Dublin, 1879), p. 208.
- 9 J. T. O'Brien, *Ten Sermons*, 1st edn. (London & Dublin, 1833), p. 87 *et passim*.
- 10 Quoted in *Epworth Review*, xviii, No 2 (May 1991), p. 9.
- 11 J. D. Sin, *Memoir of Power Le Poer Trench* (Dublin, 1845), p. 68.
- 12 F. R. Wynne, *Spent in the Service*, 3rd edn. (London, 1880), p. 151.
- 13 P. Lynch & J. Vaisey, *Guinness's Brewery in the Irish Economy 1759–1876* (C.U.P., 1960), p. 107.
- 14 *Memoir of Trench*, pp. 130–1.
- 15 Quoted in A. Dawson, 'The Annals of Christ Church, Belfast' (1858): RCB Library, Dublin.
- 16 T. Woodward (ed.), *Essays, Thoughts, Reflections and Letters of Henry Woodward* (London, 1864), p. 451.
- 17 I. Ker, *John Henry Newman* (O.U.P., 1988), pp. 23, 145–7.
- 18 *Short Studies on Great subjects*, New edn. (London, 1891), p. 295, 300.
- 19 *Memoir of Trench*, p. 425.
- 20 *A Sermon Preached in the Cathedral Church of Raphoe* (Dublin, 1801), pp. 24–5.
- 21 C. S. Stanford (ed.), *Memoir of W. H. Krause* (Dublin, 1854), p. 412.
- 22 *A Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Cork* (Cork, 1846), p. 16.
- 23 Public Record Office, Belfast: Roden Papers—copy of a letter dated 13 Sept. 1824.
- 24 I. Ker, *op. cit.*, pp. 155–6.
- 25 Quoted in *A Sermon on the Death of John Henry North*, 4th edn. (Dublin, 1833).
- 26 Roden Papers—Letter dated 17 Oct. 1852.
- 27 Quoted in *Christian Examiner*, viii (1829), p. 395.
- 28 *Memoir of Trench*, pp. 68–9.
- 29 R Braithwaite (ed.), *The life and Letters of William Pennfather*, 2nd edn. (London, nd), pp. 36, 269.
- 30 PRO, Belfast: Johnston of Kilmore MSS. Lady Powerscourt, converted under Robert Daly's ministry, was the only member of his parish to join the early Brethren movement.
- 31 R. S. Brooke, *Recollections of the Irish Church*, Vol I (Dublin, 1877), pp. 58–9. Magee was Bishop of Raphoe, 1819–22.
- 32 P. Lynch & J. Vaizey, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–8.
- 33 E. Alexander (ed.), *Primate Alexander* (London, 1913), pp. 13, 33–5. Sir Robert Montgomery was Lieutenant-governor of the Punjab, 1859–65.