



Troy to Carroll: Letters from Dublin to Baltimore 1794-1815

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Troy to Carroll: Letters from Dublin to Baltimore 1794-1815

Hugh Fenning, O.P.

INTRODUCTION

John Carroll, father of the Church in the United States, was perfect-apostolic of the Thirteen Original States from 1784, bishop of Baltimore from 1790, and archbishop of Baltimore from 1808 until his death in 1815. There is an excellent biography of the man by Guilday and a three-volume edition of his letters by O'Brien Hanley.¹ John Thomas Troy, writer of the letters to Carroll presented here, was bishop of Ossory from 1776 and archbishop of Dublin from 1786 until his death in 1823. Troy's papers have never been edited as a whole, but a short biographical study by McNally has recently appeared.² The two archbishops began to correspond in 1788, exchanging one or two letters a year, but while Carroll's first nine letters (to 1793 inclusive) have been faithfully preserved in the Dublin Diocesan Archives (DDA), no letter from Troy earlier than 1794 is now to be found at Baltimore. Unfortunately, that lack cannot be made good from DDA by any draft or copy archbishop Troy may have made at the time.

Almost all Carroll's letters to Troy, including about twenty more for the years 1794 to 1815, are preserved in Dublin and have long been known since their edition by P. J. Moran in *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, third series, (Dublin, 1884). O'Brien Hanley simply reprinted Moran's texts, which may or may not be complete, and thereby missed two other letters: one (24 Nov. 1795) about a

¹PETER GUILDAY, *The life and times of John Carroll, archbishop of Baltimore (1735-1815)*, (The Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland), 1954 THOMAS O'BRIEN HANLEY (ed.), *The John Carroll Papers*, (University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame and London), 1976, 3 vols.

²VINCENT J. MCNALLY, *Reform, revolution and reaction Archbishop John Thomas Troy and the Catholic Church in Ireland, 1787-1817*, (University Press of America, Inc., Lanham, New York, London), 1995

Dominican named Christopher Keating; the other (7 Feb. 1810) on various subjects including the temporary liberation of Pope Pius VII.³

Troy wrote at least twenty-one letters to Carroll after 1793, but the actual texts of only sixteen are known to survive. The other five, which Carroll duly acknowledged, are no longer to be found in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (AAB). About forty years ago, Fr Henry Peel, O.P., obtained photocopies of most of them which he later turned over to me. More recently, while working at Baltimore, I was able to add two further Troy letters to this small collection and make sure that there were no others to be found there. On that occasion the archivist, Sr Felicitas Powers, R.S.M., gave me every assistance and it is a pleasure to acknowledge it now.

The following letters may be allowed to speak for themselves. They contain many reflections on the French Revolution and on the danger to the Church in Ireland of the 'pernicious' principles which inspired it. With Europe at war for twenty years, the papal states annexed, the Pope a prisoner, and even Irishmen actively encouraging French invasion, Troy dwelt more than he might otherwise have done on the role of divine providence in human affairs. This essentially religious outlook, evident from his letters, should discourage historians from judging Archbishop Troy on merely secular or political grounds.

TEXT

1

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 18 October 1794

AAB, 8M1

My dear and most honoured Lord,

Mr Mullanphy⁴ duly handed me your Lordship's obliging favors of the 19. 21 & 24 of July last, with the Acts of your Synod, which I read with pleasure. They are perfectly orthodox, & calculated to promote ecclesiastical discipline, so far as the circumstances of America permit. I suppose the hymns and prayers mentioned at the conclusion of No. 17 are not intended to form any part of the Church office, which must be entirely performed in Latin, according to the prevail-

³The respective references are DDA, 116/6, no 93 and AB2, 28/1, ff 386-87

⁴A lay visitor to Dublin from the U S See O'BRIEN HANLEY, II, 123/4

ing general discipline, in which no Bishop nor Assembly of Bishops, except in general Council, or the Pope, can dispense.

Some attempts were lately made here by a few nominal reforming Catholics to have the holy Mass celebrated in English, but were defeated by the unanimity of my clergy, and the insignificance of these pretended reformers. I was alarmed at the proposal and wrote a pastoral letter of fifty pages on the subject. As the cause of alarm is removed, I think it unnecessary and unadvisable to publish the letter. It may appear hereafter.

The happy consequences of frequent Synods are obvious. The credit of the clergy is not, as your Lordship justly remarks, the least of the advantages to be expected from them. Here, the strong prejudices of our separated Brethren arising from various causes needless to mention, render a very numerous assembly of clergy inexpedient. Our Prelates speak annually to all their people in the respective parish chapels in the course of visitation. They likewise meet their clergy of the different deaneries or districts, and by occasional pastoral instructions endeavour to preserve ecclesiastical discipline. If, as we have reason to hope, a further and substantial liberty shall be granted to Irish Catholics, our Prelates will certainly avail themselves of it, to hold diocesan, provincial, & perhaps national Councils.

Our Rulers & great men here in general seem convinced of the necessity of religion as the basis of order in Society, under every form of government. The shocking anarchy in France has at length convinced them of this truth, & certainly disposed every reflecting man in the kingdom to favour our design of establishing national Seminaries for the education of our Clergy in particular. I hope that Parliament will assist us in this Undertaking, & expect it may be brought to a favourable issue before many months. Meantime, a spacious & convenient house is erected at Carlow in this province, about 40 miles from hence, in the Diocess of Leighlin; and another in the vicinity of Cork, for the admission of Clerical Pensioners. There are twenty of them already at Carlow, where the number will be shortly increased. Two of the emigrant clergy in England qualified to teach Theology and Philosophy are engaged for that Seminary, and will soon be there. Thus, my dear Lord, have we began [sic] this important work. May the Almighty in his goodness, bring it to perfection for his greater glory?

Your Lordship has assigned very sufficient motives for the diffusion of democratic principles in America. I cannot but joyn [sic] in the admiration of your great [George] Washington. Providence appears to have reserved him for great purposes. Mr Jay's negotia-

tions seem to take a favourable turn, & promise to terminate in perfect reconciliation.⁵ The rulers in both countries must be convinced that a war between them would be highly prejudicial, & perhaps eventually fatal to either of them. None but the mad, the factious, or the wicked can seriously desire that calamity. We have some, and not a few, of these descriptions on this side of the Atlantic. Instead of averting impending danger to the community from the propagation of French principles, they exult at every victory & success of that infatuated people. It would be impossible to account for this strange conduct without viewing it with the eye of religion. In this light, I consider the Almighty as punishing the irreligion of France, & rendering that wretched nation the instrument of his vengeance against other countries partakers of their infidelity. But his hand is not shortened. We may, therefore, hope that in his own good time, order may arise from the present confusion.

Your Lordship's remarks on Mr R. Plowden's late publication are very just.⁶ His Br[other] Francis has since exposed himself to the charge of inconsistency as a political writer, and to some censure, by his *History of the last twenty months*, wherein he contradicts the leading principles of his *Jura Anglorum*, by abetting opposition to Parliament, & the resolutions of some suspected popular Societies. I am concerned at this versatility of character, and am equally sorry to hear of a derangement in his family affairs, by which he is much embarrassed.

I hope Mr Gallagher will continue to give your Lordship satisfaction.⁷ He has not written to me since his departure from hence, but sent directions to his Father, as I hear, to pay the sum I advanced to him. This has not been complied with; nor do I think the good man in a condition to reimburse me without distressing himself. Perhaps, the son may now have it in his power to pay that debt. I think it very unreasonable that your Lordship should discharge it. – My manner of writing by Rev.d Mr Gallagher was reserved; and has not, I perceive, escaped your Lordship's penetration. The truth is, my dear Lord, he had been accused of lubricity, but denied it, & demanded a trial, which I apprehended would occasion and aggravate scandal should he be convicted, and therefore considered it inexpedient. He then requested my permission to go to America with a recommenda-

⁵ John Jay (1745-1829), first chief justice of the U.S A in 1789 Negotiated at London (19 Nov 1794) the Jay Treaty which settled major grievances between the two countries.

⁶ This was 'Robert Plowden's answer to his brother Francis' O'BRIEN HANLEY, II, 121 Robert was a Jesuit, his brother Francis a layman J GILLow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, (London, 1885), v, 327-32

⁷ Simon Felix Gallagher of Charleston, later the cause of much controversy

tion to your Lordship. I granted both as he had not been convicted nor tried, but as suspicions remained, I did not recommend him as an immaculate character, & hope this candid statement will acquit me of improper dissimulation to impose on your Lordship. I also hope that this private information to yourself alone, will not prejudice your Lordship against Mr Gallagher, and that you will judge of him by his conduct in America only, where, I suppose, nothing injurious to his reputation has transpired.

Rev.d Mr [Michael] Ennis formerly a Pastor in the Diocess of Ferns, Rev.d Mr [John] Rosseter an Augustinian, and Rev.d Mr [Dominic] May of the Order of S. Dominick, sailed for America last summer, & brought testimonials from me.⁸ They are all worthy men. The first was persecuted by some of his flock for endeavouring to enforce their duty to the Church and State. He was in the case of those *Quos mala gens odit*⁹ & therefore abandoned his parish with the consent of his good Bishop Doctor [James] Caulfield. Mr Ennis had been previously a curate or vicar in an extensive Parish of my diocese, where I witnessed his great exertions and regular conduct. He has abilities. They seem not unknown to himself. This is the only feature in his character which, I thought, detracted from his merits; but I may be wrong in my judgement in this particular. – Mr Rosseter is truly a good religious man influenced by the Spirit of his State, & very zealous. Mr May, with whom I am but slenderly acquainted, was strongly recommended to me by his own religious superiors, & by Dr Flinn¹⁰ Vicar General of the Diocess of Elphin, where he resided, as a well informed, exemplary, & laborious Clergyman. I have every reason to hope that all three will prove valuable acquisitions to your Lordship's Diocess. Under this pleasing apprehension, I feel highly gratified in recommending them. I do not hear of any other Clergymen incli [*ms* : torn] to America. – Mr Mullanphy will hand your Lordship some copies of my Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant respecting our intended Seminaries, and our Directory¹¹ for the present year. I shall conclude this letter with sincere assur-

⁸Carroll placed Ml Ennis at Philadelphia, and Rossiter 'about thirty miles distant from it'. Dominic May of Sligo died of yellow fever three days after he reached Dr Carroll's house. Carroll to Troy, 22 June 1795. Hanley, ii, 143. Rossiter was P. P. of Enniscorthy before becoming an Augustinian. Ennis died of fever at Philadelphia in 1798; he was not, *pace* Hanley, an Augustinian but a diocesan priest of Ferns.

⁹Translation: 'whom an evil people hate.'

¹⁰Probably John Flynn, P.P. Sligo, later bishop of Achonry (1809-17).

¹¹No copy of the *Directory* (1794) has been traced.

ances of the unalterable esteem and attachment, with which I have the honour to remain,
Dublin, 18th October 1794.

My dear and most honoured Lord,
Your Lordship's faithful and devoted servant,
John Thomas, Archbishop of Dublin.

2

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 29 April 1795
AAB, 8M3

My dear and most Hon.d Lord.

I am requested by a friend to trouble your Lordship with a commission which, I know, prelates do not, nor indeed ought not willingly to undertake, as it regards a subject not immediately within their competency. However, as we should be all to all in the principle of charity, I hope your Lordship will excuse my present application. It is to interest your Lordship on behalf of Frances Kelly mentioned in the enclosed, but no further than justice and propriety will admit.

Your Lordship will much oblige me by furnishing what information can be procured on the subject. The public prints sufficiently detail recent and public occurrences here. I must refer your Lordship to them; and remain with most respectful esteem and attachment
Dublin, 29th April 1795.

My very dear Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and humble
servant, John Troy.

P. S. The bill for erecting a seminary¹² to educate our clerical youth passed the House of Commons last Wednesday. It grants £8000 as a beginning, & appoints twenty-one Trustees to administer receipts, expenditure, &c. Of these eleven are R. C. Ecclesiastics (ten Bishops and a priest), six Catholic laymen, and the four chief judges. The bill on general Catholic emancipation was lost on Tuesday last by a majority of 155 against 84 after a debate of 19 hours, wherein as usual, our tenets and conduct were misrepresented by many Members. The late proceedings of the Dublin Committee were censured by all, & could not be excused by our warmest advocates.

¹² At Maynooth.

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 15 Feb. 1796

AAB, 8M2

My dear and Most Hon.d Lord,

I can not miss the opportunity of Rev.d M. Carr's departure for America to acknowledge the honor [sic] of your Lordship's very obliging favor [sic] of December 14th last in which you have observed on my peculiar situation with great truth and exactness. Were I not already persuaded of your Lordship's penetration and knowledge of mankind, your accurate description of men and manners here, would have surprised me. – With respect to recent and present public transactions here, I can add but little to the details of them in the prints, and nothing to the information of the bearer who is fully acquainted with them. I shall, therefore, refer your Lordship to him, & only mention that since my last, the protestant rioters in the County Armagh stiling [sic] themselves *Orange boys*, composed principally of the Presbyterians encouraged by the connivance of the protestant magistrates, have committed such atrocious excesses against the persons and property of unarmed and unoffending Catholics in that neighbourhood as to create great discontent and alarm in the Catholic body which only desires that offenders of every description be punished according to the laws.

Mr [Matthew] Carr¹³ the bearer of this letter is an Augustinian, & in the last Provincial Chapter of that order, was chosen superior of its house in this city. I am acquainted with him these many years past, & can safely certify his uniform regular conduct & zealous exertions in the ministry, which justly entitled him to my esteem and regard. His departure from hence, where the harvest is very abundant, at a time that we are threatened with a scarcity of labourers, is regretted by his superiors here & me. We have acquiesced in it, as it appears to arise from an impulse of zeal commended by the General of his Order and his Council.

The bill for ten guineas on Rev.d Mr [Simon] Gallagher's account, has not appeared, nor have I heard [sic] anything of it but what your Lordship mentions. I am much obliged by your attention to Mr Delany.¹⁴ I hope his conduct will merit a continuation of it. Be

¹³ For an excellent account of Matthew Carr, see A. J. ENNIS, 'The founding of the Augustinians in the United States (1796)', in *Analecta Augustiniana*, xli (1978), 285-312.

¹⁴ Unidentified; perhaps a layman.

assured, my dear Lord, of the inviolable attachment & respect with which I have the honor to remain.

Dublin, 15th Feb.y 1796.

Your Lordship's most devoted and humble servant,
John Troy.

4

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 13 August 1796
AAB, 8M4

Most hon.d and dear Lord,

A ship being, as I am just informed, ready to sail for Philadelphia, I cannot miss that opportunity of acknowledging the honor of your Lordship's favor of the 25th May last, and the satisfaction I experienced on perusing it. It gives me pleasure to find that Rev.d Mr [Matthew] Carr corresponds to the character I gave of him, and I confidently hope he will continue to merit it. He cannot but feel his obligations to your Lordship for the patronage you afford to his undertaking & for your paternal & friendly advice.

The present posture of affairs on our continent is very eventful, & portends consequences highly injurious to religion and good order. Every established government of whatever kind is more endangered from the principles on which the French act, than by their astonishing success during this disastrous war. But we must adore the decrees of an overruling Providence, & not scrutinize them. Heaven is avenging its own cause, by punishing the infidelity & immorality of Europe. It is not possible, I think, to account for the revolution we witness, on any other principle! Unhappily, all do not consider it in this light. There are too many Christians of every description who view it with unnatural pleasure, as tending to the establishment of general liberty, altho' it is evidently calculated to introduce universal anarchy. – We enjoy at present & for some time past internal tranquillity, except in the County Armagh & its vicinity where, notwithstanding the late exertions of government, the feuds occasioned by religious distinctions still continue. The supine neglect of Magistrates & prejudice of the gentry in that quarter are the fostering causes of this continuation.

Mr [Richard] Cross of this city is about printing a quarto edition of Dr Alban Butler's lives of the Saints as the former octavo one is out

of print.¹⁵ He sends different copies of the proposals to America, where I doubt not, his design will be encouraged. I ventured to assure him of your Lordship's sanction.

I notice what your Lordship remarks respecting Missionaries, whether secular or regular, going from hence to America, & shall endeavour, so far as depends on me, that they correspond to your Lordship's expectations.

In this, & on every occasion, I wish to prove the very high esteem and veneration with which I have the honour to remain.

Dublin, 13th August 1796.

Most hon.d and dear Lord, your Lordship's
most devoted and most humble servant,
John Troy.

P.S. I enclose the Odes on occasion of Lord Cambden's appearance at Maynooth last April. The building there is advancing rapidly. I forgot to mention that the bill of exchange for ten guineas,¹⁶ which your Lordship enclosed, has been duly honoured.

5

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 13 April 1798

AAB, 8M5

My very esteemed and dear Lord,

I avail myself of a ship shortly to sail to Baltimore, to express my satisfaction on receiving your Lordship's very obliging favor of the 4th December last, and to sympathise in your religious and patriotic feelings on the disastrous effects of the fatal revolution in France, to the interests of Religion and Society in almost every part of the Earth. How justly your Lordship apprehended their extension even to Rome, has been proved by the event. Before I remark further on recent & passing public occurrences in Europe, I must inform your Lordship, that the new edition of Butler's lives of the Saints is now printing at Edinburgh, under the inspection of Bishop [George] Hay with Memoirs, as I hear, of the Author's life, and some additions furnished from original manuscripts, by his nephew Mr Charles Butler

¹⁵The 'former octavo edition' was the second edition in twelve volumes, published at Dublin by John Morris in 1779-80, with an additional section on Irish saints signed 'J. C.', i. e. John Carpenter, archbishop of Dublin.

¹⁶Due to Troy from Simon Gallagher, as mentioned in earlier letters.

of London.¹⁷ Some misunderstanding between Mr Butler and Mr [Richard] Cross has brought about this change. [James Peter] Coghlan, an honest Catholic printer at London receives subscriptions. I informed him that your Lordship wished to subscribe for four copies. I deplore with your Lordship the injury done to the Catholic Religion by publications on modern history, travels, literature &c from the English press, & sincerely wish the antidote to this evil which your Lordship prescribes were duly applied. But it is not as easy to find a physician competent to the meritorious practice. Would to God that Joe Berington,¹⁸ instead of disturbing the Church by his schismatical doctrines and fanciful theories, had directed his talents to so useful and honorable an object. What service might he not have rendered to Religion and to Society? What evils might he not have prevented?

Doctor Hussey's pastoral letter¹⁹ gave great offence to Protestants in general & pleased no party. The moderate Catholics thought it harsh & unseasonable, calculated to irritate, to open and not to close the wounds of party. The consequence has been his stay at London almost ever since, nor can he return hither with any advantage to Religion, under the unfavorable [sic] opinion conceived of him by the government. It is rumoured that he intends to resign the Bishopric [of Waterford]. – I read with great pleasure your Lordship's printed address on the conduct of the Trustees, &c. The attempt to introduce the modern doctrines of French Philosophers, Jansenists, Deists & Infidels on Church government into North America, is as alarming as it is extraordinary. Your wise Rulers should guard against the seditious consequences of ecclesiastical democracy, which of all other kinds, is the very worst, and naturally leads to Anarchy. I flatter myself, that from these considerations, & the just opinion now entertained of French principles on your side of the Atlantic, the disagreeable controversy at Philadelphia has terminated, as it ought, to your Lordship's satisfaction. The abrupt conclusion of your Lordship's last letter makes me imagine, that either you intended to write something more, but was prevented from hurry, or that you forgot to enclose the additional lines in your packet. A Postscript concludes the letter, the last word of which is *The* at the

¹⁷J. P. Coghlan and others published the third edition at London, Edinburgh and Newcastle in 1798-1800, 12 vols., octavo. But Richard Cross of Dublin published in 1802 his own 'third revised edition' in 6 vols.

¹⁸Rev. Joseph Berington (1743-1825), English author of almost forty books. Long notice in J. GILLow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, (London, 1885), i, 189-97.

¹⁹Thomas HUSSEY, *A pastoral letter addressed to the Catholic clergy of the united dioceses [sic] of Waterford and Lismore*, (Waterford, 1797). At least eight editions appeared in the same year.

bottom of the page. I mention this merely to note, that if your Lordship added any lines, I did not receive them.

We now experience a scarcity of our clergy. Sad effect, among many others, of the French Revolution. It is hoped, that our college building will accommodate two hundred students next October. This will be a great and most providential supply resource, but inadequate to our wants, as a much greater number were educated in the suppressed foreign establishments. Besides, the scarcity will be most sensibly felt before the 200 can finish their studies, after the shortest possible course. Your Lordship may conclude from the statement, that no assistance to your Diocese can be expected from hence, from such clergymen as I would conscientiously recommend.

I rejoice that your College²⁰ is flourishing and your Seminary²¹ so firmly established. Your entire dependance [sic] must be on them, as the state of Europe does not afford the prospect of any help from it. After every enquiry about the circumstances of the great Edmund Burke's death, I have not been able to discover more, than that he acknowledged the Christian dispensation divinely revealed. It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain what particular system of Christian faith he firmly adhered to & persevered in. He appeared to be a believing Protestant, without bigotry to any denomination of Christians, Presbyterians excepted, and he disliked them on account of their political opinions. Indeed, as your Lordship justly remarks, the mind of so profound and inquisitive a man, with such talents and learning as he eminently possessed, must have been naturally agitated at the prospect of approaching dissolution: but *non est currentis neque volentis, sed miserentis Dei, cuius viae investigabiles et judicia inscrutabilia*.²² Were I to form an opinion from the ordinary course of divine Providence, I would conclude that the very greatness of this uncommon man proved a dark veil between him and the light of true faith, that great gift of God, so often denied to human wisdom and granted to ignorant but docile humility. Upon the whole, no judgement can be presumed by us without temerity. We must leave that to the Searcher of hearts, by whom he has been already judged. – I can add little to the printed accounts from Rome. The Venerable Pius [VI] was forced from thence on the 19th February, and conducted under an escort of 100 French Hussars to Tuscany.

²⁰ At Georgetown near Washington.

²¹ St Mary's Seminary at Baltimore, conducted by the Sulpicians, had scarcely any students at this time.

²² Two separated verses from St Paul's epistle to the Romans, 9:16 and 11:33. This suggests that Troy may have known the Epistles by heart, from the Latin Vulgate.

Mon. Erskine²³ says in a letter to me dated at London 6th instant, that his Holiness was a prisoner, and recommends a Collect in the Mass *Pro Pontifice Captivo*. The churches in Rome had been plundered. The great colleges and convents were filled with French troops. All ecclesiastical property was sequestered, & a minute inventory of all property belonging to the English, Irish, and Scotch establishments had been made. It was apprehended that these would be suppressed, & the British subjects exiled. It was feared likewise that the Pope would be conducted finally to Paris; but supposed, if permitted, he would fix his residence at Venice. Some cardinals remained at Rome, to whom he communicated ample powers, & instructions for the future Conclave. The Roman people were not jacobinized, and bitterly lamented their unhappy fate. Exorbitant requisitions of money, provisions, & horses had been made. Naples and Tuscany were threatened, & are now, probably, occupied by the French. On the whole, dismay & terror prevailed in Italy. – Our situation here is far from being pleasant.

The disaffected encouraged by the prospect of an approaching visit from the French, are collecting arms which they force from the peaceable. Government uses the strongest measures to resist & put down this Spirit, & must ultimately succeed, for the seditious cannot withstand its present great power, unless assisted effectually by the French; in which case, this country will become the seat of war, & be ruined whatever be the result of the bloody contest. The preparations to oppose the invasion are extraordinary, & from the vigilance of Government, it is reasonably hoped, that any Attempt of invasion will be defeated. God grant it! Meantime, religion suffers considerably from French principles and intrigue, which operate fatally on the minds of too many, who are not aware of the consequences. I have tired your Lordship with this very long letter, & shall conclude it with cordial assurances of unfeigned respect, esteem and attachment, with which I have the honour to remain,
Dublin 13th April 1798.

Most hon.d dear Lord, your faithful & very humble servant,
+ John Thomas, archbishop of Dublin.

²³ Probably Mgr Charles Erskine who was to preach at London the funeral oration for Pius VI in 1799

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 27 March 1799
AAB, 8M6

Most honored and respected Lord,

By some unaccountable accident or mistake, I was not honored with your Lordship's very obliging favor of the 12th November last until lately. I lose no time to reply to it, & for greater dispatch & certainty shall forward these lines by packet.

Shortly before Mr Griffin's²⁴ departure from hence he was accused of tippling with low company in improper places. On enquiry, I found this to be the fact, but in few instances, & from his apparent contrition & solemn promises, which he did not violate, to my knowledge, I judged favorably of him, & did not notice his former misconduct, otherwise than by charitable admonition. In the preceding March [1798] many had been apprehended & imprisoned in this city for promoting or abetting the execrable United System, which has brought so many calamities on this country, & even on some innocent persons connected by blood or friendship with suspected individuals. I had heard that Mr Griffin was intimate with some of these, but have no reason to think him disloyal or disaffected to the Government, however he may have been, perhaps, indiscreet in his expressions during the political Phrenzy which raged at the time. I say, perhaps, as I merely surmise it. My surmise on this head was strengthened by his application for permission to cross the Atlantic, which I immediately granted without any enquiry, lest if he were guilty or suspected, he might in the latter case, tho' innocent, fall a victim to the jealousies which prevailed, with disgrace to the sacred ministry. Under any doubt of Mr Griffin's civil principles or misconduct, I scrupled to recommend him absolutely, & therefore, introduced him to your Lordship with reserve. I hope his conduct in America will prove any unfavorable suspicion of him groundless, & recommend him more effectually to your Lordship than any thing I could say in his favor.

I sincerely condole with your Lordship on the death of Rev.d Mr [Michael] Ennis, & feel the loss your diocese must sustain from the want of his enlightened zeal & indefatigable exertion. He gave many proofs of both when here. I am equally concerned at the continuation of schism in Philadelphia, when the apparent cause or occasion of it seems removed by the return of the incendiary [John] Goetz to

²⁴ Perhaps Fr Griffin, curate of Townsend St chapel (1796-98). D. KEOGH, *The French Disease*, (Dublin, 1993), 132.

France. But your Lordship very justly accounts for the seeming paradox by ascribing it to the pride of the first authors of heresy or schism.

The Pope enjoys tolerable good health in a Carthusian convent near Florence. This appears extraordinary, if we consider the weight of years and afflictions under which he labours. It flatters one with the hope that divine providence reserves him for better days. He has governed the Church longer than any of St Peter's successors, and in most disastrous times. He is, I think, the most interesting character of the age. His death in the present circumstances of Europe, would be a grievous calamity for the reasons your Lordship mentions; but the same God who permits the present evils to punish the wicked, & try the elect, will fulfil his gracious promises of assistance to his Church.

When his Holiness was obliged to quit Rome, he prorogued & extended the faculties usually granted to the Bishops of these Kingdoms. It is, therefore, most probable, that the same paternal solicitude was extended to your Lordship. Therefore I think you may safely continue to dispense in consequence of your former delegated faculties. Mon.re [Charles] Erskine, whom I consulted on the subject, is of the same opinion, but we agree in thinking you cannot proceed to the consecration of your coadjutor elect,²⁵ without the usual official document, especially as the title of his see *in partibus* is unknown to your Lordship. We have both written to the proper persons on these points, but from the present disturbed state of Italy, it is very doubtful whether our letters will reach their destination. It is even strongly apprehended that his Holiness will be obliged to quit his present residence, as Tuscany is menaced by the French.

I am very sorry to assure your Lordship that this unhappy country is still disturbed by agitators acting under the baleful influence of modern French principles. Rebellion appears suppressed, but it is only smothered ready to burst forth, on the reappearance of French invaders, who are preparing to visit us again. It is now evident that the real object of [the] United Irishmen was a separation of this Kingdom from Great Britain, under the specious pretext of procuring Catholic emancipation, & parliamentary reform. I refer your Lordship to the public prints and particularly to the reports of both houses of our parliament for further information on this subject. Lord Cornwallis is humane, but his lenity has been most ungratefully & shamefully abused by many to whom he had granted pardon &

²⁵ Leonard Neale, bishop of Gortyna, consecrated 7 Dec. 1800. Second archbishop of Baltimore (1815-17).

protection, and are now committing the greatest excesses in different parts on persons and property. Our Legislature has lately invested his Excellency with extraordinary powers which he is determined to use in the most summary manner, to punish the guilty. I foresaw the late & present evils long since, and endeavoured to avert them by timely and repeated admonitions. My brethren in general did the same. A collection of our pastoral instructions during the last year, has been published at London by Coghlan.²⁶ It has probably reached your Lordship before now. Notwithstanding our exertions & the exemplary conduct of our Nobility, Gentry, and respectable Catholics everywhere in the Kingdom, the misconduct of some, and indiscretion of others of our clergy, & the too general infatuation of our common people, have, unfortunately, afforded a pretext to ignorant, or bigotted or party spirited Protestants to calumniate our body in general, by ascribing the rebellion to the very principles of our religion, altho' they inculcate loyalty to the Sovereign, and obedience to the constituted authorities.

I perceive with great satisfaction the successful opposition of the wise American Government to the operation of French principles in the different States. All negotiation with the infidel French Republicans is dangerous. The war in Germany is renewed against them. Great Britain has acted a noble and magnanimous part, & is likely in the event, to preserve Europe from general Anarchy. The generosity of the English nation towards the emigrant French clergy & laity is beyond all praise. Some blessings from Heaven will, I hope, be the reward. I have nothing interesting to add, and have the honor to remain with sincere regard and great respect.
Dublin, 27th March 1799.

Most hon.d and esteemed Lord,
Your Lordship's truly devoted & very obedient humble servant,
J. T. Troy.

P. S. I this moment hear that letters from Florence mention that the Pope has had an apoplectic fit, & was confined to bed.

Mr Charles Erskine's address is: No. 9, Edward Street, Manchester Square, London. I have just seen the Report of a Committee made last week to the British house of Commons which developes the System of Jacobinical United Irishmen and the extension of it to England & Scotland, where Societies had been formed on that seditious plan. The report states, amongst other matters, that the United

²⁶Not traced.

Irish Societies had caused the mutiny in our fleet, and the sailors had been sworn to overturn the protestant Government in Ireland, & substitute a republican Catholic one. This Oath may have been taken by the United Irish sailors calling themselves Catholic; for it is a melancholy fact, that our common people were duped into a persuasion that the Rebels were fighting for the Catholic Religion, altho' their Protestant and nominal Catholic leaders were in fact Infidels, and endeavoured after the example of France, to destroy the influence of the loyal Catholic clergy in particular. But how can the most bigotted or prejudiced reconcile the conduct of English & Scotch Protestants and Presbyterians united in forwarding a *Popish* plot!

The truth is that the authors and managers of the United System were the disciples of Voltaire & Tom Paine deceiving the [ms. torn] and ignorant dupes under various pretences. As the mentioned report to the British Commons is to be published in form of a pamphlet, it must soon come under your Lordship's eye. You will find it, and the reports to the Irish Parliament last summer very interesting, & will particularly remark what Dr [William James] McNevin, a nominal Catholic but a real Deist, if not worse, deposed falsely of the Catholic clergy in general, & about his indifference concerning a Catholic or Mahometan Church establishment.

7

Troy to Carroll, Annfield near Dublin, 3 August 1805
AAB, 8N1

Annfield near Dublin,
3 August 1805.

Most hon.d & dear Lord,

Rev. d Mr Caffry,²⁷ who is now in the County Galway, handed me your Lordship's very obliging favor of the 9th March last. I have been likewise honoured with your kind letter of October last, to which I requested Dr Betagh²⁸ to reply in my name, as he had something particular to observe to your Lordship concerning Rev.d Mr J. Byrne²⁹ who returned hither about a month ago, in good health.

²⁷ Anthony Caffrey, O.P., recently pastor in Washington. On his career, see H. FENNING, *The Irish Dominican province, 1698-1797*, (Dublin, 1990), 561-68, *passim*.

²⁸ Thomas Betagh S. J., vicar general of Dublin. See T. MORRISSEY, *As one sent: Peter Kenney, S.J., 1779-1841*, (Dublin, 1996), 6, 10.

²⁹ John Byrne, who had already served at Albany and New York. Carroll wrote to Thos. Betagh about him on 14 July 1805. T. O'BRIEN HANLEY, *The John Carroll Papers*, ii, 483-84.

For the particulars of the interesting debate in Parliament on the Catholic question and the result of it, I must refer your Lordship to the printed reports of the different speeches, which I presume have reached Baltimore. It is generally thought that the discussion has been useful, altho' final success is not expected for some time.

I found myself compelled to institute an action against the Publisher of the *Antijacobin Review* of July 1804 for a libel against me, & obtained a verdict in my favour in the Court of King's Bench London on the 11th of last month. The proceedings of the trial are now at press there. Some copies of them will probably find their way to Baltimore. The Pope's³⁰ journey to Paris, however disagreeable to himself and unseemly to the public, was nevertheless unavoidable, and has been attended with some benefits to religion in France.

In one of the publications severely condemning this journey signed Melancthon, I am qualified as the Legate of his Holiness in this country, and called upon to vindicate him. Dr [John] Milner has done it very briefly in a note to a pamphlet he published last May entitled '*A short view of objections to the Catholic Claims with short answers to them*'. I cannot give any information respecting the asserted *Brief* authorizing the marriage of Tallyrand, and know nothing of it, except by vague and contradictory rumours.

A Mr Delany,³¹ who professes great obligations and respect to your Lordship, lately wrote to me requesting I would inform his brother Rev.d Patrick Delany, parish priest of Aghaboe in the diocese of Ossory, concerning some money left to the relations of a friend who died in America. I forwarded the letter to Dr [Daniel] Delany, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, who is acquainted with him, as I did not know how to direct it to him by the Post. In my hurry, I omitted to mark the address of Mr Delany in America, & cannot write to him. Your Lordship will, therefore, have the goodness to let him know the above particulars, with my compliments.

I have nothing to add but sincere assurances of unfeigned regard and great esteem & respect, with which I have the honour to be,

My dear & most hon.d Lord, ever faithfully yours,
+ J. T. Troy.

³⁰ Pius VII (1800-23).

³¹ Mr Maurice Delany of Baltimore, who died in 1808 by a fall from his horse. His nephew, John Dunne of Ballinakill, Co. Laois, wrote to Dr Carroll about him on 10 July 1808, asking for 'additional information'. Archbishop Troy added six lines to Dunne's letter, stating that while bishop of Ossory, he had been 'well acquainted with Mr John Dunne's respectable father and family. He is nephew to the Rt. Rev.d Doctor [John] Dunne my immediate successor in Ossory, since deceased.' AAB, 3F10.

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 4 July 1808
AAB, 8N2

Most hon.d and ever dear Lord,

The usual communication with the European continent being interrupted, I had but one letter from Doctor [Luke] Concanen³² of Rome since last July, until this day when the packet brought me another from him of so old a date as the 25th March last, of which the following is an extract: a very interesting and pleasing one indeed.

'You will undoubtedly be astonished, if you have received my letters of the 8th & 30th Jan.y to hear that instead of being in my grave as my severe & long illness then threatened, I am appointed Bishop of New York in N. America. Doctor Carroll, after many years deliberation, & often encouraged by Propaganda [Fidei], has parceled out his vast continent into six dioceses for the present. These are Maryland, the Metropolitan See, of which he is to be Archbishop, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Kentucky & Louisiana. The worthy Doctor proposed three subjects for three of the new bishopricks, who consequently have been chosen by the S. Cong[regatio]n. – Mr [Jean-Louis de] Cheverus, a Frenchman, for Boston, Father [Michael] Egan, a Franciscan, for Philadelphia, & Mr [Benedict Joseph] Flaget, a French Sulpician, for Kentucky. Unfortunately, His Grace Dr Carroll had nobody to propose for the Church of New York, & only recommended a Flemish priest, Mr Nering [i. e. Charles Nerinckx] as temporary administrator of Louisiana. The S. Cong.n *now* anxious to fill up all vacant sees, unanimously elected myself, although I had strenuously recommended Father [John] Connolly [O.P.] for New York; & his Holiness confirmed the election before I heard of it, or could dispose of my consent. Card[inal Michele] di Pietro came to my bed side, I being still unable to rise up, to tell me in the name of the Pope, that I *must* accept of the great charge, & that such was the will of God. I acquiesced, & my consecration will, probably, take place on the 24th of April. Card[inal] di Pietro is to be my consecrator, & had I asked the Pope, & not dreaded the expences, he would most readily perform the solemn function himself, for you cannot conceive what joy and satisfaction it gives him, even in these days, to have erected the

³² V. R. HUGHES, *The Right Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, O.P., first bishop of New York (1747-1810)*, Fribourg, 1926.

new Episcopal Sees. He speaks of it with rapture to all that approach him, & mentions Dr Carroll's expectations & hopes of soon marking out more new dioceses in N. America. Many provinces³³ are for the present subjected to the care and jurisdiction of the few new Prelates.

To Maryland are united Virginia, the two Carolinas & Delaware down to Georgia. Boston takes in the four provinces of New England. To New York is joined the eastern part of New Jersey, the western to Philadelphia. Tennessee & another territory near the Ohio to Kentucky. Archbishop Carroll is to have the use of the *Pallium*, with which I am to invest him. You will say, my dear friend, that too late & in the decline of life have I undertaken such a charge, at every time superior to my abilities, with the labours & cares attending it. It is very true, but please to reflect that obedience to the Church has alone made me change an easy, quiet & comfortable state of life for a perplexing, perhaps disastrous one. I most earnestly request you will communicate *as soon as possible*, all this intelligence to the most worthy Dr Carroll. Pray his Grace to dispose matters & recommend me to the people of New York. I can find no means for conveying a letter to him. There are some American vessels at Leghorn & Genoa, but they are embargoed. This will render my departure from hence very difficult. I fear the only way I shall have is an attempt to get to Palermo,³⁴ & there embark in an American ship, or in one bound for England; in which latter case, I would enjoy the extreme pleasure of visiting you & my other friends in Ireland once before my death. Father Master [John] Connolly is to succeed me in the office of Companion.³⁵ He will take care of your business here, & that of my other correspondents; if hereafter any business can be done here. It is with great difficulty & expence I forward this letter.'

Allow me now, my dear Lord, to congratulate your Lordship and venerable Brethren on the accession of dignity to the N. American Catholic Church, of which I may say you are the apostle and Founder. May the Lord preserve you to witness the happy effects of your apostolical zeal and exertions! The public prints will have informed your Lordship of the afflicting situation of our Holy Father & of the Church in Europe. The reports of our parliamentary debates during the discussion of the Catholic question in this session, mention a negative to the King in the appointment of our Bishops here as

³³ The word 'provinces' in this text refers to various American 'States'.

³⁴ Sicily was at this time a British outpost; almost the only one on the continent.

³⁵ Assistant to the Dominican master general. Later the second bishop of New York (1814-25).

the condition of Catholic emancipation. It engages the public attention very considerably. All our Bishops in this country are to assemble here on the 14th of next September to consider whether and how far this Negative can be granted to His Majesty. Will your Lordship have the goodness to let me know what part, if any, had your executive Government in the late appointments of our Bishops. Also whether the British Government or Governor of Canada interferes in the appointment of the Bishop of Quebec?

Doctor [Thomas] Betagh one of my two vicars general is very well, & begs his respectful compliments to your Lordship. Be so kind to remember me kindly to friendly enquirers. Believe me, my dear Lord, with unalterable attachment & great esteem,
Dublin, 4th July 1808.

Your Lordship's faithful & most devoted servant,
+ J. T. Troy.

9

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 29 March 1809
AAB, 8N3

Dublin, 29 March 1809.

Most Rev.d and Revered Lord,

I was honored with your Grace's most esteemed favour of Sept. 29th at the end of November last, & delayed to answer it from an expectation of receiving further accounts of Doctor [Luke] Concanen to be communicated to your Lordship. In this I was disappointed until the 27th ultimo, when it was too late to forward any letter to London for the American mail, which is dispatched from thence on the first Wednesday in each month. The usual intercourse with the European continent being interrupted renders our correspondence with Italy very precarious & always dilatory. Dr Concanen's letter of the 19th November from Rome did not reach me before the 27th February. The following is an extract of it.

'After remaining four months in Leghorn & its environs at an hotel, & after expending a very considerable sum of money, I was under the necessity of returning to this city. You will do me a singular favour in procuring me some information from Most Rev.d Doctor Carroll. Please to let him know I wrote to him several times since my appointment to New York. I wish to know from him what articles & commissions he desires to have from Europe. I know the great want of missionaries in the United States, & eagerly wish to be informed what encouragement there would be for the passage & settlement of some

choice Italian priests who have learned the English language, & whom I could take over with me. I wish to know what assignment or provision there is for the support of the new Bishops. You will oblige me by any information on this head before my departure from hence, which will be God knows when. I wrote long since to Dr Carroll to appoint a Vicar General at New York, with all the faculties he and I can delegate, as that See is withdrawn from the former jurisdiction.'

So far Dr Concanen, to whom I wrote lately promising to communicate the above to your Grace, & expressing my ignorance of the provision, if any there be, for the new Bishops. It will be almost impossible for Dr Concanen to proceed to America whilst the general embargo continues, & as the French troops occupy all Italy, it will be difficult for him to go to Sicily. All we hear of our Holy Father is, that he remains at Rome & exercises civil authority there in those few parts of the former Ecclesiastical State which he is permitted to retain. I have not failed to communicate to Dr Concanen everything mentioned in your former & late letter concerning him and the American Mission.

Altho' some of our Bishops, including myself, resolved in January 1799, when the Union question was pending, that a qualified Veto or Negative in the Crown, for reasons to be assigned, might, if required as the absolute condition of full emancipation, be allowed in the appointment of our Bishops; nevertheless, at a general meeting of all our Prelates assembled here last September, it was unanimously resolved, that any alteration in the present mode of appointment would be inexpedient. I most heartily concurred in this resolution, for however admissible such a privilege may be in theory, there are strong grounds to apprehend great abuse & consequent injury to our Hierarchy and religion in the exercise of it, by a State & people notoriously prejudiced against our religion, & particularly hostile to Irish Catholics. This Veto is not now spoken of, but it will, probably, be mentioned in Parliament. Several publications on this question appeared here last winter, many of them very abusive, & calumniously misrepresenting Doctor [John] Milner Vicar of the Middle District in England, & the prelates who signed the Resolutions in 1799. Accustomed as I have been for years in these revolutionary times to similar abuse, I bear it patiently, under the conviction & consolation of the *Mens conscia Recti*.³⁶ As to Catholic emancipation, my own opinion is, that it will not take place during the present reign.³⁷ I wish to be mistaken.

³⁶ i.e. the conviction that he had acted correctly.

³⁷ i.e. of George III, who died in 1820.

Abbé [Pierre Louis] Blanchard a French emigrant priest at London lately published several tracts breathing a schismatical spirit, destructive of the unity and visibility of the Church, and tending to revive the Jansenistical *petite Eglise*. In his vindication of the French Bishops who did not resign their sees at the instance of Pius VII, he accuses him of an abuse of authority, *abus sans exemple* which is the very title of his largest pamphlet of 244 pages, & appeals from Dr Milner who censured some propositions extracted from another, to the Bishops of the Catholic Church, & particularly to those of *Ireland*, Spain & Portugal. The censured propositions are extracted from his stricture's on Dr Milner's pastoral letter, & repeated & defended in his *Defense &c.* or Defence of the non-resigning French bishops. Doctor [John] Douglas of the London and Doctor [Peter] Collingridge of the Western districts have condemned this *Defense* in their pastoral letters. Blanchard, notwithstanding, continues disobedient & mentions some Bishops, the prelate of Quebec amongst them, as the abettors & advocates of his doctrines. In his appeal to all bishops, which however he has not sent to any of the Irish prelates, & only appears in his pamphlets, he declares he will consider their silence as an approbation of his schismatical propositions and doctrines. This being the case, they will not long remain unanswered here.³⁸

Our worthy friend Doctor [Thomas] Betagh returns respectful compliments to your Grace. Mine to friendly enquirers, & be assured, my most revered Lord, of the unalterable regard & veneration with which I have the honor to be,

Your Grace's faithful and most devoted servant,
+ J. T. Troy.

10

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 14 July 1810

AAB, 8N4

3 Cavendish Row, Rutland Square,
Dublin, 14th July 1810.

My dear & most Hon.d Lord,

I have been this moment informed by your nephew,³⁹ who is well,

³⁸ In consequence of the Concordat between Pius VII and Napoleon in 1801, the Pope called for the resignation of all French bishops in order to establish a new episcopate. Only five of the nineteen French bishops then in England tendered their resignations. In these circumstances, Blanchard felt obliged to call the Pope a 'material heretic'. B. WARD, *The eve of Catholic Emancipation*, (London, 1911), i, 83-98.

³⁹ John Brent, grandson of Archbishop Carroll's eldest sister, was then in Dublin.

that Rev.d Mr Browne⁴⁰ of the Order of S. Augustine is to sail this evening to Philadelphia, and have only time to acknowledge the honour & pleasure of your Lordship's very kind favour of the 21 March last. Under the daily expectation of hearing from or of Doctor Concanen, & of informing your Lordship thereof, and having nothing material to communicate, I postponed writing in reply, & now avail myself of a favorable occasion to forward some copies of an *Encyclical* letter of my confreres assembled here last February, likewise two copies of the resolutions respecting the *Veto* which they entered into at [the] same time. I have no more copies of the latter, nor can I procure them before Mr Browne's departure. Your Lordship will please to distribute the copies of the *Encyclical* amongst your suffragan Bishops. Probably your Lordship has already had these & other publications on the subject from London. The most remarkable of the latter is an able pamphlet, *An elucidation of the Veto &c.* by Doctor Milner, & his letters on the proceedings of Parliament & of the English Catholics, for which I must, for want of time to say more, refer your Lordship.

Doctor Concanen wrote me from Rome on the 25th January last; since which time, I have not had any intelligence of him or of His Holiness. I must presume that Dr Concanen is on his way to America. Yet it is very strange he has not advised me of his intended departure from Europe.⁴¹ The interruption of communication with our Holy Father has deranged our Church Government, & causes great disorder. The archdiocese of Tuam & diocese of Elphin, both in the same province, have been vacant for some time, & many of our prelates are aged, or infirm, or both.⁴²

It is rumoured that measures have been taken by the afflicted Pope to secure a free & canonical election of his successor. But, I cannot conjecture what they are. I did not hear of *Beaufort's* publication⁴³ until I was honoured with your Lordship's letters, & apprehend that your Grace's fears of Buonaparte's designs against the Church & her Visible Head, are but too well founded. Let us hope, however, with

⁴⁰ Robert Browne, O.S.A., whom Carroll sent to Augusta, Georgia, in 1810. P. GUILDAY, *The life and times of John Carroll*, (Westminster, Maryland, 1954), 738. Probably identical with Robt. Nicholas Browne of Dublin, a novice at San Matteo, Rome, in 1787; a student in Italy (1787-96), and a member of the Dublin community from 1799.

⁴¹ Luke Concanen, O.P., first bishop of New York, died at Naples on 19 June 1810, a month before Troy wrote these lines.

⁴² Pius VII, for five years after his arrest by Napoleon in July 1809, refused to appoint bishops. Hence the difficulty in Tuam and Elphin, as also the significance of Troy's remark in this letter that he 'fortunately' obtained a coadjutor on 3 June 1809.

⁴³ Carroll's letter to Troy (21 Mar. 1810) described this book, the work of a French lawyer, published about 1807 and distributed gratis 'through all Buonaparte's dominions'. The author tended to 'render Napoleon the spiritual as well as the temporal head of the Church'. T. O'BRIEN HANLEY, *The John Carroll Papers*, iii, 116.

your Grace, that as on former occasions the Almighty has manifested his divine protection of the Church, he will in the present most dangerous crisis, verify his promise, that the powers of Hell shall not prevail.

Your nephew tells me that the occupier of his property is likely to avail himself of the Gavel Act passed in the [year] 1706, to set aside the will of his ancestor. The case is to be submitted to eminent lawyers for their opinion next week. I suppose he writes to your Grace more particularly on the subject. Time presses. I must therefore conclude these very hasty lines, but with sincere assurances of attachment, respect & esteem, with which I have the honour to be,

My most honoured and dear Lord,
Your Grace's ever faithful & devoted servant,
+ J. T. Troy, archbishop of Dublin.

P. S. I fortunately procured the appointment of my coadjutor last year, in the person of Most Rev.d Daniel Murray, archbishop of Hieropolis in Phrygia. Adieu.

11

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 2 October 1810
AAB, 8N5

Dublin, 2.d October 1810.
Most Hon.d and dear Lord.

About two months ago, I had the honour of writing to your Lordship by Rev.d Mr [Robert] Browne of the Order of St Augustine, and sending by him some printed documents concerning the deliberations & judgements of our prelates on the late writings of Abbé Blanchard, and on the *Veto* question of which your Lordship must have heard much. Since that time I have been much in the country parts of this Archdiocese. Two days before I left town I saw your [grand]nephew who told me he was to go to the County Tipperary immediately. He is not yet returned from it.

The public prints will have informed your Lordship of the lamented death of my dear friend & former beloved pupil Doctor [Luke] Concanen, Bishop of New York, which took place at Naples, whither he went about the middle of last June, to take his passage to America. Altho' he had passports from the present Roman Government, he was arrested & declared a State Prisoner on his

arrival at Naples, & died of a fever of three days only. The cause of his arrest is not known.

About the time of his departure from Rome, everyone not a native thereof had been obliged to leave it; & there are actually twenty-six British ecclesiastical subjects, mostly Irish & Regulars, now at Paris on their return to their respective homes. Mr McPherson, Rector of the Scotch College,⁴⁴ Rev.d Fathers [John] Connolly & [Joseph] Taylor, Dominicans, [James] McCormick Franciscan & [William] Keating Augustinian were detained at Rome to give an account of the funds and property of their respective establishments.

It is not known whether Dr Concanen made a will or gave any directions respecting his effects. He left some trunks at Leghorn last year, when disappointed of a passage from thence to America. Nothing is known of the motive of his arrest at Naples. Some conjecture that he attempted a passage to Sicily; others that the French were curious to see the papers of a person so long the agent of the Irish clergy at Rome, & going to America in quality of Bishop. All this is but mere conjecture. The rigour of the Pope's confinement had been somewhat relaxed. Some cardinals and prelates had visited him at Savona.

The prelate [Giovanni Battista] Quarantotti, a Roman, is Apostolical Delegate there, with extraordinary, but limited powers, not extending to the canonical institution of Bishops. The communication with His Holiness being interrupted, the Archdiocese of Tuam and See of Elphin in this Kingdom, continue vacant, to the great injury of both & of discipline. Church Government is sadly deranged. The Casus Papales are now more than ever become *Episcopales*.⁴⁵ I write in great hurry, as I have only just now heard, that the vessel by which this goes is weighing her anchor. Adieu then, my most Honoured Lord, & believe me with great respect & veneration,

Your Grace's faithful & devoted servant.

+ J. T. Troy.

P. S. Mr Furlong, your nephew's attorney, of this city, has just now told me, that he went to Scotland about a month ago, & is expected

⁴⁴ Paul MacPherson, who saved and restored the Scots College. On his career, see C. JOHNSON, *Developments in the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland, 1789-1829*, (Edinburgh, 1983), passim.

⁴⁵ i. e. bishops must now handle cases formerly referred to the Pope.

here early in the next month. Mr Furlong said, that there is every reasonable prospect of the law suit terminating favourably, but that it would be tedious & expensive.

12

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 28 February 1811
AAB, 8N6

Dublin, 28 February 1811.

Most Hon.d & dear Lord,

At a late hour yesterday your nephew⁴⁶ informed me of his intended departure from hence by this night's packet to England. I avail myself of the occasion to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's interesting letter of the 26th November last, with the accompanying equally important papers; for all which please to accept my best thanks.

The free communication of N. America with France, which we do not enjoy here, has enabled your Grace to mention particulars respecting His Holiness & the state of religion in that unhappy Kingdom, of which I would otherwise have remained ignorant a long time. The last account I had of the Holy Father was from the Pro-Nuncio at Lisbon,⁴⁷ in a letter to me dated in November, who was informed by a Roman gentleman lately arrived there, that His Holiness enjoyed good health, that he sometimes, but seldom, walked abroad, & always under a guard of soldiers, to one of the Churches. That he had four prelates with him, including [Giuseppe Bartolomeo] Menocchio an Augustinian, Archbishop of Porphiria *in partibus*, his confessor. That the antechamber was constantly filled with visitors, but the audience room door always guarded by two French officers as sentinels. The Pro-Nuncio added that canonical institution had not been granted to any Bishop, since the Pope had left Rome, nor would any, in his opinion, be given during the captivity of His Holiness. The injurious consequences of this suspension of Episcopal authority & jurisdiction are severely felt in the province of Tuam in this Kingdom, where the Metropolitan See & the Cathedral of Elphin have been long vacant. Some aged and disabled prelates are thereby also deprived of coadjutors.

⁴⁶ Carroll's grandnephew, John Brent

⁴⁷ Mgr Vincenzo Macchi

I congratulate [sic] on the final establishment of a regular Catholic Hierarchy in the United States, procured by your Grace, who must be considered as the parent of it. May you long live to witness the beneficial effects of it!

The reply of your Grace & Suffragan Prelates to the Encyclical of my brethren the Irish Bishops assembled in Synod here last February, is highly honourable to both, and very gratifying to the latter.⁴⁸ In the event of the Pope's death during his captivity, cannot we flatter ourselves that the divine Spirit which has constituted the Bishops to govern the Church of God, will also direct & govern their deliberations & decision in the acknowledgement of the next Successor of St Peter & of Pius VII. A rumour prevails that measures have been taken by the latter to secure the freedom of election in case of his demise. These measures are not mentioned; nor do I know the authority upon which the rumour is grounded.

The Pastoral letter of your Grace & Suffragans describing the Pope's situation, & ordering Prayers for his deliverance, has been published in our Newspapers by my directions; to the great edification of the faithful here, who had been already invited by our Prelates to join in the same supplications.

There exists a difference of opinion between the English Prelates, excepting Doctor [John] Milner, and the Irish on the fifth resolution⁴⁹ of the English Catholics assembled in London last February. I send your Grace Dr Milner's last pamphlet on the subject, reprinted here, which is the most comprehensive of any published on either side.⁵⁰ Our best supposed friends in Parliament, and many Catholics also are advocates for a Veto, or some arrangement to prevent the apprehension & operation of foreign influence. This apprehension is considered, & justly considered, as groundless, & entertained only for the purpose of defeating Catholic Emancipation, or subjecting our discipline to the control of Ministers & the Protestant Church estab-

⁴⁸ *The address of the R. Catholic prelates assembled in Dublin on the 26th of February, 1810, to the clergy and laity of the Roman Catholic churches in Ireland*, (Dublin, H. Fitzpatrick), 1810. Mrs Penny Woods, who kindly supplied this title, tells me that there are two editions of 1810, one in 8vo, the other in 4to, at Maynooth. This encyclical rejected the proposal of Sir John Cox Hippisley, M.P., that episcopal candidates might be approved by government before their names were forwarded to Rome. See V. J. McNALLY, *Reform, revolution and reaction: Archbishop John Thomas Troy and the Catholic church in Ireland, 1787-1817*, (Lanham/London, 1995), 173-75, 188.

⁴⁹ This 'fifth resolution' of the English Catholic Committee declared that they would accept any arrangement between Church and government 'founded on mutual satisfaction and security, and extending to them the full enjoyment of the civil constitution of their country'. The matter is explained by V. J. McNALLY, *op. cit.*, 175-78.

⁵⁰ Apparently, *An elucidation of the Veto*, (London, 1810), pp 62, reprinted at Dublin.

lishment. The plan is almost universally opposed by our clergy & people here.

[Charles] O'Connor, alluded to by Doctor Milner, has published three letters, & promises a fourth, under the title of *Columbanus ad Hibernos*, in which he has repeated the errors of Aetius [i.e. Arius], Calvin & Richer. They are replete with heterodoxy, schism & ecclesiastical democracy. O'Connor is of an ancient & very respectable family in this Country; & is chaplain to an English noble lady, & Librarian of Stowe Library belonging to the Marquis of Buckingham.⁵¹ An answer to the first letter is preparing here for the press.⁵²

Our Catholic Committee has been lately declared an unlawful assembly by this Government; for which I refer your Grace to the public prints. Your nephew has just sent word that he cannot sail to England until tomorrow night. I shall request him to call at Keatings & Co., London for the recent publications on Catholic affairs. Your Grace will find some of them highly interesting.

I forgot at different times when writing to your Grace to enquire about Rev. Mr Theyar of Boston, a convert from Protestantism, or Presbytery, who some years ago published his reasons for conforming to the Catholic Faith.⁵³ He came to this city about three or four years ago from England. Some unfavourable reports had preceded his arrival here, and had rather indisposed me & others against him. Nevertheless, on his exhibiting to me a favourable certificate of his character, written & signed by your Grace, I granted him the usual faculties, but did not encourage him to remain here. He is now at Limerick & intends, as I hear, to return to America.

There is a Mr. Le Favre now in Philadelphia. For several years he

⁵¹ Charles O'Connor (1764-1828), a priest of Elphin, grandson of his namesake the famous writer of *Belanagare*. Supporter of a royal veto. Article in *D.N.B.*, xli, 412.

⁵² The reference is probably to JAMES BERNARD CLINCH, *Letters on Church government*, Dublin, (Graisberry and Campbell), 1812, 8vo, pp 31 [1], 722. In his dedication of the book to Troy, Clinch acknowledges the archbishop's 'concession and encouragement'. Some copies contain an extra leaf, tipped in, conveying to Clinch the thanks of 28 prelates as resolved at their meeting on 18 Nov. 1812 for his refutation of 'Columbanus ad Hibernos'. Quite independently, the English author FRANCIS PLOWDEN broached the same subject in the same year: *An historical letter to the Rev. Charles O'Connor, D.D. heretofore styling himself Columbanus: upon his five addresses or letters to his countrymen*, (Dublin, sold by Hugh Fitzpatrick), 1812, 8vo, pp viii, xii, 367 [1], 126 [2], viii, 3-17 [3]. The historian will find Plowden far more interesting than Clinch.

⁵³ JOHN THAYER, *An account of the conversion of the Rev. John Thayer*, (Dublin, J. Boyce), 1809. On this American missionary, a priest from 1789, see T. F. CASEY, 'Thayer, John', in *N. C. E.*, xiv, (1966), 3. Thayer moved in 1811 from Dublin to Limerick where he died in 1815.

was in high credit here & universally esteemed. Misfortunes in trade obliged him to leave this Kingdom & go to America. His respectable wife & two amiable daughters have prayed me to solicit the attention of Doctor Egan⁵⁴ towards him. I pray your Grace to do it for me, & to assure his Lordship, that I shall recollect with gratitude any friendly office it shall be in his power to show to Mr Le Favre.

I have nothing to add to these hasty lines, but to renew the cordial assurances of affection, esteem and veneration with which & respects to your suffragans, I have the honour to be,

Your Grace's ever faithful & most humble servant,
+ J. T. T. Archb.p of Dublin.

P. S. Our excellent friend the Ven. Doctor [Thomas] Betagh departed this life on Saturday 16th *ultimo*, universally & most deservedly esteemed and regretted. He was my Vicar General & the friend of my bosom for many years; and died after a short illness, without a struggle, in the 74th year of his age, & *in osculo Domini*, as we have every reason to hope. His funeral was solemn, & more numerous attended than any ever remembered in this City, in a long procession through our principal streets. Your good nephew witnessed the [ms. torn] ... ful scene. Adieu.

1 March 1811.

13

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 2 Nov. 1811
AAB, 8N7

Dublin, 2.d Nov.r 1811.

Most Hon.d dear Lord,

From the intimacy between your nephew [John Brent] & the late Rev.d Mr. [Anthony] Caffry,⁵⁵ who was well acquainted with the merits of the pending lawsuit & all the proceedings thereon, I feel it in some degree a duty to communicate the disagreeable intelligence of his death to your Grace. It took place unexpectedly in this City on

⁵⁴ Bishop Michael Egan, O.F.M., of Philadelphia. See M. I. GRIFFIN, *History of the Rt. Rev. Michael Egan, D.D., first bishop of Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia, 1893). I owe this reference to Fr Ignatius Fennessy, O.F.M.

⁵⁵ Anthony Caffrey, O.P., of Burrishoole, from 1794 the first pastor of St Patrick's, Washington D.C., until 1804. Returned to Ireland from New York in 1805. Curate of St Michan's, Dublin, in 1811. Fuller account in H. FENNING, *The Irish Dominican province, 1698-1797*, (Dublin, 1990), 561-62.

the 15th of last month, after a very short illness & after the usual sacred rites had been administered to him. I directed that if any letters concerning your nephew & family would be found amongst his papers, they should be handed to me. As I have not got any, I presume no letter has been found. I saw Mr Furlong, your nephew's law agent, yesterday. He told me that he had every necessary document respecting the law-suit, in his possession, & believed Mr Caffry had not any. The case will be argued, Mr Furlong hopes, in the Courts during the approaching Term: and, as he expects, will be referred for trial of facts, to a special jury in the County Tipperary. The question of law cannot be argued before Easter Term. The interruption of correspondence between these Kingdoms & the Continent of Europe, except Spain, Portugal & Sicily, deprives us of all authentic information of our Holy Father. Report states that he is more rigorously confined than before; & that he has given a *Negativè* to all the Propositions of Buonaparte, communicated to him by some Cardinals & Prelates of the late Council at Paris; a great majority of which also firmly opposed the pretensions of Buonaparte against a trifling [sic] minority, headed by Card. Maury who, it is said, has been suspended, some say excommunicated, by His Holiness.⁵⁶ As the communication of N. America with France is open, your Grace is probably acquainted with the proceedings of the Council, & with other transactions regarding the Pope & the Church. I wrote to Spain & Portugal, & to Sicily and Malta for information on these subjects, but received none, as the correspondence from these places with France, is likewise intercepted: Your Grace will oblige me much by sending me any intelligence you may have received from your correspondents in France on the points I have mentioned. I shall most willingly pay any postage for it.

As it is not in the interest of either side to war with the other, we hope the differences between the United Kingdom & the United American States will be amicably adjusted.⁵⁷ May God grant it! This is the last day, almost the last hour, for forwarding letters by the next American Mail, which will leave London next Wednesday. I am, therefore, hurried to conclude, but with sincere assurances of veneration & affection, with which & with best compliments to your

⁵⁶Jean Siffrein Maury (1746-1817), eloquent opponent of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1791); cardinal and bishop from 1794. Censured by Pius VII for accepting from Napoleon the administration of the archdiocese of Paris. Troy refers to the National Council which Napoleon convened at Paris under the presidency of Cardinal Giuseppe Fesch (1811).

⁵⁷These differences, essentially over American trade with France, led to the Anglo-American War (1812-14), during which the United States attempted to invade Canada, while British forces set fire to Washington (Aug. 1814).

nephew, in which I am joined by all this family, I have the honour to be, Most Hon.d & dear Lord,

Your Grace's faithful & devoted servant,
+ J. T. Troy.

14

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 22 March 1815
AAB, 8N8

Most Hon.d & dear Lord,

The renewal of peace between this United Kingdom & America having happily restored the former intercourse between both Empires, I seize the opportunity to acknowledge your good nephew's letter to me of the 20th December last, & to inform him through your Grace, that his lawsuit here is in the same state that he left it, as no proceedings in it could take place during the late War. Your nephew should write without delay to Mr Furlong on the subject, & remit some money to defray the necessary law expences. His address is Wm. Furlong Esq., No. 60 Aungier Street, Dublin. I beg my best compliments to your nephew, and congratulations on his marriage, in which I am joined by Doctor & Mrs Lee, Mr and Mrs Troy.⁵⁸

I am requested by Revd Doctor John Con[n]olly of the Order of St Dominick, who resided 37 years at Rome, to inform your Grace that he was appointed Bishop of New York in September last, & consecrated in November. He left Rome on the 18th *ultimo*, [and] is now in Flanders on his way hither, where he will embark for America. I do not know his Lordship personally, but he enjoyed an excellent character at Rome. He prays me to say that he would have written to your Grace, if the War had not prevented him.⁵⁹

⁵⁸In July 1809, Thomas Lee, M.D., married Miss Margaret Troy, only daughter of W. Troy, Esq., of Porterstown, Co. Dublin, and niece of Archbishop Troy. W. CARRIGAN, 'Catholic Episcopal Wills: province of Dublin', in *Archiv. Hib.*, iv (1915), 77.

⁵⁹Archbishop Carroll was not particularly pleased by the appointment of a British subject as the first resident bishop of New York while Britain was actually at war with the United States. Hence Troy chooses his words carefully. Carroll was still less pleased by Connolly's delay, for the new bishop did not reach New York until 24 Nov. 1815, ten days before Carroll's death. There are various short accounts of Bishop Connolly (d. 1825) in print. One of his letters (Louvain, 6 May 1815) mentions that he reached Liège from Rome on 2 April and confirmed more than 27,000. Only bad health prevented him from confirming others still at Ghent. He then intended to sail 'next month' from Ireland to New York. B. JENNINGS (ed.), *Louvain Papers, 1606-1827*, (Dublin, 1968), pp 631-32.

Rev.d Mr Harold Sen.r has procured recommendations from the Archbishop of Bordeaux & other Prelates in favour of his nephew Rev.d Wm. Harold, to be appointed to the See of Philadelphia, which have been forwarded to Rome.⁶⁰ Your Grace's knowledge of him dispenses me from saying anything more of him.

Monsignor Quarantotti's Rescript concerning the Royal Veto in the appointment of our Bishops, has been quashed by the S. Cong.n of Propaganda, which is to discuss the subject *ex integro*. Doctors Milner & [William] Poynter are at Rome advocating the cause *pro & con*. A subject involving so many important considerations cannot be speedily determined on. Here, Clergy & Laity are clamorous against any interference of the Crown. In England, the Bishops, except Dr Milner, are temporizing. The other Clergy and Laity are divided, but mostly with Dr Milner.

A monthly publication entitled *The Orthodox Journal* commenced about 18 months ago, detailing all proceedings on Irish & English Catholic affairs, continues to attract public attention. It is published in London.

Having nothing interesting to add to this hasty letter, I conclude with sincere assurances of respectful attachment and esteem, with which I have the honour to be,

Your Grace's faithful & devoted servant in Christ,
+John Thos. Troy A. D.

Dublin, 22nd March 1815.

15

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 8 April 1815

AAB, 8N9

Most Hon.d dear Lord,

I received the enclosed in a letter from Card. [Lorenzo] Litta, & forward it to your Grace at the desire of His Eminence. The question of *Veto* is still *sub judice*.

I had the honour of writing to your Grace on the 22nd *ultimo*, & have nothing to add to it, but assurances of affectionate regard &

⁶⁰ Again, and with more reason, Troy distances himself from these postulations. James Harold senior, a priest of Dublin diocese, had been a convict in Australia. His nephew, Wm Vincent Harold, was a Dominican of Dublin. The nephew had been at Philadelphia from 1808; his uncle from 1812. Both returned to Ireland in 1813.

respectful esteem, with which I have the honour to be, with best compliments to your nephew,

Most hon.d & dear Lord, Your Grace's faithful & devoted servant,
J. T. Troy.

16

Troy to Carroll, Dublin, 8 September 1815
AAB, 8BK2

Dublin, 8th Sep.r 1815.

Most Rev.d & Hon.d Lord,

I avail myself of Right Rev.d Doctor [John] Conolly's immediate departure for New York to acknowledge the honour of your Grace's obliging letter of the 15th July last, & to express again the esteem & veneration which I have so long entertained of your Lordship.

If I interfered in the appointment of a Bishop for Philadelphia by a direct recommendation of Rev.d Mr [William Vincent] Harold, I must confess my having acted irregularly & improperly.⁶¹ But, if I recollect right, I only stated the interference of others, for your Grace's information. However this be, I regret exceedingly that any irregular act of mine should afford a moment's uneasiness or anxiety to your Grace.

Mr Furlong, your nephew's attorney, assures me he has not had a letter from him these three years past. I thought he might have received one by the same conveyance which brought me your last. Dr Conolly will hand a packet to your Grace from the S. Cong.n [de Propaganda Fide]. – The Card. Prefect sent it to me to be forwarded. I presume it contains the *Bulla* for the Bishop Elect of Philadelphia.

The public papers will have informed your Grace of the resolutions passed in a late General Assembly of our prelates here on the projected *Veto*. For further particulars, I refer your Grace to Doctor Conolly who was present in every stage of the discussion.

Doctor [Daniel] Murray my Coadjutor, & Dr [John] Murphy Bishop of Cork, deputed to Rome by the Assembly with their remonstrance on the subject, parted hence last night, accompanied by

⁶¹This entire sentence is underlined, though scarcely by Troy. Note that Carroll may not have received this letter before his death on 3 Dec 1815.

Rev.d Mr [Michael] Blake Archdeacon in this Metropolitan Chapter,
as their secretary & chaplain.

As Doctor Conolly only waits for these hasty lines to go on board
ship, I must conclude, with sincere assurances of perfect regard, &
respectful esteem with which I have the honour to be, Most hon-
oured dear Lord,

Your Grace's faithful & most devoted Servant & Brother in Christ,
+ J. T. Troy A. D.

P. S. I beg my best compliments & those of my family, to your good
nephew.