

Like a clarion-blast through Erin,  
 Charles, he whose image fills  
 Thy soul, too, Mac-Giolla-Kierin!  
 Ten thousand strong  
 His clans move in brilliant order,  
 Sure that ere long  
 He will march them o'er the border.  
 While the dark-haired daughters of the Highlands  
 Crown with wreaths the monarch of these islands.

But it was only in the passionate poesy of the native minstrels that any echo of the shouts from Moidart resounded midst the hills of Erin. During all this time the hapless Irish Catholics resigned themselves utterly to the fate that had befallen them. For a moment victory gleamed on the Stuart banner, and the young prince marched southward to claim his own in London. Still Ireland made no sign. Hope had fled. The prostrate and exhausted nation slept heavily in its blood-clotted chain!

(To be continued.)

## THAT BULL OF ADRIAN

(By L. J. KENNY, S.J., in America.)

Up to fifty years ago, so completely did the enemies of the Holy See hold the field in English literature that it would be almost impossible to find a writer, even an Irish writer of Irish history, who could venture to deny the authenticity of the bull in which Pope Adrian IV., the English Pope, was supposed to have granted to King Henry II. of England the right to take possession of Ireland and, in the words of the bull, "to form that people in good morals." The subject apparently offered no inducement to special students on the Continent, and everywhere the British opinion prevailed unquestioned. It remained for the Bishop of Ossory, better known as Cardinal Moran, urged on by his loyalty to the honor of the Holy See, to call for an investigation of the documents on which the story rested. The movement he set on foot, and in which he led the way, has gone on further and further until to-day history may be said to have quite reversed her sentence. For now the common opinion is expressed in the concluding lines of the article on Adrian IV. in the latest edition of the *Britannica*, where it is stated without qualification that the much discussed bull is not genuine.

Cardinal Moran found at the outset that all the really first-hand authorities for the belief in the bull were in England, and that they were just two men. The first of these was John of Salisbury. There could be no doubt that in a very ancient production of his pen it is written that he asked Pope Adrian to grant Ireland to Henry, and that the Pope graciously acquiesced. But there is no one who will deny that this assertion fits in very awkwardly with the rest of the work in which we find it. The book is a defence of the study of logic and metaphysics; the treatise concludes happily at the close of the 41st chapter, then another chapter follows where we encounter the story of the author's remarkable demand on the Pope. The extraordinary nature of the petition, the peculiar style of the chapter, and the location of the story in this dissertation rather than in various other more appropriate writings of John, give good grounds for the suspicion of interpolation.

The other contemporary authority in England was Gerald de Barry (Giraldus Cambrensis). He gave us not merely the text of the bull, but is the father of the statement that Adrian's successor, Pope Alexander III., confirmed the gift of Ireland to Henry. In the writings of old historians, great weight used to be attached to this additional bull obtained by Henry from Alexander, without warrant, for even de Barry admits that "while some declare that it was obtained, others deny that it was ever granted." Here then is the complete and sole authority for Alexander's confirmatory bull. The editor of de Barry's works in the Rolls Series sums up the universal verdict as to his standing as an historian: "Truth was not his main object. He (de Barry) says he compiled his works for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry II." It was

upon the testimony of Gerald de Barry and of a misplaced and incredible phrase hidden in an obscure work of John of Salisbury that the whole indictment of Popes Adrian and Alexander has rested unassailed for so many years.

It was believed by Cardinal Moran that the great Baronius had had original documents at hand when he included the story of the bull in his learned *Annals*. Moran was fortunate in finding that Baronius had depended on Matthew of Paris, whose information is readily traced to Gerald de Barry. The most scrutinizing delving into Roman archives was unable to bring to light one line of contemporary evidence referring to the grant to Henry of the overlordship of Ireland. This fact, particularly when taken in connection with the nullifying of the testimony of Baronius, was accountable more than anything else for the turn in the tide of opinion in regard to the genuineness of the bull. But the search in Rome was not altogether fruitless. A bull of Adrian's was found which at first sight promised to be the long-lost document. Line after line the newly-found parchment proved to be identical with Adrian's bull as given us by de Barry, but an essential divergence was soon disclosed.

This unquestioned bull of Adrian's showed that Louis VII. of France and Henry II. of England had sought Adrian's consent to their undertaking a Christianising invasion of a land, which in the document is designated by the letter H. Adrian refuses consent unless the people and the clergy of the land desire the invasion. The finder of this bull, writing in the *Analeccta Juris Pontificii*, suggested that the H stood for Hibernia, and that here was Adrian's real bull in which he not only does not encourage an invasion, but refuses to consent to it unless the people and the clergy of the land in question desire it. The suggestion that H means Hibernia has not won acceptance on the part of careful historians, but the bull has been a very valuable contribution to the question at issue as showing the position of the mind of Adrian IV. when acted upon by a petition from two powerful sovereigns.

Here the case rests. The obstinate may yet hold what opinion he will. The facts do not drive home conviction. In the final stage one's judgment is formed by the choice, whether he is willing to think evil of the Popes Adrian and Alexander, or whether he is justified in imputing a forgery to Henry II.

It is encouraging to note that to-day the latter alternative has been chosen. Forgery is in no ways discordant with the tenor of the life of that Norman king. No one denies that when St. Thomas à Becket first opposed the tyrannies of Henry, his opposition was broken down by messengers who were made to appear to have come from Rome. That was very like forgery. And, again, when Henry wanted the Archbishop of York, to the exclusion of à Becket of Canterbury, to crown his son, York received a fabricated letter purporting to be from Rome, and he crowned the prince. This was a forgery. In fact, this crime, forgery, is a minor one in Henry's career. When that English Mercier, à Becket, continued his struggle for the liberty of the Church and the people, his brains were spattered over the altar steps at Henry's instigation. When Henry's supposed wife and supposedly legitimate children—he had a numerous progeny of illegitimate children—rose in rebellion against him, his last public act in this world as he saw them victorious and his native town in flames, was one of blasphemy against God. The gentle St. Bernard, a contemporary, said of Henry's line that "They came from hell and to hell they would go."

This is the man that English history, until 50 years ago, told us was commissioned by the Pope "to form that [Irish] people in good morals"; and that at a time when the whole Irish nation had risen up against an Irish king and driven him out, for one act of adultery; at a time when there lived in Ireland St. Malachy, St. Celsus, and St. Laurence O'Toole. The last was Archbishop of Dublin. He opposed the invasion of his country in prayer and in speeches, and even, we are told, sword in hand. Through more than seven centuries, from that day to this, that land, so fruitful in virgins and martyrs, has not produced one other confessor of the Faith on whom the Church has been guided by the Holy Spirit to impress the seal of her canonisation. Enchained spirits cannot grow to the full heights of sanctity. Perhaps the Church and Ireland alike are awaiting another saint like the last.

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