The ruins of Youghal: Canon Samuel Hayman, antiquarianism and the decline of Irish Anglican ascendancy

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The history of nineteenth-century Ireland was shaped by a contest of elites, as defenders of the Protestant ascendancy installed by the victors in the wars of the seventeenth century fought a long retreating battle against the Catholic strong farmers, priests and professionals seeking local and national leadership. The ‘Protestant ascendancy’ is popularly viewed as referring to the rural landlords defeated in the Land War of the 1880s, but some of its stoutest early defenders came from urban Protestant elites who dominated town corporations until the Municipal Corporations (Ireland) Act of 1840, and the concept was also intimately bound up with the struggle to persuade the British state to continue to officially recognize the (Anglican) Church of Ireland as the true national church – an official recognition which ended with the coming into force of Gladstone’s 1869 Irish Church Act.

The subject of this essay, Canon Samuel Hayman (1818–86), belonged to these overlapping Protestant elites. From the late seventeenth century, his family had been prominent among the civic elites that dominated Youghal Corporation; they also had a small landed estate near Youghal – whose inhabitants Hayman attempted to convert to Protestantism. As a clergyman of the Established Church, Hayman participated in its pastoral work and sought to promote devotional renewal, missionary work (especially through the Irish language) and church building and restoration. Hayman is best remembered as an antiquarian writing on the history of Youghal; but a sketch of his wider career illuminates how these explorations of the past derived from a wider attempt to defend the position of the Anglican elite as civic and religious leaders, and how Hayman could maintain confidence in the prospect of victory for what in hindsight can be seen as an inevitably lost cause.

1 This paper draws on research done for the DIB. Thanks to Paul Bew, Derval Fitzgerald, Patricia Maume, James McGuire, Brian S. Murphy. References to Handbook for Youghal with annals of Youghal are to the 1896 edition published by W.G. Field of Youghal. Field added entries for the period after Hayman’s original text concludes in 1852 and possibly revised earlier entries (though O’Flanagan’s 1885–6 articles on Hayman state that he was revising the text shortly before his death). Though most of the 1896 text is by Hayman, catalogues usually list Field as author – earlier editions are attributed to Hayman. 2 Jacqueline Hill, From patriots to unionists: Dublin civic politics and Irish Protestantism, 1660–1840 (Oxford, 1997).
In 1816, St Mary’s Church at Youghal was renovated. An Italian stuccadore decorated the interior; upon completion it was discovered that the decorative motifs included crosses. The Youghal-born Whig historian and social theorist William Cooke Taylor recalled the response:

Had the pope come in person to celebrate high mass in the church, greater indignation could not have been displayed by the pious Protestants of Youghal. They averred that the image of Baal had been erected in the sanctuary . . . After a brief struggle between common sense and bigotry, the crosses, which really looked very pretty, were effaced, and in their place, two unmeaning lumps of plaster erected, with the words ‘Holy Bible’ beneath . . . There were a few who defended the crosses, and they were at once set down as Papists. Some others laughed at the entire proceeding, and were of course stigmatized as infidels.3

Youghal’s Protestant community in the early nineteenth century saw itself as besieged; its medieval and early modern buildings were reminders of its past as a major urban centre in the estate of the earls of Desmond, and the struggles of the early modern period when Raleigh, Spenser and Cromwell walked its streets, still seemed painfully alive.4 The port’s hinterland in the diocese of Cloyne and the Blackwater valley experienced recurring agrarian violence5 as the political, social and economic structures implanted by the Munster plantation and the wars of the seventeenth century weakened.6 During the mini-famines of 1819 and the early 1820s7 and the Great Famine of 1845–98 Youghal witnessed riots against food exports; the entrenched Tory municipal oligarchy that controlled Youghal Corporation under the auspices of the earl of Shannon from 17449 was displaced in 1822 by Whig supporters of the duke of Devonshire; in 1832 a campaign led by the future Chartist Feargus O’Connor captured the parliamentary seat for Daniel O’Connell’s son John (an event described by a local historian in 1945 as ending ‘700 years of alien ascendancy’);10 the corporation experienced drastic reform in the 1830s under Whig legislation passed at O’Connell’s behest. The town retained a parliamentary seat until 1885, but its role as a port was undermined as the growth of road and rail transport extended the sphere of Cork and other ports; it became a resort town.11

One response by the traditional Protestant elite is represented by Cooke Taylor, who became a Broad Churchman in religion, a Whig-Liberal Unionist in politics, and believed Archbishop Richard Whately’s programme of Broad Church religious reformism, nondenominational state education, abolition of traditional social, religious and economic restrictions and dissemination of political economy could create a happy and prosperous Ireland, and reconcile rival creeds within the Union.\textsuperscript{12} Another response was represented by Isaac Butt, editor of the *Dublin University Magazine* (hereafter DUM) and MP for Youghal in the 1840s and 1850s, who wished the Protestant elite to recover the underlying principles of enlightened conservatism in religion and politics, reclaiming the historical heritage of Ireland as expressed through its venerable institutions – above all the Church of Ireland, to be rescued from eighteenth-century scepticism and corruption by recapturing a true religious sensibility.\textsuperscript{13}

Samuel Hayman’s descent from Youghal’s traditional elite gave him a lasting fascination with its history, and he is remembered for such works as the multi-edition *Annals of Youghal and Notes and records of the ancient religious foundations at Youghal, County Cork, and its vicinity*. He was a contributor on antiquarian and literary subjects to the *DUM*, and a close friend of Charles Lever; he inhabited a network of antiquarians such as the Catholic Whig lawyer James Roderick O’Flanagan (1819–1900) and Richard Caulfield (1823–87), editor of the municipal records of Cork boroughs.\textsuperscript{14} Hayman was also a devotional writer for the *Christian Examiners* (founded by Caesar Otway, also part of the *DUM* circle) and studied the Irish language for missionary as well as antiquarian purposes. Even Disestablishment did not shake his belief in the triumph of evangelical truth over Popish heathenism, and as a builder of churches and rectories and an activist in missionary societies, he exemplifies the reforming spirit within the Victorian Church of Ireland as much as its embattled conservatism.

of Minehead acquired the former Franciscan friary (which the family still owned in the early nineteenth century). The building known as Sir Walter Raleigh’s house (also known as Myrtle Grove; built for the wardens of a college founded in 1464 by the earls of Desmond) was their main residence throughout the eighteenth century. The connection began in 1670 when it was purchased by John Atkin, who in 1705 bequeathed it to his grandson John Hayman, MP for Youghal.16

Richard Caulfield’s edition of *The council book of the Corporation of Youghal* (1878) for which Hayman supplied illustrations and manuscript sources as well as a list of sovereigns, mayors and bailiffs,17 features numerous Haymans. In 1654, burgesses stand surety for a colleague’s debts to George Hayman of Minehead;18 in 1721, a Samuel Hayman is permitted to block the walk on the town walls;19 in 1773, the corporation pays rent to Elizabeth Hayman for built-up ground near the clock tower.20

The first Hayman municipal official appears in 1666 (Samuel Hayman, bailiff that year, mayor 1670). They are admitted freemen and serve on the Common Council. Hayman monuments in St Mary’s (on the north side of the nave near the choir arch) are described in Hayman’s *Notes and records of the Ancient religious foundations at Youghal…* (pp 23–4) and *Illustrated guide to St Mary’s Church* (1861 ed., p. 15).21 In 1689, John Hayman – later MP for Youghal in the early eighteenth century22 – executed a promissory note for four guineas, to be paid if Youghal did not submit to William III by 1 May 1690.23 Four Haymans (two Johns and two Samuels) were Mayors in 1704, 1705, 1742 and 1750–1;24 but the most prominent municipal Hayman was our Samuel’s grandfather, William Atkin Hayman (whose father was Revd Atkin Hayman, rector of Ballyclogh in Cloyne, a sign of the family’s clerical connections).25

William Atkin Hayman was a bailiff as early as 1774 and mayor in 1788, 1792 and 179826 and again in 1805.27 He was prominent in organized loyalism among the self-consciously embattled Youghal Protestant community, which implicated him in such repressive measures as the hanging of four suspected United Irishmen from the clock tower in 1721.28

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16 Richard Caulfield (ed.), *The Council book of the Corporation of Youghal* (Guildford, 1878), p. xxii. 17 Caulfield, *The Council Book*, p. xii. 18 Ibid., p. 300. 19 Ibid., p. 417. 20 Ibid., p. 485. 21 Also in *Handbook*, pp vii–viii. The Hayman family presented the church with an antique sword-rest displaying the arms of the borough in 1788 after the borough arms in St Mary’s were defaced by an intruder (ibid., p. 54 under 1684, when the sword-rest was originally made). 22 *Handbook*, pp. 58, 1703 and 1707. 23 *Handbook*, pp 55–6. Youghal surrendered 2 Aug. 1690, so Hayman lost his wager. 24 *Handbook*, p. 63 mentions that in 1743 Samuel Hayman was elected churchwarden but successfully declined because of his mayoral duties. ‘He was appointed one of the Commissioners of Arrays, on the apprehended invasion of the Pretender.’ Under 1751 (p. 64) it emphasizes the honour paid to John Hayman by unanimous re-election as mayor: ‘He was an efficient magistrate, collecting the public rates himself and performing a variety of useful undertakings’. 25 O’Flanagan, ‘Canon Hayman’. 26 *Handbook*, p. 70n notes him taking advantage of a 1760 parliamentary grant to improve the harbour by leasing sections of the strand from the corporation and reclaiming it from the sea. 27 Not in Caulfield; *Handbook*, p. 8 records his salvaging the cargo of a wrecked Liverpool brig and receipt of an inscribed silver vase from the owners and underwriters.
tower at Youghal in 1798. Surely universal feeling will now turn with horror from these dreadful scenes and will breathe the prayer that they be never again enacted in our native country. (This passage may have been added by the publisher W.G. Field after Hayman’s death, but it is unlikely that Hayman, or other inhabitants of Youghal, were unaware of the darker side of his grandfather’s activities).

The family’s connection with Raleigh’s house ended with the death of Walter Atkin Hayman on 5 June 1816, but a sense of illustrious family history (reinforced by a collection of family deeds, wills and letters dating back to Charles I) may have encouraged Hayman’s antiquarianism. At his birth, his father, Matthew Hayman, lived at South Abbey, Youghal, amid the ruins of the medieval Franciscan friary. (Hayman notes that when building a new dwelling in the friary precincts in 1820 his father turned up skeletons and decorated gravestones; the last remnants of the friary buildings were demolished between 1817 and 1826 to build a chapel of ease and the building which subsequently became the Devonshire Arms Hotel. Some years later numerous medieval graves were uncovered during the building of a Presentation convent and school nearby; a Magdalene asylum was also erected there).

Hayman was educated at the classical and English school of Revd Thomas Nolan at Youghal, at Clonmel endowed school and at TCD, which he entered as a Fellow Commoner on 18 October 1835. He was a bright student, shy and frail in health. Hayman graduated BA on 2 July 1839. He was ordained deacon on 19 September 1841 and priest on 14 August 1842, and became curate of Glanworth, near Fermoy. When his attempts to evangelize local Catholics encountered more or less polite rebuffs, he realized that his ignorance of the people’s language made him an outsider. He took Irish lessons from a local hedge-school teacher employed by the proselytizing Irish Society. Although the teacher abandoned the lessons under ‘sacerdotal pressure’ because of (correct) suspicions about Hayman’s motives, the clergyman had acquired sufficient foundation to perfect his idiom by speaking with the people. Hayman later heard that many famine emigrants from the area converted to

28 On 8 Jan. 1793 (as mayor), he formed ‘The Youghal and Barony of Imokilly Association . . . for the purpose of discouraging and suppressing all seditious publications and for promoting loyalty and obedience to the constituted authorities’ (Handbook, p. 74). On 6 Feb. 1793 Mayor Hayman suppressed a meeting at Youghal ‘to demand emancipation and Reform . . . John Hall, secretary of (Lodge 900) the Youghal Orangemen presented an address to the mayor, thanking him for his hereditary loyalty’ [ibid. p. 74; as the Orange Order was founded in 1795, this must refer to some other loyalist society]. In 1799, he entertained Youghal yeomanry corps ‘officers and men’ at Myrtle Grove after a review at Castlemartyr (p. 78). 29 Handbook, p. 78. 30 Notes and records, p. 59; Hayman writes wistfully of the house in Handbook for Youghal (1896 ed., xiv) ‘Like all Old English domestic architecture, it forms a picturesque appearance from the variety and artistic play of its outlines, with light and shade brokenly contrasted on them, so grateful to the initiated eye, and so seldom realized in our modern monotonous erections’. 31 Notes and records of the ancient religious foundations at Youghal, County Cork, and its vicinity (1854 ed.), p. 46; Handbook, p. 84.
Protestantism in America – he believed this was a long-term product of his Irish-language evangelization.32

By the time he came to Glanworth, Hayman had begun to write for the Patrician, a London-based genealogical publication run by Sir Bernard Burke, for the DUM, chief platform of the new Irish Toryism – he was recruited by its publisher James McGlashan – and for Caesar Otway’s Christian Examiner. (In 1843, displaying local patriotism, he reviewed and promoted a book by Cooke Taylor, which used new discoveries in Egyptology to elucidate Biblical society and idioms).33 Hayman produced DUM pieces with such titles as ‘Air bubbles’ and ‘Fragments of a dreamer’s notebook’ modelled on the German Romantic aphorist Jean-Paul Richter.34 Hayman also formed a close friendship with Charles Lever, who occasionally visited him while editing the DUM (from 1842).35 As Lever prepared to leave Ireland in the late 1840s, he spoke of Hayman as one of his three intimate Irish friends – ‘a sham-rock of friendship’.36 They corresponded regularly and after Lever’s death Hayman was asked to write the official life. Hayman refused, but he assisted W.J. Fitzpatrick – who completed the work – with correspondence and reminiscences.37 Hayman preferred Lever’s earlier novels – notably Arthur O’Leary – to the later works;38 he also told Fitzpatrick that Lever, even in his early career, possessed stronger religious convictions than casual readers might have suspected.39

In 1846, with the vicar of Glanworth incapacitated by illness, Hayman organized the parochial famine relief committee and became its secretary, working himself to exhaustion.

Letters to kinsfolk and other friends brought us generous supplies from England. A provision depot was opened. Flour and meal were brought within reach of the villagers, being retailed to them at prices proportioned to their slender means. The Committee gave daily attendance. Thus passed with us the dreadful winter of 1846.

‘And the famine was sore in the land’; and in its train came the fever, that swept away unnumbered victims. Medical men and ministers of different denominations succumbed in numbers to the pestilence; yet none flinched, for the people clung to us as their preservers. The work of relieving distress went on; but, after a time, the misery outgrew human help. We toiled continually, and when we had done our best were lost in bewilderment. In some

instances whole families died, and they lay unsepulchred until we pulled down their homes over them for entombment. I cannot, however, even at this lapse of time, describe these horrors.  

In 1847, his curacy at Glanworth was terminated by the death of the rector. Hayman then served as curate of Glanmire, Co. Cork, but decided that this prosperous suburban parish gave insufficient opportunity for evangelization. He therefore returned to his native Youghal (25 March 1849) as a curate at St Mary's Church, and soon found himself ministering to the sick and dying during a cholera epidemic. His humanitarian labours did not restrain Hayman from suggesting, in a later devotional article, that the Famine was divine punishment for the spread of Mariolatry. Hayman quotes approvingly some anonymous verses that presented the failure of Marian prayers to ease the Famine as proving the futility of idolatry.

In his antiquarian publications, Hayman mentioned superstitious beliefs and observances in passing. In a publication promoting the work of the proselytizing Irish Church Missions, Hayman provides a scathing account of the ‘pattern’ in honour of St Declan at Ardmore, Co. Waterford, in the early 1850s. ‘The scenes here enacted could be surpassed only before Juggernaut’s car or among the fetish-tribes of the Congo River… “rounds” were observed by creeping a certain number of times around the reputed holy place like a four-footed beast, and sometimes proceeding on the knees only’. The skull of St Declan was venerated and earth brought into contact with it credited with supernatural powers, after which ‘a carnival took the place of penitential observances. Scenes occurred over which I must draw a veil. Rioting and drunkenness, with their concomitant evils, reigned paramount’. Hayman recounts with some glee claims that the original skull disintegrated during repairs to its metal shrine in the early seventeenth century and had been replaced by the (Protestant) craftsman responsible with the skull of John Dromada, executed for murder and piracy, itself allegedly replaced some years later (when the priest discovered the truth) with an anonymous skull from a local graveyard.

Hayman arranged for an Irish-speaking scripture-reader to be employed on a small estate that his father owned in the parishes of Youghal and Clonpriest, and

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happily received reports that this employee dissuaded tenants from card-playing by reciting Bible passages in Irish. Hayman retained a lifelong connection with the Irish Society; some verses he wrote on Jesus as the only true priest were translated into Irish by Canon James Goodman (now best-remembered as a folksong collector) and distributed in Irish-speaking districts.

Hayman remained at Youghal until 13 May 1863, living with his parents (his mother died in 1851, his father in 1867) and a sister. He had been offered livings in both Britain and Ireland, but his independent means allowed him to remain where he felt most needed. In 1854, he married Emily Cassidy, whose father was incumbent of Newtownards while her mother was an heiress (also of Co. Down). They had one daughter, who later married and settled in England. Hayman frequently discourses on the blessings of clerical marriage, the evils of Roman celibacy, and the role of a clergyman’s wife as parochial helpmate, and illustrates the growth of the Christian soul by reference to his own child.

This period saw the appearance in several editions of Hayman’s antiquarian writings on Youghal; they were published by a Youghal printer, J.W. Lindsay, and directed at the developing tourist trade encouraged by the new Cork–Youghal railway. The annals of Youghal: the handbook for Youghal appeared in four editions (1848, 1851, 1854 and 1858 as well as the posthumous 1896 revision); a guide to the ancient religious foundations at Youghal (also in the form of an annal and drawing on exploration of the sites, originally published in the Journal of the Royal Historical Association of Ireland) in different versions in 1850, 1854, 1861, 1863 and 1879, and an illustrated guide to the Blackwater region in 1860, 1861 and 1875 (reprinted 1896 by W.G. Field, updating the ownership of various gentlemen’s houses). The medieval and early modern sections of the annals (from Edward I) reproduce many references to Youghal in the plea, patent and close rolls and other state papers then preserved in Dublin. We know Hayman used the duke of Devonshire’s papers at Lismore and other local archives and that friends looked up source material in Dublin.

One friend was James Roderick O’Flanagan, a Catholic lawyer and son of the barrack-master of Fermoy, whom Hayman had encouraged to produce an illustrated guide to the Blackwater after O’Flanagan lectured on the subject at an 1843 British Association meeting in Youghal (organized by Cooke Taylor). O’Flanagan made Hayman’s acquaintance in the early 1840s; they became lifelong friends, and Hayman helped O’Flanagan in compiling his works on Irish legal history. Hayman was noted for his generosity in sharing his research material among the networks of nineteenth-century Irish antiquarianism. His contacts stretched farther afield; on the foundation of the Harleian Society for the study of genealogy in 1860 Hayman
became a council member, and he wrote for antiquarian publications including the *Cork Magazine* of the 1840s, the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Notes and Queries*, and a London journal called the *Reliquary*. Much of his research remains scattered in such journals or reappeared in fascicule format, as with his work for the *Reliquary* on the history of the East Cork family of Greetrakes. Even his work on the first part of the *Geraldine Papers*, published in 1870–81 (the only part he edited, though he is conventionally listed as co-editor of the whole series), was reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Historical Association of Ireland*, as was his 1854 work on the ancient religious foundations of Youghal and Ardmore.55

As late as 1885, when O’Flanagan edited the short-lived *Fermoy Monthly Illustrated Journal*, Hayman, though in declining health, contributed articles on local place-names and supplied other material;56 O’Flanagan dedicated the bound volume to Hayman.57 Even though O’Flanagan was an inveterate name-dropper, it is clear from the letters he publishes that their friendship was personal as well as antiquarian; in view of Hayman’s religious and political attitudes, it is striking that he could maintain such a friendship with a devoutly Catholic acquaintance of Newman and (conservative) O’Connellite, later a Parnellite Home Ruler.

In Youghal, Hayman participated in a ‘restoration’ of St Mary’s Church that re-emphasized its Gothic character under the direction of his rector, Revd Pierce Drew; his writings praise ‘the noble Gothic’, denounce the ‘vandalism’ of eighteenth-century restorers, lament that the early nineteenth-century ‘restoration’ left Youghal’s medieval church ‘as conventicle-like as possible’, and criticize ‘pagan’ classical symbols on gravestones as no more Christian than ‘the old heathen practice of combustion’.58

In 1863, Bishop John Gregg, whom Hayman revered and who shared his desire for Irish-language missionary activity,59 appointed him rector of Glenville, which Hayman called by its Irish name of Ardnageehy. He loved its romantic mountain setting and ‘acquired and beautified’ a rectory for future incumbents60 (a devotional essay states that the rectory had views of five counties and the distant sea), but it proved too remote for the family’s convenience and in 1867 he became rector of Doneraile.61

Hayman attributed the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland to the legacy of eighteenth-century corruption and scepticism, which had already been remedied by the revival of evangelical religion;62 he hoped disestablishment might cause the laity to take a greater share of pastoral work (he wanted to revive the permanent

diaconate) and improve relations with other Protestant denominations on the basis of scriptural religion (he thought the Church of Ireland too suspicious of contemporary revivalism).

The state for centuries sought to make of the Church of Ireland a political tool; and, when such degradation could no longer be endured, punished her by confiscation. So be it! Better to have things as they are, than as they were. Our political Balaam [that is, Gladstone] will be found in God’s goodness, not to have cursed but to have blessed us altogether.63

In 1872, he became rector of Carrigaline with Douglas, and a canon of Cork diocese. In 1875, the parish was divided; Hayman retained Douglas and built a new church and rectory, raising a large portion of the money himself. The church spire was completed after his death as a memorial to him; he is buried in the cemetery which he laid out. This was in line with the general policy of Bishop Gregg, who oversaw the construction of many handsome churches, most famously St Finn Barre’s Cathedral. In a memorial article, Hayman emphasized that the bishop’s activities did not reflect sacerdotalist tendencies; he simply desired appropriately dignified settings for church services.64

Hayman zealously supported Sunday schools.65 He was secretary to the Cork auxiliaries of the Church Mission Society, the Bible Society and the Mission to the Jews, and ‘active in Irish missionary societies generally’.66 He was secretary to the Cork Protestant Home for Incurables, which he assisted Bishop Gregg in founding. His health was always frail (he had a near-fatal illness in 1852) and after a decline lasting about a year he died on 15 December 1886.

Hayman could easily be presented as an Old Mortality figure, child of a declining oligarchy brooding over the ruins of a vanished past as a metaphor for his own caste’s demise. There was, however, another side to his literary work. Although Hayman is chiefly remembered as an antiquarian, he was widely read in his own day as a devotional writer, consciously drawing on the tradition of the Anglican literary parson meditating on the lessons of parish life. He occasionally published sermons from quite early in his career (The Bible: the wisdom of a nation (London, 1846) – a sermon on behalf of the Irish Church Education Society, which tried to create a system of Church of Ireland schools to rival the National Schools);67 A farewell sermon, preached in Glanmire (Cork, 1849); To-day, its duties and supplies, a lecture delivered before the Cork Young Men’s Association (Dublin, 1857) – all reprinted in Ministrations: or feeding the flock of God (1875)).68 In the late 1860s and early 1870s, probably in response to the looming disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, Hayman collected many papers from the Christian Examiner and its successor the Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette (precursor

of the *Church of Ireland Gazette*) in a series of books, most in a uniform format from
the Dublin publisher George Herbert (*Looking upward: a country pastor’s reveries* – 1871;
*Papers from a parsonage* – 1872; *Passages from a Commonplace Book* – 1873; *Criteria, or the
publisher James Nesbit in 1869. Some papers were clearly written earlier than their
appearance in book form – four *Papers from a parsonage* were written at Youghal and
the rest date from Ardnageehy.69

These papers emphasize that Hayman’s Gothic enthusiasm did not translate into
sympathy for the Church of Rome (though one wonders how he squared his
complaint about St Mary’s having been transformed into a conventicle70 with his
disquisitions on the contrast between the garish ornaments of Romanism and
Ritualism and the noble simplicity of true Protestant churches,71 and there is incon-
gruity in his evocation of a ruined abbey in Somerset as emblematic of fallen man
retaining traces of his creator’s workmanship).72 He denounces the display of the
crucifix, even of the cross, as violating the Second Commandment and denying the
Resurrection of Christ by emphasizing his death.73 He is dismissive of the doctrine
of apostolic succession even as held by Anglicans.74 He calls forcefully for different
Protestant bodies to work together as parts of the army of Christ, adding that Popery
is the army of Antichrist.75 He laments, obliquely but unmistakably, over the
impending prospect of disestablishment.

Hayman sometimes deploys his antiquarian researches. A description of the site
of the mediaeval leper hospital near Youghal develops into an extended description
of the world as leper hospital, the Bible as sole cure, and Êire as a particularly pain-
suffused ward, long abused by religious quacks but soon to see the light until Popery
becomes as extinct as leprosy.76 Musings over an old Templar preceptory at Rhincrew near Youghal (discussed in *Notes and Records...*)77 develop into a denunci-
ation of the Crusades as a parody of the spirit of Jesus, and a sign of the eternal
persecuting spirit of Popery (though Hayman also states that Crusaders genuinely
loved and suffered for God and exemplify true Christian warfare against sin).78
Meditating on an antique communion cup in St Mary’s, he rejoices that it dates from
the Reformation:

> No shaveling priest of the old College ever defiled this Cup with his idola-
> trous ordinances. No Caenobite, that despised the pure love of woman, yet
> indulged himself with things forbidden, of which it were a crime to speak,
> ever handled it. No! the freemen of Christ prepared and fashioned it; and over
> it the simple Scriptural forms only of a holy worship were administered by
> those who love the truth as it is in Jesus.79

The same piece suggests a major source of Hayman’s antiquarianism; fascination with the past as reminder of those who went before and of a future when Hayman and his generation would have departed, while new generations worshipped at St Mary’s. (He calculated that the dead in St Mary’s churchyard outnumbered the living inhabitants of Youghal by eight to one). Criticizing the sceptical ‘modern Sadducee’, Hayman states that their arguments against Jesus, God and an afterlife logically present as unreliable all historical knowledge and all evidence of the past (or of remote parts of the world, not beheld with one’s own senses, in the present). This fascination with the transience of life and the intangible reality of memory as paralleling the supernatural world may partly reflect the fact that these Christian Examiner selections are predominantly the work of an older man.

The motive of Hayman’s apparently unclerical zeal for writing tourist guides is also suggested here; his writings are suffused by the Romantic sublime and a sense that nature displays the wonders of God. Convalescing by the seaside, he walks the sands, watches the ships, and broods on the piety of sailors and the biblical promise that in the New Jerusalem there will be no more sea; contemplating the mountains of North Cork, he reflects on Biblical high places, on Ararat, Sinai and Sion. Hayman loved the Lake District (he spent his honeymoon there, corresponded with Wordsworth in the old poet’s later years and quotes his later, more explicitly Christian verse) and compares the Galtees and Comeraghs to the landscapes of Cumbria and of his ancestral Somerset so frequently that he seems hardly to recognize the Irish scenery in its own right. His love of creation is underpinned by certainty that God constantly intervenes in myriad ways; we may not recognize the numerous special providences that shape our lives, but if accepted as God’s will we will see them in hindsight.

This faith underpinned Hayman’s confidence that Anglican missionary work would inevitably triumph in Ireland – was triumphant already. A contrast with that other literary clergyman of Doneraile, Canon Patrick Augustine Sheehan (coincidentally also an admirer of Jean-Paul Richter), is striking; although a representative of the majority faith when it was increasing in influence and status, Sheehan appears more gloomy and isolated than the representative of the former Established Church. In part, this reflects personal temperament (Sheehan was depressive and lost his parents and all but one sibling in early life), in part the isolation of the celibate; but Sheehan is a self-conscious provincial haunted by fear that he will lose his people’s love, and they will lose their souls, to unbelieving metropolitan modernity, while despite his denunciations of ‘the sceptic’, ‘the modern Sadducee’, and Roman ‘Babylon’, the older cleric remains blithely – almost delusionally – confident that the Church of Ireland, with God on its side, will defeat Popery.

His career, then, in its antiquarianism and its ecclesiastical journalism, in its missionary work and its church-building represents the Janus-faced self-image of the Victorian Church of Ireland elite. It is easy in hindsight to note their regrets over eighteenth-century missed opportunities and their fears that the progressive collapse of traditional bastions of Protestant ascendancy before Whig reformers and a resurgent Catholicism heralded the coming of Antichrist and the Biblical Apocalypse; it is harder to evoke the sense shared by many of them that they were recapturing a deeper inward spirituality, and that as their church rediscovered its historical and doctrinal roots, God would surely grant victory and fill its new Gothic churches with worshippers.

86 *Criteria*, p. ix.