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THE LIFE AND WORKS OF CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH TONNA:
ANGLICAN EVANGELICAL PROGRESSIVE

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Thomas C. Cross, B.A., M.A.

Denton, Texas

December 1997

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Among the British evangelicals of her day, Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna was one of the most popular. She was an Anglican Evangelical Progressive who through her works of fiction, poetry, tracts, travel accounts, and essays dealing with theology, politics and social criticism convinced fellow evangelicals to get actively involved in the issues that concerned her. The first chapter traces the first thirty-four years of her life, from her childhood with its Tory, anti-Catholic emphasis, and her becoming deaf, to her conversion to evangelicalism while living in Ireland. The second chapter chronicles Tonna's return to England from Ireland with Jack Britt, and describes her education of this deaf boy. She lived with her soldier brother after refusing to go with her husband to Nova Scotia. She began to become successful in her writing novels during this period, and she began to develop into a Premillennialist with a growing interest in the Jews. This chapter ends with the death of her brother. The third chapter starts with Tonna's struggle against the passing of Catholic Emancipation. She became a Sunday school teacher, struggled against Irvingism, and set

up a church for the Irish at St. Giles. She became financially successful as a writer. She edited the Christian Lady's Magazine, and visited Ireland again. She suffered the death of Jack, but was busy rearing her nephews. The fourth chapter explores the last six years of Tonna's life when she became active in evangelical causes. She married Lewis Tonna, after the death of her first husband. She fully developed into a Jewish restorationist, and worked to evangelize the Jews. She published her most famous works during these years, and worked for social reform in England after the Chartist riots. Tonna was diagnosed with cancer, and the final part of this chapter describes her struggle with this decease, which ended in her death.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. THE EARLY LIFE OF CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH	8
2. CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH: TIME OF JOYS AND SORROW.....	109
3. CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH AS ACTIVE EVANGELICAL	204
4. CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH: THE FINAL YEARS.....	279
CONCLUSION.....	347
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	351

INTRODUCTION

Great Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century was a nation in turmoil. Coming out of a war with France and the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo, the country became a world power. But this new powerful country faced problems at home. The Peterloo Massacre resulted in repressive laws. The repeal of the Test Act and the passing of Catholic Emancipation divided the country over the Protestant-Roman Catholic and the British-Irish conflicts. The Reform Bill was a step in a more democratically elected Parliament. Then, the riots of the Chartist Movement made it appear the lower and working classes would bring England to the point of full revolution. Improvements in the plight of the factory workers started with the Factory Act. The Evangelicals, and other reformers, successfully helped bring about the abolition of slavery in the British Empire.

This latter event demonstrated the importance of Anglican Evangelicals in the movement to bring about some of the reforms of this period. Hannah More (1745-1833), William Wilberforce (1759-1833) and Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Shaftesbury (1801-1885) are some of the more well known members of their group. Personally acquainted with Shaftesbury and More was one other Anglican Evangelical, all but forgotten by the twentieth century. This is Charlotte

Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna (1790-1846), who wrote under the pen name of Charlotte Elizabeth. Tonna is the subject of this paper.

Although Tonna is rarely referred to by twentieth-century historians, she was, in her own period, very popular. She wrote hundreds of articles and editorials, and over one hundred-thirty books and tracts. Thirty-eight British publishers printed her works, from the 1820s through to the late 1860s. In the United States, seventy-two of her titles were printed by twenty-six publishers. In 1876, twenty-five of her titles were still in print. Some of her books were still being published in 1890. Some of her titles were translated into other languages, even including Hindi and Mpongbe. Although many critics consider the literary quality of her writings low, her popularity and the political nature of many of her writings influenced in the popular thought of her time. It is surprising then, that Tonna is largely unknown by specialists in Victorian literature and social history until very recently.¹

Ivanka Kovacevic and S. Barbara Kavner, in their study, showed how Tonna is ignored or given only brief mention in references dealing with Victorian literature. For example, The Dictionary of Literary Biography and Ernest Baker's History of the English Novel do not mention Tonna. The Cambridge History of English Literature gives only a brief note on her poetry.²

By the 1980s though, Tonna became a subject of study once again. Authors, writing from a feminist perspective, began to resurrect Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, seeing her as a proto-feminist. They recognized the influence of Anglican Evangelicalism on Tonna, but believed she was more important for laying the grounds for feminism, although Tonna would not have recognize herself in this capacity. Monica Correa Fryckstedt and Elizabeth Ann Kowaleski wrote the early studies in this mode of thought. Other feminist studies were written by Robin Reed Davis and Constance D. Harsh. Other literary studies, such as those by Deborah Kaplan and Joseph Kestner, emphasize the importance of the realistic portrayal of Tonna's industrial fiction. Then, there is the master's thesis by Philip Garth Siemens in which Tonna's Evangelicalism is shown to influence her social criticism, but even he sees Tonna as a proto-feminist.³

All of these studies have certain things in common. All of these works rely almost entirely on three books by Tonna, Personal Recollections, Helen Fleetwood and Perils of a Nation. Some of these studies on Tonna do use The Christian Lady's Magazine, and some use the Wrongs of Women. But none of these writers deal with Tonna's tracts, nor many of her lesser known works. Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna is seen as a feminist, or at least a proto-feminist, someone who left the place within which women were expected to remain. Some recognize Tonna's Anglican Evangelicalism as

having influence on her social views, but her own unique theological opinions are only given brief description. But one glaring short-fall of these previous studies is that these writers do not let Tonna completely state her own positions on the various issues that concerned her. Tonna clearly stated her opinions about the issues of theology, politics, social criticism and the role of women.

I use Tonna's autobiography, Personal Recollections, along with the major works, but I also use her more obscure books, tracts and poems to let Charlotte Elizabeth present her own viewpoints on all those things about which she was concerned. After describing her life and works, I demonstrate that Tonna was not a feminist, and she was not someone whose religion, Anglican Evangelicalism, compelled her to act on social issues out of some mere class consciousness. I show how Tonna sincerely held onto a theological position that compelled her to act as a servant of God. Above all, I show that her greatest goal was to spread her interpretation of the Gospel of Christ to everyone. Where she opposed the institutions of the Roman Catholic Church and exploitive capitalism, it was primarily because such powers kept thousands of people from the Gospel of Christ.

For Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna was an Anglican Evangelical progressive. All three aspects of this description are necessary in understanding her. Her

Anglicanism cannot be separated as a singular motivation apart from her being a devoted Evangelical. Nor can she be seen as some kind of progressive apart from her theological position.

This study of Tonna is divided into four chapters, each dealing with a significant period of her life. Chapter one covers the first thirty-four years of her life, and deals with the strong influence of her father, and how the environment of her living in Norwich strengthened her anti-Catholicism. This was the time when Charlotte Elizabeth married her first husband, and when, most importantly of all, she underwent her conversion experience that gave her strong purpose in life. To spread the gospel was the motivation for her taking up writing, first tracts, and then long poems. The second chapter starts with Tonna's return to England from Ireland and ends with the death of her beloved brother, John. She lived with her brother for two years at Sandhurst, and she educated Jack the dumb boy. During this time, Tonna became a Premillennialist, and she began to watch world events in the light of Bible prophecy. Chapter three covers the period when Tonna became politically active, opposing Catholic Emancipation, and working publicly, with other politically active Evangelicals. She became more concerned about the Jews, and developed her view of Jewish restorationism. She became the editor of the Christian Lady's Magazine, and helped

establish a church for the Irish of London. She now began to make enough money from her writing to be economically independent. The fourth chapter depends primarily on her second husband's memoirs. It was in the last six years of her life when Tonna published her most influential works. She became even more active in Evangelical causes. She developed cancer, and much of her husband's memoirs describe her dying.

NOTES

1. Philip Garth Siemons, "Aspects of Evangelical Social Criticism with Special Reference to Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, florit 1825-1846," Masters thesis, Regent College, 1988, 19-20.

2. Ivanka Kovacevic and S. Barbara Kavner, "Blue Book into Novel: The Forgotten Industrial Fiction of Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna," Nineteenth-Century Fiction, 25(1970-71): 154.

3. Elizabeth Ann Kowavaleski, "The Dark Night of Her Soul: The Effects of Anglican Evangelicalism on the Careers of Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna and George Eliot," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1981; Monica Correa Fryckstedt, "Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna and the Christian Lady's Magazine," Victorian Periodicals Review, 14(1981): 42-51; Kovacevic and Kavner, 152-73; Robin Reed Davis, "Anglican Evangelicalism and the Feminine Literary Tradition from Hannah More to Charlotte Bronte," Ph.D., diss., Duke University, 1982; Constance D. Harsh, Heroines: Feminist Resolutions of Social Crisis in the Condition of England Novel, (Ann Arbor: the University of Michigan Press, 1994); Deborah Kaplan, "The Woman Worker in Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's Fiction," Mosaic: A Journal for the Comparative Study of Literature, 18:2(Spring 1985), 51-63; Joseph Kestner, "Men in Female Condition of England Novels," Women and Literature, 2(1982), 77-99, "Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's The Wrongs of Women: Female Industrial Protest," Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature, 2:2(Fall 1983), 193-214, Brief Note: Charlotte Bronte and Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna: A Possible Source for Jane Eyre," Papers on Language and Literature, 20:1(Winter 1984), 96-98; Philip Garth Siemons, "Aspects of Evangelical Social Criticism, with Special Reference to Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, florit. 1825-1846," Masters thesis, Regent College, 1988.

CHAPTER 1

THE EARLY LIFE OF CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH 1790-1824

Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna found herself virtually alone in Ireland after only a few years of marriage to her first husband Captain George Phelan. This isolation concentrated her mind on her own relationship with God. After much internal struggle, she arrived at an Evangelical conversion experience. This event would set the agenda for the rest of her life. For after that event, she knew she would be committed to the spread of the Evangelical message. Shortly after her conversion, she discovered her talent for writing. Combining her skills at writing with her driving ambition to propagate the message of salvation, Tonna would write novels, historical works, poems, tracts, and travellogs to tell others about the gospel as she understood it. It was this goal, to spread the gospel, that dominated all of her writings. All other things, including anti-Catholicism, were secondary to that overall goal. By looking at the life of Charlotte Elizabeth through her own memoirs and the account by her second husband dealing with her life after her own account, I show how the events in her life prepared her to become the Evangelical writer that she became. This first chapter then, is a narrative account of

Tonna's life based primarily on the above-mentioned works, from her birth to her departure from Ireland in 1824. It was during this time in her life that she had her conversion experience. Also, this was the period when she began writing for publication. These first thirty-four years of her life established her as the Evangelical propagandist that she would be until her death in 1846.

Almost all the information about the life of Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna comes from her Personal Recollections. Tonna wrote this autobiography as a collection of seventeen letters. The narrative followed a chronological sequence except when it digressed to give background to some particular event. Her memoir did not serve as a complete autobiography, but instead was a device to emphasize those things in her life that would lead her ultimately to her life as an active Evangelical. This emphasis on the propagation of Evangelical truth was the goal of her Personal Recollections.

The Nature of Biography

Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna started her Personal Recollections by noting her reasons for writing an autobiography. She recognized that she was becoming "in some sense public property" because of the popularity of her writings. A person thus removed from private life would be talked about during her own life and after her death, for "the pen of biography is prepared to record, and a host of

curious expectants are marshaled to receive, some fragment at least of private history." Tonna feared writers "unenlightened by spiritual knowledge," could "wrong the subject of their memorial while they injure the cause in which he laboured." Even with those more enlightened writers, sound judgement and discretion were hard to find. Even enlightened writers might seek out private journals and confidential letters, and expose their subject in an "unseemly" manner. Tonna feared her "turn would probably come to be thus exhibited," and so she abstained from keeping "even the slightest memoranda of events, thoughts, or feelings, that could be laid hold on as a private journal." She also stated that any friends who possessed any letters from her, which she would "regard it as a gross breach of confidence, a dishonorable, base and mercenary proceeding on their part, if ever they permit a sentence addressed by me to them to pass into other hands." In this way, Tonna was very much like another early resident of Norwich, Harriet Martineau (1802-1876). She also asked her friends to destroy her correspondence. She too wrote an autobiography, and hoped that future generations would depend on it as a source for learning about her life. Fortunately, Martineau was not very successful, and so many of her letters remain, the collection of letters to Fanny Wedgewood being a prime example. As for Tonna, she protected the confidential correspondence to her from her

friends by keeping the letters from writers compiling biographies of these departed correspondents. Whenever one of these biographers applied for letters from their subject, she would burn them so no one would be able to obtain them.¹

One problem with destroying all memoranda, Tonna realize, was that a writer may draw on his own imagination, and therefore create an even more inaccurate and distorted version of one's life. To prevent those distortions was one reason Tonna decided to write down her Recollections. She fear "the uncertainty of mortal life, with the apprehension that if suddenly removed I shall become the heroine of some strange romance, founded probably on the facts of a life by no means deficient in remarkable incidents, but mixed up with a great deal of fiction." The fear that others would be wounded, whom she did not wish to wound, also convinced her to "draw out a little sketch of such matters as can alone concern the public in any way." She refused to discuss "private domestic history," into which she believed anyone, "possessed of a particle of delicacy," would not want to intrude. Tonna then condemned those biographies that do intrude into the private lives of their subjects. The author then delineated the scope of her autobiography. She writes, the reader

may therefore expect to find in those sheets a record of that mental and spiritual discipline by which it has pleased the Lord to prepare me for the very humble, yet not very narrow, sphere of literary usefulness, in which it was his good purpose to bid me move; with whatever of

outward things, passing events, and individual personal adventure, as it is called, may be needful to illustrate the progress.

She did not discuss living contemporaries, and of the dead she spoke no more than what they would about her if she had died first. As to public events, Tonna spoke freely, and "hold back nothing that bears on spiritual subjects." No one could be able to accuse her of not giving her opinion "on any topic whatever, apart from personalities." She gave her views of public matters, even if by doing so she risked being accused of being an egotist. After a short prayer, asking God to help preserve her from error and to keep her from self-seeking and to turn everything to His glory, Tonna went on to describe the incidents of her life.²

Norwich

Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna was born 1 October 1790, at Norwich. Being born in Norwich seemed to instill a strong overwhelming Protestantism within her. For Tonna lived in a house across from St. Martin's Plain where Protestants met their death as martyrs during the reign of Mary. John Foxe described the burning at the stake of William Seaman, Thomas Carmen and Thomas Hudson, 19 May 1558. He told how the three martyrs prayed for their persecutors, the followers of Queen Mary, with their last dying breaths. They were the ones who died at Lollard's Field on St. Martin's Plain. "St. Martin's Plain, was

probably one of the very first objects traced on the retina of my infant eye, when it ranged beyond the inner walls of the nursery: and often, with tottering step, I passed beneath that arch into the splendid garden of our noble episcopal palace," wrote Tonna. If her Protestantism may not be traced to living in Norwich, her taste in architecture, and also her love of English gardens can.

— Already, at the age of four, she loved wondering around in the gardens of that cathedral. Even then her excursions helped her acquire "that habit of dreamy excursiveness into imaginary scenes, and among unreal personages, which is alike inimical to rational pursuits, and opposed to spiritual mindedness." At that young age her "mind was deeply tinged with a romance not derived from books, nor from conversation, but arising, as I verily believe, out of the singular adaptation to each other of my national taste and the scenery amidst which it began to develop itself." That same year, the family moved to another part of town, but the family still came to the bishop's garden to take walks.³

Reverend Michael Browne, Charlotte's father, became a minor canon of the cathedral and rector of St. Giles, and so the family moved to a new house. This new residence had a huge orchard, shrubbery and flower garden. In the middle of this garden stood a gigantic mulberry with a thick trunk, which resembled a knotted oak. Nestled in its thick

branches were owls and bats, and Tonna loved to get up into the tree and allow these creatures to brush by her as they left for their nightly flights. Already, she showed an independent way about her, in that her behavior was not that which would be considered normal behavior for a little girl. The study of nursery tales took up much of her time when she was not in the garden. She never believed in fairies or goblins, but she loved creating her own imaginary creatures, more "gorgeous or terrible beyond the conception of my classic authorities." Her room became a gallery for her own pictures of those beasts. This stirring of imagination would seem to be welcomed by one who would become a writer, but Tonna lamented her childhood flights into a fantasy world. She excused herself, somewhat, because of her location, "you must admit that the localities in which I was placed were but too favorable to the formation of a character, which I have no doubt the enemy was secretly constructing within me, to mislead by wild, unholy fiction, such as should come within the range of its influence. To God be all the glory that I am not now pandering with this pen to the most groveling or the most impious of man's perverted feelings!"⁴

Charlotte's Passions

Although fiction appeared "unholy" to Tonna, she found one indulgence clearly a "gift from God to man, to be prized, cherished, cultivated": Music. Her father possessed

"one of the first voices in the world." She would weep with joy, while sitting in her mother's lap, listening to her father sing, or hearing one of her father's many musical guests play Handel or Haydn on the harpsichord. Music, according to Tonna, elevated the mind, and "that the man whose bosom yields no response to the concord of sweet sounds, falls short of the standard to which man should aspire as an intellectual being." Satan can, and does, pervert the use of music "to most vile purposes," but still Tonna agreed with Martin Luther that "'the devil hates music.'"⁵

By age six, Tonna became passionately fond of reading. Her uncle, a young physician, offered to teach her to read and speak French. She accepted the offer, and she would walk through old Bridewell section of town on the way to his house. She admired the celebrated architecture of this area. In her uncle's house stood "a very large and deep-toned organ," on which he would play "sublime strains" for her. She made an extra effort to exceed her uncle's expectations, for she loved her uncle and desired to hear him play the organ. She excelled because of "a natural inclination to acquire learning." She placed her French book under her pillow, so that upon first light she could study. Tonna believed she became suddenly totally blind because she overstrained her eyes. Although her blindness was a "grievous blow" to her parents, God, according to

Tonna, caused her disability to work for good. Her blindness checked her lust for acquiring things, which she believed "to be a bad tendency, particularly in a female." Not being able to see, Charlotte was allowed to remain with her father during his political discussions with his many guests. Her father, being so proudly the Englishman, argued his positions strongly. Under these conditions, Tonna wrote, "I don't see how the little blind girl, whose face was ever turned up toward the unseen speaker, and whose mind opened to every passing remark, could avoid becoming a thinker, a reasoner, a Tory, and a patriot." She became impressed by one particular guest, Dr. Samuel Parr (1747-1825), a Whig disputant, who had been the headmaster of the Norwich School 1778-1785, and whose brother, Robert, served as rector of the parish of St. Lawrence. Parr would vacation in Norwich from time to time. On his visits at the Browne home he would clash with Charlotte's father and in the process bring out brilliant arguments on both sides. Tonna realized that some readers would accuse her of being too political in her writings. She believed "a child reared in such a nursery" as hers could not help but be political. Also, during her months of blindness Charlotte increased her passion for music. Her father would invite students to come in and sing for her while her godfather played the harpsichord. It was during this blind period that she came to appreciate her younger brother, John Murray Browne, who

became her eyes. The affection described here, and elsewhere in her Recollections, for her brother, demonstrated the tremendous love of which she was capable. Tonna expressed such strong affection for no one else.⁶

Early Religious Views

After a few months passed, Tonna's sight returned, and her father began taking her and her brother on walks again. He often took them by Lollard's Pit, and he would describe to them the death of those martyrs who were burned at the stake because they refused to worship wooden images. Charlotte became horror stricken, and she kept asking him questions about the death of the three martyrs, but his answers were insufficient. One day her father gave her an old folio copy of John Foxe's Acts and Monuments. "'I don't think you can read a word of this book,'" said her father, "'but you may look at the pictures: it is all about the martyrs.'" Indeed she had trouble reading the unusual type, but she did devour every woodcut picture to the point where she believed that she "took in more of the spirit of John Foxe . . . than many do by reading his book through." A few days later she asked her father, "'Papa, may I be a martyr?' 'What do you mean child?' 'I mean, papa, may I be burned to death for my religion, as these were? I want to be a martyr.'" He smiled and gave her an answer she would never forget, "'Why Charlotte, if the government ever gives power to the Papists again as they talk of doing, you may probably

live to be a martyr.'" This answer pleased her, and from that point on she would come to love the Bible more and more. "This I know," wrote Tonna, "that at six years old the foundation of a truly scriptural protest was laid on my character." She prayed that the Lord would find her active whenever he came to earth, and he would find "his servant not only watching, but working against the diabolical iniquity that filled the Lollard's Pit with the ashes of his saints."⁷

As for the Bible itself, Tonna grew up in a home where the Scriptures were used as a reward, not as a source of harsh tasks. The family Bible was the one used by Queen Charlotte at her coronation in 1761, and it became "the perquisite of a Prebendary of Westminster," and his wife presented it to Tonna's mother, "to whom she stood sponsor." This royal Bible became the center of family life when her father would open it up and read the history of Old Testament heroes. He added no spiritual lessons to these narrations, but his whole attitude inculcated the belief that God was the author of the Bible, and that "it would be highly criminal to doubt the truth of any word in that book." The consequences of this mode of instruction instilled in her a joy in the Scriptures, and it led Tonna to search the Bible for herself. It taught her "to expect beauties and excellencies, and high intellectual gratification, where God has indeed caused them to abound."

She came to find the Bible a fruitful garden, a source of nutrition. She thoroughly learned to find delight in the Scriptures, so that when "the veil was withdrawn" from her heart, after her conversion experience, she could see how Jesus "flooded the light of day into the already abundant garden. "Then she began to realize that "'the Bible, the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants.'"⁸

At this point in her life, religion became very important to her. Tonna's mother emphasized the omniscience and the omnipresence of God, and Tonna could never "shake off" a feeling of the continual presence of God. As a result it became difficult to lie. She and her brother could never comprehend how other children could lie with impunity. "'Do they think God does not hear that?'" they would whisper to each other when they heard another child tell a falsehood. She admitted this led to a certain attitude of self-righteousness. Nevertheless, a habitual regard for truth took hold, making it impossible to continue in a lie. Charlotte one time lied to protect a servant girl who had done some serious offence. Upon further investigation by her father, Tonna could no longer continue in the cover-up of the girl's wrongdoing, and so she confessed her own lie and told him what the girl had done. Her father dismissed the girl, and he punished Charlotte with one of the few spankings she ever received as a child. As a result of this punishment, which she believed she

richly deserved, she came to love her father even more than ever. She took the whipping better than her brother who stood outside the room pleading, "'Oh, Papa, don't whip Charlotte! Oh forgive poor Charlotte!'" Tonna rejoiced that Christians have a Brother in Christ who pleads for us, and a Father who chastises us in love. She believed children should be punished by their parents, not by a servant. Their foolishness should be driven from them, but grace should be shown when appropriate.⁹

Tonna began Letter Two by proclaiming her belief that there is no such thing as an honest personal journal. Evil, always active in one's mind, was freely transcribed. Evil was "dealt in generals, good in particulars," and therefore there was no fair balance. In this way the failures the writer was willing to admit only made him appear humble and more human than if he had not admitted them. Even in autobiography, Satan helped the writer deceive himself and others. Tonna's purpose in her autobiography was to glorify God. She stated that "among the diversity of gifts," God bestowed on people,

he granted a portion of mental energy, a quickness of perception, a liveliness of imagination, an aptitude for expressing the thoughts that were perpetually revolving in my mind, such as to fit me for literary occupation.

She believed Satan wanted to use her skills for his purposes, but God, mercifully, prevented that, so that she could use her talents for the Lord.¹⁰

The Brownes sent neither Charlotte nor her brother John to boarding school, for their parents could not bear being separated from their children. Teachers came to educate them in the home. Because of her recent recovery from blindness, Charlotte was, at first, forbidden to strain her eyes by trying to learn to write her letters, but she taught herself by tracing the letters from a patent copybook. Her father later caught her writing a letter to someone by tracing the needed words from a book, and in the process she was creating a fictional account of events in the household to fit the words she traced. Her father laughed at her "first literary attempt."¹¹

"Dangerous Fascination"

It was at this time, when she was seven, that she "became entangled in a net of dangerous fascination." One night she had to stay home, due to illness, while her brother attended a performance of Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice." She always enjoyed the few dramatic performances she had seen and so she was very upset for missing the performance. Her father gave her a copy of the play to read, and there alone, she "drank a cup of intoxication" under which her mind reeled for years to come. She became fascinated by the character Shylock. Kowaleski, in her dissertation, stated that this interest in the Jew, Shylock, foreshadowed her later identification in the plight of the Jews, and her support of evangelism to that group.

Tonna never made such a connection in her memoirs. She became so caught up in the excitement of Shakespeare that her view of reality became distorted. Instead of wanting to hear a passage from the Bible for a reward, she now wanted permission to take a copy of another Shakespeare play to her room to read. Her father encouraged her love of the playwright, and he enjoyed listening to her recite passages from her favorite plays. She wrote, "this I mention to prove what a powerful hold the enemy of all godliness must have expected to take on a spirit so attached to romance." She came to hate conversation, other than that with literary men. She came to dislike women and children, and anything to do with domestic affairs. She wasted untold hours. "What robbery of God," she writes,

must I refer to this ensnaring book! My mind became unnerved, my judgement perverted, my estimate of people and things wholly falsified, and my soul wrapped in the vain solace of unsubstantial enjoyments during years of sorrow, when but for this I might have sought the consolation of the gospel.

Parents did not realize the danger of "over indulgence, they foster in a young girl what is called a poetical taste." Shakespeare had become an idol to her.¹²

Deafness

Meanwhile, Tonna's health began to decline, and so her father brought doctors in to treat her. Unfortunately, the drug used to cure all ailments then was mercury. They practically fed this drug to her, which, according to Tonna,

kept her near death, and caused the total deafness that struck her by age ten. She saw all of this as Satan's attack on her, but God overruled "for the furtherance of his own gracious designs." Shut out from music and conversation, she turned even more to books. She added the British poets to her reading list, but her mother insisted she read aloud long passages from boring books. Unfortunately, in order to carry out this unwelcomed task, she learned to read "mechanically with a total abstraction of mind from what it was about." Even her devotions fell into this habit, and she would think of idle songs while reading out loud from the Bible. Not being able to hear aided in this technique.¹³

Her health became so affected that the doctors prescribed her removal to the country, where she would be in the open air, and where frequently she could go to a farm yard where she could inhale the breath of a cow. The doctors believed cow breath had some medicinal value. Charlotte's father exchanged parochial duties with a friend so the family could move to the country. They moved to a tall white house near the church. The property contained a huge garden with a stream and a mill. The stream abounded with fish, and they all became expert anglers. Her removal to the country brought on improved health, and she "out-bloomed every girl" her age in the area. She replaced the sedentary enjoyment of reading books with long walks in

the country. "From the polluted works of man I was drawn to the glorious works of God," writes Tonna. She came to love the rural life, playing with farm animals, crawling through brambles, tearing her clothes. She enjoyed drinking the fresh milk of cows, when she visited the barns to breathe their breath. She even joined her father on his hunting trips with his pointers. She did not like the "destructive expeditions" in one sense, but she enjoyed being outdoors with her father. When she came home with torn clothes from all these excursions her mother would complain that she could not wear a frock twice without soiling it and that within a week it was torn. "'The expense will ruin us,'" she said. "'Well, my dear,'" answered her father, "'if I am to be ruined by expense, let it come in the shape of the washerwoman's and linen-draper's bills; not in those of the undertaker.'"¹⁴

Tonna wished to see all girls allowed to romp and play in the country. She lamented seeing a "party of girls, a bonneted and tippeted double-file of humanity under the keen surveillance of a governess," who never allowed the girls to bound over a stream or climb a fence. She believed young girls should have physical exercise just like young animals do. She believed she may have died if she had not been encouraged to run about in the fields and woods.¹⁵

One day, when she was about eight years old, her father came in when she was being fitted for stays of buckram and

whalebone. Her father asked, "'Pray what are you going to do to the child?' 'Going to fit her with a pair of stays.' 'For what purpose?' 'To improve her figure; no young lady can grow up properly without them.' 'I beg your pardon, young gentlemen grow up very well without them, and so may young ladies.' 'Oh you are mistaken. See what a stoop she has already; depend on it this girl will be both a dwarf and a cripple if we don't put her into stays.' 'My child may be a cripple, ma'am, if such is God's will, but she shall be one of His making, not ours.'" All stays and tight dresses were forbidden by "the authority of one whose will was, as every man's out to be, absolute in his own household." He carefully watched over Charlotte, cutting waist ribbons if he felt they were too tight, forbidding tight clothing of any kind. One of Charlotte's friends who used stays ended up dying at nineteen. She attributed that girl's poor health to her tight clothing, and she attributed her own good health to the lack of such restraints. She believed that the use of devices to tighten the waist and give a false shape to a woman's figure went against the way God intended a woman to be shaped, and therefore they should not be used. Also, she considered wrong the compressing of feet to fit into small shoes, for it interfered with the circulation. Tonna believed that Christian mothers should teach their daughters "godly simplicity," and should teach them to avoid these artificial means of changing the body.

She found that most men willingly agreed with her about these matters. "All cramping is decidedly bad," wrote Tonna, but certain restraints that develop regular habits, in education, work, and play, were good, and especially indispensable were those developing the habit of punctuality. Her rural existence actually discouraged the development of the latter habit. She lived "the life of a butterfly." Somehow, she developed the habit of punctuality, and she attributed this to divine intervention. Yet this rural life brought health and vigor to her constitution, and life in the country instilled a true patriotism and appreciation of the truly English home that she could never have come to know, according to Tonna, by living in any of the big cities. The English of the countryside were the greatest barrier against the Popish threat.¹⁶

Her rural life helped her escape from those books that had supplanted the Bible, but still the poems she had memorized kept coming to mind, and her thoughts were "so abundantly stored with the glittering tinsel of unsanctified genius," that there was not room for a craving after better studies. Yet her mind did become "devotional in the extreme," and she believed she could have been converted to Catholicism if anyone had tried to convert her. She had become a sort of Deist, looking to James Thomson's "Hymn of the Seasons" and even on Alexander Pope's "Universal

Prayer," as her manuals of devotion, although the latter poem was strictly forbidden by her father as the "most blasphemous outrage of revelation." Yet she had already memorized it and the poem had its effect on her thinking. She did enjoy going to church, but reading the Bible already began to convict her of her own sinfulness. She looked back to her childhood and she saw how that the part of the Catechism that declares, "I believe in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctified me and all the Elect people of God," actually prevented her from seeking salvation because this part of the Catechism already placed her among the Elect. Tonna declared her loyalty to the Church of England, but she believed the above sentence should be changed.¹⁷

French Revolution and Napoleon

The Third Letter started with Tonna's childhood memories of the effects of the horrors of the French Revolution and the violence in Ireland on England. Her father, devoted to the Constitution in Church and State, offered verbal resistance to the revolutionary ideas, but on one occasion he joined a group of men to break up a "seditious" meeting, and he helped drive them out of town. Tonna then stated, "Antichrist bestrode out city, firmly planting there his two cloven hoofs of Popery and Socinianism." The elements of the French Revolution and the Irish rebellion aided the spread of what Tonna considered heresies. The Browne family had nothing to do with some of

the old Catholic families of Norwich, the Jernighams and the Petres. She believed these families used their wealth and private influence to send to parliament, from Norwich, "one of their own." Tonna's family was also unaffected by the intellectual unrest that encouraged some of her neighbors, such as Sarah Taylor, Harriet Martineau (1802-1876), and Elizabeth Gurney Fry (1780-1845). The Papist and the Socinianist both saw the Church of England as their "most insurmountable barrier to their design upon the civil and religious institutions of the country."¹⁸

One time, the future Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. James Henry Monk (1784-1856), then a student, and living in their house, saw Charlotte pouring over a newspaper. He predicted then and there, "'Missy will one day be a great politician.'" He was somewhat right, in that Tonna never avoided speaking out on political matters, and she hoped the mothers of England would become educated to teach their children from the nursery the "sound principles" from the Constitution. She was proud that she reared offspring, though not her own (her nephews), to become devoted to the Constitution and to Protestantism.¹⁹

During those days, when Napoleon threatened an invasion, members of the laboring class signed up to form local regiments to repel any such invasion. It was a wonderful time to see everyone working together to defend their homeland. The ministers, including Charlotte's

father, preached patriotic sermons, which helped bring everyone together in common cause. The gospel may have been neglected at that time, but nevertheless, the English came to realize it was God who would provide them protection. Two-thirds of the men during this time would appear in church wearing their military uniforms. Martial music accompanied the psalm reading. Even the children played games of war. Her brother John, whom she saw as having the "character of the soldier," played soldier with the boys in the area. She helped by sewing colored strips of cloth to a broomstick to make the colors for his regiment. Although this was child's play, the fear of the invasion was very real. Charlotte and her brother practiced hiding in the haystack; for they truly believed that Napoleon himself would attack their very own farm. They pledged to defend their mother, and to try to kill Bonaparte. The lower classes came to fear him as unstoppable, and every man in England, according to Tonna, wanted to kill him, and many a woman hoped to give him "Jael's welcome." Tonna believed Napoleon was the scourge of God's wrath, sent to punish the Catholic nations of Europe. The non-Catholic countries of England, Egypt, and Russia all eventually repelled the invader. No one living through that period could forget the emotions stirred by the fear of this man.²⁰

In spite of the national defiance of the French Revolution and Napoleon, the "false liberalism" of France,

nevertheless, made inroads by first, wanting to remove the establishment test on admitting any Protestant to a corporate or other office of civil trust. The second was Catholic Emancipation itself. George III opposed these changes, and God, according to Tonna, extended his life to help in the cause. The Test Act prevented the "worst and vilest" from entering office. Tonna believed the laws, civil and ecclesiastical, were "framed on Scripture grounds for the governance of this a Christian land." Ending the Test Act would lead to a separation of church and state. Yet this act also led to hypocrisy, in that people, qualified for various offices, would take communion in order to obtain office. Tonna seemed torn by this issue, but her father opposed the changes in toto. She believed he proved to be right, and that England was "smitten with a suicidal blow, the fatal weapon being declension from God."²¹

England Essentially Christian

Tonna presented her theory of the English Constitution, the frame-work of our constitution in church and state is essentially Christian, and its details scriptural; but this frame-work consists only in acts and ordinances, drawn up by man's hand, and transmitted from sire to son. It is evident that nothing spiritually vital can reside in skins of parchment, and that these last are merely a dead letter, except as men act them out.

Yet, in spite of possessing "so perfect a code of laws," England was like the bodies in Ezekiel's vision in which bone, muscles and flesh come together but they were still

dead without the breath of life. England neglected the blessings of God and became dependent on its own strength. Therefore, it deserved to receive punishment from God. That punishment came by poison getting into the system. The destruction within was because God was no longer glorified.²²

It became more and more difficult for a true Christian to separate from the evils of the world. If one did so, he would find himself the object of scorn among his friends. Fewer and fewer people stood up against the evil idols of liberalism and Whiggism, so that gradually the spirit of Whiggism inculcated intellectual thinking. Leaders in society began thinking the constitution was not divinely based, but created by man and therefore could be changed without concern for God's laws. Innovations came to both state and church. Only a small band of enlightened Christians stood with the King.²³

This crisis was one "on which hung the political salvation of our native land." This crisis did not come to an end until God multiplied and strengthened protesting conservators, so that any "act of national apostasy" could never be truly seen as a national act. The righteous King George III stood in the path of those liberal reformers. Although he may have gone mad, still his long life enabled the growth of the protest. God laughed at the madness of people, according to Tonna, "while making that unconscious,

decrepit trembler the secure defense of an empire's integrity, against all that man's proudest might could do to subvert it.²⁴

The Act of Union of 1798 with Ireland convinced many of the need to Catholic Emancipation. Her father always said that the turmoil leading up to this act should have convinced the leaders of England that Emancipation would only encourage further uprisings, not suppress them. The liberal view, though, saw the lack of freedom for Catholics in Ireland as despotism. Tonna and her father saw things in a different light. Catholic Emancipation would allow the despotism of Church leaders to oppress the people of Ireland.²⁵

Daily Life

Tonna devoted some part of the Third Letter to describe the routine of her daily life. She spent time reading and occupying herself with rural occupations. She particularly enjoyed working in her garden. Yet she continued to have her mind flooded by romantic adventure. At least on Sunday she avoided light reading by reading the Bible and sermons instead. She was convicted that she spent six days of the week absorbed in worldly things that at least on one day she could devote her thoughts to God. She believed that God was already at work convicting her, and convincing her to seek wisdom, even though, as yet she did not know the gospel. She showed how dangerous it was to encourage the young to

read romance novels. The children may seem unharmed and unaffected by romantic ideas, but in reality they were like snow-capped Etna ready to explode. Even those young people who outwardly jested and seemed happy may be "brooding over some phantom known only to itself."²⁶

Some parents, wrote Tonna, believed it was better to educate the young people with the standard British poets and prose authors while they are still under careful supervision, so as to neutralize any adverse effect. If the works were introduced when a young person was at a "riper age," when there were fewer restraints, then there was more opportunity to go astray. Tonna removed "the furniture of a worldly library" from her shelves, and recommended this for others, but as for the above technique, she believed there are two dangers. First there was no way to tell how these writings may affect an individual, and second, the young person might die young, and meanwhile the parents had not been training the child for eternity, but instead they had been filling his head with romance novels and poetry. This mixing of wheat and tares was regrettable, according to Tonna.²⁷

The greatest error, though, was to overlook the "personality, the energy, the power, the watchfulness, the deep cunning to the devil." He was only mentioned in worship at church. Any other murderer who would be loose attacking our households would be the subject of much

discussion, but not the devil. The hideous caricature learned in the nursery inspired disgust in the child, but this abhorrence wore off as the child advances into youth. Later, one might adopt the pictures of Satan created by Milton, but neither presented the roaring lion that sought to devour each Christian. Believers ignored his presence and ended up doing his work in ignorance.²⁸

Ramantic Notions

During these years Tonna continued to struggle with pride, which she considered, "the master-sin of my corrupt nature." She began to believe her character, modeled on the standard set in her "foolish books," to be superior to that of others. Noting the mean, selfish and malicious traits in others, she contrasted her own "high-flown notions" of her own opposite qualities. She molded her own character after those she found in Shakespeare and other writers, and therefore any new character she found in a new book became a source for additional traits for herself. Those books caused her to distort her estimation of real people in her own life, as she saw them filtered through the world of romance fiction. Although she loved dancing, she preferred to dwell on her own vain thoughts. She wrote political squibs for local candidates, and these same politicians came to her grand election ball when she turned sixteen. "Alas for the girl who makes such a debut!"²⁹

The greatest damage done by her absorption of romance

notions was her encouragement of her brother to join the army. John always had a love of anything military, and so when he reached the age old enough to seek a commission, he asked his father to allow him to join the army, but his father opposed this move, hoping to keep him home.

Charlotte, under romantic ideals of glory, fame and hope of a conqueror's wreath or a hero's grave, used her influence to change her father's mind. The Bishop of Norwich, Charles Manners Sutton, used his influence to obtain a commission for John, as well as provide him with letters to take with him, when he was immediately sent to the Iberian Peninsula. These letters of reference helped him to rise quickly in his career. Tonna felt responsible for sending her brother off to the bloody Peninsular Campaign, but she was so clouded by "senseless romance" that she was willing to send out her beloved brother. "There was, indeed," wrote Tonna, "but one heart between us, and neither could fancy what it would be to rejoice or to suffer alone." Tonna believed there was no love equal to that which bound an only sister to an only brother, but that love was best when "untrammelled by the heathen forms of fashion, unrivaled by alien claimants in their confiding affection; undivided in study, in sport, and interest." Her relationship with her brother did not make him effeminate, nor did it cause her to be masculine. She believed one result of her constantly being around her masculine brother, one of the "superior sex," as

she put it, was to give her "a high sense of that superiority, with a habit of deference to man's judgement, and submission to man's authority, which I am quite sure God intended the woman to yield." She developed other loves for other people but none would be as strong as the affection for her brother. Tonna believed it wrong for parents to separate brother and sister by sending the boy off to boarding school, where with only male companionship, he would lose the softer side of his personality, he acquired by being with his sister. He would begin to see "the female character in a light wholly subversive of the frankness, the purity, the generous care for which earth can yield no substitute," and transformed him into a heartless destroyer of women. Girls were kept home under "unnatural and unpotatable restraints," under the watchful eye of their father. A girl either developed an unnatural shyness around men, treating them as if they were dangerous, or she became a coquet, flirting with every man she sees. Both girls were removed from reality. If they had remained with their brother, they could have developed the proper social skills on how to talk with men.³⁰

In Letter Four, Tonna described the one spiritually-minded person in her early life: Her grandmother. Her father's mother was a "sprightly robust old lady," who gave Charlotte her propensity toward independence. Her grandmother purposely avoided dressing in

the latest fashion. She even refused to submit her hair to the curling irons, and powder-puff of a friseur preparatory to an evening party. She was a Percy, descendent of "the stout Earl of Northumberland," Thomas Percy (1528-1572), the subject of Hannah More's play, and she was proud of it. She had Charlotte sing the "Chevy Chase" in proper time and tune. This pride in ancestry gave Charlotte another source of vanity. Her grandmother particularly hated anything to do with France. She attacked the latest fashions as "French foolishness," and thus condemned them. She was a strong Protestor and a Tory, who drew from the Bible support for her political opinions. The grandmother tried to teach Charlotte the meaning of the Bible, but when the family moved, she rarely saw her, and her grandmother did not write letters, so they seldom communicated with each other.³¹

Her Father's Death and Her First Marriage

After her brother had been serving in the Peninsula for some time, her father began suffering with a series of strokes. He seemed to have recovered but then one night Charlotte was called from her bed to come to her father as he died. Bereavement overcame her, for she had been his principle companion because only she and he shared the same interest in literature and politics. Since her brother's departure, she had tried to be both son and daughter to her father. From the period of the loss of hearing, Charlotte's father had all but given up music, the passion of his mind,

just for her. This had redoubled her devotion to him, and upon his death bitter anguish flooded her heart. Yet she "found a luxury in grieving alone, brooding on the past, and painting the probable future in any colours but those of reality." Her father only left his widow a small annuity, and so Tonna resolved to take up novel writing to bring in income. She felt she was fully qualified by nature and habits of thinking, and she would have succeeded very well, "but it pleased God," wrote Tonna, "to save me from this snare." Her brother John came home on leave. They moved to a different house, and she visited friends and they visited her; and so all this busywork kept her from writing. Then when her brother returned to Portugal, she and her mother moved in with relatives in London. There she met Captain George Phelan, of the Sixtieth Rifle Corps. Charlotte simply wrote in her Recollections, "It was there that I met with the gentleman, an officer on leave of absence, whose wife, at the end of six months, I became." (ca. 1815)³²

The author began her Personal Recollections by telling the reader she would not dwell on domestic matters, but still her lack of any indication about her feelings for Phelan is maddening for a biographer. She shared with the reader her feelings for her brother, her father and her grandmother, but gave no hint of her relationship with her husband. With all the advice she gave out when she discussed her feelings for others, it seems like she would

take the opportunity of her marriage to give the reader lessons from her own life, but she did not do so. Tonna wrote that she wanted to move on "through the darkness of many trying dispensations." She therefore passed over much that intervened between her marriage to Phelan and the time when "the light of the glorious gospel of Christ first shone" upon her. Her brother got married and returned to London with his wife to take up staff duties there. Shortly after Charlotte's marriage to Phelan, her husband was posted to Halifax, Nova Scotia. He joined up with the Seventh Battalion of the Sixtieth Regiment of Foot and soon he was promoted to Captain and became a field officer. He immediately sent for his bride to join him. She left on a government ship conveying troops to Halifax. She came under the care of an officer and his wife.³³

Nova Scotia

In her memoir Tonna used more than three double column pages to describe her voyage to Nova Scotia. She was at her best in her very detailed account of a storm at sea, the specifics of which are not described in this paper. For one paragraph in the middle of describing the storm, she digressed to present a sermon on the importance of punctuality. Those who were late for appointments rob God. During the storm Charlotte opened the window to her room to take in the full effect of the waves crashing against the ship. The captain of the ship sent a messenger down to tell

her to close her window. She refused, but the steward said the captain insisted the window must be shut. "'Take me on deck, and you may shut it,'" responded Tonna. Women were not allowed on deck during a storm, said the steward, because their "drapery," when wet, would bear them over the ship's side. Charlotte refused to close the window. "This was downright reckless," wrote Tonna, and she wondered how she could have "sported with death," when she had not yet acquired the hope of eternal life. The act of dying had always brought terror to her but "until through adverse circumstances, I seemed to have nothing worth living for, and then I could laugh at it in my own heart." It is difficult to tell if she was trying to let the reader see that she would just as soon die as see her husband. Writing as a "saved" individual she could now face death, but she would go "through many waters of affliction, and to experience remarkable interpositions at His hand who was leading me by a path which I knew not."³⁴

Captain Phelan spent May 1815 to 1816 stationed to a detachment of his regiment at Annapolis. Two of God's interpositions occurred in Nova Scotia, according to Tonna. Her husband had a wonderful Arabian horse, a descendent of the one presented by George III to the Duke of Kent, which she came to love. This beautiful horse was considered unbreakable, but she came every day to stroke it and to talk to this horse named Fairy. Her husband was a field officer

over a group of French and Polish soldiers who had surrendered in Portugal and chose to become British soldiers rather than become prisoners. Some of these men were from the "choicest soldiers of Napoleon's army." Many "were evidently of a superior class to the generality of private soldiers...." One Pole and one Frenchman served as grooms for her husband's horses. Although Fairy became familiar with these men it still would not allow them to ride. At some point Charlotte took to riding Fairy out into the wilderness outside Annapolis. She believed God intervened to protect her, and inexperienced rider, from being thrown by this wild Arabian. This horse even inspired her to write a poem about it, and an excerpt of that poem appeared in her autobiography. Tonna stated that she was unthankful to God for preserving her life on these wild and dangerous rides. "Would to God I might more fully devote to His service every day of the life so wonderfully preserved by Him!" She recounted then, another sign of God's preserving power in that she came out of a terrible coach wreck with only a "contusion of the hip."³⁵

In spite of the severest winter in thirty years, followed by an oppressively hot summer, Tonna maintained her excellent health. During her time in Nova Scotia she learned how to cook from Sebastian, a French mess cook. If he had not taught her the culinary and confectionary arts, she and her husband would have lived off raw meal and salt

rations during the weeks they were snowed in. Sebastian and her neighbors taught her the skills of putting away preserves and making pastry as well. Tonna stated that the study of "good housewifery" should be taught to all girls, for they never know when they might need those domestic skills. The effects of extremely low temperature on meat and milk fascinated her and she made it the subject of a long paragraph. She accounted how a French Roman Catholic soldier prevented her from damaging her frost bit hands by putting them near the fire before she regained some circulation. She found it ironic that a Catholic man saved the hands that would later write works against his religion. Her overall impression of Nova Scotia was positive, but she did reprimand the Nova Scotian treatment of the remaining "Aborigines." She agreed with the commonly held belief that the Native Americans were "very much heathen," but they still were human and are deserving of positive attention. Tonna saw strong evidence that the Indians were the descendants of the scattered tribes of Israel. One time Tonna harbored a wounded Indian who had been shot by a party of soldiers. This comment in her memoirs made it sound like she was protecting a fugitive Native American from the soldiers, but there was a different picture in several "By-Gone Days" articles in The Christian Lady's Magazine she went into much detail about this incident. One of the French soldiers, of a very "intractable" character, who had

developed an "unquenchable thirst for blood," was named Pierrot. He was ordered to take some Indians out to the forest to bring back a captured elk. He came back with no elk and no Indians. Giving a very confusing account of what happened, he related a tale in which he said he had to shoot one of the Indians and the rest escaped into the woods. Charlotte feared the Indian was left out in the woods wounded. She convinced a "genuine fine old Highlander" to take some men out to find the wounded Indian and bring him back to her house. They found the wounded man, who was being protected by his younger brother. They brought him back on a sled. Pierrot was arrested. They took the injured man to Charlotte's house. She described her home as a multi storied "wooden dwelling originally built for the Duke of Kent, when Annapolis was the capital...." Members of the Indian's village stayed to watch over the man, and many "squaws" helped cook for all the guests. Charlotte became known among the villages as the woman who had treated the wounded Indian with such kindness. She only wished she would have been in a state of salvation so she could have told them about the gospel. As for Pierrot, he was released and allowed to prepare to leave with the two Foreign battalions going back to England and then from there to France in order to be discharged in their native country. Charlotte would go back on the same ship. Life in Nova Scotia was not completely pleasant for Charlotte.

Townspeople of Annapolis related in another account how they saw Phelan beat his wife. Since Tonna refused to discuss private domestic history, she said nothing about her home life with Captain Phelan.³⁶

The time came for Tonna to leave. She saw the soldiers going to the ship that would take them to England, but she believed she had another day before it would leave. Then the next morning a few of the French soldiers came to her in panic, because the ship was already under way and they were left behind. She looked out her upstairs window and saw the ship heading out across the bay at full sail. The men seized "a little crazy shallop" in which they jumped into, and they rowed out across the choppy waters of the bay to get to the ship. They got to the vessel just as the winds died down. Charlotte climbed up the side of the ship somehow, and an officer pulled her aboard. The panic turned out was uncalled for since the winds remained too light to propel the ship, so they remained in the bay for several days. Finally they headed out to sea. The white cliffs of her native land, sighted on the return voyage, inspired a sense of patriotism in Tonna. She saw England as the greatest Christian nation, which possessed the true knowledge of God, and was busy sending the message of Christ throughout the world. It was "the land of Protestantism, the land of the Bible!" She could not understand those Christians who "profess to have merged their patriotism in

something of universal good-will to the household of faith all over the world." She saw this attitude as if one regarded his neighbor's wife as his own. One should be attached to his own household in faith as one is attached in domestic life. She called for a national-oriented Christianity.³⁷

Ireland

In Letter Five, Tonna related her journey in her soul to saving faith,

I now arrive at an epoch from which I may date the commencement of all that deserves to be called life, inasmuch as I had hitherto been living without God in the world. My existence was a feverish dream of vain pleasure first, and then of agitation and horrors. My mind was a chaos of useless information, my character of unapplied energies, my heart a waste of unclaimed affections, and my hope an enigma of confessed speculations. I had plenty to do, yet felt that I was doing nothing; and there was a growing want within my bosom, a craving after I know not what; a restless, unsatisfied, unhappy feeling.

Those depressing feelings did not come from any conviction of her sinfulness, nor did she, at that time, doubt her safety as a Child of God.³⁸

Shortly after arriving back in England (1818), Tonna's husband summoned her to join him at the Phelan property near Kilkenny, Ireland. He needed her help with his paperwork in a law-suit. She would have preferred to go to New South Wales, rather than go to Ireland, for she held the common prevailing prejudice against "that land of barbarians." Many Englishmen saw Ireland as "a horrid place, and the

people all savages."³⁹

Charlotte gave a detailed account of her journey from London to Kilkenny. The trip was rather uneventful until Tonna boarded the boat from Holyhead and she realized she had accidentally thrown away her money. She was too proud to confess the fact that she was penniless. Then as they pulled into the pier at Howth, she almost fell overboard between the pier and the vessel, but a sailor grabbed her legs and kept her from going over. Tonna related how calm she was herself, but all the Irishmen around her were agitated and they went on thanking God for her escape. Tonna was still concerned about her moneyless state: She would not take lodging the night before leaving for Dublin, and she would not borrow money even to buy a meal even though she was very hungry. The fellow travelers going to Dublin, hired a post-chaise, which was more comfortable, and the trip would be billed and not paid in advance, so Tonna agreed.⁴⁰

The journey proved to be hazardous, for somewhere along the road the horses became frightened, and began running wildly, causing the driver to fall on the footboard and loose the reins. Tonna, having survived one upset carriage in Nova Scotia, resolved to not go through another in Ireland. She jumped from the chaise, and fell with no injury. Fortunately the coach stopped a few feet away. Tonna saw this escape from injury as the direct intervention

of God. She joked with her fellow riders as she blew out the soil from her mouth, "Oh, well I suppose I am to love this country after all, for I have kissed it in spite of me." The other passengers would not allow her back on until she promised not to jump out again. She arrived at Dublin, went up to her husband's room at the Hibernian hotel, "seized some money," ran down and paid her bill before anyone could tell she had been "a complete bankrupt up to that minute."⁴¹

In spite of her original prejudice against Ireland, she soon came to love the country and its people. On her trip to Kings County, she found herself arriving in time to witness St. John's Eve festival. The local people lit bonfires on the hills all around. The gentleman she was staying with said the activities were based on old pagan rituals. The peasants, all healthy and "full of that sparkling animation and excess of enjoyment that characterizes the enthusiastic people of the land," gathered around the bonfire near the house. Bagpipers began to play, and the people began dancing the Irish jig. Tonna made note of the Sabbath-breaking immorality around her. At that time these actions did not repulse her, and she almost got up and joined in the dancing. Then as the fire began to die down, a man wearing a wooden horse's head appeared. He jumped through the fire, and was followed by many of the peasants. Even children were thrown through the low flames. Her

companions told her that the horse somehow represented all cattle. Tonna believed the worship of Baal and Moloch was alive in these rituals. At the time she was puzzled how the Catholic Church could allow the blending of a saint's holiday and pagan ceremonies, but she soon learned the church itself was made up of ancient paganism. In spite of those pagan rituals, she came to realize the basic admirable character of the Irish people.⁴²

Conversion

She took up residence in Kilkenny county, at the Phelan's estate, and six months later she "experienced the mighty power of God in a way truly marvelous." For it was during this time that the light of the gospel finally affected her. Up to that time she found herself with no comfort from all of the afflictions that she found herself suffering. Her religion, then, was that of a pharisee, believing herself to be better than those around her. She did not actively seek enlightenment. Her husband "Captain _____ was always in Dublin," and she was left there at her husband's property to seek out and transcribe documents having to do with Phelan's lawsuit. Their possessions consisted of the house, a group of poor cabins and one row of buildings on a street in town. All the properties had been allowed to become run down. The receivers took possessions of these properties and put them up for an auction for the peasants. Tonna, embarrassed to be seen by

her tenants, secluded herself more and more in her garden, with its high walls and thicket of apple trees became like a convent to her. For she resolved to become a "perfect devotee of religion." Something of "monastic mania," seized her, and she came to her garden to pray three or four times a day. Soon she found she could not pray in peace. God appeared to her, more and more, as "the Avenger going forth to smite the firstborn of Egypt," and she saw herself as one of the condemned. She could not pray in peace, but then she would be more distressed if she did not try to pray. The Ten Commandments came to convict her more and more of her own sinfulness. When it dawned on her that all "the precepts of the New Testament were also binding on a Christian," she trembled even more than ever. She began writing down the Commandments she most neglected, and she hung copies of them on her walls, but she felt others might think they were intended for them, so she took them down, and instead began listing all her overt sins as well as her sinful thoughts down in a book. The book became so filled up that she flung it in the fire in despair.⁴³

For two weeks she struggled. She could not pray and she could not read the Bible. Outwardly, she appeared cheerful, but on the inside "resided the very blackness of darkness." She now began to fear death for the first time. Her past sinfulness and her present helplessness left her without hope. She came down with a severe cold, and she

laid herself down awaiting how her "earthly miseries would terminate." A neighbor, hearing she was ill sent her some books with which to amuse herself. One was a memoir of a departed son written by his father. She read of the dying young man's "self-condemnation, his humble acknowledgment of having deserved at the Lord's hand nothing but eternal death." Tonna told herself, "ah, poor fellow . . . he was like me. How dreadful his end must have been! I will see what he said at last, when on the very brink of the bottomless pit." Yet, to her surprise, he continued to glorify God, and he stated that though he was so guilty and so vile, "there was One able to save to the uttermost, who had borne his sins, satisfied divine justice for him, opened the gates of heaven, and now waited to receive his ransomed soul."⁴⁴

There followed then a detailed account of her conversion experience:

The books dropped from my hands (writes Tonna). What is this? This is what I want: This would save me. Whom did this for him? Jesus Christ, certainly; and it must be written in the New Testament. I tried to jump up and reach my Bible, but was overpowered by the emotion of my mind. I clasped my hands over my eyes, and then the blessed effects of having even a literal knowledge of scripture were apparent. Memory brought before me, as the Holy Spirit diverted it, not here and there a detached text, but whole chapters, as they had long been committed to its safe but hitherto unprofitable keeping. The veil was removed from my heart, and Jesus Christ, as the Alpha and Omega, the and substance of everything, shows out upon me just is set forth in the everlasting gospel.

sum
as He

Always before she had known the scriptures describing the gospel, but never before did she understand them. Now, though she saw "The opening of the understanding, that I might UNDERSTAND the scriptures, was the mighty miracle of grace and truth." She did not feel excitement, enthusiasm, nor agitation, but instead she "was like a person long enclosed in a dark dungeon, the walls of which had now fallen down, and I looked around on a sunny landscape of calm and glorious beauty." She recalled the scripture that said, "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners." She recognized that she was a sinner; she wanted to be saved; He would save her. "There is no presumption in taking God at his word: not to do so is very impertinent: I did it, and I was happy."⁴⁵

Rising up from her sofa, she walked about. She recalled her feelings as "delicious." She had found the Paschal Lamb, whose blood would safeguard her. She laughed with joy and wished she could share her experience. Her two Catholic servant girls were delighted to see her so happy. She called them to her room where she read to them the first nine chapters of the Gospel of Matthew. They became hungry for the Word. Tonna realized she had not been converted by an act of man but instead had arrived at the truth of the Gospel by direct intervention of the Holy Ghost.⁴⁶

Letter Seven started with Tonna's declaration that she now found herself safely in Christ, and that she resolved to

"search for all that the Most High had seen well to acquaint his people with." She realized she was a member of a church calling itself Christian, yet she had been in that church and had been wholly ignorant of Christ. There were other churches, all claiming to have a higher and purer standard than all the others. She had no books or clergymen around from those other churches, but she did have the Liturgy and the Thirty-nine Articles before her. She decided to bring them to the test of scripture and if they failed, she would look out for a better church. She discovered the evangelical truth "breathing through the book," but she had never seen it before. She read "except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God." This statement opened the Scripture to her. The Liturgy and Articles contained this truth constantly expressed over and over again. Nothing in the creeds were contrary to Scripture except the part that says the Lord "went down into hell." She could not accept that doctrine.⁴⁷

Her new converted state caused her to think about past events, now seen in a new light. Before she had gone to America, for instance, she had stayed with a woman who did not believe in the Godhead of Christ. Tonna told her she could prove his divinity by referring to the Bible. The woman said she could not prove it with the "inspired scripture." Charlotte showed her in the book of Revelation the clear statements of Christ's deity, but her host told

her Revelation was not inspired, and did not belong in the Bible. She told her there were "many interpolations and deceptions in that version of yours, that you will be glad to find a more accurate one." Tonna became greatly agitated. She almost believed what she was saying, because Tonna tended toward metaphysics, and novel ideas. Then she believed God gave her the right response, "Mrs. _____, if you can persuade me that the book of Revelation is not inspired, another person may do the same with regard to the book of Genesis; and so of all that lie between them, till the whole Bible is taken away from me. That will never do; I cannot part with my dear Bible. I believe it all, every word of it; and I am sure I should be miserable if I did not." She cut off further discussion on the subject. Only the providence of God interposed to keep her from being taken in by this form of Socinianism.⁴⁸

At this point Tonna digressed to recount her childhood metaphysical turn. Her father held the study of metaphysics as his own hobby, but he saw the abuse of philosophy as the origin of the French Revolution. He tried to check this metaphysical tendency in his daughter, and he was both amused and vexed when one morning she told her father she did not get any sleep. "'What prevented your sleeping?' he asked. 'I was thinking, papa, of "Cogito ergo sum," and I lay awake, trying to find out all about it.' "'Cogito, ergo sum!"' repeated my father, laughing and frowning at the same

time, 'what will you be at twenty, if you dabble in metaphysics before you are ten?'" He gave her Euclid to study to try to"' sober your wild head a little.'" She soon threw the book aside, for mathematics and her could never agree. She preferred speculative and imaginative thinking. Only God's grace saved her from wrecking her life.⁴⁹

The scriptures confirmed to Tonna the validity of the Athanasian creed, and she saw no problem in the doctrine therein presented. But one doctrine in the Seventeenth Article, did cause her problems: Divine Election. She first decided to confirm the doctrine of the Trinity, but in the process she also confirmed the doctrine of Election. She traced this Calvinist doctrine as a "golden thread through the whole Bible." She read many treatises against Election, but still she found it clearly presented in the Scriptures. Alone with her Bible in Ireland, Tonna studied God's redemptive work, and soon learned to test everything by the Word of Truth, the Bible.⁵⁰

Her Calling

Shortly after her conversion experience, Tonna found her calling: Writing Evangelical tracts and books. Tonna was busy searching out documents for her husband's lawsuit and transcribing them. She found all this irksome paperwork tedious, but she gained the reputation as a "literary recluse." A lady, who was in the habit of doing good for others, sent Charlotte a parcel of tracts. Tonna found

these simple stories that presented a spiritual truth delightful, and she wanted to contribute money to the cause of distributing tracts to the poor, but she had no money to give. The thought flashed upon her, "since I cannot give them money, may I not write something to be useful in the same way?" She stayed up until three in the morning writing her own tract, and when she found that she "had produced a complete little story, in the process of which I had been enabled to set forth the truth as it is in Jesus, that on reading it over I was amazed at the statement I had made of scriptural truth, and sank on my knees in thankfulness to God." She arose the next morning, uncertain as to whom she should send her tract, and she finally resolved to send it to the Bishop of Norwich, Henry Bathurst. At breakfast one of her servants brought her a note from the lady who sent her the tracts. Miss D, as Tonna refers to her, apologized for sending her the tracts without any explanation, but since Charlotte was "occupied with the pen," she thought that she could use her skills to write a tract. Enclosed in the note was the address to the Secretary of the Dublin Tract Society, "Mr.D". "I was absolutely awe-struck by this very striking incident," wrote Tonna. She saw this as an answer to prayer, and she immediately mailed the tract to Dublin. Soon she received a letter from the Secretary of the Dublin Tract Society commending her tract, and urging her to continue writing, but the Secretary recommended

Charlotte have "frequent intercourse with the personality, of whose habits and modes of expression" she was evidently ignorant, for she did not seem to understand the common people. Tonna wrote back explaining how her deafness made it difficult to understand them, but his "rejoinder was the overflowing of a truly Christian heart, very much touched by an artless account of the Lord's dealings with me" She was pleased to find "a brother in the faith thus to cheer and strengthen" her. A few days later Miss D wrote her that the Secretary had ruptured a blood vessel and was dying. Still he took time on his deathbed to commend Charlotte to his brother who would prove to be a helper to her.⁵¹

At this point in her life Tonna professed she was ignorant to the ways of the Roman Catholic Church. Her early knowledge came from observing her servant girls. The youngest one stayed in her room and would quickly rattle off the Hail Mary and Our Father while undressing and getting ready for bed. Tonna reprimanded her for being so irreverent to go through her prayer to God so mechanically while getting undressed. As to her prayer to Mary, she told her it did not matter what she did since she was praying to a dead woman who could not hear her. The girl, from then on, would kneel and reverentially say the Our Father, but she made up for lost time by speeding through the Hail Mary while undressing. Tonna could hardly refrain from laughing

although late she felt ashamed that she did not try to get the girls to "come out of Babylon."⁵²

Tonna took up the study of the position of the Jews in the Bible. She came to the conclusion that the Jews, as Jews, would be restored to God in the future. Her Church's spiritualizing technique of interpretation of the scripture was no longer acceptable to her. She now read the prophecies concerning the Jews literally. The evangelism to the Jews overcame her and she would pray for hours for their conversion. Later she was pleased to find a society, already working to evangelize the Jews.⁵³

After the death of Mr. D, the Secretary of the Dublin Tract Society, the younger brother of Mr. D, buried his brother, and stopped by to visit Tonna on his way back to Dublin. Charlotte thoroughly enjoyed the Christian fellowship, and longed for more. Her husband summoned her to Dublin, and while there she visited Mr. D's brother, and he introduced her to a party of about thirty Christian friends who were there visiting with missionaries recently returned from Russia. Most of this group of thirty was Irish, and she came more and more to fall in love with the "unrestrained, warmhearted Irish." Although she enjoyed this fellowship, she longed to get back to her "tabernacle . . . pitched in the wilderness," where she could return to writing.⁵⁴

She Remains Anglican

The lawsuit came to an end and her husband returned to Nova Scotia. This time Charlotte refused to join him, and she therefore had to earn her own living. Her mother, who had "been made a partaker in the like precious faith," joined her daughter in Ireland. It was at this time that Charlotte was tempted to withdraw from the Church of England. Friends urged her to leave, and a clergyman who visited from time to time ridiculed the established church, and urged her to become a dissenter, but Tonna began to feel this minister was more interested in making Episcopalians into Dissenters rather than converting Papists to Christians. Tonna determined the Church, as a whole, was Biblically based, although many of its leaders were unbelievers. She believed in apostolic succession. Even the "see of Rome, the man of sin, and son of perdition, nay respectively claim succession to the Aaronic priesthood and the apostolic ministry," but its claim failed the scriptural test. Tonna decided to stay with the Church of England.⁵⁵

The Rockites

In the next letter Tonna started by telling of her 1821 prolonged three year visit to Dr. George Hamilton (1783-1830) of Knocktopher starting in 1821. Hamilton was the rector of Killermogh, an office he would hold for life. The Dictionary of National Biography states, "He was a conscientious parish priest and an early and zealous promoter of religious societies in connection with the

church of Ireland." He lived in the parsonage called Vicarsfield, ten Irish miles from Kilkenny. Dr. Hamilton, a pious man, used his considerable income to help the people of his parish, even though they nearly all were Romanist. His wife trained poor Irish girls to become domestics, and Dr. Hamilton placed them in homes of his friends. All of this kindness contradicts the commonly held belief among the English that the Irish uprising was caused by the oppression of the Protestant clergy.⁵⁶

When she first came to Knocktopher, in 1821, there were no open acts of violence, but soon the name of Captain Rock brought fear. From Tipperary, nearby, parties made raids throughout the countryside, scaring the inhabitants. Then the works of Dr. Charles Walmsley (1722-1797) began to circulate in Irish as well as English. Writing under the name Pastorini, Walmsley took the ascent of the locust, mentioned in the Book of Revelation to prefigure the rise of Protestantism, with Luther as its head. The title of Pastorini's book was General History of the Christian Church, from Her Birth to Her Final Triumphant State in Heaven, Chiefly Deduced from the Apocalypse of St. John the Apostle. Pastorini calculated from the date 1525, and predicted that 1825 would be the date when Protestantism would come to an end. Those non-Catholics who did not recant by that date would be killed. The lower classes prepared to execute the death sentence, but some of those of

higher rank and "gentler spirits applied themselves to the work of converting their Protestant friends." Extracts of Pastorini's books appeared in pamphlets and handbills. The people circulate songs and poems about the future overthrow of the Protestants. The southern counties of Ireland came into turmoil starting around 1820 and going on past 1828. By January 1822, the jails in these counties had over three-hundred prisoners suspected of Rockite induced crimes. Henry Goulburn believed the situation called for a renewal of the Insurrection Acts that had temporarily suspended habeas corpus, and in February the measure passed with a minimum of opposition. But in 1821 the Rockites began terrorizing the countryside. They even burned down some Protestant churches. The Hedge School, used to educate Irish children without Protestant religious teaching, began promoting Captain Rock as a hero. Ironically enough, Bible societies, which handed out hundreds of thousands of Bibles in English and Irish helped to spread Pastorini's prophecies. The Irish could read the Book of Revelation and see it through the lens of Pastorini's teachings, and they could see the prophetic events in that book seemed to be coming to fulfillment.⁵⁷

Signs of the rising storm began to appear. Peasants became more and more discourteous toward Protestant gentry, with "a bearing that bespoke either defiance or lurking malignity." Threatening notices came to landlords, and

clergy who tried to collect back payments of the tithes were attacked, as were proctors and process servers. Many of this latter group were murdered. As for Dr. Hamilton and his household, no special precautions were taken. Dr. Hamilton and Charlotte often rode out to the boundaries of Tipperary, and sometimes Mrs. Hamilton and Charlotte's mother would ride out toward Waterford. They took no special precautions. Hamilton did not install bolts or bars for the doors and windows of Vicarsfield. He ignored the threatening letters sent to him by the Rockites. He did apply, privately, for police protection from Castle Morris. No one suspected was afraid as he disguised his fears under a general calmness.⁵⁸

Tonna and her mother moved to the town of Kilkenny. There she found more freedom to practice her Protestantism, and she enjoyed being out of her responsibilities for her estate. The estate came under the control of trustees, but she tried to make sure her former tenants were treated fairly. She did miss reading the Bible to her tenants, but she did not mind getting away from the complications of overseeing an estate that was under receivership. At Kilkenny she finished her first extended work, "Osric," a long narrative poem. She kept busy writing penny and twopenny books for the Dublin Tract Society, which gave her a steady income. She became friends with George Sandford, of the Dublin Tract Society. He would watch over her with a

father's interest. She hoped she could continue where she was doing what she was doing for the rest of her life.⁵⁹

The Papist tried to convert Tonna to Roman Catholicism. She had never been tempted to attend a Roman mass, for she believed the Papacy to be the Babylon of the Apocalypse, and she tried to convince others to leave it. Yet she still tried to avoid being controversial. She tried to be an idolater to the idolaters in order to win the idolaters to the gospel truth, but she soon learned "the Papist holds in his hand an apple of Sodom, beneath the painted rind of which is a mass of ashes and corruption. He must be induced to fling it away, and to pluck from the tree of life a wholly different thing."⁶⁰

Her Protestant principles kept her from visiting the nearby convent, although some friends tried to draw her there as a missionary. Then a lady told her that a nun needed help on how best to educate a deaf and dumb girl. Tonna felt this a call to duty, so she volunteered to help. She found the Irish nun to be very charming, and she agreed to return to help her with the deaf girl. On their walk in the garden Tonna noticed a building she thought was the school, but she went in to discover it was a "Popish" chapel, and a nun was "prostrate in the lowliest adoration, touching the ground with her forehead before the senseless idol." Tonna found out later that the woman, prostrate before the "idol," was a "Protestant lady of high

respectability." She came from a mixed family, father Catholic, mother Protestant. The couple had agreed, before wedding, to rear all boys in his faith and all girls in hers, but they had only daughters, but upon his death, most of the girls became impressed by all the ceremonies surrounding their father's funeral, and they converted. The daughter that did not convert was the very lady Tonna had seen in the convent, but after "mock" miracles and a "well-contrived nocturnal visitation" from her father's ghost, she became unnerved and was welcomed into the convent.⁶¹

With all her heart, Charlotte resolved to rescue the young nun who had brought her to the convent, from Catholicism. Before she could start, the nun started trying to convert Charlotte to Romanism, and she gave Tonna books, from a Jesuit seminary, presenting the doctrine of her church. The most important book was Dr. John Milner's End of Controversy. Tonna felt she was the object of a "combined attack from the forces of Great Babylon." Reading Milner's book seemed to be like "communion with Satan himself, robed as an angel of light." Tonna felt she did not have enough knowledge of the historical facts to disprove the information in this book, so she prayed, "Oh Lord, I cannot unravel this web of iniquity: enable me to cut it in twain!" The answer came to her to use the Scriptures to present the plain statement of the gospel to

expose the "arrogant assumptions of the Great Harlot." She wrote the nun and sent her books presenting the Protestant side of the issue. The nun wrote back that she could not read Tonna's books since those who watched over her spiritual welfare thought it wrong to unsettle her mind with books that teach anything contrary to the true faith. Tonna realized that this was a case of "one-sided honesty," and that from that point on she would expose the Mystery of Iniquity. She now considered herself a staunch Protestor. The nun sent Tonna tickets to the ceremony for a new nun to take her veil. She sent them back, although her friends urged her to go. Charlotte believed she was blessed by God for avoiding the pollution of such a ceremony.⁶²

Jack Britt

An attack came from another quarter. Tonna became interested in helping deaf children in the streets of Kilkenny. There she met the little deaf boy she would later adopt, Jack Britt, and she came to know his sixteen year old brother, Pat. Pat helped Jack, learn finger language. Charlotte took an interest in Pat. One day he told Tonna, "I wouldn't like...that you would go to hell." She said, "Nor I either, Pat." He responded, "But you are out of the true church, and you won't be saved, and I must convert ye." She said, "That is very kind of you, my good lad: if I am wrong you cannot do better than set me right." "Sure," he said, "and I will." "But how?" "With this," said he,

pulling out a small pamphlet nothing the cleaner for wear. "You must learn my catechism, and it's you that will be the good Catholic." She read "Butler's Catechism" and found it full of falsehood and blasphemy. The next day she told Pat she knows why he was so concerned that "none can be saved out of the true church." She went on to say she belonged to the true Church, and she went to the New Testament to prove it, but Pat said she did not have the real Bible. The priest had the real Bible and it is bigger than hers and therefore contained twice the truth as hers. That was why she was so ignorant, but she was eventually able to get him to read the Bible himself. He parried her attacks on his own church, but later her seed yielded fruit. Six years later they would take communion together in a small English church.⁶³

More Rockite Trouble

Upon Tonna's return to Vicarsfield, she found things had change drastically. Bars protected entry by window, and alarm bells were placed there as well. No Catholics were allowed to remain in the house after dark except the trusted gardener. "Some dreadful murders had lately been perpetrated very near; a barrack was burned and several policemen butchered in a surprise attack." Dr. Hamilton was openly threatened and his Proctor barely escaped assassination. One day at noon Tonna looked out her window and saw a body of forty Rockites, fully armed, walking their

horses back and forth not far from the house. They hoped to intimidate the residents of the house.⁶⁴

"These were the days of Captain Rock's terrible rule, of which a record is left in the heart's blood of many an Irishman," wrote Tonna. A certain Mr. Thomas Moore wrote a book, Memoirs of Captain Rock, the Celebrated Chieftain with Some Account of his Ancestors, that helped spread rebellious ideas to the more intellectual level of people, although the Rockite armies consisted mainly of illiterate peasants. Moore's book has the goal of leveling society. Tonna saw Moore as the poet and historian of the movement, while James Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin served as priest, and Daniel O'Connell as the politician. Their "propaganda guided the serpent of rebellion" Moore gained praise and a pension in the process of fomenting such rebellion. He and these other intellectual leaders led "the poor, ignorant, untaught, deluded peasant to infamy and a halter" Tonna only rejoiced that someday Moore and the others will have to face God as their judge. Justice would ultimately prevail.⁶⁵

The Working of Popery

"The working of Popery" in Ireland was the main topic of Charlotte Elizabeth's eighth letter. Satan buckled on "his infernal weapons" to fight against the faithful in Ireland, and only those who depend on the shield of faith can resist him. George III resisted the devil with this

shield, but after his death, the enemy has gained in power. The enemies of God knew the Established Church stood as the greatest barrier against Satanic victory, so long as the minister stood firm, expounding uncompromising Protestant doctrine set forth in all the creeds and formularies. The clergy of the Established church in Ireland stood more firmly and consistently against, such movements as Emancipation, than did their counterparts in England. The Irish Clergy was such a forceful barrier that the enemy knew it had to destroy them in order to be successful, so they started the anti-tithe war. This movement showed itself at the parish of Tonna's residence. It was "directed by one who has had six thousand years experience in such matters, and who knows that when the kings of earth, from Adam downwards, cast off the bond of obedience to the King of kings, ruin to themselves and to all that appertains to them will surely follow." Satan saw resistance against him weakening, and so he "took a devilish advantage of those who believed not and were fearless." Satan's strategy showed itself by the fact that many Englishmen began to believe that true Protestant resistance actually needed to be weakened in order to secure the presence of the Established Church. Tonna believed only the devil himself could convince many of the intellectuals of this idea.⁶⁶

Knocctopher, Tonna's place of residence, could have easily been overrun. Only a few policemen stayed in a post

two miles away. The Seventy-eighth Highland regiment came into Kilkenny, nearby, but there were only some eighty active soldiers in this unit to protect eight-hundred Protestants against 24,000 Romanists. Colonel Lindsay effectively used his meager forces to make it appear he had a substantial force on hand, and he personally led night patrols to protect threatened Protestant households. At Vicarsfield, at least, there was nothing of value to be seized, but soon it became clear that their lives and not their possessions served as the target for the rebels.⁶⁷

This threat of their lives became clear with an attack on the household of another clerical friend. Charlotte, her mother, Dr. and Mrs. Hamilton visited the home of a local curate. Also sitting in the drawing-room, listening to Mrs. Hamilton play Handel on the organ, were a field officer of Cavalry, a young lady, resident in the house, the thirteen girls studying to be domestics and various domestics, including "Old John," a devout Orangite. Tonna knew of no weapons in the house. They heard shots fired by marauding Rockite. Yet the group inside gathered around the tea table. It was February and a "blaze of a good fire" burned in the fireplace. Suddenly one of the alarm bells attached to all the windows, rang out. The Cavalry officer took up a walking cane to serve as a weapon, and headed for the door, followed by the curate and Dr. Hamilton. The others sat "like statues awestruck and mute," but, to everyone's

relief one of the servants entered, telling them how he accidentally set off the alarm bell when he sat the tea tray against a window. This incident brought to the mind of everyone there that only God himself protected them from the attack of the Rockites. They all went to the hall for family worship, and thanked God for His mercy.⁶⁸

The possibility of martyrdom hung over the residence of Vicarsfield. They discussed the issue of making the sign of the cross in fashion of the Romanist in order to save their lives, for some Rockites forced a suspected Protestant make the sign of the cross, and if they did so the rebels would see it as a token of recantation. Dr. Hamilton believed a Christian could make the sign if required, knowing in his heart that he is not a Catholic, but by doing so one could save his life. Tonna convinced him, by having him search the Scripture, that he was wrong. For a Protestant should resist, even doing the outward sign of a Romanist. Later she felt uneasy in that she may have been responsible for "the life-blood" of her brethren.⁶⁹

They heard the shots of the Rockites ring out in the silence of the night. Tonna expected to be killed in her sleep. She could have returned to her safe home, but chose to suffer with her friends. She felt it ironic that the more the Irish threatened, the more she loved them. For she believed they were victims of "Papist delusion." The more she learned about Roman Catholicism the more she realized it

was one big lie. She also came to believe the Catholic clergy "enslaved" the Irish. Tonna wrote, "Thus viewing the Irish as they really are, the most strongly inclined to devotedness, sincerity, and zeal in whatever they believe to be truth, and shining most brightly as lights of the world, what they have embraced is indeed the truth." She could not help but feel sympathy for those who were under enslavement of the Roman Church. For "the anti-Christian enemy has ensnared the Irish. The priest are seen as the arbiters of their present and eternal destiny." The priest could determine whether one goes to hell or remains in purgatory. The priests are out to exterminate "true" Christians. The Roman Church is the "great Satanic synagogue," and the priest keep the Irish peasants in "the most abject prostration of body, mind, and spirit, before the merciless idol of their mistaken homage." Yet some Catholics converted to Protestantism. Tonna had spent time at the death beds of those converts and their last hours are spent thanking God for "that mighty deliverance out of the chains of double darkness." She could not believe how her fellow Englishmen turned the Irish over to the Catholic clergymen. Tonna believed she "was specially marked for destruction among the anticipated victims of 1825, as being more than nominally a Protestant." She produced tracts and books purposely to use to help save her beloved Irish. Her writings became popular for she wrote them in a style in

which the more illiterate could understand. She lamented over those ministers who can take a simply understood Bible and make it difficult to understand with "hard words and obscure phraseology."⁷⁰

A clergyman went to church, leaving his sister-in-law there to take care of his youngest baby. She sat by the cradle, reading her Bible when suddenly six or seven men came into the house and the leader politely asked if there were any weapons in the home. She replied, no, that her brother was a minister and he did not keep any weapons. The polite Irishman insisted that the men must search anyway, and so they took her and the baby throughout the house "ransacking every corner" for arms but without success. Finally, upstairs they discovered an old blunderbuss and a rusty sword, which they took. The Rockites did not take any of the valuables though. After a polite bow from the leader, the men left. Tonna believed the Irish rebellion was not caused by personal hostility but by "the deliberate execution of sentences formally passed by a secret Directory" The sentences were carried out by persons too far removed from the ones selected to make personal animosity unlikely.⁷¹

Another incident related by Tonna was the case of a certain Mr. Marum, a prominent Catholic farmer, living near Kilkenny. He had more regard for his worldly possessions than for his religion and therefore he discouraged the

Rockite activities. When certain outrages occurred, he appealed to the government to send some policemen or Peelers, as they were called. He knew this was an unpardonable offence, and so therefore he never left his home without a weapon on his person. One day Marum and his son-in-law left his property, and had only traveled a short distance when he to realize he had left his pistols behind. His son-in-law remarked that they were only traveling a short distance, and there were only a few women on the road ahead. So they went on, but as soon as they passed the "women" dressed in cloaks, they suddenly threw their cloaks aside, revealing they were men. In a few seconds they dragged the men off their horses, and Marum lay on the ground dead. The son-in-law was beaten and thrown in a ditch. At the wake of Marum, his brother who defended his brother's desire for peace, found himself a victim of crime. When he returned from the funeral he discovered his house had been vandalized, his corn crop destroyed and the sod of his lawn upturned. This was sacrilege at a vengeance. Some said events like this proved religion was not at the heart of these uprisings, but that it was just a political movement

True in one sense, (wrote Tonna) for Popery is not a religion---it is only a crafty piece of masked atheism, pursuing secular objects with a sanctified face; but Popery no more hesitates in cutting off a priest, or making away with a pope who may fail in working out its arbitrary principles, that it shrinks from dethroning a King, or burning a Christian.⁷²

Letter nine started with Tonna's description of the year 1824 in Ireland. That year was hailed throughout Ireland as preparation for the destruction of Protestantism that was to occur in 1825. Special masses were said and prayers given for the destruction of heresy. Tonna believed Popery came out weaker as a result of all these activities. Before this year priest forbade their followers to attend Bible studies with Protestants, but now they were encouraged to go and "make sport" of the Protestants. Many times the Catholics, armed with lead-filled branches would outnumber the Protestants.⁷³

Tonna recounted an account by a former Catholic, now converted to Protestantism, in which the young man describes the techniques used to cause disruptions. The priest told the boys in a "sly way" to avoid disrupting a Bible study group, so that they knew that they would disrupt Protestant meetings. After the official meeting, the priest took several of the boys aside and told them to go with their lead-filled switches. "Break their heads if you can, but any way drive them out of the towns." The boys attended the Bible study meeting, but they became interested in the teaching of a local pastor. None followed the party to beat up or even kill the minister. A slight disturbance flamed up but was quickly put down, but most of the Catholic boys listened to the minister's lesson on God's love. After the

meeting many of them took Bibles home and read them. Such were the effects of Pastorini's prophecy. It made the Catholics bolder and made them more confident, but in the process of their debates with Protestants, many times, the Catholics were converted instead of causing Protestants to recant.⁷⁴

Education of Jack

For the next three-and-a-half pages Tonna presented her education of Jack Britt the deaf boy. At first she took in four deaf boys off the street, but one was "vicious and unteachable," a priest took two away to avoid her infecting them with heresy, but she was left with Jack, whom she would rear as her own son. She considered Jack to be least promising of the four boys and certainly not the one she would have spent much time on, but now he was her only deaf pupil. He was puny, but "of heavy aspect, and wholly destitute of the life and animation that generally characterize that class, who were obliged to use looks and gestures as a substitute for words." She worked with a slate, trying to teach him the letters of the alphabet, but she worked a long time before he could do one successful stroke. Most of the time he would just give her his "unmeaning grin of good-natured acquiescence." She was discouraged, believing him to lack the intellect enough to learn effectively, but then when brushing his unruly hair from his face, she discovered he had "one of the finest

foreheads ever seen." Although she was "anything but a phrenologist," she did come to recognize the "lofty feature of man's countenance as the just index of his intellectual capabilities." Suddenly the boy began to learn so fast Tonna could hardly keep up with him. Jack was puzzled about the differences and similarities between himself and Barrow, Tonna's dog. Both could eat drink, sleep, walk about and they could also be merry or angry, sick or well. Neither the boy nor the dog could talk. She did realize, "what a magnificent wreck is man!" She longed for the end of Satan's six thousand year reign, when Christ will enable man to "resume his high station among the brightest works of God."⁷⁵

Jack began to be curious about God. He would point to the sun and ask, through signs, if Charlotte had made it, or the clergyman, or the priest. Tonna spelled the word "God." Jack seemed overwhelmed, but he wanted to know more. She tried to tell him as best she could, but for then he developed his own cosmological theories. He did not know about the sun, but the moon was a dumpling, "the stars were cut out with a large pair of scissors, and stuck into the sky with the end of the thumb." Tonna was amused but not satisfied, for she realized Jack was "necessarily an atheist." Her explanations so far only communicated a form of Deism, so she had to use the limited group of signs they had developed to try to communicate the truths about God.

Reason said it was impossible, "but Reason is a fool," said Tonna. She would have to have divine help to enlighten the boy.⁷⁶

The next day Jack came to her accusing her of lying about God. He had looked everywhere but found no one big enough to put his hand up and stick the stars in the sky. He told her she was bad and that her tongue should be pulled out. Jack kept signing "God, No!" over and over again until it began to sicken her heart. She prayed for guidance, for she believed no one could seek knowledge of God without divine intervention. One day she took up a bellows and blasted his hand with air. He kept saying she was "bad" for doing that, but she looked and saw no wind. She signed "No wind!" and shook her head, then she mimicked his looks of rebuke that he had given her for "lying" about God. His face reddened, and then he repeated over and over again, "God like wind! God like wind!" "Here was a step, a glorious step, out of absolute atheism into a perfect recognition of the invisible God." For the next seven years Tonna would see Jack's development in his knowledge of God. Later Jack observed that "God like sun," since we have to advert our minds eyes away from His dazzling Glory. Tonna would always be amazed how much Jack could think in abstract terms and he had to do so "without the intervention of words."⁷⁷

He came to treat all living creatures with respect

because "God made." At first he saw worms as an exception since they crawl up from the ground and God was above, therefore God did not make them. Tonna got him to accept the idea that God had made them, and he had rolled up the worms in the earth as meat in a pudding, and now they bite their way out. From then on, "Wo to the angler whom Jack detected looking for live bait!"⁷⁸

Tonna began losing her other pupils, and so she became determined more and more to help Jack, her Deist, become a Christian. She took him into her home, but she did not know how long he would be permitted to stay. Tonna would write the Happy Mute, also titled Jack the Dumb Boy, to describe in detail how Jack received the Gospel. She also gives an account in her Recollection.⁷⁹

Jack had attended some funerals, and he had seen bodies being placed in their coffins. One evening he asked Tonna if they would ever open their eyes again. He had also seen the decay of animals cast out to perish. His question assured her that the consciousness of immortality is natural to man, and that unbelief about life after death is foreign to his untaught feelings. Tonna drew a picture of a crowd of people, with a pit with "flames issuing from it." She told him all of these people were bad and that she and Jack were included in that group. God would throw them all into the fiery pit, Jack and Tonna would be included. Jack became alarmed, but then Charlotte drew another character,

whom she told Jack to be God's Son, come down from heaven. He had not been bad, and was not to go into the pit. He allowed himself to be killed, and when he died God shut up the pit, so the people were spared. Jack quickly grasped the concept of a substitute for sinners. He said the rescued people were many but the one who died was one. He wanted a solution for this difficulty. Tonna took a bunch of dead flowers and cut them into pieces. She took a gold ring and signed "many" for the dead flowers and "one" for the ring. Jack caught on that the "one" ring was more valuable than the "many" dead flowers. He took the ring over to the picture to show he understood the one who died to be better than the many "good ONE, good ONE!" He signed and asked her the name of the "ONE." So through those illustrations Tonna communicated the gospel to Jack, the deaf boy. He "received . . . the gospel, the glorious everlasting gospel, into his soul, and the Holy Spirit into his heart, without the intervention of" the sense of hearing. She rejoiced to have her "little dumb charge" as a Christian brother. By degrees she gave him more knowledge of the Lord's, "birth, his infancy, work, death, resurrection, and ascension: together with the future advent" At the time Tonna believed that the second coming consisted of the Lord's return to bring final judgement at the end of the world. She had not even heard of a personal reign of Christ on earth, but Jack was convinced Jesus would

come "to make his people happy here." He never received any teaching along this line yet he came up with the millennial view that Tonna would later adopt as her own. She could not account for his knowledge of the millennium "without looking higher than man."⁸⁰

Jack became very upset when he discovered that "the Savior in which he was rejoicing was represented by the image he had been taught to bow down before." He resented it deeply and he was torn with violent feelings against the Pope. At this point Tonna herself was not a zealot against Romanism. She had even allowed Pat, Jack's bother, to bow down with his friends at a mass, but if "I ever was tempted, to believe," wrote Tonna, "which I never am, that God leaves any of his own children in the communion of Antichrist, Jack's case would effectually rebuke me; he spurned the whole system from him, in spite of me, as soon as the light of the gospel fell upon its deformities." One day after returning from chapel, Jack stood a clothes brush up on one end. He bowed down before it, and then asked if it could hear him. He waited for a reply and then began kicking the brush around saying "Bad god, bad god!"⁸¹

The next day, Jack called Charlotte aside to show her a growing seedling. He signed how it would grow into a tree and how he would cut it down. He went through the notions of making objects from the wood, like chairs, a stool and box and then a crucifix. He then feigned setting up the

imaginary crucifix. He prepared to pray before it and then checked himself, saying, "No!" Then he described the seedling again and said, "God made." He pretended to point the imaginary leaves and said "God made beautiful!" He told how God made his hands also and "he came to the conclusion that the tree which God made, cut out by his hands which God made, cut out by his hands which God made, could not be God who made them." Then he went after the clothes brush again, but then he asked Tonna if she worshiped crosses when she went to church? Jack announced that he would no longer go to chapel because of its images. Tonna reminded him of the consequences. He would be marked out for death, as indicated by the Pastorini prophecy, for it was 1824 and in the next year these prophecies were to be carried out. Jack went to chapel the next Sunday and came back in good spirits. Pat told Tonna that Jack had become so interested in music that he had gone upstairs to lean up against the organ so he could feel its vibrations. Jack told her, though, that he went up into the organ loft to escape bowing down to the images and taking the mass. Years later Charlotte asked Pat if he ever suspected his brother of this and her said he never did, but if he had he would have forced him to attend mass.

There is a lesson to be learned from this deaf boy, that there should be no compromise with "antichristian Rome." She goes on to say, "We have frittered away God's truth and well nigh trampled out his line of demarcation, between a holy worship and the polluted sacrifice of an

idol temple, while speculating on the fair front of Jansenism as opposed to Jesuitism: We have turned from the fires of Smithfield to contemplate the well-told tales of Port-Royal, and thrust our Bradfords, our Latimers, yea and our Luthers, from the shelf to set up Fenelon and A. Kempis.

Fenelon served his Master to convert Protestants to Popery. He used his superior mind and friendly character to draw the Huguenots into communion with Rome. He had become, like his master, an angel of light to seduce Christ's servants into Romanism. Tonna stated, "I will not tamper with my faith by setting down to ascertain how much of Christianity I can discover in certain individuals actively promoting a system against which the God of Heaven has pronounced an irrevocable, a withering, and a final curse."⁸²

Evil of Romanism

The evil of this Romanism showed itself locally. Outside of Kilkenny lived an "unoffending respectable" Protestant family named Marr. One Sunday while they sat at tea, a party of Rockites rushed in and demanded weapons. The father and the oldest son brought down weapons from upstairs. The Rockites then opened the parlor door where the rest of the family waited in fear. One of the intruders shot the second son in the arm. The Rockites made off laughing. The family rushed the boy to Kilkenny, where a "medical gentleman" attended to his wound and the clergyman prayed over the boy and with the anguished family. The ball could not be extracted and the bleeding could not be

stopped. The boy took several days to die. Each moan and groan brought cheers to the Romanist crowd standing outside. "You'll be in hell, you Protestant locust," screamed the crowd, "and then you'll cry louder" No one attempted to remove the crowd, after all, there was only a small detachment of Highlanders nearby to protect the eight hundred Protestants against the 24,000 Catholics. When the boy died, the crowd "extorted a scream of joy" Tonna went on in her account how Catholicism should have been excluded from Ireland as it was from England and Scotland, for "where Popery has gained the ascendant the demons of cruelty rage uncontrolled, so long as a whisper or a look descendant from its dogmas may be detected" Once Popery had taken hold of a human mind that person was capable of doing any evil in behalf of the church.⁸³

So called "emancipation" could only enable the Pope to gain ascendancy, said Tonna. It would not neutralize the effect of Pastorini's prophecies. It would only be a boon to the Romanist. The Protestants trying to survive in Ireland were opposed to Emancipation. They could not even speak about the issue freely without fear that their domestics would serve as spies inadvertently by taking their master's remarks to the confessional. The very danger the Protestants found themselves in proved the evil of Popery, and the situation showed how things would only get worse with Emancipation.⁸⁴

Early in 1824, Tonna's husband returned to England from Nova Scotia and he summoned her to join him. According to Wilson, Phelan suffered from "a state of mental derangement." Charlotte did not want to leave her beloved Ireland, where she had many "beloved brothers and sisters in Christ, who had been," her fellow-helpers in the work of the Lord for the last four years. She did long to see her brother though, whom she had not seen for nine years. He served on the staff of the Portuguese army until he and all other British officers were dismissed by the Cortes. He settled down in the interior of Portugal on land awarded to him for fighting to liberate that country. It was "a continual sorrow" to Tonna that John resided in the heart of a Popish country where there were no Protestant churches. She knew he was as much in the dark about the gospel as he had been and she prayed that God would open up the gospel to him. There was a possibility of his returning from Portugal, so that gave her an incentive to return to England. As for Jack Britt, she had determined to take him with her if his parents would allow him to go. Jack's parents consented to let her take their son since he was more of a son to her than to them, and if he stayed behind he would grieve to death. Tonna warned them that Jack would possibly become a Protestant. They repeated, he was her child now, and they knew he would never come to harm under her care. Tonna was angry with herself for not witnessing

to Jack's parents at that opportunity.⁶⁵

Tonna also had to bid farewell to Kilkenny castle. The owners, living abroad, had given her the key to it, and she had enjoyed wondering through its halls and gardens. It was there that she would "muse on days of Ireland's bygone greatness." Although she was not fully acquainted with its history, she had "become as Irish as any of her own children." Although she had learned to be rather cold to the problems of others when in England, she could not repress her kindly feelings among the Irish. Of the Irish Tonna writes,

there is an ardour of character, an earnestness in their good will, a habit of assimilating themselves to the tests and habits of those whom they desire to please, and that desire is very general--that wins on the affections of those who possess any, a grateful regard, and leaving on the scenes that have witnessed such inter course, a sunshine peculiar to themselves.

They are incapable of being reserve of manner. A few she found were, "cold and forbidding, insensible and unkind, but these were exceptions," and none of these were among the humbler classes. "Hospitality is indeed the pole-star of Ireland." It can be found anywhere you go," but it shines the brightest in the poor man's cabin, because the potato that he so frankly, so heartily, so gracefully presses upon your acceptance is selected from a scanty heap, barely sufficient to allay the cravings of hunger in himself and in his half-clad little ones." The priest had started a

campaign to suppress this natural hospitality of the Irish peasants. The priestly authorities kept the peasants in abasement as they lorded their power over them. For anyone violating one of their arbitrary rules "the most cruel and humiliating penances were imposed."⁸⁶

One case described by Tonna tells of a young girl, serving as a domestic, who went to America with a Protestant family. There she attended family worship in which the Bible was read out loud. Upon return, the girl told all of this at confessional. Her penance for this "horrible sin" included crawling around the church several times on her knees; walking back and forth to Kilkenny, all the while being on a long fast. The girl almost died from fatigue and hunger. Tonna, on another occasion, asked a young man if he confessed everything. "Sometimes I disremember a few," said the boy, "and if the priest suspects it, he pulls my hair, and boxes my ears, to help my memory." Asked how he felt after absolution, he said "I feel all right; and I go out and begin again." She asked how he knew God had forgiven him and the young man said God did not pardon him directly, only the priest does. "He (the priest) confesses my sins to the bishop," said the man, "and the bishop confesses that to the Pope, and the pope sees the Virgin Mary every Saturday night, and tells her to speak to God about it." Such belief held the Irishman in bondage, which led to "abject slavery of the whole man, body, conscience, and

understanding. We the Protestant, never go to the root of the matter, for the priest himself is equally enslaved." He was bound by oaths that keep him from investigating the validity of what he did. This made the priest a pliable tool of the bishop and he was governed by the Propaganda at Rome.

The Propaganda is, of course, the primum mobile of the system, set a-going by Satan himself. Hence the mischief that is perpetuated by the unhappy being who from the operative section of this cunning concern; the handicraft man of blood.

This awful spectacle should not be ignored for "all is preparing for a burst of persecution against the people of the Lord, and happy is he who shall be found armed and watching."⁸⁷

Tonna's sorrow at leaving for Dublin was described at the beginning of Letter Ten. For she knew she might not see many of her friends again. Some might even suffer martyrdom if the Romanists move on Pastorini's prophecy. She learned about a friend who lived on close terms with a Catholic family. One day the mother of the family came to her pleading that she convert to Romanism, because she would be marked for death the next year and no one could prevent her death. That showed Tonna that, although the leaders of the church might not have believed in Pastorini's prophecy, as the lower classes did, but they would use it to weaken the Protestants in Ireland through fear. Tonna rejoiced over

the saving of the Protestants in Ireland even though they were out numbered six to one. The populace was "roused to the highest pitch of religious fanaticism, prepared by extra masses, fasts, and prayers, and confiding in the assurances of an infallible church." The Romanist had nothing to loose by attacking the Protestants, but yet there was no general uprising. One reason for this was because Doyle, the "heart" of the Catholics, converted to Protestantism, yet he tried to conceal it for a long time.⁸⁸

Leaving Ireland

Jack had never traveled beyond the area around his town and Tonna expected him to be impressed by the splendid buildings of Dublin, but he regarded them with indifference, since they were not "God-mades." He did enjoy the scenery on the trip there. "His taste was refined," writes Tonna, "and mind delicate beyond belief: I never saw such sensitive modesty as he manifested to the last day of his life." Rudeness was hateful to him. He respected those around him and he demanded respect from them. He hated affectation and coxcombry.⁸⁹

The boy could never pray with the family back in Kilkenney because if anyone had reported him praying with them he would have been removed by the priest. In Dublin, however, he freely joined them in prayer. Tonna remarks on his beauty at prayer. She compares his countenance at that time to a painting of the young Edward VI by Holbein. The

painting was done after consumption had set in, and it is ironic that consumption would also overcome Jack.⁹⁰

In Dublin Tonna took Jack to a toy shop to make a purchase, and the boy wandered over to one area filled with toys. A few minutes later a

great uproar in that direction made us all run to inquire the cause, and there was Jack, mounted on a first rate rocking-horse, tearing away full gallop, and absolutely oaring out in the maddest paroxysm of delight, his hat fallen off, his arm raised, his eyes and mouth wide open, and the surrounding valuables in imminent peril of a general crash. The mistress of the shop was so convulsed with laughter that she could render no assistance, and it was with some difficulty I checked his triumphant career, and dismounted him.

He later told Tonna he cautiously approached the horse, and how he discovered, "bite no; kick no," and so gradually resolved to mount it. He asked her how far he had ridden, and if the rocking-horse was a "God-made." She told him it was wood, but he probably did not believe her. For the rest of his short life Dublin would bring remarks from him of "Good Dublin, good horse; small Jack love good Dublin horse." Jack also liked the toy ship and he would make many drawings of sailing vessels.⁹¹

How different Tonna felt about Ireland now that she was leaving it in contrast to her feelings for that country when she first came. She had had contempt for its poverty and hated its turbulence. The poverty she now knew was "no poverty of soil, of natural resources, of mind, of talent, or energy, but the effect of a blight, permitted to rest

alike, on the land and people, through the selfishness of an unjust, crooked policy, that made their welfare of no account in its calculations, nor would stretch forth a hand to deliver them from the dark dominion of Popery." The turbulence was the natural result of such poverty and from the Catholic leaders "hostile to the interest of a Protestant state and bent on subverting its ascendancy. What Ireland was, I plainly saw: What she might be," wrote Tonna, "I clearly understood; and the guilt of my country's responsibility lay heavy on my heart as I watched the outline of her receding coast."⁹²

"The Hen and Her Chickens"

During her time in Ireland, Tonna wrote many tracts. Finding the original date of publication for many of these tracts is very difficult. But one of her earlier tracts, reprinted in the United States in 1848, was "The Hen and Her Chickens." This was the tale of Lucy, William and Frank who go with the narrator of the story, presumably a governess, to visit the chicken coop to see the hen with her new chicks. Within this twenty-four page story were moral and theological truths that Tonna taught. The governess stated, "O! it is a sad thing when man, who is appointed to rule the inferior creatures, forgets his duty, and become their oppressor. I never knew a person who really loved God, guilty of intentional cruelty to any creature he has been pleased to form." Tonna would take up the issue of cruelty

to animals and write several works for children about this issue.⁹³

On the way to the hen house, the governess pointed out a sweet brier, and she used the flower surrounded by sharp thorns to illustrate the lure of earthly pleasures. God had given us things to enjoy, but we should partake of them in moderation, if not we may "pierce ourselves through with many sorrows in pursuing them." (7) The sweet brier also reminded her of how Christ was wounded by "bitter thorns."

She used the hen's new bravery in protecting her chicks to illustrate the Bible's teaching that "love is strong as death." Nothing would drive the hen away from her chicks. She told how the hen sacrifices in behalf of her little ones. The children, with the help of the Holy Spirit, could learn how to deny themselves, take up their cross and follow Christ. The hen's protecting of her chicks with her covering wings illustrated Psalm 91, which stated, "He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust." (16) God would never forsake his children. He covered us with his protecting wing, but sometimes, we like wayward chicks wondered away from the place of perfect safety. She told the children that whenever they neglect praying to God they ran into temptation. They should never look to anyone except God for refuge from danger. Jesus himself had spoken of Jerusalem, "How often would I have gathered thy children together, even

as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" (19) The Jews rebelled against God and suffered terrible judgement. They rejected their Savior and delivered him over for death. She told the children, "May we fear, lest the same condemnation should come upon us, as it surely will, if we neglect so great salvation!" (20)

The children should learn to submit to their parents, just as the little chicks obeyed the hen. They should not trust in their own wisdom or strength "but be guided by the counsel of God, who teaches the simple fowls of the air." They should learn to be patient and work hard for a good cause. And most importantly they should flee to God in time of danger. She ended with a poem,

Holy Saviour, mighty King,/ O'er me spread thy guardian wing;/
 When by trembling fears distress'd,/ Let me fly to thee, and rest./
 Call me, keep me by thy side,/ Teach me there alone to hide;/
 Where, for safety, should I flee,/ If my footsteps stray'd from thee?/
 Warn me with thy gentle voice,/ Point my path, and guide my choice;/
 Let me, Lord, in thee possess/ Wisdom, peace, and righteousness.(23-24)

This little tract, like so many of Tonna's others, was loaded full of basic Biblical doctrinal teaching. From observation of a hen and her chicks she taught the doctrine of Gods providential and particular care over the believer, if we would remain in fellowship with him. This tract did not clearly present the way of salvation, but instead it served to instruct someone who was already a Christian. Tonna presented profound doctrines with simple and clear

illustrations.

Osrice, a Missionary Tale

Charlotte Elizabeth's first lengthy work, Osrice, a Missionary Tale (1825), was a long narrative poem about an Englishman, Osrice, who discovered the gospel of Christ by observing the faith and actions of the "savage" Jacob. He finally confronted his own need of salvation upon receiving the teaching of the missionary who was responsible for giving that gospel to Jacob, as he had to many other Indians.⁹⁴

This long poem began with a detailed description of the storm at sea that destroyed Osrice's ship and cast him upon the shore somewhere in America. No doubt Tonna used her own experiences of a storm at sea on the way to Nova Scotia to provide her with the visual model for Osrice's storm. Osrice was the only survivor. He had been confronted with natural revelation about God but had never been confronted with his need of accepting the gospel of Christ.

A "warlike" group (130) of Indians found him and took Osrice to their village. Osrice compared them to Egyptians. His mind was full of romantic ideas based on his extensive reading of "poesy and classic lore." (130) His mind was clouded by romantic thoughts just as Tonna's had been by her own childhood reading.

Osrice met one of the chiefs, Ayuta, who reminded him about the treachery of the whites and all the evils that had

been done to the Indians in the name of Christ. The chief was obligated by the custom of hospitality, so Osric soon realizes, though, that he was a prisoner in spite of the hospitality he received from Ayuta. The chief's daughter, Zaila, kept warning him not to trust her father.

Winter set in and an "embassy from far" met with Ayuta.

They accused the chief of making peace with the whites.

(134) Ayuta denied this and offered them Osric as a sacrifice so that he could avoid going to war against the village that this embassy represented. Osric pleaded his own case, asking if they would deny their own custom of hospitality, but Ayuta said that whites were wolves, and so the custom did not apply to anyone of that race. Osric recognized he was a wolf dying for the crimes of his own race. At this point, the author told how Osric was one of the elect even though he did not know it yet. God would protect him.

Now Osric was placed under guard in the house he had been living in. That night he discovered his guards had fallen asleep. He was thinking about sneaking out and avenging himself on Ayuta, when someone lowered a rope through the smoke-hole in the roof. He grabbed it and his rescuer pulled him up. Two hooded individuals silently escorted him out of the village. When they were in the woods one person removed her hood: It was Zaila. She and a large man took him to a canoe. Zaila bid Osric a "Christian

farewell" (137) and she described how she had drugged the guards. She then presented the gospel to him but he was not ready to believe, but he was coming under conviction. He found then, that his guides were "a praying savage and a preaching girl." (137). His guide on the river called himself Jacob. Jacob sang hymns much of the time and then was silent. They went down the river in the canoe, but suddenly a terrible snow storm hit, and so they stopped to build a shelter. The awesome power of nature impressed Osric. He concluded that the country was better than the city for showing God's power. Jacob preached a sermon against city life. Obviously Tonna was reflecting her own opinions about the countryside gained from her childhood since Jacob, having lived only in the American wilderness could have no concept of a European city.

They woke up and found that snow had covered everything, including their tracks. Jacob praised God for the snowfall. They discussed Christianity, and Osric claimed he was a Christian. He asked how Jacob and Zaila had become Christians. Jacob told how he once was a powerful warrior chief who had killed many of his enemies. Then an unarmed missionary had come, praising God and telling them how nature proclaimed the power of God. His message convicted Jacob of his sins, and he proclaimed the gospel as the only way of salvation from those sins. Jacob believed him. The warrior chief now believed a public baptism would bring

other warriors to the faith. The missionary reminded him that water did not remove sin, faith alone brought salvation. Jacob's Indian name was Azmourai, but at his baptism he adopted the name Jacob. The missionary would not baptize anyone unless he or she would give testimony of true faith. Jacob went to his warrior friends as a missionary but they rebelled against him, and he had to flee into the wilderness.

Each storm reminded Osric, "Man was his study, nature all his book,/Whence his dark view of human kind he took,/And haughtily maintained his towering place,/The self-appointed censor of the race." (143) Jacob told how they were heading for the missionary's village, where there were other Christian Indians. A few years ago Zaila came to that village with her father, who was wounded from a blow in battle. The missionary helped restore the chief back to health. Zaila accepted the gospel while there, but Ayuta rejected it. Zaila became a secret worshiper of Christ. She thought that all whites were Christians but she soon learned she was wrong, as Europeans attacked her village, behaving contrary to what the missionary taught about Christian behavior.

Jacob and Osric went on down the river in spite of the ice floes that began forming in the freezing water. Jacob no longer preached with words, "But Jacob's spirit, taught by God alone,/With light so pure, and joy so holy

shone,/....And bore unconscious witness to the word/Of holy writ, `who teacheth the Lord?'" (144) The next morning the temperature had risen, so they had to rush down the river before it flooded from the thaw, making it impassable. The river was dangerous, but they had to travel on it because it was their only means of escape. Jacob used the "gulf" of the river to explain man's separation from God. He told how a sinner must confess he was a sinner. Jesus was the sinner's only hope. Their boat began to come apart on an ice floe, but they kept floating on the remains of their boat. "When God's tremendous out stretched arm is bare? / When he in thunder speaks his sovereign will, / Man, lordly man, must tremble, and be still." (146) They hoped to slow down enough at a bend in the river to get over to the bank. But they got caught on a snag of debris in the river. Jacob pondered whether they should try to free themselves and float on down the river, or should they try to jump along the bridge of debris to get to the shore. Jacob said, "Tempt not that faithless bridge!-the scattered mass." (146) But they tried to get to the shore on the bridge. Jacob took the lead but the bridge broke up and Jacob fell into the river. Osric was able to leap over to some rocks, and he climbed up to look for Jacob. He spotted him hanging onto a "narrow cliff." He was very weak. Only a staff, lodged in the rocks, kept him from being pulled down by the current. Osric drug him to shore. He built him a shelter

and made a fire. Osríc prayed for him. Jacob regained consciousness, and he told Osríc to bury him in the snow and go on to the Christian village. He made a long farewell prayer, asking for the salvation of the chief, and he said goodbye to the natural wonders. He called out to Jesus Redeemer as his last words. Osríc wept and then buried Jacob in the snow.

Meanwhile, back in the Christian village, "The apostle of the west," the pastor of the praying tribe, was leading prayers for Jacob, who had been sent for a "wondering soul." Osríc came into the village and described the death of Jacob. The Pastor sent out the Christian brethren to get the body of Jacob. He then gave a sermon about the fall of man. He emphasized how man was born in sin. We were to look at our own sin and not at the sin of others. God had provided a way to overcome that sin. He told how Azmourai had had power and fame as a great warrior. He had been ambitious and loved to rule over others, but he came to God in humility. "In him, the good, the noble, and the brave, a pardoned sinner and a ransomed slave." (156) Upon becoming a Christian, Jacob had had to flee his village. Jacob loved Zaila, but he never showed jealousy toward Osríc for his affection for her. The pastor then gave a long funeral oration. Osríc then pronounced how he was anguished and felt responsible for his death. The pastor comforted him by reminding Osríc that he would see Jacob again at the Second

Coming of Christ. Years go by, and children played on the site of the grave of the white pastor. The poem went on to praise his work. Near the grave of the pastor stood the rock that served as a tombstone with Osric's name.

This poem of thirty double column pages was written while Tonna resided in Ireland, and this work ostensibly concerned itself with a missionary to the "barbarians" of Ireland. For the Irish were seen as savages in the minds of many Englishmen. They were seen as beyond hope of bringing them into the fold of "Christian civilization." On the other hand, Charlotte Elizabeth had extensive contact with the "natives" of Nova Scotia, especially during the incident of the wounded Indian described above. These events took place before she had discovered the gospel herself so, in some ways, she had feelings of guilt about not having been in a condition to give them the gospel of Christ. The story of Osric can be seen from two perspectives then. It was a tale that clearly stated the gospel over and over again. Tonna showed her belief in salvation by grace alone. Even water baptism had no efficacious value in saving the sinner. Humility and confession of one's sinful state was necessary before one reached out for the Savior. Yet this story also presented the sovereignty of God again and again. It also stressed the very presence of God in the natural laws. The only attacks on Catholicism were indirectly by the emphasize on salvation by faith and also by attacking the doctrine of

efficacious use of water baptism to remove original sin. Little of Tonna's political views came out in this poem, but she did emphasize the greater moral uplifting qualities of the country as opposed to the moral weakening aspect of the city. The main goal, though, of Tonna's "Osric" was to propagate the gospel. All other matters were secondary.

From her Personal Recollections, and from her early works, we can see how the first thirty-four years of Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna's life established her as a great Evangelical propagandist. Her childhood filled her full of Romantic ideas along with metaphysical speculations. Although she would later see these influences as negative, in reality they prepared her to recognize her own inadequacies, and therefore prepared her to accept the simple grace though faith gospel as taught by the Evangelicals. The filling of her mind with Shakespeare, the Romantic poets and other writers gave her an education that prepared her to be a writer of fiction and also a poet. Of course, the most important event during these early years was her discovering of her need for personal salvation and her resulting acceptance of that salvation. Having become an Evangelical Christian while living in the very Catholic nation of Ireland easily drew her into a strong stand against the Roman Catholic Church. The occurrence of the Rockite terror during the first years as a Protestant Christian reinforced her anti-Catholicism. Her initial

isolation from Dissenting Evangelicals, and her only having Anglican literature available, along with her Bible, moved her to become a confirmed Anglican Evangelical. During these years she already was becoming concerned about the spiritual status of the Jews. The only major doctrinal position she did not firmly establish but later would was a belief in the millennium. That would come later.

Thus, Charlotte Elizabeth closed the very foundational period of her life. The remaining twenty-two years of her life would be dedicated to spreading the Evangelical Anglican message. Even though Ireland receded from her view her mind would forever be on this adopted country.

NOTES

1. Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna, Personal Recollections, in The Works of Charlotte Elizabeth with an Introduction by Mrs. H. B. Stowe, 2nd ed. (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1845), 1; Another early resident of Norwich, Harriet Martineau, (1802-1876) also asked her friends to destroy her correspondence. She also wrote an autobiography and hoped future generations would depend on it as a source for information about her life. Fortunately, Martineau was not totally successful, and so many of her letters remain. The collection of letters to Fanny Wedgewood is a good source of information about Martineau for a thirty year period of her life. Gillian Thomas, Harriet Martineau (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1985), 15, 21; Vera Wheatley, The Life and Work of Harriet Martineau (Fair Lawn, New Jersey: Essential Books, Inc, 1957), 24-28; Valerie Sanders, ed., Harriet Martineau: Selected Letters (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), vii.

2. Tonna, Recollections, 1-2.

3. Ibid., 2-3; Dictionary of National Biography, 961; Tonna's autobiography does not have many dates; John Foxe describes the burning at the stake of William Seaman, Thomas Carmen, and Thomas Hudson, 19 May 1558. He tells how the three martyrs prayed for their persecutors, the followers of Queen Mary, with their last breathes. They died at Lollard's Field at St. Martin's Plain. John Foxe, Acts and Monuments of Matters Most Special and Memorable Happening in the Church, Especially in the Realm of England, edited and abridged by G. A. Williamson, Foxe's Book of Martyrs (Boston and Toronto: Little Brown and Company, 1965), 412-415.

4. Mona Wilson, Jane Austen and Some Contemporaries (London: Cresset Press, 1938), 182; Tonna, Recollections, 3; DNB, 961; Elizabeth Ann Kowaleski, "The Dark Night of Her Soul: The Effects of Anglican Evangelicalism on the Careers of Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna and George Eliot," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1981, 39-40.

5. Tonna, Recollections, 3-4.

6. Ibid., 4-5; Wilson, 183, 199; DNB, 961; Warren Derry, Dr. Parr: A Portrait of the Whig Dr. Johnson (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1966), 2, 34, 48, 128, 205. It is

very unlikely that reading in poor light could cause blindness, even temporarily.

7. Tonna, Recollections, 5-6.

8. *Ibid.*, 6.

9. *Ibid.*, 7.

10. *Ibid.*, 7-8.

11. *Ibid.*, 8.

12. *Ibid.*, 8-9; Wilson, 184; Kowaleski, 41-42. Tonna does not explain what was so intoxicating about Shakespeare but maybe Hannah More's view of the theater, arrived at late in life, gives some clue to Tonna's opinion. More believed the lays of Shakespeare were harmful to the well being of young people, especially young women. She believed the theater instilled a "code of honor involving love, jealousy, hatred, pride, and revenge. Young men were led into dueling and suicide. Mary Alden Hopkins, Hannah More and Her Circle (New-York and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1947), 230-231.

13. Tonna, Recollections, 9-10; Wilson, 185. Modern studies confirm the fact that mercury poisoning can cause hearing loss. Christine V. Eccles and Zoltan Annau, ed. The Toxicity of Methyl Mercury (Baltimore and London: the John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 105, 109; Rolf Hartung and Bertram ed., Environmental Mercury Contamination (Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Science Publishers Inc, 1972). For a study on the use of mercury compounds for medical purposes in the 19th Century, see Leonard J. Goldwater, Mercury: A History of Quicksilver (Baltimore: York Press, 1972), 239-248.

14. Tonna, Recollections, 10.

15. *Ibid.*, 11.

16. *Ibid.*, 11-13. For a description of the compressing of the organs by corset (stays), and also for the technique of someone standing on the woman's back to lace a stay, see C. Willett and Phillis Cunnington, The History of Underclothes (London: Michael Joseph, 1951), 115-116. See also Emperor Joseph II's edict (1800) declaring the health value of a corset. Norah Waugh, Corsets and Crinolines (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1954), 130. Tonna's comment about the authority of the father in the household is not a statement by a proto-feminist.

17. Tonna, Recollections, 13-15.

18. Ibid., 14-15; Wilson, 187, 188. Socinianism taught a rationalist interpretation of the Bible. They saw Jesus as the revelation of God but nevertheless he was solely a man. They believed the soul died upon physical death with the exception of a select few who are resurrected. J. D. Douglas, ed., The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1974, revised 1981), 912. Elizabeth Gurney Fry, born in Norwich, was a Quaker prison reformer, author of Texts for Every Day in the Year. Douglas, 395.

19. Tonna, Recollections, 16. James Henry Monk was taught by a Dr. Foster at Norwich until leaving for Charterhouse in 1798. DNB, 621-623.

20. Tonna, Recollections., 15-16; Wilson, 188; See Judges 4:17-24, Jael invited King Sisera in to her tent, gave him refreshments and when he was asleep she drove a tent peg through his head.

21. Tonna, Recollections, 17-18; Wilson, 188; Donald Grove Barnes, George III and William Pitt, 1783-1806: A New Interpretation Based Upon A Study of their Unpublished Correspondence (New York: Octagon Books, 1973), 203; Richard Pares, King George III and the Politicians (Oxford: At the Clarendon-Press, 1953), 92, 141.

22. Tonna, Recollections, 18.

23. Ibid., 18-19.

24. Ibid., 19-20; Wilson, 188.

25. Tonna, Recollections, 20.

26. Ibid., 20-21. Tonna does not tell what novels she was reading.

27. Ibid., 21.

28. Ibid., 21-22.

29. Ibid., 22; Wilson, 188. Harriet Martineau also was strongly influenced by reading Shakespeare. Harriet Martineau, Tynemouth, to Anna Jameson, 15 June 1841. Sanders, 61; F. Maurice Powicke, ed., Handbook of British Chronology 2nd ed., (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1961), 244.

30. Wilson, 188; Tonna, Recollections, 22-24.
31. Tonna, Recollections, 24-25; Wilson, 182; DNB, 878-881. See the play "Percy" by Hannah More, performed December 1777 to January 1778 in London. M. G. Jones, Hannah More (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1952), 34-35; Hokins, 76-77.
32. Tonna, Recollections, 25-26; Wilson, 188.
33. Philip Garth Siemens, "Aspects of Evangelical Social Criticism, with Special Reference to Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, flourit. 1825-1846," Master thesis, Regent College, 1988), 6; Tonna, Recollections, 2, 26; L. S. Loomer, "Charlotte Elizabeth (Browne) Phelan (1790-1846)," Canadian Notes and Queries, 14 (November 1974), 9.
34. Kowaleski, 49-55, see note about her death wish and sex; Tonna, Recollections, 26-30.
35. Tonna, Recollections, 30-31; Loomer, 9; Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna, "By-Gone Days," The Christian Lady's Magazine, 2 (December 1838), 489-491.
36. Tonna, Recollections, 31-33; Siemens, 6-7; Loomer does not list his source for the comment about Phelan beating Charlotte. Loomer, 10; Tonna, "By-Gone Days," CLM, 10 (December 1838), 484; Tonna "By-Gone Days," CLM, 11, (March 1839), 195; "By-Gone Days," CLM, 11, (February 1839), 97-99.
37. Tonna, Recollections, 33; "By-Gone Days," CLM, 12, (July 1839).
38. *Ibid.*, 34.
39. *Ibid.*; Siemens, 7.
40. Tonna, Recollections, 34-36. A post-chaise is defined as "a small, closed carriage used for traveling post." Daniel Pool, What Jane Austen Ate and Charles Dickens Knew: From Fox Hunting to Whist, the Facts of Daily Life in 19th-Century England (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 357.
41. *Ibid.*, 36.
42. *Ibid.*, 36-38; Wilson, 190. Bible references to worship of Baal is in Jeremiah 19. The worship of Moloch is found in Leviticus 20 and I Kings 11. The man wearing a wooden horse-head could represent the Celtic goddess, Epona,

the patroness of horses. Tonna's reporting of the man saying the horse represented all cattle is confusing. The Celts had a cow goddess, Damona. Gerhard Herm, The Celts (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 159; Simon James, The World of the Celts (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), 88, 89.

43. Tonna, Recollections, 38-39.

44. Ibid., 39-40.

45. Ibid., 40; Wilson, 195.

46. Tonna, Recollections, 40-41.

47. Ibid., 41-42. Edward Bickerseth explains that Christ descended to Hades, "the place of departed spirits both the righteous and the wicked." Edward Bickerseth, Questions Illustrating the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England: With Proof from Holy Scripture and the Primative Church (Oxford and Cambridge: Rivington, 1877), 14-15.

48. Tonna, Recollections, 42-43.

49. Ibid., 43; Kowaleski, 58.

50. Tonna, Recollections, 43-44; Bickerseth, 61-67; James Cornford, ed., The Book of Common Prayer with Historical Notes (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, n. d. 59-61.

51. Ibid., 44; Powoke and Fryde, 243.

52. Tonna, Recollections, 45.

53. Ibid. Tonna does not name this society, but it could be the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, founded in 1809.

54. Ibid., 45-46.

55. Wilson, 196; Tonna, Recollections, 46-47. Tonna does not say how her mother was converted.

56. Desmond Bowen, The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-70: A Study of Protestant-Catholic Relations Between the Act of Union and Disestablishment (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press), 1978, 105-106; Siemens, 8-9; Tonna, Recollections, 47-48; James S. Donnelly, Jr., "Pastorini and Captain Rock: Millenarianism and Sectarianism in the Rockite Movement of 1821-4," in Irish Peasants:

Violence and Political Unrest 1780-1914, Samuel Clark and James S. Donnelly, Jr., ed., (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 102-139.

57. Tonna, Recollections, 48; Bowen, 63-64, 66-67, 132; Wilson, 196; Brian Jenkins, Era of Emancipation: British Government of Ireland, 1812-1830 (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 165-166, 181-183, 212, 216; Donnelly, 103-110, 119-120, 134-136. Donnelly stresses the millenarian aspect of the Rockite movement and shows Tonna is correct about the effect of Pastorini's prophecies. Parl. Deb., 2nd Sec. 6: 105-10, 185. Walmsley was a mathematician as well as a Catholic prelate. He took the Benedictine orders and later became the Bishop of Rama. He wrote many works, including one on Mount Etna and another on astronomy which was "inserted" in the "Philosophical Transactions" of 1745. DNB, 614-616.

58. Tonna, Recollections, 48. Rockites were revolutionary millenarians who's goals were to destroy Protestantism. They awaited supernatural intervention to help achieve this goal. Donnelly, 106-107. There was no Captain Rock in the 1820s. Anyone leading a raid against the Protestants, based on the teachings of Pastorini, would call himself Captain Rock. Donnelly, 118, 125.

59. Ibid., 48-49.

60. Ibid., 49.

61. Ibid., 49-50.

62. Ibid., 50-51; Wilson, 197-198. Milner was a representative of the Irish Catholics in England and a vicar apostolic of the Midland district. He worked for Catholic Emancipation, G. I. T. Machin, The Catholic Question (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 13-14.

63. Tonna, Recollections, 51-52; Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna, Jack the Dumb Boy (New York: American Tract Society, 18--), 3.

64. Tonna, Recollections, 52-53.

65. Ibid., 53. Moore traced the history of the "Rock" family in order to show the English mistreatment of the Irish. It went through several editions and long quotations appeared in The Times and the Morning Chronicle. Fergus O'Ferrall, Catholic Emancipation: Daniel O'Connell and the Birth of Irish Democracy 1820-30 (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan Humanities Press International, Inc., 1985),

35-42, 79-80. Bishop Doyle attacked the property-owners in Ireland for demanding rack rents, tithes and taxes, but he admonished his followers to obey the laws that existed before 1782 as alluded to in Address to the People. He also published many tracts supporting the Irish Catholic cause including, Vindication of the Religious and Civil Principle of the Irish Catholics. Daniel O'Connell would lead the political fight for Catholic Emancipation.

66. Tonna, Recollections, 53-54; Richard Pares, 69; C. E. Vulliamy, Royal George: A Study of King George III, his Experiment in Monarchy, his Decline and Historic Events During his Reign (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937), 238. Pares sees George III's opposition to Catholic Emancipation as genuine religious and constitutional scruples that became "madness." Vulliamy sees his opposition as truly strongly held religious beliefs.

67. Ibid., 54-55; The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland 1843-44, 1 (Dublin, London and Edinburgh: A. Fullarton and Co., 1844), 421, 422.

68. Ibid., 53-56.

69. Ibid., 56.

70. Ibid., 56-58.

71. Ibid., 59.

72. Ibid., 59-60. Donnelly tells about "Lady Rocks" men dressed as women and he also described Marum's murder in March 1824. Donnelly, 108, 109.

73. Tonna, Recollections, 60.

74. Ibid., 60-61.

75. Ibid., 61-62; Tonna, Jack, 4.

76. Tonna, Recollections, 62-63; Tonna, Jack, 6-7.

77. Tonna, Recollections, 63-64; Tonna, Jack, 7-9.

78. Tonna, Recollections, 64.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid., 64-65; Tonna, Jack, 11-14.

81. Tonna, Recollections, 65; Tonna, Jack, 14-16.

82. Tonna, Recollections, 65-66; Tonna, Jack, 16.
83. Tonna, Recollections, 66-67.
84. Ibid., 67-68.
85. Ibid., 68; Wilson, 129; Tonna, Jack, 16-17.
86. Tonna, Recollections, 68-69. For a good contemporary description of Kilkenny Castle see Gazetteer, 435.
87. Tonna, Recollections, 69-70.
88. Ibid., 70; E. B. Hall, "Charlotte Elizabeth and Her Writings." The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany 39 (July 1845), 40.
89. Tonna, Recollections, 70; Tonna, Jack, 17-18.
90. Tonna, Recollections, 71
91. Ibid., 71; Tonna, Jack, 18-19.
92. Ibid.

CHAPTER 2

CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH: TIME OF JOYS AND SORROW

The years 1824-1829 cover both the time of Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna's greatest happiness and the time of her greatest sorrow. These were the years in which Tonna lived with her brother. She made tremendous progress with the education of Jack the dumb boy. She also occupied these years educating the children of Sandhurst in the Bible. Charlotte Elizabeth's husband apparently had some kind of mental breakdown at this time. But the greatest tragedy of her life occurred during this period: The death of her beloved brother, John. Yet, it was during this period when she began to earn a steady income from her books, such as The Rockite: An Irish Story. These five years saw her go from a dependent woman to the beginnings of an independent career as a successful writer.

Clifton

Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan, Jack the deaf boy and Charlotte's mother arrived at Bristol some time in 1824. From there they traveled to Clifton where they lived for about a year. During this time, her husband was apparently subject to "incipient derangement," and she could "not find comfort and protection," but she "might find their

comfort and protection," but she "might find their opposites," which occasioned much alarm and distress. Her brother's continued absence also brought her no comfort. She saw this period of her life as one of severe trial, but she would not "particularize." Finding herself in much seclusion, she pursued her literary career, and she watched over the "progress of Jack's growth in knowledge and in grace."¹

Charlotte Elizabeth saw Clifton as one of "the most beautiful spots in England," but it was clouded by the increasing number of steam powered ships. The belching smoke sent its "dark vapours" curling up St. Vincent's cliffs, and "the ships also agitated the waters which destroyed the transparency of St. Vincent's River." She did not lament too much about the steam ships, since she believed they, along with other means of modern transportation such as railroads and improved highways, would help transport the Jews back to the Holy Land. This event would occur at "the Tribulation of these latter days; and while Satan will doubtless avail himself for evil, cruelty and devastation, they will ultimately fulfill all the Lord's pleasure, when he says to Jerusalem, 'thou shalt be built,' and to Zion, the foundations shall be laid."²

Hannah More

At Clifton, Tonna became personally acquainted with Hannah More (1745-1833), whom she had corresponded with for

some time. More had taken special interest in Charlotte's education of Jack the deaf boy. Now she could personally observe his progress, and Jack came to love Hannah More. More "nobly stood forth to repel the assaults of revolutionizing impiety on her church. She helped establish schools; contributed to charities; corresponded to others to aid in her work." She wrote devotional and educational works. Even more importantly, More ministered to "the most dangerous, and generally speaking, the most unapproachable class—a class who congregated in ale-houses to hear the inflammatory harangues of seditious traitors, while as yet Bibles were scarce, religious tracts not in existence, and the district visiting unthought of." It was unusual to find a lady of such "refined taste, and rare accomplishments in the higher style of writing," to volunteer for such a new ministry. She would "furnish the press, with a series of plain truths, dressed in most homely phrases, rendered attractive by lively narrative, and even drollery, and the whole brought down to level of coarse, uninformed minds, while circulated in a form to come within the narrow means of the lowest mechanic" More served as a Deborah to the many Baraks who did not do their duty. She took an active interest in the affairs of her country. The state must take an active role in instilling the principles of peace, happiness, truth, justice, religion and piety. Nothing the state can do can be indifferent to the regard of

Christians. Politicians should be honored to have "naturally aided in preserving those cavilers' homes from the hand of the spoiler, and their Bibles from that of the Atheist." She suffered exceedingly from rheumatism and other ailments, and even more from verbal attacks, yet she triumphed over all by committing her cause to God. She was beyond further attack, and was about to end her life in peace, but she was driven out of her beloved Cheddar hills to a neighboring town. Yet all of these trials helped her to remember she served "as to the Lord" and not for herself.³

Educating Jack

Meanwhile, Tonna awaited the return of her brother, but he stayed in Lisbon nearly a year longer, recovering from "a hurt received in a shooting." He sent his family on ahead. Charlotte took on the responsibility of taking care of her brother's eldest son. He learned to talk and walk. She expected Jack to be jealous, but he was not, for indeed he came to love "Baby Boy." Tonna believed Jack would have to seek employment as a servant if anything happened to her, so she had to keep him "humble." She let him eat in the same room as the family, but at a side-table. She at least did not make him eat with the servants. He did every household job that befitted his age and strength. From time to time Jack had to be punished, and would react by yelling very loudly. Of course, he could not hear the volume of his

screaming, but he did disturb the household, and he also stimulated "Baby Boy" to imitate him. One day Mr. W., a friend of the family, rapped Jack on the head with a walking cane when he went into one of his hysterical screaming fits. He then locked Jack in a dark kitchen for half an hour. Mr. W thought he would lose Jack's affection, but on the contrary he loved him more than he had before. Every time he would see him, Jack would say, "Good Mr. W, ' good little stick beat Jack's head; made bad Jack good . . . Jack no more cry." The yelling stopped.⁴

Jack loved to pray. He may have had trouble communicating to people, but he had no trouble "talking to God." He kept telling Charlotte to talk to Baby Boy about Jesus, but she told him he was too young to understand. So Jack prayed for God to bring blessing on the boy, and Tonna felt the blessings continued on the boy as result of these prayers. She rejoiced that the two would be with each other "before the throne of the Lamb."⁵

Jack believed that Jesus held little children up as they were learning to walk, and when they fell he kept them from hitting their heads by putting his hand between them and the ground. When Jack saw children learning to walk he would say, "Good Jesus Christ! Jack very much loves Jesus Christ." Tonna then asked the reader "I hope you are not tired of Jack, . . . God made me the humble means of plucking this precious brand from the burning" He

was a tenfold blessing to her. It was as if God told her "Nurse this child for me, and I will give thee thy wages." She saw God as a noble Paymaster.⁶

Living with her Brother

"And now I come to a period of my life that I have scarcely courage to go over," writes Tonna. "Many, and sharp, and bitter were the trials left unrecorded here; and shame be to the hand that shall ever DARE to lift up the veil that tender charity would cast over what was God's doing, let the instruments be what and who thy might." The rod was not spared, yet he dealt mercifully with her, for she did continue to have her health and cheerfulness. Sometimes her spirit would fail during the tribulations, but in the end joy would come.⁷

After heaping much praise on the qualities of her brother and their devoted love for each other, she tells of a remark by an officer, "If Browne were disguised as a washerwoman, any soldier would give him a salute." He had a wonderful service record from his time during the Peninsular War. Many bloody battlefields confronted Browne, but he never suffered a wound. At one battle, his regiment of eight hundred received tremendous casualties so that only ninety-six men drew rations the next day. Her brother became a lieutenant on the field, even though he started out as the youngest ensign. He became the favorite of Portuguese King John VI, at whose court he served after the

war. And Captain John Murray Browne wrote An Historical View of the Revolutions of Portugal, Since the Close of the Peninsular War; Exhibiting a Full Account of the Events Which Have Led to the Present State of That Country. This book was described by Richard Southey as "a book of great ability, written with full knowledge of the subject on which it treats, in the best spirit, with sound judgement and perfect discretion." Charlotte Elizabeth does not mention this book in her memoirs.⁸

The family moved to London, where Browne hoped to acquire an appointment to the Horse Guards. He had refused appointment to King John of Portugal as aide-de-camp with any military rank he might desire, for he preferred to serve in a British regiment even if it meant a half-pay cut. But the Duke of York knew of his qualities, and so Browne could choose one of three regiments. He picked the Seventy-fifth and was given two years leave to study at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst to better qualify himself for a future staff situation. Browne and his extended family moved into a cottage on the verge of Bagshot overlooking the college. Tonna had the leisure now to walk, ride, garden, or farm with her brother when he was not in a class. She began to feel the pleasures of their childhood together again. Many people accused her of making an idol out of her brother. Charlotte Elizabeth found this so much foolishness, for an "idol is something that either usurps God's place, or

withdraws our thoughts and devotions from him." The reverse was true, for Tonna had an additional motive to be devoted to the Lord so that she could be an effective witness to her brother. For she prayed that he would come to know the truth of the gospel. She did not repent of loving her brother so much. For this period in her life restored "the sweetest relics of a lost Eden," wrote Tonna "and I would sooner tear up the flowers that God has left to smile in our daily path through a sin-blighted wilderness,-far sooner,-then I would cease to cherish, to foster, to delight in the brighter, sweeter flowers of domestic love, carried to the full extent of all its endearing capabilities."⁹

"The Lord knoweth our frame," wrote Tonna, "he deals with us not according to what we are." He assigned us duties according to our natural feelings. Men set up standards, but failed to live up to them because of the weakness of their nature. Yet they sternly judged their neighbors for failing to live up to their own standards. "A person had a path assigned to him, a steep ascent strewn with thorns and crowded with obstacles, before which he often pauses and waxes faint." Just as each apostle had a fellow disciple to help with the mission, each of us had a companion to travel with us on the pilgrimage of life. Each cheered the other for victories and suffered together for failures. Yet others failed to see the beam in their own eye when noting the mote in another's. "Oh, how infinitely

more tender is the Lord to us than we to one another."¹⁰

Renewed Writing

All the moving around and the resulting anxiety, apprehensions, and restlessness of feeling had resulted in a difficulty in her literary labors. She would have had inadequate income from her few writings if the president of the Dublin Tract Society and her other friends had not helped her. Tonna wanted to be independent, and she was willing to work hard to become free of dependency on others. She had tremendous success in achieving her goal while living two years and two months with her brother. During this time she wrote The Rockite, The System, "Izram," Consistency, Perseverance, Allan M'Leod, Zador, and thirty little books and tracts, besides articles in various periodicals. Tonna wrote, "I was going on most prosperously when an attempt was made from another quarter to establish a claim to the profits of my pen." This claim according to most writers was made by her husband, George Phelan, although Charlotte does not say so. The demand was probably legal, but the circumstance of her husband's mental disability may have weighed in her favor. But meanwhile, the value of her copyright was greatly reduced and she found herself checked in her career. "This brought upon me two temptations, the force of which was greatly increased by the circumstances under which they found me."¹¹

"When I first began to write," stated Tonna, "it was

with a simple desire to instruct the poor in the blessed truths of the gospel." But she began Letter Eleven by saying she had to "turn the little talent" she possessed to a profitable enterprise. She still kept in mind the greater goal of promoting God's glory. She found there was a ready market for her works. For her name alone guaranteed success for any book she published. She could no longer use her married name, so she wrote, for a while, anonymously. Through the help of her brother, she became a contributor to "the most popular magazines of the day," writing moral tales, although in them she made no direct mention of religion. She would be kept in strict incognito to avoid any accusation of inconsistency. For her husband had taken a portion of her income from previous works and she did not want to be a burden to her brother. But she demurred. She believed God had commanded her to write, but now, after four years, she was cut off from the income of her works. Perhaps this was here to try her faith. She did not want to hire herself out to "another master." For while she wrote imaginative tales of "folly and romance," she decided to work gratuitously, trusting that God would provide her with what was needed. No one doubted her resolve, although no one understood her reasoning on this matter. It seemed she had spurned "an honorable means of independence" and now she was destitute. The Dublin Tract Society came through for her by publishing her little books. They did not provide

much income, but the little amount of money convinced Tonna it was God's will for her to continue writing.¹²

"The Red Berries"

Tonna wrote many religious tracts throughout this period. One example of a tract meant to present a simple lesson for Christian children, as well as present the gospel to unbelieving children, is "The Red Berries." Henry Wilson, the hero of this tale, was the only child of a young couple who taught him "all that a little boy of seven years could be expected to learn." (3) These parents taught Henry that all are sinners bound for "the place of torments" and that only by the death of Jesus as the sinner's substitute could someone be delivered from the wrath to come. They taught him the Holy Spirit enabled a believer to stand up against temptation, and to come to love and please God. In this tract, Tonna summarized the gospel and the means of daily sanctification for a Christian. She then turned to the story of Henry Wilson.¹³

Henry's parents would take him on walks through his clergyman uncle's church garden. Tonna was recalling her own childhood memories of the hours she spent in the parish garden. On one autumn walk through the garden dry leaves blew across the path. The wind blew the leaves away and Henry recollected the words of Isaiah, "We all do fade as a leaf; and our iniquities, like the wind, have taken us away." (5)

The next day, Henry asked to walk in the garden alone, and his parents gave him permission. But his father told him not to eat anything he found there. Henry promised to obey his father, and he ran happily to the garden. The garden taught him some simple lessons. The China-rose, for instance, hung down protected from the wind, but then it would look up fresh and renewed when the sun shone. The lesson was that the pious soul meekly bowing before the afflictions of God will be exalted in due time, while the proud and rebellious soul, like the other blossoms that stay up in a strong wind and are blown to pieces, will be broken and destroyed. Another lesson was taught by the fact that the remaining plain and sober colored flowers now appeared more valuable in the more dreary fall. Those flowers may not have been noticed when all the brighter flowers were in bloom during the summer. So it is with ordinary comforts which are overlooked while there are an abundance of pleasures, but they are prized when the other enjoyments are gone.

As Henry walked through the garden, he noticed there remained very little fruit, except for a few grapes and some apples. But then he came upon a bush covered with "berries of a deep scarlet, soft to the touch, and bright to the eye." (7) He looked long at them. He would go off to play, but he kept returning to the red berries. Henry said to himself, "If papa had not forbidden me to eat any fruit, I

should like to pull a few of those delightful berries. How sweet they must be!" (7)

His uncle came up to Henry and asked him if he liked the garden, and the boy told him "very much indeed, uncle." (8) He walked with his uncle past the berry bush and the clergyman told him that he must not eat any of those berries. Henry said he would not because his father told him not to gather anything. His uncle reminded him he would always find his happiness in obeying his parents. At dinner Henry noticed there was all kinds of fruit and nuts but no red berries.

That Sunday, Henry walked around the garden before breakfast. As he passed the berry bush he thought how mean his uncle was for keeping the berries for himself. Tonna writes that this "was a very naughty saying" (9) If Henry's uncle wanted to keep the berries for himself, it was his right to do so since they were his own. Whatever he chose to give to Henry was the gift of his kindness and he did him no wrong by denying him other things. It was unkind and even un-Christian to suppose he refused him from a selfish motive. "Thus it is that sinners entertain hard thoughts of GOD, not withstanding all his love and kindness towards them." Henry already was more than half determined to commit sin. He "wanted to find excuses to blind his own conscience." (9)

After breakfast Henry walked in the garden. He should

have prayed that his thoughts be kept on heavenly things and be prepared for service to God. He should have avoided the place of temptation and he should have asked for assistance from the Holy Spirit to avoid evil wishes. But Henry did none of these things. Instead, he went straight to the bush and he gazed at the red berries until it seemed impossible to leave without tasting them. His heart began beating very quickly. He thought about his father's command and advice. It was not too late to pray to God to keep him from sin but instead he gave in to temptation. He grabbed several berries and ate them quickly as he heard his father calling to him from the gate. The berries were not sweet and they were slimy and of such a sickening taste that he was sorry he had not followed his father's command.

Henry went into church sad and sulky as all those who feel they have done wrong and have begun thinking of the consequences. Satan attempts to prevent the sinner from feeling guilt until too late. The pastor, Henry's uncle, read the 139th Psalm about how the sinner cannot escape God's presence. Henry began to be frightened and miserable. Then he began to feel ill, but he tried to conceal it as well as he could. His uncle began the sermon by reading, "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence?" He then began to describe the dreadful state of the sinner who feels he may conceal his sin from man yet God sees and knows it all. He spoke of Adam eating

the forbidden fruit, and how he tried to hide himself from God. Henry now was certain his uncle had seen him eat the berries, and with these thoughts added to the increasing illness. He got so terrified he began to cry and sob loudly. His father could not quite him. He clearly was in great pain. Henry's father took him home.

Laid out on his bed, it was clear Henry was very ill and he had eaten something poisonous. His parents were distressed. For a long time, Henry could not speak but as soon as he could he asked for his uncle, who came immediately. "Oh, uncle, uncle," cried Henry, "do ask the LORD JESUS to forgive me. I never will do so again." His uncle asked what he had done, and the boy said he knew, he told about what he had done in his sermon. His uncle assured him he was speaking of sin generally and to all sinners around him, but that if Henry felt it was addressed to him it is because he knew his own guilt. He hoped this would lead to his repentance. (13)

Henry believed God would not forgive him. He felt he committed a great sin, and that as soon as he did it he was sure God would not forgive him. "And O, uncle, I am going to that dreadful place where liars and Sabbath-breakers, and disobedient children, and all who despise God's law are tormented for ever." (14) He then cried and screamed and could not be comforted. Henry's uncle and his parents grieved and prayed for Henry to spare his life. He was

spared and learned his lesson well for he knew now to seek pardon from God, through Christ.

Tonna then describes the lessons the reader should learn. She told the "dear children" reading the tract that they should cast their burden of guilt and sorrow on Jesus who takes away the sin of the world. (15) Christ promised never to cast out anyone who came to him in faith.

The author then asked what would have happened to Henry if he had died immediately after eating the poison or if his heart had become hardened so that he continued to sin. "What would have become of him at last?" She did not answer, but instead asked what would become of the reader if he continued to neglect the help of Christ.

My little readers, and elder ones too, "Pray without ceasing." Study GOD's word, obey his laws, and seek for safety, blessing, and peace, holiness here and heaven hereafter, only through the blood and merits of our lord Jesus Christ, "who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works." (16)

This simple tract is a good example of Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's presentation of the Christian gospel in a clear and easily understood way. She used a fictional account of a boy eating forbidden berries and then getting sick as a way to demonstrate the intense feeling of guilt laid on a convicted sin-burdened Christian. She also used this story to retell the first sin of Adam. (It is interesting that she did not mention Eve, who some see as

the real person guilty of introducing sin into the world). Henry did not fall into a sin by eating berries but by rebelling against his parents and uncle to eat the berries that had become a strong lust for the boy. This was like Adam's sin. He willfully chose to rebel against God's command not to eat of the fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. We will see in other works of Tonna this underlying theme against rebellion. She saw this evil as a root cause of much that is wrong in the world.

"The Bee"

Another tract of a different kind is Charlotte Elizabeth's "The Bee." This booklet did not use a fictional story to relate a simple Christian doctrine. She described the blessing of being able to read in order to learn Christian teaching directly from the Bible. Even those who could not read have no excuse for they could attend Sunday school or church. But there was another way God communicated his doctrines: through nature. King David described how God teaches truth through the stars in Psalm 8. Solomon, in the Proverbs, said "Go to the ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways and be wise; which having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer and gathereth her food in the harvest." Nature therefore served as "a large book of pictures, in which every one may read the meaning, without knowing a letter of the alphabet."

The author described how the bee was a creature without reason or knowledge, yet it taught us a lesson. The bee operates as God intended through instinct. God designed the bee to find nourishment from the flowers. Honey is mentioned in the Bible as a symbol of prosperity. Flowers that charm us with their colors and sweet scent are the sources of the bee's food.

When bees were put into a new hive they immediately went to work making honey. Children should learn this lesson not to idle away the hours in foolishness. The bee stored up for the winter even though it did not know about the coming cold. More should be expected from us who can reason and know hard times are coming. After moving into its new hive the bee gathered pollen from the flowers. God provided a sack on its leg to hold this pollen. It kept going from flower to flower until its sacks were filled. The bee makes use of a garden for its food supply. Such a garden is the Bible. From its flowers on every page we should gather up its honey and pray over it until it nourishes our souls and remains in our memories as a store for future use.

In comparing the busy bee and the butterfly the author sees the bee as usefully going from flower to flower to gather food to store up for the winter, but the butterfly seems to just try to show off its beauty. The butterfly is like the individual who studies the Bible and other books to

get credit among men, to show off their cleverness, not to gain any real value. The butterfly builds no house, nor stores up food for the winter. As soon as the warm days end it falls down and dies. The bee is very different. It is wise and discerning. If someone puts out a paper flower the butterfly will rest upon it and display its colors, fully content. But the bee will not rest a moment on the fake flower because there is no honey in the thing. The bee is seeking profit, lasting profit, and that which yields no honey has no charms for it. It flies off to the blossoms of some lowly weed rather than stay on the useless, yet pretty, paper flower.

The butterfly-type person would rather idly pass his life with "gay sights and trifling amusements" than devote himself to piety and useful knowledge. The bee may seem gloomy, but she is busy gathering her food with its wings glittering in the sunshine. Some think religion is gloomy, but it really leads to true happiness. (14)

What are all your expensive toys, your showy dresses, and your well gilt books of fairy tales, and foolish stories, but so many paper roses that may be pretty enough to look at, but can never yield any nourishment to your minds, nor give you materials for an eternal store? I do not say that you should do nothing but work and study; (14)

But someone cannot be happy here or blessed hereafter if one does not make better use of one's time than to try to gratify one's own inclinations, and to obtain the admiration of one's fellow creatures. Even if one is clever and well

read, a wise heathen could still put one to shame by his superior knowledge. A true Christian must do good works that have been prepared by God for one to perform. This is true for the young as well as the old.

Another significant lesson from the bee is its loyalty to its monarch. The bee lives to serve its queen. It works to take care of the queen's young and it will fight and die to defend her. If you rob the tribe of its queen, it will be reduced to despair. If you take the queen away, you may lead the whole swarm wherever you please. They will follow, "and nothing but death puts an end to their loyal attachment." (16)

This is an example of submission to authority that has been put over us. We should obey our parents as well as the laws of our country and those who are rulers over us. A country "disturbed by evil and rebellious spirits, a family of unruly servants and children, or a school where the voice of the teacher is disregarded, and noise and disorder prevail, must be put to shame by a peep into a common bee-hive." (16) God is not the author of confusion but of peace. All scenes of disorder and disturbance are displeasing to God. Consider the hundreds of bees that are crowded together in the hive, coming and going, working together without fighting or disturbing one another. "Among them, all is order and harmony: they very well exemplify that excellent rule." (17)

The bees accommodated to each other's needs as they assist each other. We can find a good example in their conduct. There is no true happiness without concord. We can have this harmony by obeying our one supreme Sovereign, greater than any earthly friend or ruler. This is the Lord Jesus Christ, "who is the head of His church, and one king of his people." (18) We are to present ourselves to him, in body and soul, as a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice. We should yield ourselves to his rule and guidance. How can we match the loyalty of the bee? Do we show such devotion to the Lord? Do we try to find ways to serve him? Do we deprive ourselves of indulgence in order to feed the poor and give them the bread of life-the gospel? Are we willing to risk our substance and even our lives for his cause -choosing death rather than sin?

Is the thought of being separated from his love the most insupportable of fears? Are we willing to follow him even though the whole world of the wicked oppose us? The bee may teach us real love and loyalty. If we fall short of such a pattern, what excuse can we make? This is a serious issue. We know our duty, and we also know that by neglecting it "we draw down the wrath of the MOST HIGH upon us." (19) We constantly turn away from God because our natures are evil, and Satan tempts us to sin. But God is greater than any who are against us. If we fall it is because we do not watch, pray, and seek for the help of the

Lord. God designed the bee to choose the real flower that contains honey and to make use of what it finds there.

"Shall he not also teach us, if, like the bee, we fulfill his will?" (20)

We are to depend on the Holy Spirit to teach us to humbly depend on God's teachings, warning us from sin, and encouraging us to holiness. We have the power to do good works if our hearts are so inclined. There is much treasure for us to gather, and many may be made rich in spiritual things by our labor. We may derive valuable instruction from all that is around us. We are to impart this wisdom to others. To do this we must pray for grace to improve the time, and to watch for opportunities to carry our good wishes into effect. The flower does not lose its sweetness even though the bee loads herself from its store. The riches of God's word and works can never be exhausted; they are always sweet, and are new to one every time, when one returns to gather up the spiritual nourishment there.

The bee is industrious, and it does not feast on what it gathers today to leave it nothing in the future. It knows the value of time and improves every hour. The bee works all summer so that it may eat the fruit of its industry in winter. We humans rob the bee of its store and sometimes kill the creatures in the process, so that they lose all that they have so toiled to lay up. With the devoted Christian this can never be the case for our

treasure is a heavenly one. Death itself is but the entrance to eternal inheritance.

Tonna concluded by hoping that every time the reader sees a bee he will bring to mind the lesson God has fitted it to teach, and "may we all be found with equal diligence and steadiness, doing our duty in the stations in which we are placed by His almighty wisdom and everlasting love!"

(22)

So with Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's "The Red Berries," and "The Bee" we see examples of the two types of tracts. One uses a fictional tale to communicate the lessons she is seeking to teach, and the other uses nature to illustrate Biblical knowledge. Although both tracts teach practical lessons for Christians, they both emphasize the gospel itself.

Izram, a Mexican Tale

One of Charlotte Elizabeth's earliest published long poems was Izram, a Mexican Tale. On the title page she included the following: "The circumstances of the following story may be supposed to have occurred a considerable time previous to the great struggle for independence in South America." Although she called this a Mexican tale, the exact location of the story was undefined. She called the country Mexico but the Andes Mountains are located in this land. So Tonna probably is used Mexico to represent all of Spanish America. (12)¹⁵

Izram is a long narrative poem that emphasizes the power of the Christian gospel to bring back a prodigal to the faith he once held. The author used this story to show the power of forgiveness of sins even for those who believe they are beyond the mercy of God.

The story is about a young British missionary, named Albert, who came to Mexico with his brother to spread the gospel. His brother was killed by a Spanish official, Almarez Gondolph. Albert escaped into the jungle, trying to reach the British colony, perhaps British Honduras. In the jungle, he came upon Izram, who was being attacked by a jaguar. Albert killed the animal, and he and Izram became friends. When Albert told him how his own brother was killed by Gondolph, Izram vowed to avenge his blood. Albert rejected his offer, telling how his brother would have refused such vengeance on his behalf if he were alive. Albert wanted Izram to accept the gospel of Christ. But Izram described how he was of the Chiapa race, who were proud and unconquerable in spirit. Mexican kings came from the Chiapas and an army of one hundred thousand warriors had vowed vengeance on the Spaniards.

Izram told how a Jesuit Spanish monk, Anselmo, brother of Almarez Gondolph, came as a inquisitor to his village. He tried to get Izram to join the Jesuits and betray his people. When he refused Anselmo sent him to the mines, and then Almarez married the woman Izram loved, Leila. Izram

fled into the jungle seeking a time of vengeance on the Gondolph family.

He asked Albert to join him at his "outlaws cave." But Albert reminded him that vengeance was the right of God. He granted that both Izram and himself had cause for vengeance, but seeking ones own vengeance would bring on the wrath of heaven. They continued to discuss this issue, and also about how the British had not injured his race. Albert fell asleep and awakened in Izram's hide-a-way cavern. Izram was wrapped in a mantle. Albert wanted to know how he got into this cave, but Izram would not explain. He took off his mantle and revealed a golden robe. He told Albert that they were in his palace. The back of the caverns were full of the treasure of gold, jewelry, and sculptures. All of this treasure meant nothing to Izram unless he could use it to wreak vengeance on Anselmo. He revealed to Albert that he was rightful king of his people. Out of the shadows of the cave came his followers , dressed in traditional Indian costume. He then called for a prisoner to be brought out. It was Anselmo Gondolph.

Gondolph accused Izram of being a traitor. He accused him of being a murderer, but he should ask for the mercy of Spain. Izram said Spain only cares about gold. Gondolph reminded Izram that empires were bought with gold, and he told how the Indians could use gold to bribe another country to drive out the Spaniards. Izram declared that Montezuma

would rise again to seek vengeance on Cortez. Gondolph stated that heaven would preserve its own, for "wiley traitors die alone,"(18) Izram then made a long speech about how the Spanish had tainted the Indians with foreign blood. They robbed them, spread pestilence, and killed many with violence. They destroyed their culture, and taxed them of all their wealth. Gondolph referred to the Indians as cannibals, and that it was just as well that the Spanish killed off the Indians. Izram ridiculed the Spanish for coming as Christians to turn "those sinners from destruction's ways." (18) The Spanish destroyed the Eden that they found, and declared the jungle was filled with demons. They set up Spain's "mocking cross," and spread their religion baptized in blood. The gold was for Spain, "the gore for Rome!" (19) They used rivalry among the tribes to conquer and destroy. Gondolph declared the Europeans came with news of the true God, but Izram said that gold was Spain's only god.

Albert intervened, stating that Christ should not be blamed, for Christ never authorized the use of the sword. He called for mercy. Gondolph may even be reached by the gospel. Izram told him not to waste his time with Gondolph. Gondolph called Izram a brother, and Albert a British heretic. He believed Albert may even be a spy. Izram suddenly attacked Gondolph with a knife, but Albert stepped between them, and was wounded. "Oh, wretch accursed by

fate! My brother, have I murdered thee?" (20) Albert smiled, and Izram's men attended to his wounds. He ordered Gondolph to be taken to the dungeon. He could not understand why Albert intervened. After Albert was treated, Izram took him to see the extent of the treasure. Noises came from below, and his men brought up Nepuel, who told Izram Gondolph begged for a knife, and with it he killed himself rather than face Izram. Izram allowed Nepuel to live, saying that justice was served. But Nepuel made a remark about being beyond the flood. Albert did not understand what is meant by "the flood." Izram told how the cave was on an island surrounded by water that could rush in if the gates were opened. He warned Albert that Xloti, another Indian of royal blood, who was a rival of Izram, might be behind the actions of Nepuel. He went down to check on the body of Gondolph.

A mysterious man appeared in a mantle. He warned Albert that he needed to convince Izram to take him out of the cave. The stranger said Albert and Xloti would both help Izram. The stranger went, and Izram returned, assured that Anselmo killed himself. He asked Albert how he felt, and Albert told him he was weary of the caverns. Albert described the martyrs who fought against tyranny.

Why doth the Lord so long refrain? / Why hurl not from
 her sanguine throne / The impious harlot Babylon? / Yet
 the real tyrant is sin in one's heart. / Pale reason
 sheds her dubious light. / When nations hear the call
 divine. (22) Faith is a shield, prayer is a weapon, but

sin lurks in the dark.

Albert asked for the drug to put him to sleep so that Izram could take him to the mainland. He trusted Izram. Izram lamented that his race was too weak, too frail and too few "to plant our ancient palm anew" (23) Albert told him he should not trust in man. Only close friends were trustworthy.

A little while later, the flood waters rushed in and then up from the depths of the caverns. Izram and Albert drifted to the shore. Izram was convinced Xloti "loose the prisoned wave, to deluge yonder island cave," (24) Izram wrapped the drugged Albert and drug him from the cave. An assassin had attempted to kill Izram, but Xloti thwarted the attack and urged Izram and Albert flee.

Now in the jungle Izram took care of Albert. He thought about the gospel, how the Savior took his punishment. Izram began to see himself as a prodigal, and he thought about how Jesus was ready to receive him. Albert prayed for Izram. Izram led Albert to another hide out cave. They rested there and partook of the store of food. Albert hoped Izram finds peace, but he could not, for Izram believed that he was a Judas. He once believed in the gospel for himself and he even taught it to others, but he turned away from God to seek vengeance against his enemies.

Izram told how his grandmother came to Mexico as a young girl from Switzerland. She and her father were

captured by pirates and ended up on this coast. She married a chief. She taught her family the gospel. Izram himself learned the teachings of Christ from her, but after Anselmo attacked his village he took on the spirit of vengeance. His mother pleaded with him to refrain from seeking revenge but he ignored her. He found himself in a monastery, and he was urged to bow to the "idol" by Anselmo. But he refused. He took his own country as his god.

Albert says he could still be forgiven, but Izram was sure he was beyond God's mercy. Albert told him not to spurn God's grace, but Izram felt he was too sinful to be saved. Albert convinced him that even a murderer's heart can be made white. The darkest crime is unbelief. Izram looked out at the Andes mountains and he realized God can bring him back. He returned to belief in the gospel for himself. Albert rejoiced over a sinner saved. They woke up the next morning rejoicing that they were now brothers in the gospel. Thorns would be in their paths, but hardships would refine them like gold.

Someone approached and so Izram barred the door to the house (this was a cave earlier). Izram went to the watchtower. An arrow flew into the cave. On it were the symbols that warned of a "treacherous foe." (32) Xloti stood guard outside. It turned out that he directed the Spaniards to the hiding place, and he warned Izram that a purple shaft arrow would warn him of his presence.

A two-week siege began. Then at the end of the two weeks, Leila, Izram's long-lost love, appeared outside. She reminded Izram that they once were together, and now she was there to save him. He thanked her, but he was saddened by memories of the past. She played the lute that he had given her years ago. Izram and Albert fell asleep.

They woke up the next morning and saw Leila lying perfectly still. She appeared dead. Albert and Izram discussed the fact that Leila came here to aid Izram, and now she seemed to have somehow lost her life. So they cautiously went out and checked her seemingly lifeless body. They were discussing how to bury her in the cave when suddenly a purple shaft arrow landed nearby, causing Leila to wake and shriek. Albert and Izram began to run back to the cave, realizing they were victims of "Iberian treachery." (33) Leila grabbed at Izram but he got free, and the two men ran to the cave as bullets struck all around them. When they got to their refuge they discovered that Xloti had sneaked into the cave. The rival challenged Izram to fight, but he refused since he was now a Christian. Xloti called him a woman, and accused him of hypocrisy. Izram began to get angry but after an internal struggle he got control of his tongue. Xloti went on and on about how Izram's life was worthless. He was not worthy of being from a royal race.

Izram demanded he give up. He told how he had sneaked

into the cave, and how Anselmo longed to destroy Izram. Nepuel revealed the location of the treasure in the other cave. Izram realized he was doomed, but he was leagued with Albert now. "What storm their bigot race defiles?/ Rousing from his pacific lair/ The lion of the British Isles,/ Destruction on their guilty shore." (37) He lamented that Leila had caught them with her trap, and he also declared that they would have won if Xloti had not had gotten into the cave. He believed that his race was just in its rebellion against Spain. Albert believed Izram was a true patriot, and that maybe some day God would bless his people with their freedom.

Xloti's men carried Izram and Albert out of the cave. Izram told Albert that he once pledged a blood oath to be loyal to the gospel. He refused to praise Spain when Xloti pressed him to do so, and he declared that his people would break the fetters of Spain. He prayed that the Spanish themselves would throw off the tyrants that enslaved them. They were captives of idol worship when they should be looking totally to Christ. Albert called for them to pray while they were overlooking the cliffs and saw the roaring sea below. They realized that many ships had crashed on the rocks and knew they may be next. But the men took them down to the coast to await another fate. Knowing they they were about to die, Albert said, "We haste to an eternal home." (38)

As the men prepared a shallow boat to send them out on

the roaring sea, the men asked Izram, "Hast thou no parting curse for Spain?" But there were no curses and no calls for mercy. Izram said to Albert, "This bounding wave/ Like a triumphant car shall beam/ Our souls to bliss, and yield a grave,/ Till dust revive that bliss to share." Albert said that the Lord had won the conquest, for Izram was crushed as a rebel but now was claimed as a son. "Unwittingly, your hands prepare/ A brighter crown than monarchs wear." (39)

The Spaniards and their allied Indians launched Izram and Albert in a boat out on to the stormy sea with no oars. The tide pulled them out away from the shore. Night found them far out to sea. Izram said his farewell to Mexico, but he regreted that Albert was one of his victims. Albert denied he was a victim, for he and Izram would gain a throne in heaven together. Albert said he saw Jesus and his angels. He said farewell to Izram.

Izram said, "Down, down to ocean's deep most cell,/ Be plunged that gloomy word, farewell!/ And be the rivets doubly driven/ That clasp our souls in bands of Heaven!" Eternal glory could not be drowned by the waves. The tide brought them back to the rocks, and the boat broke up. Albert and Izram struggled in the water for awhile, but then Albert declared, "He calls! forbear this idle strife-/ Why linger at the gate of life?/ The crown is won, the conflict o'er;/ Together let us sink, and soar,/ Receive us, Lord!" (40) They grabbed on to each other and sank below.

Tonna thus ended this story as she did so many of her other ones with the hero dying, but dying triumphantly, secure in his right relationship with God. Izram could be seen as a tragedy, but Charlotte Elizabeth saw it as a story of victory. To her, one's eternal life outweighed any suffering on earth. This is clearly therefore a story promoting the Evangelical gospel. This long poem is a retelling of the prodigal son parable. For like the wandering son in Jesus's story, Izram was once a member of his heavenly father's household. He was a follower of Christ, but he rejected him, or more correctly believed he became unworthy of the Father, in order to seek vengeance on his enemies. But in the end, the prodigal returned home as a result of the urging of his Protestant, and English friend Albert.

It is the presence of Albert that indicates an underlying theme in Izram. The British are seen in a noble light. They treat the native population with respect, and they bring the principle of liberty. And unlike the Spanish, they are not interested in exploiting the Indians for their gold and their capacity as slaves. This work is clearly a chauvinistic, pro-British story. This goes to illustrate Tonna's patriotism to her native Britain, which will be seen over and over again in other works.

The Rockite: An Irish Story

Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna first published The Rockite:

An Irish Story in 1829, when remnants of the Rockite movement were still lingering in some parts of Ireland, and when the Catholic Emancipation bill was being debated in Parliament. But in the third edition (1836), reprinted in The Works of Charlotte Elizabeth, Volume 1, Tonna wrote a preface in which she reported that the events she feared were coming about in Ireland. She hoped for peace but the war against "Scriptural faith" continued. "Romanist Papal power" increased more rapidly than anyone anticipated in 1829. Catholic priests made pledges to have Protestant dioceses shut down, and by 1836 ten Protestant dioceses were "sacrificed at the demand of these exulting enemies"

(159) She continued to write,

The sickening detail of events resulting from popish ascendancy in Ireland at this day, of one branch of our legislature prostrated beneath the rule of Irish demagogues, and a higher branch openly menaced with annihilation for daring to be true to their plighted oaths, and to rally round the fragments of our once glorious constitution---of a national church in Ireland actually subsisting on private bounty of English Christians, and trampled so far as God permits under the heel of the rampant apostasy,---can find no place here; they will form a fearful page in future history; and are only noticed as justifying in their farthest extent the strongest of those predictions already referred to. (159)

Tonna stated that this was a fictional story but "nothing is overdrawn." The horrors of Catholicism were real. But now thousands were rallying to the support of "Christ's militant church on earth." They were not surrendering their national faith, "but in spite of it; not by impiously mutilating the

word of God to suit the motley creeds of Papist, Socinian, and Atheist;" not compromising with "a nest of persecuting intolerance and moral depravity, for the nurture of Popish priests," but they were sending thousands of Bibles in the Irish language across the Channel to the people. (160)¹⁶

The author began the text of her novel by describing the uniqueness of Ireland. For the Irish provided their own enemies to damage their own country. Some formed groups such as the United Irishmen, Peep-o'-day-boys, Whiteboys or Ribbonmen. But one group, in 1821, took the nomme de guerre Captain Rock. Any "provincial chief of village banditti" would adopt the title of Rockite. (161) Then, in 1823, the predictions of Pastorini prophesized the destruction of the Protestants by 1825. The Rockite system not only attacked the Protestant church but it also was used to resolve personal grudges. The Rockite tribunal took on powers much like the Inquisition, with its own oaths and its encouragement of betrayal. Tonna stated that she would use this story to portray this time of terror.

The story began in the fall of 1821, when a band of soldiers that had served in the Napoleonic war found themselves being discharged throughout Ireland. These young men were not accustomed to work, for they had been soldiers their entire adult life. The novel focuses, then, on one group in a small town south of Dublin, where farmers were watching a group of horse soldiers going through the

ceremony of official discharge. The soldiers watered their horses for the last time. Many said an emotional farewell to their mounts that had served them well in the wars and the occupation of France.

A man who appeared to be just one of the local farmers, Dennis M'Carthy, has his eye on one young man, who based on his accent, is an Irishman. M'Carthy reminded this young man that the English "heretic Cowards" had stayed "snug at home" while he fought his wars for him. The soldier, Maurice Delany, said he did not serve in the King's army for eight years just to be abused. But M'Carthy convinced Delany to come to his house for a meal, and to stay there if he liked it. Maurice anticipated the possibility of his working for M'Carthy, and maybe even marrying one of his daughters. (162)

He arrived at M'Carthy's home and indeed found he did have several pretty daughters. After a nice meal, M'Carthy and one of his daughter's suitors, O'Brien, began talking to Maurice about Ireland. They appealed to his patriotism, and revived in him an interest in the Roman Catholic Church. M'Carthy told him Ireland could use him, and he promised he could provide him with a horse and a weapon. He told Maurice that with his experience in the Peninsular War, and at the Battle of Waterloo, he could become a great warrior in the cause of Ireland. They all sang Irish songs and drank whiskey. M'Carthy pounded on the table and talked

about enslaved and dishonored Ireland. He asked what Maurice and O'Brien were going to do about it. O'Brien swore his allegiance to Ireland, but Maurice had to be convinced by M'Carthy that his service to England was over, and that now Ireland needed him. Maurice, under the influence of the whiskey, agreed to serve Ireland. So M'Carthy told him to meet him behind the fox-cover in the morning so he could give him more information.

When he arrived in the morning, there was M'Carthy with Maurice's cavalry horse, Blucher. M'Carthy told him not to ask how they got the horse. He told Maurice that he would be a leader of a troop of warriors. This appealed to his vanity. Maurice Delany swore an "oath that must be ratified in blood." (165) M'Carthy led him to a house where he met other young men, and where he met an old farmer who told him he would live off the food of his enemies. The farmer declared, "Captain Rock will be served, or the thatch burns over their heads." (166)

Maurice soon began leading a series of midnight raids on houses of those who were seen as Ireland's enemies. He was shocked by the lack of discipline among his troops. He was able to convince them to save their ammunition by refraining from indiscriminate firing of their muskets. During the day Maurice posted notices of Captain Rock warnings. He did not like what he was involved in but he had taken a blood oath, so he felt he had no choice but to

continue.

The main Rockite rendezvous was a cabin up against a hill on which a ruined castle stood. Out front were signs of an illegal potteen still so that if any authorities came around they would overlook the real activities of the place. Maurice suspected there were tunnels going into the hill. He was not allowed to know more than what was necessary to carry out his raids. He was certain that the girl he had helped kidnap was held in those tunnels.

Maurice had to participate in the kidnaping as penance for his having gone to Protestant services as a soldier. He learned to confess to his Catholic priest without mentioning his Rockite activities. He could justify this to himself because he believed he was actively destroying heretics. Most of the peasants he met truly believed in the prophecies of Pastorini, that the Protestants were the locusts of Revelation, and that these locusts would increase for three hundred years, but soon that time would come to an end, and the Protestants would be exterminated by 1825.

Maurice became more and more depressed. He began to lose his military bearing, and he became more and more distrustful of those around him. Only Blucher continued to give him a military look. But in spite of all this he became more and more trusted by the Rockites. They assigned him the job of murdering a gentleman who served as a Protestant tithe proctor. Tithe collectors were a major

target for their violence, and anyone who paid tithes would find destruction of property as a price. Maurice was upset by the burning of haystacks of the poor Catholic farmers who paid tithes. He agreed to murder this proctor if the Rockites would stop the attacks on the peasants.

The Rockite band, led by Maurice, ambushed the proctor and knocked him off his horse. They called him a cursed old heretic. They demanded he make the sign of the cross, but the proctor refused to do so because he would be rejecting his own religion if he did so. They told him he would be in hell in a few minutes. "No," said the proctor, "for my Redeemer is in heaven." (169) They told him to kneel down and cross himself. He would kneel to Christ, but he would not cross himself. He declared that Christ had died for himself and for them as well. They shot him. Tonna does not say if Maurice fired but he always felt responsible for this murder, but for now he hardened his conscience even more than before.

One important Rockite leader, O'Rourke, took a special interest in Maurice Delany. he told Maurice of a plan to kidnap the daughter of an important gentleman, named Butler. He had two daughters, one who was a favorite, who would bring a huge ransom. Maurice thought to himself how he pitied the girl, for she would never be returned, even after the ransom was paid.

The Butlers lived in Slieve-moran, and Maurice would go

out to scout out the situation with six carefully chosen men. O'Rourke set up a headquarters two miles from Slieve-moran. He devised a plan so that Maurice could identify the right daughter. They sent a summons to the Butler house that a certain old woman, Katy, was seriously ill and how she desired comfort from Julia Butler.

Julia Butler arrived at Katy's cabin. Maurice sat in the corner budding potatoes. He had a hood over his face. Katy complained of pain. Julia pulled out a Bible and she went to the window for the light. Maurice saw her as "the light steamed downward upon a face as beautiful as a pictured seraph, to Maurice more terrible than a destroying demon-a face and a form that he would have longed to bury a thousand fathoms deep in earth, or sea, rather than expose them to their impending fate." (171)

He recognized her as the daughter of the Captain Butler he had served as orderly to. He used to watch over her and her little sister when they were children, and one time Julia saved him from the lash by pleading with her father in his behalf. He would rather die than harm her.

Julia read to Katy and presented the gospel, telling her that salvation was from God, not through the saints. She left the Bible for a neighbor to read to her, and then, on the way out, she left a donation. After Julia was outside, Katy asked Maurice if he could identify her later. He could because she was too beautiful to forget. He

started to run outside to warn Julia, but he saw that she was on the arm of her brother. He retreated back into the cabin and wept.

Maurice had to devise a plan to save the Butlers. He could not reveal himself too early as a rescuer or the Rockites would kill him and use someone else to kidnap Julia. He was confused and worried that his emotions would be revealed to O'Rourke. He could not send a written message, so he planned to loiter around the estate hoping for an opportunity to talk with one of the family members. O'Rourke was convinced Maurice was the one to carry out the kidnaping so he gave him complete control of the operation.

One day Maurice rode up to the estate, and he was confronted by a man on a horse. Maurice said he was a friend of the Butlers. The young man grabbed Maurice's reins and Maurice shot him with his pistol. He fled, and later learned he had wounded the son of Major Butler. Days later Maurice returned and began talking to Julia and two other girls, but Butler and his wounded son, Tom, confronted him. He said to go ahead and kill him if necessary. But they should listen to his warning, to send the girls away. He said not to trust anyone in his own household. Tom said not to trust Maurice, and he pointed a gun at him. The father restrained him because he recognized the man and his horse.

After he escaped, Maurice returned to O'Rourke by a

round-about-route. He gave him a false report of his day. O'Rourke states his confidence in Maurice, and he joked that it was okay if the boys got carried away and set the house on fire. O'Rourke said Maurice would leave with Julia while the men took care of the house. He asked if he would be alone with Julia. O'Rourke told him three others would be with him. Then he was to meet O'Rourke, with Julia, at Kilmurtagh Pass.

Maurice prepared his equipment. He was sure that O'Rourke knew his plans. He was also certain that the Butlers had ignored his warnings to send the girls away. He began to drink to regain his courage, but it did not help. He resolved to kill both O'Rourke and Julia to keep her out of the hands of the Rockites. He woke up to find his men hung-over. So he used the opportunity to hide pistols in his pockets. The men awoke and started on toward Slieve-moran. Maurice began yelling at his men for making too much noise, and one man, Hennessy, told Maurice he is as good as any trooper. But Maurice and the other Rockites joined in criticizing Hennessy. Maurice hoped these arguments would lead to a feud, but the men suppressed it. Maurice believed he had failed.

They arrived at the Butler's house. Two Rockites rushed forward with crowbars to break open the door. Maurice was in agony. He could not show any sign of defection without immediate execution. Maybe he could

rescue Julia in the confusion. Suddenly volleys of gunfire came from the windows. In several attacks many Rockites were wounded. They retreated, and awaited the firing of the building from the inside. Fire, lit by a servant, began upstairs. The Rockites attacked again. Maurice was wounded and fell to the ground. The others kept attacking and they got inside the building. Maurice passed out before he could find out the outcome.

Maurice gained consciousness, and found himself in an area concealed by trees on three sides and a creek on the other. He was cold and exhausted, but wanted to try to get a look at the Butler estate. He believed he had been left there by his comrades. He was reminded of the time in the war when he was left by his fellow soldiers when he was wounded. Captain Butler and his soldiers found him and took care of him. He tried to stand, but collapsed. He expected death to come. He believed he would soon be in Hell, for he felt he was beyond the redemption of the Saviour. His past violent life haunted him.

A man named Pat discovered him and got his father, Thady Connor, to help carry him back to the house. He woke to hear talk from Pat and his wife that the wound was not serious. But he was frustrated by not knowing the fate of the Butlers. He woke in the morning to Pat reading the ninetieth Psalm to his family: "thou hast set our iniquities before thee, our secret sins in the light of thy

countenance." These words hit Maurice's conscience. Then Pat read the ninety-first Psalm: "a thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at they right hand, but is shall not come nigh thee." (182) He reminded the family that he survived the battle of Waterloo without a scar. But suddenly he realized the older man, Thady, was an old comrade from the army in Butler's service. Maurice felt disgraced. He wondered if Connor recognized him. He thought about confessing everything to Thady. Thady Connor fed him and then he fell asleep. He awoke the next day, and asked for Thady. His wife said he was out taking care of someone else. Maurice began to feel worse because of his mental anguish and guilt.

Pat got an old army surgeon to treat Maurice's wounds. Delany later overheard the surgeon talking with the family about the attack on Slieve-moran. He said it was a brilliant military maneuver, deserving of a Field Marshall's baton. It was successful, but the family was clearly not pleased with the outcome. Maurice was not surprised that it was a success. He believed Julia was kidnaped, even though the family never mentioned her. He vowed to seek vengeance on O'Rourke.

Tonna lectured the reader about how inconsistent man is, that he would reproach himself for one crime and then plan another. Maurice now sought personal vengeance. His conscience was tortured, and he would be able to commit

future atrocities if the cause were of his own choosing. Although he repeatedly heard Pat reading scripture to his family and constantly offering up prayers, Maurice became hardened. He already rejected his own church because of its perversions, but now he became an infidel, rejecting God entirely. He was now an atheist.

He learned from their conversations that the family believed he was a smuggler who had been wounded, and fell down the embankment. Maurice let them think that. Soon he began to recover, and he asked to leave. The family gave him some money and returned his concealed pistols. He still wondered where Thady was, but assumed the family did not want him associating with a smuggler like himself. Pat Connor took Maurice to town and put him on a van for Dublin. A few miles out, Maurice got off the van, and headed for Slieve-moran.

The past begins to haunt Maurice, and it made him more depressed as he thought about his present situation. He had been recruited into the army and fought in the war. He wondered what he had gained by fighting against his king and murdering his countrymen.

It is a very cold day, and Maurice was feeling weak as he came upon two men in the bogs. They asked him if he was a Peeler or a Rockite. He denied being either. One man, Tom Nolan, took him back to his sod hut. Nolan's wife, Judy, and many young children and an old woman came out of

the shadows. They offered Maurice cold potatoes and some buttermilk, but he shared the lunch Mrs. Connor had prepared, as well as a bottle of whiskey Pay had given him. Tom Nolan became talkative and told how they once had a nice house, but both factions, Protestants and Rockites, caused nothing but misery. His old landlord watched over his tenets, but when he died and left the estate to his son, things began to worsen. The new landlord began to demand bribes as well as the rent. If there was trouble the landlord called in soldiers. He seized land and goods from those who refused to pay the bribes. But in memory of the old landlord Tom paid everything. Some men tried to recruit Tom into the Rockites, but he refused. Also Tom paid the tithe to avoid confiscation of his goods. The Rockites fired his house. His family escaped, and lived with the proctor until he was killed. No one else gave them shelter. They fled to the bogs and Tom dug out a sod house. This happened after he informed on a Rockite. Maurice's guilt increased as he realized the horror he had inflicted on his own countrymen. Tom talked about trying to reconcile with one of the factions, but Maurice told him to avoid dealing with Captain Rock. Tom feared Maurice might be a government agent or a Rockite. He urged him to repent. Maurice left rocked by guilt. Wondering aimlessly, he crossed the bog and ended up coming to a public house in the hamlet near the old Rockite hide-out.

Maurice Delany set by the fireplace. An old woman came over to light her pipe. With light on her face he can see that the woman was old Katy. He covered his face with his cloak. He thought that she may be Julia's jailer. So he started up a conversation with her. She said she was waiting for her nephews to come back from selling the cow. Maurice recognized this as a Rockite code to indicate several Rockites are out carrying out a raid. Maurice hoped to escape before they came back. But before he could leave, three men came in telling Katy they were hoeing in the moonlight. This is another code to signal the fact that the police were tracking them. Katy sat in the corner and appeared to fall asleep. Maurice came over, drank with the men and tried to get information about Slieve-moran by pretending he was looking for work on a large estate. They laughed and told him to join John Rock. They asked him other questions to see if he was a Rockite, but he escaped their verbal traps. One of the men was an Englishman, John Sharpe; another was an Irishman, Fitzpatrick. These men and their comrades began to surround Maurice near the fire. Maurice continued to ask about work. One man, Clare, began to enumerate estates in the area, including the Butlers, but Fitzpatrick stopped him before he gave Maurice any information. Maurice told them he had come from a pilgrimage to Lough Derg. The men said they were waiting for comrades to arrive in less than two hours. He needed to

escape before these men arrived because one of them might recognize him.

Sharpe and Clare fell asleep, but Fitzpatrick stayed awake and kept asking Maurice questions. Katy woke up and asked Fitzpatrick to get her some tea. When he left she told Maurice to run and where to flee to. He ran out and soon heard the Rockites yelling. They came out after him. He hid under a bridge. After he thought they all had passed, he came up back on the road, only to discover Sharpe standing there. Sharpe grabbed him and pulled out a knife to stab him. Maurice shot Sharpe in the head. He then ran to Clough's Acre and then heads through Byrne's Pass to get to Slieve-moran.

Maurice had to see the Butler Estate himself. He wanted to know what had happened even if it involved a risk for him to find out. But first he went to St. Kevin's Well, a ruined monastery with a watch tower. Katy had suggested this hide out. The springs were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Delany, still "superstitious," made a vow to the Virgin to take a pilgrimage for her. While resting in the keep he found some food and whiskey. He thought about his rationale for becoming a Rockite. He became one even though doing so violated the teaching of his Church. Now he thought it better to violate his oaths to Captain Rock in order to save a family that had been kind to him. Then he went to Slieve-moran, and to his horror, he found the Butler

house in total ruin. He then took the road to Ballynamagh, hoping that was where Julia might be held.

He was a mile down the street, when he heard voices. He climbed behind a hedge where he could follow them and hear their conversation. One was Katy; she was talking to some magistrates about a "ruffian," meaning Maurice. (197) He noticed that Katy never mentioned his name. He was sure she wanted all the reward for his capture. The magistrates said he was guilty of an "infernal outrage." (198) Maurice believed they referred to the attack on Slieve-moran. All of this added to his craving for revenge. Delany went into a public house, hoping to get information, but instead he got into a fight with some drunks and escaped just before the authorities arrived.

Then Maurice went to Dublin to hide out and recover from his injuries. He had used up all his money, so he resorted to begging on a main street. When he saw two young ladies approaching on horseback he approached them, thinking they might be generous to an old soldier. The ladies said they had no money, but turned to their servant saying, "Thady, give the poor soldier a silver coin." (198) It was Thady Connor. To Maurice's amazement, the young ladies were Julia Butler and her sister. He was in shock, and just stood there. Another begger came up and asked if he was taking the coin. Maurice took it and the Butlers left. They seemed not to have recognized him.

The man who had asked about the coin continued to talk to Maurice about the young ladies and their generosity. He seems to be "most gentlemanly," not of the lower class.

(199) Maurice did not trust him at first. The stranger warned him not to stay in a part of town he was headed to, because it was full of disease. Maurice asked for his suggestion on where to stay, and the stranger told him to seek counsel of God. Maurice asked him, "In what way, sir?"

(199) The stranger told him to read the Bible and to pray. He told him he did pray, but that he was not a good reader. The stranger handed him a simple tract, similar to the ones he had seen at the Connor house. The stranger offered Maurice the use of one of his small rooms free of charge. He decided to accept the offer, since his mission of seeking safety for Julia, was accomplished.

Maurice went with the stranger. He told him he was a pilgrim from Lough Derg. The stranger reminded him that they were all strangers and pilgrims who should be happy because they "seek one to come." The stranger said Lough Derg was not an everlasting habitation like the city founded by God. The conversation turned to sin. Maurice recognized how much he was caught up in "sin, fear, pain and curse."

(200) The stranger compared the misery of the begger asking for money to the rich family which refused to share even a tiny portion of their worldly goods. They too were miserable. Then he talked about the two roads: One to

heaven, the other to hell. Each person was on a pilgrimage to one or the other. Maurice told him that they were of different religions, for he was certain the man was a Protestant. The stranger compared the family of Adam to the family of Christ. He then presented the gospel, and told how the believer had true joy. To Maurice the conversation was confusing, but he recognized that it was essentially the same message presented by Julia to Katy, and the same as the discussions at the Connor home. He was beginning to see that there was some truth in these words.

They arrived at the stranger's house, where a woman and her son sold produce from the garden in the back. She also served as housekeeper. The stranger introduced himself as Mr. Doyle. The woman served a meal, and she and her son praised Mr. Doyle to Maurice for providing a job and a house. Doyle told Maurice that his purpose in life was to take the gospel to strangers. After the meal, they all gathered for prayers. Maurice noticed that there was no mention of the Virgin, nor did they invoke the aid of the saints. Doyle emphasized that there was only one mediator between God and man in Christ. Maurice groaned to himself, "Oh, that I knew how to come to him!" (202) After the prayers Doyle asked Maurice what business he had in Dublin, but Maurice was evasive, and told him he was there to meet some friends.

Maurice later wanders the streets. He felt he had sunk

to the level of a begger, yet he believed he was superior to the "banditti" around him. As for spiritual things, he had always left them to his priest, but the influence of Julia, Connor and Doyle had affected him. He was forced to look deeply into his soul. But then he remembered his need to find out what happened at Slieve-moran, and how Julia escaped.

He continued to wander the streets in despair. He no longer had faith in the Church's absolution, confession or the mass, but he went into a Catholic Church where people were celebrating a saint's day. The priest spoke, but the result was

absolute disgust. An unconnected narrative of most extravagant absurdities, culled from the legend of the saint in question, interlarded with ejaculations of wonder, and epithets of adoration, most blasphemously misapplied to a created being, ending with an importunate appeal to the charity of an almost mendicant congregation, formed the total of the discourse; and Maurice made the best of his way out, from a scene, the glaring impiety of which alone checked the laugh of scorn, provoked by its childish puerility. (203)

Next, he went to a Protestant church, but even though the sermon was fine it did not speak to his needs.

Doyle suggested Maurice get a job with a friend of his delivering packages. One day Maurice was assigned to deliver a package to the Butler house in a fashionable part of Dublin. Knowing that Julia was safe had removed any concern about them, and now he believed he no longer feared being identified. Maurice came to the door of the Butler

household with a package. The servant girl summoned the valet. To Delany's horror the valet is O'Brien, associate of Dennis M'Carthy, and maybe his son-in-law by now. Fortunately O'Brien did not recognize Maurice, and Maurice left realizing that O'Brien was endangering the family. He could not leave a written note since he could not write, so he returned the next day hoping to tell one of the servants about the danger to the family.

He followed the groom, who was exercising the master's horse. The horse recognizes Maurice. Blucher, his old cavalry mount and Rockite charger came nuzzling up to him. The groom approached, and turned out to be Thady Connor. Maurice told Thady who he was, but Thady had a difficult time believing him since Maurice had changed so much. Maurice warned Thady about O'Brien being a Rockite and that he threatened the family. At first Thady did not believe him about this matter either, but since Maurice was willing to risk the gallows in order to save the Butlers, he was convinced he was telling the truth. They met again the next day, and there Maurice described his career as a Rockite. Thady responded by reminding him that life without God in "the world must sooner or later become both the instrument and the prey of Satan." (206) Maurice said that he was right, but that his past could not be undone. He had worked for the devil and now would "pocket his wages." (206) Thady asked him if he had ever considered eternity, but Maurice

said he dared not even think about it. Thady said, "Neither dared I, if I did not know that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners. Delany, He can save even you." (206) Maurice did feel that Thady, at least was heaven bound, but he was not. He did feel better, after this talk with Thady, than he ever had after hearing any admonition from any priest. But he still could not totally reject the Catholic Church, even though he knew its fruits. So he changed the subject. He convinced Thady that O'Brien was a danger to the Butlers and would be so even if he went to jail.

Thady set up a meeting between Maurice and Major Butler a few days later. Butler urged Maurice to confront O'Brien and to testify against him in court. He pledged to protect Maurice from prosecution. Maurice wondered why Butler was not after him for his crimes, but Butler told him that Maurice had always shown loyalty to his family promised that no harm comes to him. Maurice knew the Rockites would get him for betrayal, and that no one could protect him, but he did not say this to Major Butler.

Thady told Maurice the details of the attack on Slieve-moran. Major Butler locked up the servants, and then brought in friends and their servants to defend the house. He had his daughters take a walk, and when away from the house they were escorted by friends to a safe place. The attack was repulsed until a servant girl escaped and set fire to the drapes upstairs. The Rockites broke in but they

were held off until the cavalry arrived. They retreated, leaving two dead but taking Maurice with them. They threw him down an incline, thinking he was dying. The horse, Blucher, was discovered by Butler's men. Thady, who had been hired by Butler, recognized the horse and took care of it. Maurice felt better about the attack after hearing these details.

The day after his meeting with Maurice, Butler summoned O'Brien, who was going by the name Rowley, to the breakfast parlor. Butler asked him about his past and his religion. He gave answers that would indicate he was a good Protestant. A magistrate came in with Maurice and Rowley/O'Brien was asked if he recognized Maurice. Rowley denied he was O'Brien and that he knew Maurice or O'Rourke. Maurice agreed to swear that this man was O'Brien, and so O'Brien was taken to jail. Maurice would not name other Rockite comrades or become an informer except to get O'Rourke. The magistrate hoped that O'Brien would become an informer.

Meanwhile, back at Byrne's Pass, Katy brought in a magistrate to search for Maurice at St. Kevin' Well. It turned out the men back at Katy's place had been freebooters out for quick money. They were not dedicated Rockites. They would have killed Maurice just for his watch. But Katy had wanted to collect the reward on Maurice's head, and so she helped him escape so she could later get the magistrate

to capture him. The only evidence Delany had been at St. Kevin's Well was a regimental button, which the magistrate kept. She was upset about not collecting a reward, but she urged the magistrate to keep on looking.

Katy then headed for the headquarters of the Rockites in a castle ruin surrounded by spikes and a rock strewn garden. On the other side was a bog, making the castle almost unapproachable. Katy approached and was escorted by guards through a trap door, then through the dungeon and up to an apartment with a long table. Men were sitting around, some playing cards, others clearing weapons, another one looking up articles in the newspaper to use to propagate anti-government feeling among the people. Another man was forging documents in order to ruin a family.

Katy saw a sheet-covered corpse with crucifix, candles, holy water, and food for the dead next to the body. Katy asked about the body, and one man, Andy Driscoll, told her it was Pat Hennessy. The man who had been looking in the newspaper gets up and came over to ask her questions. Then a priest entered. He give a eulogy for Hennessy, saying that his own shed blood assured him a place in heaven. (Tonna refers to this as blasphemy.) Andy Driscoll, the youngest there, was very much influenced by the priests religious call for revenge. He was ready to go out and commit crimes for the cause. Then there was a feast of stolen food. Katy started groaning, but the newspaper man

told her to be quiet. The priest went into the history of this castle which was destroyed by Cromwell. He felt Katy had some secret to tell them, and he finally got her to admit she had seen Maurice Delany alive, and she almost had him, but he absconded. The group then buried Hennessy.

Meanwhile, Maurice and Major Butler's son headed back to Slieve-moran area looking for O'Rourke. Maurice was certain he would be killed, but he wanted O'Rourke brought to justice before that occurred.

O'Brien escaped from prison and headed back to join up with the other Rockites. Major Butler sent word to his son and Maurice, but the messages missed them. Thady had kept witnessing to Maurice before he left, but Maurice decided to stay loyal to the Church for now. Maurice and Butler came to a small town where they witnessed the execution of several Rockites. One of the condemned men proclaimed his loyalty to the Catholic religion and he said that he was innocent. The crowd prayed with him, and the priest gave him absolution. Young Butler asked a soldier friend about the man's guilt, and he said he was sure he and the others were guilty of murder. Maurice said they were innocent as babies before God because the priest gave them absolution. Butler could not believe he said that, and Maurice realized that he did not really believe "the lie" anymore. (217) The priest declared that the men were innocent because he had given absolution. Maurice thought about how these men who

died were mere tools in O'Rourke's hand.

Maurice and the young Butler spotted a rider fleeing the scene of the execution. Maurice suddenly recognized O'Rourke and chased after him. O'Rourke pulled out a pistol and fired. He hit Blucher and the horse fell, with the rider, into a ravine. The horse died. Butler stopped, but Maurice yelled at him to go after O'Rourke. Maurice gave a eulogy for his horse, about all the times he saved his life. Some men helped Maurice to a farm house, for he had injured his leg. A doctor, Ayton came the next morning, and Butler, who did not catch up with O'Rourke, was there too. The farmer who owned the house, Michael Donovan, welcomed Dr. Ayton as a fellow Christian. Butler said that they were all Christians. But Michael Donovan gave a talk about "the poor Papist" as compared to a true Christian like Dr. Ayton.

(218) He was very charitable, but more importantly, he gave out the gospel, for the farmer quoted the Bible, "What does it profit a man to gain the whole world but loose his own soul?" (219) Butler was impressed, but the doctor told how a fever was overcoming Maurice. Dr. Ayton let blood and Maurice got better, but still he was very ill. Butler asked if they should call a priest, but the doctor was surprised that he was of the Church of Rome.

Donovan and Dr. Ayton convinced Butler not to call for a priest to administer last rites. To call a priest was like a neighbor carrying a bucket to throw water on his

burning house, but he really had a bucket of oil. It is one's duty to knock the bucket out of his hand. The Church of Rome said there was only one way to heaven, and they were right, but they did not have it. Butler asked if they expected to convert Maurice. No, they were just clay in the hands of God. He did the converting. The doctor explained the gospel to Butler, but Maurice overheard them even though the others thought he was unconscious. Maurice did not want a priest. Butler also talked about how he had contacted the local authorities about O'Rourke, but no one had seen him. Since there had been little Rockite incidents in this area, the magistrate was not interested in causing trouble.

The servant, Paddy, came running in from the barn. A Captain Rock poster had been nailed to the barn. It was a death warrant for Donovan for coming out of the Catholic Church, and for harboring Maurice Delany. Donovan would not defend himself, but he would fight to the last drop of blood for his family and his visitors. Dr. Ayton returned, and Donovan recounted his conversion experience. He was working for a cobbler, and one day he made a delivery to town. Nearby he heard music, and so he went over and listened to a Wesleyan Methodist meeting. Then he fled, knowing he could be in trouble for listening to heresy. But he decided to learn to read so he could read the Bible himself. He learned to read, and a lady gave him a Bible. He learned

that the Church was in error, so he left the Church and began a chapel of his own. But then the priest forced him to leave town. He married a girl with money and together they started a farm and reared children. He still told others about the scriptures. Butler declared that he would have been a formidable John Rock if he had stayed in the Church, and Maurice agreed. Donovan believed Ireland would be great in the arts and music if it were not hindered by the Roman Church. He again confronted Maurice with his own spiritual status, but Maurice tells him that the devil used him and he was beyond saving. Donovan reminded him that Satan used the Apostle Paul, but God saved him, the "Chief of sinners." Maurice was moved, but he was still comparing himself with others.

Young Butler got a letter from his father telling him to return to Dublin. Donovan was escorting him to the edge of the county when shots were fired, and a bullet went through Butler's hat. They returned to Glennvale, but no one admitted to seeing any unusual activity. Butler wanted to get the military to provide protection, but Donovan was reluctant, because, if he invited them to come, they might take Maurice prisoner. Later, the Rockites sent Donovan a notice to turn out Maurice or die.

Donovan offered rewards to anyone who turned the attackers in. Young Butler finally returned to Dublin. Donovan refused to turn Maurice out, for Donovan was ready

for God's will. Paddy served as courier between the house and police headquarters. Paddy came from police headquarters one day with a message that an informant told the Peelers that the Rockites were gathering outside town, and that the police were rushing out to meet them. Maurice believed that this was a trap of some kind, or a diversion to get the police out of town during an attack on Donovan's house!

That night Maurice joined Donovan at the family Bible reading service, where he was hoping to warn him about a possible attack. He took note that Donovan locked the door before starting the service. A dog barked and then suddenly fell silent. Maurice went to the door and a shot came through exploding the brain of one of the sleeping twin boys, Johnny. Another bullet lodged in Paddy's chest. Maurice returned fire but the attackers flee. Paddy grabbed the other twin and pulled him behind a chair. Bidy, the servant girl screamed and the surviving twin kept complaining about Paddy getting him dirty and wet. Maurice fainted after saying, "and this is all my doing!" (229) But Donovan said it was God's will. Maurice recovered and helped Bidy stop the blood flowing from Paddy's chest. The police arrived but the killers had escaped. They realized too late that they were tricked. The next morning Paddy died, rejoicing that he would be with Jesus. The whole community attended Paddy's funeral, Donovan and other

friends gave the orations. Dr. Ayton did not allow Maurice to attend. He stayed with Thady. Maurice told Thady that if he ever sought salvation, it would be by the way that his friends had pointed out to him.

The author then broke the narrative to describe the reasoning of the Rockites. She told how Protestant families were being driven out of Ireland, and some men murdered. All of these activities fulfilled the 1,260 years prophecy of the book of Daniel. The "gigantic arm . . . has still practiced and prospered in its unhallowed course." She referred to "the Mother and Mistress of all Churches"--- the Roman Catholic Church which terrorized Ireland. When the Protestant Church in Ireland fell then the Church of Rome would get complete control. Tonna added a note saying "they have fallen --- April 1829", meaning Catholic Emancipation. Convicts going into exile described the terror inflicted on them. (231-232)

The story picked up at a barn where O'Rourke, Dermody and others had set up their headquarter. Andy Driscoll was there. He wanted out of the Rockites, but could not do so without risking death. O'Rourke and Dermody kept sending Andy on the worst missions, and in the process, they were breaking his health. That day they assigned Andy an execution. Andy referred to it as an assassination, and refused to carry it out, but O'Rourke insisted he do it. Other Rockites began to assemble at the barn. They were

summoned by letters to come or suffer a severe penalty. The plan of the Rockites was to disrupt authority. At this point the narrator referred to the Roman Catholic Church as the Harlot of Revelation 17.

Maurice happened to be visiting his mother, Gracey, only a few miles from where the Rockites were meeting. Gracey asked Maurice about attending mass, but he was now a Protestant Christian and so he graciously refused. He told her not to worry about what men may say or do to her. He left to go back to Dublin. He joined up with a Mr. Saunders, who agreed to be his traveling companion.

Maurice constantly rejoiced about his salvation. One time he saw a beautiful street in a town, and stated that it must be like that in heaven. They planned to reach a friend's house before dark, but Saunders hurt his ankle and so it was getting dark by the time they reached a village at a fork in the road. Neither Maurice nor Saunders were certain which road to take; so they each took a road for awhile to see if it was the right route, and then each person would return to the fork to report to the other traveler. Maurice saw an old house with lights burning, so he went up to the door. It was open and he walked in, but then suddenly the door was shut behind him. He realized this might be a trap.

Captain O'Rourke and Dermody sat behind a judge's bench consisting of a door over two piles of rocks. Andy Driscoll

sat nearby despondently. Two guards disarmed Maurice before he could use his weapons. The prisoner, Maurice, was brought forward. O'Rourke asked why he was armed and he stated that he had weapons to serve the King and Country. His judges told him that his country, England, betrayed him, and that he had taken the Rockite oath to serve Ireland and the Church. They accused Maurice of betraying his oaths and also of taking bribes to turn in his comrades. He admitted to much they accused him of, including his traitorous behavior at Slieve-moran, but denied taking pay to turn in O'Brien. Driscoll asked him why a force never appeared to wipe out the Rockites known to Maurice. Maurice said he never betrayed them to the authorities. He also said he was ready to die because he did shed innocent blood. He thanked Jesus Christ for allowing him to live this long. Everyone in the room crossed himself. Driscoll brought out a crucifix, but O'Rourke says the cross was denied to traitors. Maurice said that the crucifix would not avail him anyway. They called him a heretic. Driscoll was terribly agitated and called him a blasphemer, when Maurice described the simple plan of salvation without human works. Then Maurice engaged Driscoll in a discussion about the Saints.

Dermoddy accuseed Maurice of acquiring Orange principles. His behavior at Slieve-moran with the resulting death of those "martyrs," was proof. (238) Driscoll stood

up, yelled that their blood was on his soul, and asked the judges to let him lead the execution team. O'Rourke declared, in his sentence, that Maurice Delany was not only a betrayer of his country but his church as well.

The Rockites led Maurice out into the orchard. O'Rourke asked him, "Any commands for the Butlers or your mother?" (238) This statement almost provoked Maurice, for O'Rourke intended to harm the Butlers and his mother. Another man said that a thousand years in purgatory might redeem him. Maurice said that there was no purgatory. Maurice thought about his disembodied soul. Some said that the soul slept. If this were true, he still would wake up in glory. And if not he would find himself in a few moments in the presence of Christ. "In this hour of death, in the day of judgement, Lord Jesus deliver me!" (238)

Driscoll was confused, and his "mind a strong tinge of the wild melancholy romance," which men of Eire are subject to. (238) He realized that some day he would have to face death and wondered how one could safely die. He saw the apples in the orchard and thought how Maurice was not ripe for death. They entered a garden and there was the dug grave. O'Rourke sarcastically asked Maurice if it were dug to his liking. Maurice said that he found no fault in it.

Driscoll asked O'Rourke to be silent; he agreed since he had appointed Driscoll leader of the firing squad. Driscoll started to have Maurice executed against the rock

wall, but Maurice told him he was afraid the bullets might bounce off the wall. So Driscoll moved the place of execution to where Maurice directed. Maurice took off his coat. Driscoll called for his last chance to recant, but he said, "I thank you kindly...but if all the kingdom and glory of this world, were now offered me to exchange the hope that I feel in my Redeemer alone, for such comfort as your church can give, I trust I'd spurn them like so many broken straws." (239)

"Then parish in your guilt!," yelled Driscoll. Maurice refused a blindfold, for he had looked death in the eye many times. Driscoll had him kneel. Maurice looked to the sky. "Comrades take my forgiveness, and may God pardon you." Driscoll responded,

Traitor, and heretic; the soul of your poor country,
with whose enemies and destroyers you have leagued,
opens to shroud you in a nameless, a dishonoured grave.
So perish all Ireland's foes! The Holy Catholic church,
whose pure faith you have abandoned, whose altars you
have profaned, and whose salvation you despise, levels
her thunder at your accursed head --- where they point
they smite ---Fire! (239)

After Maurice fell dead, Driscoll fainted.

Tonna lamented the ruined lives like Driscoll, and the lost lives like Maurice. Yet heroes like Doyle and Donovan continued to work in Ireland for peace and mercy. Tonna called for weapons of spiritual warfare to overcome the evil one.

Thus concluded The Rockite: An Irish Story, an example

of Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna's political novels. For in this work the author attempted to present the Protestants as a persecuted minority in Ireland, to contrast to the many accounts of the Catholic majority being mistreated and exploited by the Protestant minority. This book came out when the discussion over Catholic Emancipation was heating up. Tonna opposed this legislation, fearing that the Protestants would be destroyed in Ireland, and the Catholic Church would gain complete control over the population. This book clearly shows that she believed the Church of Rome to be the Harlot of Revelation, the false religion supporting the Antichrist. Tonna saw the struggle in Ireland as a war against Satan himself. There could be no compromise with the devil.

But besides the political themes of this book, Tonna had a running theme of the power of the Protestant gospel to redeem a sinner, even one who was a murderer like Maurice Delany. No one was beyond the power of the Redeemer's love. So although her political motive was strong in The Rockite, she believed the message of the gospel was permanent. She effectively blended her political agenda with her Evangelical motive of waiting to save souls.

Papal Index

Tonna had to face a "second trial, . . . coming at a time when the sum proffered would be doubly acceptable, and the refusal involving the loss of a very old and kind friend

. . . ." This friend, a wealthy, well-known novelist, had written a book in his younger days which had not been successful. He wanted Tonna to rewrite it, "to cast the characters anew, enliven the style, add variety to the incidents, and, in short, make a new work out of his materials." Yet it was still to be a novel. It would be published in his name, and her share in the work would never be disclosed. He let Charlotte set her own terms. Although a hundred pounds would have been welcomed, she could not do as he wished. After much prayer, she wrote him, telling how she appreciated the offer, but had to refuse. In the letter she wrote about "the responsibility under which I conceived we all lay before God for the application of talents committed by Him." She informed him about "the evils of novel reading." She did not feel free to present the gospel to one whom she "had no reason to consider as taking any thought whatever for his soul." She never did hear from him again, but he did leave her a generous legacy upon his death ten years later. She did not regret giving up this opportunely which she felt was a "snare of Satan to betray" her into "an acceptance of unhallowed gains, by catering to the worldly tastes of those who forget God." She believed she would have been giving into Satan's temptation of "all these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me." Shortly after that she received a generous gift from Sanford of the Dublin Tract Society. This gift,

she wrote, "left me no loser by having done my duty."¹⁷

The Papacy consigned one of Tonna's books "to the high honour of a place in the Papal Index Expurgatorious!" One of Charlotte's friends took her ten-year-old daughter to Italy for the health of the dying girl. The little girl, named Bessie, loved Charlotte "to the depths of an Irish heart," and Bessie selected one of Tonna's small penny books to translate into Italian. She died before completing the task, but she requested that her mother complete the translation, which she did. She also translated several other works by Tonna. She had them published and her works began to circulate throughout Italy. One of the books, "The Simple Flower," fell into the hands of an Italian physician, a Roman Catholic, who by the influence of the book was converted by its simple gospel truth. The circumstances of this conversion "excited much remark." Many, out of curiosity, read that particular tract and other examples of her works. The Archbishop of Sienna was overseer of that district and he reported the nature of her works to headquarters. The Papal authorities denounced all who should read the works of Charlotte Elizabeth, or circulate or even possess any of them. One poor priest had given out copies of Tonna's works to members of his flock. He wept as he read the denunciation to his congregation, for he believed the books had nothing but good in them. The church authorities felt otherwise, so now he

had to ask them to destroy any copies of her works they possessed, or bring the books to him to destroy, even though he "found no evil in those dear little books, but the contrary-they are full of good." Many of her books were buried until the search was over. Tonna speculates that the priest himself might have found Christ through her works. "I would not exchange for, the value of the ten Kingdoms ten times trebled," writes Tonna, "the joy that I feel in this high honour put upon me-this rich blessing of being under the Papal curse."¹⁸

Public Events

Charlotte Elizabeth then summarized public events. She decried the death of George III, whom she had just come to appreciate as a true Christian. George IV visited Ireland and although he had the affection of the people, he inflicted real cruelty on the Irish people, according to Tonna, by promoting the recognition of their church. Napoleon died, and England had no external threat. But the Whigs were inclined "to help forward the cause of Popery; and God, who has never failed to intimate his displeasure at such a leaning on the part of our government, shook the whole country with a commercial panic that menaced general bankruptcy." Alexander of Russia died in the prime of life. He wanted to Christianize his empire, and "to gather them in the outcast of Israel. I always thought he was removed because his enlightened mind was too far in advance of the

time, and he passed too rapidly forward in works not yet to be accomplished." She was deeply affected by his death, for she "had become exceedingly watchful of the signs of the times, and impressed with the belief that the consummation of all things was not far distant." She was becoming a student of the prophetic Scriptures. According to Tonna, although she was not conscious of it yet, she was becoming a Millenarian, a believer in the literal reign of Christ on earth. One of the "signs" of the End, to Tonna, occurred in January 1827: The death of the Duke of York. His death seemed to signal the overthrow of national Protestantism. She mourned him as a royal patron sympathetic to her concerns. She witnessed his funeral, and she mourned because, if the Duke of York had become king he would not have allowed that "abominable bill," to go into effect. She believed, like many at that time, that if he had been king he would have prevented Catholic Emancipation from going into effect.¹⁹

The battle of Navarino (October 1827) was, to Tonna, "the most eventful scene that has been enacted upon this globe for many centuries." She saw this as "the turning point of this dispensation." For England and France both helped Russia to defeat Turkey so Greece could be free, in spite of the usual policy of both countries to check Russian power and support Turkey to aid in that goal. To Tonna it portended fulfillment of prophecy in the Book of

Revelation:

It was most wonderful: it opened to my view a mighty page in the world's history, and led me, without communication with any mortal holding those views,---for I knew not one---to look upon the sixth vial as in the very act of employing its contents on the great river Euphrates, and so to inquire, with trembling anxiety, what would be the result of outpouring the seventh.

So in light of the fulfilling of Scriptures, Tonna would "watch the East as one who looks for the sun's rising on scene of bodily peril in darkness and in doubt." The helplessness of Turkey before Russia and its wasting away indicated to her the accuracy of her interpretation of prophecy. "Devoted to the Jewish cause," she looked upon Turkey with abhorrence, and jealously anticipated her predicted subversion, "that Israel might again possess the good land." Although she was saddened by the "passage of so many ruined souls into eternity" at the battle of Navarino, she "could not stifle sensation of joy that a signal-gun had thus been fired for the ingathering of the scattered tribes." Her brother criticized her joy at the defeat of Turkey by saying, "Oh, you Christian ladies are tender-hearted creatures, to delight in scenes of butchering and drowning, just because the poor wretches happen to be Turks!" She could not defend herself against the change, but still, she believed that her brother had not learned to watch passing events in the light that Scripture

threw on them. The events drove her more and more to her Bible, and she became a Millennarian even though the word itself was still reproachful to her at that time.²⁰

Jack Britt

The time spent with her brother brought much joy to Charlotte. Her sister-in-law had another baby boy, and Jack called him "beautiful Baby small." Jack prayed all the time for the boys and for everyone and everything, since God was in all to him. He made little progress in learning beyond what was necessary to communicate to Tonna. She did not want him talking with the servants, whom he had to spend so much time with, so she "was not anxious to extend his facilities of communicating with them: nor did he at all desire their society." Jack stayed in a room above the coach-house, and when he was not working he loved to draw. When Captain Browne decided to keep a horse, Jack volunteered to serve as groom. Browne had his doubts about Jack's qualifications, but he had helped take care of the horse of a retired officer. The sergeant who had been in charge of that stable assured Browne that Jack could do the job. The Captain brought his horse to the stable and Jack commenced with his grooming duties. Browne told Jack, after observing his skill, that all he lacked for being the best groomsmen in the country was a few inches in height. Jack was very pleased.²¹

Jack feared Satan would tempt him to do evil, so, he

avoided the company of evil people. He even avoided being more than merely polite to people unless he knew that they were Christians. Tonna rejoices that Jack never learned a single "bad" word. She watched over him constantly to the extent that when he died at age nineteen he had "the mind of a little babe as regards the evil that is in the world."²²

Captain Browne purchased a second horse and stated he would hire an assistant for Jack in the stable, but Jack burst into tears and asked if he could care for both horses alone. Browne could not stand up against Jack's pleading, and so he told his sister that Jack could try to take care of both horses if she would watch over him. Jack did an excellent job of taking care of both horses. When a cow was added to the stable, Browne hired a young person to milk it. Jack became outraged and kept talking about "Kilkenny cows" and "cow's baby," and he kept declaring his sovereignty over the entire stable. There was no peace until Jack also started being the milker of the cow too.²³

One day Jack asked for a hoop to help him run faster when carrying messages. For he reasoned coaches went fast because they had four hoops-meaning wheels. Captain Browne purchased a hoop, and he delighted in seeing Jack running along side the coach with his hoop. He would nod defiance at the horses and shout aloud with glee. He would travel up to six miles with his hoop.²⁴

One friend to whom Jack delivered messages was General

Orde. Jack almost idolized the old general, who founded the British Reformation Society. Jack wanted the society to send Bibles to Kilkenny, so he donated his life's savings, two shillings, to the organization. Jack wanted his "father and mother and all the poor people to learn to break the crucifixes and love Jesus Christ." General Orde would show Jack's pieces of silver and present his message on the platform. His message and his gift drew in "many a piece of gold" for the society. Jack prayed constantly for the Reformation Society, and he prayed with such childlike faith that Tonna was shamed for her own lack of faith. Charlotte was surprised by Jack's interest in the Jews. She could account for his strong Protestantism, but she could not account for his knowledge of Judaism. He could not read and his knowledge of language was limited to simple words and sentences. Yet God caused the "light to shine into his heart." When Dr. Joseph Wolff (1795-1862), a Jewish-Evangelical missionary to Palestine, visited the house, he was so impressed by Jack that he wanted to take him to the Holy Land with himself to instruct the deaf and dumb in the doctrine of Christ. Other ministers were equally impressed by Jack's faith.²⁵

Premillennialism

Although Jack copied whole passages of the Bible down on paper, he could not really read them. Yet he came to see a future purpose for the Jews in God's plan. "Jesus Christ

love poor Jew," Jack would say, "Jew soon see love Jesus Christ." Whenever Jews were discussed he would take on an expression of compassion, but whenever a Romanist was mentioned his aspect would change to "something ludicrously repulsive: he stuck his hands in his sides, puffed out his cheeks to their full extent, scowled till his brows overhung his eyelids, and generally finished by appearing to seize a goblet and drain off the contents to the last drop, inflating his body, stroking it, smacking his lips, and strutting about." By these actions he was imputing drunkenness to the priesthood, while their denying the cup to the laity. Although this pantomime was laughingly comic, Jack would not tolerate laughter, for he took this action seriously. He would say "God see: Jesus Christ come soon." To Jack, this coming was an actual personal, visible coming in which Jesus would walk upon the earth. This return would bring about two things: the consolation of the Jews and the destruction of Popery. At that time Tonna did not see it that way, for she saw his coming at the commencement of the thousand years as a spiritual coming of the Lord, and then a personal one at the end of the age. She looked forward to the conversion of the world before the Second Coming, but her experiences in Kilkenny began to shake her out of this Postmillennial system. A friend, who was by then dead, had instructed her to take a prophecy in Isaiah 33 literally. She read the passage and then looked into Matthew Henry's

Commentary, which Tonna found to be "a lame and laboured elucidation, or rather extinction of the matter," checked her inquiry. So Tonna began to take a literal interpretation of God's word as her guide. The commentary had set her behind in her understanding of prophecy until events in the East put her to an understanding of the prophecies of the last days, so that she began to interpret prophecies as she did the other passages of the Bible. As a result, she came to accept a premillennial view before she "suspected it." Lady Georgiana Wolff, wife of Joseph Wolff, asked her if she were a millenarian and she had answered, "No, indeed." Lady Wolff told her she was one, and that her husband was not one yet but would soon be. Within six months Wolff was preaching the premillennarian doctrine openly. Tonna had been holding on to the premillennarian position while protesting against it because she did not understand it. She then presented a poem about the Battle of Navarino. In the poem she stated that the battle portended the end of the world, "our redemption draweth nigh."²⁶

Her Brother and Hannah More

Letter Twelve begins with the lament that her two years living with her brother while he attended classes was coming to a close. She found herself confused by her brother's prejudice against Evangelicals; only his love for his family allowed Tonna and Jack to remain under his roof. Later, John

Browne told his sister that he thought she would be falling on her "knees to pray half a dozen times a day, singing psalms all over the house, and setting our faces against every thing merry or cheerful." He had never known any Evangelicals before his sister came to stay with him, so he believed every rumor that Evangelicals were fanatics and ranting dissenters. At Clifton there were fanatics who persecuted dissenters. Hannah More was pointed out as "queen of the methodists," which was a lie, according to Tonna. The pastor of the church they attended was constantly persecuted and so was his congregation. Tonna's brother had fallen in with some of these persecutors before he could possibly have judged for himself. But a visit with Hannah More, "the queen," at Barly Wood changed his attitude. He found her perfectly charming, and he said that if More was an example of dissenters, then they all must be a "very agreeable set of people." Yet he still feared "an outbreak of extravagance" when Tonna came to live in his house. Soon he became "undeceived" and learned to enjoy the society of General Orde, Mr. Sandord and other Evangelicals. He attended the service of a Mr. Hancock, and he would not allow criticism of this zealous preacher or his deeply spiritual discourses. He also chose as his closest aide a "bold, uncompromising Christian." He seemed to recognize the doctrine of the total depravity of man, and he became an advocate of the spiritual training of the poor, whereas

before he would have seen teaching them as a waste of time. Yet Tonna could not be sure about his status or position with Christ. But Captain Browne was only going away to Ireland for a few months and then he was to return for a staff position.²⁷

At Sandhurst, Charlotte would look out her window, where she could see when classes were coming to an end. She would put on her bonnet and run out to meet her brother. They were like children out of school "with all the buoyancy of our natural high spirits." They all enjoyed lingering in the garden during the afternoon watching John's children rather than to go visiting. He never banished his children from the parlor or drawing-room, for he hated the nursery system: "his little ones were the pride of his heart, the delight of his eyes, the objects of his fondest care." He wanted his boys to grow up to be gentleman, and therefore he would not allow them to "imbibe the tastes of the kitchen." They did become gentleman.²⁸

Tonna then digressed, in her memoirs, to illustrate the special bond between herself and her brother, and to demonstrate the irony that John almost drowned when he was a child. When Charlotte was seven and her brother younger but larger, they went on a day's excursion with their parents and a friend. The men enjoyed a morning of fishing, and they and Charlotte's mother went inside. She told the children not to go near the water, and specifically, not to

get into a boat. They wandered down to a barge, and John became attracted to a small boat next to the dock. Charlotte reminded him of the prohibition against getting into a boat, but he told her "I won't get into it, Cha; but I will sit down here and put my two feet in the little boat." He did so; but the boat moved and he fell in and slipped below the water. Charlotte, frail from all her ailments, managed to grab John by the collar when he did rise, and she held him as best she could. She felt then, that if he was to perish she would perish with him. Just then, some men coming home from work, noticed a little girl stooping most dangerously over deep water. They ran over. One man grabbed Charlotte as the other pulled John out. Charlotte did not let go her grip until she knew he was safely on shore. He was by then unconscious, and Tonna herself did not remember the trip up to the house, for the next thing she remembered was seeing her brother being massaged by the fire. She found herself the object of much praise for heroism beyond her years; "but what heroism is like love?" she writes.²⁹

Educating Young Cadets

After her brother left for Ireland, the diminished family moved to a smaller cottage. Many cadets visited, and Tonna endeavored to make their visits as profitable to them as possible. She was very concerned about these boys, who grew up sheltered from the evils of the world, suddenly

finding themselves in "a large public institution exposed to every danger that can assail the youthful mind." Even if a boy was converted at an early age and had been brought up on the truths of the Bible, he still must face the harassment of boys who had not had that Christian training. "For a new boy usually finds himself the object of harassing persecution for the amusement of the thoughtless, and the gratification of the cruel." The young man's mettle was tested, and if he performed as a consistent Christian he would refuse to fight his persecutors, and this could lead to further harassment, especially at night. The weak minded or delicate ones sometimes became deranged or even died as a result.³⁰

Even if a young man found others who wanted to read the scriptures and pray, "they must," writes Tonna, "do it as secretly as they would commit a murder, and find it more difficult to accomplish than any crime that could be named." There would always be a proportion of "ruffian characters" among any group of boys; some naturally so, some made so by example. "These have the ascendancy of course; and they will use it to check and to stifle whatever might shine in contrast to themselves." Then there were those of unstable character "who always row with the stream, and prudent ones who will not provoke hostility," and then there were the timid ones who do not dare oppose the "whole mass for evil." How could the youth maintain his integrity? "Man in his

best estate is a frail, inconsistent being, liable to be blown about by every breath of temptation, even when unfettered, and in full possession of all gospel privileges." So what could be expected from a boy who had never been left to himself, nor had been deprived of support?

He sees none watching over him, he hears no kind admonitory voice, inviting him to seek the way of peace and purity. His nature is corrupt, his heart-deceitful his soul cleaves to the dust, and he finds that by following the bent of this perverse nature, by gratifying its lowest propensities, and reveling in unhallowed things, he shall best purchase the good fellowship of those who have it in their power to make his life miserable if he thwarts their will. His conscience loudly protests, and calls on him to pray; but if he would do so, where is he to retire for that purpose? Alone he cannot be; he has no separate apartment, and let those who have tried it say what would be the consequence of his kneeling down publicly to worship God. He may do it silently and undiscovered in his bed; yes if he can lift up his heart, and realize the presence of the God of heaven, while the language of hell resounds on every side!

Still there was an inner enemy striving against "the right principles, and responding to all that his better feelings repudiates." He could only cleanse his way by studying the Word of God, but how was he to study that Word? If he brought a Bible with him he would become the object of ridicule if he displayed it. These problems of how to keep the youth from wavering should be well considered. Satan would wear away at the young man. "The very checks of conscience render the fretted mind more restive; and the longer restrained the more headlong in the wild gallup into

which the chafed spirit at last breaks." The boy who had once trembled at a profane word became an accomplished swearer, the modest boy gloried in early depravity; he who sympathized with the sorrow of the poor "becomes the wanton spoiler and marauder for the sake of a bold vaunt;" he who avoided the profligate misleader, now worked to harden new boys in the ways of sin. "The youth who with noiseless step trod the courts of the Lord's house," and was faithful in prayer; listened attentively to the teacher's voice, now delighted "shaming others out of the semblance of devotion, and feigns if he does not fall into it, the profound sleep of wholly uninterested actor in the tedious show of public worship." If any boy stretched out a helping hand or proffered a little encouragement to anyone, both the helper and the one helped would be marked out for ridicule and reviling.³¹

Many people believed that "religion would turn a youth's brain and unfit him for the active business of life." Some teachers therefore made it a point to try to prevent young men from receiving true religious training. Tonna described one case where a woman had been teaching some young men about the Bible, when the principal of the institutions forbade the boys from visiting her home. She asked him why this ban had been instituted and the principal told her that "she got hold of some of the most promising lads under" his care, "and so infected them with her own

gloomy notions that they "were seen walking alone with Bibles in their hands!" Charlotte decried the fact that "the children of this world" were better at guarding them from the entrance of spiritual good than were "the children of light in protecting their dearest treasures from the contamination of most deadly evil!"³²

Tonna did her part to fight against this anti-religious prejudice by working with students at Sandhurst. Two of these young men "attached" to her brother were very dear to her since she had known them as children back in Ireland. She spent "many a happy hour" strolling over the wild heath, or enjoying the cheerfulness of her cottage. One boy died a true devoted Christian at an early age, but the other ended up saving the town of Newport. He commanded the troops that on 4 November 1839 "quelled the Chartist insurrection, and broke the formidable power that menaced a general outbreak." Tonna was delighted that one of her students could be responsible for such an event. She also took an interest in the son of a Portuguese count. He was a Romanist who attended mass at the house of an Abbe. It grieved her to see this "most elegant youth, of fine mind, delicate feelings, and the sweetest manners possible" caught up in "the lie in which he twisted." He became a good friend of the family and took a lively interest in Jack. Tonna hoped to be able to convert him, but he left the college. She heard later that he had died. He had been the subject of

many prayers and Charlotte hoped they were answered before his death.³³

The Death of her Brother

The memoirs turn now to the greatest tragedy of her life.

But I cannot hasten through the heaviest part of my talk, (wrote Tonna) it is the rending open of wound never to heal until the leaves of life shall be laid upon it; and if by any means I do attain to that resurrection from among the dead, in which none but the Lord's children shall partake, surely the dear object of all this sorrow will be there beside me!

Six months had passed since her brother John left for Ireland, and Charlotte enjoyed his letters which "were full of cheerfulness and pleasant anticipation." But he remained silent about religious matters. Once Tonna wrote her brother about an illness, which the doctors had mistakenly diagnosed as heart trouble. She wrote him that she "must live in momentary expectation of sudden death." He wrote back, affectionately, that her letter about her illness gave him a great shock, but he was convinced she only suffered from a nervous sensation; adding "if not, why should you shrink from sudden death? For my own part, I should desire it, as a short and easy passage out of this life." Tonna shook from these words and she reflected, "Surely there is something on his mind to brighten that passage, or he would not so express himself." She redoubled her prayers for his salvation.³⁴

At the end of June, one bright Sunday morning, Charlotte woke to find the early mail on her pillow. She saw one in the Horse Guards envelope John's letters usually came in and she opened it, forgetting in her haste to offer up her usual prayer. Inside was a letter from a dear friend at the Horse Guards. After a brief "tender preparation," the letter told how her brother had been out fishing when his boat overturned. "I could not understand the meaning of the words, but I understood the thing itself." Tonna writes,

I sprang to my knees to cry for mercy on him-but, oh that dreadful, dreadful thought that pierced through my inmost soul-'He is beyond the reach of prayer!' I fell back as if really shot; but what avails it to dwell on this? I bore it as God enabled me; I felt crushed, annihilated as it were under the fierce wrath of the Lord; for to aggravate the blow, I had no power to believe or to hope. It was a light thing to have lost him, my all in this cold, dreary world, who from early infancy had been as the light to my eyes, and the life-blood to my heart; he who had so very lately been restored, as if to show, that while he remained, all I could desire of earthly happiness was within my reach; he who had been to me instead of every other mortal blessing, and to whom I looked for all that I dared hope of future comfort. It was a light thing to have lost him, and to look upon the anguish of his widowed mother, to whom he had ever been more of ministering angel than son, and upon the tears of his little daughter, who had lost a father indeed! All this was a small matter compared with the overwhelming horrors of that unbelieving thought, that he had lost his soul.³⁵

She found herself in agony. But Charlotte had persisted in prayer for her brother's salvation for eight and a half years. She fell into the error of looking to her own faith rather than to the object of it for salvation.

She realized she did not even have faith of a value of mustard seed, and now she "felt the desolation of spirit which none can know who have not been so compelled to make such a discovery." She did not rebel, for she owned the justice of God. The first words she could find breath to utter were, "Righteous art thou, O Lord, just and true are thy ways, O King of Saints!" Yet she felt smitten of God and she could not be content. She could not be contented to believe her brother was lost,

I do not understand that feeling (writes Tonna), nor wish to understand it; for surely while we remain in the flesh we cannot divest ourselves of what God has interwoven with our very nature, nor cease to feel for the spiritual, the eternal interests of those most fondly endeared to us, solicitude as great, aye much greater, than what we, in our unconverted state, once knew in regard to their temporal concerns. I speak of those instances where, after being ourselves brought to know the Lord, we have laboured and prayed perseveringly for others, and then have suddenly lost them. I was not content to think that my prayers had been cast out. I wanted some token that they had been answered. Blessed be the God of all mercies! I was not disappointed.

Although her brother never made public profession of believing the gospel, his exemplary daily life gave evidence of his conversion. Her hope was that he held to trust in Christ, even though this belief was entirely between John and God. Yet his attitude still could not give her full confidence in his salvation, but she still had to cling to the belief that his "good fruits" were a result of his having been grafted into the tree of Life.³⁶

Jack, the deaf boy, brought her comfort. The day she

received news of John's death, Jack assured her God would take care of her. He then told her that he was sure of John's salvation because he was constantly in prayer for him. "Yes, Jack much pray, man much pray; Jesus Christ see much prays," said Jack. Tonna was certain "that Jesus Christ had seen his many dumb prayers on behalf of that lost---oh, I could not even in the depth of my unbelieving heart say, 'lost one.'" Jack assured Charlotte that her brother was now "very tall angel, very beautiful." Soon after Tonna was nearly fainting, a glass of water was held to her lips. She exclaimed "that murderer!" Jack caught her eye and echoed her feelings by saying, "Bad water!"! Then a look of contempt for the water came over him and he said "Soul gone water? No!" This thought that the soul was not drowned "electrified" her, "so good is a word spoken in due season, however trite a truism that word may be."³⁷

That night Tonna pretended to go to bed so that others might do so too. She went to her room "which was hung round with Jack's sweet drawings." She sat resting her elbows on the table, with her face in her hands. She remained like that for a couple of hours. When Jack came in he told her he could not sleep because he had a headache thinking about never seeing "Captain B" again. After he was sure she had covered her face in her hands again, he proceeded to go about the room removing any of his pictures that contained a ship, a boat, or water of any kind. Only a soul of

tenderness could have produced such an action. He truly wept with those who weep, writes Tonna, "how we fly in its face when going to the mourner with our inhuman, cold blooded exhortations 'to leave off' grieving. Even Job's tormenting friends gave him seven days true consolation while they sat silent on the earth weeping with him."³⁸

The deaf boy gave her further consolation which was from "his exceedingly original and beautiful train of thought." He told her that her brother went out on the lake in a small boat. The devil capsized it and John went deep into the depth but then,

Jesus Christ his arm out of cloud, reached into the water, took the soul out of the body, and drew it into the sky. When the devil saw the soul had escaped, he let the body go, and dived away crying . . . with rage, while the men took it to land. The soul . . . went up, up up; it was bright and brighter, 'like sun,---all light, beautiful light.'

Jack said he saw gate, angels came out running to meet the soul, John took them up into his arms and kissed them. Tonna asked who these two angels were. He told her they were the souls of the small babes her brother had lost in Portugal. Tonna writes, "this in all the beauty of true nobility, had the untaught deaf and dumb boy, pictured the welcome they had given their father on approaching the gate of heaven."³⁹

A day or two later, Jack became upset when friends and relatives, who had attended the funeral, began laughing at

some remark at the dinner table. "Bad laughing," said Jack while taking Tonna out of the room. "Mam come: no laughing! Gone, dead," he said. Tonna writes, "This jealous tenaciousness of such a grief, on the part of an exceedingly cheerful boy was the means of soothing more than any other means could have done it, the anguish of that wound which had pierced my very hearts core."⁴⁰

After the funeral, Tonna set in motion to adopt her brother's son, now five years old. He bore up well against the loss of his father. Jack on the other hand, "fell into a decline," through sympathetic sorrow with her own grief. She too would have sunk into deep despair, but for her strong motive to bring up John's son as "a useful, honourable member of society, grounded on a scriptural education" She begged the reader's prayers "that the blessing many be prolonged, increased, perfected, even to the day when we shall all meet before the throne of God."⁴¹

This chapter in Charlotte Elizabeth's life comes to an end with the death of her brother in 1828. These years were some of her happiest, and they ended with her greatest tragedy. This was also the time when she became a truly professional writer. She now faced the world as the primary caretaker of her mother, her brother's family and Jack the deaf boy.

NOTES

1. Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna, Personal Recollections in The Works of Charlotte Elizabeth with an Introduction by Mrs. H. B. Stowe, 2nd ed. (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1845), 1: 71; Mona Wilson, Jane Austen and Some Contemporaries (London: Cresset Press, 1938), 199.

2. Tonna; Recollections, 72; The first regular steamship ran on the Thames in 1813. By 1824 paddle-wheelers ran between Margate and Ramsgate. The inhabitants of Margate hated "the smoking monsters." These early steamers were always dirty. Black smoke poured down on the deck. The soot ruined clothes. Even most sailors hated steamships in the early days. But the advantage of speed overcame all opposition. Also the steamships soon were sailing across the ocean. In 1825 the first steamer reached Calcutta. So Tonna could look forward to speedy transportation of people and information throughout the world. G. M. Young, Early Victorian England 1830-1865 Vol. 1 (London: Oxford University-Press, 1834), 394-395, 398-399.

3. Ibid., 72-73; Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna, Jack the Dumb Boy; Christ's "Red Hand," (New York: American Tract Society, 18--), 19-20; Dictionary of National Biography, 861-867; William B. Sprague, "Biographical Sketch," in Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna, Humility Before Honor and Other Tales and Illustrations with a Brief Memoir of the Author (New York: Sheldon and Company, Publishers, 1869), 176-177; For extensive discussion on More's work in the Sunday School movement see Thomas Walter Laqueur, Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture 1780-1850 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), 5, 26, 75-76, 85, 90, 111, 128-131, 178, 190-191, 203-204, 214, 231. For information on More's views of the church see, S. C. Carpenter, Church and People, 1789-1889: A History of the Church of England from William Wilberforce to "Lux Mundi" (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1933), 8, 39, 42-43, 84-85, 86n. In her Village Politics, More wrote, "Nor do I think our Church wants mending, But I do think it wants attending." quoted in Carpenter, 8; More and her sisters opened a school at Cheddar. Other schools, some on Sunday only, served twenty thousand children, Carpenter, 39, More and her sisters contributed to charities, 42; Hannah More was the first to write industrial fiction in her Cheap Repository Tracts

(1795-98); For details about More being "driven out" of her house at Cheddar Hills, see Mary Alden Hopkins, Hannah More and Her Circle (New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1947), 247-249; See also M. G. Jones, Hannah More (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1952)

4. John Murray Browne, An Historical View of the Revolutions of Portugal, Since the Close of the Peninsular War; Exhibiting a Full Account of the Events Which Have Led to the Present State of That Country (London: John Murray, 1827), vii-ix; Tonna, Jack, 21-22; Beating and locking up a child was not considered a severe form of punishment in Nineteenth-Century England. See Priscilla Robertson, "Home As a Nest: Middle Class Childhood in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in Lloyd deMause, ed., The History of Childhood (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Harper Torchbook, Harper & Row, Publishers, 1974), 407-428.

5. Tonna, Jack, 22.

6. Ibid., 23; Tonna, Recollections, 74.

7. Tonna, Recollections, 74-75.

8. Ibid., 75; Browne, viii; Wilson, 199 The original source of this quote from Southey is not given; Sprague, 177.

9. Sprague, 177-178; Browne, 25; Tonna, Recollections, 75-76; Clara Lucas Balfour, Working Women of the Last Half Century: the Lesson of Their Lives (London: W. & F. G. Cash, 1856), 35-36; The Royal Military College was opened in 1802 "to provide an education for the sons of officers who were intended to follow their father's profession and to enter the army." The college, at first, admitted Gentleman Cadets between the ages of thirteen and fifteen. A candidate was nominated by the Commander-in-chief. After finishing simple qualifying examinations the cadet undertook a course that emphasized the study of mathematics, fortifications and military drawing before he took a final examination. This school, at Sandhurst, was founded by the Duke of York "to prevent the commissioning and promotion of unsuitable officers (even infants had been commissioned); to bring some order into the field of recruitment; . . . to institute some regular training for officers, both at regimental duty and on the staff . . . and to improve and produce some form of standardization in the training of the rank and file By these means he sought to bring the training of the infantry and cavalry more into line with that of the artillery and engineers" The college at Sandhurst never filled its quota of four hundred cadets, and by 1824

the numbers had slumped below two hundred. The college offered free cadetships for the orphans of officers. Edward M. Spiers, The Army and Society 1815-1914 (London, New York: Longman, 1980), 11-15; Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, The Army in Victorian Society (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), 122; Michael Carver, The Seven Ages of the British Army (New York:Beaufort Books Inc., 1984), 80.

10. Tonna, Recollections, 76.

11. Ibid., 76-77; Wilson, 200; Paz, 272.

12. Tonna, Recollections, 77; Sprague, 178-180; Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna, Letters From Ireland, in Works, 1: 397.

13. Charlottte Elizabeth Phelan Tonna, "The Red Berries"(New York: American Tract Society, 185-?).

14. Charlotte Elizabeth Phelan Tonna, "The Bee" (New York:General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union, 1842).

15. Charlotte Elizabeth Phelan Tonna, Izram, in Works,

16. Charlottle Elizabeth Phlan Tonna, The Rockite, in Works.

17. Tonna, Recollections, 77-78.

18. Ibid., 78-79; Wilson, 200.

19. Tonna, Recollections, 79-80; Robert Huish, Memoirs of George the Forth, Vol. 2, (London: Thomas Kelly, Paternoster Row, 1831), 319-320; The Battle of Navarino occurred in 1827, so it is clear that Tonna wrote this passage in 1840; The Duke of York clearly was opposed to Catholic Emancipation and supporters of Emancipation believed the Duke's death would ease the passing of the bill. G. I. T. Machin, The Catholic Question in English Politics 1820 to 1830 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 58-59, 88-89.

20. Tonna, Recollections, 80; According to Ernest R. Sandeen, "Millenarians without exception were stoutly anti-Catholic and viewed every agitation by English and Irish Catholics as confirmation of the increasing corruption of the world and thus of the increasing likelihood of the second advent." At the Albury Park Conference (1826), attended by twenty laymen and clergy, including Joseph Wolff and Hugh McNeile, the participants agreed, "The Jews will be

restored to Palestine during the time of judgement." They constantly looked to events in the Middle East for "signs of the times." See the chapter, "The Revival of British Millenarianism," in Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930 (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1970), 3-41.

21. Ibid., 81; Tonna, Jack, 24-25.

22. Tonna, Recollections, 81; Tonna, Jack, 25-26.

23. Tonna, Recollections, 81-82.

24. Ibid., 82.

25. Ibid., 82-83; DNB, 777.

26. Tonna, Recollections, 83-84; Isaiah 33 deals with the coming Messiah and his reign on Earth; DNB, 777-778.

27. Tonna, Recollections, 84-85; Kruegar, 90, 125; For differences between Methodism and Hannah More's theology, see M. G. Jones, Hannah More (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1932), 78-79, 86-87. She once stated, "Call me not a Methodist." 179.

28. Tonna, Recollections, 85-86.

29. Ibid., 86.

30. Ibid., 87-88.

31. Ibid., 88.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., 88-89; Carlos Flick, The Birmingham Political Union and the Movements For Reform in Britain 1830-1839 (Dawson: Archon Books, 1978), 125-146; Dorothy Thompson, The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 77-87.

34. Tonna, Recollections, 89.

35. Ibid., 89-90.

36. Ibid., 90-91; Balfour, 36; Wilson, 200-201.

37. Tonna, Recollections, 91; Tonna, Jack, 27.

38. Tonna, Jack, 27-29.

39. Tonna, Recollections, 92.

40. Tonna, Jack, 29-30.

41. Tonna, Recollections, 92.

CHAPTER 3

CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH AS ACTIVE EVANGELICAL 1829-1840

The third period of Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna's life began with Catholic Emancipation and ended in 1840 with the completing of her Personal Recollections. During this time, Tonna wrote some of her more important works, and put her Evangelical views into practice by opening a church for the Irish in London at St. Giles.

Catholic Emancipation

"Eighteen hundred and twenty-nine arrived," wrote Tonna at the beginning of Letter Thirteen, "as the most hateful year in the annals of England's perfidy to her bounteous Lord....For what was it that England was about to do?"¹

According to Tonna, the gospel came to England in "the very early days of Christianity, probably by an apostle." A small, scriptural church existed, and was strong enough to provide serious opposition to the Roman Catholic delegate, Augustine, when he tried "to incorporate this country in the growing mass of papal dependencies." The struggle did not last long. "Rome, then arrived at the full stature of the Apocalyptic Beast, prevailed more by the lances of despotic monarchs, than through the willing assent of Britons, either

lay or ecclesiastical." The Popes increased their power over England with only brief "movements toward freedom, which was soon stilled again by the iron sceptre." During the reign of Richard III, "blood shed openly for the truth's sake began to give testimony that martyrdom would yet become the order of the day here." She here referred to the persecution of the Lollards. Persecution increased at the beginning of the Reformation until there was a temporary check to "Romish usurpation" under Henry VIII. His reign was followed by "the blessed interval of young Edward's reign during which God was for the first time since foreign delegates got footing here, acknowledged and worshiped according to the scriptures." There was a period in which the church had peace and the country prosperity.²

"Mary followed: She ravened like a she wolf in innocent blood." The Roman Catholic Church, under Mary, produced "one continuous act of murder," for three and a half years. Elizabeth followed, but failed to purge out "the old leaven," yet she did establish "Protestant ascendancy on a strong basis." James I, "treading in the same step, found his reign equally prosperous." Charles I tried to restore "the evil" again, and lost his own head as a result. Charles II worked covertly to bring the English church under the Papacy. James II followed in his footsteps. "Then it was that, to avert another era of blood and flame, our ancestors removed from the throne the

perverse line of Stuart, and placed upon it a devoted Protestant prince." From now on, the succession would be restricted to a Protestant and the monarchs would "swear to maintain the religion of the Bible against all future attempts of the Western Antichrist to recover his lost footing among us."³

Gradually, restrictions were put on the legislature and on the corporate elections, until the body politic was "presented a pure image of Protestantism, undefiled by the Babylonian garment or wedge of polluted gold, and while we thus acknowledge God openly, he openly acknowledge us." No weapon formed against England prospered, and there were no major wars in the at this time. England could not bear to be under Catholicism again, for the country had tried and found the leaders were liars. England cast the Papist out, and God watched over England and made it invincible. "Abroad," it was "victorious over every foe; at home, enabled to crush every attempt at insurrection. A little, insulated spot on the world's map, she was as the City of David, alike the repository and the fortress of God's pure faith." She looked at the history of England, and confirmed that England's strength lay in her protest.⁴

Even if she were not a patriot, Tonna would still fight to prevent God from being "robbed" by allowing England to return to Catholicism. She asks, "What had a woman to do with the proceedings of senators and governors?"

Everything. She enjoyed "personal safety, personal liberty, and the Bible." Government helped in preventing her life from being taken. There were no convent walls "ready to immure" her. Because of government protection, "no dungeons sealed from public scrutiny by a power that might trample on the neck of secular law." Tonna wondered why, from early in life, she had not been taught that a fellow mortal "held in his hands the power of saving or destroying my soul, and then commanded by that irresistible authority to abstain from looking into the word of God?" She escaped being so taught only because she "was the subject of a Protestant country, basking in the sunshine of its spiritual light, and sheltered by the enactments of a state that owned no earthly power superior to its own." She might not expect to see her own life interfered with, but her nephew might find himself facing the attempts to bring Catholicism to England.⁵

It was very probable that England would go into further decline. For apostasy caused God to bring His vengeance against the nations in rebellion. Tonna was not surprised by the rapid descent she found in her country. England was voluntarily allying itself with "Antichrist," and it was giving authority to the "priests of Baal" to legislate for the ordering of God's temple, thus inviting the spiritual and temporal dangers, from which the British had miraculously been delivered.

I have said the priesthood would have power to legislate

for us; and so they have at this moment. Every layman of that communion is the mere puppet of his priest: he receives direction how to act; and he must declare, in confession, whether he has obeyed those directions to the letter. The Romish priests sit in parliament more effectually than if they took their places on the benches there: and each separate priest is simply and solely the active delegate of a foreign power, which uses the whole machinery for one work, to one end, and counts nothing advantageous that does not afford a distinct step towards the regaining of a despotic rule over this kingdom.⁶

What could be done? What could a woman do to prevent the apostasy?

"But suppose a woman feels herself called on to take a personal interest in public affairs," asked Tonna, "What can she do, without stepping out of her proper sphere, and intruding into the province of the superior sex?" She went on to tell the reader what a woman can do. "When we set our hearts upon any thing," wrote Tonna, "we are tolerably enterprising and persevering too, in its attainment; and this natural love of pleasing ourselves may be turned to a very good account." She grieved when "a cowardly Barak shrinks" from doing his duty without "female countenance and guidance." The cause of God and His church should not be placed in jeopardy through the weakness of a "thousand Baraks."⁷

Charlotte Elizabeth decided to do something to avoid the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Bill. First, she encouraged prayer meetings to petition God to keep Emancipation from passing. She then made her own poll of

"the public mind at Sandhurst," and she found that, for many people, the issue "never occupied their thoughts," and they did not see it as a matter for their consideration.

Ignorance, then, seemed to be the Pope's greatest ally.

Tonna, therefore, wrote many tracts attacking the Catholic Church "on scriptural grounds," showing in them "the dreadful nature of Popery"⁸

The Rector of the parish challenged Charlotte to get nineteen signatures on a petition to defeat Emancipation. She had two days. She wrote the petition on official parchment, and then gave it to a friend who agreed with her position and wanted something to do to stop the movement toward a more liberal attitude toward Catholicism. By the end of two days there were two hundred and forty-six signatures "of honest sensible Englishmen." Among the signatures was that of Jack, in spite of the fact he was under the required age of seventeen. But Jack had "wept and implored so passionately for leave to tell the King not to let Romans make bad gods in England, that it would have been a sin to reject his protest."⁹

The petition was presented to the Commons by the county member. The Bishop of London, Charles James Blomfield, presented it in the Lords. The Duke of Newcastle presented it to the King. Tonna's neighbor had taken the petitions to London, and he was proud to partake in the event. If England had had many more men as earnest as him, the

"unhallowed deed " might have been avoided. If such individuals throughout England even now become involved, they "MIGHT AT THIS VERY TIME ARREST THE PROGRESS OF OUR DECAY," wrote Tonna. Although the Protestants "possess a machinery of almost boundless power" they were "too lazy to set the wheels in motion." As for Tonna herself, she felt she was "free from the blood of all men" by doing all she could to stop the Emancipation movement.¹⁰

She stayed up in prayer around the clock like Daniel, with tears, supplicating the Lord that he "would pardon the sin of our princes and rulers, and have mercy on my people." She fasted and required everyone else in the household to fast also. They all did so willingly for everyone knew "how awful was the stake impending."¹¹

Hugh McNeile (1795-1879), the rector of Albury, a friend of her brother's, came forth as a very effective ally in the cause. He visited the family and was encouraged to write his pamphlet, "England's Protest is England's Shield." Charlotte admired the way he came across as a Jeremiah putting forth the words of God. The greatest strength in his pamphlet was its stressing that "Popery is Antichrist: that in all things it must be the object of Antichrist to oppose and subvert the Kingdom of Christ; and that every subject of Antichrist must necessarily desire his master's advancement and do his master's bidding." The events that followed showed that McNeil was correct, according to

Tonna.¹²

The Emancipation Bill passed in the Commons, but Tonna and her friends still "clung to a hope that the noble warrior [the Duke of Wellington] who had once been the instrument of saving his country would not now deliberately sell her into the hands of foreign foes;--sell her for a fuller measure of popularity, or for a little treacherous repose." Tonna rested hope on the Bishops in the House of Lords, that they would be loyal to their church, for other secular Lords would follow their lead in spiritual matters. The bishops failed to oppose the Emancipation and the measure passed. The Archbishop of Tuam, Power Le Poer Trench (1770-1839), issued a warning about the state of Ireland after Emancipation but his warnings went unheeded. "The sin of the British parliament was consummated." Only the royal consent awaited to make the bill law. If the Bishops had not gone along with the bill, George IV would have rejected it, but he felt he could not go against the Bishops on a spiritual matter. "The pen was put into a reluctant hand; a hasty scratch with that pen undid the work of the revolution; and so far as man could accomplish it, of the Reformation also."¹³

Believing that "all was thus lost," Tonna did not see the passage of the Catholic Emancipation as an act of God's will, for she believed it violated his known moral will. She stated, "the will of the Lord be done, by the undoing of

what is so outrageously opposed to his known will!" She saw the passage of the bill as no more an act of God's will than a murder or the setting up of the golden calves at Dan. She asked if God was to be considered the approver of this crime? She answered,

Assuredly not. So far must we submit to the ordinances of man as not to raise a rebellious hand against their execution; but to look placidly on while the abomination of desolation is set up to stand where the Lord expressly says "IT OUGHT NOT," and to conclude he wills it to stand there because he did not wither the hands employed in fixing it, is a stretch of indifferentism to which I hope I shall never be able to attain. No: the "atrocious bill," as it was rightly termed, became the law of England; but in as much as it is wholly opposed to the law of God, let us see to it that our protest against its continuance on our statute book be fully as powerful, as preserving as was our protest against its entrance there.¹⁴

It just happened that the bill would go into force on St. George's Day. The Pope celebrated his birthday on that day even though his real birthday occurred in August. He called it his name day, after the continental mode. Pastorini had predicted the death blow to Protestantism would strike on 14 April 1829. The royal assent came to the Emancipation bill one day earlier, on 13 April 1829.¹⁵

Ten days later Tonna was sitting in her room despondent over the passing of the "antichristian law," when she noticed the old French priest, who served as Abbe there at Sandhurst. She was moved to write him a letter before he sailed to go back to his native country. She wrote that either he or she were wrong about the truth of their

respective theologies. They could not both be wrong. She was convinced that if he searched the infallible word he would discover the truth of the gospel. She also sent books explaining her own position to the Abbe. She never did hear from him, so she never knew if he ever obtained salvation. At least her conscience was clear for she had given him the information about the truth. This gave her such peace that finally for the first time since the passing of Catholic Emancipation, she felt like taking a walk with her nephew. She thought that although England had a mighty navy, England's turning its back on God would eventually lose her greatness despite its navy. She came upon the Royal Standard of England. Blazoned on it were the lions of England, Scotland's rampant banner, and also the harp of Ireland on a green mound of sod. How happy she had been when this banner was floating in honor of King George III's name day, but now the King who had rather been executed than "surrender the sacred protest, was moldering with the dead---his son had surrendered it---our protest was gone!" She found it incredible that after all the evil the Catholics had done in Ireland how her country could surrender all it stood for. She wept bitterly.¹⁶

Men had rebuked Tonna for feeling such despondency. She felt God even rebuked her.

Twelve years have elapsed, and each year had heaped upon us a fresh load of that "fruit of our own ways," which will crush us at last. That "Leading measure," as its

expediency---mongering patrons loved to call it, did indeed heal the deadly wound of the Beast among us, and bade him again live, to our confusion. Ireland is all but given up as an uncontested prey to him; her Protestant church dismantled, her Protestant Bible mutilated, her Protestant corporations sold, her Protestant landlords massacred as a matter of course; and the very Union, any attempt at infracting which is high treason, made the object of unmasked attacks on the part of a man who has armed and marshaled her millions in open rebellion against the British government, which, judicially given over to infatuation, fawns on his person and courts his patronage. In England, disaffection to the crown, combined with and strengthened by principles of gross infidelity, an increasing contempt of old institutions because they are based on Christianity, an open scorn of the Sabbath, and an immense falling away to popery is the mass of the people; while within the Church, even in its pulpits and among its most distinguished ministers, prevails a revival of more than semi-papal error, such as must wholly destroy the spiritual life of that body if it be not speedily and summarily checked. Instead of this, we too well know that it is daily extending, bearing in itself the seeds of a future and cruel persecution of God's people. We cannot look on these things and deny that they have come upon us in just retribution for 1829; we cannot without expecting at the Lord's hand such a compromise of his Majesty and Truth as he will never make, look for deliverance from these fears and dangers until we have, by a national act, put away the evil of those doings which have provoked him to forsake us.¹⁷

Sunday School Teacher

Tonna followed through in Letter fourteen, stating that many Christians complained that they could find nothing to do for the Master. If one listened to them, it seemed like the harvest was small and the laborers were many. "So many servants out of employ is a bad sign" She then went on to "two of three ways in which those who are so inclined may bestir themselves for the good of others."¹⁸

In the village where she lived there was a very good

National school and also a Sunday school, and even the poorer inhabitants managed to get some education for their children. Tonna took a great interest in the young, and since many of these children were idle Sunday evenings she decided to provide them an opportunity for scriptural instruction. She found a party of six or seven children and invited them to her home to hear a chapter read, answer a few questions upon it, and end with a short prayer. She kept it as informal as possible, and she found her "little guests" pleased. The next Sunday her party was doubled, solely through the favorable report spread by the children. One of the boys asked to bring his sister. "You may bring any body and every body you like," replied Tonna. Within four weeks she had sixty, so she had a long table brought into her parlor. She had the boys come at four and girls at six with a half hour between the two groups. She sat at the head of the long table and the children found this an "easy and sociable way of proceeding" They never called it or thought of it as a school. Charlotte wrote that "they came bustling in with looks of great glee, particularly the boys, and greeted me with the affectionate freedom of young friends." She prayed; then they read one or two chapters of the Bible, each having a verse or two. She then led a discussion on the passage and she encouraged questions. It is interesting that Tonna did not tell the reader how her deafness affected this ministry. It was as if she were not

deaf. Many of the girls were in their upper teens, "beautiful creatures, and very well dressed: and what a privilege it was so to gather and so to arm them in a place where alas! innumerable snares beset their path." They closed with a hymn. Long before the boys finished the girls clustered about the gate "impatient for the joyous rush; and to seat themselves round their dear table, with all that free confidence without which I never could succeed in really commanding the attention of boys."¹⁹

The preferred chapters of the Bible dealt with stirring subjects like Gideon, Samson, Jonathan, Mordecai or Daniel, all "most manly characters of the Old Testament history, with the rich gospel that lies wrapped in every page of that precious volume." Even in the New Testament she portrayed the individuals as vividly as possible. She soon learned that trying to teach boys as one would girls was a wrong method. The boys occasionally start to get unruly, but she learned that by appealing to their "manliness" and manners she could convince them to discipline themselves. Jack also helped by giving an unruly boy a gesture or stern look if he started to misbehave, and usually the boy would straighten up. If one showed any disrespect during a discussion on the Bible, Jack would look sad and even weep. This always caused the boy to return to a state of good-behavior.²⁰

Once, two of her boys got into a fight and one stabbed the other. Fortunately the wound was not fatal and the boy

recovered. Tonna tried to keep the attacker out of jail and to have him reconcile with the boy he wounded. After many attempts she finally got him to come to her Sunday evening "party." The wounded boy was there, and eventually he and his attacker shook hands. The guilty boy wept and asked forgiveness from everyone. He was welcomed back. "Boys are noble creatures," writes Tonna, "when placed on their right footing; but I always think there is a great deal too much of what is technically termed old womanish in the mode of conducting their spiritual education. They are pugnacious animals too; and require prudent management." She felt she was successful, for later two boys took their coats off to fight over who loved the teacher better. Charlotte sent word that the one who put his jacket back on loved her the most. They both came smiling with jackets on.²¹

Christians should be involved in instructing young people, even just three or four at a time invited to one house to talk to them about "passages of scripture which may appear best calculated to engage their pleased attention, may after prove the foundation for a noble work." Middle-class children especially need to be immersed in the Bible since this is the class that the officers of the Chartist bodies come from "and active agents supplied in works of infinite mischief." As for women instructing boys, it is essential that the boys have a female influence. Tonna wrote, "We females brought all the sin into the world,

involving man in the ruin he was not the first to seek; and it is the least we can do to offer him a little good now." A boy rarely would be rude to a female who treated him with respect, as long as she did not seek to "crush that independence of spirit which is a man's prerogative, and which no woman has a right to crush." She herself worked to make these "young friends something more than nominal Protestants."²²

St. Giles

When her nephew became ill, Tonna took him to London for medical attention. While there she learned of the Irish Society that sought to take the gospel to the Irish in their own language. She had not realized there was a written Irish language, even though she had been in Ireland for three years. She learned about Bishop William Bedell (1571-1642) and his Irish Bible, and she came to see the importance of ministering to the Irish in their own tongue. She also met the Reverend Charles Seymour who was her brother's minister when he was stationed in Ireland. He assured Tonna that her brother was saved before his accident. This account gave her tremendous peace. She stayed for Seymour's talk about the Irish. He reminded the English Evangelicals that there were Irishmen to minister to in the big cities of England. He hoped that he could get funding to open a bread shop in town from which food and the gospel can be given. Tonna pledged to help set up such a

spot at St. Giles.²³

She traveled through the district of St. Giles with her Irish companion and there she discovered the miserable conditions of the poor Irish there. She resolved now to build a church to minister to them. Her companions encouraged the idea. So Tonna sought contributions for her project. She got many encouraging letters back but only had seven pounds after a few weeks. While attending church, a friend, Dr. P, sat down next to her and assured her that she would succeed. On her other side sat a gentleman, who over-heard the conversation. He placed a sovereign on her piece of bread next to her. She believed that she would succeed. She wrote the Bishop of Lichfield asking him to get approval for her church from the Bishop of London. Soon word came that the Bishop of London would license her church, and the Bishop of Lichfield summoned her and six gentlemen to visit him there in London to put plans together for the church. She did not have six gentlemen supporters. So she prayed to God to provide them. Saturday she set out for the Bishop's house with only two Irish barristers who supported the project, but there at the Bishop's house were forty clergymen ready to support her Irish church. Tonna wrote, "to poor human reasoning so hopelessly wild as this had appeared two days before, I thought I might as well die then as not; I could never die happier." She returned to Sandhurst.²⁴

Within six weeks her seven pounds swelled to thirteen hundred. The Bishop did not take the project out of her hands, but they helped her buy an old church building and hire an Irish pastor. The church was incorporated as a new project of the Irish Society. In November the Irish Episcopal Church of St. Giles opened for divine service. The Reverend H. H. Beanish officiated, and he preached the gospel in the Irish language. Many came just to hear their native tongue spoken, but soon some forty Roman Catholics converted. One of those would suffer martyrdom as a result. Reverend Seymour came and spoke one time before his death. He was impressed by the "bread shop."²⁵

Irvingism

Back at Sandhurst, Tonna became friends with William Howels (1778-1832), minister at Long Acre Chapel, London, and a Mr. McDonald. Howels, her pastor at Long Acre, attacked the doctrines of Irvingism. He was extremely forceful in his attack on Tonna's millennial views. She felt such attacks were improper, but she came to appreciate the honest forthrightness from which Howels spoke. She saw the value in such boldness when the time came. Only in the area of the Second Advent did she and Mr. Howels disagree.

Tonna resolved to be more bold in her attacks on "Popery." She used to warn her young Sunday party that Catholics were doing superstitious things, but now, with her new boldness, she would tell them, "Papists, who are by some

foolishly and falsely called Catholics, are taught by their priests the most idolatrous, anti-Christian things possible." It impressed the children. She used the same boldness toward a Romanist himself. Some people attacked her for trying to proselytize, and now she made no apologies for doing so. She encouraged the spiritual leaders at St. Giles to be just as aggressive in attacking the Catholic Church, and she would receive innumerable testimonies from converts who appreciated her boldness, for they may have stayed in their old church if not for direct attacks on the doctrines they had held onto.²⁶

Tonna at first disagreed about millenarian doctrines with some of her friends. For she did not believe in the "vengeful dispensation against the Lord's enemies preparatory to the thousand years of blessedness." She did not believe in a resurrection leading to the personal reign of Christ on earth. Tonna held onto the more traditional view that the gospel would go throughout the world, and then Christ would return. She had caught hints of a premillennial view by reading Isaiah 63, but Matthew Henry's Commentary had quashed any premillennial doctrines at that time. But her friend M'Neile kept urging her to search the scriptures. After looking through several passages she began to adopt the premillennial doctrines "against my will," as she stated. "From this starting point I explored the scriptures in reference to a literal resurrection of

Christ's people, at a literal coming previous to the thousand years of Satan's binding and the peace of the church. I saw it clearly: I received it fully; and I hold it firmly to this day."²⁷

Howels would talk about sending millenarians to a lunatic asylum. Her friend, Donald, also would question her, "Why do you hold this mistaken opinion?" She would answer back playfully, "Because it is the only subject on which Howels talks nonsense?" She was struck by all the efforts to stifle this doctrine. Many tried to equate millenarianism with Irvingism, which she considered a heresy. One time an Irvingite clergyman was puzzled that she had not become an Irvingite but he then said, "Nevertheless I have hope of you, my sister. You believe in the second advent: you will be saved by your faith in a glorified Saviour." She corrected him, saying that she will be saved by her faith in a crucified Saviour. On the other hand she could not throw out a doctrine just because heretics also held to the same doctrine. If that were true, Psalm 91 should be thrown out because Satan quoted from it at the temptation of Christ.²⁸

Letter fifteen continues the subject of the Second Advent. Tonna believed that confusion over the Second Coming could lead one to further heresy. She discusses the case of a Miss Fanecount. She was taken in by Irvingite doctrines. She had almost died but through the intervention

of much prayer she appeared to be miraculously healed. Fanecourt sent her two pamphlets, "or rather tracts," dealing with miraculous gifts in the church as described in I Corinthians 14. She wrote Tonna that she was seeking the gift of "tongues," even though her parents were "violently opposed." She urged Tonna to search the scriptures to confirm the presence of miraculous gifts in the church. After much prayer Charlotte read all of the New Testament that night, except the last seven chapters of Revelation. Her reading caused her to reject the new pretensions. If such miraculous gifts were for the close of the church dispensation then the scriptures should have been clearer. She had a problem with the belief that women would become teachers of men, because this was not authorized by any scripture. As for miracles, "God would never require us to believe a miracle not wrought according to his word." As for Miss Fanecourt's miraculous cure, she either had suffered from a nervous disorder or, if she actually had been cured it was through natural means achieved indeed by the many prayers offered for her behalf. Then when she heard about remarks made by Edward Irving (1792-1834), Tonna was glad she had not conceded the issue of miraculous powers for "once acknowledged [it] would have given weight to any doctrine associated with them."²⁹

A little time brought Tonna better acquaintance with the nature of the Irvingite heresy. Her main problem was

that Irving believed Christ was inherently sinful here on earth and that he overcame every evil passion and corrupt inclination.³⁰ His principal suffering, according to Irving, consisted in the "warring of this unholy, depraved nature against the pure spirit lodged within. He conquered this sinful nature by putting it to death on the cross. Believers now can achieve sinful perfection." Tonna believed, "a more atrocious outrage on the great mystery of our redemption never was fabricated." To her, "the heresy is worse than Arian, and the presumed miracles quite Popish."³¹

"Great anxiety was shown to enlist me in this cause," wrote Tonna. They wished to test the miracle working powers of Irving by curing Tonna of her deafness or at least communicating to her directly, bypassing her ears. She was tempted to test them in this way but she was afraid she would be cured, as God might have given her "over to delusion is punishment" for her "presumptuous sin in seeking to any other standard of truth than the scriptures alone." She believed that "Satan can work miracles there is no doubt, and that he will yet do so we are plainly warned." Satan might be holding back on his miracle works to conceal his existence, but he would strike out as the end approaches. "Satan surely reads prophecy with a more accurate eye than we can do, I cannot doubt his rage being fearfully increased as the appointed time draws on." Satan

would go against "every class, every individual in Christ's church as a last attempt to mar the triumphs of his Conqueror." Fortunately none of Christ's Sheep would perish, but "it behooves us to be extremely wary, and to watch against the devices of Satan with redoubled vigilance."³²

She found herself living in a house with a strong Irvingite woman. This lady constantly tried to convert her by bringing in "most estimable" friends who were also followers of Irving. But Tonna kept bringing up Irving's own words about the nature of Christ. The lady and her friends kept decrying heresy and they reminded her how devout he was and how much time he spent in prayer. Tonna retorted by stating that the character of the individuals did not matter if the doctrine presented was heresy. She reminded them that even Satan can appear as an angel of light.³³

Sometimes Irvingite associates of her friend came to supper, discussed spiritual matters, and then prayed. Tonna tolerated much, but when they were about to make prayers of thanksgiving for giving an abundance of the Holy Spirit to influence Jesus from sinning, this was too much. "I would sooner have died than have been found assenting, even by my presence," wrote Tonna, "to any such fearful impiety." She excused herself and went to her room. She wept all night for them because she loved them and desired they come out of the

Irvingite system. Years later, she heard from a young woman who told her that her public stand against them prevented her own joining of the group. Tonna valued her open protest, even if only one person alone was affected by it. Finding that plans went forth to spread the Irvingite teachings to Ireland, where the people were in a vulnerable mode to receive it, Charlotte stood up publicly against the heresy. She wrote a pamphlet, "A Letter to a Friend on Some Subjects that Trouble the Church," in which she quoted Irving to present his real beliefs. This publication upset her friend so much that they ended their friendship. They were not very amicable when she left her friend, but years later the woman "completely recovered out of the snare," and so they were able to pick their friendship back up where it had been before. As to the doctrines of Irving, they seemed to have gone out of fashion at the time of her writing, but similar heresies were likely to come into the church from time to time, and Christians have to be prepared to stand up against them with the scriptures.³⁴

The Death of Jack

Charlotte Elizabeth then went on to a subject she had been avoiding: The decline and death of Jack. He began to weaken to the point that death clearly was not far off. Jack's Roman Catholic sister came over to try to see to it that he would receive final unction, but Jack told both Tonna and his own sister he did not want the last rites.

Charlotte told his sister that she would never let a priest into her house to perform his priestly function, even if it were her, a devout Catholic, that was the one dying. "I have toleration," she wrote, "full and free for every form of Christianity, but none for Antichrist, come in what form he may." Tonna wrote about Jack's declining health.

It may be possible to describe a glorious summer sunset, with all the softening splendour that it sheds around; but to describe the setting of my dumb boy's sun of mortal life is impossible. He declined like the orb of day, gently, silently, gradually, yet swift by, and gathered new beauties as he approached the horizon.

His patience grew with the pain, and he never complained. In the morning, when asked if he slept well, he replied, "No Jack no sleep; Jack think good Jesus Christ see poor Jack. Night dark; heaven all light; soon see heaven. Cough much now, pain bad, soon no cough, no pain." This was how he communicated how much he suffered, "but always contrasting it to the glory to be revealed."³⁵

Realizing he would never recover, Charlotte, with Jack concurring, refrained from allowing the doctors to torment him with opiates or bloodletting. All her medical friends told her that nothing could be done to bring about a permanent improvement. Charlotte thought it cruel to bring about temporary relief from pain if it would cause more suffering later. Besides the boy preferred to have his mind clear of drugs so he could think about Jesus. Sometimes he allowed the use of leeches to relieve the swelling of his

side. These treatments caused much pain for half an hour or more, but Jack said he could endure the pain by thinking about how much more Jesus suffered pain and about how his blood was drained entirely to bring about salvation. The little amount taken by the leeches could never be compared to that sacrifice. Sometimes, when the pain got very intense, he would say, "Good pain, make Jack soon go heaven."³⁶

Jack would tell her about what would happen when he died. God would call aloud, "Jack!", and Jack, the deaf boy, would hear him and answer back, "Yes, me Jack." In heaven Jack would come before God sitting on a cloud. God would hold in his hand a very large book. He would look through the book until he came to Jack's name. On that page God had written all his bad deeds. God would hold up the page to the sun for light, but God had to say "No, no, nothing, none." Charlotte asked whether this meant he believed he had done no wrong. Jack replied that he had done many bad deeds, but Jesus Christ had taken the book out of God's hand and used his own blood from his palm to cover the writing so that none of his sins could be seen. God would then close the book and Jesus would put his arm about him and take him to one side until the rest of humanity was judged. Charlotte wrote, "I stood amazed, for rarely had the plan of a sinner's ransom, appropriation, and justification been so perspicuously set forth in a pulpit as

here it was by a poor deaf and dumb peasant boy, whose broken language was eked out by signs." When presenting this description of the gospel truth he caused even rough men to shed tears. Jack never doubted Christ's all-sufficiency or questioned God's love of him. He spent hours on his knees in prayer. Jack continued his original ideas even as pain hit him hard. He saw lightning as a sudden opening and closing of God's eye; the rainbow was a reflection of God's smile. He used the painful burning capability of a candle as representing Satan, but God was the wind, blowing out the candle, "God kill Devil," stated Jack.³⁷

Jack told Charlotte God always sat in heaven calling for people to come to him. The Devil drew them back from him and persuaded them to spit up at God, (spitting was Jack's sign of rebellion). Sometimes a person would snatch his hand away from Satan and pray to God. God would pass the blood over the person's page of bad deeds and the devil would weep. Tonna then told the reader how it was a mistake to avoid teaching about a real personal devil. Satan was helped by being thus ignored. Jack described the formality of some worshipers by describing how Satan actually went with the person to church and encouraged him to go through all the rituals, even encouraging prayer. Such self-deluding formality only helped Satan.³⁸

During the winter months, Jack sank daily. He enjoyed

visits from Mr. Donald, who had a special tenderness of manner toward Jack. Jack was "nineteen, tall and large with the expression of infantile innocence and sweetness on a very fine countenance, no one could look on him without admiration, nor treat him with roughness or disrespect." Donald waited on the dying youth as he sat patiently in his chair, for Jack could no longer lie down. The tenderness they had for each other caused Tonna to forget "the rude, unfeeling world....How much the fruit in God's garden is beautified by the process that ripens it."³⁹

Jack labored anxiously to convert his sister. Since she could not read, the whole controversy was carried on by signs. "Mary was excessively mirthful, Jack unboundedly earnest; and when her playful reproaches roused his Irish blood, the scene was often very comic." One time Jack went through a whole list of grievances against his sister's priest, accusing him of taking their mother's money, and making the poor fast while the rich paid for dispensations to eat. He believed the priest inflicted cruel penances, drank too much whiskey, and told the people to worship "wooden and bread gods." Mary responded, with humor, that the same priest had christened him and made the sign of the cross upon him. "Jack wrathfully intimated that he was then a baby, with a head like a doll's and knew nothing; but if he had been wise he would have kicked his little foot into the priest's mouth." The dissensions grew so hot that Tonna

had to part them. "His horror of the priest was solely directed against their false religion." When Tonna told him about the conversion of a priest he leaped for joy.⁴⁰

By 1833 it was clear Jack was dying. His brother, Pat, came on a two-week furlough to visit him. He grieved "over the companion of his early days." Jack led Pat in "many a sweet discourse" on the subject of "blessed hope that sustained the dying Christian." Jack only survived Pat's departure four days. On February 3, new symptoms came on; "the death-damps began to ooze out, his legs were swelled to the size of his body, and he sat in that state, incapable of receiving warmth, scarcely able to swallow, yet clear, bright and tranquil, for thirty hours." He had a slight revival of strength on the morning of his last day. He even walked across the room with a little help. He talked incessantly to Charlotte and anyone who came near him. He described how God would punish "all bads, all bads go fire." Tonna asked if he was bad. "Yes, Jack bad very." Then she asked if he would be thrown into the fire. "No: Jesus Christ loves poor Jack." He again talked about the "red hand" of Jesus covering sins with his blood, about how Satan will be cast into the pit. He told Tonna how he will be delighted to see her again. He prayed for his family and he begged Charlotte to teach his sister how to read the Bible, and to remind Pat to avoid bad examples. He urged her to bring up her own nephews to love Jesus Christ. Lastly, he

repeated over and over again his "fervent injunction to love Ireland" and to pray for it and to write books about his native county, "Jack's poor Ireland." He admonished her to continue to oppose Popery. He called it "Roman," and "it was a sickening sight, that youth all but dead, kindling into the most animated, stern, energetic warmth of manner, raising his cold, damp hands, and spelling with them the words, 'Roman is a lie.'" He kept saying that Jesus Christ is the only savior, and "then with a force as if he would have the characters impressed on his hands, he reiterated, as slowly as possible, his dying protest, 'Roman is A LIE!'" He thanked Charlotte for caring for him and he seemed to bequeath to her "his zeal against the destroyer of his people." As his sight began to fail, he rubbed his eyes and shook his head, and "then he smiled with conscious pleasure." He asked to lie down on the sofa, where he had been sitting. He wanted to sleep. He put his hand in Tonna's, "closed his eyes and breathed his spirit forth so gently, that it was difficult to mark the precise moment of that Joyful charge."⁴¹

Charlotte told the reader how she planned to write a book about Jack.

God had graciously kept me faithful to my trust; (she writes) and I surrendered it, not without most keenly feeling the loss of such a companion, but with a glow of adoring thankfulness that overcame all selfish regrets. Thenceforth my lot was to be cast among strangers, and sorely did I miss the comforting, sympathizing monitor who for seven years had been teaching me more than I

could teach him, but all my prayers had been answered, all my labours crowned; and with other duties before me I was enabled to look at the past, to thank God, and to take courage.⁴²

In the year of Jack's death, 1833, Tonna published a short book about Jack Britt's life, The Happy Mute: or the Dumb Child's Appeal. She presented a very personal and emotional account of the seven years Jack spent under her education. Nearly all of the information in this work she would later expand in her Personal Recollections.

The Irish of London

Letter sixteen began with Tonna's move back to London. She hated to leave her beloved Sandhurst, where she had resided for five years. Jack's grave was under the east window of the Chapel at Bagshot, "there to rest til roused by the Lord's descending shout, the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God." It was difficult to leave Jack's grave, as well as her brother's house with all its memories and to cast herself "into the grant wilderness of London." She felt oppressed because she feared she would have nothing to do, so she prayed to be made useful, "and none even asked work of a heavenly Master in vain." Bringing relief to the sufferers of Irish famine became her occupation when she came to London. But upon arrival, she observed "the wretchedness of St. Giles's." Since the British church abundantly sent relief to Ireland herself, Tonna decided to bring aid on a case by case basis to the Irish of London in

her neighborhood. Howel's congregation contributed fifty pounds, and Tonna used that to purchase food, for she resolved to give them no money. She announced that she would go herself to give out the food as cases would be recommended to her. Friends pleaded for her not to go, for they believed the Irish might kill her, or at least insult her. Charlotte feared neither insult nor death. Besides, going into the Irish sections of London would be no worse than going to Sierra Leone, and there were many British women missionaries there.⁴³

For four month she worked four to six hours every day to help her Irish. Although she never concealed her opinion of their religion, she was never treated with disrespect, nor shown any unkindness. Thousands came to know her not as the enemy of their religion but as the lover of Ireland and of their own souls. Often when helping a poor sick individual, all of the other, sometimes unrelated, inhabitants of the apartment would gather around. Tonna presented them the way of salvation in English or sometimes in Irish through a reader who accompanied her. She also tried to determine who was too ill to go to the dispensary. She always took "the bread of life along with the bread that perisheth into their wretched abodes." A "benevolent Physician," Dr. Pidduck, went with her. He worked diligently to help the poor sick Irishmen of London and Tonna was convinced he would see abundant reward in heaven.

She also made note of the George Street schools which served to help the Irish children become more prosperous than their illiterate parents. The ministry she established closed down, but the schools still brought "a bud of promise to the desolate wilderness," at the time of the writing of her memoirs.⁴⁴

Reform Bill and Struggle Against "Popery"

The year 1831 saw a great struggle to pass the Reform Bill, "a measure rendered ruinous by the fatal act that preceeded it, in 1829." It failed to pass that year owing to the stubbornness of the peers. But it was clear that those who had opened "the door to admit the serpent's head would persist in keeping out his body." They had taken the first step toward destruction, and would continue destroying England unless God, in his mercy, stopped them. It is rare that God would give "such a measure of grace...to those who have betrayed a trust. They betrayed national Protestantism. Tory treachery did the deed; and Tory influence was the first to receive a death-wound by means of schedule A."⁴⁵

The bill passed in 1832. "The first act, almost of this reformed and papalized Parliament was, in the following year, to lop off ten bishoprics from the Irish Church, by means of the majority thus obtained. It was a base and cruel proceeding, and it exhibited in glaring colours the value of an oath taken by Romanists against the interests of their system." For they obtained admission to the British

Parliament by swearing to do nothing against the Protestant Church, but all but three of them "voted for this deadly blow." Other measures further weakened the Protestant Church in Ireland. "I am not one of those who would let a hungry wolf into the fold," wrote Tonna, "calculating on his polite or conscientious forbearance not to worry the sheep." It was no surprise to see the Catholic Church take advantage of Protestant weakness.⁴⁶

Tonna then asked the reader, "Look around, and what do we behold of the fruit of our own way in forming papal alliance? it is evidently judicial." Some of the fruits were as follows: The rapid increase of Catholic chapels; the open efforts to proselytize; the establishment of a powerful and wealthy instrument which was created to extend "Popery"; the announcement of prayers to restore "England to the Pope's fold"; the obvious Catholic influence of the press. Tonna was not surprised by the aggressive and open assault of the Catholic Church against Protestantism in England. Even the Church of England was coming under its influence. Many saw the "MYSTERY" of the Catholic Church as putting forth new doctrines. Tonna went on to write

I have read with attention what is put forth by the promulgation of these doctrines--erroneously called new, for they helped to form the stumbling-block which Balaam put before the Children of Israel, and were received among the Galatians in Paul's days. I have brought them to the balances in which, by God's grace, I had weighed Socianism, Popery, Antinomianism, and Irvingism, and found them all wanting; and Puseyism kicked the beam no less speedily than any of the former.⁴⁷

She then described the points in which the "new" doctrines were opposed to the Scripture. In some detail she dealt with seven points in which the Catholic Church doctrines contradicted either the Bible or the Protestant traditions. She saw this summary of the errors of the Catholic Church as scarcely touching upon the subject. She, herself, was never seriously tempted to fall into the "Papal trap," but she still heeded the caution, "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." She fled "to the law and the testimony" for light "whenever a shadow crosses my path." She was constantly censured for attacking clerical authority, which to her was no authority. Some charged Tonna with attacking individuals. She said she was "wholly innocent" of this charge. She attacked the errors put forth by individual clergyman but she had no animosity toward the individuals themselves. She always used the published works of individuals to point out their teachings. She always could refer back to the Council of Trent if a Catholic minister tried to cover their doctrines in more acceptable guise.⁴⁸

She was very upset with Church of England ministers who were more and more in number allying themselves with "Antichristian Rome." She did not believe they should continue to hold episcopal authority when they held to such teachings. For if they continued to hold authority schism

must ensue: "all true Christians, both clergy and people, separating from a church that will cast them out, and those edifices that now rise before us—the courts of a pure worship, which we love to tread in will become again temples of idolatry, polluted, hateful, and accused." She prayed for God's mercy to spare England from schism. Those who opposed the invitation of "Popery" back into England, and those who had repented of their complicity in the deed may hope for God's mercy. Tonna was glad, in one respect, that both Howels and Donald did not live long enough to see this rise of "Popery."⁴⁹

She moved north of London and there devoted herself more to the pen. There she found Irish people to work with. Few accepted the gospel, for, according to Tonna, Satan continued to "ever show to the work." It was not the state of the Irish, their being morally and physically weak, as well as financially poor, that made it difficult to succeed with them: It was Satan who blinded them. Those who were "earnestly bent on dealing a blow at the great Antichrist" must expect such opposition.⁵⁰

Derry, A Tale of the Revolution

One work in which Tonna dealt with the Protestant/Catholic conflict in Ireland was Derry, a Tale of the Revolution, published in 1833. In the introduction to the American edition, from the Seventh English edition, Tonna expressed one of the main themes of this work: the

importance of getting the Irish language Bible to the poor Irish-speaking people of that country. (v) She emphasized her belief that the defenders of Derry in 1688-89 were ultimately successful because God was on their side, it was God's battle. Tonna stated her thesis: "the author's principle anxiety has been to show how the spirit of pure Protestantism may best work for the good of those much injured claimers on our Christian sympathy and zeal, the native race of Ireland." (ix) She hoped that this book could help in the struggle against Roman Catholicism. She asked the reader, were we willing to stand against "Popish cruelty" as the people of Derry? "Are we convinced by the Spirit of God that Popery is indeed what his Word represents it to be, the `mother of harlots and abomination of the earth?'" Did we recognize the Catholic as one who "rejects Christ as prophecy, degrades him as priest and dethrones him as King?" (xi) She hoped that this tale of the siege of Derry would help the reader to remember the price paid to remove Catholicism from the land. She believed this work was important to check "the growth of that false and mischievous liberalism which is eating out the very heart of Protestant principle." (xiv)⁵¹

Derry is the story of the M'Alister family, including their close friends, during the siege of Londonderry, Ireland in 1688-89. Bryan was the only surviving male of this family. At the beginning of the story, he came home

to urge his family to go with him back to Derry, where he had a small house already prepared for them. His grandmother, referred to as the Lady of M'Alister, his mother, his two young sisters, Letitia and Ellen, were reluctant to leave their cottage. Bryan warned them that James II was coming with an army. Shane O'Connogher, the old servant, had already been telling the family about the approaching danger. Finally they agreed to go, and they loaded up their possessions and went to Derry where Bryan was an apprentice. The Lady and Shane both has survived the massacre of Protestants that occurred in 1641. Her son and other members of her family had died. So although she came from a Catholic family, the O'Neills, she was a devoted Protestant. Her own husband had been a famous soldier, but she promised herself she would keep her son and his son, Bryan, out of military service, and so far she had succeeded. Shane, though, saw it as disgraceful that the M'Alister men failed to follow the military tradition.

In December, after a few weeks of living in Derry, the M'Alisters had settled in. But then the feared threat became real when a Irish Catholic army approached the gates of the fortified town. The leaders of the town were prepared to surrender the city, but the famous `Prentice Boys of Derry seized the keys and locked up the gates of the town. Bryan became one of the leaders of the apprentices. Thus began the siege of Derry that did not end until July

1689. The town leaders, including the infamous Colonel Lundy, reluctantly maintained the resistance to the besiegers.

Bryan and his friend, Ross, were on guard duty one night when another guard captured a young man sneaking into the city. He was a Catholic and he would not say why he came into the town. The guards believed he was a spy and wanted to turn him into Lundy. The prisoner, Larry Magrath, did not think this was wise and implied that Lundy could not be trusted by either side of the conflict. Bryan convinced the guard who captured him to let Magrath stay in his house where Shane, an Irish language speaker, could get information from him. So Magrath became a member of the household. It was quickly discovered that Larry Magrath was Shane's nephew. Although Shane despised having a "Papist" around, he accepted him as a relative. Shane carried on Irish conversations with him but never could determine why he sneaked into the town. Magrath quickly became devoted to the Lady and a faithful companion to Bryan. Thousands of refugees fled into Derry from persecution. An old man, Basil, took up residence in the M'Alister household. He was another Irish-speaker, a very pious man, but rather mysterious.

Lundy and the counsel attempted to send a resolution of surrender, but the "Prentice Boys" prevented this plan from being carried out. Colonel Murray later approached with a

small Protestant army that had fought its way to the gate. Lundy refused to open the gates, but the boys opened it up to him. Lundy and the counsel fled the city and Murray and a fighting minister, Walker took over. A few days later, the Lady and Basil were reading the Bible with the family when suddenly the cannons of Derry began to fire and the artillery of the enemy opened up. Smoke filled the town causing Ellen, who was already getting sick, to weaken. Bryan came in wearing a banner that indicated "No Surrender." Magrath took one to wear too. James II was on the hills observing the artillery duel until a man was killed by a shell right next to him. He left the siege to DeRosen, a French officer, and Colonel Hamilton, a native Irish officer.

That night a minister named Malcolm visited the family and they got into a discussion about the Bible translated into Irish. Basil then told how he served the famous Bedell and helped him translate the Bible into Irish, a deed that ultimately resulted in Bedell's death and Basil's imprisonment. Basil told about reciting passages of the Bible to fellow prisoners, and how some of the guards also listened intently. That Sunday the Derry guards planned a sortie outside the gates. They asked Bryan to join them, but he had determined that he could not in clear conscience participate in aggressive warfare, even though some would believe he is a coward. The Lady believed God would not

bless the violation of the Sabbath. One night, when the shelling is very intense, Letitia and her mother were killed.

The funeral for Bryan's mother and sister brought out discussions of faith, and how they died in peace. After supper that night, Magrath pulled out a scapular which contained a small portion of the Irish scriptures. He then told his story of how his uncle, Dennis O'Connogher, was a guard at the prison that housed Bedell and Basil. It was this uncle who encouraged Magrath's parents to send him off for a good education. When Magrath returned home he found that his uncle was labeled a heretic and kept in isolation, but he managed to sneak into his cell one night. Dennis told him how he had taken on the task to preserve the Irish Bible manuscripts that Bedell had hidden, but he was discovered by the Church authorities and now was being pressured to recant. Dennis gave his nephew a portion of scripture he had hidden in the scapular and had him promise to keep it. He left but later the priest told him that his uncle recanted and took the last rites before he died. This same priest made Magrath go on pilgrimages for penance for associating with a heretic. After this story Magrath began to take a more active role in the family Bible readings, although his conversion to Protestantism was gradual.

Weeks later Governor Walker, the fighting preacher, and Colonel Murray tried to convince Bryan to lead a sortie, but

he explained how he could not do so. Days later Magrath overheard some of the men attacking Bryan's character, and even talking about expelling him from Derry. Magrath confronted an alderman named Crowe: this led to an informal tribunal before Murray and Walker where Crowe accused Magrath of being a Popish spy. Murray said that Magrath was too valuable to the city. The whole matter was dropped, but Crowe had a servant, who is a double agent, to spy on Magrath.

After five months of siege it seemed that William of Orange would never send help to relieve Derry, but the defenders persevered. In a discussion between the Lady and Malcolm, the Lady attacked the Protestant church for allowing wolves to creep in. Tonna was using the Lady here to attack her own contemporary church. The church must testify against the "mother of harlots and abomination of the earth." (146)

Sometime later, Magrath told the family he had been summoned by his priest to come to confession for St. Columkill's Day, and that there would be a cease fire during the celebrations. They tried to convince him not to go, but he felt he must. Meanwhile, the family was busy taking care of wounded soldiers in their home. Everyone in Derry was distressed when they saw the enemy building a boom across the river Foyle to keep ships out. Basil began a ministry to the Irish prisoners, reading the Bible to them in their

native language. A few days later, Magrath returned with a minor wound. Ross had rescued him from the river. Magrath told the family about his adventures. He went to the bishop's house in Culmore. The bishop congratulated him for escaping the enemy, and then sent him to a priest named Peters, the very same priest who persecuted old Dennis and sent Magrath on a pilgrimage. When Magrath refused to disclose the state of Derry, Peters accused him of being a heretic just like his uncle who died in his sin, never repenting. Peters had him placed under house arrest, but an Irish guard, Connellan, who believed the Roman Catholic Irish were being manipulated by the French, helped him escape. He briefly stayed in a cottage of Irishmen and learned that they also were suffering almost famine conditions, and that they distrusted their French allies. Magrath listened to their conversation about killing heretics, and realized that he truly no longer believed the "lies" of Roman Catholicism. He was wounded trying to get back into Derry.

Magrath began joining Basil in his missionary work with the prisoners. This helped him grow into a true Protestant. Meanwhile the siege continued, as DeRosen was now joined by fifteen hundred more French troops. The defenders of Derry could look out from on top of the cathedral and see Captain Kirke's relief ships on the horizon, but the fleet gave up trying to land supplies. Famine began to hit the citizens

and refugees of Derry, as the horseflesh was consumed and now they had to turn to eating dogs and cats. One day the family gathered for devotions. Ellen, who was close to death by this time, pressed Magrath about his salvation, and he then declared to her,

Then carry this comfort with ye, that poor Larry Magrath will never put hope nor trust in living soul, let alone them that are dead, but believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, for `tis he that can save---and make his prayer to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, without cross or crucifix, bead or wafer, or any thing but the blessed Bible itself. Amen. (183)

Ellen was pleased and could now die in peace knowing she would see Magrath again. The whole family and friends gathered around Ellen as she went out into eternity praising God and telling them to keep on enduring for the cause of Protestantism. Ross became ill and Bryan risked his life to get fresh water for him from beyond the gates. Bryan brought Ross into his own household so that the family could nurse him back to health and tend to his uncertain status concerning his salvation.

A new form of horror was introduced to the defenders of Derry when DeRosen's army forcibly removed Protestants from all the farms and villages nearby and marched them below the walls of Derry. The town could not take them in, nor afford to feed them from their meager supplies. They could only stand on the walls and watch these people starve. Walker sent a message to DeRosen that if these people were not

returned to their homes he would order the execution of the prisoners, who included one nobleman and several officers as well as enlisted men. Several of the men now below the wall appeared to be strong, so the counsel decided to have volunteers among the weak and old to exchange places with these men so that these healthy men could help defend the town in any assault. A total of five hundred weak people were exchanged for five hundred strong men during one night. They did this without their exchange being discovered by their guards. Basil and Shane each made the exchange for a healthy young man, in spite of attempts by everyone in the M'Alister household to dissuade them. Basil gave Magrath the Irish Bible and asked him to carry on the ministry to the prisoners, which was more urgent since they may soon be executed.

One day, while up on the wall, Magrath overheard some of the Catholic Irish guards describing their rebellious attitude toward the French, and he could hear how they were close to starving themselves and they hated starving these poor people below the walls. This attitude became generally common among the native Irish and also among the Protestant supporters of James II, so James Stuart ordered the return of the four thousand starving people to their homes. The healthy men who had switched with weak Derry residents went up on the walls to get a final look of their relatives down below. Bryan observed one woman who was clearly dying. She

urged her younger children to leave with her teen age daughter to go back home. She told how she could not return. Her husband, Morrison, watched from the walls, but could not say anything to his wife or children without disclosing the switch. The children left with the crowd. A French officer and three soldiers tried to force the dying woman to leave, but she could not even rise. But then an Irish sergeant, the very Connellan who helped Magrath to escape, intervened to stop the Frenchman and a fight occurred in which the woman was killed. The French officer tried to have Connellan arrested, but the Irish soldiers refused to do so. So the foreigner left.

Morrison joined the M'Alister household. At devotions, they all got into a discussion about the Irish. Ross now had lost his prejudice against the Irish race, and Morrison described how he learned the hospitality of Irish on a visit to Gallway. But he also learned the cruel power the priest, had to cancel out the natural friendliness of the Irish. The Lady told how, in the Catholic church, the wealthy bought the right to sin, but the poor must render services and be prepared to obey the priest's every order. Magrath asked about a curse he had seen a priest put on an unrepentant individual in which the person suffered crop failure and other deprivations to the point of total despair. Bryan assured him the priest had no real power to call down such a curse. Morrison gave the following speech:

"Against this system of Satanic delusion,---against this moral blight and spiritual pestilence, which desolates our country." He told how they would hold Derry, "by God's help, while one stone remains upon another." Though foes pressed them from without, and famine killed off "the desire of our eyes;" and sorrow and suffering "eat away our strength; and hope, perpetually deferred, sickens the hearts that it ceases not to mock." Yet after all of this they "are unshaken: our cause is that of immutable truth, and an immutable God will give us the victory still. NO SURRENDER!" (226)

The next day Magrath arranged for Connellan to come into Derry with Morris's wife's body, on the condition he did not use any of the intelligence he might gather within. While awaiting for the time to retrieve the body, Magrath and Murray got into a discussion about the cause they were fighting for in Derry. Magrath said that he had learned that "They are God's enemies that wouldn't let his mighty works be made known to the people; and they are Ireland's foes who blind her people from seeing the glory of God's truth." (232)

Morrison, Connellan, Bryan and Magrath carried the bier containing the body to the cathedral. Magrath worked on converting Connellan and seemed to be making progress when Walker ruined his chances by giving a sermon that referred to the massacre of 1641, "the merciless ban-days of infuriate

Rome." He told how the native Irish were willing instruments of butchering priest who wanted to destroy every Protestant in Ireland. He referred to the "vassals of perfidious Rome." Some of the people cheered, but Connellan yelled out, "Erin go bragh!" After the funeral, Magrath and Connellan got into a discussion in which Connellan could see some of the problems with Catholicism, but Walker's speech convinced him that Protestantism was really a political position held by Englishmen and their allies. He left unconvinced and unconverted. Later, Magrath, Bryan and Ross helped Murray to see how ill advised Walker's political speech was at the funeral. Ireland would never be secure for Protestantism by such tactics. Murray finally understood the difference between real Protestants and political Protestants.

By July 9, the defenders of Derry had to resort to eating tallow. Even the rats were all eaten, and water was even a rarer necessity. General Hamilton sent new offers for safety if Derry would surrender, and the counsel took up the issue. Ross had Magrath and Bryan carry him to a separate meeting of the "Prentice Boys" to discuss the surrender. Bryan convinced them to send a delegation to the counsel headed by himself. But by the time the delegation arrived, it is too late; the counsel had already voted to send representatives to treat with Hamilton for surrender. Bryan still was allowed to give a speech in which he

expressed his belief that King William did not recognize the value of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. In spite of this speech, the counsel announced the commissioners would treat with Hamilton on 13 July in order to surrender Derry to the French and Irish armies. But on the night of 12 July, word got to Derry that relief was on its way, so Walker told the delegates to delay as long as possible. But the French and Irish representatives broke off negotiations because of these delaying tactics, and they began shelling the town more effectively than before.

The fleet reappeared but the boom across the Foyle kept them from coming in with relief. The famine worsened, and the Lady of M'Alister began to die. All the prominent people of Derry, even including Bryan's rival, Crowe, came to visit with the Lady. Tonna used her to give a speech to her own generation. "Ay," said the Lady, "if our posterity follow up the work of those who now sow in tears, they shall surely reap in joy; but should they suffer themselves to be lulled into thoughtless security, while the enemy sows his tares, they will be compelled to enter anew this conflict, and against sorer odds than what we now encounter." (276)

By the end of July the desperate defenders of Derry launched a major sortie to try to seize the enemy's cattle that they could see grazing on the hills nearby. They failed to capture any cattle but did bring back sacks full of potatoes. In the fierce fighting in which the weakened

Derry men fell over when they fired their muskets, they inflicted three hundred casualties and only suffered three of their own number. Everyone considered this divine intervention. The Lady, though, could not rejoice over the sending of so many men to eternal damnation. This led to a discussion with Bryan and Ross about how God had punished Derry's inhabitants for constantly violating his Sabbath by sending out sorties on Sundays.

The governor called for a meeting in the cathedral for supplicating God, for now the food supply was completely depleted. On 28 July 1689 thousands of Derry's survivors dragged themselves into the church. Bryan and Magrath carried the Lady into the cathedral. Walker gave a sermon about how God had always upheld his cause in the past and would not neglect them now. After the sermon he mingled with the congregation. Suddenly cheers began to come from the men on the wall. Everyone rushed up on the walls or on top of the cathedral. Bryan helped his grandmother up to the top of the cathedral. They saw the ship, Mountjoy, sailing past the fort at Culmore, held by Catholic Irish. The ship damaged the fort and then headed toward the boom at a high speed. The ship cracked the boom but bounced off and ended up grounded in shallow water. The besiegers prepared boats to board the Mountjoy, but the captain of the ship ordered his men to fire a broadside. After the smoke cleared, the defenders of Derry saw the Mountjoy floating

free. The broadside had lifted it back to deeper water. It sailed past the damaged boom and up to Derry. The men rushed down to open the Ship gate to allow it in. The Lady was able to live long enough to see all this; then she died, praising the Lord. Magrath gave a speech upon the Lady's death about how, before he met her, he was bound for hell, but now was destined for heaven, and would see her again. He pointed to his Irish Bible and told Murray, who had come to see the Lady, that it was the only hope of bringing prosperity to Ireland and defeating the Pope. This was the only way Ireland would be conquered, for it could never be captured as long as "Popery" reigned.

Charlotte Elizabeth used the story of the siege of Derry to address the current Catholic-Protestant issues in Ireland. She represented the Pope as the Antichrist who must be challenged. No compromise was possible. The only way Irish would be converted to Protestantism was by providing them the Bible in their own language. Irish-speaking missionaries must go throughout Ireland. Then, and only then, would the island be brought into the Protestant fold.

The Christian Lady's Magazine

In 1834 she took up editing a periodical, The Christian Lady's Magazine. She used it to seek relief for "the cruelly oppressed and impoverished Irish clergy." She constantly took up the "sacred cause of Protestantism," and

found the Lord prospering the work beyond her best hopes. She continued editing the magazine up to the time of her dying in 1846. Below, are some samples of articles up to 1840. The articles of the eighteen-forties are examined in the next chapter.⁵²

As editor, Tonna dealt with practical questions about concerns upper class women faced. For example, an letter to the editor in the June 1834 issue concerned itself with the problem of ladies sending their servants down to tell visitors that they were not home when really they were home but did not want to receive visitors. Tonna responded by telling how it was a sin to force a servant to lie for her mistress. It was not impolite to refuse to receive unsolicited visitors. Also, one should not receive visitors on the Sabbath day, and this position should be expressed to all their friends. The Sabbath issue was discussed in the November 1834 issue, in which the editor believed that this antinomian habit of violating the Sabbath would only lead to selectively obeying the laws of God one liked and disobeying the others. She then went into some detail about the sin of riding in a carriage to church. One should walk, for the law of the Sabbath forbade the working of one's animals on the Lord's day. In the December issue of that year, Tonna discusses the sinfulness of employing unmarried wet nurses. The June 1835 edition contained Tonna's article about the cruel treatment of women in China. The issue of earning

money by holding bazaars was another concern addressed in the May 1836 issue. Tonna believed that ladies would better serve charities by simply donating money or goods to them than by holding bazaars. For often these bazaars were more social events and opportunities for young men and women to mingle than occasions to earn money for some good cause. Also these bazaars could unfairly compete with local merchants who depended on making a profit to feed their families. The July 1836 issue contained a letter from "X.Q." about the equality of mental capacity between men and women. The author, a man, stated that Adam and Eve were equal in mind and in status. The fall placed Eve, and thus women, in an inferior social status, but her mind did not become inferior. Women may appear inferior simply because of the inferiority of their education. If they received the same kind of education a boy received, they would demonstrate their equal abilities. A woman, "M.A.S.", responded in the March edition by declaring that women were inferior in intelligence, at least in certain areas such as science. She was opposed to equality of education since education was geared to preparing one for his or her proper role in society. Tonna responded to this concern by stating that she was pleased to find a woman "earnestly contending for the undeniable inferiority of her own sex." (120) She stated that she "heartily agrees" with "M.A.S."

Another issue that Tonna worked with was politics. In

the 1834-1835 editions she had a series of articles titled, "Politics," written as a dialogue between Tonna and an uncle. In these articles she dealt with current concerns such as slavery and the work of the late William Wilberforce. "Children will arise and call him blessed." (76) She discussed the continuing struggle against the revolutionary ideas of France. In the January 1835 issue the "Politics" article dealt with the general election and the problem of Daniel O'Connell in Parliament. She insisted that women use their influence to persuade men to vote in godly men.

One important subject Tonna loved to discuss in her magazine was the Irish-language church at the St. Giles area of London. She also helped establish schools there as well. In the January issue of 1836, she listed donors for the causes she supported, especially the various ministries at St. Giles. She wrote articles about how other articles encouraged readers to contribute to particular causes. Then, starting in February 1837, she wrote on the progress of Irish ministries at St. Giles. In March, she started her "Visits to St. Giles" articles that describe the horrible conditions of the Irish living in the St. Giles area. They described her visits to the suffering people there, and how she brought an Irish reader along to translate her presentations of the gospel. She always provided the poor families with coupons for food. She believed it was not

wise to give them money which they might use to buy liquor. These articles are excellent descriptions of the deplorable conditions in that part of London.

Also appearing in The Christian Lady's Magazine, from time to time, were poems, some previously published in other periodicals. One poem, "The Orangman's Submission," stresses Tonna's view of the true loyalty of the defenders of Derry. Another one, "The Grave-Yard of Derry," described her feelings upon visiting the grave yard there. "No scoffer! The bones of the true and the brave/ Would welcome her dust to their Protestant grave...." (June 1838) She considered herself a sister in the cause of the defenders of Derry.

In December 1838 she began a series of articles, "By-Gone Days," that deal with various historical and autobiographical subjects involving Nova Scotia. The December article told about how she believed the Jesuits were spiritually destructive to the Indians of Nova Scotia. The January and February 1839 "By-Gone Days" articles described the coming of the English to Nova Scotia. The March article of this title told how Charlotte Elizabeth believed the Indians of North America were descended from the lost tribes of Israel. She saw their social institutions as clearly showing a Jewish origin. Her July "By-Gone Days" dealt with the religious state of Nova Scotia, and in the last half she described in some detail

her departure from there.

Chapters on Flowers

One of the books compiled from a series of articles, first appearing in The Christian Lady's Magazine, was Chapters on Flowers. Tonna talked about her love of flowers in the first paragraph. She emphasized that this was not a scientific, botanical interest. Instead her passion for flora was based on an appreciation of their beauty, and on how these wonders of nature reminded her of God. This book, though, was not primarily about flowers. For the author presented what she calls, "floral biography." (1) She used a particular flower to discuss a significant person in her life, or an important group of people. These are not cradle to the grave biographies dealing with the whole lives of these individuals, but instead she focused on one, or a few, significant events that demonstrated the working of God in a particular way.⁵³

Twenty-one of the twenty-six chapters used flowers to illustrate the lives of individuals. Two chapters, "Shamrock," and "Holly-Bush" were about Jack Britt, "the dumb boy." Three flower chapters were used as types for the life of a Mr. D, who taught Irish children at St. Giles. Three chapters focused on groups. One of these was about the professing church, another about Ireland, and another about the Jews. The rest of the chapters were about important events in individuals that touched Tonna's life in some way.

One of these floral biographies was about Jack Britt, the deaf boy that Tonna took care of for seven years. She compared him to the shamrock. The shamrock was the plant representing Ireland, and it was only right that Jack should be seen as a shamrock. Also she related the incident of how Jack was reluctant to wear a shamrock on his hat during the St. Patrick's Day shortly after Tonna's brother's death. She accused Jack of not loving Ireland, but Jack, through signs, told him he could not wear a shamrock because shamrocks covered her brother's grave. Tonna was touched by his compassion, but she told him that was an even better reason to wear one, in her brother's honor. The author dealt with several other incidents in Jack's short life that demonstrated his closeness to God, and she concluded this chapter by writing that she wished all Protestants were like her Jack. For he loved Christ dearly and hated Roman Catholicism. Jack particularly hated the way the Church had enslaved his beloved Ireland in Satan's lie. Of course he derived this attitude from Tonna.

Another individual that Tonna compares to a plant was Hannah More. She described the visit of herself, her brother and Jack to Hannah More's house at Barley Wood. Her brother, John, came believing this so called queen of Methodism would be a fanatic or at least morose, as he believed Evangelicals to be. But this visit proved to her

brother that Hannah More was the most charming lady he had ever met. Tonna believed, or at least hoped, that More's influence enabled John to accept the true gospel before his death. Hannah More also impressed Jack, who always praised the dear old Christian lady. More, herself, was impressed by Jack and would ask Tonna about his education. Tonna compared More to the vine, for she was heavy with much fruit for the Lord, not only for the individuals she touched but for the entire nation.

Then there is the chapter on the amaranthus, the flowering grass that grows in the winter. Tonna used this flower as a type of the Jews. They had endured the harsh winter of persecution but they still survived. In this chapter she expressed some of her views about God's Chosen People. She believed Israel would be regathered to Palestine and once again become a blessing to the world. First, the Antichrist, Roman Catholicism, must be destroyed by Christ at his return. Then the Jews would be the rulers of the earth during Christ's reign on earth. But, unlike some premillennialists, Tonna believed those Jews converted to Christianity during this dispensation would have a special part in this restored Jewish nation. She praised those Christians who ministered to the Jews and she believed the Abrahamic Covenant about those who bless Israel will be blessed held true now. Interestingly, she believed Ireland would be especially blessed since, according to her, the

nation had never participated in anti-Semitism, like other European countries. Ireland had also provided many missionaries to the Jewish people.

The Newfoundland Fishermen

Tonna also continued to write tracts, and one example of these tracts is "The Newfoundland Fishermen, A True Story." In this account of her trip into St. John's Bay, and the near collision of her ship with a fishing boat, Charlotte Elizabeth directed the young readers to how God had helped them through difficulties at various times in their lives. Her main goal was to use these times of preservation, relate them to the saving of the fishermen in this story, and hoped that readers would then examine their individual lives in relationship to Christ.⁵⁴

In this narrative, Tonna told how she traveled across the ocean on a large ship with five hundred passengers and crew. In order for this ship to get through the narrow entrance and avoid the rocks, the ship needed to enter the channel with some speed. The danger there was that this area was also a popular cod fish habitat, and fishermen would take their small boats out to cast their nets in the shipping channel. At this point Tonna broke off the narrative to remind the reader how fishermen cast their nets, pull them up and throw back the bad fish. The birds quickly swoop down and grab up these tossed fish before they can go down into the depths of the sea. She related this to

Jesus's parable in Matthew 13: 47-50 about the fisherman throwing out the bad fish. She saw the birds, in her observation of the fishermen, as representing Satan speeding to reach and take away the rejected individual to everlasting punishment.

The narrative continued by describing the great speed of the ship coming into the channel. Tonna moved up to the front of the ship. She noticed a small fishing boat up front and to the left. At the present course the ship would clear the boat, but the pilot needed to turn toward the left, and now was heading straight for the boat. The fishermen had looked earlier and believed the ship would go by them with room to spare so they busied themselves with their nets and did not notice the change of course until a few seconds before the bow of the ship was upon them. They looked in terror, too late to jump. The front wake of the ship lifted the boat and then dragged it along the side. The sail caught on a hook on the ship and for awhile it seemed the vessel would pull the boat down under the water, but then the sail ripped and the boat seemed to be wildly launched on behind the ship. Tonna quickly lost sight of the damaged but floating boat. She hoped the fishermen realized that God had preserved them from death and would give him praise.

To Tonna, the ship illustrated the rapidly coming day of judgement for the individual. There were those people

who realized they were sinners and threw themselves on God's mercy, realizing they can do nothing to save themselves. But others put off the decision of salvation. They wanted to continue to have fun and believe that religion would interfere with their indulgence in the pleasures of the world. They decided to consider the issue of their eternal destiny some other day. The day of salvation is now, said Tonna. The day of judgement approaches like that swiftly moving ship. She exhorted the reader not to put off the decision to accept Christ's provision to another day. There may not be another day.

Concerns about Ireland

Her last letter, Letter Seventeen, devoted much space to Ireland. The organized war against the property of the Irish Church began. The operation of Captain Rock had only been preparatory for the open war against the established Church. One morning Dr. George Hamilton (1783-1830) answered his door and five peasants invited him to step outside. From there he saw the nearby field filled with hundreds of armed men. He slammed the door behind him, so the attackers could not get inside. The Hurlers, as they now called themselves, threatened him violence if he did not dismiss his proctor and if he continued collecting the tithe from the Catholics. After they left he appealed to the government for a strong body of police to protect his house and family.⁵⁵

Sometime later, a party of Hurlers returned and surrounded the house. The officer in charge of the police met with their leader, and a parley was demanded. The leaders of the Hurlers said they would agree to terms, but they needed to hold the parley at a nearby field. So the police headed for the field. At one point they had to walk along a path with rock walls close in on both sides. At this spot the Hurlers began attacking the police from both sides. Quickly they were murdered almost without resistance.⁵⁶

One wounded policeman, "who had miraculously escaped with his life," ran to Vicarsfield and fell to the floor, covered with blood. Everyone panicked, and as soon as possible Dr. and Mrs. Hamilton disguised themselves and escaped to Kilkenny in a common cart. Later they came to England, "for ever exiled from their beloved and lovely home, and in fact stripped of every thing; for to recover tithe in that parish was now impossible." Dr. Hamilton, wrecked in body by the experience, died a few years later.⁵⁷

Several of the murderers were arrested and tried but none of them could be convicted, since no one on a jury was willing to risk the lives of his own family to convict the killers of the policemen. After this it was clear that the Established Church could be attacked without penalty. A general movement to refuse to pay the tithe quickly spread.

Soon the clergy found themselves close to starvation. They had to sell their books and other items just to stay alive. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and a large number of clergymen, noblemen and gentlemen assembled at Freeman's Hall in December 1835, to consider the plight of the Irish clergy. Tonna attended the meeting. The discussions led to the recognition that the people of Ireland were trying to extinguish the Church there. This meeting cheered the spirits of the Irish clergy because the leaders decided to support them fully.⁵⁸

One Irish clergyman Tonna takes note of is "the late and last Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Trench. He is the last archbishop because his was one of the sees struck down by Parliament." She sees Dr. Trench as "a prelate on the apostolic model: so lovely a character I have rarely met with." He had a burning love for his native Ireland. "He protested to the last against the wicked Bill of 1829, and predicted what has followed." He fought against national education in Ireland, which he saw as aimed at Protestantism. He labored to spread the gospel in the Irish language, and he supported Tonna's church in St. Giles. He died for grief over his native land.⁵⁹

In contrast to Dr. Trench was Daniel O'Connell. He was the "great apostle of all evil, rending the wounds of his poor lacerated country, and clashing from her the soothing drought of peace." Tonna had joined in an organization

fighting against slavery, but when she learned O'Connell had been allowed to speak at an anti-slavery meeting, she had to withdraw from all connection with the group, for she held O'Connell responsible for the lives of many murdered in Ireland. He had such a strong influence on his fellow Irishmen. "It is an awful thing for men to possess influence over his fellows. No talent is so rich, none so liable to abuse, and surely none of which the Lord will more rightly inquire how it has been applied."⁶⁰

Letters from Ireland

In 1837 Tonna visited Ireland. If those advocates of the "healing measure" of 1829 had been correct then she should have found

the Established Church flourishing in the warmth of that brotherly love so freely promised by the grateful recipients of the long-sought boon, and doubly secure under the protection of their sworn amity. I should have found the Roman population peaceable, contented, every way improved; dwelling in the sweetest harmony with their Protestant neighbors, and encouraged in all loyalty by a priesthood now become the faithful liegemen of the British crown. But I did not expect to see this optimistic picture, and I was not disappointed. Instead I found Popery rampant, insolent, overbearing, and evidently calculating on soon possessing the land in undisturbed security: Protestantism depressed, discouraged, menaced, and barely enjoying an uncertain toleration, on the other from the mass of the Romish populace: the children of the poor removed from those scriptural schools which were rising up on all sides during my former sojourn, and placed under the power of the enemy, backed by full government patronage.⁶¹

For awhile, Tonna travelled with an army attached to the house of Brunswick. Neither the military or the

constabulary intimidated the Ribbonmen, who were to gather for a general massacre of all but their own class. She found the surviving Established Church "shining with clearer lustre than ever before; indicating, not the approaching success of Antichrist, but the preparedness of God's people to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand." Tonna believed the cause of Christ would never be wholly lost, and there would always be a Protestant presence in Ireland.⁶²

In 1838, she published the articles she had written for The Christian Lady's Magazine about this trip to Ireland. Her Letters From Ireland 1837 is a travel log full of political and social comment. She traveled with a Mr. W and two unnamed boys, one English and one Irish. They arrived at Waterford, and from there up to Dublin. From there she took a side trip to visit the site of her brother's death. Then the journey brought her into the northern counties, and ended in Londonderry. Her book is an excellent account, describing the scenery and the villages and towns she visited. What is more significant is her depiction of the Irish people. Although she saw the Irish as the friendliest race on earth, she did report on incidents where she was mistreated and even defrauded by citizens of Ireland, so she is objective in her description. This travelogue is a good source for the difficulty of travel before the railroad came to Ireland. Tonna found a certain pride in her enduring

these rough and sometime hazardous coach rides over the unfinished roads of this country. She also found fulfillment in her physical fitness for her forty-seven years age. For instance she impressed herself, as well as her companions, by the way she was able to keep up with her younger companions on their climb of Mounc Mountain in County Down.⁶³

The real value of Letters From Ireland is the abundance of political and theological comment, as well as social commentary. Originally these letters appeared in The Christian Lady's Magazine, and they each were written at the end of each day of her trip, so they reflect her on-the-scene opinion and not views of events filtered by any length of time. "My purpose is," wrote Tonna, "simply, to read Ireland as I read an important book; to receive no text without a careful examination of the context" (375) In the process of this reading she commented on important issues concerning Ireland. One subject she took interest in was the Protestant schools that teach the Bible in the Irish language. She made several visits to "Scripture school" and to contrast them she would also occasionally observe national schools in action. She already came with a hatred of these national schools that were supposed to be objective. She reported that the Roman Catholic church used these schools to indoctrinate young Catholics and to influence Protestant children who enrolled in them. Parents

believed there would be no religious teaching except at specific times, when these children would receive separate training. But Tonna showed that even the text books selected taught Catholic principles, as well as explicit dogma. She attacked these schools where the Bible was excluded and was replaced by "a mutilated extract, unfaithful even in its mutilation." The children were taught from these textbooks "debasing fables of monkish superstition, all the contaminating licentiousness of the lowest class of immoral and indecent publications," which were "zealot in popery and sedition." (380)

Another major issue in her account was Protestant ascendancy in Ireland. To Tonna, "Protestantism is, in fact a distinguishing name for true Christianity." (447) She saw the Orange cause as God's cause. She believed the laws virtually making Orange meetings illegal as unjust, for these Protestant organizations were defending the true church against the Antichrist in the form of the Roman Catholic church. Visits to the River Boyne and particularly her visit to Derry enhanced her awe of the Orangites and their struggle for Protestant ascendancy. Every part of the fortified city of Derry was a holy site in God's cause. She felt she was walking on holy ground to be in the cemetery under the cathedral. She saw the whole of Derry as a monument to the holy cause of Protestantism.

In addition to these more political and social aspects

of her journey in Ireland, Tonna also enjoyed more personal moments. Her visit to a deaf and blind school in Dublin brought her much joy to see these children learning the Bible. The Religious Tract and Book Society, visited in Dublin, reminded her of the importance of this organization in providing her both a place of ministry that could use her talents, and a source of income when she needed it the most. Her journey to Lough Ouel, where her brother drowned, is the most emotional account in this book. This pilgrimage gave her closure concerning the death of her brother. She talked to people who knew him, and to witnesses who saw the boat overturn, and to those individuals who tried to revive him. She even petted her brother's dog which was now very old. She came away from this place with a greater feeling of peace about the death of her brother.

Letters From Ireland is a major source for knowledge of Charlotte Elizabeth's political, theological and social views. In addition, any student of early nineteenth-century Ireland can find a prime source for Irish society at that time period. This is one of Tonna's most important works which has been neglected by those who study her.

Antinomianism

Eschatology was another subject Tonna dealt with in her memoirs. She was "looking in breathless anxiety for the next movement among the powers of Europe, in reference to the east." She already had seen the blow struck at Navarino

and the drying up of the Euphrates. A movement of the mountainers of Syria has made a battle at Armageddon more likely. "Blessed are they that watch?"⁶⁴

"A real period of persecution may soon come from Satan," wrote Tonna. "He will try to dress up some of the old heresies in raw clothing and try to resell it to the church." But Tonna had been preserved from Socinianism, Popery, Irvingism, Puseyism, and most of all she had been saved from participating in schism by separating from the Established Church. She went on again to defend her remaining in the Church. "I set little by the bare succession however apostolical; and of infallibility I believe we are all alike destitute, all alike liable to err." Yet she conceded episcopacy to be the scriptural form of church government, "and that our own comes as near the original constitution as any." She believed the state should "provide due religious teaching and public ministrations of ordinances for its subjects." She realized the Church had been imbued with various doctrines but she could shake them off and worship according to her conscience.⁶⁵

In her study for her abridgment of Foxe's English Martyrology, she learned the true doctrines of the Reformation. She was convinced they are true to scripture. "By the same standard let us prove all things, that we may hold fast to that which is good."⁶⁶

She came under the influence of an antinomian teacher. He strenuously stressed the doctrine of free sovereign grace. He greatly magnified God in the saving of soul, "wholly independent of aught that man can do." After investigation she became convinced "the vilest system of moral licentiousness might be built on such a foundation as he laid." She studied the discourses of Peter and Paul in the Book of Acts, and concluded from them that this antinomian teacher was full of "perverted" notions. "It is a most deadly thing this antinomianism; and I believe all extremes in doctrines where good men have much differed to be dangerous; while at the same time they are very deluding, for we all love to go far in an argument, or under the influence of party spirit."⁶⁷

Another group she found intriguing were the Friends. There was a certain "inviting aspect imparted by inapproachable lives and amicable disposition of the Friends, to their peculiar mode of thinking." They made their religion very attractive to her. On examination however, she found their rejection of the sacraments and other minor problems.⁶⁸

She concluded her memoirs by stressing the point that she has labored for the Lord as best she could. "The Lord has accepted at my hand one offering, in the case of the precious dumb boy, receiving into glory through his rich blessing on my efforts." But she had been left with her

nephews to care for. She saw God as a "very gracious Master." She looked with anticipation for the return of the Lord Jesus. She quoted Revelation 22, "Even so, Lord Jesus: Come quickly. Amen."⁶⁹

NOTES

1. Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna, Personal Recollections in The Works of Charlotte Elizabeth with an Introduction by Mrs. H. B. Stowe, 2nd ed. (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1845), 93; The following are books dealing with Catholic Emancipation: Walter L. Arnstein, Protestants Versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England: Mr. Newdegate and the Nuns (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1982), Elie Halevy, The Liberal Awakening (1815-1830) trans. E. I. Watkin, (London and New York: Ark Paperbacks, 1987), Brian Jenkins, Era of Emancipation: British Government of Ireland, 1812-1830 (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), G. I. T. Machin, The Catholic Question in English Politics 1820 to 1830 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), Fergus O'Ferrall, Catholic Emancipation: Daniel O'Connell and the Birth of Irish Democracy 1820-30 (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1985), James J. Sack, From Jacobite to Conservative: Reaction and Orthodoxy in Britain c. 1760-1832 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), George MacCaulay Trevelyan, Lord Grey of the Reform Bill: Being the Life of Charles, Second Earl Grey (London: MacMillan Press, 1929)

2. Tonna, Recollections, 93; John W. Kennedy, The Torch of the Testimony (Goleta, California: Christian Books, 1965), Kennedy states, "Christianity in England was at first comparatively free from Catholic influence, but much of it was destroyed in the Anglo-Saxon invasions from the middle of the fifth century." (163)

3. Tonna, Recollections, 93.

4. Ibid, 93-94.

5. Ibid, 94.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid; Tonna's remark that men are the "superior sex" is another evidence she was not a proto-feminist; Judges 4-5 and I Samuel 12:11 tell about Barak who was a Judge of Israel who would not lead his people in battle without a woman, Deborah, to help him.

8. Tonna, Recollections, 94-95; Mona Wilson, Jane Austen and Some Contemporaries (London: Cresset Press, 1938), 201.
9. Tonna, Recollections, 95; Christine L. Krueger, The Reader's Repentance: Women Preachers, Women Writers, and Nineteenth-Century Social Discourse, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 129; For a description of the ineffectiveness of the petition process, see, D. G. Paz, Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 30-35.
10. Tonna, Recollections, 95-96; O'Ferrall, 159, 178, 207.
11. Tonna, Recollections, 96; Krueger, 130; F. Maurice Powicke and E. B. Fryde, ed., Handbook of British Chronology (London: Office of the Royal Historical Society, 1961), 241.
12. Tonna, Recollections, 96; Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930 (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1970), 19; DNB vol. 12, 690-691.
13. Tonna, Recollections, 97; Robert Huish, Memoirs of George the Fourth, Vol. 2, (London: Thomas Kelly, Paternoster Row, 1831), 320; The Annual Register, (London: Printed for Baldwin and Cradock, -1830), 96; DNB, vol., 19, 1118, Tonna's Recollections are used as a source for this entry.
14. Tonna, Recollections, 97.
15. Ibid., 97-98; Huish, 300.
16. Tonna, Recollections, 98-99.
17. Ibid., 99.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 99-100; Clara Lucas Balfour, Working Women of the Last Half Century: The Lesson of Their Lives (London: W. & F. G. Cash, 1856), 36-37.
20. Tonna, Recollections, 100.
21. Ibid.; Balfour, 37.
22. Tonna, Recollections, 100; Balfour, 37-38.
23. Tonna, Recollections, 102-103, Balfour, 38; DNB, vol. 2, 105-108.

24. Tonna, Recollections, 103-104; Balfour, 38-39.
25. Tonna, Recollections, 104; Balfour, 39.
26. Tonna, Recollections, 104-105; DNB, vol. 10, 118.
27. *Ibid*, 105-106.
28. *Ibid*, 106-107; Premillennialism is "The view which asserts that Christ will come a second time before the 1,000 years of His millennial rule, upholds a general chiliastic theology of Millennialism, and places the rapture of Saints, the first resurrection, the Tribulation, and Second Advent before the Millennium in prophetic time sequence, with the brief release of bound Satan, the second resurrection, and Last Judgement afterward." (799), Postmillennialism is "An optimistic type of theology which predicts a 'golden age,' a Christianized millennium of predominantly human achievement before the Second Advent and the subsequent eternal realm." (794), J. D. Douglas, ed., The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1978).
29. Tonna, Recollections, 107; Irvingites were followers of Edward Irving (1792-1834). Irving was a millenarian who encourages speaking in tongues during public worship. He was an opponent of political reform and Catholic Emancipation. Douglas, 517; See also, Arnold Dallimore, The Life of Edward Irving: The Fore-Runner of the Charismatic Movement (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1983)
30. *Ibid*, 107-109; Dallimore, 110-111. Irving saw the "healing" of Miss Fanecourt as an authentication of the restoration of the Apostolic gifts.
31. Tonna, Recollections, 109; Dallimore, 96-97. Irving was tried for heresy because of his views on the nature of Christ.
32. Tonna, Recollections, 109-110.
33. *Ibid*.
34. *Ibid*, 110-111.
35. *Ibid*, 111; Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna, Jack, the Dumb Boy; or Christ's "Red Hand" (New York: American Tract Society, 18--), 34; British editions, The Happy Mute: or the Dumb Child's Appeal, Fourth edition,

American Tract Society, 18--), 34; British editions, The Happy Mute: or the Dumb Child's Appeal, Fourth edition, (London: L. B. Seeley & Sons, 1835).

36. Tonna, Recollections, 111-112.
37. Ibid, 112-113.
38. Ibid, 113.
39. Ibid, 113-114; Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna, Chapters on Flowers (London: Seelys, 1848), 33-34.
40. Tonna, Recollections, 114.
41. Ibid; Tonna, Jack, 35-37,40; Tonna, Flowers, 41.
42. Tonna, Recollections, 114-115.
43. Ibid, 115.
44. Ibid, 115-116; See the "Visit to St. Giles" articles in The Christian Lady's Magazine.
45. Tonna, Recollections, 116.
46. Ibid. See Halevy, 22-32.
47. Ibid, 116-117.
48. Ibid, 117-120.
49. Ibid, 120. For the Oxford movement see Horton Davies, Worship and Theology in England: From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 243-282.
50. Tonna, Rollections, 120.
51. Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna, Derry, a Tale of the Revolution (London: James Nisbet, 1833). American edition cited here Siege of Derry, or: Sufferings of the Revolution (New York: John S. Taylor & Co., 1841).
52. Wilson, 201.
53. Tonna, Flowers.
54. Charlott Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna, "Newfoundland Fishermen" (New York: Lane & Tippett, 1946)

56. Ibid, 121.
57. Ibid, 121-122.
58. Ibid, 122; Powicke and E. B. Fryde, 212, 241.
59. Tonna, Recollections, 123.
60. Ibid, 123-124.
61. Ibid, 124.
62. Ibid.
63. Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan Tonna, Letters from Ireland 1837 (London: R. B. Seeley & W. Burnside, 1838)
64. Tonna, Rocollections, 124.
65. Ibid, 124-125.
66. Ibid, 125.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid, 126.

CHAPTER 4

CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH: THE FINAL YEARS 1840-1846

Charlotte Elizabeth Browne Phelan's Personal Recollections was finished in 1840. She lived until 1846, so for the rest of her very busy life we must primarily depend on her second husband, Lewis H. J. Tonna's Memoir of Charlotte Elizabeth Embracing the Period From the Close of Her Personal Recollections to Her Death, published in 1847. The publisher's introduction reminds the reader that Charlotte Elizabeth strictly forbade the use of her correspondence after her death, so works like this by her husband must be turned to in order to see what she did in the last six years of her life. Lewis Tonna reminded the reader that Charlotte intended to continue her Recollection, but the last six years were some of the busiest in her own memoirs. "The following brief and imperfect outline is," wrote Lewis Tonna, "therefore the only substitute that can be offered for her own more comprehensive and perfect plan."

He then went on to describe his wife's life.¹

Protestant Association

In 1836 Charlotte moved from Edmonton to Blackheath, where she remained until her removal to London in 1845. In 1837 she returned to Ireland, "the land of her spiritual birth." Her Letters from Ireland is a "graphic account" of that visit. She heard of Captain Phelan's death that same year, and in February 1841 she married Lewis Hypolotus Tonna (1812-1857). "In taking this step, unexpected as it was to her friends, she only sought counsel of the Lord; nor did He withhold His guidance and blessing; and while the enjoyment of domestic happiness and peace did not induce any relaxation in her desire to work in the Lord's vineyard, He was graciously pleased to open to her new and extended spheres of usefulness."²

In 1841 the Committee of the Protestant Association requested Charlotte to edit the "Protestant Magazine," their official organ. Her name was not announced, but she continued as she had before, in writing articles for the periodical. The paper, "The Watchman," was always written by her. In it she continued to expose the works of "Popery." She also showed the more subtle manifestation in

the Established Church in the form of Tractarianism and High Churchmanship. She received many letters attacking her, and editors of some periodicals cautioned not to admit anything written by this writer as "he" is very dangerous.³

In the same year Charlotte began Judah's Lion. This was published month by month in the Christian Lady's Magazine. This was her last fiction work, for she became convinced that works of fiction were inconsistent with "Christian sincerity and truth." She admitted that God had given blessing to her previous works, but she saw the reception of such work "to an unhealthy tone in the public mind." She believed that attributing works of the Holy Spirit, prayer and answers to prayer in the actions of imaginary people as "something like profanation." She had difficulty finishing the last chapters of Judah's Lion. But she did finish it. Fictitious narrative was a pleasant recreation to her and not hard work. Her deafness enabled her to shut out the real world around her and helped her to concentrate on the lives of her characters, which for her took on temporarily a life of their own. She never wrote out a plan or general sketch, nor did she outline the story in her own mind. The principal character found its origin

in some living prototype. While writing a book she would discuss the characters as if they were real people.⁴

Helen Fleetwood

Concerning Tonna's novels on the plight of factory workers, of which Helen Fleetwood is included, "E. B. H." wrote in an article in The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany, that "for a class of minds, to which Dickens is little known and perhaps forbidden, she has furnished similar food, and some respects more wholesome stimulus," in her depiction of factory life in England. She "shows the enormous wrongs and terrible suffering of those, who are doomed from infancy to the merciless labor of the mills." Helen Fleetwood "is entirely devoted to this object, and with few faults, less a powerful interest and noble moral."⁵

Helen Fleetwood is the most thoroughly studied novel by Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, and so I will only briefly summarize this novel. It is the story of Helen Fleetwood, an orphaned girl of sixteen. She had been adopted by the Widow Green, who was also rearing four of her grandchildren left by her late son. There were Richard, age seventeen, the "man of the house;" James, thirteen, and rather sickly; Mary, eleven and very energetic; and then there was very

spiritual Willy, age eight. Mrs. Green leased a small farmhouse in a small village. All of the older children contributed to the family income by doing odd jobs around the village. They went to school and left a pleasant country life. Mrs. Green brought the children around the old family Bible every day and led them in discussions of spiritual matters and related them to events going on in the world.

But, then things begin to go bad for the Green household. The old man who had leased the farm through his lifetime was dying, and his son would not renew the lease. So Mrs. Green sought aid from the parish council, to provide her with a house and jobs for her older children. While two of the council members were gone, the rest voted to remove the Greens from the parish roles in order to meet the budget restraints they found themselves in.

An agent from a factory town came by the Green house. Unknown to Mrs. Green, he had been sent by the members of the council who wanted to see the family removed from the parish. The agent persuaded the widow that all of her problems would be solved by the family moving to the factory town, where the older children could work in the factory.

He painted a pretty verbal picture of wonderful schools and plentiful churches. Now, it happened that one of Mrs. Green's daughters, Sally Wright, lived in that town, and that the first letters the widow received from her daughter also made factory town life seem wonderful. But she had not heard from her in months. The widow, though, felt it was their only chance to survive, so she signed a contract to move to the town. Meanwhile, Richard got a job at the estate of one of the prominent gentlemen of the village, so he did not go to the town. The rest of the family packed up and took a boat ride down the canal to the factory town.

The family arrived at the daughter's house, and they quickly discover that life was nothing like that depicted by the agent. Sally Wright let her mother know that life was very hard there. All the children worked long, hard hours in the factory, except for Sarah, who was slowly dying from consumption. That night, the other children came home from work, dirty and exhausted. There was Phoebe, Charles and James. All three children were crude and clearly unchurched. The Greens stayed at the Wright house for about a week before moving to their own house. During their stay with the relatives, the Greens presented the message of the

gospel through word and deed. Only Sarah began to respond to the message.

Helen and Mary went to work in the same factory as Phoebe and Charles. The new girls soon learned the harshness of factory life. Helen soon got the reputation of one who believed she was better than anyone else because she would not adopt the ways of those around her. Phoebe made this worse by spreading rumors that ruined Helen's reputation. Mary, on the other hand, began to join in with the crude ways of those around her.

Helen found one friend, a little girl named Katy, who actually worked inside the machinery clearing out the loose threads. Katy was Irish. She lived with her widowed father who was too ill to work. The Greens took in Mr. Malony and Katy. They constantly witnessed to the Irishman and his daughter. Mrs. Green even found someone to read the Bible to Malony in Irish. Both Malony and his daughter became Protestants. Malony died, leaving Katy in Mrs. Green's care until one of Katy's relatives took her back to Ireland.

Meanwhile, the Green's financial situation worsened, as James began to become weaker to the point of death. Sarah died rejoicing in her own assurance of salvation, thanks to

the message of constant secret letters from Helen. Sally Wright became angry over her daughter getting religion before her death. Phoebe sank into deeper degradation, and eventually she ran off with a sailor.

Helen began to suffer a series of beatings from a particular foreman. She kept collapsing and falling behind in her work. Factory life and the harsh treatment of her fellow workers had worn her down. When Mrs. Green found out about the beatings she went to various authorities to seek an end to them, but she had no success. She even went to the home of the factory owner, and from there she was thrown out.

Richard, who was doing fairly well back in the village, got word of all the suffering of his family. He went to the factory town in time to witness a commission investigating the beatings at the factory Helen works at. Helen came to the witness stand, but Richard hid behind a pillar so that she would not see him until after her testimony. He hardly recognized Helen who had become so emaciated by this time. Helen testified against the foreman, but because other witnesses seemed to contradict her testimony, the foreman got off with a minor reprimand. Richard joined his family

at their new house which was worse than the previous one. They feasted of the basket of food Richard had brought from the country. James rejoiced that he had the chance to see his brother before he died. Richard went to various agencies to try to rescue his family, but he had to return to the village before anything can be done.

In the end, James died and a month later Helen died praising God and only being concerned about others even to the end. Finally, Richard, with the help of his pastor and the gentleman he worked for, was able to get the rest of the family out of the factories and return them to the village. His grandmother had to live in the workhouse, but Richard found employment for his brother and sister. This is no happy ending, for Richard continued to feel guilty that he could not have done something earlier, and saved Helen and James. He also hated having his grandmother in the workhouse, but nothing could be done. Mrs. Green felt that she had killed her two grandchildren. But it is little Willy who put things in perspective. Neither his grandmother nor his brother was guilty of anything wrong. It was the wickedness of the factory town that killed the children, even more than the difficulty of the working

conditions. Willy called for prayed for the children still working in the factories, and he hoped that the "great folks" who employed these children realized that God must be angry with them. They took such careful attention to the needs and wants of their own children while treating the poor children as mere machines to be used and discarded when they wore out.

Helen Fleetwood has been interpreted in many different ways. Some see it primarily as a social criticism novel, others as a feminist statement. Tonna was mainly concerned about the fact that some of God's most helpless people, the children, were perishing in the factories and mills without knowing the message of the gospel of Christ. Some of these children had not even heard the name of Christ except as a swear word. Tonna believed that boys and girls should spend their childhood in activity of body and mind that enlightens and brings them good health. Neither the wealthy who employ the children in the factories, nor the parents who send them to work should be allowed to continue to do so. Only by changing the natures of all involved in this evil system by immersing them in the principles of the gospel of Christ and the golden rule is it possible to change things for the

better. She favored government intervention, but this would not work if the citizens of the country failed to live by the teachings of Christ.

Judah's Lion

"'Judah's Lion,'" according to contemporary reviewer E. B. Hall, "is one of her [Tonna's] most striking tales, illustrative of their interests in a race, for whose literal restoration she earnestly prays and as confidently looks." He commended this book, "not to the young, but to discriminating minds, as having a great mixture of error and interest, and giving a specimen of her power in religious fiction." It also presented "her view of God's dealings and purposes in regard to his ancient people. That people she generously defends against the violent prejudices and cruel treatment of Christians." ⁶

Judah's Lion was written to proclaim Tonna's belief that religious Jews who become Christians did not have to become Gentile. They could, and should, keep their Jewish practices, but only those based on the Bible. They should not keep the practices promoted by the Talmud. If these Jewish Christians desired to have the special privilege of living in the Holy Land during the Kingdom of Christ on

earth, then they must keep the Mosaic Law, with the exception of blood sacrifices, which had been done away with by the blood sacrifice of Jesus Christ.

This last work of fiction by Tonna told the story of Alick Cohen, a liberal Jew of no religious training, who discovered his own Jewish faith and Christianity, all on a journey to Palestine. Alick's cousin, an Orthodox Jew, was envious of the trip to the Holy Land that Alick is going to take with his father on a business trip. While on the naval ship to Ireland and then to Malta, Alick became close friends with Gordon, the Gunner. "Gordon was not one of those who imagines that a Jew when Christianized must needs be Gentilized also." (219) Gordon taught Alick about his Jewishness and also about the Messiah Jesus Christ. He gave Alick a Bible and Alick read it constantly on the journey. He became acquainted with others on the ship, like a teacher who believed a Jew must become a Gentile when he became a Christian. Then there was the agnostic who eventually convinced Mr. Cohen and the captain of the ship that Gordon was a bad influence on Alick and so they forbade Gordon and Alick's further contact.

At Malta, Alick witnessed a parading of the host by a

group of Catholic monks. He refused to remove his hat as it passed and as a result he was attacked by some of the local people, but he was rescued by his shipmates. He learned that the Roman Catholic church was an idol-worshipping organization, and according to Gordon, was not true Christianity.

On a different ship from Malta to Palestine, Alick became a good friend and babysitter to Charley Ryan, a six-year-old boy who called himself a missionary to the Jews. Alick and Charley's mother, Ester, became good friends too, and spent hours talking about the Bible. She believed as Gordon about Jews not needing to become Gentiles. Upon hearing of his knowledge of Hebrew, she gave him a copy of the Hebrew Bible. Another Jew by the name of Ben-Melchor was also on this ship. He was an orthodox Jew who got into a terrible argument with little Charley when he tried to convince him that Jesus was the Messiah.

At the next port, Captain Ryan, Ester's husband, came on board. He and Alick became the best of friends. Ryan kept confronting him with his own need of salvation. Charley also moved him favorably toward the gospel by his own simple faith.

They arrived at Palestine, and there they met Da Costa, their Jewish guide. Mr. Cohen must return to England but he left Alick in the care of the Ryans so that he could visit Jerusalem. Charley kept reminding him that he would inherit a right to settle Israel in the Kingdom, if he accepted Jesus as Messiah. But Alick still resisted.

On the journey, Da Costa, who has read the New Testament to counter the teachings of the Christians, got into long discussions with Alick. He warned him not to allow the Ryans to convert him. But Alick kept thinking about the Lion of Judah, whom Gordon had brought to his mind back on that first ship. Was the Lion of Judah Jesus, as Gordon insisted? This was the issue Alick kept trying to resolve in his mind.

Little Charley contracted a fever, and everyone feared he would die. They took him to Ramalah, but Charley insisted, that if he was going to die, he wanted to die in Jerusalem. They finally agreed, and the party moved on toward Jerusalem. Once they got there, the Ryans moved in with a missionary, but Da Costa took Alick to stay in the Jewish Quarter. Da Costa acquainted him with a group of learned Jews, Talmudic students. Ryan had warned Alick

about the Talmud, telling him that it was a human addition to the Scriptures. Alick got into arguments with some of the students. Da Costa introduced him to a sad old man, whose son, Wilhelm, was being held in a monastery in order to Romanize him.

Da Costa and Alick visited the Ryans. Charley had almost completely recovered, and he is very glad to see Alick. Da Costa told the Ryans that he and Alick were going out to try to save Wilhelm from the monastery. Even Charley agreed that they should try to save him from Catholicism. He knew there was a risk, but he told Alick that there was no greater love than risking one's life to save a brother.

Alick and Da Costa set out toward the monastery. They traveled with a band of Bedouins. They even darkened their faces and wore Arab clothes. At one point on the journey the Bedouins turned on them and robbed them. They took Alick's box containing his Hebrew Bible. Da Costa was shot in the leg in the scuffle. Soon, a group of Egyptian soldiers rode up and took whom they assumed are renegade Bedouins prisoner. They could not speak English, so they did not know the nationality of Alick and Da Costa. At an oasis a group of British officers, including Gordon, passed

by but they did not recognize the prisoners. Alick was struck in the mouth when he tried to call out to Gordon. The soldiers moved on.

The prisoners were taken to a dungeon in the middle of the night. Later, Alick would learn that they were in Jerusalem. They were imprisoned in a small cell, where Da Costa suffered from his wounds. An Egyptian officer warned them that they might be executed, and that they should confess to robbing a monastery. He did not believe they were really English. While in prison Alick finally confronted the truth that he did believe that Jesus was the Judah's Lion, that he was the Messiah and his own savior. Da Costa was disappointed when Alick tells about this.

The officer came back to take Alick before the Pasha. Alick told them that he was not an Arab, but instead was a Jew who believed in Jesus Christ as his savior. He also told them that he was English. A former English officer who was serving the Pasha, then took Alick under his control to try to convince him to join the Egyptian army, but Alick refused because he would have to convert to Islam. Days later, Alick was taken out. This time he was convinced he would be executed, but instead the English consul, Gordon,

and other British officers took him out of prison. The consul had to interview him first but then the Pasha released him. They told him that it would be several days before Da Costa would be released.

Alick met with the Ryans, and Charley was overjoyed to hear that Alick was now a Christian. Gordon told how he found his Hebrew Bible in the road where the Bedouins had dropped it. He and his companions chased after the Egyptians and discovered they had returned to Jerusalem. That was when they finally were able to convince the consul to intervene. Several days later, Da Costa was released, but he was dying from the infections of his wound. To the end Charley and Alick tried to convince Da Costa to accept Jesus as the Messiah, and that he would come again to set up the Kingdom. Da Costa said, "Come," and then died. Alick and Charley hoped that meant Da Costa accepted his Messiah before he died.

Alick became a short term missionary to the Jews of the Holy Land before he returned to England. He learned that Wilhelm had escaped the monastery and went back to England. There he converted to Protestant Christianity and was going to marry Alick's cousin, Esther. Alick rejoiced that some

day he would be returning to the Holy Land when the Kingdom of Israel was established by Christ upon his return.

This book was Tonna's declaration, in fictional form, that she believed in the literal return of the Jews to Palestine. That was a common enough belief among the Evangelicals. But the belief that converted Jews would inherit the special blessings of the future Israel by keeping the Mosaic law was the belief of a particular group.

Glimpses into Her Daily Life

She never read over a manuscript, but at once sent it to the printer. She then went over the proofs weeks later. The story would then be "almost as new and interesting to her as it could be to her readers." She could look more abstractly after a month, and revive her feeling toward the characters.⁷

According to Lewis Tonna these few years before she was struck by cancer were the happiest of her life. He then went on to describe a typical day. After breakfast she went to her desk and locked everyone out to exclude interruptions. Her two dogs and a splendid cockatoo assisted rather than interfered with her meditations. She would take breaks to go and tend to her garden. She loved

working with her own hands and she knew each plant and its history. The emotions produced in her were similar to the emotions in others stirred by music. She would put on a special diamond ring only when she was writing. The brilliant flashing of the light on the ring actually helped stimulate her mind, assisting the flow of her thoughts and imagination. "Her countenance, at such moments, would light up with animation, and if an inquiring glance were turned to her, she would smile, and add Oh, it was only the diamond."⁸

During her gardening her mind would busily be working on her story. Any interruption would destroy her whole train of thoughts. It was difficult to convince the servants she was just as much "writing" when she was gardening as when she was sitting at her desk. Lewis has a footnote here reminding the reader that communication with Charlotte was through the "finger alphabet." She was so quick at giving and receiving this language that it would be true conversation. Speeches, sermons and conversations themselves could quickly and easily be communicated to her with the greatest of ease.⁹

Her love of gardening was only equaled by her love for animals. She studied their habits, wants and feelings, and

she was understood by them and "seldom did horses, dogs, pigeons, fowls, cockatoos, parrots, falcons, squirrels, dormice and white mice, lead a more undisturbed life of happiness, than when under her keeping." To her the alienation of animals from man was but of the penalty for man's original and habitual sins. Their love to her gave her a foretaste of the time when the curse would be removed. She took as her motto, "My Father made them all!" She tolerated no cruelty to animals, and she stressed kindness to animals with the children. She wrote the book Kindness to Animals to help children.¹⁰

On summer evenings she would take long walks; sometimes ten or twelve miles was not uncommon at the end of the day. The early part of the day had been divided between work at her desk and hard work in her garden. During the year 1842 she wrote Principalities and Powers In Heavenly Places. She delighted to dwell on the subject of angels, and had already written two articles in the Christian Lady's Magazine, January and April 1847, under the title, "Neglected Friends" and signed R. H. F. She also published Conformity, Dangers and Duties, and Falsehood and Truth that same year.¹¹

Danger and Duties

The issue of obedience to authority is the main theme of Tonna's Dangers and Duties. The story began with Edward and Frank Seymour, ages thirteen and eleven respectively, declaring that they would not obey their tutor, Mr. Wright. Their father overheard this discussion and engaged them in conversation about obeying authority. The boys reasoned that Mr. Wright was too strict, and that he did not have their best interest in mind. Yet they would obey their father since he was fair, clearly loved them, and wanted the best for his sons. Mr. Seymour then helped them to realize that rebellion of any kind was very dangerous for the individual rebelling, and for the country. Disobedience to a tutor, or any other authority that a father placed his son under was the same as disobedience to the father. Seymour also discussed buying smuggled goods in which the duty had not been paid as an act of rebellion against the monarch. After much discussion along these lines the boys realized they had been rebellious, and so they apologized to their father and planned to apologize to their tutor. Their father reminded them to "submit yourselves to one another in the fear of God." (31) By doing so they would avoid the

snare of the devil called rebellion.¹²

The next day the boys visited the Taylor estate. Mr. Taylor was the local magistrate, whose son Phil was one of Frank and Edward's best friends. Phil had a dog name Caesar who was very loyal and obedient. They related to Phil the lesson they learned about obedience by using Caesar as an example. They were joined by other boys, including Clarke and Tom, and they decided to go down to the creek. Clarke had his dog, Rover, along. Rover was an example of disobedience, for it would fight to defend its master only if it felt like it at the time. The rest of the time the dog did what it pleased. When they get to the creek, the boys decided to ride a raft. Tom refused to go because he had promised his mother he would not go on a floating craft of any kind without a competent adult piloting it. Clarke accused him of being a coward and a mother's boy. He did not believe he should obey his parents except in order to keep his life peaceful. Otherwise he should do as he pleased, much like Rover. Frank and Edward commended Tom, and so does Phil, who said Tom should keep a promise made to his mother. So the boys decided to walk on to a field instead of rafting.

At a "stile," the path was blocked by a lower class boy, named Martin. He sat on the gate and refused to move out of the way for these "gentlemen." Phil started arguing with Martin, telling him he should make way for gentlemen, but Martin told them that he thought they were no better than himself. Finally, the boys rushed Martin, but he knocked Clarke down and then jumped the fence, where he picked up stones and threatened to hit them with his rocks. A group of railway workers came by, but they refused to come to the aid of the young gentlemen. Martin then said, "Come, now ax me on your bended knees, and may be I'll let you get over." (48) The boys retreated back to the river. Clarke bragged that Rover was ready to attack, but Phil said the workers would have killed it with their pickaxes. Martin clearly belonged to them. Later, Edward and Frank told their father about the whole incident, as well as Tom's refusing to disobey his mother. Seymour told them that nothing could be done about Martin since he was not blocking a public road, and the boys seemed to have been the ones who initiated aggressive action. But, he told them that Martin's actions showed how bad things had gotten in rebellion among the lower classes. He commended Tom, and

remarked about how well his mother was bringing him up. He reminded his sons of the dangers of despising God's authority by disobeying lawful authority, for all dominion was from the Lord. Respect authority as one would respect Christ.

Two days later, Tom came to Edward and Frank to tell them that Clarke was getting a group of boys together to go after Martin. Tom was afraid Martin's railway friends would intervene, and Clarke would be hurt. The boys rushed to the Taylor estate, and they found Phil playing with Caesar out front of the house. Phil would ride out on horseback with a groom, but he did not want to tell his father because Clarke and the others would know he was the one who told on them. The boys did get Wright, the tutor, to come along. Wright told them how Clarke had always been spoiled by his parents, always letting him have his own way. That was why he was so rebellious now. On the way back to the estate, Wright gave them his own life history, about how he had been rebellious and disobedient until faced with the Gospel. So there was hope for change in Clarke if he would only accept the Gospel, which Wright believed he had not done, although he had heard it enough from the pulpit. They all caught up to

Clarke and his party of lower class boys, all carrying sticks. Clarke told them they were going to play hockey, and to explain the presence of his dog, he said he just got out by accident. They then rushed on ahead.

Wright and the other boys got to a hill where they saw Clarke and his group chasing Martin. They got in a few hits with their sticks before he went behind a hedgerow. They could see Clarke's dog, Rover, off chasing some sheep. Phil, on horseback, came up. Caesar followed close by. Suddenly Clarke and his companions were running away from Martin, now joined by some big boys with stones and sharp sticks. Martin knocked Clarke down and began to beat his head. Phil gave Caesar the attack command, and the dog pulled Martin off and pinned him down, but then another boy stabbed Caesar with a stick before he started to run away. Caesar kept holding Martin in spite of his wound. Mr. Taylor rode up with policemen. They captured Martin and two other boys. Caesar must be put out of his misery, and Clarke was severely injured.

A few days later, Edward and Frank came to the Taylor house, where an inquest was scheduled to take place concerning the assault on Clarke. Before the inquest, the

boys attended the burial of Caesar. Everyone talked about the bravery of that dog. Mr. Wright arrived, and compared Caesar to Rover, and told how Rover was killed by the owner of the sheep it was chasing.

The inquiry began. Two policemen watched over Martin, and the other prisoners. Witnesses took the stand, including the owner of the sheep. Mr. Clarke represented his son. Martin claimed that he was just defending himself when he recruited his friends to help defeat Clarke and his group. In spite of the possibility of provocation, the prisoners would be held. Martin blurted out that if they were wearing expensive clothes instead of the gentlemen then they would be free. Mr. Clarke was summoned to his son's bedside, since his injuries now appeared worse than the doctor at first believed. Edward, Frank, and Phil lingered in the ante room with the prisoners and their guards. Phil apologized to Martin about provoking him in the first meeting at the stile. He also talked about how Martin would have to face God for his attack on Clarke. Martin gave him a snide remark, but one of the other prisoners told Phil that Martin did not believe in God, he was a socialist. Edward asked "What's a Socialist?" His father told that a

Socialist broke every command of God, and recognized no country, home, parent, wife, child, brother, sister, or friend. They reduced men to beasts. They took children from their parents to raise them communally. The Socialist wanted to equalize property, end marriage, and eliminate religion. Mr. Seymour said there may only be a few thousands who officially called themselves Socialists, but there were hundreds of thousands who agreed with their views. He told his sons not to underestimate the power of Satan. He explained that government cannot outlaw Socialism, for Christ said that wheat and tares would grow together until the end time.

The boys returned home, and were talking when Mr. Taylor arrived to request them to come to the Clarke house since the boy was probably dying, and he had been calling out for them. Phil told them that he felt he was to blame because he did not tell his father right-a-way when he learned Clarke was going to attack Martin. Mr. Seymour told him that Mr. Wright sent word to his father as soon as he learned about it, so he could not have been there any sooner if Phil had told him. Phil was wrong in failing to do his duty in telling his father, but the events would not have

changed.

They all arrived at the Clarke house. The boys were surprised to find Martin and his fellow prisoners there under police custody. Mr. Taylor ordered them brought over so that maybe the Clarke boy could positively identify them before he dies. The household was not a truly Christian one, and so there was no comfort for the family nor for the dying boy. His mother had even dismissed a servant who had tried to confront the boy with his sinfulness and need for the gospel. She did not believe her boy to be a sinner. The mother had been in a terrible agitated state since the injury, and she had not been able to think rationally.

The boys came into the death room, where they saw their companion with swollen and discolored head. Blood oozed from leech bites. The Clarke boy never could recognize the boys. He called out to hang the dog, Rover. His mother told him Rover was dead but they would hang the pointer if that would make him happy. The dying boy cursed and said terrible things, which was so discomfoting that his father told Mr. Seymour that he wished he had taken more care in rearing him. Mr. Seymour took the boys out of the room. They learned from the doctor that there was no hope, the boy

would die.

Mr. Seymour, Mr. Wright and the boys began to head home. They discussed the events of the day, and the boys were concerned about the ravings of young Clarke. They also were confused by Mrs. Clarke's threat to kill the pointers. Seymour believed some of this can be attributed to the stress of the situation, but he feared that Clarke's cursing and horrible references to friends came from a fallen heart.

But there was yet hope that the gospel, that Clarke has heard many times, may be accepted still. Mr. Wright told about a strongly Protestant boy who had recently been persecuted by his own mother when she converted to Catholicism. The boy was in the position where he must obey and honor his mother but he could not join her in worshiping in the Roman Catholic church. Seymour emphasized to his sons that they must obey authorities above them, but that they cannot obey those authorities when they are commanded to violate the clear teachings of the Bible. Frank asked, "Is a Romanist as bad as a Socialist, sir?" (145) His father answered that Romanism was as bad as socialism. It destroyed the soul no less than the other. The socialist believed there was no heaven or hell, so he gave up concern

about eternity and sinned without restraint. For the Romanist, there was a heaven for those the church was pleased to send there and no others. Both were contrary to the teachings of God. Both were snares of the devil. After they arrived at the house, the Seymours and Mr. Wright planned to pray for Clarke. The reader never knows what happens with poor Clarke.

Dangers and Duties is a very straight forward statement, in novel form, of Tonna's views about rebellion in general, and disrespect among the lower classes. She believed that a Christian should be obedient and respectful to authority, unless that authority wants the believer to violate the Word of God. She also used this book to attack socialism, and to a lesser extent, Roman Catholicism, both of which she felt was infiltrating society.

Falsehood and Truth

Tonna dedicated this novel, Falsehood and Truth to Hugh McNeill. After going through much about the spreading of the gospel, she then reminded McNeill that children were being put in danger because the schools were "over-run with Romish teachers, and over-stocked with Romish books." Foreigners were impregnating the atmosphere of the schools

"with the insidious poison of Popery!" Heterodox doctrines were being preached from Protestant pulpits. "The modest communion table " was "lapsing back into an altar filled for idolatrous service." (v, vi) This book was written therefore to counteract this subtle, as well as not so subtle, infiltration of what Tonna called Romanism.¹³

This is the story of the Roberts family, living in a small town. There were four children, Jane, Philip, Sarah and Frederick, as well as their parents. Mrs. Roberts spent hours talking to her children about how all of nature taught them lessons about God. Discussion of the seasons led to a talk about the idolatry of ancient Israel during Elijah's days. The children could not understand how the Jews would fall into idolatry. Mrs. Roberts warned them that England was now on the brink of falling into idolatry. She talked about latitudinarianism, and said that their pretended liberal opinions would lead to where no one would have to take account of being a responsible Christian anymore. The greatest danger was that Christ would be rejected as the only means of salvation. But Mrs. Roberts showed the children that latitudinarians were not true liberals, for, in reality, they were idol worshipers since they rejected

the uniqueness of Christ. She then returned to Elijah's challenge to the Baal worshipers, and how God accepted his sacrifice and rejected theirs, and how Elijah then led the loyal Israelites to slaughter the priests of Baal. Mrs. Roberts went on into a review of Israel's history.

The family got into a discussion about how Roman Catholics were idol worshipers. To the surprise of everyone, Jane said, "The Catholics do not worship idols, Sarah." (33) Sarah then gave a long speech about her love of the Bible. The Mrs. Roberts asked Jane why she would defend "those who you erroneously term Catholics.?" (35) Jane said she simply thought Sarah was too young to judge what other people do. But Mrs. Roberts feared Jane had come under the influence of friends who were not so certain of their own faith.

All the children, save Sarah, left. Sarah talked to her mother about a preacher who came to their church a few months back who preached about the marks of apostasy, and how they should be able to give a reason for not being papists. She reminded her mother how father thought the preacher was being too controversial and should not be so hurtful. Sarah then told how her sister Jane came back from

a long visit to the Grove House, praising the Catholic priests. When Sarah reprehended Jane for saying this, she reminded her of what their father had said, and that Sarah should not be such a bigot. Mrs. Roberts was very distressed that neighbors should be allowing her daughter to associate with Romanists. Sarah explained that Mr. Walter, master of Grove House, did not like Roman Catholics, but that it was the French governess who was teaching the daughter about Catholicism. The girls, Jane and Catherine Walter, went with the governess to visit the college, and there they became acquainted with the Catholic priests. Mrs. Roberts got into a long talk about how Roman Catholics were idol worshipers, and that anyone coming under their influence was in danger.

The next day the family was all together, including the father. They got into a discussion about idol worshipers, and Philip asked if there were any in England. The father said there are none, but Sarah brought up the talk about Roman Catholics being idol worshipers. Frederick told how he had learned that Roman Catholics, already here, were bringing in other Catholics, and planned to establish a chapel in their own town.

Mrs. Roberts reminded them that the Romanists were not the true Catholics, the Protestants were the true Catholics. She also told how the Romanists forbid the reading of the Bible, how they prayed for the dead, and how they included the apocrypha in their Bible as part of the sacred scriptures.

This discussion caused Jane to break down and confess her associating with Roman Catholics. She came under the influence of the governess of Catherine Walker, and a Mrs. Lindsay, who was convinced the Romanist religion was the true faith. This all led to a discussion of other practices of the Romanists. Mrs. Roberts considered as pagan the Roman Catholic priests, seeing them as the modern prophets of Baal. The Catholics even worshiped the cross itself.

After all of this discussion, Jane was convicted of her error. Jane was now concerned about how Ma'mselle Dupruis, the governess, had influence over her friend Catherine. Mr. Roberts went to the Grove House to try to convince Mr. Walker of the danger to his daughter. When he arrived, Mr. Walker was out, so he was brought into the drawing room to wait. Catherine and Dupuis were looking at a book. They quickly conceal it from him when he walked in.

Mr. Roberts began a discussion with Catherine and the governess. He reminded Dupuis of the tremendous responsibility she had as Catherine's governess. It turned out Dupuis professed to be a Protestant.

Mr. Walker arrived, and he and Mr. Roberts discussed the false conversion of Dupuis. She really was still a Romanist. Mr. Roberts explained how she had taken his daughter and Mr. Walker's daughter to a place to associate with Catholics, through the Lindsay family. Mr. Walker was not aware of all this. He and Mr. Roberts put together a plan to expose the Lindsays and Dupuis.

Later, when they confronted Mary Lindsay, the daughter, she avowed she was a Romanist. She told how she attempted to "rescue" Jane from the religion of Protestantism, which she considered false. Next, the men questioned Dupuis, and accused her of deception. They interviewed Catherine, who confessed that Dupuis and Mrs. Lindsay had been influencing her toward the Roman faith. Mr. Walker fired Dupuis. Mr. Roberts then set out to convince Catherine of the errors of Rome.

Later, Mr. Lindsay received the men, and he was upset about the charges against his own daughter, Mary. Mr.

Lindsay told how many of the Protestant ministers supported the Romanist views of theology.

Four days later, Mr. and Mrs. Roberts visited the home of a man, Mr. Robson, dying. He was a Catholic, and called out for a priest. The dying Romanist was very fearful of death. When Mr. Roberts tried to get Robson to trust in Christ alone for salvation, he rejected that and then called out for the "mother of God," just before he died.

One lesson Mr. Roberts had learned from all these events was that there was a need for controversy. The minister should attack the Romanist religion openly and forthrightly. His own call for toleration almost led his own daughter into Romanism. He and Jane discussed how all the beautiful adorning of the Catholic church had first made that religion attractive to her. This was the first step toward idolatry.

Then Mr. Roberts lamented the movement toward "Popish practices" in the English churches. Only through the reading of God's word will one recognize these Romanist practices. The nation faced judgement for allowing Romanist trappings to creep into their churches. Ultimately, Antichrist, the Roman Church, would be overthrown.

This work by Tonna is pure Evangelical, anti-Catholic

propaganda. Tonna made no pretext of toleration, but instead repeated over and over again that the slightest toleration of Romanism will lead to God's judgement. Equating Roman Catholicism to ancient Baal worship made this fear of judgement seen more plausible. Also here was Tonna's fear that Romanism was spreading about England by foreigners, especially by foreign governess. Her anti-French attitudes come out to, in that she could have made the governess Irish, but she made her France instead. Another theme is the danger of the father of a family not taking his spiritual leadership role, and especially simply not knowing what is happening in his own family. The close relationship of her own father was her model for the perfect father.

Tonna and the Jews

Public events began to absorb her interest. She was overjoyed at hearing of the appointment of the Protestant "bishopric at Jerusalem, and that a Jew, who had been her honored friend for nearly sixteen years, was called, in the providence of God, to occupy this new and important post." Later her views about the Jews would be changed, and Lewis Tonna described these changes in a latter section. At the

time she saw this appointment as an indication of God's favor to His own beloved nation. For a circumcised Jew again had authority on Zion's hills. This event was so unexpectedly "dazzling" to her. She saw this as the beginning of the restoration of Israel. "A Strong Chapter on Flowers," and the "Protestants," appearing in the "Magazine" for December 1841, dealt with this subject.¹⁴

She studied the scriptures concerning the Jews and she came to the conclusion that the covenant granting the land of Canaan to Abraham and his seed forever had never been set aside, "so neither was circumcision, the outward seal of that covenant, to be rent from off the band." She urged the new bishop of Jerusalem, Alexander, to have his sons circumcised when he arrived in the Promised Land. Since much misunderstanding about her views on the Jews had been put forth, Lewis Tonna devoted some ten pages to Charlotte's doctrines concerning the Jews. This is a summary of Charlotte's Israel's Ordinances: A Few Thoughts on Their Perpetuity Respectively Suggested in a Letter to the Right Rev. the Bishop of Jerusalem. The arguments of this book were based on detailed Bible study by Charlotte and her husband. They did not refer to any commentaries, but based

their position on Scripture alone. Charlotte stated that she believed that salvation was based on faith alone. Keeping the law of Moses did not bring salvation to the individual Jew of the Old Testament, and it would not bring salvation to the believing Jew of her own day. Keeping the law, for a believing Jew, connected him to the national promises of Israel, and entitled him to a portion of the land of Israel in the future. A Jew, basing his faith in Jesus, could choose not to be circumcised and follow the law, but that would put him in the position of a Gentile in the coming Kingdom of God. To Charlotte, this meant a lower status, although still blessed. Charlotte searched the Scriptures to see if the command to circumcise every male of the house of Israel had been abrogated. She never found such a cancellation in the gospels nor in the book of Acts, not the Epistles. She believed that Paul taught the Jewish converts to keep all of the Law of Moses, including circumcision. Charlotte then examined the feast of Passover, the wearing of fringed garments, and the abstaining from unclean meats. Circumcision preceeded all these other ordinances in that it was from the Fathers, not the Law of Moses, so a different case could be made for

these other ordinances. Charlotte observed how Paul never told the believing Jews to abandon the national ordinances that could be fulfilled outside the temple. She believed that the Jewish Christians continued as Jews in their practice, even believing priests continued sacrificing lambs, seeing in their shed blood a "lively retrospective type of the one sacrifice--the Lamb of God, whose blood had cleansed them from all sin." She saw further support for her opinion in the Epistle of Hebrews and in the example of the Paschal Lamb. In Israel's Ordinances, Tonna told the Bishop that she was not trying to argue her case, but that she was just stating facts plainly seen in the Bible. She said, "I am protesting against the huge heap of stones that centuries have conspired to pile up in the way of God's people; and with His help, poor, weak, ignorant, insignificant woman as I am, I will gather out some of them." (38)¹⁵

She never taught that Jewish converts must observe the Jewish ordinances, but that they should follow their Christian liberty to follow the teaching of the Holy Spirit. She stressed the teaching of the Gospel to the Jews. She wanted them to hear the Gospel message free of "cease to

circumcise your sons; work on the seventh day Sabbath; throw aside the Talith; and eat swine's flesh." Tonna's position in Israel's Ordinances is argued in a clear, logical way, but her objections to the ending of Jewish law would be met by Dispensationalists and their "parenthesis" theory. They believed the law of Moses was only temporarily set aside during the church dispensation. Then, at the literal reign of Christ on earth, during the Millennium, the law would be restored, including the sacrifices. During the church age, the Jewish believers would be included among the Gentiles.¹⁶

She urged the establishment of an Independent Jewish Press. In 1842 she first saw the "Voice of Jacob," a newspaper recently established in London, and she rejoiced at its establishment. She grieved over the ignorance of Christians about the real state, character, and feelings of the Jews, and how this ignorance hurt the cause of Truth toward the Jews. Charlotte chided the press for attacking the new publication, the "Voice of Jacob," because it stood up for the national Jewish character. She said that all sorts of pro-Catholic publications sprang forth but the press did not attack them like it did this Jewish publication.¹⁷

She saw the importance of the "Voice of Jacob" in that it supported the return of the Jews to Palestine. She gave her full support to this movement with her pen. Soon a real friendship developed between Charlotte and the editor, Jacob A. Franklin. Franklin would comfort her later during her long lingering fight with cancer.¹⁸

In 1842 and 1843 Charlotte wrote, The Wrongs of Women, The Church Visible in all Ages, and Second Causes, or Up and be Doing. But the cause of Israel compelled her to write many articles on the subject in Christian Lady's Magazine. Also she supported Lord Ashley in his fight on behalf of the children and women in mines and factories.¹⁹

Wrongs of Women

Concerning the Wrongs of Women, E. B. Hill wrote in his contemporary review, "The four parts of the "Wrongs of Women" have the same purpose; a very different purpose from that which the title might indicate in these time." He said that this work said nothing of "'woman's sphere,' except that in England it is at home peculiarly. No objects abroad, however worthy, not even the Heathen in Pagan lands," had any greater hold than the hovels of the towns and "the factories and mines of their own Christian

Country." ²⁰ In her introductory remarks, in Wrongs of Women, Tonna stated, "We repudiate all pretensions to equality with man, save on the ground specified by the Apostle, that 'In Christ Jesus, there is neither male nor female.'" Even in mental capacity she had no intention of advancing the idea that women were as intelligent as men.

(397) So, the purpose here was to take special care of women and girls because they were weaker vessels in terms of mind, body and estate.

She divided her account into four parts. She used fiction to convey what she had learned from government and private studies. The first part, "Milliners and Dress-Makers," is about Tom Clarke sending his two daughters to London to learn a trade. Ann worked for a milliner. She worked, bent over her sewing all day, and sometimes well into the night. It is not uncommon to work for twenty hours straight with only ten or fifteen minutes for meager meals. The terrible conditions destroyed Ann's health. Her father came down, and learned from the doctor, that she was dying. They visited Katy, her sister who was working for a dress-maker. Katy complained that she had been promised to be taught the dress-making trade, but instead she was sent to

the shops to get materials. She was healthy, but she had to confront the unchristian comments from the men at the shops, and she had been working for over a year and knew nothing about making a dress. The owner of the shop said Katy was a slow learner, but she would change the situation. The father heard from Ann that the proprietor did not provide Sunday meals, which meant she went out for meals that day, and had fallen into bad company. From then on Katy could take her Sunday meal there, but she chose not too. Soon she became corrupted by her friends, especially after she learned of her sister's death, she ended up in prostitution. Tonna then quoted various reports to show everything in this fictional account was going on daily.

Part II, "The Forsaken Home," dealt with the plight of John and Alice Smith and their five children. John injured his back in his village and could no longer get work, so he traveled to a town with a screw factory, thinking he could get work, now that his hand was getting full use again. He soon learned that the factory was hiring only women. He spent a week looking for work, since he refused to make his wife work while he was physically able to work himself. But he had no choice, and Alice went to work. Now Alice had

been a meticulous housekeeper back in their village, but Alice began to neglect her household duties, and John eventually took to drinking at the local pub. The family had to borrow from the owner of the factory. Alice was required to work her debt off, so they could not even consider going back to the village. Alice had heard and actually seen the result of a drug called Godfrey that women give to their babies to keep them quiet. She swore she would never do that to her own, but when she had another baby her husband began giving the baby Godfrey. She suspected this but did nothing. The baby died. They put their older children in the mills, and later they sent the younger ones to the workhouse. The family collapsed when John took up with another woman. Alice eventually died from overwork and despondency. Here, Tonna gave more documentation to show how the factory system using women destroyed the homes of the poor.

"The Little Pin-Headers" is the third tale. This took up the story of two of the Smith children, Betsy and Joe, who had been forced to work as pin-headers by their stepmother. Their father had joined the army, so he was not around. The children worked for up to sixteen hours or more

putting the heads on pins. The lady who oversaw the work was cruel, and hit the children for the least infraction of a rule. Betsy learned that her older sister Polly had become a prostitute. So these children were left alone with their stepmother. The stepmother had failed to pay the rent so the house was closed up, and the children went to the workhouse, where they were separated. But they still walked to work together. Betsy became ill, and when the supervisor heard of this she came to drag her back to work. Betsy was always asking about her mother in heaven, and how she could get there. No one can tell her. Tonna used studies showing how ignorant even children are who have some Sunday school training. They had no accurate knowledge of the Bible. The solution Tonna suggested was that adults be hired to do the work children were doing now, and also she saw these poor children as a missionary field.

"The Lace-Runners" is about Kate King who was taken to London to become a maid for Mrs. Collins who ran a lace factory in her home. When she was not working at her chores she was to work at embroidering lace, running. But immediately she learned it was the other way around, she worked for twenty hours a day sometimes running lace. This

was a job that weakened the eyes, and weakened the body from sitting so long bent over. Mrs. Collins children worked, even three-year-old Sally. When Mrs. Collins made Kate give her new baby Godfrey, she decides she had to leave. The baby died, and Mrs. Collins was willing to let Kate go. Kate signed up with a man and wife who had bought a machine that required her to work only four or five days a week, for twenty hours a day. She longed to walk in the country again on her off days. But on her days off she learned she was too weak to walk far, and her sight was very weak. She messed up the work one day and was fired. She started walking back to her village, but gave up and returned to town where she took up with bad friends. Tonna implied she went into prostitution. Tonna concluded by appealing to Queen Victoria to change the way the factory system worked. She might not have much real political power but she could influence the people.

Church Visible

The Church Visible in All Ages is a running discussion of a mother and her children. The mother traced church history during the eight-hundred years when many theologians say there were no true believers. She showed how some of

the so-called heretics, such as the Paulicans, Valdensians and Waldensians were actually true believers. Many of these groups were accused of being Manichians, but she demonstrated the differences of these groups and that religion. Although Tonna may be a little strained in making the teachings of these groups fit an Evangelical theology, still she made a case for a continuous flow of teaching of salvation by faith throughout church history.²¹

Last Public Acts

The Emperor Nicholas of Russia visited England in 1844, and Charlotte tried to meet with him to appeal to him to bring some relief to the Jews in his empire. She was told that it was impossible for her to meet with him, so she wrote up a memorial appealing to him on vellum, to be presented to the Emperor. Many bishops, peers, Privy Counselors and members of Parliament signed it. After the Emperor returned to Russia, he sent a "gracious reply" through the Russian Ambassador in London. Sir Moses Montefiore (1784-1885) and the Jewish Board of Deputies also sent a memorial.²²

This was the last public act requiring personal exertion, in which she was permitted to engage. A "slight

nodosity" appeared on the left side of her larynx. Slight at first, it grew rapidly but still unaccompanied with pain or inconvenience, until December 24, 1843, when it was diagnosed as cancer. She resolved not to submit to an operation. Her doctor, Mr. Liston, declared no operation would have any hope of success. It soon opened and rapidly spread, making writing painful and difficult. In the following words she announced her cancer to her readers in the paper entitled, "Magador and the Jews."

And now out of a full heart, we must address our beloved friends on a subject so near and dear to us all, that, though the enfeebled hand which traces these lines is compelled to cease from all other work, it will never relinquish the conducting of the Christian Ladies's Magazine, while life enough remains to make it a medium for pleading this cause. We have been charged with bandying literary compliments with the conductors of "The Voice of Jacob," because our remarks are often quoted in that periodical. We have been taxed with seeking a spurious sort of popularity among the Jews, by putting forth views less opposed to their national principles, than the more orthodox creed of our more learned brethren; or at least with suffering our ardent affection for the race, so to overcome our Christian faithfulness as to induce a compromise of truths unpalatable to them. Now, to all this we have one reply to make, that will pain many who read it: namely, that we are, and have been for twelve months, struck with a mortal disease. For so long has cancer been preying on this worthless flesh, eating away its strength, and rendering that a most laborious and painful toil, which was before a delightful recreation; while many a sharp pang repeats the warning that must compel us to trample under foot any such inducement to compromise as we have been suspected of listening to. No; we never did, we never will compromise

the faithfulness of the Gospel. The Lord (blessed forever be the name of the Lord!) has most mercifully planted this silver arrow in the left side:--the right is free; the right hand forgets not its cunning:--JERUSALEM is not forgotten.

When Charlotte would be in her last death's struggle,
Jerusalem was not forgotten!²³

In response to the Chartist uprisings of 1842, the Christian Influence Society asked Tonna to write a book addressing the crisis that had led to the uprisings, and to also demonstrate that other, even more dangerous revolts would come if society did not deal with the root causes of these uprisings. The book, written anonymously, was titled, The Perils of the Nation: An Appeal to the Legislature, the Clergy, and the Higher and Middle Classes.²⁴

In the introduction, Tonna showed that the "preventative check" on procreation among the lower classes was useless and a violation of the law of God to be fruitful and multiply. Instead, the wealthy's exploitation of the workers should be checked by the government. The government protected wealth while neglecting "industry," by which she meant labor. Parliament created laws that protect the wealth of the land owners and the owners of factories, but the poor worker was virtually ignored. The legislature

should be on the side of industry rather than capital. Parliament, though, continued to protect capital, and as a result, capital prospers but the country had declined and decayed. The solution to these problems was to restrain capital and hold out a helping hand to industry. Some legislation had passed to protect some exploitation of children in certain industries but not enough had been done. The Reports of the Commissioners, the source for Tonna's statistics, should be studied by Parliament, and from them the government should bring about practical relief. As for the rural workers, there was plenty of fertile land which should not be enclosed to grow hay. The land owners recommended colonization for the "excess" workers, while ignoring the fact there was plenty of land in England. Only by implementing real solutions would serious revolution be avoided. Tonna set out to delineate what those real solutions were in her book.

England was prosperous, wrote Tonna in the first chapter, and industry grew, but yet there was real peril underlying this prosperity. So far uprisings had been put down by force without addressing the causes for those uprisings. "Prosperity smiles upon the few; but they are

the many on whom its beams never fall." (8) Yet it was the "many" who provided the labor that provided the wealth of the "few." These wealthy individuals could not survive without the workers. These workers may not be qualified to rule the country, but the well educated wealthy individuals would make poor laborers. The classes needed each other. Once, these classes were at peace, but no longer. The exploited workers were ready for revolt. Something must be done.

There were two facts about England, according to Tonna, England was the most wealthy and powerful empire on the earth, but misery and oppression found here was enough to render the maintenance of social order doubtful. After describing the vast empire, Tonna dealt with the neglect and exploitation of that empire's workers. "Wealth is power." (16) It is those who controlled capital who forced the poor to work for them at very low wages. The poor person had only two choices, to be oppressed or starve. God was the judge of all, and he would bring divine retribution on England if changes were not made. Changes must be made in the four areas of industry and labor: Manufacturing, mining, commercial, and agriculture. In all these fields workers

were forced to work for low wages caused by the so-called surplus population. She examined each field in detail.

There were four oppressive aspects of manufacturing. The first was that the working conditions in the factories were unhealthy and even dangerous. Secondly, the workers were required to work such long hours that they could not maintain their health or even their lives. She believed the conditions inflicted even more damage to women and children. Vice and demoralization reigned unchecked in the factories. Every kind of evil was seen among the workers, caused by their exploitation. Another aspect of manufacturing was that the overworking of the laborers caused infant mortality to be much higher than the rest of the population, and those children who did survive were neglected.

As for mining, Tonna commended the little legislation that Parliament had passed, but still, "the position of a miner is inevitably one of unnatural gloom, discomfort, and imminent peril." (35) She described in explicit detail the horrors faced by women and children in the mines. Also the presence of women and children in the darkness of the mines led to the end of all moral restraints. Even the Sunday schools had little effect on the morals of these minors.

The recent legislation to remove all girls and boys under the age of ten from the mines actually meant the boys, who are apprenticed at ten, received the frustrated abuse of the men caused by the removal of the women and girls. God was watching and he would punish accordingly, wrote Tonna.

Those apprentices in the workshops also were abused. These were workers in the making or processing of hardware, earthenware, paper and tobacco. Beatings, starvation, deprivation of earned wages, and being turned out without any means of support were commonly suffered by apprentices in these industries. The workers employed in sewing and other areas of the textile trade, referred to as the commercial class by Tonna, did not escape exploitation. Most worked on a piecework bases. Some started with a small amount of capital, but others must subsist day by day from their own production. As for those who opened their own shop, they must face low prices caused by over competition. Few of these shops could survive. God was opposed to this selfish principle, and the Bible warned against forcing out one's neighbor and it also opposed not paying a worker his wages. Buying goods at a lower than fair price was exploiting one's neighbor. She then attacked the producing

of shoddy goods in order to make a quick profit. Pirating patterns in clothing manufacturing was also stealing. Fashion dictated industry now, not quality. Those who practiced the selfish principle eventually would destroy themselves.

Another danger in England was the lack of sanitary regulation. The poor suffered the most from disease, but much of this illness could be avoided by implementing four sanitary procedures. The paving of streets, the covering of sewers, increasing ventilation in housing and the workplace, and providing a pure water supply would prevent many of the diseases spreading among the poor. Other things such as decent bedding and improved housing would do much to relieve their suffering.

One major error among political economists, according to Tonna, was the belief that population must be controlled. These economists called for late marriages, but this just led to immorality. The forcing of people into the towns by the enclosure movement seemed to support the overpopulation theory, but if the farmers were allowed to make a living on the land, there would be little need to import food, and England could easily double its population without

overcrowding. She used the model of ancient Israel, which was only double the size of Wales but had a population of seven-million people, to show that a large number of people could live prosperously in a small area. She also attacked Harriet Martineau and other "lady fiction writers" who preached population control in their novels. She also criticized pastors who preached this "checking" principle, saying, "It is marvelous how many of the most accomplished theologians manage to steer clear of the Bible when entering upon the arena of political economy." (189)

Then in the seventh chapter, she dealt with the agricultural poor. England threatened its own food supply by neglecting the agricultural poor. The enclosure movements forced the individuals to either try to survive as a laborer there or go to the towns to seek employment. The few farmers that keep a few acres of land can actually make a living, because the English farmer was the best in the world. But many farmers were forced off their land and not given a chance to earn a living for which they were best suited.

The "selfish principle" (104) had overtaken England. This love of money, the root of all evil, dominated the

thinking, not only of the wealthy, but the middle classes as well. Fair-dealing meant the paying the price of a good that included the labor it took to make it, the labor extended in preparing it for commerce, plus a fair profit for the owner. But now the purchaser madly went after the lowest costing goods, no matter that by buying them he or she was forcing many honest businessmen to fail. Underselling to try to gain a monopoly in an area or in a particular industry had caused this lowering of prices, as competition had become more and more fierce.

The workhouse system and the new poor laws simply did not work. To discourage pauperism, the head of the Poor-Law Commission worked to make the workhouse more miserable than they already were. He was terribly upset when he visited one workhouse and discovered the residents got meat three times a week. His attitude was the general way of thinking of the middle and upper classes toward the poor.

"Tenderness for the poor is not among the spontaneous impulses of man's evil heart." (210) Another reason the poor law failed was that parishes were encouraged to try to take people off the list and send them to another parish. None wanted to take responsibility. Tonna believed a system

modeled along the lines of the Prussian system would work much better. She liked the decentralized structure, and the system of compulsory education for the children enabled them to better their future lives and therefore stay off the poor roles.

This leads to her next subject, education. A good moral education was essential to social stability. Good housing was not enough. She used the example of a landlord who improved the housing of his tenants, and gave them plots of land to use, but their morality was not better than the more exploited poor. What they lacked was moral training. Where the landowner established adult evening schools and day schools for children, morality improved. Of course, this education must be based on the Bible and its ethical standard. Something more was needed though, for over one-million children were left uneducated. She supported Lord Ashley's work to establish some kind of Scripture-based national school system. Another thing that would help in education, as well as providing for the poor, was the subdivision of the existing parishes so that the pastors could better attend to their flocks. They simply were overwhelmed by the number of people in their individual

parishes.

All of these solutions required some amount of Parliamentary interference in society and the economy. Many people claimed it was wrong for the government to interfere in industry and commerce. Yet the Bible said, "to do justice and have mercy." If Parliament cannot intervene in these areas then maybe it should not intrude on a husband's right to make his wife a virtual slave, or to cripple his children. The House of Commons represented all members of society, not just the wealthy. The members of the Commons had a duty to pass legislation to protect the poor. Parliament already interfered in the mining industry, so it was only common sense for it to regulate other industries as well. Tonna expressly stated that she did not believe in the principle of laissez faire if it meant no regulatory legislation. She called for legislation to limit the hours of work, to benefit the workers by requiring the owner to hire more laborers to do the same job as he overworked one before. Legislation should also put protective enclosures around machinery. She used two examples of young girls killed by machinery grabbing their hair.

Tonna then addressed specific responsible members of

society. First she advised the ministers to the crown. She believed the new young monarch, Victoria, needed even greater sound advice since she was female. Ministers controlled appointments to high offices and they must choose individuals of moral character who would not allow the exploitation of the poor. Since they were responsible for the revenue, they must enforce a tax system that was equitable. For "the rich man grasps his most wanton superfluity more tenaciously than the poor man clings to his own blanket." (310) The rich must pay their fair share. The minister must be careful about foreign policy that exploited other countries and hindered the spread of the Gospel. They must avoid "dishonourable war." (315) They must appoint churchmen who would feed the flock, and they must strengthen the hand of the church. No family should be without a Bible and the ability to read it.

She then addressed the Bishops of the Church, and stressed that one seeking office should do so from right motives. They should be following God's calling and not working for private gain. The Bishop should be able to teach. He should be ready to expel error, such as "Popery." He must be merciful to the poor. He should work to spread

the Word of God instead of building bigger buildings. Livings should be given to those who need them and not to those who have family connections. Also they should use their influence in the House of Lords to help the poor.

To the clergy, Tonna urged that they take care of their own spiritual status before ministering to others. Their sermons should not be flowery, but they should be clearly understood by the average person. It was important that they visit the sick in spirit as well as those sick in body. Their greatest responsibility was educating all levels of their parish.

As for magistrates, they should be a terror to those who do evil, not to those who do good. They must punish fairly, and they need to arbitrate between master and servant, and rich and poor. They must not encourage aggression. Do not fine the rich because they can afford it, nor punish the poor man because he did not seem to be worried about a good name. They need to work to end prostitution and protect female modesty. The magistrate should remember that God is the true judge.

For lawyers, Tonna also reminded them that God was watching over them. They should not take famous cases just

to gain fame in order to gain a high position. It was better for them to take the case of a poor and persecuted person for a lower fee. Such a lawyer would be blessed by God. As for judges, they should present the Gospel to anyone they sentence to death.

Doctors came in for harsh criticism from Tonna, possibly because of her own bad experiences with the medical profession in her childhood. Poor patients should not be given less of the doctor's time than rich persons, and they should never be used for surgical experiments. Some doctors had a compassion for the poor but most did not. Most spent their time keeping rich patients sick enough to continually require their services while ignoring the real needs of the poor person. Training in medical colleges led to stoicism or even atheism. They learned the intricacies of the body that God created and came out with arguments against the existence of God. Medical training should include training in the Christian faith.

Women of England had a greater influence over their country than women in other countries had over their own. If a man desired to advance justice and righteousness, he must get the women of the country to support him. An

example of women's influence can be seen in the ending of slavery.

Outside of the family, women had the greatest influence in two areas, household servants and most of the purchasing. Domestic servants were under the control of the woman of the house. Most of these domestics came from the lower class, and they brought the prejudices of that class with them. It was important, therefore, to educate them necessary skills, which the lady of the house usually implemented. Yet many of these female servants were already trained at schools for such skills as needlework and spelling. It was the most extriverted girl who succeeded in these school, and received much attention from her instructors. Unfortunately, these out-going girls became insolent servants. Tonna believed the method of education needed to be rethought in order to stop producing troublesome domestics. As for the male servants, the livery boys were the biggest problem. They spent many idle hours waiting for their masters to be transported from place to place, and it was in these off hours that the boys get into trouble. They acquired the evil habits of their companions, so therefore, it was important that the lady of the house keep these livery

servants from bring a bad influence to the rest of the staff, especially the young women.

Women should be careful not to buy underpriced goods, for the merchants may be selling at a lower price to gain, or keep, the lady's business. In doing so he must make up for his loss by overcharging other customers, usually those of a lower economic status. Also, underpricing can also require the producer to either underpay his workers making the goods, or he works them excess hours to produce in mass. It was, therefore, a lady's duty to purchase goods at a fair price.

In her concluding chapter, Tonna lamented the fact she could not discuss all pressing issues that brought peril to the nation, but she then summarized other problems facing the country. Public blasphemy, tolerated by the general public, would lead to the judgement of God on England. There should be laws against window displays, for instance, that blaspheme God. She then attacked the theaters, first, because they encouraged prostitution by allowing these women to wait for customers in the theater saloons. Secondly, the shows themselves were at best a waste of time, but at worst, many plays degraded marriage and displayed improper behavior

between the sexes as normal. The temptation of men serving on coroner's inquest to declare suicides as accidental death, in order to insure the inheritance for the survivors, was a evil that means these men made themselves liars and, at the same time, almost rewards self-murder. Overall, Tonna sees the root cause of England's peril as the people's "disregard for the well-being of others" (434) Implementation of daily carrying out the golden rule would do much to solve the country's problems.

G. M. Young made an excellent analysis of Tonna's Perils of a Nation in his book, Victorian England: Portrait of an Age. Tonna's book was hurriedly compiled, and that clearly was obvious from its tendency of repetition where she kept bring up one subject over and over again, especially prostitution. According to Young her book "undoubtedly represents a great body of educated opinion of, broadly speaking a Tory Evangelical cast" He stated that, "Mrs. Tonna's remedies are naturally somewhat vague: specifically education, housing, and direct industrial legislation" He also criticized her for failing to explain how "a better opinion among the upper and professional classes" can be achieved. He also saw her

belief in the principle that "when God sends mouths he sends meat," as naive. He simply reported without comment that Tonna saw Harriet Martineau's views on contraception as the "most horrifying abomination of Socialism." Young saw Tonna's book "as a symptom, in the struggle to get away from the impersonality of Capital and Labour to the idea of a fair deal and a decent population." Young's analysis, in his footnote of his book, pretty much concisely says what needs to be said about Perils of a Nation.²⁵

Dying

Lewis Tonna did not dwell on the details of her suffering. He believed the Lord was true to all His promised and "upheld His child while He lovingly chastened her; and comforted her, with all His own tenderness, even while he kept her in the furnace." She would after thank God for the cancer. She suffered pain but it could have been worse. She believed the lessening of pain was from avoiding opiates and from her homoeopathic remedies. She wrote several papers on homoeopathy in her magazines.²⁶

If anyone spoke to her about "the Lord's speedy coming-of the future glory of Zion-or any kindred theme," pain and suffering were forgotten. At times like this it

was difficult for anyone to believe that she was dying and "suffering intense agony with every motion of her body, while they saw her utter forth the stirring thoughts that filled her soul." She so much appreciated the letters of comfort sent to her. She continually took them before God in prayer, entreating Him to recompense their mercy toward her a hundred fold. Jewish women sent her letters of sympathy although they did not know her, but they loved her because she loved their nation. She prayed that they might "find, and know and love that Redeemer whom they were thus unconsciously visiting in his poor afflicted disciple."²⁷

In the summer of 1845 she moved to London, to the official residence of her husband. The change brought comfort to her. Lewis attended to her the whole day. After learning that sea air would bring her comfort, she was determined to go to Sandgate. But an apparent accident forced the people on the ship to take the boats and go to Ramsgate. There she was acquainted with Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore. She would remain in Ramsgate until her death. The Montefiores visited her and she enjoyed coming to their "noble residence" on the East Cliff. She loved standing at the window of the library overlooking the sea. There she

and Sir Moses would discuss the promises of Israel's future.²⁸

She returned to London, and the disease remitted for a while, but then returned to advance by slow degrees. Her strength failed and hemorrhaging became frequent. Her left arm swelled up and became useless. She continued to write and to edit her magazine. During one of her sleepless nights, she invented a device to facilitate the mechanical operation of writing. It was immediately constructed by a clever carpenter. It consisted of two rollers on a frame. The lower one fed many yards of paper up through a frame upon her knee. A turn of a small winch would feed the manuscript as fast as she could write to the upper roller, and brought up a clean surface of paper. "In this manner she would write papers for the press, and letters to friends, measuring three or four or six yards in length." Lewis wrote that dictation was very difficult to her for "no pen but her own could follow her thoughts with sufficient rapidity; nor did she resort to this mode of writing until absolutely compelled to it, during the last two months of her life."²⁹

The proposed formation of the Evangelical Alliance was

the last event in which she showed deep interest. From the moment she read of the conference of the Brethren in Liverpool, "her whole soul was engaged in this most blessed work." She longed to work for the cause and if she had been healthy her pen would have been devoted to its advocacy. In January 1846 the first public meeting of the Alliance was held in London. She prayed earnestly to be strong enough to go, "and He heard her prayer." She became strong enough to sit for five hours, "intensely enjoying the blessed scene before her." She described the event in some detail in her Christian Lady's Magazine:

Exeter Hall! the scene of many a deeply interesting hour, --the more enjoyed, perhaps, because not frequented but on occasions where the prevailing topic of the day was someone to which a peculiar chord in the heart vibrated. I did not think to have again, under existing circumstances, taken my place among the thousands congregated within those walls; and when a friend laid before me tickets for the side gallery, it seemed almost like tantalizing a hungry person with the sight of forbidden food. But then came the mental query, 'Can any real good be gained, or any additional opportunity for usefulness be secured, by making an effort that undoubtedly might be made?' The answer was decidedly affirmative: where a company of avowed believers were assembled together, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and expressly for the purpose of promoting that peace and love which are the brightest ornaments of His church, He could not fail to be in the midst of them; nor could any fail of sharing a blessing who took part in such proceedings. This would be a real, solid advantage; while in the way of usefulness, much was to be hoped from the realizing effect produced in the mind by actually

witnessing what could not be adequately represented on paper. Prayer was answered; an internal of ease was vouchsafed; strength sufficient for the occasion was given; and sweetly refreshing to the spirit will ever be the remembrance of those five hours enjoyed in Exeter Hall.³⁰

She particularly enjoyed the speech of Reverend Baptist Noel (1798-1873), which she recorded. She told how Noel "grappled with hostile arguments, and prepared his cooperating brethren for the extreme of opposition that Satan would raise against a work so eminently accordant with the very life and soul of the Gospel." He described all the opposition against the cause and that only through the strength of Christ could he endure. Apparently Charlotte, in the "Christian Lady's Magazine" had attacked Noel over the issue of Ireland and other political matters. She went on to apologize to him for the harshness of her attacks. She received "a most ready Christian response" from him. She pleaded in behalf of the Alliance, of which Lewis wrote, that she showed "earnest and intense zeal in the cause . . .

"31 .

At London she received many friends, many from "former days." These visits proved to be farewell visits. She was cheered and soothed by them. The Reverend R. W. Dibdin

ministered to her instantly. He now was the pastor at St. Giles, where she had worshiped with "her dear Irish converts," but although she was unable to attend by this time, she still felt a member of the congregation.³²

When the Montefiores returned from a mission to Russia, they visited Charlotte in London, which "cheered her very soul." They told her how "the Lord had prospered his way in this mission." She responded "with an energy not to be forgotten, the whole of the 120th psalm."³³

It was now becoming evident to all who saw her that her time was short. Sometimes she seemed to gain in strength and she hoped the disease had run its course for most of the symptoms were mitigated except for the bleeding. Lewis, himself, "misled perhaps by hope," believed she still had years left, nor did he realize the nearness of her end "till the damps of death were on her brow." With all these thoughts, of hope and fear, on her mind she wrote the following Preface, June 1846, for the twenty-fifth volume of her magazine. This was the last work completed.

In the common order of things, we could scarcely, perhaps, have calculated on completing our present volume, with a good hope of continuing the work endeared by more than twelve years' devotion to it. But such is the tender mercy of the Lord, so gentle his dealings, so mild the hand of his fatherly chastisement, that by his

dear help we not only continue to this day, in the enjoyment of unabated health, and cheerfulness of mind, but we feel more strongly than ever the blessed privilege of holding up even so humble and unpretending a banner as the Christian Lady's Magazine, among the ranks of those who are battling for the truth against multiplying error. It is recorded among the touching legends of Ireland, that when the followers of Brian the Brave, were contending for their liberties and their homes against the Danes, a severe contest had left many wounded among them. On the following day, the host was again called into the field, and the poor maimed sufferers who were unable to support themselves, demanded to be placed, each wounded man between two sound ones; thus going once more into action, and winning with their commanders a brilliant victory ere they died. We often think of this; like the true-hearted Irish, we are loth to quit the field, or to withhold our poor crippled aid from the glorious cause. But protracted suffering induces some feebleness; the mechanical action of writing is exceedingly difficult now, and we call on our dear friends to help us on by their continued prayers, the blessed effects of which we have so richly experienced; that we may neither faint nor flee, but labor still with untiring devotion; and if such be the Lord's good pleasure, live to behold the coming triumph. It is coming, and even at hand. On every side the clouds are breaking, which so long have veiled the bright future. All is in a state of transition; nothing remains as it was a few years back; and dimly seen, yet sufficiently to be identified, the lion-banner of Judah loosens its mighty folds from the bands of many generations, gleaming in the distance, a sure star of hope,--of rest to the troubled world. We never closed a volume with more joyous feelings than the present: may the Lord quickly realize every anticipation that is founded on the firm basis of his unchangeable promise! WHITEHALL, June, 1846.³⁴

Lewis and all "who know and loved her" realized the Lord had used her. They all, though, were in some ways glad

she was gone before the calamities that were then befalling Ireland became known. He apparently referred to the great famine. "Who did not feel that she had been indeed graciously removed before the evil days came!"³⁵

On the subject of personal assurance she had not been in the habit of speaking much, but the reality of the Lord's personal return became more of a passion to her as she looked daily for Him to come. "Of herself, she held the very lowest, basest estimate." She was grieved and pained when her friends would allude to the result of her labors as her own acceptance with God. She knew God had blessed her although she was a "sin-defiled" instrument. She saw herself as "the finger-post" that points the way for others but does not move on.³⁶

Then about two weeks before her death "she suffered greatly in mind; all comfort was gone, -darkness was on her soul." She yielded to the "sin of irritability." Her afflicted body brought on tears and anguish of heart. She did not doubt the sufficiency of the Savior, but only whether she indeed was called, for she showed so little conformity to His image. Those doubts were the sufferings of her inmost heart, as she fought with the enemy. Finally

Lewis could sit silently for no longer so he said to her, "Without attempting to contradict what you say, if you have not yet come to Jesus, come to Him now." He opened the Bible, read to her "on his fingers" the simplest form of the Gospel as if she had heard it. After some time of silence she began "playing" the words to the song "Rock of Ages." From that time, with but slight interruptions, "her heart and tongue were full of praise to God for all his goodness to her."³⁷

She desired to return to the seaside and the doctors concurred in thinking the change might benefit her. She headed for Ramsgate 10 July 1846. She was very weak and six sergeants from the United Service Institute carried her from the apartments there. She told them they could carry her pall if she died there. At the terminal she thanked everyone who had been so kind to her. On the way to the terminal they passed by "the great Mass house" then being built in St. Georges field, Charlotte leaned forward, held up her hand in denunciations against it. She repeated, in Hebrew, the words of the Psalm, "O daughters of Babylon, that art to be destroyed!" A separate carriage was prepared for her, by order of the chairman, enabling her to lie down.

Sir Moses bid her farewell and gave her a basket of choicest grapes to refresh her on her trip. She constantly was exclaiming "How good the Lord is to make every one so kind to me!" When the carriage door was closed, she had Lewis and her servant, Mary Helms join her in prayer. When they passed through Canterbury, she directed her attention to the splendid cathedral. She said that it was grand but martyrs had been starved to death there. She pointed to the towers of an ancient gateway.³⁸

She stayed in a hotel upon arrival because the apartment she was to occupy was not ready. She was fatigued by the trip and was carried to her room. There she delighted in the full view of the sea and of the entrance to the harbor. The next morning the bleeding began again, and a surgeon, Mr. Ayers, came and successfully stanching the hemorrhage. The cancer, though, had invaded a larger blood vessel, and she had lost much blood. Mr. Ayers made remarks about her tranquility and resignation, to which Charlotte replied "It is the love of Jesus that sustains me!" She weakened and Mr. Ayers' attention to her was unremitting. "My flesh and my heart fail me," said Charlotte, "but Jesus does not fail me!" Some weak wine and water revived her

somewhat, and she started asking Mr. Ayers about his relationship to Jesus. She was pleased when he gave assent that he loved Christ. She asked everyone around her to kneel and pray. She said, "Pardon and acceptance;-nothing more."³⁹

Her kind Jewish friends, Mr. and Mrs. Myers, heard of Charlotte's arrival and they came immediately to see her. By now she was almost too weak to speak, but she did manage to tell them that Jesus upheld her, and that He was her only hope and refuge.

That evening she rallied, and all through the night she was calm and cheerful, sometimes even being playful. Over and over again she would say, "How very good He is to me!" Charlotte was disappointed when the midnight arrived without her physician, Mr. Hering. He had received word of her returned bleeding, but he could not arrive until the next day. She said she did not think she would live long enough to see him.⁴⁰

Early in the morning of 12 June 1846 a marked change came over her countenance. Her breathing became labored and at eleven O'clock she suddenly called out, "It is death!" Lewis sent for Mr. Ayers and he quickly confirmed the sad

truth. She appeared not to suffer pain, for no sigh or groan escaped her. She became very calm and happy, and she kept her eyes fixed on Lewis, following his every motion. If he left the room she would show uneasiness, even if he left for a moment. Yet her life seemed to slowly ebb away. At one point her eyes brightened. Lewis leaned forward and Charlotte threw her arm around him, kissed him and exclaimed with intense emphasis, "I love you!" Everyone thought these would be her last words but soon she gathered her strength again and "then with death in every look and tone-gasping between each word, but with a loud clear and distinct voice, she uttered these words: "Tell them," naming some dear Jewish friends-"tell _____ that Jesus is the Messiah and tell _____." She did not finish. "Her hand had forgotten its cunning; her tongue was cleaving to the roof of her mouth-but Charlotte Elizabeth had not forgotten Jerusalem!" Her breathing grew fainter and fainter. Her brow began to convulse slightly, and at two-twenty, "she fell asleep in Jesus."⁴¹

She had given instruction to Lewis never to lay her in a vault, but instead to put her in a simple earth-dug grave in a perishable coffin, for she did not like any attempt to

avert the Almighty decree, "Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return." When she had visited the lake of Mullingar, in Ireland, in 1837, where her brother John had drowned, she brought back from its banks a plant, which she preserved in her various gardens, and then in a flowerpot. She told her husband to plant it on her grave. The spot should be marked with a plain, hard stone. She dictated the epitaph which, with the addition of the date, was as follows:

CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH
HERE LIE THE MORTAL REMAINS OF
CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH
THE BELOVED WIFE OF
LEWIS HYPOLYTUS JOSEPH TONNA
WHO DIED ON THE 12TH OF JULY, MDCCCXCVI
Looking Unto Jesus ⁴²

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