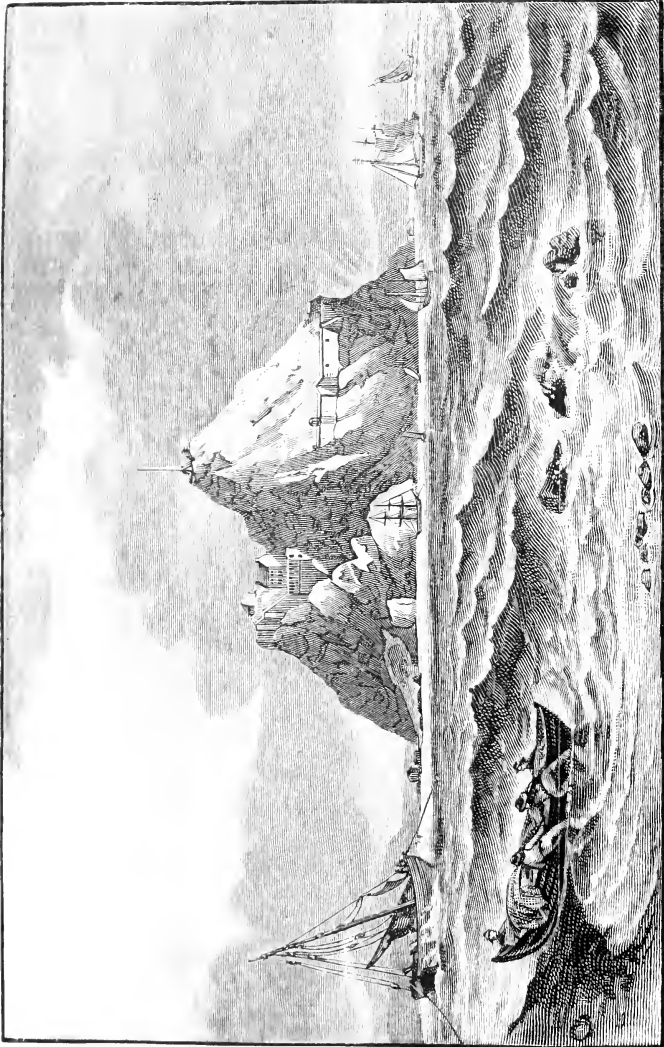


Library of the Theological Seminary,

PRINCETON, N. J.

Purchased by the
Mrs. Robert Lenox Kennedy Church History Fund.

BR 746 .C3 1894
Cathcart, William, 1826-
1908.
The ancient British and
Irish churches including



DUMBARTON CASTLE.

Dumbarton, St. Patrick's Birthplace.

Frontispiece.

THE ANCIENT
BRITISH AND IRISH CHURCHES

INCLUDING THE

LIFE AND LABORS OF ST. PATRICK

BY

WILLIAM CATHCART, D. D.

Editor of The Baptist Encyclopædia, and Author of The Papal System

WITH MAPS, ILLUSTRATIONS, AND FULL INDICES

PHILADELPHIA

CHARLES H. BANES

1420 Chestnut Street

1894

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1894, by the
AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY,
In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY,	11
II. INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY (<i>Continued</i>),	19
III. CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS DURING THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES,	25
IV. CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS DURING THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES (<i>Continued</i>),	33
V. CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS DURING THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES,	39
VI. CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS DURING THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES (<i>Continued</i>)	48

BOOK II.

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT IRISH.

I. THE GOSPEL IN IRELAND BEFORE ST. PATRICK'S DAY,	59
II. BRITAIN, ST. PATRICK'S COUNTRY,	63
III. ST. PATRICK AS A MISSIONARY,	69
IV. ST. PATRICK'S SUPPOSED MISSION FROM ROME	77

CHAPTER	PAGE
V. ST. PATRICK'S ROMAN COMMISSION UNAUTHENTICATED,	84
VI. FOREIGN APPEALS TO ROME,	91
VII. PAPAL APPEALS IN GAUL AND IRELAND,	95
VIII. ST. PATRICK'S MISSIONARY QUALIFICATIONS,	101
IX. ST. PATRICK'S MISSIONARY QUALIFICATIONS (<i>Continued</i>),	110
X. ST. PATRICK'S GREAT WORK AND HIS EXALTED WORTH,	118
XI. ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION, AND HIS LETTER TO COROTICUS,	124
XII. THE CONFESSION OF ST. PATRICK; OR, "THE EPISTLE TO THE IRISH,"	127
XIII. ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION (<i>Continued</i>),	131
XIV. ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION (<i>Continued</i>),	134
XV. ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION (<i>Continued</i>),	138
XVI. ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION (<i>Concluded</i>),	142
XVII. ST. PATRICK'S EPISTLE TO COROTICUS,	146
XVIII. ST. PATRICK AND BAPTISM,	151
XIX. ST. PATRICK HELD THE LEADING DOCTRINES OF THE BAPTIST DENOMINATION,	158

BOOK III.

SCOTLAND AND THE CONVERSION OF THE PICTS.

I. THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE SOUTHERN PICTS	165
II. NINIAN, PALLADIUS, AND KENTIGERN,	173

CHAPTER	PAGE
III. THE LIFE AND LABORS OF COLUMBA,	181
IV. THE COMMENCEMENT OF COLUMBA'S MISSION TO THE NORTHERN PICTS,	189
V. COLUMBA'S SUCCESS,	196
VI. THE ABBEY OF IONA,	199
VII. COLUMBA'S WORK ESTABLISHED,	206
VIII. INCIDENTS OF COLUMBA'S LIFE,	211

BOOK IV.

THE MISSION OF THE SCOTS TO THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

I. PROTESTANTISM IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY,	217
II. KING OSWALD CONVERTED,	222
III. HIBERNIAN MISSION SCHOOLS AMONG THE ANGLO- SAXONS,	228
IV. NORTHUMBRIA AND MERCIA,	234
V. THE EAST SAXONS,	237
VI. THE SCOTS AND THEIR ANGLO-SAXON CONVERTS,	242
VII. PROTESTANTISM IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY,	250
VIII. THE ANSWER OF THE BRITONS TO AUGUSTINE,	258
IX. PERSECUTION OF THE SCOTS,	262
X. THE INFLUENCE OF IRISH MISSIONARIES,	269
XI. THE EARLY BRITISH CHURCHES,	277

BOOK V.

BRITISH AND IRISH PRESBYTERS AND BISHOPS ; THEIR
MARRIAGES AND HOMES.

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. PRIMITIVE CHURCH ORDER,	281
II. THE MARRIAGE OF THE CLERGY,	285
III. MARRIED MONKS AND NUNS,	289
IV. EARLY MONASTERIES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,	292
V. COMMENTARIES IN MONASTERIES,	295
VI. MONASTERIES WERE BIBLE MANUFACTURING AND DISTRIBUTING SOCIETIES,	299
VII. THE EARLY BRITISH AND IRISH MONASTERIES WERE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES AND HOME AND FOREIGN MISSION SOCIETIES,	302
VIII. MONASTERIES AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS AND IRISH WERE LEARNED UNIVERSITIES; MARRIAGE IN CONNECTION WITH MONASTERIES,	308

BOOK VI.

SOME OF THE DOCTRINES AND OBSERVANCES OF THE
ANCIENT BRITISH AND IRISH CHRISTIANS.

I. SIN AND SALVATION,	312
II. THE ATONEMENT, AND CONVERSION,	315
III. JUSTIFICATION, LIFE, AND INTERCESSION,	318
IV. THE LORD'S SUPPER, OR EUCHARIST,	322
V. THE DOCTRINE OF PURGATORY,	330

PREFACE.

THE inhabitants of England, Ireland, and Scotland, before the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons in the fifth century, had common Celtic ancestors. There is no more interesting or less known portion of ecclesiastical history than that of the ancient religious communities of Great Britain and Ireland. Not one of these powerful churches was founded by Rome or rendered any allegiance to the supreme pontiff for centuries after its establishment.

The Britons were evangelized before the end of the fourth century. Their scanty religious history inspires admiration for their heroism under imperial Roman, and heathen Anglo-Saxon persecutions, and deep regret that so few of their ancient records were spared. St. Patrick, Ninian, and Kentigern, the apostles of great numbers of converts, were Britons. Helena, the Christian mother of Constantine the Great, was a native of Britain. No people in Christian history ever showed greater fidelity to their Bible principles, when sacerdotal enemies of the gospel tried to drive them from the truth.

St. Patrick's career as a slave, as a prince of preachers, as a missionary, who by Divine help overcame the fierce

idolatry of a whole nation, and by his unselfish love captured their hearts and those of their descendants for fourteen hundred and fifty years, is without an exact parallel in all the biographies of missionary heroes. His Christian life is full of fascination.

The history of Patrick began to lose its legendary character after the learned Archbishop Ussher, in the seventeenth century, showed him to the world as a simple and mighty evangelical preacher, like the illustrious primate of Ireland himself. George III., in 1783, established for Ireland its only order of knighthood, the knights of St. Patrick. George was a very decided Protestant. Neither he nor his ministry had any purpose to conciliate Roman Catholics in the new institution. The Irish Parliament was a Protestant body; and a majority of the knights have always been Protestants.

The great Protestant "Religious Tract Society" of London, the mother of all similar organizations everywhere, has issued within a few years the works of St. Patrick in its series called "Christian Classics," which contains one each of the productions of St. Augustine, Anselm, Athanasius, Basil, and William Tyndale, the illustrious translator of the English Bible.

The "Lords Commissioners" of the British Treasury, in 1887, ordered that "The Tripartite Life of Patrick," with other documents relating to that saint, should be printed and placed among the "chronicles and memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the middle ages." This learned publication is an encyclopædia of ancient

writings relating to Patrick, and of his own genuine works.

The volume which we now send forth, contains careful translations of Patrick's extant literary efforts, and an account of every known and important transaction of his life. It also furnishes sketches of the labors of Ninian and Kentigern in Scotland, and of the life and labors of Columba, the apostle of the Northern Picts of Caledonia, probably the greatest Irishman who ever served the Saviour.

It relates the wonderful story of the Hibernian mission from Iona to the pagan Anglo-Saxons, presided over by Aidan, Finan, and Colman, which, by the grace of God, resulted in the conversion of at least two thirds of that people, whose descendants to-day own so much of the wealth, commerce, territory, power, and missionary enterprise of the world. Augustine, the Italian Archbishop of Canterbury, and his fellow-monks, were little more than pioneers in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. This glorious Hibernian success rests upon evidence as strong as that which makes it certain that William the Conqueror gained the victory over Harold at the battle of Hastings.

It presents historical testimony showing that the ancient Britons, Picts, and Hibernians were not Roman Catholics. It treats of the marriage of the British and Irish clergy, and of their great monastic institutions, which were established as missionary societies, theological seminaries, Bible copying and distributing organizations,

as parsonages for great numbers of home missionaries, and as universities, divinely favored in imparting a learned education to semi-barbarous Anglo-Saxons, and to unenlightened youths from every quarter of Europe.

It describes a number of the leading doctrines and observances of the ancient British and Irish churches, based upon their early commentaries or other writings, which show a remarkable agreement with the creeds and practices of the evangelical Christians of our day, but especially with those of the Baptists.

The story is one of the greatest interest, and entirely controverts the claims of the Roman hierarchy respecting these ancient Christians and the foundations they established.

Foot-notes furnish reliable authorities for all the important statements that are made. I am indebted to the Rev. Philip L. Jones, A. B., for valuable suggestions.

W. C.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan., 1894.

ANCIENT BRITISH AND IRISH CHURCHES.

BOOK I.

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

Dean Stanley and Augustine—The Anglo-Saxons not chiefly evangelized by Romish missionaries—Roman legions—Roman traders—Commerce with the East—Greeks and Marseilles—Persecutions at Vienne and Lyons—Simon Zelotes, Paul, Peter, Philip, and others, supposed to have been missionaries in Britain.

THE ancient Britons, who once occupied all England and a considerable part of Scotland, had much to do, through their religious descendants, in the conversion of their Anglo-Saxon conquerors. These pagans, coming into Britain in the fifth century, reared temples of idolatry in all directions, and destroyed every vestige of British Christianity within their reach. In A. D. 596, Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, a man of large heart and of sincere piety, sent a company of missionaries into Britain to seek the salvation of the heathen Anglo-Saxons. At the head of this band was Augustine, the first archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate had some vanity, a limited measure of true religion, a good master in Gregory, and favoring circumstances.

The late Dean Stanley, while a canon of Canterbury, wrote :

I have said little of Augustine himself, and that for two reasons : First, because so little is known of him ; secondly, because I must confess, that what little is told of him leaves an unfavorable impres-

sion behind. We cannot doubt that he was an active, self-denying man—his coming here through so many dangers of sea and land proves it; and it would be ungrateful and ungenerous not to acknowledge how much we owe to him. But still, almost every personal trait which is recorded of him shows that he was not a man of any great elevation of character, that he was thinking of himself, or of his order, when we should have wished him to be thinking of the great cause he had in hand. We see this in his drawing back from his journey to Britain in France; we see it in the additional power which he claimed from Gregory over his companions; we see it in the warnings sent to him by Gregory that he was not to be puffed up by the wonders he had wrought in Britain; we see it in the haughty severity with which he treated the remnant of British Christians in Wales, not rising when they approached, and uttering that malediction against them, which sanctioned, if it did not instigate, their massacre by the Saxons.¹

The success of Augustine of Canterbury, during his life, was not very extensive. Laurence, who followed him in that see, after the death of Ethelbert, met with serious trouble. His son Eadbald² refused the faith of Christ, and fell into immorality. "By these offenses," Bede says, "he gave occasion to those to return to their former uncleanness, who, under his father, had, either for favor or through fear of the king, submitted to the laws of faith and chastity." And such was the extent of this apostasy that Laurentius concluded to leave Britain, and was only hindered by what he represented as a miraculous visit of St. Peter, who gave him good advice and a sound "scourging," which lasted "for a long time." The same thing occurred among the East Saxons. The three sons of Sabert, the king, professed idolatry after his death, and the people turned to their old idols with renewed devotion; and Mellitus, their bishop, with Justus, bishop of Rochester in Kent, fled to France, these two bishops and Laurentius having "unanimously agreed that it was better for them all to return to their own country, where they might serve God in freedom, than to continue without any advantage among these barbarians who had revolted from the faith."

¹ "Historical Memorials of Canterbury," pp. 33, 34. London, 1855.

² Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. II., cap. 5, 6.

Paulinus, probably the ablest and best of the Italian missionaries, labored with much apparent success in the kingdom of Northumbria from A. D. 625 to A. D. 633, when there was a great slaughter of Christians in Northumbria, and flight alone promised safety; Paulinus removed to Kent, and became bishop of Rochester, where he lived for nineteen years, having completely abandoned his work¹ in that region.

These forsaken fields were reclaimed and others were occupied, partly by those who fled from their flocks, but chiefly by the Scottish missionaries, the religious descendants of St. Patrick, without whose glorious labors, in all probability, the Anglo-Saxons would have been largely pagans for centuries.

The ancient Britons belonged to the great Celtic race, sections of which furnished inhabitants to Great Britain and Ireland, and to Gaul long before its conquest by the Franks. The Britons had nothing in common with the Anglo-Saxons. In religion they followed Druidism; private quarrels were judged by their priests, as well as disputes about bequests, and all criminal accusations. Punishments and rewards were controlled by them; they exercised the greatest power over the public and private lives of the people. They used their whole authority against the Roman invaders of Britain, who found it necessary to destroy them. Under Suetonius Paulinus, the legions in Britain overthrew the altars and destroyed the ancient forests, until, in Nero's time, Druidism was shut up within the little island of Mona (Anglesey). Thither it was followed by Suetonius Paulinus. In vain the sacred virgins hurried to the shore like furies, in mourning habits, with disheveled hair, and brandishing torches. He forced the passage, and slaughtered every human being that fell into his hands. This occurred in A. D. 61.² The sacred groves of the Druids were cut down, and all traces of their former authority removed. From this crushing blow Druidism never

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. II., cap. 21.

² "Tacit. Annal.," XIV., 29, 30.

recovered. Its overthrow in South Britain banished the Saviour's greatest enemy.

It is impossible to fix the exact date when the gospel was first introduced into Britain; nor can the channels through which it came be determined with certainty. As the first preachers of the gospel in Rome are wholly unknown, so the records of men furnish nothing reliable about the first British missionaries.

The Roman legions and colonists were likely to bring some of the persons who first told the story of the cross in Britain. Roman legions were located for an indefinite period in some one country—a century, or even centuries; they were never recruited in the province where they were encamped, but in foreign and often distant countries. An English legion might have as recruits some of Paul's converts in Asia Minor. British recruits might be sent to some legion located in the East, and might be converted there. And they, on their final return home, and foreign disciples serving Rome in Britain, would surely aid in spreading the gospel in that country.

The conversion of Cornelius, of the Italian band in Cæsarea, under Peter's ministry, was one of many cases where an officer and his household were fitted by forgiveness to tell those around them at the time and on their return to their old homes, their former neighbors and friends, the power of the Crucified to take away sin. Through this agency, doubtless, many Britons were saved.

The Roman legions in Britain needed much which it could not furnish. Early after the Saviour's death, Roman traders followed the legions to supply their wants, and to sell the natives the products of other lands. Toward the close of the first century, when Agricola completed the subjugation of the Britons, he encouraged them to build temples and houses, and to imitate the dress and luxuries of their conquerors. From A. D. 84, they gradually adopted Roman usages.¹

¹ Tacit. "Vit. Agr.," cap. 21.

These new tastes, and the wants of the army, brought many Roman civilians into Britain, among whom or their families it is probable that there were Christians, whose light would reach the hearts of their British neighbors.

Never in the history of our race was there a zeal that surpassed that of the early Christians. Maligned, tortured, destroyed, by Nero and others, nothing could silence them. The world had not dangers with sufficient force to stop their efforts and sacrifices to save souls; and somehow they reached Britain to tell the story of Christ's love. There is reason to believe that the gospel came to Britain chiefly in the track of commerce. The Tyrians traded with Britain for ages before the Christian era. The Carthagenians, after the capture of Tyre by Alexander the Great, inherited for a time the commerce of Britain.

The Greeks, first as rivals, and then as successors to the Carthagenians, took possession of the exports and imports of Britain. Marseilles, a Greek colony in France, said to have been founded five hundred years before Christ, was the grand depot to which the tin, lead, and skins of Britain were conveyed, and from which they were transported to all parts of the world with which the Greeks had commercial relations.¹ The conversion of many Greeks in early Christian times accomplished much for the spread of the gospel, and even through business relations that intelligent and resolute people sometimes rendered great service in extending Christ's kingdom.

Two young men were taken by Meropius, a Greek of Tyre, to Abyssinia about A. D. 331; upon his death in that land, whither he had gone as a traveler, they unexpectedly found themselves favorites of one of its kings, holding important appointments. One of them, Frumentius, built a house of prayer, and afterward was appointed a bishop through the famous Athanasius. Socrates, the historian, states that he was a

¹ Thackeray's "Researches into the Ecclesiastical and Political State of Ancient Britain," Vol. I., p. 18. London, 1843.

successful missionary.¹ We have reason to believe that Greek Christians buying tin and lead compassionated the idolatrous Britons who exported these scarce metals, and preached Christ to them.

The first known church in France was founded by Greeks. In A. D. 177, the Christians of Vienne and Lyons were dragged into cruel notoriety by savage persecutions borne with heroic fidelity. Milman states that these Christians appear to have been a religious colony from Asia Minor, or Phrygia. Pothinus, their bishop, was in his ninetieth year when dragged to prison, from the barbarities of which in two days he ascended to heaven. His name showed his Greek origin. When the persecution ended, surviving Christians wrote an account of the fiendish sufferings inflicted upon their martyrs to their Phrygian brethren.² The sketch covers eleven octavo pages, and it is given entire by Eusebius.³ It is full of the grace of God, and of the most touching recitals that ever shocked human hearts. The writers have nothing to say to Pope Eleutherius in this document; they are Greeks and disciples whom they have made, and they send this record of the sufferings of their tortured and slain brethren and sisters to their fellow-believers in Asia Minor.

Greek Christians in France or in the East, it is believed, long before A. D. 177, when persecution gave European and Asiatic prominence to the churches of Lyons and Vienne, gave effective help to the evangelization of Britain. Neander expresses a common opinion about the origin of British Christianity when he says :

A later tradition of the eighth century reports that Lucius, a British king, requested the Roman bishop, Eleutherius, in the latter part of the second century, to send him some missionaries. But the peculiarity of the later British church is evidence against its origin from Rome. For in many ritual matters it departed from the usage of the church of Rome, and agreed much more nearly with the

¹ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 19.

² "History of Christianity," p. 256. New York.

³ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. V., cap. 1.

churches of Asia Minor. It withstood for a long time the authority of the Romish papacy. This circumstance would seem to indicate that the Britons had received their Christianity either immediately, or through Gaul, from Asia Minor; a thing quite possible and easy by means of the commercial intercourse. The later Anglo-Saxons, who opposed the spirit of ecclesiastical independence among the Britons and endeavored to establish the church supremacy of Rome, were uniformly inclined to trace back the church establishments to a Roman origin; from which effort many false legends, as well as this, might have arisen.¹

Fox gives the same common impression about the East furnishing the first laborers in Britain: "By all which conjectures it may stand probably to be thought that the Britons were taught first by the Grecians of the East church rather than by the Romans."² Fox mentions Joseph of Arimathea, who was sent from Gaul into Britain with twelve others, by the Apostle Philip about A. D. 63, who spent the remainder of his life in that country with his companions, and laid the foundations of the Christian church in it. He states also that Simon Zelotes was reported to have brought the gospel of Christ to Britain. The Apostle Paul has been claimed as the founder of British Christianity, and the learned Stillingfleet,³ while failing to establish his title to this signal addition to many kindred honors, comes very near to success. Philip, the apostle, has been represented as one of the early, if not the first, preachers of the gospel in Britain. The Apostle Peter is also heralded as a preacher in Britain. James, the son of Zebedee, is also in the list of British missionaries. Aristobulus, of whom Paul speaks in Rom. 16 : 10, appears as one of the Saviour's reputed heralds to the ancient Britons. Surely such an array of apostles, supposed to be preachers in Britain, is, at least, evidence of the general conviction that the Christianity of that land is from the East, either directly, or through France.

¹ "General History of the Christian Church," Vol. I., pp. 85, 86. Boston.

² "Acts and Monuments," I., 306, 307. London, 1847.

³ "The Antiquities of the British Churches," p. 39. London, 1840.

Mosheim says :

Whether any apostle, or any companion of an apostle, ever visited Britain, cannot be determined; yet the balance of probability rather inclines toward the affirmative. The story of Joseph of Arimathea might arise from the arrival of some Christian teacher from Gaul, in the second century, whose name was Joseph. As the Gauls, from Dionysius, bishop of Paris in the third century, made Dionysius the Areopagite to be their apostle; and the Germans made Maternus, Eucherius, and Valerius, who lived in the third and fourth centuries, to be preachers of the first century and attendants on St. Peter; so the British monks, I have no doubt, made a certain Joseph from Gaul, in the second century, to be Joseph of Arimathea.¹

There is no reliable evidence that any of the apostles, or their companions, ever preached in Britain.

¹ Mosheim's "Eccles. Hist.," p. 52. London, 1848.

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY (*Continued*).

Supposed conversion of King Lucius and his people by Romish missionaries—Gregory the Great knew nothing of it—Eusebius is ignorant of it—Clovis, “the *eldest* son of the Church”—Eusebius and the rapid spread of the gospel.

BEDE, a Romanist, denies the Eastern origin of British Christianity, in his story of the conversion of King Lucius. He says :¹

In the year of our Lord's incarnation, A. D. 156, Marcus Antoninus Verus, the fourteenth from Augustus, was made emperor, together with his brother Commodus. In their time, whilst Eleutherius, a holy man, presided over the Roman church, Lucius, king of the Britons, sent a letter to him, entreating that by his command he might be made a Christian. He soon obtained his pious request, and the Britons preserved the faith which they had received uncorrupted and entire in peace and tranquility until the time of the Emperor Diocletian.¹

The object of this fabrication was to glorify Rome as the original fountain of British Christianity, and to foster obedience to the popes. Bede, though a Romanist, was incapable of forging this foolish story; but some one else did. There is nothing in any writing now extant and existing in or before his day upon which to found this fraudulent national conversion. There was no king of the Britons, as a whole people, as Bede represents Lucius to have been, during the Roman occupancy of their country. There were no missionaries from Rome, or elsewhere, who brought the whole British people, apparently in the life of one man, to the Saviour. No such emperors as the two named by Bede ever reigned together; nor is the date or the name of the Roman bishop

¹ “Eccles. Hist.,” Lib. I., cap. 4.

more correct than the names of the emperors. Eleutherius flourished between A. D. 176 and 190; and Marcus Antoninus became emperor in A. D. 161.

It is singular that Gildas should know nothing of King Lucius and the Roman "legation" that baptized him and all the Britons. He lived in the latter half of the sixth century. He was well informed about the history of the ancient Britons, his own people. His works show a fearless and almost an abusive plainness of speech toward the Britons. If such a mighty change occurred under King Lucius as the conversion of all the Britons, Gildas "the Wise" knew it; and if he was acquainted with it, and there was occasion to say anything about that great event, Gildas was the last man in his island, Briton, Angle, or Saxon, who would have concealed it. Gildas, however, states that the gospel was brought to his country soon after the defeat of Boadicea by Suetonius Paulinus about A. D. 63. And he points at nothing that would lead us to suppose that Rome had anything to do with its coming.¹

Eusebius, who died about A. D. 339, wrote a church history of priceless value, giving, among other things, details of the success of Christianity in various places. He writes, for instance, that "Mark established churches at Alexandria, and that a great multitude of believers, both of men and women, were collected there at the very outset."² How appropriately from him would the announcement have come, that the Britons and their king, Lucius, were converted in a few years by two missionaries from Rome! He was the especial friend of Constantine the Great, whose mother was born there, and who had many personal reasons for regarding Britain with affection. Constantine or Helena could readily have furnished the exact facts, or secured them for him; just such information came within the peculiar scope of the work of Eusebius. Its communication to all Christians through

¹ "Works of Gildas," Sec. 8.

² "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. II., cap. 16.

his pages could not fail to gratify true believers everywhere; but he knew nothing about it. Gregory the Great, who sent Augustine the missionary into England in A. D. 596, wrote him four letters of instruction, admonition, and encouragement, which are published in Bede. But there is nothing about the conversion of King Lucius and all his subjects, by the grace of God upon the efforts of the missionaries of Pope Eleutherius; which grace and success Augustine and his companions might fully expect, coming into the same island with the same papal commission.

Rome utterly neglected the heathenism of Gaul until the middle of the third century. In A. D. 177, at Vienne and Lyons, in Gaul, persecution brought to the knowledge of believers the existence of flourishing communities of Christians, originally from Asia Minor. Neander says: "For a long time pagan superstition in other parts of Gaul withstood the further spread of Christianity. Even so late as the middle of the third century few Christian communities were to be found there."¹ At this time Rome sent her first missionaries to preach Christ to Gallican heathen. No doubt there were Christian soldiers in the Roman legions and believers among the colonists in France from other countries besides Italy who, in some measure, spread the gospel, but with limited success. Gregory of Tours gives the names of seven men, ordained as bishops and sent unto the Gauls from Rome to preach Christ. These were Gatianus, Trophymus, Paulus, Saturninus, Dionysius, Stremonius, and Martial. Some of these men went as missionaries to such places as Paris, Tours, Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse.² No doubt, many appeals had been made to Rome on behalf of these Gallican pagans, neighbors to Italy. Why were the alleged cries of distant King Lucius heard in Rome, and the gaping wounds of the Gauls next door left unheeded by the popes until one hundred

¹ "General Church History," Vol. I., p. 84. Boston.

² "S. Gregor Episc.," Turin: Patr. Lat., Vol. LXXI. "Hist. Franc.," Lib. I., cap. 28, p. 175. Migne.

years later? This presents a difficulty, the only solution of which is found in the fact that the popes sent no missionaries west of Italy before the seven missionaries to Gaul about A. D. 250.

The kings of France for ages received the titles of "The Eldest Sons of the Church," and "Most Christian Majesty." Michelet says: "The Franks alone received Christianity through the Latin church—they held their ground against the pagan Saxons, the latest swarm from Germany; against the Arian Visigoths; and finally against the Saracens—therefore, it is not without reason that our monarchs have been styled 'The Eldest Sons of the Church.'"¹ Michelet seems to intimate that this title began with Clovis, as it was he who carried out the conversion of the Franks; but he is positive about the titles belonging to the kings of France. Mosheim writes: "It is said that the conversion of Clovis gave rise to the custom of addressing the French monarchs with the titles of 'Most Christian Majesty,' and 'Eldest Son of the Church.'"² Bower says:

Clovis was at this time the only Catholic prince in the world, as the word Catholic was then understood; Anastasius, emperor of the East, was a professed Eutychian. Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths in Italy; Alaric, king of the Visigoths, master of Spain, and of the third part of Gaul; the kings of the Burgundians, Suevians, and Vandals, in Gaul, Spain, and Africa, were zealous Arians. As for the other kings of the Franks, settled in Gaul, they were still pagans. Clovis was not only the sole Catholic prince at this time in the world, but *the first king who ever embraced the Catholic religion (with his people); which procured to the French king the titles of the "Most Christian," and that of "The Eldest Son of the Church."*³

These titles have been confirmed by the usage of popes and sovereigns, and of inferior dignitaries in secular and ecclesiastical positions of prominence. Clovis, for his rich gifts

¹ "History of France," Vol. I., p. 84. New York.

² "Eccles. Hist.," p. 175. London, 1848.

³ Bower's "History of the Popes," Vol. I., pp. 295, 296. Philadelphia.

to churches in France, for his crown of gold enriched with precious stones to St. Peter, and for his pre-eminence in orthodoxy among sovereigns, and his priority in time among heathen kings, as the first pagan prince, with his people, to confess Christ, received for himself and his successors, the kings of France, the title of "Eldest Son of the Church." Poor King Lucius, though said to have been converted and baptized, with his subjects, by missionaries from Rome, is deliberately cast aside by his mother of the "Seven Hills" as an impostor, who proclaims that not he, but Clovis, is her "Eldest Son," though he renounced idolatry hundreds of years later than imaginary Lucius.

Eusebius, describing the way in which the gospel obtained its first conquests over the nations, says :

Under a celestial influence and co-operation, the doctrine of the Saviour, like the rays of the sun, quickly irradiated the world. Presently, in accordance with divine prophecy, the sound of his inspired evangelists and apostles had gone throughout all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. Throughout every city and village, like a replenished barn floor, churches were rapidly found abounding, and filled with members from every people. Those who, in consequence of the delusions that had descended to them from their ancestors, had been fettered by the ancient disease of idolatrous superstition, were now liberated by the power of Christ, through the teaching and miracles of his messengers. And as if delivered from dreadful masters, and emancipated from the most cruel bondage, on the one hand renounced the whole multitude of gods and demons, and on the other, confessed that there was only one true God, the Creator of all things. This same God they now also honored with the rites of a true piety, under the influence of that inspired and reasonable worship which had been planted among men by our Saviour.¹

Every believer in early times proclaimed the gospel wherever men would listen.

When Gideon's three hundred warriors extended a slender line around the hosts of Midian at midnight, and blew their trumpets, broke their pitchers, and exhibited their lamps, the

¹ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. II., cap. 3.

Lord set every man's sword against his fellow, and the host fled, completely routed. So the early soldiers of the cross, defying death in its most violent forms, and deeply moved by the hopeless condition of the nations enveloped in idolatrous darkness, formed a girdle of redeemed sentinels, as extended as their numbers permitted, outside the doomed myriads, and blew their Scripture trumpets, pealing forth the solemn warning: "There is no man that liveth and sinneth not"; "The soul that sinneth it shall die"; and showing their lamps of hope on which were painted in divine words, "God is love"; "Believe upon the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." Then the Holy Spirit fell in more than pentecostal power, turning pagans in teeming multitudes to Christ and his cross, and setting their weapons upon their idols. Such efforts Christianized the ancestors of all the present great nations of the world; and if persisted in, they would long since have made the entire earth a temple, and every human heart an altar, bearing for God a sacrifice of "sweet savor." By these means, the whole of South Britain was brought to the Saviour without a historical trace of any great missionary leader.

CHAPTER III.

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS DURING THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES.

Pomponia Graecina—Date of the introduction of the gospel—Origen, Eusebius, Theodoret—St. Martin's church of Canterbury—The Diocletian persecution—Testimonies to Christian worth—Alban and other martyrs—Galerius stops the persecution—Churches rebuilt—Great prosperity.

THERE is reason for believing that Pomponia Graecina, the wife of Aulus Plautius, the victorious lieutenant of Claudius, in Britain, about the years A. D. 43-47, was a Christian. The account given of her religion and conduct by Tacitus¹ makes it almost certain that she believed in Christ. She was probably with her husband during a part of the time in which he ruled Britain. The want of evidence to prove the Christianity of others, who had some connection with Britain in the first century, constrains us to be silent about them.

Gildas, the Briton, writing in the sixth century, fixes the date of the introduction of the gospel into Briton as subsequent to the defeat of the Britons under Boadicea by Suetonius Paulinus. After describing the crushing overthrow of the Britons, he says :

Meanwhile (*interea*) these islands, stiff with cold and frost, and . . . remote from the visible sun, received the beams of light, that is, the holy precepts of Christ, the true Sun, showing to the world his splendor . . . at the latter part, as we know, of the reign of Tiberias Cæsar, by whom his religion was propagated without impediment, and death threatened to those who interfered with its professors.²

¹ " Tacit. Annal.," Lib. XIII., cap. 32.

² " Works of Gildas," Sec. 8, 7, 8.

That is to say, toward the close of the reign of Tiberias, about A. D. 63, the gospel sent its beams of light into the British Islands. Gildas also informs us that its rays of light produced fruits that lived in Christian hearts until the ferocious persecution of Diocletian. This testimony is worthy of confidence. Tertullian, a distinguished writer of the second century and the early part of the third, in a little work written against the Jews, says :

In whom other than in the Christ, who has already come, do all the nations believe? For in him have believed the most diverse peoples: Parthians, Medes, Elamites; those who inhabit Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia; the dwellers in Pontus, Asia, and Pamphylia; those occupying Egypt, and inhabiting the region of Africa beyond Cyrene, Romans and natives, even Jews dwelling in Jerusalem, and other nations; nay, the different tribes of the Getulians, and many territories of the Moors, all parts of Spain, the different peoples of Gaul, and parts of Britain not reached by the Romans but subjugated to Christ. . . In all these the name of the Christ, who has already come, reigns.¹

He does not say that Jesus reigns over all in every one of the races of which he writes, but simply over some believing souls in each one of them. Tertullian had ready access through Carthage to Rome, the centre of intelligence in his day for the world; and in it he could find correct news about Christianity in Britain, even among the warlike Picts beyond the Roman wall. Our quotation announces a miracle, that the lowly apostles of Jesus, one hundred and sixty years after his death should, by themselves or others, have carried his gospel into such a list of countries, and that some of all the nations and tribes he names, and many in not a few of them, should receive the Saviour, is one of the greatest marvels in the whole range of extraordinary events.

If Tertullian were to rise from the dead for a time in our day, and become acquainted with the boundless resources—financial, intellectual, numerical, and governmental—of the Christian churches; and if he were also to learn the

¹ "Adv. Judæos," cap. VII., part IV., p. 303. Lipsiæ, 1841.

situation of the one thousand million or more pagans and Mohammedans, not to speak of others; and of the comparatively insignificant efforts employed for their salvation, it is not improbable that Tertullian would resume for the occasion the legal practice, which he abandoned for the ministry, and frame an "indictment" against the evangelical Christians of the world for not giving labor, love, money, earnest prayers and, when necessary, sufferings, equal to the believers of his day, that we might enjoy similar successes. We can readily conceive this severe advocate and faithful minister, reading to us his record of triumphs as an "accusation," and indignantly saying: "This is what we and our fathers have done; what have you and your predecessors, with far superior resources, accomplished in the same space of time?"

Origen was born in Alexandria, in A. D. 185, and died in Tyre, A. D. 254. He was the equal of any man in his day in general literary and scientific culture, and unequalled as a biblical scholar. No portion of the believing family on earth could be long hidden from him. He writes: "When did Britain previous to the coming of Christ agree to worship the one God? When the Moors? When the whole world? Now, however, through the church, all men call upon the God of Israel."¹ "The influence of the gospel and the power of the Saviour's kingdom, have reached as far as Britain, which seemed to be in another division of the world."²

Eusebius was born about A. D. 270, in Cæsarea. He had the most ample means of securing full and exact information of any man in his day in the vast empire of Rome. His history is still an authority among Christian scholars. He says:

If they, the apostles, were seducers and deceivers, they were at the same time men of no education; belonging entirely to the common

¹ "Fourth Homily on Ezekiel."

² "Sixth Homily on Luke."

people, nay, one might almost say barbarians, and knowing no language but that of the Syrians, how then did they come to advance through the whole world? . . . That some of them should take possession of Rome itself, the head and queen of cities, that others should occupy the kingdom of the Persians, others the kingdom of the Armenians, others that of the Parthians, others even that of the Scythians; that some should have penetrated to the ends of the earth, and the country of the Indians; and others should have crossed the ocean to those islands called *British*; such things I will not believe to be according to man, through man only.¹

Theodoret, bishop of Cyprus, was born at Antioch, in A. D. 386. His ecclesiastical history is very valuable. He writes of the first heralds of the cross: "These, our fishermen, publicans, tent-makers, persuaded not only the Romans and their subjects, but also the Scythians, Sauromatæ, Indians, Persians, Seræ, Hyrcanians, *Britons*, Cimmerians, and Germans to embrace the religion of him who had been crucified."²

The Christians of Britain enjoyed a large measure of prosperity before the persecution of Diocletian burst upon them. Many of their countrymen had adopted the dress and customs of Rome long before that. Numbers of the houses of the wealthy were built of Roman brick. Is there any reason to doubt that most of their churches were constructed of the same material. Old St. Martin's Church, of Canterbury, England, is a building existing from remote antiquity. Its present walls are chiefly composed of Roman brick, and as Dean Stanley says, "May possibly retain in them some of the original bricks of Queen Bertha's chapel."³ This had been used by the Britons as a place of worship. The legendary founder of the church was King Lucius, who lived in the latter half of the second century. From this we learn that the original church called St. Martin's by Bertha and her French friends, was extremely old when the Anglo-Saxons came into Britain in the middle of the fifth century.

¹ "Evangel. Demonstr.," Lib. III., cap. 7.

² Tom. IV., Serm. 9., p. 610.

³ "Historical Memorials of Canterbury," pp. 14, 15. London, 1855.

Speaking of the period just before the persecution of Diocletian began, and of the Christian religion everywhere, Eusebius says :

Who can describe the vast collections of men that flocked to the religion of Christ, and the multitudes crowding in from every city, and the illustrious concourse in the houses of worship, on whose account, not content with the ancient buildings, they erected spacious churches from the foundations in all the cities.¹

What was true of Christian prosperity generally was true of British disciples especially ; for a few years after the persecution they came forth as an influential, well-ordered body, prepared to take a respectable place in a great ecclesiastical council in Gaul.

Diocletian, in the early part of his reign, was favorably disposed to the toleration of Christians. His wife and daughter, the Empresses Prisca and Valeria, as Eusebius writes, favored, if they did not adopt, the Christian faith. Christians were made governors of provinces, and freed from all anxiety about sacrificing to the gods. The rulers of the churches were courted and honored with the greatest subserviency by all the rulers and governors. But suddenly the storm broke upon the unsuspecting Christians with savage fury, in edicts written, says Eusebius, with "a dagger's point,"² which required the destruction of the churches, the burning of the Scriptures, and ultimately, the apostasy or murder of the entire Christian family.

These decrees were not fully executed in Britain. Eusebius states³ that they were only carried out in it for two years, while in the East they were enforced for ten years. During this fierce visitation of imperial hatred to Christ's truth and his friends, Constantius gave some protection to godly Britons. Gildas, the venerable British historian, writes of Diocletian's persecution :

¹ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. VIII., cap. 1.

² "Vit. Constant.," Lib. XI., cap 51.

³ "De Martyrol. Pal.," cap. 13.

The churches, throughout the whole world, were overthrown, all the copies of the Holy Scriptures which could be found were burned in the streets, and the chosen pastors of God's flock were butchered, together with their innocent sheep. God magnified his mercy toward us, as we know, during the above named persecution, that Britain might not be totally enveloped in the dark shades of night; he, of his own free gift, kindled among us bright luminaries of holy martyrs, whose places of burial and martyrdom, had they not been, for our manifold crimes, interfered with and destroyed by the barbarians, would have still kindled in the minds of the beholders no small fire of divine charity. Such were St. Alban of Verulam, Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon, and the rest of both sexes, who, in different places, stood their ground in the Christian contest.¹

In Bede's² account of St. Alban's martyrdom, we learn that while a pagan during this fierce persecution, Alban sheltered a clergyman, pursued by enemies of Christ; his continuance in prayer, his saintly spirit, and his tidings about Jesus, led the host to him, who bestowed a blessed hope upon him. The clergyman's enemy found the place of his concealment, after he had been there several days, and soldiers came to arrest him. When they arrived at Alban's house, he put on the long coat worn by his guest, and was taken before the judge as the minister. The judge was indignant at Alban, whom he knew, and commanded him to be dragged to an altar before him, and to sacrifice to the gods; and he also informed him that because he had defrauded him out of his expected victim, he must suffer his penalty if he intended to renounce idolatry. Alban refused to sacrifice to the demons. The judge then demanded: "Of what family or race are you?" "What does it concern you" answered Alban, "of what stock I am? If you desire to hear the truth of my religion, be it known to you that I am now a Christian, and bound by Christian duties." "I ask your name," said the judge; "tell me it immediately." "I am called Alban by my parents," replied he, "and I worship and adore the true and living God, who created all things." The judge, full of

¹ "Works," Sec. 9, 10.

² "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 7.

anger, demanded again that he should sacrifice to the great gods. Alban rejoined: "Your sacrifices are offered to devils, and are worthless."

The judge then ordered him to be executed. The headsmen, as he led him to the place where he was to suffer, was converted; and both were put to death together. The judge himself gave up persecution, and apparently, idolatry. Though Britain escaped the violence of the persecution that prevailed elsewhere, yet the churches were torn down, the sacred writings reduced to ashes, and many of the faithful, both men and women, were slain.¹ For a time desolation, weeping, bereavement, prevailing prayers, and deep gratitude for the sustaining grace of martyrs, marked the followers of Jesus in Britain, and their temples of worship. But the reign of cruelty and wrong passed away. This persecution was rather the work of Galerius than of Diocletian, his father-in-law, and he confesses that crime in the edict by which he ended the persecution. Diocletian resigned his authority before it had raged quite two years; and Galerius had begun it before the publication of the edict. He, tortured by a foul disease whose cure defied human skill, and feeling the keenest pangs of remorse for the woes he had inflicted upon innocent Christians all over the world, issued a decree ordering the cessation of all persecutions against Christians immediately, and commanding his officers to rebuild their churches, "that they might perform their accustomed devotions, and offer up prayers for the emperor's safety."² The rescript was speedily put in execution. Everywhere its tidings were heard; and, like the jubilee trumpets of Israel, the enslaved in the mines, the exiled who fled to strange countries, those who were concealed in catacombs, or hidden in dens and caves of the earth, and armies of prisoners awaiting the execution of frightful sentences, came forth to pray for

¹ Fox's "Acts and Monuments," I., 25, 90. London, 1841.

² Eusebius, "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. VIII., cap. 17.

the monster in agonies, who had bathed so many countries in the blood of saints. In Britain, Gildas tells us, those who were hidden in woods and deserts and secret caves, waiting until God would give them protection, came forth; and as the bloody decrees expired, all Christ's young disciples, after the long wintry night of flight and anguish, walked forth in the joyful light of heavenly freedom.¹ "They rebuilt the churches, which had been leveled to the ground; they founded, erected, and completed churches to the holy martyrs, and showed their ensigns as tokens of this victory; festivals were celebrated, and sacraments received with clean hearts and lips, and all the church's sons rejoiced as it were in the fostering bosom of a mother." And this holy union between Christ the Head and the members of his churches, proved a great blessing for years. They had received divine strength for the worst trials that ever threatened men; their martyred brethren and sisters had unflinchingly confessed Christ before thousands, and given the pagans stronger proof of the divinity of the gospel than any miracle ever wrought.

No saints on earth were ever better fitted, by unworldliness and heavenly mindedness, to secure converts for Christ, than these pious Britons. No heathen on earth were in a better condition to yield to Jesus, than their idolatrous neighbors. They were crestfallen in view of the complete overthrow of persecution of which they were the willing instruments; the government, very soon after, was permanently against them; and in their hearts they were compelled to confess that the gospel was the power of God beyond a doubt. This period was undoubtedly the final harvest time for the salvation of the South British idolaters. As these men of prayer set out to rebuild the churches, their songs, as well as the dying words of martyrs, the earnest prayers of living believers for more converts, and the power of the life-giving Spirit, brought hundreds, thousands, and at last, all the Britons to Jesus.

¹ "Works of Gildas," Sec. 12.

CHAPTER IV.

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS DURING THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES (*Continued*).

Constantius and Helena are married—He favors the Britons—Constantine is born in Britain—He grants religious liberty to Christians—British bishops at the council of Arles—Pope Sylvester and the council—Arianism in Britain—British bishops at the councils of Sardica and Ariminum—Hilary of Poitiers and the bishops of Britain—Jerome and British pilgrims to Palestine—Theodoret and British pilgrims—At the close of the fourth century the gospel had subdued all Britain from Dumbarton southward—Paganism was still in France.

CONSTANTIUS, a Roman ruler of Britain, was married to Helena, a native of that country. Her father was probably a hotel keeper, who had a tavern on one of the great Roman roads in Britain. While acting as his hostess¹—stabularia—she attracted the regard of Constantius and he made her his wife. From this lowly position she became the consort of an emperor, and the mother of Constantine the Great. She was a devoted Christian, and there is some reason for supposing that she exerted an influence over both husband and son in favor of Christians, which prompted them to the toleration of their opinions. In A. D. 303, when persecution reached Britain, Constantius was only a Cæsar. He was obliged to execute the orders of Diocletian and Maximianus, each of whom bore the title of Augustus—supreme emperor. In this subordinate position he could not hinder the execution of the fiendish mandates of the Augusti; but when, in A. D. 305, he became Augustus, with Spain, Gaul, and Britain under his independent jurisdiction, the Christians enjoyed liberty of conscience. Constantine the Great, writes Collier,²

¹ Gibbon, Vol. I., p. 237. McGowan, London.

² "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. I., p. 56. London, 1840.

is said to have been born in Britain, not only by our English historians, but by the generality of others. At the death of his father in York, in A. D. 306, the first thing he did after being appointed Cæsar by the army was "to give the Christians the free exercise of their religion."¹ In A. D. 312, after a battle fought at the Milvian bridge, near Rome, Constantine the Great, joined by Licinius, issued a decree, giving full liberty to the Christians to live according to their own laws. This decree was re-issued the next year at Milan, removing some hindrances to the spread of Christianity which existed in it at first, and bestowing the protection of the emperor upon all Christians. This sovereign, born of a British mother, and most likely in Britain, made Cæsar in that country where his father reigned and died, gave the boon of religious liberty in a public law to all the nations of the mighty Roman Empire.

In A. D. 314, the council of Arles, in France, was held. It was not summoned by the pope, though not so far from Rome, but by the Emperor Constantine. The business for which it was convened was to decide a controversy which agitated certain ecclesiastics in North Africa about the election of a bishop to the see of Carthage, and which a council at Rome, the previous year, was unable to settle. Other matters, however, occupied a considerable part of the deliberations of the council. There were present at it three British bishops, most likely to represent a large number of bishops and churches, as the bishops of Britain were quite numerous. The names of the bishops were Eborius, Restitutus, and Adelfius, from York, London, and Cærlon. From the presence of these bishops we are justified in the inference that the British churches were in a settled and prosperous condition, which made their opinions of some value in an influential Gallican council convoked by the emperor. Du Pin says:

The bishops wrote to Sylvester, bishop of Rome, as the chief bishop

¹ Stillingfleet's "Antiquities of the British Churches," p. 75. London, 1840.

of the world [bishop of its chief city] an account of everything that they had ordained, that he might publish these canons throughout the Catholic church. They assure him that they were very sorry that he could not be present himself in person at the council, and they pray him to *publish* their decisions over all the world.¹

According to the custom of Gallic councils then and much later, the bishop of Arles asked the pope, because he was in a city which was the centre of correspondence with all nations, not to *confirm* the decrees of the council, but to *communicate them* throughout the church universal, as the emperor sent his edicts to the commander of the prætorian band, his special military agency, to give them general publicity.

The great council of Trent, which opened in 1545 and adjourned finally in 1563, was dependent for the confirmation of its decrees upon the bull of Pope Pius IV., in which we read :

The help of the Holy Spirit in the first place being invoked, as we found all these Catholic decrees to be salutary and useful for Christian people, by the advice and assent, in our secret consistory, of the same brethren of ours (the cardinals), we confirm them each and all this day by apostolic authority; and we order that they be received and obeyed by all the faithful of Christ.²

Gildas urges a serious charge of heresy against the Britons :

The Arian treason, fatal as a serpent, and vomiting its poison from beyond the sea, caused deadly dissension between brothers inhabiting the same house, and thus, as if a road were made across the sea, like wild beasts of all descriptions darting the poison of every heresy from their jaws, they inflicted dreadful wounds upon their country.³

Bede speaks of the Arian madness which, having corrupted the whole world, infected Britain also, so far removed from the rest of the globe, with the poison of its arrows.

Arius first broached his peculiar doctrines in Alexandria, in Egypt, about A. D. 317; there, in opposition to the opinions of Alexander, his bishop, he taught that the Son is only

¹ Du Pin's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. I, pp 595, 596. Dublin.

² "Canones Et Decreta Concilii Tridentini," p. 219. Lipsiæ, 1863.

³ "Works," Sec. 12.

the first and noblest of those created beings whom God the Father formed out of nothing; and that he was inferior to the Father both in nature and in dignity. His doctrines secured such an extensive adoption, that a commotion was excited throughout the entire East, and Constantine the Great felt constrained to summon the celebrated council of Nice, in A. D. 325, to settle a controversy that threatened the peace of Christendom. The council decided against the opinions of Arius, and for a time he was sent into exile in Illyricum. But under Constantius, emperor of the East, the son of Constantine, who was a warm friend of Arianism, that system flourished in a greater measure than ever, and between it and orthodoxy, especially after the death of Constantine, when a large part of the West, including Rome and Italy, was added to the dominions of Constantius, there were frequent conflicts threatening the peace of the whole Christian world. If Arianism entered Britain before the council of Nice, or during the reign of Constantius, it could hardly fail to create dissension, and even angry strife; not because of anything especially belligerent in it, but because it appeared to its opponents as an intruder, hitherto unknown, seeking to displace the most glorious of truths. It must have had a short life; we hear little of it during the warfare upon Pelagianism in the first half of the fifth century.

In A. D. 347, the emperors Constantius and Constantine called a council to meet at Sardica, in Bulgaria, to which one hundred bishops came from the West, and seventy-three from the East, who withdrew from the council because the western bishops refused to exclude Athanasius, Marcellus, and other condemned bishops. Hosius, of Cordova, presided over the council. The retirement of the Eastern bishops put it in the position of a *provincial* council in reference to authority, as a general council alone had a right to make decrees and canons binding upon all Christians. According to Stillingfleet, there were British bishops in this council.¹

¹ "Antiquities of the British Churches," p. 73. London, 1840.

Constantius summoned a council to meet at Ariminum, A. D. 350.¹ About four hundred bishops attended its meetings, for whose journey the emperor furnished conveyances; he also provided money to pay the expenses of those who would accept it. The Christianity of Britain was now recognized before the world in these councils, as having a large body of followers.

Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, a native of Gaul, took charge of his see in A. D. 350, and was for many years the most prominent Gallican prelate; he was largely instrumental in arresting the progress of Arianism in the West. His twelve books on the Trinity made him famous. He became so odious to the Arian bishops that, in A. D. 356, they persuaded the Emperor Constantius to banish him to Phrygia. In this province he wrote his work "On Councils," in the beginning of which "he salutes the bishops of Britain among the rest of the prelates of Christendom, and complains a little that the distance of place and the disadvantages of his banishment had forbidden him the satisfaction of receiving frequent letters from them. After this complaint, he congratulates them upon their orthodoxy, and that they had preserved themselves all along from heretical infection."² From this we see that British bishops and their churches were accorded equal prominence with their brethren in other lands in the middle of the fourth century.

Christians became so numerous in Britain toward the close of the fourth century that they set out in considerable numbers as pilgrims to Palestine, confident that their brethren at home were sufficiently numerous now to protect their property, and guard every precious interest of the Saviour's cause in their dear native land during their absence. Jerome in Palestine saw so many of these pilgrims, and heard of so many more, among whom Britain was largely represented,

¹ Du Pin, Vol. I., p. 609.

² Collier's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. I., p. 85. London.

that he wrote: "The Briton, though separated from the rest of our world, when religion has the ascendancy leaves his western sun in search of a land known to him only by report and by Scripture history."¹

Martin, bishop of Tours, ordained in A. D. 374, who died in A. D. 397, shows in his ministry the singularly slow progress of Christianity in France compared to its success in Britain. This bishop was for a long period the most popular ecclesiastic in western Europe. He had been a soldier; and as a clergyman, he engaged in incessant warfare against paganism. He marched at the head of a band of devoted followers to destroy idols, temples, and consecrated groves, making numerous campaigns in his war against heathen shrines and statues. He replaced the fanes of the gods with churches, and converted many idolaters at the time when Christianity was apparently completely triumphant in Britain.²

¹"Omnium Operum," Tom I., Ep. 17, p. 58. † roben. Bal., 1516.

²"De Vita Martini," cap. 9-17. Verona, 1741.

CHAPTER V.

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS DURING THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES.

Higher education under the Romans—St. Patrick and Dumbarton—Birthplace of Pelagius—His commentaries—His contributions to the “Book of Armagh”—His errors—His love for the Bible—Attacks on Pelagius—His heresy in Britain—On the appeal of orthodox Britons, Germanus and Lupus from Gaul aid them—They succeed—The “hallelujah victory” over Picts and Saxons—Revival of Pelagianism—Its leaders banished—Kind words of Augustine to Pelagius.

EDUCATION has much to do with Christianity, and especially with the preparation of ministers for their work. In Britain, under the Romans, as in other provinces of the empire, there was a valuable system of public education. It was for the free and superior classes, and it extended throughout the dominions of Rome. Each city maintained a certain number of professors, according to its size and population, who taught grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. They were appointed by the magistrates, and partly paid by municipal funds. Vespasian first made provision for salaries for professors at Rome. The Antonines extended the system to the other cities of the empire. The instructors received a salary from the city, and a small fixed sum from each pupil. They were exempt from taxation and military service. Christians were sometimes professors in these public schools.¹

Julian the Apostate issued an edict, A. D. 362, excluding Christian professors from these public institutions, and “forbidding the children of Christians from frequenting the public schools, and from being instructed in the writings of the Greek poets and orators.”²

¹ Milman's “History of Christianity,” p. 356. New York.

² Sozomen's “Eccles. Hist.,” Lib. V., cap. 13.

There is a decree of the Emperor Gratian, who reigned from A. D. 375 to A. D. 383, in the "Theodosian Code," requiring all the chief cities of these parts of the Roman Empire—Gaul—to settle and maintain in them professors of the learning of both the Greek and Roman languages. Britain was a part of the "diocese" of the imperial governor of the Gauls, and undoubtedly was included in Gratian's decree. But even Gratian's decree was but a renewal of the edicts of the Antonines. By virtue of Gratian's edict, says Bishop Stillingfleet :

We are to search for the ancient schools of learning among the Britons in the chief cities of the provinces of that time, especially at London, which was the head of the nation, and at York, and Cærlon. So that the British churches, as long as the Roman power remained here, had the same advantages for learning which they had in other Roman provinces. But when the Roman forces were withdrawn, and nothing but miseries and desolation followed, then St. German's care proved a most seasonable relief in providing such schools as those of Dubricius and Illutus, for the training of persons qualified for the service of the church.¹

By virtue of the decrees of the Antonines, who reigned from A. D. 138 to A. D. 180, if we had ancient British writings we might find schools of learning also in Britain, not only from the time of Gratian, but from the Antonines, who created them in all the provinces of the empire. But these works of an early day are not now known to exist, except in one case.

St. Patrick is the only ancient British writer before Gildas whose works survive. He was born in the Roman-British kingdom of Strathelyde, perhaps about A. D. 360. Late in life he wrote his celebrated "Confession," in which, apologizing for his poor Latin, he says :

I thought of writing long ago, but I hesitated even until now, because I feared to fall under the censure of men ; for I have not read *like others, who being taught in the best way, therefore rightly, both drank in the customary learning in a proper manner and have never changed their language from childhood.*

¹"Antiquities of the British Churches," p. 220. London, 1840.

Patrick refers to the Irish raiders who carried him from his home and school and hindered his educational success; and he speaks very positively about the great advantages of others, presumably his school companions, who were permitted to pursue their studies, were taught in the best way, and drank in the prescribed literature in a proper manner. His apology for his poor Latin contains an unintentional testimony to the superior instruction of the Roman schools of Dumbarton.

Under the Romans there were ninety-two cities in Britain, thirty-three of which were "conspicuous and celebrated." Two of these were "municipal"; nine, "colonial"; ten under the "Latian law," and twelve, "stipendiary."¹ Each of these classes had special privileges, and probably the entire thirty-three cities, and even more, had Roman schools. Dumbarton was under the Latian law, and had St. Patrick's father as a *decurion*, or member of its city council.

Pelagius was a Briton, according to the most trustworthy evidence. His British name, Morgan, signified sea-born; his Greek name, Pelagius, denotes one living by the side of the sea, or coming from it. Pelagius was not a native of Brittany, in France. Armorica was not called Brittany until the sixth century, when Britons fleeing from Anglo-Saxon victories found a refuge there, and gave it its name.² Pelagius was neither an abbot nor a monk of Bangor. Bingham writes:

Some say Pelagius first brought the monastic life out of the East into Britain; others make him abbot also of the college of Bangor, and speak of two thousand monks under him; but this is justly censured by learned men as a mere fable of modern authors.³

It was somewhat later than the residence of Pelagius in his native country before there were any monasteries in Britain. Pelagius was a monk of a class that existed in his time. These led stricter lives than others within their own

¹ Richard of Cirencester, "Six Old English Chronicles," pp. 456, 457.

² Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," Vol. II., 474. McGowan, London.

³ Bingham's "Antiquities of the Christian Church," Book VII., chap. 11, sec. 3.

houses; retiring from the common employments of the world for sacred studies and prayer, their chief occupation next to their devotions, was the study of the Scriptures, while some grave person instructed the disciples in the holy word. This was the chosen office of Pelagius, in Rome, which led him to publish his commentary on Paul's epistles in that city, about A. D. 404.¹

This work, with some parts of it mutilated to remove his errors, is still in existence, and much the larger portion of it is unusually valuable. Its authorship has been credited to Jerome, and it is often printed in old editions of his works. Bishop Lightfoot says:

The notes of Pelagius are pointed and good, but meagre. The high estimation in which they were held, in spite of the cloud which hung over their author, and the fact of their being attributed to Gelasius and to Jerome, are high testimonies to their merits.²

Pelagius was an eminent scholar for his day, educated most probably in British schools. In a council held in Jerusalem, in A. D. 415, where he was accused by Orosius, a Spanish presbyter, sent by Augustine for the purpose, Pelagius addressed the council in Greek, the vernacular of its members, which Orosius was unable to do.³ Neander says: "Pelagius had not the profound speculative spirit which we find in Augustine . . . In learning he was Augustine's superior."⁴

The "Book of Armagh,"⁵ at present in Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland, was transcribed from a manuscript, then becoming obscure, in A. D. 807. This remarkable work is ten hundred and eighty-six years old. It contains all the books of the New Testament, with Jerome's preface to his version of the four Gospels; and also Pelagius'⁶ preface to the Epistles,

¹ Stillingleet's "Antiquities of the British Churches," pp. 188-190.

² Lightfoot "On the Galatians," p. 233. Sixth ed.

³ "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 120.

⁴ "History of the Christian Church," Vol. II., pp. 573, 574.

⁵ "Government Tripartite Life," Pref. 94.

⁶ "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 120.

as well as a separate preface from him to each epistle. Irish Christians never had any regard for the heresy of Pelagius, but they had, in the centuries immediately after their conversion, much admiration for his commentaries.

Collier gives the following list of the errors of Pelagius :

That Adam had mortality in his nature, and whether or not he had sinned, he would certainly have died; that the consequences of Adam's sin were confined to his person; and that the rest of mankind received no disadvantage from it; that the law qualified for the kingdom of heaven, and was founded upon equal promises with the gospel; that before the coming of our Saviour some men lived without sin; that new-born infants are in the same condition with Adam before his fall; that the death and disobedience of Adam are not the necessary causes of death to all mankind, neither does the resurrection of the dead follow in virtue of the Saviour's resurrection; that if a man will make the most of himself, he may keep the commands of God without difficulty, and preserve himself in a perfect state of innocence; that rich men, notwithstanding the advantage of their baptism,—which was generally supposed to wash away all sin,—unless they parted with all their estate, would find all other virtues insignificant to them; neither could they be qualified for the kingdom of heaven; that the grace and assistance of God are not granted for the performance of every moral act, the freedom of the will and information in the points of duty being sufficient for this purpose; that the grace of God is given in proportion to our merits; that none can be called the sons of God unless they are perfectly without sin; that our victory over temptation is not gained by God's assistance, but by the freedom of the will.¹

To Collier's statement, it might be added that the character of Pelagius was without a blemish; and that he declared that it "was through the Holy Scriptures alone that any one is able to know the whole will of God."²

Pelagius was assailed by Augustine, of Hippo, after his conversion almost a second inspired Paul. Jerome joined in the warfare. Pelagius, the obscure Briton, Cœlestius the Hibernian, and Julianus, with minor adherents, threatened for a time to disturb the peace of the Christian world.

¹ Collier's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. I., pp. 96, 97. London, 1840.

² In *Scripturis Divinis per quas solas potes plenam Dei intelligere voluntatem.*
"Ep. Demetrias," Cap. 9.

About A. D. 425, Pelagianism was introduced into Britain by Agricola from Gaul. Its advocates were so successful in their mission, that in a short time they made a great number of converts, and thoroughly alarmed the friends of sovereign grace. "They refused absolutely to embrace this perverse doctrine, so blasphemous against the grace of Christ;" and as the orthodox British clergy felt unable to confute its "subtlety by force of argument," they applied to the Gallican bishops for help. They never thought of seeking the aid of the pope. The neighboring bishops consulted in a synod summoned for the purpose, and by unanimous choice, in A. D. 429, sent Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, of Troyes, to eradicate the heresy. A multitude welcomed these brethren on landing in Britain. The fame of their sermons and virtues spread quickly over the country; they preached daily in the churches, streets, and fields, so that the orthodox everywhere were confirmed, and wanderers were restored. But while the masses accepted the testimony of the visiting bishops, the Pelagian leaders kept in the background, until driven by the loss of so many from their ranks, they boldly came forth and met the champions of truth in a public discussion. They appeared, "conspicuous for riches," in glittering apparel, and supported by the flatteries of many. Evidently the wealthy Britons were Pelagians. An immense multitude of men, with their wives and children, surrounded the speakers. It was one of the most momentous meetings ever held in Britain. The aristocratic followers of Pelagius delivered their addresses first and, as Bede says—perhaps not impartially—"long took up the time, and filled the ears with empty words." The Gallican bishops, when the Pelagians ended, poured forth a torrent of evangelical eloquence, sustained by Scripture proofs and the written testimonies of famous Christian authors. The Pelagians were utterly overthrown and confessed their errors, and for some time abandoned their heresy.¹

¹ Bede's 'Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 17.

In the same year a piratical party of Saxons from beyond the sea united with an invading force of Picts from Caledonia to attack the Britons. Greatly fearing their adversaries, the Britons entreated the assistance of Germanus and Lupus. Germanus had been a general before he was a bishop, and he accepted the appointment of commander of the British troops. He found in the country through which the enemy was expected a valley surrounded by hills, in which he placed his inexperienced troops. As the enemy was seen approaching, Germanus seized the standard, and gave orders that all his men should repeat the word when he cried "hallelujah." And as they were ready for the attack, and Germanus and Lupus shouted "hallelujah" three times, the whole people uttered the same word in their loudest tones; and coming unexpectedly upon the Saxons and Picts, the hills resounding the echo on all sides, they were filled with dread; a panic seized them, and fearing that not only the neighboring rocks, but that the skies were falling upon them, they fled with all haste, and threw away their weapons to increase their speed. The Britons did not lose a man and collected much booty. This bloodless battle took place near Mold, in Flintshire, Wales, and is known as the "Hallelujah" victory.¹

Pelagianism revived in Britain some time after the departure of Germanus and Lupus; and in process of time, the defenders of sovereign grace became alarmed at the movements of these free-will rejecters of "God, working in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure," and the clergy of Britain, in A. D. 447, sent again for Germanus to visit them for the defense of the truth. Germanus, accompanied by Severus, subsequently bishop of Treves, hastened to the anxious Britons. Great numbers met and welcomed them on their landing. They addressed very large congregations in various directions. They gave much comfort to the orthodox, and inspired courage in hearts where it was sadly needed;

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 20.

and finding that Pelagianism had made little progress, and was chiefly confined to certain demonstrative leaders, Germanus secured their expulsion from the island.¹ By the exile, effective though unjust, of the leaders, the heresy of Pelagius was again overthrown.

Pelagius was a writer of force, and even eloquence, as we see in his well-known letter to the Lady Demetrias. It was written upon the capture and plunder of Rome by the Goths under Alaric, in A. D. 410. He says :

This dismal calamity is but just over, and you yourself are a witness how Rome, that commanded the world, was astonished at the alarm of the Gothic trumpet, when that barbarous and victorious nation stormed her walls and made their way through the breach. Where were then the privileges of birth and the distinctions of quality? Were not all ranks and degrees levelled at that time and promiscuously huddled together? Every house was then a scene of misery and equally filled with grief and confusion. The slave and the man of condition were in the same circumstances, and everywhere the terror of death and slaughter was the same; unless we may say that the fright made the greater impression upon those who obtained the most by living. Now if flesh and blood have such power over fears, and mortal men can frighten us to this degree, what will become of us when the trumpet sounds from the sky, and the archangel summons us to judgment; when we are not attacked by sword or lance, or by anything so feeble as a human enemy, but when the artillery of heaven, all the terrors of nature, the militia, as I may so speak, of God Almighty, are let loose upon us?²

Pelagius at times unconsciously created for himself warm affection in the hearts of some. His great adversary, Augustine, addressed a letter to him in these terms: "To the most beloved lord, and most desired brother, Pelagius, Augustine wishes health in the Lord." He then proceeds to write:

I thank God very much that you were pleased to rejoice me with your letter, and to make me sure about your health. The Lord give you blessings by which you may be always happy and live with the Eternal forever, most beloved Lord, and most desired brother.³

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 21.

² Collier's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. I., pp. 94, 95. London, 1840.

³ Ussher's "Works," Vol. V., p. 250.

Besides his commentary and his "Letter to Demetrias," Pelagius wrote "A Treatise Concerning the Power of Nature," several works on "Free-will," and "A Confession of Faith."

He was the ablest of the ancient British Christians except St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland; and with the Holy Spirit directing his heart and labors, he might have won a heathen nation for Christ, whose people would have been blessing his memory still, instead of securing a beggarly harvest of blighted hopes, in the graceless hearts of friends, and of opposition and indignation from the larger part of the Christian world.

CHAPTER VI.

CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS DURING THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES (*Continued*).

Bishop Germanus—His great immersion of an army of believers—Maximus takes thirty thousand British soldiers from their island—In desperate straits the Britons make a final appeal to Rome—Invasion of the Anglo-Saxons—British heroes: Vortimer, Ambrosius, King Arthur—Destruction of churches and slaughter of ministers and congregations—Famous British colleges—The synod of Brevy—The Pelagians—Celebrated church leaders—The monastery of Bangor—Its extensive ruins.

GERMANUS became bishop of Auxerre in France on the death of Amator, in A. D. 418, and remained there for thirty years, when he entered the rest of heaven. He was of noble parents, governor of a province, and a general. His courage made light of dangers; his love for Christ and souls made him preach everywhere.¹ He was an eloquent speaker. During his first visit to Britain, the Holy Spirit fell in saving power upon great numbers of his hearers who, by faith, were cleansed from sin. Some of these were the warriors led by him against the Saxons and Picts, of whom Bede writes: "The army advanced *still wet* with the baptismal water; the faith of the people was strengthened; and whereas human power before had been despaired of, the divine assistance was now relied upon."² A great revival swept over Britain, in A. D. 429, under the daily sermons and fervent prayers of Germanus and Lupus.

Constantine, a reputable clergyman of Lyons, who wrote a "Life of Germanus," in the fifth century, describes this national awakening as "so powerful among the Britons that they had

¹ "Constant. Vit.," German.

² Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 20.

preaching every day, and eagerly rushed for the grace of baptism, for a very great multitude of the army demanded the water of the salutary bath [baptism]. The army marched [to the Hallelujah battlefield] wet with baptism, and the people through faith were enthusiastic. The protection of arms was despised in the expectation of the help of God."¹ The word translated "wet" is the Latin word *madidus*, which means "wet, " wringing wet"; and as this wetting came from being put into a large bathing vessel, the *lavracrum*, used for taking baths, this was clearly the baptismal immersion of great numbers.

Dr. M'Lauchlan, a scholarly Presbyterian, quoting from Ailred's "Life of Ninian," who lived in A. D. 400, that great numbers "rushed to the fountain of saving cleansing," adds: "Wells seem to have been used at an early period for baptism, which, as has been suggested, may be the origin of their being held sacred."² That is, baptism was immersion, administered in wells at an early period.

Dr. Whitley Stokes, an eminent Celtic scholar, was appointed by the authority of the "Lords' Commissioners" of the British Treasury to edit "The Tripartite Life of Patrick, with other Documents Relating to that Saint," in which he states, "that the ordinary baptismal rite is continually referred to [by the ancient writers in his two volumes]. Patrick himself was baptized in a well, and in a well he baptized the pregnant Fedilm, and it is said, twelve thousand others; that the immersion was trine appears from two glosses in the "Würzburg Codex Paulinus."³ The baptism received and conferred by Patrick, the British apostle of Ireland, was immersion; and it was the baptism in his day of the whole Christian world.

When Germanus administered his great baptism to the Britons, their country had been Christian for many years;

¹ "Germani Antis. Vit.," Lib. I., cap. 28.

² "The Early Scottish Church," p. 71.

³ "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. I., Intro., p. 183. London, 1857.

there is no ground for supposing that there was an avowed pagan in it; and if infant baptism had prevailed among them as it has been practised among all Pedobaptists until the principles of the Baptists began to spread in modern times, there would scarcely have been five hundred unbaptized children over three months old in Britain.

Constantine declares that "a very great multitude of the army" demanded baptism. Bede confirms this statement. Where did these people come from if their fathers practised infant baptism? Their existence can only be accounted for by the absence of the infant rite. "Infant baptism," says Neander, "among the Christians of the East, though in theory acknowledged to be necessary, yet entered *so rarely and with so much difficulty into church life*, during the first half of this period"—the first half of the fourth century; and he gives as a result of the absence of baptism—"that in times of public calamity, in earthquakes, in the dangers of war, multitudes hurried to baptism, and the numbers of the existing clergy scarcely sufficed for the wants of all."¹ Gregory, of Nazianzum, was baptized at thirty-one; Jerome, the early translator and commentator, at thirty-two. These distinguished fathers of the fourth century had Christian parents. Augustine and other fathers born in the fourth century were immersed at adult age, though one parent was a Christian, and probably both, at their birth. There is absolutely no evidence that any baptism but that of the immersion of adult believers existed among the ancient Britons in the first half of the fifth century, nor for a long period afterward.

The Britons, after the departure of the Romans, had no regular schools for higher education. There is reason to believe that Germanus induced them to establish monastic schools, like that at Lérins, in France. It was founded by Honoratus, in the end of the fourth century. Lérins educated twelve archbishops, a dozen bishops, and more than

¹ "General History of the Christian Church," Vol. II., pp. 319, 320. Boston.

a hundred martyrs. It was called, "The blessed isle, the isle of saints."¹ It is almost certain that to his advice they were indebted for several noble schools with thousands of students. They loved Germanus dearly, and named churches in various places after him; and in Wales, where the Anglo-Saxons could not destroy them, as they did in England, a considerable number remain to this day, such as Llanarmon in Denbighshire, Llanarmon Dyffrin Ceiriog, and St. Harmon's, Radnorshire. The Welsh form of Germanus is Garmon; and in composition the "G" is dropped. "Llan" is used for our word church; so that "Llanarmon" is the church of Germanus. In the parish of Mold, in Flintshire, Mars-Garmon is located, that is the field of Germanus; this is believed to be the field of battle of Germanus when assailed by the Saxons and Picts, whom he routed by "Hallelujah!" shouted simultaneously three times by his whole army.

Fastidius, a British bishop at this period, became prominent, and was regarded as a man of "great genius and eloquence, an excellent preacher, and a very pious person." He wrote a work upon the "Christian Life," which Du Pin commends highly.² Faustus, a Briton by birth, who spent many years in Gaul, became abbot of the celebrated monastic school of Lérins, about A. D. 430. He had "a wonderful reputation for piety and learning." Du Pin states that "he was commended and honored by the greatest men of his time."³

It is certain that there were many men of exalted worth and usefulness among the Britons during the fifth and sixth centuries, of whom we have a scanty record, or none of any kind; but it is encouraging to meet with British authors of merit in ages when their country was desolated with fire and sword in wars that apparently would never end.

When the Romans first removed their troops from Britain,

¹ Michelet's "History of France," Vol. I., p. 65. New York.

² Du Pin's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. I., p. 497.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

after the capture of Rome, in A. D. 410, the people were civilized and surrounded in many cases with comforts and luxuries. Their gardens and villas exhibited some faint imitation of Italian elegance.¹ They were in the most unwarlike condition of any people in Europe. Some years before, the usurper Maximus, bent upon the invasion of Gaul, led an army into it containing thirty thousand Britons who never returned.² There were twelve considerable bodies of British troops located in various, and often distant provinces of the Roman Empire, and always outside of their own country, from which they were regularly recruited.³ Britons were never trained to arms or given military employment at home. Immediately after the withdrawal of the Roman troops, and again, when they returned to give their enemies a parting and crushing defeat, and left the island, the Britons, deprived of all military protectors, native or foreign, suffered enormously. The Picts and Scots, ferocious warriors to whom the shedding of blood was a daily business, preyed upon them. Petty tyrants sprang up among them to divide their remaining strength and encourage their murderers. It is not remarkable, even after the relief given them, and the return of the legion loaned by Rome, that they should send an address pleading for another visit from the warriors who had protected them for centuries. Their memorable petition, containing the words, "The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea throws us back upon the barbarians; these two modes of death await us—we are either to be slain or drowned,"⁴ has frequently excited scorn, but deserves only compassion.

From the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons, in A. D. 449, fierce war existed between them and the Britons for about one hundred and thirty years, with interruptions commonly of brief duration. The Britons, betrayed by King Vortigern in the

¹ Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," Vol. II., p. 304. McGowan.

² *Ibid.*, p. 168.

³ Rapin's "History of England," Vol. I., p. 25. London, 1732

⁴ "Works of Gildas," Sec. 20, 21,

admission of these warlike barbarians into their country, and otherwise divided, were far from becoming an easy prey to their future conquerors. To their natural bravery they added, from necessity, other developments of successful military experience, until they became formidable to their invaders, whom they frequently drove from the field of battle. The tomb of Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, was built upon the shore as a warning to the roving Saxons, whom he had defeated three times in Kent.¹ Ambrosius Aurelianus showed himself one of the bravest of generals, whose leadership commonly led to victory.

But every British name is effaced by the illustrious name of Arthur, the hereditary prince of the Silures, in South Wales, and the elected king or general of the nation. According to the most rational account he defeated in twelve successive battles the Angles of the North, and the Saxons of the West; but the declining age of the hero was embittered by popular ingratitude and domestic misfortunes.

Rapin speaks of him as a great general; as a hero who enjoyed so much of the love and esteem of the Britons that, after his decease many of them would never believe that he was dead.² This valiant Gustavus Adolphus of the Britons built and repaired churches, and was for years the shield of British Christianity. But the Britons had sinned deeply against God. Gildas the Briton places the five kings of his country in moral pillories, and beside them many of the leading clergymen. Most of the Britons had backslidden from God. The savage fury of the Saxons came as the scourge of Jehovah, and it pressed onward and never stopped until the Britons were driven to the confines of Cornwall and Wales, and desolation and death marked the long, sad line of the retreat. Gildas writes:

All the husbandmen were routed, together with their bishops, priests, and people, whilst the sword gleamed, and the flames crackled around them on every side. Lamentable to behold, in the

¹ Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," Vol. II., p. 475. McGowan, London.

² Rapin's "History of England," Vol. I., pp. 38, 39.

midst of the streets lay the tops of the lofty towers tumbled to the ground, stones of high walls, holy altars, fragments of human bodies covered with livid clots of coagulated blood, looking as if they had been squeezed together in a press; and with no chance of being buried, save in the ruins of the houses, or in the ravening bellies of wild beasts and birds.¹

The destruction of the churches was followed by the flight of the ministers to escape martyrdom. And in all England, as distinct from Cornwall and Wales, Christianity was a mere memory of the past.

The conquest of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons, with the destruction of its Christianity and so many of its people, is one of the darkest chapters in the book of crime. The subjugation of Gaul by the Franks, who spoke the same language as the Anglo-Saxons, or even of the Anglo-Saxons themselves by William the Conqueror, was merciful in comparison with the fate of the ancient Britons.

Though the Christian "priests," as Bede says, "were everywhere slain before the altars; and the prelates and the people, without any respect of persons, were destroyed with fire and sword,"² yet Christianity lived in Wales, even with vigor, during these hundred and thirty years of persecution, and it flourishes there still.

One of the powerful agencies for extending the gospel among the ancient Britons was the establishment of great monastic schools, where the Bible was studied, and literary instruction imparted. These institutions are said to have been founded, soon after A. D. 429, by Dubricius and Iltutus, supposed disciples of Germanus.

Ussher quotes a statement about Dubricius which appears to be worthy of acceptance :

His fame was increased, on account of his knowledge of the Old and New Testaments, through the whole of Britain, so that scholars came from every part of it; and not only the uneducated, but the philosophical and the learned thronged to him for the sake of study;

¹ "Works of Gildas," Sec. 24, 25.

² "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 15.

and with them he retained a thousand clergymen through seven continuous years at his hall at Hentland, on the river Wye, in the study of literature and divinity.¹

We are also informed that he had another place named Moch-Rhos, on the same river, where "he remained many years, directing the studies of his innumerable scholars. The students supported themselves by cultivating the land belonging to the institution, and by the fish in the river Wye." He died about A. D. 522.

In A. D. 519, a numerous synod was held at Brevy, in Wales, to suppress a newly threatened outbreak of Pelagianism. At this assembly all the bishops in Britain were present; and one hundred and eighteen prelates took part in its proceedings, besides abbots, and others.²

St. David preached to a vast concourse of people, and by his eloquence and learning completely silenced the Pelagians.³ He founded twelve monastic schools, the chief one of which was in the valley of Ross, near Menevia, where he trained many eminent ministers. For ages he was described as "the glory of the ancient British church."

Iltutus shared with Dubricius in the honor of founding the great monastic colleges of Wales. In his institution many noblemen's sons were educated; among his pupils were Sampson, afterward archbishop of Dole, in Brittany; Paul, another bishop in Brittany; David, Paulinus, and Gildas the Wise.⁴ His school, says Leland, flourished like a university among the Britons.⁵

The best known of these monastic colleges was located at Bangor, in Flintshire, Wales. This monastery was in the neighborhood of Chester, in England, as we learn from William, of Malmesbury, an intelligent and careful writer, who died about A. D. 1143. He states that Chester belonged to

¹ Ussher's "Works," Vol. V., p. 510.

² Stillingfleet's "Antiquities of the British Churches," pp. 357, 358.

³ Butler's "Lives of the Saints," p. 285. Dublin.

⁴ "Vit. Gild.," Cap. III.

⁵ Collier's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. I., p. 112. London, 1840.

the Britons, as well as the adjacent monastery of Bangor, in the adjoining Welsh county of Flint. He speaks of the "incredible number" of the monks as seen in the vast extent of the ruins. "In his day there were so many half-destroyed walls of churches in the neighboring monastery, so many winding porticoes, such masses of ruins, as are scarcely to be seen elsewhere."¹

According to Bede, Ethelfrid, the pagan king of Northumbria, raised a mighty army against the Britons of Chester; and observing, as he drew near to attack the enemy, a body of priests numbering twelve hundred and fifty, most of whom were from the monastery of Bangor, standing near the Britons, in a place of great safety, praying for the success of their warriors, he ordered an assault to be made upon them first, because, he said, though they do not bear arms, they cry to their God against us, and fight against us by their prayers. All but fifty of the Bangor students and ministers and neighboring pastors were slain, their monastery was destroyed, and the Britons under Brocmail were routed. The monastery of Bangor, as we learn from Bede, had seven divisions; each section ruled by its own rector, and each having not less than three hundred members, who all lived by the labor of their hands.²

This great school, with thousands of students, imparted instruction in every branch of knowledge, and especially in the teachings of the Scriptures. The butchery of its twelve hundred unarmed professors and students, and of neighboring ministers with them by savage, pagan Ethelfrid, the father of saintly Oswald, king of Northumbria, while they were praying for their imperilled brethren, is one of the most odious crimes against humanity in the records of the heathen Anglo-Saxons.

The monastery of Tuy Gwyn, built in A. D. 1146, was

¹ Malmesbury's "Chronicle," Lib. I., cap. 3.

² Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. II., cap. 2.

the first abbey for friars erected in Wales; "afterward they swarmed like bees."¹

Du Pin states that Gildas was abbot of Bangor; that he wrote his lamentations for the miseries of Britain in A. D. 564, and died in A. D. 570. Polydore Vergil, writing of his "little book," says "that he has treated in a few words of the history of his time [and of centuries earlier], and he has bewailed the iniquity of his British countrymen and times, alleging many texts of Holy Scriptures whereby he might both train them to goodness, and cause them to abandon evil deeds; the book is obscure and knotty."² The sub-collector of Peter's pence would find any book full of Scripture obscure and knotty.

Of the Sampsons, one of whom was bishop of York, and subsequently of Dole, in Brittany; and the other, his successor in Dole, "who carried off a great many records of British antiquity with him," which were never recovered, much might be said. These distinguished bishops were honored when living, and their memory was revered for generations after their decease. Cadocus, abbot of Llancarvan; Paternus, Petrock, St. Telian, Oudoceus, St. Asaph, and others among the ancient Britons, in times of unceasing warfare and the most shocking public calamities, lived near to God, and led their suffering brethren to the same safe refuge. They built churches and colleges; they sent out ministers everywhere to preach Christ among the Britons; they made and circulated many copies of the Scriptures; they were present with their people in full view of patriotic battles, though hindered by their consciences from actual fighting, that they might pray for their success, minister to the wounded, and cheer the dying; and that they might invoke the protection of the Almighty upon the helpless wives and little ones, and the dear old fathers and mothers at home.

¹ "Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis," p. 397; note. London, 1863.

² "History of England," Vol. I., p. 28. Camden Society, London.

Often their prayers were answered by sweeping victories, without which their people would have been annihilated by Anglo-Saxon desperadoes. During the long years of war with them, they had martyrs for Christ, with sufferings as inhuman as Romish fiends ever inflicted upon the godly Waldenses; and the number of their sacrificed brethren far exceeded those of the Waldenses in the most cruel one hundred and thirty consecutive years of their entire blood-stained history. The Britons for centuries held the chief doctrines and practices of the Baptist denomination.

BOOK II.
CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ANCIENT IRISH.

CHAPTER I.

THE GOSPEL IN IRELAND BEFORE ST. PATRICK'S DAY.

King Cormac rejects idolatry long before Patrick's arrival—British women in Ireland—A believing family immersed—Cœlestius an Irishman—Bishop Colman—Sir W. Betham—Patrick's testimony.

IRELAND, so near the coast of Britain, and so full of warriors, wizards, and idolatrous agencies and objects, was well known to the churches of Britain, and without doubt often occupied their thoughts and enlisted their supplications. The Romans never attempted its conquest; and it is probable that the Christian Britons were deterred from adequate efforts to secure the conversion of a savage people outside the protection of the Roman legions. That they made the attempt, however, more than once, in some form, their invincible zeal and historical facts assure us. St. Patrick was brought up in a Christian family in Britain, where he was born, and the truth which saved him when a youthful slave in pagan Ireland was taught him in the godly home of Deacon Calpurnius, his father, and in the church of which he was a member and officer. When he escaped from slavery and returned to his home, and once more enjoyed Christian society, his believing experience was greatly enlarged, and his reliance upon Christ strengthened; and soon he was persuaded that he must become a missionary to the Irish. His family, while probably approving of his zeal, was alarmed at the prospect before him. Slemish, the mountain, with its swine, guarding which he spent six dreary years, in snow, in drenching rain,

in rags, and in pinching hunger, by day and by night, reared its rugged sides and black summit before them in horror. And still more fatal dangers were presented to their imaginations, and full of fears for his safety, they entreated him to stay with them. They offered him gifts; and when these and pressing appeals failed, they resorted to threatenings and imprisonment; and as Patrick in his "Confession" calls himself a "fugitive," it is supposed that the resolute young Briton had to fly from his home to enter upon his great work of saving Ireland. This was the spirit of many saints who carried the gospel over Britain until its people were converted, and probably of several others who proclaimed the glad tidings in Ireland.

In the beginning of his "Confession," St. Patrick says: "I was taken as a slave into Ireland with so many thousands of men, according to our deserts." This was not a solitary raid from Ireland, though a large one. Man-stealing and coast robbery were common. In this way many British Christians, nominal and real, were scattered over that country. "The Four Masters' Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland" tells us, at A. D. 266, that—

Forty years was Cormac, the son of Art, the son of Conn, in the sovereignty of Ireland when he died at Cleiteach, the bone of a salmon sticking in his throat, on account of the Siabhradh [Genii] which Maelgenn, the Druid, incited at him, after Cormac had turned against the Druids on account of the adoration of God in preference to them. Wherefore a devil attacked him at the instigation of the Druids.

He left express orders that he should not be buried with his idolatrous ancestors. Cormac was apparently a Christian.

After Patrick had arrived in Ireland as a missionary, on one occasion he left Lomman in charge of his vessel, while he went away for some days. During his absence,—

Lomman was reading the gospel aloud, when Fortchern, son of Fedilmid, admiring the gospel and its teaching, forthwith believed, and the well being open, he was baptized in that place by Lomman.

He remained there with him until his mother came in search of him, and she was rejoiced to see him, for she was a Britoness. She also believed, and returned again to her house and told her husband everything that happened to her and to her son, and Fedilmid rejoiced in the coming of the clergyman, because his mother was British, a daughter of Scoth Noe, the king of the Britons. Then Fedilmid greeted Lomman in the British tongue, asking him about his rank, faith, and kindred. And he answered: "I am Lomman, a Briton, a Christian, a disciple of Bishop Patrick, who was sent by the Lord to baptize the people of Ireland, and turn them to the faith of Christ, who sent me here according to the will of God." And immediately Fedilmid believed, with his whole family, and he made an offering to him, and to St. Patrick, of his lands, his possessions, and his substance, with all his rights as a chieftain over his followers.¹

This evidently truthful quotation is from "Additions to the Collections of Tirechan," a valuable work written in the ninth century. These Christians of British blood represented multitudes from Albion, some of whom bore witness in Ireland to the power and peace of the gospel during perhaps three hundred years of Hibernian paganism.

Cœlestius,² an Irishman, born in the fourth century, became a Christian, and during a large part of the first half of the fifth, he was one of the most active men in Europe or Asia. Accepting the heretical opinions of Pelagius, he was untiring in his efforts to spread and defend them.

In the "Additions to Tirechan's Collections," it is written: "Colman, a bishop, presented to Bishop Patrick, his church at Cluain Cain, in Achud Cain, as an offering devoted to him forever; and he committed it to the holy men, presbyter Medb and presbyter Sadb."³ Neither Patrick nor his assistants had ever conducted the services of this church. Its ownership and use were exclusively Colman's. He was evidently a missionary Briton, laboring in Ireland before Patrick's arrival; or else he came to it independently of Patrick.

¹ In "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. II., pp. 334, 335.

² Jerome's "Proemium," in Lib. III. Comment. in "Jeremiam," Tom. V., p. 137. "Froben. Bal.," A. D. 1516.

³ In "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. II., p. 337.

Soames gives the general verdict of scholars about Christianity in Ireland, when, in speaking of the arrival of Palladius, in A. D. 431, he says: "The truth is, that a few Christian congregations, regularly organized under bishops, had existed in the south of Ireland from some very remote period."¹

Dr. William Lindsay Alexander, a Scotch writer of historical ability, states that,—

Patrick was not, indeed, the apostle of Ireland, for Christianity existed there before his arrival. It is nevertheless certain that he found the greater part of the island so utterly destitute of its influence, that to him was granted a degree of success such as none of his predecessors had attained.²

The late distinguished scholar, Sir William Betham, in his "Antiquarian Researches," states that Ireland was Christianized by St. Patrick long before the year A. D. 432, the date assigned by most of the analysts, and the writers of his "Lives," for the commencement of his labors in it. We have no doubt that St. Patrick began his ministry in Ireland in the end of the fourth century, and not in A. D. 432; and there is a moral certainty that long before his day there were Christians in Ireland.

Toward the end of his "Confession," Patrick clearly intimates this; "I travel amongst you" [he says to his converts] "even to remote places, where no one has ever come to baptize, ordain clergymen, or edify the people." From these words it seems evident that some others in places more easily reached had performed these sacred duties.

¹ Soames' "Latin Church," p 53. London.

² "The Ancient British Church," p. 162. London.

CHAPTER II.

BRITAIN ST. PATRICK'S COUNTRY.

Kingdom of Strathclyde—Dumbarton Patrick's birthplace—Whitley Stokes—Joceline—Giraldus Cambrensis—Roman coins found in Ireland—Irish piratical attacks on Caledonia—Miliuc Patrick's owner—The Irish kingdom in Caledonia—Patrick's testimony.

FROM an early period there was a large British population, from Cumberland, England, into Dumbarton, Scotland, out of which the kingdom of Strathclyde was constituted. Its people maintained their own sovereignty with some modifications until the eleventh century. All Britain was divided by the Romans into seven provinces, only five of which were permanently under them.¹ They left it for the *last time* in A. D. 423, having returned after their previous withdrawal to render temporary military help to their sorely pressed British friends.

Dumbarton, in Scottish Gaelic, is Dun Bhreatuin, the city of the Britons. Bede describes it as "The strong city of the Britons, standing in his day, called Alcluith," which in their (British) language signifies the rock Cluith, for it is close to the river of that name. It formed the western termination of the Roman wall, built by Agricola, A. D. 80, which extended from the Firth to the Clyde.

St. Patrick, in the beginning of his celebrated "Confession," says: "I had Calpurnius, a deacon, for my father, who was the son of the late Potitus, a presbyter, who resided in the village of Banaven Taberniæ; for he had a little farm adjacent where I was captured. I was then nearly sixteen years of age." The country from which the youthful Patrick was forcibly carried has given rise to much discussion. The only

¹ "Richard of Cirencester," Lib. I., cap. 6.

two quarters for which arguments worthy of the name are employed are Great Britain and Gaul, as France was called in ancient times. His traditional residence for some time in Gaul, and his love, expressed in the "Confession," for the godly brethren of that country, are the chief reasons alleged for claiming it as his birthplace. Against France, and in favor of Britain, Patrick and others furnish evidence which cannot be resisted. His birth took place in or near Dumbarton, among the Strathclyde Britons,¹ and though the place of his birth is now in Scotland, ages before Patrick was born, and ages after, it belonged to the Britons, from whom Patrick himself sprang.

In the piratical raid in which Patrick was seized, he tells us in his "Confession" that "He was carried into slavery in Ireland with many thousand men."

This man-stealing expedition would have met with serious, if not insuperable, difficulties in transporting these thousands of captives from Gaul to Ireland. Irish ships in that period were chiefly "coracles," made of the skins of beasts and wicker (willow) rods; a kind of boat, frail as it may seem, which is still frequently used in Arran, Achill, and the western coast of Ireland.² Though the Irish made long and dangerous voyages in these hide-covered basket ships, yet the conveyance of some thousands of unwilling and vindictive captives over the wide sea separating France from Ireland in any mere raid seems extremely doubtful. Dr. Whitley Stokes in his introduction to "The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick," p. 137, says :

The least improbable statements about Patrick are that he was born about 373 [more probably about A. D. 360], at Nemtor, which may have been the older name for Ail Cluade, "Rock of Clyde," now Dumbarton. Sucat, the saint's baptismal name, is the modern Welsh Hygad, "warlike," some of whose exploits may have helped to form the legend of our saint.

¹ Ussher's "Work," Vol. VI., pp. 375, 376. Erlington ed.

² "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. 115. Dublin, 1888.

Joceine (Vit. Pat., cap. 7), in the twelfth century, speaking of Nempthur, Patrick's reputed birthplace, states that "It was in the valley of the Clyde, and was usually called by the people *Dunbretan*, or *Mons Britonum*, the hill of the Britons," Dumbarton. Giraldus Cambrensis, a learned Welsh ecclesiastic, for some time a resident of Ireland during its partial conquest in the twelfth century by the forces of the English king, gives undoubtedly the universal tradition of the Irish about Patrick, when he writes: "Patrick, a native of Britain, and a man eminent for the sanctity of his life."¹ Neander follows with the same testimony:

The place of Patrick's birth was Bonnaven, which lay between the Scottish towns Dumbarton and Glasgow [they are about fifteen miles apart], and was then reckoned to the province of Britain. . . . At the age of sixteen he with many others of his countrymen was carried off by Scottish [the name of the Irish then] pirates to the northern part of Hibernia, and sold to a chieftain.²

From the coast of Antrim in Ireland to Dumbarton on the Clyde, the space is crossed by a steamer in a few hours; from the cliffs of the Antrim coast the houses in the nearest part of Scotland can be seen. The Irish Scots made many piratical attacks upon the territories of the Picts and their British neighbors in what is now called Scotland. In the latter half of the fourth century these expeditions inflicted such widespread and intolerable injuries upon them that the Romans made extraordinary efforts by land and sea to stop assaults from Caledonia and Ireland upon their five sections of Britain.

Some of the plunder carried off by the Irish Scots, probably from Dumbarton and its neighborhood, has been found within fifty years at the Giant's Causeway and Coleraine, about forty miles from Belfast, and elsewhere in Ireland. At the Causeway in 1831, two hundred Roman coins were discovered, extending from Vespasian, A. D. 70, to the Antonines, A. D.

¹ "The Topography of Ireland," Dist. III., cap. 16.

² Neander's "General History," Vol. II., p. 122.

160. At Coleraine, in 1854, two thousand Roman coins were found and two hundred ounces of silver; the coins were all of the fourth and fifth centuries, ending with Honorius by whom Britain was surrendered by the Romans.¹ Numerous discoveries of Roman coins have been made in the same section, in Ulster, and in other parts of Ireland, though the Romans never came to it except as captives in company with Picts and Britons.

In plundering raids against the Dumbarton Britons, in the latter half of the fourth century, thousands of captives were probably landed on the coast between the mouth of the River Bann—which runs through Coleraine to the sea, three miles distant—and Larne; this line of coast would measure about thirty miles, and it has several small natural havens. Some of the coins in the Coleraine collection probably came over in the expedition that brought Patrick into captivity. He became the slave of Miliuc, a petty king of North Dalaradia. He lived in a valley near the hill of Slemish, now called the valley of the Braid, from the river that runs through it. There is a township in the valley still called Ballyligpatrick, or the town of Patrick's Hollow; in it are some remains of an Irish chieftain's fort.² It is five miles from Ballymena, and fifteen from Coleraine. It is in the centre of County Antrim; the other district of Antrim, called Dalriada, embraced the glens of Antrim and the coast from Coleraine to Larne, not far from Belfast. It is not unlikely that in some little harbor between the Causeway and the mouth of the Bann, Patrick's men-stealers disembarked; indeed, it is possible that his coracle, in company with others, ascended the Bann itself to the rocky barrier across the river called the "Cutts," above Coleraine, and there first touched the country which gave him years of degradation and suffering, and a long life afterward of widespread gospel triumphs. The men

¹ "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. 16.

² Reeves' "Antiquities of Down and Connor," pp. 83, 84.

of Dalriada and Dalaradia were heroes in courage and Northmen in cruelty; the Romans as well as the inhabitants of Great Britain had often lamented their fierceness in battle. Their strip of coast frequently witnessed the triumphant return of their frail vessels dangerously freighted with spoils and captives. These were the men who, early in the sixth century, established the kingdom of Argyle in Scotland, which eventually extended its dominion over that entire country. Even Bede, the Englishman, who died in 735, writes of this kingdom :

In process of time, Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, received a third nation, the Scots (Irish), who migrating from Ireland, under their leader, Reuda, either by fair means or by arms, secured for themselves the settlements among the Picts, which they still possess. From the name of their commander, they are to this day called Dalreudins.¹

Patrick in his "Confession," says: "Again, after a few years, I was in the Britains with my parents, who received me as a son, and earnestly besought me, that now, at least, after the many hardships I had endured, I would never leave them again." Patrick unquestionably speaks of the Britains as the home of his parents from which they besought him to never depart. Again, writing in the "Confession" of converts in Ireland, he says: "Wherefore, though I could wish to leave them, and had been most willingly prepared to proceed to the Britains as to my country and parents; and not that only, but even to visit the brethren in the Gauls, and to see the face of the saints of my Lord." Patrick could not more emphatically pronounce himself a Briton; and as if he wished to refute the statement to be made by some in future ages that he was a native of Brittany, in France, he speaks of the Britains as entirely distinct from France, and he uses the plural Gauls, which included every part of France, even that subsequently known as Brittany. But no section of France was the home of any considerable body of Britons so as to give it their

¹ "Eccles. His.," Lib. I., cap. 1.

name, until Patrick was in his grave. Britons, flying from the victorious Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, and from their ruined homes and slain kindred, found a refuge in Gaul in the sixth century; and after its settlement by them it was called "Cornwall,"¹ and the "Lesser Britain." There are strong reasons for accepting the statement at the beginning of the celebrated "Tripartite Life of Patrick": "As to Patrick, then of the Britons of Ail Cluade, Dumbarton was his origin."

¹ Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," Vol. II., p. 474. McGowan.

CHAPTER III.

ST. PATRICK AS A MISSIONARY.

Patrick's poor progress in Latin—A vision in Britain in his youth calls him to Ireland—His Roman nobility—Redeeming captives from the Franks—Palladius had Patrick as another name—Probus states that Patrick preached in Ireland when young.

IF Patrick was born about A. D. 360, as there are many reasons for believing, it is improbable in the highest degree that he should defer his efforts to save the Irish until A. D. 432, when he was seventy-two years of age, as "The Four Masters" relates.¹ He speaks in his "Confession" of being taken "captive when a youth, almost a boy in speech before I knew what I ought to seek . . . hence I blush to-day, and greatly fear to expose my unskillfulness in the use of the Latin tongue. I have not learned like others . . . who have never changed their language from infancy, but have always added more to its perfection." Had then Patrick been in France for thirty years as a student for the ministry, using Latin chiefly, or perhaps exclusively, with his great talents he would have been a splendid Latin scholar, far beyond his boyish attainments in that tongue, the defects of which he carried with him to Ireland and the grave.

That Patrick's call to preach to the pagans in Ireland came soon after his escape from slavery in that country is certain. He tells us in his "Confession" that the voices which he heard in a vision of the night from Ireland, said to him: "We entreat thee, holy *youth* (*puer*), that you come and henceforth walk among us." On another night, in reference evidently to his call to Hibernia, in a vision, some one said to him: "He who gave his life for thee, is he who speaks in thee."

¹ "Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland" at A. D. 432. O'Donovan.

After these visions we are not surprised to read in the same "Confession":

Whence came it to me . . . to know God, or to love him, that I should leave country and *parents*, and many gifts which were offered to me with weeping and tears? And moreover I offended, against my wish, certain of my seniors. But God overruling, I by no means consented or complied with them. It was not my grace, but God who conquered in me, and resisted them all, so that I came to the Irish peoples to preach the gospel.

The vision addresses him as a *youth* with parents. The struggles which he had with them and the seniors, with gifts, weeping, and tears to detain him at home, point unmistakably to Patrick as a young man, not long since delivered from slavery, and about to rush into perils again; but God resisted them all, and in early life "he came to the Irish peoples" to announce the tidings of Calvary. The "Tripartite Life" repeats Patrick's own account, somewhat enlarged. It also adds: "The holy man, when he was encouraged and prompted by the divine Spirit about the conversion of the Hibernians, had now reached his thirtieth year."¹

In the same connection, the "Tripartite Life," after describing Patrick's divine call to evangelize Ireland at thirty, relates the fable that he spent thirty years more in theological preparations for his great work before Larking to the voice of Jehovah. Such contempt for the divine authority by Patrick during so many long years, and such indifference to the eternal death of a whole generation of idolatrous Irishmen, prove this story to be without foundation.

Patrick probably spent a short time in useful preparation in Gaul before entering upon his Irish mission, in which the Saviour was about to give him the whole country as his reward.

Writing to Coroticus, Patrick says: "I was a freeman, according to the flesh, having a decurion for my father; but I sold my nobility for the advantage of others (Irish converts),

¹ Vol. I., pp. 24-26.

and I am neither ashamed nor grieved for the act." Patrick's father was a member of the town council of Dumbarton, one of the ten Romano-British cities under the "Latian law," which invested them with this privilege.¹ Patrick, as a native of Dumbarton, was a Roman citizen of patrician rank. This he sacrificed to preach to the Hibernians. Patrick's Roman "nobility" was not an *expiring* distinction when he surrendered it for the honor of being the apostle of Ireland; the power of imperial Rome showed itself as strong as ever in Britain then. So that Patrick must have been in Ireland many years before A. D. 410, when the Romans abandoned Britain, and the northern barbarians destroyed all Roman institutions and honors, and so terrified the Britons that their old masters, for their temporary defense, loaned them a legion which finally left them in A. D. 423. Patrick's selection as a preacher to the Hibernians was from God, in the end of the fourth century, and not from Pope Celestine, in A. D. 432.

Patrick, in his epistle to Coroticus, states that "it was the custom of the Roman and Gallic Christians to send godly and able men to the Franks and other nations, with many thousand *solidi*, for the purpose of redeeming baptized converts." Patrick sent clergymen, as he informs Coroticus, to secure some of his baptized captives, or the whole of them, as the Gallic and Roman Christians ransomed their brethren when seized by the Franks and other pagans; but these ministers were received with insolent mockery by the marauders. The allusion of Patrick to the Franks shows that he must have written it, as Whitley Stokes says, "While the Franks were pagans, before A. D. 496, and before they crossed the Rhine, in A. D. 428, and settled in Gaul";² and as a consequence, gave up all future attacks upon a country which was to bear their name apparently forever. Patrick wrote

¹ "Richard of Cirencester," cap. VII., in "Six Old English Chronicles," p. 457. London.

² "Government Tripartite Life," Intro., p. CI.

his letter to Coroticus in Ireland, years before Pope Celestine is supposed to have sent him there.

Patrick uses the plural Britains for Britain, which was customary while the Romans occupied that country. In 1676, the territory of the present State of New Jersey was divided into East and West Jersey. During the separation, both sections were called "The Jerseys." East and West Jersey were soon re-united and called New Jersey. As already stated, the Romans had five divisions in the territory in Britain which they *actually occupied*, and these, in writings and in the usage of intelligent persons, were uniformly called Britains, just as our ancestors spoke of "the Jerseys." This custom prevailed until the first evacuation of Britain by the Romans, in A. D. 410. At that time the triumphant Piets and Scots celebrated the embarkation of the imperial legions by flooding the Britains with a deluge of anarchy and murder which destroyed many lives, and all the sectional landmarks and peculiar institutions of old Rome. The use of Britains by Patrick in his little works, shows that they were written before the evacuation of Britain by the troops of the Cæsars, or very soon after.

We learn from the "Chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine," who was born in A. D. 402, and died in A. D. 463, that Palladius was ordained by Pope Celestine, and sent to the Scots (the Irish) believing in Christ (*in Christum credentes*) as their first bishop. "The Four Masters"¹ tells us that Palladius was sent to Ireland by Pope Celestine I., and that he baptized a few persons in Ireland and erected three wooden churches, one of which was "*Teach na Romhan*"—house of the Romans. He left because he did not receive respect in Ireland. Palladius came to a community already believing in Christ. There is no hint given that his charge consisted of pagans, and if there had been, the accusation would probably have been as false as that which Adrian IV. made against the

¹ "The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland," O'Donovan, at A. D. 430.

Irish Christians in the twelfth century in his famous bull, giving Ireland to Henry II., king of England, in which, speaking of Henry's object, he says: "You strive to *extend the boundaries of the church*, to proclaim the truths of Christianity to an uneducated and rude people."¹

Adrian assumes that Ireland was outside the Christian church; there was no pretense for such a charge in his day, and it is not made against the Irish at the coming of Palladius. It is not hinted that the believers in Christ were only few and scattered; enough for a nucleus, but no more. The representation of Prosper gives countenance to the conviction that Irish Christians were numerous when it was necessary for the distant bishop of Rome to send an ecclesiastical overseer for their especial advantage. The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" writes of Palladius, at A. D. 430: "This year, Palladius the bishop, was sent to the Scots (Irish) by Pope Celestine, that he might confirm their faith."²

In this record there is an intimation that the Scots were already converted, and needed a skillful leader to establish them in the true faith. In Fordun's "Scoto-Chronicon," it is recorded: "Durst, who is otherwise called Nectane, the son of Irb, reigned forty-five years; in his reign, St. Palladius, the bishop, was sent by the blessed Pope Celestine to teach the Scots (Irish), long before, however, believing in Christ."³ Fordun's view does not come in collision with the statements of Prosper, the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," or the "Four Masters," and in its more enlarged declaration it is nearer the truth. Probably, except in remote regions, the Irish people were converted when Palladius landed. St. Patrick and his preachers were the instruments of this great work, but they were ignored by Palladius and Celestine. Palladius was the first Romish primate of the Irish Christians and the last until Malachi appeared in the twelfth century. Patrick,

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis' "Conquest of Ireland," Lib. II., cap. 6.

² Bede's "Eccles. Hist. and Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," p. 308. London, 1870.

³ Quoted in Nicholson's "St. Patrick," p. 66. Dublin, 1868.

however, was their teacher before the brief ministry of Palladius, and most probably during and after it. One of the remarkable acts of Palladius was to call one of the three little churches which he built, "The House of the Romans." It is not unlikely that in this edifice some service peculiarly Roman was celebrated. While Patrick had no liturgy, this unusual observance may have prompted the lack of respect which, according to the "Four Masters," led to the withdrawal of Palladius from Ireland. Tirechan, in the latter half of the seventh century, states that Palladius, who was sent by Pope Celestine to Ireland, "was called Patrick by another name."¹

The unfortunate addition of Patrick to the name of Palladius has, as many judge, originated the absurdity about Patrick's sixty years of age when he began his labors in Ireland, though he was less than thirty, and the fable about his commission from Pope Celestine. The sixty years of Palladius Patrick, his Gaulish birth, his papal commission, and A. D. 431 when he landed in Ireland, instead of the end of the fourth century when Patrick commenced his Irish mission, reckoned to Patrick the apostle of Ireland, have created the mass of confusion in which, to many, the history of St. Patrick is involved.

Dr. Lanigan, a learned Catholic historian, writes: "It is universally admitted that there were Christian *congregations* in Ireland before the mission of Palladius, which took place in A. D. 431."² These communities must have had ministers who gathered and presided over them.

Probus,³ a credible author of the tenth century, in his "Life of Patrick" gives an account of his course which agrees mainly with his own. "While in Gaul, the angel of the Lord," he states, "appeared to St. Patrick, saying, 'Go to St. Senior, the bishop who is in Mount Hermon;'. . . and

¹ Tirechan's Collections in "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. II., p. 332.

² Lanigan's "Eccles. Hist. of Ireland," Vol. I., p. 9.

³ In "Government Tripartite Life," Introduction, p. 139.

when he arrived there he remained for some days with him, and the bishop ordained him to the priesthood; and he studied with him for a considerable period." While he tarried there, Probus tells us that he heard in a vision the voices of youths in Ireland, saying: "Come, holy Patrick, and save us from the wrath to come." According to Probus, Patrick wanted the approval of the Most High upon his Irish mission, and he declined the journey until he had seen the Lord; and in his interview with him he commanded him "to go into Ireland and proclaim in it the doctrine of everlasting salvation . . . and Patrick arose, and came into Hibernia; and forthwith the prophets of Ireland foretold that Patrick would come there. But when the islanders treated him with scorn as he preached day and night, although they could not resist the appointment of God," he was discouraged, and "not long after, Patrick, the man of God, left Ireland." He was unsuccessful in his labors, and for a time abandoned his mission. A man of Patrick's heroism and perseverance would not leave the perishing Hibernians even temporarily without many a brave struggle. Passing over some interpolations in Probus, he informs us in his twenty-first chapter that Patrick looked for encouragement and help in his distress to Gaul and not to Rome. He says:

Patrick sailed over the British Sea, and turning into the Gauls, traveling as he *proposed in his heart*, he came to the most pious and the most distinguished man in faith and doctrine, Germanus, the bishop of Auxerre, the eminent primate of nearly the whole of Gaul. With him he remained not a little time in all subjection, with patience, obedience, charity, chastity, and all purity of spirit and life. Whilst he delayed there many days, the angel of the Lord came to him in frequent visions, telling him that the time to go to Hibernia had now come, that he might convert to Christ by the preaching of the gospel the fierce and barbarous peoples for whose instruction he had been appointed.

A fit time having come, with godly counsel he set out for the service to which he was thought worthy of a call from God. And Germanus sent with him Regirus, a presbyter, that he might have

him as a suitable companion and witness in all his travels and labors.¹

Probus also informs us, that Patrick received the grade of a bishop from Amator, a Gallic prelate, and sailed from Gaul into Britain for his Irish field. It is said that after grievous and long continued discouragements he returned to Gaul, and spent four years in study with Germanus of Auxerre; and that he was directed by him, after receiving episcopal consecration from a bishop of Gaul, and without visiting Rome, to resume his missionary work in Ireland. He went to Ireland a third time, a second as a missionary with Gaulish assistants and funds to aid his work.² This information about Patrick is more like the truth than his "Lives" generally give.

To show that Patrick began his missionary labors in Ireland while yet a young man, he speaks emphatically of leaving country and *parents* that he might preach the gospel to the Hibernians. Three times in the "Confession" and "Letter to Coroticus" he mentions the abandonment of his *parents* as well as of his country for missionary duties. These references to the separation from his parents in going to Ireland would be extremely absurd if he were not a young man.

Patrick uses decided words about his youthful years on beginning his ministry in Ireland. In his "Confession" he writes for his Irish friends, "You know and God knows how I have *lived among you from my youth*, faithful to truth, and sincere in heart."³ That Patrick was a missionary in Ireland in the end of the fourth century, when he was thirty years of age or less, is absolutely certain. And though he labored without much success for some years, finally the songs of his multitudes of converts filled all Ireland with hallelujahs.

¹ "Government Tripartite Life," Introduction, p. 139.

² *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 141.

³ Vos scitis et Deus qualiter apud vos conversatus sum a juventute mea, et fide veritatis et sinceritatis cordis.

CHAPTER IV.

PATRICK'S SUPPOSED MISSION FROM ROME.

Lives of St. Patrick are interpolated with fables—Tirechan and Patrick's Roman commission—The choirs of heaven, Rome, and Irish Fochlut sing responsively at Patrick's ordination in Rome—Patrick stealing relics in Rome—Patrick's "Confession" unfavorable to Rome—His love for Gallic brethren—No pope writes a joyful letter over his baptism of twelve thousand in a well in Connaught.

TIRECHAN, in the seventh century, says that "Palladius, the bishop, was sent to Ireland first; he was called Patrick by another name; then Patrick the second was sent by the angel of God called Victor, and by Pope Celestine, through whom all Hibernia believed."¹ Tirechan's second Patrick was the apostle of Ireland. Tirechan is the first writer who gives Patrick a Roman commission; he composed his work about two hundred years after the death of Patrick. He was familiar with Patrick's "Confession," and he makes a mistake in a quotation from it.

When Patrick, toward the end of the "Confession," speaks of the expense he incurred in securing protection from the judges in the regions which he more frequently visited, he states that "He thought he distributed among them not less than the price of fifteen men" [slaves]. Tirechan makes it twelve, with St. Patrick's memorable little work before him.² Tirechan relates that St. Patrick was captured "in his tenth year,"³ and not when "he was nearly sixteen years of age," as Patrick himself says. Tirechan tells some incredible stories about Patrick; he relates that when

He came into *White field*, he found in it the sign of the cross of Christ and two new graves, and the saint called from his carriage:

¹ Tirechan's Collections, "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. II., p. 332.

² *Ibid.*, p. 310.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

“Who is buried here?” And a voice answered from the grave: “Behold, I am a heathen man.” The saint replied: “Why is the sacred cross planted near you?” And again he responded: “Because there was a man buried near my side, whose mother requested that a cross should be placed at the grave of her son, but the senseless fellow planted it near me.” Then Patrick stepped down from his carriage and seized the cross, and pulled it up from the sepulchre of the pagan and placed it above the face of the baptized man, and mounting his carriage, he offered silent prayer to God.

Tirechan tells about a man’s monstrous grave, one hundred and twenty feet long, which Patrick saw, and which led him to work a great miracle; he writes:

That he struck with his staff the stone at his head, and made the sign of the cross upon the grave and said: “Open the grave, O Lord.” And the saint opened the ground, and the man, large and sound, arose and said: “May you be blessed, O pious man, because you have called me even for one hour from so much anguish.” Uttering these words he wept most bitterly and said: “I shall go with you.” They replied: “We are not fit to have you go with us, for the men cannot look at your face through fear of you; but put your trust in the God of heaven and receive the baptism of the Lord, and you shall not return to the place in which you were; . . . and he confessed God, and was baptized and rested, and was placed again in his grave.¹

These and other so-called miracles in Tirechan, in connection with his contradictions of St. Patrick’s “Confession” from which he quotes, show that his reckless credulity, and his intentional or other historical mistakes, lessen the force of his testimony in every case. They do not deprive his work of all value, but his statements need corroboration from circumstances or witnesses. This unreliable biographer is the first author to assert St. Patrick’s papal mission to Ireland.

In the “Tripartite Life” it is recorded that—

Patrick went to Rome to have [ecclesiastical] orders given him; and Celestine, abbot [pope] of Rome, he it is that read orders over him, Germanus and Amatho, king of the Romans, being present with them . . . and when the orders were being read, the three choirs mutually responded, namely, the choir of the household of

¹ Tirechan’s Collections, “Government Tripartite Life,” Vol. II, p. 324.

heaven, and the choir of the Romans, and the choir of the children from the wood of Fochlut, in Ireland. This is what all sang: "All we Irish beseech thee, Holy Patrick, to come and walk among us, and to free us."¹

There must have been a very unusual musical combination on this occasion, when the melting melody of paradise in vast volumes fell upon Rome, when the sacred music of the eternal city was poured forth, and when the wild strains of "Fochlut" passed over oceans and mountains and mingled with the chants of Rome and heaven at Patrick's ordination by Celestine. The choirs of heaven and Rome were as Irish as the choir of "Fochlut," for one song sounded from the lips of the celestial and terrestrial musicians, "All we Irish beseech thee, Holy Patrick, to come and walk among us, and to free us." The imagination of this biographer of Patrick about the union of choirs is very vivid, but it is equalled in his representation of Patrick's ordination by Celestine, "abbot" of Rome. The "Tripartite Life," from which the extract is taken, "was compiled in the eleventh century from documents, many, or all of which, were composed before A. D. 1000."

Patrick's Roman mission is otherwise recorded in the "Lebar Brecc. A Homily on St. Patrick," in the Irish language of the thirteenth century:

The angel brought Patrick to Capua, on Mount Armon, and the Lord spake to him in that place, as he spoke to Moses on Mount Sinai, and told him to go and preach to the Gael [Irish], and he gave him therein Jesus' staff. Wherefore it was according to the will of the synod of Rome and of the angel and of the Lord that Patrick came to Ireland.

Journeying to Hibernia, he entered a vessel "on the strand of the sea of Britain." When Patrick went on board, a leper sought permission to go with him, but there was no vacant place for the leper:

So Patrick put out before him to swim in the sea the portable stone

¹ "Government Tripartite Life," pp. 32, 33.

altar whereon he used to make offering every day. But for all that God wrought a great miracle here, to wit, the stone went not to the bottom, nor did it stay behind them; but it swam round about the boat with the leper on it until it arrived in Ireland.¹

"The staff of Jesus," says Giraldus Cambrensis, "deservedly holds the first place among all the croziers and other relics in wood of the saints."² It occupies a conspicuous position in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. This "famous staff," and a celebrated copy of the Gospels, were, according to the great Bernard of Clairvaux, in his "Life of St. Malachi" of Armagh, the necessary titles to the primatial see of Armagh.³ The fabulous story of the gift of this staff by the Lord to Patrick, and of his trip to Ireland, with his portable stone altar floating around his boat and supporting the leper, inspire incredulity about his voyage to Rome and commission therefrom.

We learn in the "Tripartite Life," that Patrick left Sechnall in charge of the Irish churches and sailed to Bordeaux, and journeyed to Rome; and that

Sleep came over the inhabitants of Rome, so that Patrick brought away as much as he wanted of the relics. Afterward these relics were taken to Armagh, by the counsel of God and the counsel of the men of Ireland. There were brought there three hundred and three score and five relics, together with the relics of Peter and Paul and Laurence and Stephen, and many others. And a sheet was there with Christ's blood [thereon], and with the hair of the virgin.⁴

This entire relic-stealing story would not be a greater slander if alleged against John Knox or John Calvin. The evidence in favor of a Roman commission for Patrick is forged, made incredible by attendant fables, and first discovered long after Patrick's death.

There is strong evidence that Patrick had no Roman commission in Ireland. His "Confession" is an account of the triumphant efforts of grace in the heart and life of a believer

¹ In "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. II., pp. 447, 448.

² "Topography of Ireland," Dist. III., cap. 34.

³ "Opera Omnia Vita St. Malachie," Tom. I., cap. 12, p. 619. Parisiis, 1690.

⁴ "Government Tripartite Life of Patrick," Vol. I., p. 239.

of unusual humility, and of a heroic missionary, blessed with successes never surpassed; it is one of the most important little works ever written. It has a charm for the devout reader of all ages, countries, and Christian communities. Running through it there is a spirit of self-defense which cannot fail to arrest attention. In the "Confession" he writes: "And if, perhaps, it appears to some that I put myself forward in this matter with my ignorance and slower tongue, it is, however, written: 'Stammering tongues shall learn quickly to speak peace.' How much more ought we to aim at this, we, who are the 'epistle of Christ.'"

Again: "Be ye astonished, both great and small, who fear God; . . . who aroused me, a fool, from the midst of those who appear to be wise and skilled in the laws, and powerful in speech and every matter?"

Because many were hindering this mission, and already were talking among themselves, and saying behind my back: "Why does this fellow put himself into danger among enemies who know not God?" Not as though they spoke for the sake of malice, but because it was not a wise thing in their opinion, as I myself also testify, on account of my defect in learning.

Very much in the tone and language of the "Confession" is apologetic and defensive. Why did not Patrick in his final vindication of the Hibernian mission publish a commission from Pope Celestine, if he had one? It would have had much weight with all who revered dignity and worldly importance, and cared nothing for Protestant Bible principles. It is impossible, in view of Patrick's acknowledged sagacity to account for his silence in the "Confession" about Celestine's commission, except upon the ground that he never had it.

Dr. Todd says:

The "Confession" of St. Patrick contains not a word of a mission from Pope Celestine. One object of the writer was to defend himself from the charge of presumption in having undertaken such a work as the conversion of the Irish, rude and unlearned as he was. Had he received a regular commission from the see of Rome, that fact alone would be an unanswerable reply. But he makes no mention

of Pope Celestine, and rests his defense altogether on the *divine call* which he believed himself to have received for the work.¹

Patrick held his friends in loving regard. That Gaulish Christians had much to do in preparing him for his work is the testimony of all tradition; and that they gave him fellow-laborers and funds we have many reasons for believing. He felt bound to them by peculiar ties; and in his "Confession," prepared in full prospect of an early entrance into heaven, speaking of his converts, he says:

Wherefore, though I could wish to leave them, and had been most willingly prepared to proceed to the Britains, as to my country and parents; and not that only, but even as far as to the Gauls, to visit the brethren, and to see the face of the saints of my Lord—God knows that I greatly desired it; but I am bound in the Spirit, who witnesseth to me, that if I should do this he would hold me guilty; and I fear to lose the labor I have commenced; and not I, but Christ the Lord, who commanded me to come and be with them for the rest of my life.

Patrick had a strong desire to visit his kindred, and perhaps a more earnest wish to see the face of his Lord's saints in Gaul; and only the Holy Spirit and the Redeemer hindered the visit.

If the apostle of Ireland had been an agent of Rome, it is certain, that as Celestine did not live during Patrick's spiritual harvests, that Sixtus, his successor, or Leo the Great, who followed him, would call the attention of the leading bishops of Christendom to the astonishing miracles of converting grace wrought in Ireland by St. Patrick and his disciples. When the tidings reached Gregory the Great in Rome that his missionary in England, Augustine, had recently baptized a multitude of converts from heathenism in the river Swale, in that country, he wrote the following in a letter, still preserved in his works, to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria:

More than ten thousand English, they tell us, were baptized by the same brother [Augustine], our fellow-bishop, which I communicate to you, that you may know something to announce to the people

¹ Todd's "St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland," pp. 310, 351, 352. Dublin, 1864.

of Alexandria, and that you may do something in prayer for the dwellers at the ends of the earth.¹

Gregory could not keep such news to himself, and there is reason to believe that he sent many similar epistles to leading bishops throughout the world.

Patrick's biographers, with other great baptisms, write of one: "And in that day twelve thousand were baptized in the well of Oen-Adarc," and among them "the seven sons of Amalgaid, with the king himself."² Tidings of this baptism, through British and Gaulish Christians, must speedily have traveled all over the West; and Rome, the centre of intelligence for every quarter of Europe, heard all about it; but the successors of the dead Pope Celestine paid no attention to the missionary's triumphs whom he was supposed to have sent to Ireland. There is not a written word from one of them rejoicing over Patrick's additions to their church, showing clearly that he was no Roman missionary. Had he been, the old *Te Deum* would have been chanted in every church in Rome, and in the great temples of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, with the sublimest music then on earth to celebrate Patrick's religious triumphs. So completely buried was Patrick and his work by popes and other Roman Catholics, that in their epistles and larger publications, his name does not once occur in one of them until A. D. 634, when Cumman,³ an obscure but learned Irish Romanist, speaks of the cycle of "our holy father Patrick," in a long letter to the abbot of Iona. This epistle was not written until Patrick had been about one hundred and seventy years in his grave.

¹ "Gregor. Mag.," Tom. III., Lib. 8, Ep. 30, p. 952. Migne, Paris.

² "Government Tripartite Life of Patrick," p. 135.

Ussher's Works, Vol. IV., p. 432.

CHAPTER V.

PATRICK'S ROMAN COMMISSION UNAUTHENTICATED.

Prosper does not notice Patrick—His account of Pelagianism in Britain—Bede does not mention him—Muirchu in the seventh century denies that Patrick went to Rome—Fiacc's hymn knows nothing of the Roman commission—The hymn of Secundinus leaves no place in Patrick's creed for the papacy.

PROSPER, of Aquitaine, who died in A. D. 463, when sixty-two years of age, was familiar with the acts of the popes in his day and sustained friendly relations with them.

He knew something of the religious condition of Ireland, and he writes that "Palladius was ordained by Pope Celestine and sent to the Scots, believing in Christ as their first bishop." As St. Patrick was warmly attached to some Gallic brethren, and among them, it is almost certain, to the eloquent Germanus, known all over France, and as the life of Prosper ran along probably the whole successful part of St. Patrick's missionary career in Ireland, Prosper must have known as much of his course in Ireland as Germanus, or any of his other Gaulish brethren. And if Celestine sent Patrick to Ireland, it seems to us impossible that Prosper could be ignorant of it. As he is silent about the pope's favor to Patrick, it certainly may be concluded that he had no mission from Celestine. He says nothing of the greatest success ever given to a missionary of Christ, apparently because he was not a Romanist. Bower, in his "History of the Popes," speaking of the prevalence of the Pelagian heresy in Britain, says:

The Catholics, having no prospect of relief from their own pastors, had recourse to those of Gaul, who . . . summoned a great council and chose with one voice St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and St. Lupus, bishop of Troyes, to pass over into Britain, and there maintain the Catholic cause.

Thus Constantine writes in his ancient "Life of Germanus." But Prosper, who lived in the fifth century, states that the "two prelates were sent into Britain by Pope Celestine." Bower adds: . . . "Prosper was a notorious flatterer of the popes, and ascribed the whole to Celestine."¹

Without a Roman commission, Prosper could not record Patrick's labors in Ireland, as he registered the mission of Palladius, and the authority of the pope who sent him. As Patrick's churches in Ireland, like their brethren in Britain, repudiated the supremacy of the popes, all knowledge of the conversion of Ireland through his ministry must be suppressed, as completely as the silence of this "notorious flatterer of the popes" can secure it.

Bede never speaks of St. Patrick in his celebrated "Ecclesiastical History." His accuracy in general cannot be questioned; his information about Patrick's followers in Scotland and England is very extensive and reliable. His account of their differences from the Romish Church in Britain, of which he was a member, is universally regarded as truthful. No Protestant could speak more highly of some of these ancient enemies of the pope's authority than Bede. He gives a brief account of the extensive usefulness of Ninian,² a Briton, sent from Rome as a missionary to the southern Picts, in A. D. 400. He states that "Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine to the Scots believing in Christ,"³ that is, to the Irish, to whom he went, and commenced an unsuccessful mission; but not a word about St. Patrick, whose very fruitful labors placed him outside the range of comparison with these worthies. From details which he has left us about his methods for securing reliable materials for his work, we learn that he was most painstaking. He secured copies of bulls from Nothelm, afterward archbishop of Canterbury, while on a visit to Rome, "from the archives of the holy Roman Church,

¹ Vol. I., p. 174. Philadelphia, 1844.
"Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., cap. 4.

² Ibid., Lib. I., p. 13.

by permission of Gregory III., some of which appear in his history."¹ The labors of Patrick's religious descendants were unusually blessed in Northumbria, in England, where Bede spent his life. For a time they had the supreme spiritual control of that great kingdom. No more saintly hero appears in the "Ecclesiastical History" of Bede than King Oswald; no more heavenly minded ecclesiastic than Bishop Aidan; and no more talented, holy, and useful woman than St. Hilda, from whose learned school at Whitby, Cædmon graduated, the first great Anglo-Saxon poet, together with large numbers of other persons distinguished by love for the Scriptures and by much worth. These saints, canonized by all Northumbria, as Bede in substance informs us, belonged to the church of the Scots (the Irish), who held no communion with the Roman Catholic Church, founded in England by Augustine and his assistants, and sent there by Gregory the Great. The friction caused by these two differing communities attracted general attention over the entire north of England. The Scottish Church in that country was crushed by the ignorance and tyranny of King Oswy,² at the council of Whitby, in A. D. 664, just twelve years before the birth of Bede. He had conversed with many hundreds who knew and revered the old Scottish preachers and their Bibles, and Bede himself was indebted to Trumhere,³ one of their disciples, for his own warm love for the Scriptures.

To suppose that such a man, with these environments would not know all about St. Patrick that could be learned, is surely to make a great mistake. Besides, he had an inquiring mind, and had "applied himself to every branch of literature and science then known." He was a writer of numerous volumes on a variety of topics; he had a reputation so extended that it reached Rome; and Pope Sergius⁴ invited him to visit him in that city to pour the light of his learning

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., preface, pp. 1, 2.

² Ibid., Lib. III., cap. 25.

³ Ibid., Lib. IV., cap. 3.

⁴ William of Malmesbury's "Chronicle," Lib. I., cap. 3.

upon some subjects which were obscure to the pontiff; the death of Sergius, or some other circumstance, prevented his accepting the invitation. Impelled by his own bent of mind, and by the memories and influences of the members of St. Patrick's Church in Northumbria, with an open door to search the pope's register, through a Nothelm, a Gregory III., or a Sergius, it is morally certain that Bede had positive information before he wrote his work that Patrick had no commission from Pope Celestine. If this had not been true Patrick would have appeared in Bede's "Ecclesiastical History" as the grandest religious hero in Great Britain and Ireland since the Saviour's birth.

As Bede is careful to insert notices of Ninian and Palladius, and as St. Patrick entered upon his Irish labors only ten or fifteen years before Ninian; and was preaching in Ireland during and after the visit of Palladius, it seems very clear that Ninian and Palladius are favorably noticed because they were papal emissaries; but Patrick, immeasurably superior to either of them in worth and works, is completely ignored, for no imaginable reason except the absence of the pope's commission. Bede's notice of other Protestant Scots and Anglo-Scots was compulsory, because their homes, their age, and their missionary efforts mixed them up widely with the conversion and religious affairs of the Anglo-Saxons; and their unusual piety and benevolence constrained the truth-loving historian to speak well of them.

But St. Patrick lived three centuries and a half before, and nothing absolutely forced Bede to give his blessed record; and unlike Ninian and Palladius, he had the commission of no pope. He was a Protestant, for which the Venerable Bede slights him.

Muirchu Maccu-Mactheni, who died about A. D. 670, in his "Notes" on St. Patrick's life, writes "Concerning his age when he wished to visit the apostolic see to *learn wisdom*; concerning his finding holy Germanus in the Gauls, and therefore *he went no farther*; concerning his ordination by

Amator, the bishop, Palladius being dead." Muirchu wrote more than two hundred years after Patrick's death. His declaration is positive that he *did not go to Rome*, and that he went no farther than the Gauls, where he was ordained; and that his object in proposing to see the capital of the Cæsars was not reverence for the pope, or to secure his commission to preach in Hibernia, but to learn wisdom, to join the multitudes of students who came there from every nation of the West to secure a superior education.

Fiacca's hymn is a biographical sketch of Patrick, written in Irish in the eighth century. It gives an account of Patrick's birthplace and ancestry; of Miliuc, his owner when a slave, and of his six years of bondage in Ireland; of his studies with Germanus of Auxerre; of his visions about Ireland, and the cry of the children of Fochlut Wood that the saint would come and walk with them and convert Ireland's tribes from evil to life.¹ The poem includes in its sixty-eight lines more facts about Patrick than it is possible to conceive until it is examined.

Ussher states that "Secundinus was regarded as the author of the Alphabetical Hymn composed in praise of Patrick." And he quotes an old Irish writer, who relates that "Sechnall, the son of Restitutus, a Lombard, and of Darerca, the sister of Patrick, composed that hymn."² Secundinus was his Roman and Sechnall his Irish name. Dr. Whitley Stokes says "that the evidence of the antiquity (fifth century) of this hymn is strong";³ and this is the opinion of others learned in ancient Irish literature. It contains twenty-three stanzas with four lines in each. It declares that Patrick "is constant in the love of God, and unchangeable in faith, upon whom the church [of Ireland] is built, even as Peter."⁴ Here there is no place even for Peter as a foundation for the Hibernian Church.

¹ In "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. II., p. 270.

² "Works," Vol. VI., p. 383. Erlington ed.

³ "Tripartite Life," Intro., Intro. CII.

⁴ Super quem Aedificatur, ut Petrus aeclesia [ecclesia].

The Redeemer sent forth Paul as an apostle directly and not through other Christians, and when he had a special field for his labors, he saw in a vision of the night a man of Macedonia, saying, "Come over into Macedonia and help us." Like Paul's remarkable conversion, Patrick suddenly became a believer among Hibernian pagans when long absent from Christians. After his return to Britain he soon had in a dream or vision a call to preach the gospel in Hibernia; and this call was repeated until he found himself publishing the "glad tidings" to the people among whom he suffered so much, and from whom he had so much to apprehend. Patrick's conversion and call to missionary labor came from God as surely as Paul's. The hymn says, that "Patrick is a good and faithful shepherd of the evangelical flock whom God has elected to defend his people and to feed his lowly servants with divine instructions, for whom, after the example of Christ, he had given his life."¹ Again Secundinus makes Patrick the worthy choice of God for his responsible duties in Hibernia, without any help from Pope Celestine. The hymn further says :

He discovers a holy treasure in the sacred volume; . . . he is a true and distinguished cultivator of the evangelical field, whose seeds are the Gospels of Christ; he sows with sacred words in the ears of the wise; and he plows their hearts and minds with the Holy Spirit. Christ elected him his *vicar*² in the provinces—of Ireland.

Secundinus makes out a grand character for St. Patrick, even in the small section of his poem which we have given; and in the last quotation he makes Christ appoint him his *vicar*, the loftiest title assumed by the pontiffs. Assuredly, Secundinus leaves no higher place for any pope, or apostle, than he gives to Patrick. Of course he says nothing about Patrick's commission from the pope; he lived in his day and it required two centuries more to start such a fable. Upon Patrick the Church of Ireland was built. The Lord chose

¹ Quem Deus Dei elegit custodire populum.

² Xps (Christus) illum sibi elegit in terris vicarum.

him to teach the Hibernians; God sent him to Ireland as he sent the Apostle Paul to the Gentiles; God elected him the guardian and shepherd of the Irish Christians, and finally Christ made him his vicar in Ireland.

Secundinus describes St. Patrick as a fine specimen of Bible Christianity. His poem has none of the ridiculous miracles which disfigure the memoirs of later writers. As one of Patrick's chief bishops, acquainted with him and his entire history, the silence of Secundinus about the Roman mission and his destruction of *any* foundation, however insecure, on which it could stand, gives a death blow to that fondly cherished delusion.

Patrick himself confirms the doctrine that God, and no Roman ecclesiastic, called him to Hibernia. In the "Confession," he says:

I commend my soul to my most faithful God for whom I discharge an embassy [in Ireland] in my ignoble condition because, indeed, he does not accept the person, and *he chose me to this office*, that I might be one of the least of his ministers.

Perhaps nothing would ever have been heard of Patrick's Roman commission had it not been for an unlikely story that Lucius, king of the Britons, sent to Pope Eleutherius, about A. D. 156, entreating him to send ministers to preach to him and his people.¹ He sent Faganus and Damanus, under whose instructions the king and his people were converted.² In imitation of this tale, the fable was invented that Donald I.,³ king of Scots, sent to Rome about A. D. 210, asking Pope Victor for religious instructors, that Mark and Denys were the missionaries, and that the king and his subjects were baptized as a result of their labors. The three assumed facts are equally destitute of foundation, and not unlikely the King Lucius fiction was the parent of the other two.

¹ William of Malmesbury's "Chronicle," Lib. I., cap. 2.

² Fox's "Acts and Monuments," Vol. II., p. 110.

³ "The Early Scottish Church," M'Lauchlan, p. 52.

CHAPTER VI.

FOREIGN APPEALS TO ROME.

The popes encouraged appeals to Rome—A limited reference to Rome permitted by the council of Sardica—This council not a general synod, and without authority to make general laws—The popes falsely quote its decrees as the canons of Nice—The African bishops expose the imposition—Africans forbidden to appeal to Rome—French bishops reject the claim of Leo the Great to hear appeals from Gaul—Celidonius makes the first appeal.

ONE of the common practices of the popes to increase their authority, even as early as the fourth century, was to encourage appeals to themselves. And as favor was sometimes shown to unworthy persons, condemned by their own church officers, who appealed to Rome, other ecclesiastical criminals naturally followed their example. Individuals benefited by appeals to the pontiff, in self-defense magnified the wisdom and dignity of the bishops of Rome, and induced clergymen in trouble to seek their aid.

The council of Sardica,¹ held in A. D. 347, was composed of Western bishops, after the withdrawal of their Eastern brethren, and had only eighty members. It was never recognized as a general council, and consequently had no right to make laws for the church universal. Du Pin, a Catholic of great learning, speaking of three canons of this council permitting a limited appeal to Rome, says :

They do not give the bishop of Rome power to judge the cause of a bishop in his own tribunal at Rome ; they only give him authority to *inquire* whether it were well or ill determined, and in case he find that it were determined wrong to order a new decision of it *in the country and by the neighboring bishops of the province where it was determined*, whither he might send legates in his own name, if he thought it convenient.²

¹ Perceval, on "The Roman Schism," p. 9. London, 1836.

² "Du Pin" Vol. I., pp. 606, 607.

Du Pin justly observes, that "the discipline which these fathers established *was new.*" It had no existence in the Christian church before the council of Sardica. Du Pin also writes: "They were never put in the code of the canons of the universal church, approved by the council of Chalcedon [A. D. 451, composed of six hundred and thirty bishops]. The popes only used them and cited them *under the name of the council of Nice to give them the greater weight and authority.*" And they used them, not to secure a new trial at home by neighbors, but to cover their own iniquitous usurpations. The inexcusable falsehood that these three canons were adopted by the council of Nice, the first and most venerated general council ever held by uninspired men, was urged by Pope Boniface upon the North African bishops as his justification for hearing appeals from their countrymen. The African bishops, however, after careful inquiries about these canons, notified him that "no such canons were passed at Nice, and peremptorily rejected his claim to hear appeals, alleging that they knew of no canon of the fathers authorizing such a course."¹

Pope Celestine, who is supposed to have sent St. Patrick to Ireland, attempted to act the tyrant over the African churches under the false pretense that the worthless canons of Sardica were adopted by the council of Nice. A base fellow, named Apiarius, a presbyter of Sicca, in North Africa, who had been "convicted of many crimes, for which he was degraded and excommunicated by his own bishop, Urbanus," appealed to Rome. Zosimus, the pope, restored him to his rank and the communion of the church, "without ever hearing the other side." He sent three legates to Africa to demand the re-instatement of Apiarius, and to require "a strict observance of the canons of Nice"; one of which permitted limited appeals to Rome. These canons of Nice were the old unrecognized Sardica canons, which Zosimus tried to im-

¹ Perceval, on "The Roman Schism," p. 19.

pose upon the African bishops as the canons of Nice. There was an exciting controversy in Africa between Faustinus, the chief Romish legate, and the bishops, which resulted in a brief suspension of opinion about the canons until Aurelius, the chief African bishop, should write to the bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch for authentic copies of the canons of Nice. A compromise was arranged about Apiarius, which restored him to his rank and the communion of the church, on condition that he should make his submission to his bishop, Urbanus. Authentic copies of the canons of Nice were received the same year, A. D. 419, by the messengers. These copies agreed in every particular with their own, especially with that of Cæcilianus, of Carthage, which he brought with him from Nice, where he had assisted at the council, "without any trace of the canons which Zosimus had produced." These copies were forthwith sent to Rome by the same messengers who brought them from the East. This left canon 22, adopted at Milevi, in A. D. 416, which reads: "Let no one who shall think fit to make appeals to parts beyond sea [Rome] be received into communion by any one in Africa," in full force in North Africa. Boniface, the pope, after receiving the copies of the Nicene canons, allowed the dispute to drop, and the African prohibition of appeals to prevail.

Apiarius sinned wickedly again and was excommunicated, and once more he appealed to Rome; and Pope Celestine, Patrick's supposed patron, restored him to all his privileges, and sent him home with his legate Faustinus, with orders to see him re-instated. The African bishops rejected the insolent commands of Celestine; and, gathering a large council, proceeded to try Apiarius. For three days the arrogance of Faustinus was boundless; on the fourth, Apiarius, conscience-smitten, confessed the enormities with which he was charged, and covered the legate, and the pope soon after, with inexcusable disgrace.

The council "cut off Apiarius absolutely from the com-

munion of the church," notwithstanding his restoration by Celestine. "Then it renewed in stronger terms than ever the canon which had given so great offense at Rome, prohibiting, on pain of excommunication, appeals beyond sea [to Rome], under any pretense whatsoever." The bishops also sent a "synodal letter" to Celestine; in which, among other things, they write:

As for what you have sent us by Faustinus, as a canon of the council of Nice, we must let you know that no such canon is in the genuine and uncorrupt copies of that council which have been transcribed and sent us by our fellow-bishops Cyril, of Alexandria, and the Reverend Atticus, of Constantinople. These copies we sent to Boniface, your predecessor.¹

The tyrannical usurpations of Celestine, and the false representation that the disowned and originally powerless canons of Sardica were the authoritative canons of the council of Nice, are fully recorded by the Catholic Du Pin,² as well as by Bower.

¹ Bower's "History of the Popes," Vol. I., pp. 171, 172.

² "Eccles. History," Vol. I., pp. 638, 639. Dublin.

CHAPTER VII.

PAPAL APPEALS IN GAUL AND IRELAND.

Cruelty of Pope Leo to Hilary of Arles—Patrick's interest in French Christians—He never alludes to Celestine—Connection between North Africa and Gaul—Patrick's supposed canon ordering an appeal to Rome unknown to the pope—Irishmen of Roman tendencies, like Adamnán, ignorant of it—Malachi, the first Romish bishop of Armagh, regarded it as a forgery.

THE church of Gaul denied the authority of the pope to act upon appeals from the decisions of its bishops. Celidonius, bishop of Besançon, was deposed for a legitimate cause by a council, over which Hilary, bishop of Arles, presided. From the decision of the council he appealed to the pope. "Celidonius was the first Gallican bishop who ever thought of appealing from the judgment of his colleagues to that of the bishop of Rome." Leo the Great was pope. As if intoxicated with his first appeal of this character, he cleared Celidonius of his accusations, against the evidence, and restored him to his former dignity. He cut off Hilary from the communion of the apostolic see, deprived him of all jurisdiction over the seven religious provinces belonging to his bishopric, suspended him from ordaining any bishop, and in A. D. 445, in order to disgrace him among the bishops of his own province, who regarded him as a "true pattern of every Christian virtue," he wrote a letter against him in "the most bitter terms, as one who was a disgrace to the episcopal order." By baseless assertions that the bishops of Rome had always received "entire obedience and submission from the Gallican bishops till the time of Hilary," Leo obtained from Valentinian III. "the famous rescript vesting the bishops of Rome with absolute and uncontrolled authority over the Gallican churches

and bishops.”¹ The emperor’s order restored Celidonius, “but that was owing,” says Bower, “to the imperial rescript, not to Leo’s decree; for Hilary and the other Gallican bishops . . . could never be induced to acknowledge the pretended power in the see of Rome of receiving appeals, and re-examining a cause which they had determined.”

Patrick had close relations with France; he loved Germanus of Auxerre, and he lived years after Leo’s wicked attack upon Hilary and the Gallican bishops. Hilary was one of the most distinguished Christian leaders in Gaul. Patrick had Gallic assistants and financial aid in his Irish ministry. And no truer friend of their clergy lived in or outside of Gaul than the warm-hearted Patrick, the Briton. That he sympathized with them in their oppression by Pope Leo and during the remainder of his life while they suffered from the tyranny of the most talented of all the popes, is absolutely certain. That he would advise his Irish disciples to refer a difficult case for decision to Pope Leo, or to any of his predecessors or successors, with their iniquitous pretensions to rule unjustly, is unlikely in the last degree.

Patrick knew that Pope Celestine had sent Palladius to the Scots [Irish], believing in Christ as their first bishop. At that time there is reason for believing that Patrick had been laboring for years in Ireland, and that Palladius was sent as an emissary of Rome to seize his converts and organize a Romish church in Hibernia. He failed in his attempts and left the island. This view of the object of Palladius would account for the singular fact that Patrick never mentions Palladius or his mission. Patrick having some direct interest in procuring information about Celestine had many opportunities for obtaining it.

North Africa, in Patrick’s day, was settled largely by Italian colonists, who kept a close connection with the mother country and France. They spoke Latin. They were numer-

¹ Bower’s “History of the Popes,” Vol. I., pp. 190-192.

ous and prosperous. Their Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine were honored as authors in all Christian countries. Their people were in Italy following various callings, like Augustine when he was converted at Milan. They thronged Marseilles, the old centre of the commerce of the Mediterranean, as merchants and mariners. St. Augustine was a member of the African council, in A. D. 419, which refused to accept the pope's falsehood that the canons of Sardica, permitting a limited appeal to Rome, were the canons of Nice, except during the time needful to examine the copies of the great Eastern bishops; and when the messengers brought the proof of the pope's deceit, appeals to him were permanently forbidden. The works of this eminent man were read all over Europe. In the two hundred and twenty-fifth letter, published in his works, Prosper informs him that "several Christians in Marseilles, having seen his work against the Pelagians, believed that what he taught about the calling of the elect was contrary to the doctrine of the fathers." He also told him that Hilary, bishop of Arles, whom he commends, "did much admire and approve St. Augustine's doctrine in all other things, but could not relish his principles about the decree of the calling of the elect."¹ The efforts of Zosimus, Boniface, and Celestine to claim jurisdiction through appeals over the African bishops, were widely known, over Italy and France especially. And this information was, no doubt, frequently revived by the extraordinary popularity of Augustine, the celebrated North African bishop. Patrick certainly knew of the unhallowed ecclesiastical oppressions of Celestine, his two predecessors, and Pope Leo, through appeals to Rome. And it would be a reflection upon his common sense, upon his regard for scriptural justice, and upon his love for his French friends, if he established an Irish appeal to the tyrannical popes who tormented them and others by such appeals.

How is it that Rome herself did not hear of Patrick's canon and enlist some malcontent Irish ecclesiastic to invite her

¹ Du Pin's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. 1., p. 391.

judicial decision in his favor? What a splendid opportunity she had during the seventh century, when the Easter and tonsure controversies raged in Britain and Ireland! How quickly she dug up the dead canons of Sardica, and transmuted them, for a time, into the venerated decrees of Nice! During that period there were some Romanists in principle among the Irish, like Adamnán,¹ who tried without success to convert the monastery of Iona, of which he was abbot, to Romish practices, and who showed the activity of an apostle of the pope in efforts to seduce the Christians of Hibernia. He could have appealed to Rome, urging Patrick's canon decreeing such application in difficult cases; the pope would have decided in his favor with alacrity, and would have issued a bull, reciting the canon of the illustrious St. Patrick and his own great powers, and commanding all who revered Patrick, Peter (whose successor he claimed to be), and God, to submit to Rome's decision. Had Patrick left such a canon, Adamnán would have been aware of it, and his zeal shows that he would have used it at Rome as soon as he became a partial pervert. And its employment at Rome, with a bull based upon it, through the influence of godly Patrick's name, might have seriously injured Bible Christianity among the Irish. There were others who knew all the canons or decisions of St. Patrick, and who would have notified the pope of a canon enjoining an appeal to Rome if it had had any existence. And the fact that for centuries they never used it to justify unrighteous efforts to rule St. Patrick's churches, is well-nigh irrefutable evidence that it never existed.

Learned Irishmen, when proselytes of Rome, never used Patrick's supposed canon for an appeal to Rome in favor of such a step.

The canon commanding an appeal to Rome is preceded by an order requiring every difficult case to be sent for decision to the see of the archbishop of Armagh, and if by that see, with its wise men, such a trouble as the aforesaid cannot be

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. IV., cap. 15.

easily healed, "We decree that it be sent to the apostolic see, that is, to the see of the Apostle Peter, having authority in the city of Rome. Auxillius, Patricius, Secundinus, and Benignus made this decree."¹ The ninth line following the above, begins with a brief, but ridiculous account of the loves of St. Patrick and Brigit. It reads:

Between holy Patrick of Ireland and Brigit, the pillars [of the Irish mission], the tenderness of so great a love existed, that they had but one heart and one purpose. Christ, through him and her, showed forth many virtues. The holy man [Patrick] said to the Christian virgin: "O my Brigit, thy parish, in thy province, shall be considered thy kingdom."

Brigit was a great helper to Patrick in the conversion of Ireland; but to speak of her as a pillar, like Patrick, in that great work, is the extravagance of falsehood. The terms of endearment ascribed to Patrick in addressing Brigit, show a complete lack of harmony with all that is known of his reserved relations with women, even with such a grand laborer in the gospel as the saintly Brigit. The writer of the "Book of the Angel" was probably the interpolator of a fulsome notice of Brigit's baptism in Patrick's "Confession," as well as the forger of the former pamphlet.

Among the strange things in Irish history, nothing is more remarkable than the fact that such a man as Malachi, archbishop of Armagh, in the twelfth century, wholly ignored Patrick's supposed canon ordering in certain cases an appeal to Rome. He felt that the Church of Ireland was rapidly rushing to destruction. Why not appeal to Rome for help in this emergency, giving Patrick's canon as his chief reason? Moreover, his heart was fixed upon the union of the Irish and Roman churches. He lamented the state of the married primates of Ireland, not so long in their graves; the condition of the wandering bishops, without any fixed dioceses; and the helplessness of the church, the football of contending clans and petty factions.

¹ In "Government Tripartite Life," p. 356.

He desired self-denial, austerity, painful mortifications of the flesh, full-fledged popery, and why not appeal to Rome upon the authority of *St. Patrick's canon*? But Malachi was aware that the entire "Book of the Angel" was a silly fraud, wholly unworthy of notice; and that it had been regarded as a forgery by all his countrymen who knew anything about it since it was first discovered. The risks that Malachi ran in making an appeal to Rome, placing himself as a traitor before the friends of Irish church independence, make it certain that he would have sheltered himself under Patrick's canon in his application to Rome, if it had not been known as a forgery.

Dr. Whitley Stokes regards the "Book of the Angel" as a composition of the ninth century. It consists of five octavo pages. It tells of an angel arousing Patrick from sleep, and informing him that God had appointed Armagh to be the religious capital of Ireland; and he also communicated to him the boundaries and prerogatives of the archbishopric of Armagh.

There is another "Book of the Angel," which had an Eastern origin, and immeasurably more success than the Irish fabrication. Mohammed, speaking of his Koran, in the second chapter of that work, uses these words: "Gabriel, for he hath caused the Koran to descend on thy heart, by the permission of God."¹ According to the false prophet, the Koran is the "Book of the Angel" Gabriel. The Irish book, inspired by some Romanist angel, in the train of the father of untruths, preserves a canon attributed to Patrick and others, ordering an appeal to Rome in certain cases. In these productions of the two angels, the Moslem celestial author appears more poetical and sublime than his Hibernian fellow-laborer, but he fails to surpass him in a lack of veracity.

¹ Sales' "Koran," p. 13. Philadelphia, 1868.

CHAPTER VIII.

ST. PATRICK'S MISSIONARY QUALIFICATIONS.

His discouragements—His humility—Compassion for the unsaved—His perseverance in serious difficulties—His influence among the chiefs—His school for training native preachers—Learning of its president, Secundinus—A Gaulish Eton—Patrick's talents—His courage in danger—His visit to King Loeghaire—The royal sepulchral monuments.

IN his sixteenth year, with no Christian principles to guide him, and with gospel seed only in his memory, which did not germinate in his heart for some years; with no associates but slaves, or the lowest class of Irish idolaters; with religious conversation limited to "Cenn-Cruaich," the chief idol of Ireland, covered with gold and silver, and the twelve other idols around him, plated with brass, or to incantations to secure the favor, or to disarm the wrath of the gods of Hibernia; without one Christian companion or kind heathen friend, Patrick's condition, as he became a slave in Ireland, gave no hope of future usefulness; it was fitted to make him conform to paganism, and to join in the worst sins of his neighborhood. Truly, he was like a "stone deep in the mud," as he says, when God lifted him up and placed him upon the wall of the spiritual temple.

Patrick was one of the humblest men who ever lived. Near his death, when his influence was greater than that which any man in Ireland wielded, he uses expressions of the greatest lowliness of mind. His self-depreciation far surpasses Augustine's in his Confessions, though in real culpability Patrick was sinless compared to the bishop of Hippo. His unselfishness shines conspicuously throughout his genuine writings. It was in this spirit that he came to Ireland to preach Christ, to whose people he owed nothing. And it was in the

same spirit that he labored there fifty or more years without leaving his field of toil more than once or twice in that long period. His kindred loved him, and by "tears and gifts" tried to prevent his entrance upon the duties and dangers of the Irish mission; but he had intense compassion for unsaved souls. This led him to journey through many dangers into the most remote places. He actually aimed at telling the good tidings to the last man in Hibernia, though he had to visit every bog shelter, mountain hut, and fisherman's cabin in the land.

Perseverance was a marked feature in Patrick's character. As an ancient Briton, he was impulsive, ready-witted, easily moved to grief or joy; but he was also cool, deliberate; clinging to a work at first unsuccessful and often showing unusual difficulties.

His soul was frequently bowed down in tearful, supplicating grief before God; but the Holy Spirit wiped away his tears, and repeated to him either the precious words, or others of the same import: "Be not weary in well-doing, for in due time you shall reap, if you faint not." And as often as Hibernian heathenism showed a defiant front, Patrick maintained his seemingly useless assaults; his persevering energy coming from the divine Spirit with the constancy of the tides, until at last the ranks of paganism were broken and its army routed, and Patrick unfurled the flag of Calvary over all Ireland.

He showed much wisdom in conducting his work in Hibernia. The people were in clans or tribes, with a chief or petty king at the head of each; then came provinces, with a king governing this larger community; and then the supreme king, supposed to exercise sovereign dominion over the whole island. Knowing the vast influence which these kings possessed in opening the ears of their people to listen to the gospel, Patrick sought an opportunity first to preach to them; and he did not hesitate to address the supreme king of Ireland. When a leading chief received the gospel, his entire

subjects became interested in its examination, and many of them soon after accepted the Redeemer. And when Dubthach Maccu-Lugair, "king-poet of Ireland, and of the supreme king," received the Saviour by faith, Patrick's gospel obtained a victory over the culture and intelligence of Ireland, the tidings of which would reach and influence in some measure the most ignorant herdsman in the "Green Isle." While one soul was as precious to Patrick as another, one man's salvation might influence thousands toward Jesus; but such an extensive blessing for others attends the conversion of few. By presenting the blood of atonement at the earliest opportunity to the civil, literary, and legal chiefs of Hibernia, Patrick's labors were greatly facilitated.

Patrick had helpers from Gaul and Britain; but at an early day he had wisdom given him to see the advantages of a native ministry in Ireland. At first the education of such a body of men must have been a serious question. But, finally, Patrick constituted a "household" on an extensive scale; it consisted, in part, at one time of twenty-four persons, who were already in the ministry; three of these were bishops, of whom Secundinus, his nephew, was one; the others followed various occupations: domestic, mechanical, agricultural, ecclesiastical, literary, legal, and nautical; all of whom, as opportunity offered, preached Christ.¹ These were simply the agents who conducted a great missionary institution which supplied the country with ministers and teachers in some secular pursuits, as Irish missionaries on the continent furnished them in the seventh century. The "metrical" version of the "Household" of St. Patrick mentions the name of "Brogan, the scribe of St. Patrick's school,"² showing that the great missionary really had a training institution under his care. Patrick, in his "Letter to Coroticus," speaks of "a holy presbyter whom he had taught from infancy." This still further brings out the idea of a general

¹ "Government Tripartite Life," p. 265.

² O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters," at A. D. 448.

educational institution, whose chief object was the instruction of ministers for the Irish church. Secundinus was at the head of Patrick's "household" college, according to the "Tripartite Life." He was the most scholarly man among Patrick's followers. His celebrated "hymn" is remarkable for its good Latin, considering that its author was a native of Ireland, with unknown advantages for acquiring a superior education, unless in Gaul, of which his father was a native. The twenty-first stanza of his hymn begins with the word Christ in a common abbreviation in Greek letters, "Χρς," showing that he understood Greek. In the same section of Gaul in which Auxerre is located, the residence of Germanus, the supposed preceptor of Patrick, the ancient city of Autun lies. In an old Christian cemetery in it, about thirty years ago, as Withrow says :

A remarkable Greek inscription was found, the date of which is about A. D. 400. The language is of Homeric purity and vigor, which is accounted for by the fact that Autun was, during the fourth and fifth centuries, a sort of "French Eton," where Greek, the tongue of "Homer and the gods," was sedulously cultivated.¹

There is much reason for believing that Secundinus had acquired a knowledge of Greek and Latin in Gaul. This learned bishop was at the head of Patrick's "household"; that is, his great school, where he lived when at home.

Brogan, the scribe of St. Patrick's school, was a lecturer, on theology probably, whose addresses were so valuable that they were frequently written and put in circulation; he also made copies of the works of others. In these senses scribe is often found in the "Annals of the Four Masters." The "Book of Leinster" states that Congus a scribe was the nineteenth successor of St. Patrick in the see of Armagh. Patrick's "household" school was the forerunner of the great colleges of Clonard and Bangor, which in the sixth century sent out Columba and Columbanus with a wealth of learning,

¹ "The Catacombs of Rome," p. 257. London.

and of many similar institutions in Ireland; and of the great school in Iona in Scotland.

St. Patrick's "household" college was continually blessing the churches which he founded with able and consecrated ministers. At Cross, Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, left Teloc and Nemnall,¹ "two of his household"—clergymen; while Patrick was abiding in Ailech Airtich,² and while he was in an assembly apart, "his household were baptizing, conferring orders, and sowing the faith." In Dalaraida³ he left "two of his household," Glaisiuc and Presbyter Libur; at Maige Damoerna⁴ and Raith Sithe, Patrick left "two of his household." In Maigev Criathar, Patrick ordained Fiacc, son of Erc, to labor in Leinster,⁵ and "he left seven of his household" with him. He founded churches in the land of the Osraige,⁶ and he left with them "a party of his household." And Patrick came to Mendait Tire, and he left "holy elders of his household" at Tech Talain. To these might be added other cases, but those already quoted show that Patrick had an institution for training ministers under his own supervision, so extensive that he could send pastors and preachers wherever there were openings for them. And from the account of the occupations of the numerous clergymen composing his household, we are inclined to believe that it was also intended for the general instruction of young converts.

Patrick had a powerful intellect and a high order of eloquence. There is a little story told of the conversion of King Loeghaire's two daughters, which contains Patrick's account of God. The story in its main features is now regarded by most scholars learned in Irish literature as genuine. Patrick and some clergymen were sitting beside the spring called Cleebach. Ethne the fair and Fedelm the ruddy, daughters of King Loeghaire came to the spring to wash their hands; the appearance of the men filled them with wonder, and the ladies said to them, "Whence are ye, and whence have ye

¹ "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. I., p. 133.

² *Ibid.*, p. 157.

³ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

come"; and Patrick said to them, "It were better for you to *believe in God* than inquire about our race." The first daughter said :

Who is God? and where is God? and of what is God? and where is his dwelling-place? Has your God sons and daughters? gold and silver? Is he ever living? Is he beautiful? Have many fostered his son? Are his daughters dear and beautiful to the men of the world? Is he in heaven, or on earth? in the sea? in the rivers? in the mountains? in the valleys? Tell us how he is seen? How is he loved? How is he found? Is he in youth or in age?¹

But St. Patrick, full of the Holy Spirit, answering, said :

Our God is the God of all men, the God of heaven, of the sea, and of the rivers; the God of the sun and of the moon, of all the stars; the God of the lofty mountains and of the lowly valleys; the God over heaven and in heaven and under heaven. He has his dwelling in heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things which are in them. He inspires all things; he gives life to all things; he surpasses all things; he supports all things. He kindles the light of the sun and the light of the moon. He made springs in arid land, and dry lands in the sea, and he appointed stars to minister to the greater lights. He hath a Son co-eternal with himself, and like unto him. But the Son is not younger than the father, nor is the father older than the son. And the Holy Spirit breathes in them. Father and Son and Holy Spirit are not divided.

Howbeit, I desire to unite you to the Son of the Heavenly King, for ye are the daughters of a king of earth.

Patrick's account of God, addressed to the royal inquirers, probably in the hearing of a considerable number of others, is profound, exact, and astonishing. The author of this extemporaneous address at the spring was fitted to interest listening thousands and move a whole nation.

Patrick was a man of great courage. Soon after the conversion of Dichu, apparently the first person whom he led to the Saviour, he determined to visit his old master in Antrim, Miliuc. He proposed this, according to Muirchu Maccu-Mactheni, to redeem himself for having run away from his bondage. He carried with him a double price for his servi-

¹ The "Writings of Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland," pp. 85, 88. Religious Tract Society of London.

tude, an earthly and a heavenly one,¹ that he might free him from bondage (to Satan) whom, as a captive, he formerly served. Miliuc, when he learned that his former slave was about to visit him, according to Muirchu, and also the "Tripartite Life," gathered all his treasures into his house, and burned it, them, and himself. Patrick came to the southern side of Slemish Mountain, and had a full view of the conflagration that destroyed his former owner and his home.

His proposed visit to Miliuc showed a daring spirit. He was a desperate man, at the head of a numerous tribe of warriors, whose fathers, and possibly some of themselves, had routed the soldiers of imperial Rome on the coasts of Britain. St. Patrick, to him and his subjects, and to his neighbors far and near, was but a fugitive slave, prompted by insolence in venturing to visit Miliuc. He had reason to expect the loss of any money which he carried, his immediate enslavement, or a cruel death; but he was going to preach Christ to a tyrant, to purchase an indisputable right to personal liberty, and to secure the salvation of his old master's family, which he accomplished, and he feared nothing. After this he came to Dichu, son of Trichem, and remained a long while preaching salvation by faith, "until," it is recorded, "he brought all the Ulstermen² by the net of the gospel to the harbor of life."

Muirchu mentions another convert of Patrick, named Maccuil, a desperate reprobate, an Ulsterman.³ Muirchu speaks of him as,

Very impious, a cruel tyrant, as if his name was Cyclops. He was depraved in thoughts, outrageous in words, malicious in deeds, bitter in spirit, cross in soul, wicked in body, fierce in mind, a heathen in life, savage in conscience, . . . killing passing strangers with execrable wickedness.

This reckless murderer, intending to slay Patrick, had one

¹ "Geminum seruitutis pretium, terrenum utique et cœleste." Notes by Muirchu Maccu-Maetheni in "Tripartite Life," p. 275.

² "Government Tripartite Life," p. 39.

³ Muirchu Maccu-Maetheni in "Government Tripartite Life," pp. 286-289.

of his men placed in their midst as if he were dead, and invited Patrick to stop for a time, and to approach and heal him. Patrick drew near, "knowing all their wiles and deceits," and soon after the man was found dead, to the horror of Maccuil and his band. They took his death for a miracle, though Patrick never claimed that he wrought any miracle; and Maccuil was smitten with distressing repentance toward God. And the saint commanded him "to put his trust in the Lord Jesus his God, and confess his sins and be baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And in that hour he turned to and trusted the eternal God, and, moreover, he was baptized." This account is also found in the "Tripartite Life," and in the "Lebar Brecc Homily on St. Patrick." It required no ordinary courage to address such desperadoes, knowing their plan to murder the preacher and his companions.

The most heroic effort of the saint's life was his visit to King Loeghaire, at Tara. According to Muirchu,¹ who writes in the seventh century, Patrick laid up his vessel at the mouth of the river Boyne and set out for Tara on foot, reaching "the Graves of the men of Fiacc" upon the evening of the day upon which he started. Here the pagan kings of Ireland, with the rites of heathenism, were buried. We learn from Prof. George T. Stokes,² of Trinity College, Dublin, that these famous "graves" are two miles below Slane. At this place several islands divide the Boyne and make it fordable. On one side there are raths, forts, caves, circles, and pillar stones, bearing all the evidence of ancient sepulchral pagan monuments. There are twenty mounds. Knowth covers an acre, and it is eighty feet high. New Grange occupies two acres, and it is, perhaps, the most remarkable Celtic monument now existing. The interior chamber of the New Grange moat has been often compared to the great cavern variously called the tomb of Agamemnon and the treasury of Atreus. Both

¹ Muirchu Maccu-Mactheni in "Government Tripartite Life," p. 278.

² "Ireland and the Celtic Church," pp. 71-73.

are constructed on exactly the same plan, the roof being dome-shaped, but built without any knowledge of the principle of the arch; the central chamber is nineteen feet six inches high, twenty-two feet long, and eighteen broad, while the passage which leads to it is sixty-three feet long, and in general six feet high. One mile from New Grange, the third great rath of Dowth presents similar features. This vast cemetery existed in the same state as it is at present in St. Patrick's time. It was plundered by the Danes of Dublin in A. D. 862, and the raths were rifled of their treasures. In A. D. 266, Cormac Macart, king of Ireland, who renounced Druidism and became a Christian before death, expressly forbade his burial in Brugh, another name for "the Graves of the men of Fiacc," "because it was a cemetery of idolaters; for he did not worship the same god as any of those interred at Brugh."¹

¹ Keating's "General History of Ireland," Vol. I, p. 423.

CHAPTER IX.

ST. PATRICK'S MISSIONARY QUALIFICATIONS (*Continued*).

Tara—Its banqueting hall—A feast in it with an immense attendance—Easter fire—Loeghaire and Tara enraged at Patrick—They attack him—His victory—He goes to Tara the next day singing, "The Deer's Cry"—He preaches to the king and great men of Ireland—Patrick gains a victory for Christ—Loeghaire professes faith—Ireland is largely opened to the gospel—Wizards and miracles—His magnetic influence—His name assumed by a whole nation—The Redeemer his sole reliance.

ST. PATRICK fixed his temporary resting place on the hill of Slane, near Drogheda, surrounded by dead royal pagans, and the symbols of their living and powerful idolatry. Tara was in full view of Patrick's camping-ground. It was the chief residence of the supreme kings of Ireland for centuries before St. Patrick's day, and it continued to enjoy this distinction until A. D. 563. It is situated about twenty-five miles from Dublin. From Prof. George T. Stokes, who refers to the investigations of the learned Petrie about Tara, and other sources of information, we have an accurate account of the ancient palace of the Irish kings. Largely and finally improved in the third century and forsaken in the sixth, though vast, it was necessarily rude by the side of the structures of a later age. The banqueting hall was seven hundred and fifty-nine feet in length; it was originally ninety feet in breadth, and it retains marks of fourteen distinct entrances.¹ Tara, according to Petrie, with one exception, had buildings constructed of wood and clay. Mr. Petrie says: "It is probable that the edifices of Tara were not unlike or inferior to those of the ancient Germans, of which Tacitus speaks in terms of praise, and which he describes as

¹ "Ireland and the Celtic Church," pp. 65-78.

being overlaid with earth so pure and splendid that it resembled painting." In 1810, two magnificent torques (neck chains) of gold were found at Tara, which are now in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. They are spiral in form. One is nearly twenty-eight ounces in weight, and five feet seven inches long. The second is of equal length, but of more delicate construction and greater lightness, weighing only twelve and a half ounces.

At stated intervals, a great convention of the people of Ireland met in Tara, to attend to the public business of the whole island and to enjoy a series of feasts. The night which Patrick spent at Slane was one of the nights of a great festival at Tara. According to Muirchu, there were

Convened there kings, governors, generals, princes, and nobles of the people; and, moreover, magicians, soothsayers, enchanters, and the inventors and teachers of all art and of all science, were called by Loeghaire to Tara, their Babylon, as formerly they were invited by Nebuchadnezzar, the king.¹

They came "To practise many enchantments and magical devices, and some other idolatrous superstitions." Throngs of followers attended the congregated leaders of Ireland at Tara.

The feast of Easter in that day was regarded as the greatest festival that ever existed; and this interest was felt over the entire Christian world. On the eve of its celebration, lamps were lighted or fires kindled. Eusebius, the well-known church historian relates, that "In the time of Constantine, this vigil was kept with great pomp; for he set up lofty pillars of wax to burn as torches all over the city of Constantinople, and lamps burning in all places, so that night seemed to outshine the sun at noonday."² Patrick, after consultation with his believing companions, resolved to celebrate Easter, and "he kindled the divine fire (of Easter) very bright and blessed. It was seen at Tara," and it created indignation there, for "there was a custom proclaimed by edict (of the

¹ Muirchu Maccu-Maetheni in "Government Tripartite Life," pp. 278-285.

² "Vit. Const.," Lib. IV., cap. 22, 57.

king) that his soul should perish from his people who lighted a fire anywhere in any of these regions on that night before it was kindled in the palace of Tara." Loeghaire, the king, was greatly disturbed by Patrick's violation of the legal custom of Tara; and especially by evil forebodings loudly expressed by his great men unless this lawless act was punished; and "the whole city of Tara shared in Loeghaire's apprehensions." "Nine carriages were prepared for the king's party; the two magicians, Lucetmail and Lochru, were added for the attack in the presence of all the nobles." By the advice of the magicians, the king refused to "approach the place where Patrick's fire was, lest afterward he might adore him who kindled it." And when, "at the close of the night, Loeghaire came to *the Graves of the men of Fiacc*, St. Patrick was called out from the place of his Easter fire to the king. Before he came, the magicians said: 'Let us not rise at his coming, for whosoever rises at his coming shall afterward believe upon and adore him.'" And when he appeared before the king, his situation was very alarming; Loeghaire was enraged, his nobles were indignant, the magicians were full of malice; Tara, behind these champions, was ready to destroy the apparently helpless preacher of the gospel; even *the Graves of the men of Fiacc* just at hand, with the dust of many royal conquerors, all resolute defenders of paganism, must have increased the outward hopelessness of the saint's situation. But the brave missionary, assisted by the enthroned Lamb, as he looked at the carriages and their horses, felt more powerful than the king of Tara with all Ireland to help him. "And appropriately with his lips and his heart, he sings the words of the psalm: 'Some trust in chariots and some in horses, but we will remember the name of our God.'" At the saint's approach, only one arose, assisted by the Lord, who was unwilling to obey the command of the magicians; it was Erc, the son of Deg, whose remains are now preserved in the city of Slane. Patrick blessed him and he believed in the everlasting God.

Lochru, the magician, in the presence of the saint, spoke abusively of the Catholic [universal] faith.

St. Patrick sternly beholding him encouraging such wickedness, as formerly Peter looked at Simon, with a certain authority and with a loud voice, said confidently to the Lord: 'O Lord, who canst do all things, by whose power all things consist, and who has sent me hither, let this impious man, who blasphemeth thy name, be raised aloft now, and let him quickly die.'

The magician immediately perished in accordance with Patrick's *alleged* prayer; but his true supplication was undoubtedly *only* for a peaceful victory for the gospel.

The king and his friends, maddened at Patrick for the death of Lochru, wished to kill him, and said: "Lay hands upon this man slaying us." Then seeing the impious pagans about to rush upon him, St. Patrick arose, and in a loud voice, said: "Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered, and let them that hate him fly from his face."

No man ever showed greater bravery in defense of the truth, in presence of such desperate and powerful enemies. Immediately after Patrick repeated this sublime prayer from Psalm 67, darkness fell upon the people of Loeghaire; these impious men fought each other; there was a great earthquake. It seemed to them that the sky fell on the earth, and all fled, leaving Patrick, the king and queen, and two attendants. The queen plead for her husband's life from Patrick; he pretended conversion, and tried to kill the saint; Patrick and his companions disappeared from the sight of Loeghaire, "but the pagans saw only eight stags with a fawn going to the wilderness." This was the number of Patrick's party. Muirchu does not say that they were turned into stags, but that inference has been drawn from his account.

On the following day, Easter day, when the kings and princes and magicians were sitting at a national feast in the immense assembly hall of Tara with Loeghaire, St. Patrick approached the scene of revelry, not like a timid deer, but with the boldness of a lion, singing with his brethren, the words of the famous

DEER'S CRY.

I bind myself to-day to God's power to pilot me,
 God's might to uphold me,
 God's wisdom to guide me,
 God's eye to look before me,
 God's ear to hear me,
 God's word to speak for me,
 God's hand to guard me,
 God's way to be before me,
 God's shield to protect me,
 God's host to secure me,
 Against snares of demons,
 Against seductions of vices,
 Against [the lusts] of nature,
 Against every one who wishes ill to me,
 Far or near,
 Alone and in a multitude.

I summon to-day all these powers around me
 Against every cruel, merciless power which may come
 Against my body and my soul,
 Against incantations of false prophets,
 Against black laws of heathenism,
 Against false laws of heretics,
 Against craft of idolatry,
 Against spells of women and smiths and wizards,
 Against every knowledge that hath defiled man's body and soul.
 Christ to protect me to-day against every poison,
 Against burning, against drowning, against death-wound,
 So that I may have a multitude of rewards.
 Christ with me, Christ before me, Christ behind me,
 Christ in me, Christ below me, Christ above me,
 Christ at my right, Christ at my left,
 Christ in breadth, Christ in length, Christ in height,
 Christ in the heart of every one that thinks of me,
 Christ in the mouth of every one that speaks to me,
 Christ in the eye of every one that sees me,
 Christ in the ear of every one that hears me,
 I bind myself to-day to a strong power, an invocation of the Trinity
 I believe a threeness with confession of a oneness,
 A Trinity in unity,
 In [the] Creator of the universe.
 Salvation is the Lord's, salvation is the Lord's, salvation is Christ's,
 May thy salvation, Lord, be always with us! Amen.¹

¹ This hymn has no fabulous miracles in it like the works of Tirechan and Muirchu about two centuries later. It makes no reference to the worship of saints,

If the king and his hosts of guests heard the singers and their sublime hymn they must have been filled with astonishment at the novel strains and confident appeals to God for help.

As Patrick entered the great banqueting hall, as Muirchu Maccu-Mactheni says, "to make an address before all the tribes [of Hibernia] upon the holy faith,"¹ he seems weakness itself inviting death from thousands of blood-stained reprobates. Patrick had a severe contest with Lucetmail, another magician, who tried like the magicians of Egypt in the days of Moses, to excel Patrick's supposed miracles, but he lost his life in the contest. As a result of the exciting conflict between Patrick and Lucetmail, Loeghaire and many others believed. Some like the king, through fear of Patrick's supposed magical power, and others like Dubthach Maccu-Lugair, the "king-poet," with saving faith. Patrick secured a great victory at Tara, which, in a large measure, opened Ireland to the gospel.

Muirechu, from whom this account of Patrick's visit to Tara is taken, like other writers of his day, credits him with a number of miracles. Even his converts were likely to believe in his supernatural powers.

When Augustine came from Rome as a missionary to England, in A. D. 596, Ethelbert, king of Kent, a man of superior intelligence, with a Christian wife, was afraid to meet Augustine and his brethren "in a house," as Bede says, "lest, according to an ancient superstition, if they practised any magical arts, they might impose upon him."² So when Loeghaire was going to meet Patrick at *the Graves of the men of Fiacc*, his wizards said to him :

angels, or the Virgin Mary. It speaks of incantations, wizards, and the black laws of heathenism, showing its adaptation to Ireland in Patrick's early ministry. It is full of evangelical scriptural sentiments such as Patrick held; and it has one expression, "the judgment of doom," which in some form was often on Patrick's lips. The hymn seems to have had Patrick for its author. We have given seven of the eleven stanzas.

¹ In "Government Tripartite Life," p. 285. London, 1887.

² Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 25.

O king, you shall not go to the place where the fire is (Patrick's place), lest afterward you might reverence him who kindled it, but you shall be on the outside near by, and he shall be called to you that he may reverence you, and the king said: "You have suggested a good plan; I will do as you advise."

Patrick was regarded as an enchanter by some of the Hibernian heathen, and it is highly probable that not a few of them after their conversion, seeing his remarkable success, reckoned him as one of Christ's enchanters who wrought wonders. In this way some of these miracles originated.

Patrick does not himself allude to miracles, but he speaks in terms of unbounded gratitude for the grace that enabled him to lead such numbers to Jesus.

The truth of Muirchu's narrative of Patrick's *religious* success at *the Graves of the men of Fiacc* and at Tara is in *the main* certain. Anything which cannot be accounted for by natural causes is an invention added to the original text, probably by a later hand, but not destroying its verity and value.

Another great advantage possessed by Patrick was his acquaintance with the Irish language. It is sometimes assumed that as a Briton his tongue was identical with that of Hibernia. The people of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland had exactly the same language before the Britons left the rest of the Celtic family to occupy their island home, and before the Irish removed to Hibernia. But time and separation made great changes. St. Patrick, by such a miracle of Providence as sent Joseph into Egypt to provide for his kindred and the subjects of Pharaoh in the coming famine, was carried into Hibernia in his youth and detained there six years, that he might learn its language thoroughly, and that he might be able to preach Christ with irresistible eloquence.

Patrick had a remarkable influence over those whom he met, a magnetic power to draw their affections to himself and their hearts to his Master. His disciples held him in the greatest reverence while he lived, and loved him after his death next to their gracious Redeemer. There were no divi-

sions among his followers, however numerous they became. Patrick was the recognized ruler of his many churches whose members bestowed his name upon their children until it became the most common given name among Celtic Hibernians. Gibbon, referring to this, speaks of Patricius and Augustus as common names in Italy, and states that "the meanest subjects of the Roman empire assumed the illustrious name of Patricius (Patrick, a noble), which by the conversion of Ireland, has been communicated to a whole nation." Though St. Patrick has been dead fourteen hundred and fifty years, he still lives in millions of Celtic hearts in Hibernia and in other lands, and their children, schools, and churches still bear his honored name.

Patrick's chief qualification was constant reliance upon the grace and spirit of God ; hence we read in the "Confession" : "I can accomplish nothing unless my Lord himself should give it to me." "It was not my grace, but God who overcame me that I should come to the Hibernian nations to preach the gospel." "Therefore I am much indebted to God who gave me such great grace that many were born again of God."

These convictions made him pray incessantly for the conversion of souls. Like the well-known prayer of John Knox, "Give me Scotland or I die," so Patrick's heart was continually crying out to God, "Give me Ireland or I die," and as a result God opened the windows of heaven and poured out floods of converting grace, so that Ireland in his day, while not entirely without unbelievers, became a Christian island, and soon after a school for missionaries to the heathen Picts of Scotland, the Pagan Anglo-Saxons, and the idolaters of almost every section of the continent of Europe. It is a little remarkable that this grand old believer in sovereign grace, in full salvation in the blood of the Lamb, and in the immersion of believers, should give his name to popish churches, where his gospel is denounced, and his Baptist brethren, with whose doctrines his writings are in singular agreement, are branded with heretical infamy.

CHAPTER X.

ST. PATRICK'S GREAT WORK, AND HIS EXALTED WORTH.

Cummian and St. Patrick's work and worth—The Four Masters—Marianus Scotus—The Chronological Tract—The Lebar Brecc Homily—Joceline—Giraldus Cambrensis—Roger of Wendover—William of Malmesbury—Mathew of Westminster—Rapin—Archbishop Ussher—Mosheim—Neander—Dr. M'Lauchlan—Prof. G. T. Stokes, D. D.—The Duke of Connaught—The oldest and the greatest Religious Tract Society in Europe.

IN the following quotations the author claims the truth of the general drift only of the evidence presented; the precise number of churches founded by Patrick, or of clergymen ordained by him, cannot be given, and the dates cannot be fixed with exactness. In A. D. 634, St. Cummian wrote a treatise against the Irish time of observing Easter, in the form of an epistle to Segienus, abbot of Iona. He was a Hibernian, a graduate of the great school of Durrow. He was an eminent scholar. In his epistle he shows an acquaintance with Origen, Cyprian, Cyril, Augustine, and Gregory the Great; and he speaks of Patrick as "Holy Patrick, our father,"¹ that is, the father of Irish Christianity, and the human founder of all its institutions in Hibernia and Scotland.

The celebrated "Four Masters,"² whose large work was compiled in the first half of the seventeenth century out of ancient records, relate that St. Patrick erected seven hundred churches, ordained seven hundred bishops and three thousand priests, and baptized all Ireland.

The "Chronicle" of Marianus Scotus,³ a Hibernian, as the

¹ "Vet. Ep. Hibern. Sylloge," Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., p. 440.

² "Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland," at A. D. 493. O'Donovan.

³ In "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. II., p. 510.

latter name tells us, was written about A. D. 1072. In it it is stated that "Holy Patrick, a Briton, preaching with signs and wonders, turned the whole island of Ireland to the faith" of Christ. Marianus Scotus was one of the most celebrated scholars and writers of the Middle Ages.

The Chronological Tract¹ in the *Lebar Brecc*, written in the eleventh century, says of St. Patrick :

Seven hundred fair churches he erected :
He raised them from the ground.

"The *Lebar Brecc* Homily on St. Patrick," composed in the thirteenth century, and first printed with the "Government Tripartite Life," at page 431, says: "One of the splendors which the Sun of Righteousness shed upon the world was the splendor, and the flame, the precious stone and the shining lamp which enlightened the west of the world, Holy Patrick, high bishop of the west of the world, father of the baptism and belief of the men of Ireland." Patrick's religious descendants, teaching and preaching for ages all over Europe, had secured for him a wide-spread and flattering reputation long before the "*Lebar Brecc*" was written.

Joceline says :² "He consecrated three hundred and fifty bishops with his own hand, he founded seven hundred churches, and advanced five thousand clergymen to the sacerdotal rank and service." Joceline, who in the twelfth century, wrote one of the many "Lives" of St. Patrick, was an author of considerable reputation.

Giraldus Cambrensis,³ was cousin to the chief Norman-Welsh warriors who achieved the "English" conquest of Ireland. Writing of Patrick, he states that :

He was a native of Britain, eminent for the sanctity of his life, who, finding the nation [Irish] sunk in idolatry, and immersed in all kinds of superstitions, was the first who, aided by divine grace, preached the faith of Christ, and planted it among them. The

¹ In "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. II., pp. 551, 553.

² Ussher's "Works," Vol. VI., p. 518.

³ "Topography of Ireland," Dist. 111, Cap. XVI.

people flocking in throngs to be baptized by him, and the whole island having been converted to Christianity, he chose Armagh for his see.

Roger, of Wendover,¹ an Englishman, who died in A. D. 1237, whose work was largely stolen by the celebrated historian, Matthew Paris, and whose name it still bears in old editions of Paris, relates of St. Patrick, that "during eighty years he was a pattern of apostolical virtue. . . He ordained three hundred and forty-five bishops and three thousand presbyters; moreover, he converted twelve thousand men in the province of Connaught to the Christian faith. . . Passing into Ireland with spiritual treasures, he baptized its people."

William of Malmesbury,² who died in A. D. 1143, an Englishman, of whom Leland writes, "He is an elegant, learned, and faithful historian," says: "It is written in the year of our Lord's incarnation, A. D. 425, that St. Patrick is ordained to Ireland. . . In A. D. 433, Ireland is converted to the faith of Christ by the preaching of St. Patrick."

Matthew of Westminster, a historian, whose great work has been honored by frequent references by Hume and others, an English author of the fourteenth century, writes: "St. Patrick went to Ireland girded up to preach the gospel, and rich in spiritual treasures; he baptized the Irish, gaining many to God."³

Rapin,⁴ the author of a voluminous history of England, was a Frenchman. His work is, in many respects, the fairest and best record of Great Britain ever published. About St. Patrick, he writes: "He was one of the most remarkable men for the conversion of the Irish, which is generally ascribed to him. . . The Irish did, and still do, reverence him as their apostle and protector. . . Patrick, the Great, the converter of the Irish, governed the Church of Ireland for sixty years."

¹ Wendover's "Flowers of History," at A. D. 491.

² "Chronicle," Lib. I., cap. 2, p. 4.

³ "Flowers of History," at A. D. 493.

⁴ "History of England," Vol. I., p. 43. London, 1732.

Archbishop Ussher¹ (Calvinistic Episcopalian), one of the most learned men that ever lived, whose works are still among the chief treasures of the admirers of scholarly worth, devotes many pages to the career of St. Patrick. In a letter to William Camden, written in June, 1618, he speaks of the apostle of Ireland as "Our great St. Patrick." He justly treats his supposed miracles with contempt, but "wishes that the credit of that worthy man himself should in no wise be touched. Elsewhere² he quotes with favor the statement of Sigebertus in his "Chronicle," who "wrote about our Patrick, that, having been ordained archbishop of the Scots [Irish], and excelling for sixty years in signs, sanctity, and instruction, he converted the whole island of Hibernia to Christ."

Mosheim³ says: "Patrick, although there were some Christians before his arrival, has been justly called the 'Apostle of Ireland.'"

Neander⁴ writes: "Patrick abandoned of all human aid, (as a slave and swineherd in Ireland), found protection, help, and solace in God, and found his chief delight in prayer and pious meditations. If Patrick came to Ireland as a deputy from Rome, it might naturally be expected that in the Irish church a certain sense of dependence would always have been preserved toward the mother church at Rome. But we find, on the contrary, in the Irish church afterward, a spirit of church freedom, similar to that shown by the ancient British church, which struggled against the yoke of Roman ordinances."

This goes to prove that the origin of this church was independent of Rome, and must be traced solely to the people of Britain. Neander further says:

Patrick possessed a great advantage in prosecuting his work in Ireland from his knowledge of the customs and language of the

¹ Ussher's "Works," Vol. XV., p. 154.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., p. 283.

³ "Eccles. Hist.," p. 175. London, 1848.

⁴ "General History of the Christian Church," Vol. II., pp. 122-124.

country. He assembled around him in the open fields, at the beat of a drum, a concourse of people, where he related to them the story of Christ, which relation manifested its divine power upon their rude mind.

Dr. Thomas M'Lauchlin¹ (Presbyterian), a distinguished Celtic scholar, writes :

From all that can be learned of St. Patrick there never was a nobler Christian missionary. . . He went to Ireland from love to Christ and love to the souls of men. . . It is strange that a people who owed Rome nothing in connection with their conversion to Christ, and who long struggled against her pretensions, should now be ranked as her most devoted adherents.

Professor George T. Stokes,² D. D., (Episcopalian), the author of a very valuable work on the Celtic church, says : "St. Patrick had spent his youth in Ireland. There God had revealed himself to his soul, and Patrick ever longed to return to the same country with the tidings of salvation. . . Great missionaries should be great generals, they require the peculiar talents demanded in great conquerors. . . Such an one was St. Patrick."

On May 1, 1850, Arthur William Patrick Albert, Duke of Connaught, was born. This son of Victoria is named for Arthur Wellesley, the great Duke of Wellington, King William, St. Patrick, and his own father, Prince Albert. Truly Patrick's name is in distinguished company. And it is a little curious, though perhaps not intended when the title was conferred, that Patrick gathered in Connaught the greatest harvest of converts he ever received at one time. He baptized twelve thousand persons there in a great outpouring of the Spirit of God, including Amalgaid, the king of Connaught, and his seven sons.

In the "Writings of Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland," as a work recently issued by the Religious Tract Society, of London, is called, its editor, Dr. Wright, Bampton lecturer for 1878 in the University of Oxford, writes :

¹ "The Early Scottish Church," p. 99.

² "Ireland and the Celtic Church, pp. 46, 47, 62.

The modesty and humility exhibited by Patrick in the account presented of the marvelous success of his mission is most remarkable. There is, moreover, in his writings a display of genuine missionary spirit, which, as it has roused many a Christian worker to action in the past, may well stir up many in our day also. Patrick everywhere displays an earnest trust and faith in the constant protection of a gracious Providence. His love for the souls of men among whom he labored, notwithstanding the bad treatment he received at their hands, is remarkable. A simple, unaffected piety, wholly devoid of ostentation, breathes forth in every paragraph of his writings. They ought to be dear to all lovers of the gospel of Christ to whatsoever creed they may belong.

Patrick's writings ought to be prized by all who delight in such devotional works as the "Confessions of Augustine," or the "Imitation of Christ," of Thomas á Kempis. Much food will be found for the devotional life in the simple "remains" of the apostle of Ireland.¹

¹ Patrick's "Writings," pp. 26, 27, 28. Religious Tract Society of London.

CHAPTER XI.

ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION, AND HIS LETTER TO COROTICUS.

Authenticity of the Pamphlets.

WE shall mention only a few of the numerous reasons why these two works of the Apostle of Ireland are regarded as genuine.

Books written a little over two hundred years after St. Patrick's death, such as those of Tirechan, Muirchu Maccu-Mactheni, and Adamnán, who were good but credulous men, abound in miracles, preposterous and sometimes cruel; and even Venerable Bede himself, occasionally disgraces his noble history by similar fictions. St. Patrick's writings are entirely free from such fables. They read like sober and truthful records.

St. Patrick states that he writes poor Latin. He makes grammatical mistakes, and has a somewhat barbarous style; but this is to be expected from a Briton who learned Latin in his boyhood, studied for some time in France, and preached in Irish during many years. Any one acquainted with the "History of the Franks" of Gregory, who became bishop of Tours, in France, in A. D. 573, will see such a resemblance to Patrick's Latin as will speak strongly for the genuineness of his "Confession," and of his "Letter to Coroticus."

The ancient "Book of Armagh," still preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, has evidence, universally accepted by learned men, that it was in existence as early as A. D. 807. It contains among other writings, a copy of St. Patrick's "Confession," at the end of which there is a note of the transcriber, reading: "Thus far the volume which Patrick

wrote with his own hand."¹ There are strong reasons for receiving the testimony of the copyist as the truth.

Tirechan's "Notes on St. Patrick's Life," written in the end of the seventh century, are in the "Book of Armagh." He quotes St. Patrick's "Confession," calling it "his writing [*scriptio sua*]." These are weighty testimonies to the genuineness of the "Confession."

There is a complete absence of motive to commit a forgery in the "Confession" or the "Letter to Coroticus." "The Book of the Angel," in the "Book of Armagh," was intended to magnify the importance of the see of Armagh, as a secondary object, though it is introduced first; and then, as its primary aim, to link Ireland to the pope by appeals to Rome. In it, there is a strong reason to suspect fraud. But, in the "Confession" and the "Epistle to Coroticus," there is absolutely nothing upon which to base a charge of forgery. Both works are intensely earnest and religious, full of Scripture and of the spirit of the Redeemer; and they impress the thoughtful reader with the conviction that St. Patrick, their author, was one of the greatest and holiest men who ever preached salvation through the Cross; and that these are his genuine writings.

Of the "Letter to Coroticus," Professor Stokes justly says: "Its Latinity is apparently of the same age and from the same pen as the 'Confession.' It quotes the old Latin version of the Bible [earlier than Jerome's 'Vulgate'], and is therefore generally accepted by critics as genuine."² Nicholson,³ another competent writer, affirms that St. Patrick's "Epistle to Coroticus," and his epistle to the Irish, commonly called his "Confession," are now by common consent received and acknowledged to be the undoubted productions of the saint."

¹ "Huc usque volumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua." "Government Tripartite Life of Patrick," Introduction, p. XCII.

² "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. 28. London, 1888.

³ "St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland," p. 5., Dublin, 1868.

The "Cottonian MS.," now in the British Museum, collated with the Armagh codex of the "Confession," edited by Whitley Stokes, D. C. L., in his "Tripartite Life of Patrick, with other Documents Relating to that Saint," has furnished the Latin text for the following translation.

In Patrick's "Confession," as he wrote it, there are no chapters; but this arrangement has been already adopted with advantage by others.

CHAPTER XII.

THE "CONFESSION" OF ST. PATRICK, OR "THE EPISTLE TO THE IRISH."

Patrick's parents—His birthplace—His captivity—His conversion among Irish pagans—His desire to glorify God—His Creed—His deficiency in learning—God alone aroused and saved him—He is bound to labor faithfully for Ireland.

I, PATRICK, a sinner, the rudest and least of all the faithful, and most contemptible to great numbers, had Calpornius for my father, a deacon, a son of the late Potitus, the presbyter, who dwelt in the village of Banavan Tiberniæ, for he had a small farm at hand with the place where I was captured. I was then almost sixteen years of age. I did not know the true God [as my Saviour]; and was taken to Ireland in captivity with many thousand men in accordance with our deserts, because we walked at a distance from God, and did not observe his commandments, and were disobedient to our priests, who warned us about our salvation; and the Lord brought down upon us his swift anger, and scattered us among many nations, even to the end of the earth, where now my littleness is seen among strangers; and there the Lord gave me a knowledge of my unbelief, that, though late, I might remember my transgressions; and that I should be converted with my whole heart to the Lord, my God; who had regard for my humiliation, and compassionated my youth and ignorance, and protected me before I knew him, and before I had discretion, or could distinguish between good and evil, and shielded and soothed me as a father does a son.

Wherefore, I am not able to keep silence, nor would it indeed be proper, about such great benefits, and such great grace as the Lord was pleased to grant me in the land of my captivity; because this is our recompense [to Him], that, after chastening [brings us] to the knowledge of God, we should exalt and confess his wonderful works before every nation which is under the whole heaven.

ST. PATRICK'S CREED.

Because there is no other God, neither ever was, nor shall be after him, except God the Father, unbegotten, without beginning, from whom is all beginning, upholding all things, as we declare; and his son, Jesus Christ, whom we testify surely to have been always with the Father before the foundation of the world; spiritually with the Father; in an ineffable manner begotten before all beginning; by him the things visible and invisible were made; being made man, and having conquered death, he was received into the heavens with the Father. And he gave him all dominion over every name; of those in heaven, and of those on earth, and of those under the earth; that every tongue should confess to him, forasmuch as Jesus Christ is Lord and God; in whom we believe, and whose coming speedily as the future Judge of the living and the dead, we expect, who will render to every one according to his deeds, and hath poured out upon us abundantly the gift of the Holy Spirit, the pledge of immortality, who constituted the believing and obedient the sons of God, the Father, and joint heirs with Christ, whom we confess and worship, one God in the Trinity of the sacred name.

For he himself hath said, by the prophets, "Call upon me in the day of thy tribulation, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt extol me." And again he saith, "It is honorable to reveal and confess the works of God." Although I am imperfect in many things, I desire my brethren and my relatives to know my principles, that they may fully understand the desire of my soul. I am not ignorant of the testimony of my Lord, who witnesses in the psalm, "Thou shalt destroy those who utter a falsehood." And again, "The mouth which lies kills the soul." And the same Lord in the gospel says, "The idle word which men shall speak, for it they shall give an account on the day of judgment." Therefore [I sought] with fear and trembling to dread exceedingly this sentence on that day when no one can withdraw or conceal himself, but we shall all render an account even of our smallest sins before the tribunal of the Lord Jesus.

Wherefore formerly I proposed to write, but hesitated even until now, for I feared lest I should fall under [the censorious] language of men, because I have not learned as others, who, instructed in the best manner and therefore rightly in every way, both drank in sacred literature in a proper manner and have never changed their language from childhood, but rather constantly added to its improvement. For our language and discourse are translated into a foreign tongue, as can easily be proved by the drivel of my writing after what manner I have been instructed and educated in languages; because the wise man says, "By the tongue reason is discerned, and knowledge and the teaching of truth." But what avails an excuse even in accordance with truth, especially with presumption? Since indeed now in my old age I myself seek to perfect that which I did not thoroughly learn before in my youth, because [my sins] were a hindrance to learning thoroughly what I had read through before. But who believes me, although I should say, as I have declared before, that when a youth, nay, almost a boy in speech, I was captured, before I knew what I ought to seek, or what I ought to shun. Therefore, I blush to-day, and greatly fear to expose my unskillfulness, and not being eloquent I cannot express myself with the brevity of an [able] speech, even as the Spirit moves, and the mind and the endowed understanding point out.

But if it had been given to me as to others, nevertheless, I would not be silent on account of the recompense, although it seems to some that I place myself forward in this matter with my unskillfulness and slower speech, but it is written, "Stammering tongues shall speedily learn to speak peace." How much more ought we to seek this, we who are the "epistle of Christ" for salvation even to the end of the earth, though not eloquent, yet firm, and most indelibly written in your hearts, "Not with ink, but by the Spirit of the living God." And again the Spirit testifies, "And husbandry was appointed by the Most High." Therefore, I, first a rustic, a fugitive, uneducated, ignorant how to provide for the future, but I know this most assuredly that before I was humbled I was like a stone which lay in deep mud, and he who is mighty came and in his own way sustained me, and he indeed raised me up and placed me upon the top of the wall. And hence I ought to cry out loudly to make some return also to the Lord for his so great benefits, here and in

eternity, which the minds of men cannot estimate. Therefore be ye astonished, both great and small, who fear God. And ye rhetoricians, who do not know the Lord, hear therefore and examine carefully, who aroused me, a fool, from their midst, who appeared to be wise and skillful in the law, powerful in speech, and in every matter? And he has inspired me, though abhorred by this world beyond others, if indeed I be such; but on condition that with fear and reverence and without complaint I should faithfully serve the nation to which the love of Christ transferred me, and gave me during my life, if I should be worthy; in short, that with humility and truth I should serve them.

CHAPTER XIII.

ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION (*Continued*).

Patrick's desire to preach—He tends cattle—Frequency and fervor of his prayers—His dream of freedom—His escape from slavery—His repulse at the ship—Successful supplication—The salvation of heathen sailors—Hunger in the desert—God sends food—Patrick will eat nothing offered to idols—Temptation of Satan.

THEREFORE, in the measure of the faith of the Trinity, it behooves me to extol without any apprehension of danger and to make known the gifts of God and his everlasting consolation, and faithfully, without fear, to spread the name of God everywhere, so that, even after my death, I may leave as legacies to my brethren and to my sons, whom I have baptized in the Lord, so many thousand men. And I was not worthy, nor deserving, that the Lord should yield this to his servant, that after suffering afflictions and so great calamities, after captivity, after many years, he should give me so great favor among that nation, which I formerly in my youth never hoped for, nor thought of.

But after I came to Ireland I daily fed cattle, and I prayed often during the day; the love of God and his fear increased more and more, and my strength of mind became so vigorous that in one day I made as many as a hundred prayers, and in the night nearly the same number; so when I remained in the woods and in the mountain [Slemish, County Antrim], I was aroused before daylight for prayer, through snow, through frost, through rain, and suffered no injury from it; neither was there any slothfulness in me, as I now perceive, because then the Spirit was fervent within me.

And there, indeed, on a certain night, I heard in my sleep a voice saying to me, "Thou fastest well, thou art quickly about to go to thy country." And again, after a very short interval, I heard an answer saying to me, "Behold thy ship is ready." And it was not near, but perhaps two hundred miles; and I had never been there, neither did I know any of the men there. Afterward I took to flight, and left the

man with whom I had been six years; and I came in the strength of the Lord, who directed my journey for good; and I feared nothing until I came to the ship. And on the day of my arrival the vessel moved forward from her place, and I asked them that I might go away and sail with them. And it displeased the captain, who replied sharply with anger, "By no means seek to go with us." And when I heard this I withdrew from them to go to the hut where I lodged. And on the way I began to pray, and before I finished my supplication I heard one of them shouting loudly after me, "Come, quickly, for these men call thee." And immediately I returned to them, and they began to say to me, "Come, for we receive you in good faith; make a friendship with us in any way you wish." So on that day I refused to make friendship with them on account of the fear of God, because they were heathen. Nevertheless, I hoped of them that they would come into the faith of Jesus Christ, because they were heathen; and on this account I continued with them [and we sailed immediately].

After three days we landed, and we journeyed twenty-eight days through a desert, and their food was exhausted, and hunger prevailed over them. And one day the captain began to say to me, "What do you say, Christian; your God is great and almighty, why therefore can you not pray for us, for we are in danger of famishing? For it will be difficult for us ever again to see a human being." But I said to them, plainly: "Turn with confidence and with the whole heart to the Lord our God, for there is nothing impossible to him, that he may send you food this day on your way, until you are satisfied, for everywhere there is plenty with him." And by God's assistance so it happened. Behold, a herd of swine appeared in the road before our eyes; and they killed many of them, and greatly refreshed, they remained there two nights; and they were revived by their flesh, for many of them fainted and were left half dead near the road. And after these things they gave God the warmest thanks, and I was honored in their eyes. And from that day they had food in abundance.

They found wild honey also and offered some of it to me; and one of them said, "This has been offered in sacrifice." Thanks to God! I, therefore, tasted none of it. On the same night, while I was sleeping, Satan strongly tempted me, which I shall remember as long as I shall be in this body;

he fell upon me as a great rock, and I had no power over my members. But whence it came to me into my mind that I should call Helias I know not; and during these things I saw the sun arise in the heavens, and whilst I called Helias¹ with all my might, behold, the splendor of the sun fell upon me, and immediately shook from me the [whole] weight. And I believe that I was assisted by Christ, my Lord, [and his Spirit even then] was crying out for me, and I hope that it will be so in the day of my oppression, as the Lord says in the Gospel; "It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you."

¹ According to Dr. Todd "Helias" is equivalent to the Hebrew Eli, "My God."

CHAPTER XIV.

ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION (*Continued*).

Another captivity—Provisions for its wants—In Britain with his parents—His missionary call to Ireland—The Spirit praying within him—The Lord aids him when accused—The writing against him in a vision—A good conscience—Patrick's divine gift when a captive—His gratitude to God.

AND again, after many years, I was taken captive once more. On that first night I remained with them I heard a divine communication saying to me, "During two months thou shalt be with them," which happened accordingly. On the sixtieth night the Lord delivered me out of their hands. Behold, on the journey he provided for us food and fire and dry weather every day, until on the fourteenth day we met with men. As I intimated above, we journeyed for twenty-eight days through a desert, and on the very night on which we came among human beings our food was all gone. And again, after a few years, I was in the Britains [Great Britain] with my parents, who received me as a son, and besought me earnestly [*ex fide*] that now, at least, after the many hardships which I had borne, that I would never depart from them again.

And there I saw, indeed, in the bosom of the night, a man coming as it were from Ireland, whose name was Victoricus, with countless letters, one of which he gave to me; and I read the beginning of the letter containing, "The Voice of the Irish"; and whilst I read aloud the beginning of the letter, I myself thought, indeed, in my mind that I heard the voice of those who were near the wood of Fochlut, which is adjacent to the western sea. And they cried out as if with one voice, "We entreat thee, holy youth, to come and henceforth walk among us." And I was deeply moved in heart, and was unable to read further; and so I awoke. Thanks be to God that after very many years the Lord granted to them according to their cry. And on another night, whether within me, or near me, I know not, God knows, with most skill-

ful words which I heard but could not understand, except at the conclusion of the speech, he thus spoke, "He who gave his life for thee, he himself it is who speaks in thee"; and so I awoke rejoicing.

And again, I saw him praying in me, and he was, as it were within my body, and I heard above me, that is, above the inner man, and there he was praying mightily with groans. Meanwhile I was astonished and marveled, and pondered who it could be that was praying in me, but at the end of the prayer he expressed himself that he was the Spirit, and so I awoke and recollected that the apostle says, "The Spirit helps the infirmity of our prayer; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit himself pleadeth for us with unutterable groanings, which cannot be expressed in words." And again, "The Lord, our Advocate, maketh intercession for us."

And when I was attacked by some of my seniors, who came and [urged] my sins against my [proposed] difficult episcopate, so that on that day I was strongly impelled to fall away, here and in eternity. But the Lord spared a proselyte and a stranger for his name's sake; he graciously and mightily succored me in this treading under, for in the guilt and reproach I did not come out badly. I pray God that it be not reckoned to them as an occasion of sin. After thirty years they found me, and [they brought] against [me] the word which I had confessed before I was a deacon, and which I had, through perplexity and with a sorrowful mind, made known to my dearest friend, what I had done in my boyhood, on one day, nay in one hour, because I was not yet [fitted] to overcome. I know not, God knows, if at that time I was fifteen years of age. And I did not put my trust in the living God from infancy, but I continued in death and in unbelief until I suffered severe chastisement; and I was humbled to [accept] the truth by hunger and nakedness, and that daily. On the other hand, I did not of my own accord go to Ireland until I became almost dejected [*prope deficiebam*]. But this was rather good for me, for by it I was corrected by the Lord; and he made me fit this day that I should be what was once far from me; that I should be filled with anxiety and be concerned for the salvation of others; since, at that time, I did not think even of myself.

Then on that day on which I was reproached for those remembered things above mentioned; on that night, I saw in

a vision of the night that there was a writing opposite to my face without honor. And in the meanwhile I heard a divine communication saying to me, "We have seen with displeasure the face of a *designatus*,¹ with his name removed." He did not say, "You have seen with displeasure," but "We have seen with displeasure," as if he had joined himself to me, as he has said, "He that toucheth you is as one who toucheth the pupil of my eye." Therefore I gave thanks to him who comforted me in all things, that he did not hinder me from the journey which I had decided on, and also from my work which I have learned from Christ my Lord. But the more from that time I felt in myself no small power, and my faith was approved before God and men. But, therefore, I say boldly that my conscience does not blame me here, or for the future. I have God as my witness that I have not lied in the statement which I have related to you.

But I grieve more for my most valued friend to whom I entrusted even my life, that we should have deserved to listen to such statements. And I learned from some of my brethren before that defense, that when I was not present, nor in the Britains, nor did it originate from me, that he also, in my absence, entered into a conflict for me. He himself said to me with his own mouth, "Behold thou art to be granted the dignity of a bishop," of which I was not worthy. Wherefore, then, did it come to him afterward, that before all, good and bad, he should publicly dishonor me, although before, of his own accord, he joyfully granted [that honor to me]. It is the Lord who is greater than all. I have said enough.

I ought not, however, to hide the gift of God which he bestowed upon us in the land of my captivity; for there I earnestly sought him and I found him there, and he kept me from all iniquities; I believe so, because of his Spirit dwelling in me; who has wrought in me again boldly even to this day. But God knows that if a man had spoken this to me I might perhaps have been silent for the love of Christ. Wherefore, I give unwearied thanks to my God who preserved me faithful in the day of my temptation, so that I may to-day with confidence offer my soul a sacrifice to him, a living victim to Christ my Lord, who preserved me in all my straits, so that I may say, "Who am I, Lord? and what is my calling, that thou hast co-operated with me by such divine power?" so that to-day I can continually exult among the

¹ Patrick, the bishop designate.

Gentiles, and extol thy name wherever I shall be, not only in prosperity, but even in adversity; that whatsoever may happen to me, either good or evil, I ought to bear it alike, and always give thanks to God, who has shown me that I need set no limits to my trust in him, who cannot be doubted, and that he will hear me, and that I, though I am ignorant, should in these last days attempt to undertake this work, so righteous and so wonderful; that I may imitate some of those of whom long before the Lord predicted that they should publish his gospel, "for a testimony to all nations before the end of the world," which has therefore, as we have seen, been so fulfilled. Behold, we are witnesses that the gospel has been preached everywhere, in places where there is no man beyond.

CHAPTER XV.

ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION (*Continued*).

Patrick's dangers and deliverances—Abounding grace fitted him for his mission—His willingness to die for his Master—He aimed at the salvation of multitudes—The gospel for all nations—Irish converts—Brigit—The Spirit hinders him from visiting Britain or France—The power of the tempter—His faithfulness.

It would occupy much time to give an account of all my labors in detail, or even in part. Briefly I may tell how the most righteous God frequently delivered me from slavery, and from twelve dangers in which my life was in peril, besides many snares and evils which I cannot express in words, neither would I trouble my readers. But I have God, the Creator, who knew all things even before they were made, as he knew me, his poor pupil. So, however, a divine communication very often admonished me [and I asked] whence I obtained this wisdom which was not in me, I, who neither knew the number of my days, nor had a knowledge of God? Whence did I receive afterward the gift, so great, so salutary to acknowledge God and to love him, that I should leave my country and parents, and many gifts which were offered to me with weeping and tears? And I also offended against my wish certain of my seniors. But God ruled it that in no way did I consent, or comply with them. It was not my grace, but God who conquered in me and resisted them all, so that I came to the Hibernian people to preach the gospel, and endure insults from unbelievers, and bear reproaches about my wanderings, and [suffer] many persecutions, even to chains, and that I should give my nobility for the advantage of others. And if I should be worthy I am ready to lay down my life without delay and most gladly for his name; and there I desire to spend it even until death, if the Lord permit. For I am greatly indebted to God, who bestowed on me so much grace that many people have through me been born again to God, and that everywhere clergymen should be ordained for a people lately coming to the faith, whom the Lord drew from the ends of

the earth, as he had promised by the prophets, "To thee the Gentiles will come and say, As our fathers made false idols and there is no advantage in them." And again, "I have set thee to be a light for the Gentles, that thou mayest be for salvation even unto the end of the earth." And there I wish to await His promise, who never lies, as he promises in the gospel, "They shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob." So we trust that believers will come from the whole world.

Therefore, we ought to fish well and diligently as the Lord forewarns and teaches us, saying, "Come after me, and I will make you fishers of men." And again he says, by the prophets, "Behold, I send many fishers and hunters, saith the Lord," etc. Wherefore, it greatly behooves us to spread our nets so that a copious multitude and throng may be taken for God; and that everywhere there might be clergymen who shall baptize and exhort a people, needy and desiring [the Saviour's approval]; as the Lord in the gospel forewarns and teaches, saying: "Going, therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and, lo, I am with you every day, even to the end of the world." And again he says: "Going, therefore, into the whole world, preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned." And again: "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony to all nations, and then shall the end come."

And, likewise, the Lord, foretelling by the prophet, says: "It shall be in the last days, saith the Lord, that I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your sons shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams. And upon my servants indeed, and upon my handmaids in those days, I will pour out of my Spirit and they shall prophesy." And in Osee, he says: "I will call that which was not my people, my people, and that which had not obtained mercy, as having obtained mercy; and it shall be in the place where it was said, 'Ye are not my people, there they shall be called sons of the living God.'"

Whence then is it that in Ireland they who have never had any knowledge of God, and until now have always

worshipped only idols and unclean things? how is it, that they have lately become the people of the Lord, and are called the sons of God? Sons of the Scots [Irish] and daughters of chieftains are seen to be monks and virgins of Christ. And there was even one blessed Irish lady [St. Brigit], of noble birth, very beautiful, an adult, whom I baptized.¹

And after a few days she came to us for a reason, and informed us that she had received a response from a messenger of God, and he advised her that she should be a virgin of Christ and that she should draw near to God. Thanks be to God, on the sixth day from that she, most opportunely and eagerly, seized on that which also all the virgins of God do; not with the will of their fathers, but they suffer persecution, and false reproaches from their parents; and nevertheless the number increases the more, and of our race who were born [to Christ] there, we know not the number besides widows and continent women. But the women who are held in slavery are the chief sufferers; but in defiance of terrors and threatenings they have constantly persevered. But the Lord gave grace to many of my handmaids for, although they are prohibited, they courageously imitate him.

Wherefore, though I could wish to leave them, and had been most willingly prepared to go to the Britains, as to my country and parents, and not that only, but I was prepared to visit the brethren even in the Gauls, that I might see the face of the saints of my Lord. God knows that I greatly desired it; but I am bound by the Spirit who testifieth to me, that if I should do this, he would mark me as guilty of what might happen; and I fear to destroy the work which I have begun; and not I, but Christ the Lord, who commanded me to come and be with them the rest of my life, if the Lord will, and if he will keep me from every evil way, that I may not sin before him. But I hope [to do] that which I ought; but I do not trust myself so long as I am in this body of death; for strong he is who daily tries to turn me from the faith, and from the purity of religion, proposed [in myself] not feignedly; [which I will observe] even to the end of my life, to Christ my Lord. But the flesh, always hostile, leads to death, that is, to allurements unlaw-

¹ Of the paragraph beginning with, "Sons of the Scots," and ending with, "I baptized," Nicholson justly says: "I agree with Sir W. Betham that these sentences are interpolated. "St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland," p. 106. Dublin, 1868.

fully enjoyed. And I know in part why I have not led a perfect life like other believers. But I confess to my Lord, and I do not blush in his presence, because I do not lie, that from the time that I knew him in my youth, the love of God has increased in me, and his fear; and until this day, by the favor of the Lord, I have kept the faith.

CHAPTER XVI.

ST. PATRICK'S CONFESSION (*Concluded*).

Patrick's defiance of unbelieving enemies—God's consideration for his trials—He justifies his conduct in Ireland—He refuses gifts—He baptizes and ordains without compensation—He gives largely of his own means—His life is in danger—His purpose in coming as a missionary to Ireland—He gives God all the glory of his success.

LET him who wishes, scoff and revile, I will not be silent; neither will I conceal the signs and wonders which were given to me by the Lord many years before they came to pass, as he knew all things even before the time of this world. Hence I ought to give thanks to God without ceasing, who frequently overlooked my folly and my negligence, even out of place, and not in one instance only, that he might not be vehemently angry with me; although I was given to be his helper, I did not quickly yield to what was pointed out to me, and as the Spirit suggested. And the Lord had pity on me among thousands and thousands, because he saw in me that I was ready, but that in my case for these reasons I knew not what to do about my position, because many were hindering this mission, and already talked behind my back, and said: "Why does this man put himself into danger among enemies who have no knowledge of God?" I did not understand that [they spoke] for the sake of malice, but it was in their opinion, as I myself also admit, on account of my defect in learning. And I did not quickly recognize the grace that was then in me; but now I understand that I ought before [to have obeyed, God calling me].

Now, therefore, I have related simply to my brethren and fellow-servants, who trusted me [the reason], why I have preached and do preach for the building up and confirmation of your faith. Would that you might follow greater and perform mightier things; this will be my glory, for a wise son is the glory of the father. *You know, and God also, how I have conducted myself among you from my youth, both in the faith of the truth and in sincerity of heart;*

also in reference to the nations among whom I dwell. I have kept faith with them and I shall keep it. God knows that I have defrauded none of them. Neither do I think [of this] on account of God and his church lest I might excite persecution against them and us all, and lest through me the name of the Lord should be blasphemed; because it is written: "Woe to the man by whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed."

For though I am unskillful in all things, yet I have tried in some measure to protect even my Christian brethren, and the virgins of Christ, and religious women who have presented to me small voluntary gifts, and their ornaments, which they placed upon the altar, and I returned these to them again; and they were provoked against me because I did this. But I [acted in this way] on account of the hope of eternal life, that I might, therefore, in all things cautiously guard myself, so that unbelievers may not catch me on any pretext, or the ministry of my service; and that, even in the smallest matter, I might not give them occasion to defame, or depreciate me. But perhaps since I have baptized so many thousand men, I might have expected half a *screpall*¹ from some of them. Tell it to me, and I will restore it to you. Or when the Lord ordained clergymen everywhere through my humble instrumentality, I conferred the rite gratuitously. If I asked from any of them even the price of my shoe, tell it against me and I will restore you more.

I spent for you that they might receive me; and among you and everywhere I traveled on your account through many dangers, even to remote places where there was no one beyond, and where no one had ever come to baptize, ordain clergymen, or edify the people. The Lord giving it, I diligently and most willingly, for your salvation, furnished all things. In the meantime, I made presents to the kings, besides which I gave hire to their sons who escorted me; nevertheless, they seized me with my companions. And on that day they were very eager to kill me; but the time had not yet come. And they took everything which they found in our possession, and they bound me with iron. And on the fourteenth day the Lord freed me from their power, and whatever belonged to us was restored to us, through God and needful friends whom we had provided beforehand. But you know how much I paid to those who acted as judges through

¹ An ancient Celtic coin, worth six cents.

all the regions which I more frequently visited ; for I think that I distributed to them not less than the price of fifteen men that you might enjoy me, and that I may always enjoy you in God ; nor do I repent of it, nor is it enough for me—I still spend and will spend for your souls. The Lord is mighty, and may he grant to me henceforth that I may spend myself for your souls !

Behold I call God to witness upon my soul that I lie not ; neither have I written to you that there might be an opportunity for flattery, or for greed [of praise], nor do I hope for honor from any man. For sufficient for me is the honor which is not seen but is believed in the heart, since faithful is he that promises ; he never lies ; but I see now, in the present age, that I am exalted above measure by the Lord, and I was not worthy, nor deserving that he should do this for me ; since I know that poverty and calamity are more convenient for me than riches and pleasures. But Christ the Lord was poor for us.

But I, poor and miserable, if I wished for riches, have them not ; neither do I judge myself worthy, because I daily expect either murder, or to be circumvented, or to be restored to slavery, or misfortune of some kind. But I fear none of these things because of the promises of the heavens, for I have placed myself in the hands of the omnipotent God, who reigns everywhere ; as the prophet says : “ Cast thy care upon God and he will maintain thee.” Behold, now, I commend my soul to my most faithful God, for whom I act as an ambassador in my unworthiness, because, indeed, he does not accept the person, and he chose me to this office that I might be one of the least of his ministers. But what shall I repay to him for all the things which he has given me ? What shall I say, or what shall I promise to my Lord ? Because I have no power unless he had given it to me, but he searches the heart and reins ; because I desire enough and too much, and am prepared that he should give me his cup to drink as he has granted to others that love him.

Wherefore, may it never happen to me from my Lord that I should lose his people whom he has gained in the utmost parts of the earth. I pray God to give me perseverance, and judge me worthy to render myself a faithful witness to him, even until my departure on account of my God. And if I have ever imitated anything good on account of my God whom I love, I ask him to grant me, that with these prose-

lytes and captives I may pour out my blood for his name's sake, though I myself should lack burial, and my dead body be most shockingly torn limb from limb by dogs, or by wild beasts, or that birds of the air should devour it. I believe most certainly that if this should happen to me I shall have gained both soul and body. Because without any doubt, on that day we shall arise in the brightness of the sun, that is, in the glory of Christ Jesus, our Redeemer, as sons of the living God, and joint heirs with Christ, and conformed to his future likeness, and through him and in him we shall reign.

For that sun which we see, by command of God, arises daily on our account; but he shall never reign, nor shall his splendor continue; but all even that worship him [the sun], wretched persons, shall come unhappily into punishment. But we, who trust and adore the true Sun, Jesus Christ, who will never perish; neither shall he who does his will, but shall remain forever, as Christ shall continue forever who reigns with God the Father Almighty, and with the Holy Spirit before the ages, and now, and through all the ages of ages, ["forever and ever"]. Amen.

Behold, I will again and again briefly set forth the words of my "Confession." I testify in truth and in joy of heart before God and his holy angels, that I never had any reason, except the gospel and its promises, to return to that nation [the Irish nation in which he was a slave for six years] from which I had formerly escaped with difficulty.

But I beseech those who believe and fear God, and whosoever shall see fit to examine or receive this writing, which Patrick, the sinner, unlearned indeed, has written in Ireland, that no one may ever say, if I had done, or proved, even some little things, according to the will of God, that it was my ignorance [which did it], but rather conclude and believe most assuredly, that it was the gift of God. And this is my confession before I shall die.

"Thus far the volume which Patrick wrote with his own hand. On the seventeenth of March, Patrick was translated to heaven."—*Note of the copyist in the "Book of Armagh," at the end of the "Confession."*

CHAPTER XVII.

PATRICK'S EPISTLE TO COROTICUS.

Patrick's authority from God—Wickedness of the soldiers of Coroticus—Some of their victims murdered and others enslaved—Patrick excommunicates the pirates—He admonishes Christians to shun them, and to refuse their alms—The Roman and Gallic Christians redeem their captive brethren from the Franks and other pagans—Patrick's lament for his slain and enslaved converts—Their glory in eternity and the doom of their enemies.

I, PATRICK, a sinner, indeed unlearned, acknowledge that I have been appointed a bishop in Ireland. I most assuredly think that I have received what I am from God. I live, therefore, among barbarians, a proselyte and an exile, on account of the love of God. He is witness that it is so. Not that I desired to pour out anything from my mouth so harsh and severe, but I am compelled, animated by zeal for God, and for the truth of Christ, through my love for my neighbors and sons, for whom I have given up country and parents, and even my life unto death if I am worthy [of martyrdom]. I have vowed to my God to teach the nations, although I am despised by certain persons.

I have prepared this letter and written it with my own hand to be given and handed to the soldiers, to be sent to Coroticus; I do not say to my fellow-citizens and to the citizens of the Roman saints, but to the citizens of demons on account of their own evil works, who, by the hostile custom of [barbarians] live in death: companions of the Scots and apostate Picts, who make themselves bloody with the blood of innocent Christians, whom I have begotten to God without number, and confirmed in Christ.

On the day after that on which they were anointed, neophytes [recent converts] in white robes, while [the oil] of the anointing was glistening on their foreheads, they were cruelly murdered and slain with the sword by the above-mentioned persons. And I sent a letter by a holy presbyter, whom I taught from

¹ According to Dr. Whitley Stokes, Coroticus was king of Dumbarton. See "Government Tripartite Life," Introduction, p. C. London, 1887.

his infancy, with [other] clergymen [asking them] to restore to us some of the pillage, or of the baptized captives whom they seized, but they laughed at them. Therefore, I know not whom to lament most, those who were slain or those whom they captured, or those whom Satan grievously ensnared into the everlasting pains of hell, where they shall be in bondage together with him; for he, indeed, is a servant of sin who commits it, and he is called a son of the devil. Wherefore, let every man who fears God know that they are alienated from me, and from Christ, my God, for whom I am an ambassador, parricides, fratricides, ravening wolves, devouring the Lord's people as the food of bread, as he says: "The ungodly have made void thy law, Lord."

Since in these last times Ireland, by the favor of God, has been most excellently and graciously planted and instructed, I do not usurp [the labors of others but] I have a share with those whom he has called and predestinated to preach the gospel in no small persecutions even to the extremity of the earth. Although the enemy envies us through the tyranny of Coroticus, who does not fear God; or his priests, whom he has elected, and has granted to them that highest, divine, sublime power, that those whom they should bind on earth, should be bound in the heavens. Whence, therefore, I earnestly beseech the holy and humble in heart not to deem it right to flatter such persons, or to take food or drink with them; nor ought you to take their alms, until they make satisfaction for the tears cruelly shed [by us], and set at liberty the servants of God and the baptized handmaidens of Christ for whom he was put to death and crucified. The Most High rejects the gifts of the wicked; and he who offers a sacrifice from the goods of the poor is as a man that sacrifices the son in the presence of his father.

The riches, he says, which he will collect unjustly, shall be vomited from his belly, the angel of death shall force him away, the fury of dragons shall punish him, the tongue of the adder shall kill him, unquenchable fire shall devour him. Therefore, woe to those who fill themselves with things that are not theirs. Or what does it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul? It is tedious to discuss [texts], one by one, or to pass through the whole law to choose testimonies about such covetousness. Avarice is a deadly sin: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's property," "Thou shalt not kill." A murderer cannot be with Christ.

“Whosoever hateth his brother is ‘termed’ a murderer.” Or, “he who loveth not his brother abideth in death.” How much more guilty is he who has defiled his hands with the blood of the sons of God acquired in the uttermost parts of the earth by the exhortation of our littleness.

Whether did I come to Ireland without God, or according to the flesh, who constrained me, bound by the Spirit not to see any of my kindred? Do I not love godly compassion because I act [in this manner] toward that nation which captured me, and made havoc of the servants and handmaidens of my Father’s house. I was a freeman according to the flesh. I was born of a father who was a Decurion. For I sold my nobility for the good of others, and I do not blush or grieve about it. Finally, I am a servant in Christ, [delivered to] a foreign nation on account of the unspeakable glory of an everlasting life which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. And if my relatives do not recognize me: “A prophet hath not honor in his own country.” Perhaps [they suppose] that we are not of one sheepfold, nor have one God as our Father, as he says: “He who is not with me, is against me; and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth.” It is not meet that one destroys, another builds.

I do not attend to my own interests; it is not my grace but God, indeed, has placed this deep concern in my heart, that I should be one of the hunters or fishers whom formerly God promised for the last days. Am I envied? What shall I do, Lord? I am greatly despised. Behold, thy sheep are torn around me, and plundered by the above-named robbers, by the order of Coroticus, with hostile purpose. The betrayer of Christians into the hands of the Scots and Picts is far from the love of God. Ravening wolves have swallowed up the flock of the Lord, which, therefore, in Ireland, by the greatest diligence, was increasing most prosperously. And the sons of the Scots [Irish] and the daughters of chiefs are monks and virgins of Christ; I cannot enumerate them. Wherefore, an assault upon the righteous will not give thee pleasure [O Lord], nor will it ever confer happiness in the regions below. Who, of the saints, would not shudder to be sportive, or to enjoy a feast with such persons? From the spoil of dead Christians they have filled their houses. They live by rapine; they do not know how to pity; they hold [out] poison, a deadly food, to their friends and sons. As Eve did not understand that she offered death to her husband, so are all

those who act wickedly—they make death everlasting punishment.

It is the custom of the Roman and Gallie Christians to send holy and fit men to the Franks and other nations with so many thousand *solidii*¹ to redeem baptized captives. You [Coroticus] so often kill them and sell them to a foreign nation ignorant of God; you deliver the members of Christ, as it were, into a den of wolves. What hope have you in God? or he, who agrees with you? or he, who talks with you in words of flattery? God will judge, for it is written: "Not only they who do evil, but also they who consent to it, are to be condemned." I know not what I can say or what I can speak more concerning the deceased sons of God whom the sword has smitten ferociously beyond measure. For it is written: "Weep with those that weep." And again: "If one member suffers, all the members suffer with it."

Wherefore, the church laments and bewails her sons and daughters whom the sword has not yet slain, but who have been carried away and transported into a distant part of the earth, where sin is clearly and shamelessly stronger [there it impudently dwells and] abounds. There, freeborn Christian men, having been sold, are reduced to slavery, chiefly among the basest, the vilest, and the apostate Picts. Therefore, with sadness and grief, I will cry aloud, O my most beautiful and most beloved brethren and sons, whom I have begotten in Christ; I cannot number you; what shall I do for you? I am not regarded as worthy by God or men to help [you]. The iniquity of the wicked has prevailed over us. We are become as strangers. Perhaps they do not believe that we have partaken of one baptism, or that we have one God and Father. It is a disgrace to them that we have been born in Ireland; as he says, Have you not one God? Why have you forsaken each his neighbor? Therefore, I grieve for you; I do grieve for you most dear to me. But again, I rejoice within myself that I have not labored for nothing, and that my pilgrimage has not been in vain; even though a crime so shocking and unutterable has happened. Thanks be to God, baptized believers, ye have withdrawn from the world to paradise! I perceive that you have commenced to journey [to the world] where there shall be no more night, nor grief, nor death, but ye shall exult as calves

¹ The *solidus* was a gold coin; in Patrick's time, it was probably worth \$1.75 to \$2.00.

loosed from their chains, and you shall tread down the wicked, they shall be ashes under your feet.

Ye shall reign therefore with the apostles and prophets, and shall, with the martyrs, obtain the everlasting kingdom, as he himself testifies, saying: "They shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of the heavens." Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and murderers, and perjurers; their portion is in the lake of eternal fire. Not without cause does the apostle say, "Where the righteous will scarcely be saved where shall the sinner and the impious and the violator of the law find himself?" Where shall Coroticus, with his most iniquitous rebels against Christ; where shall they behold themselves who distribute baptized women and the spoils of orphans as rewards among their most filthy satellites on account of a wretched temporal kingdom which truly in a moment shall pass away like clouds or smoke which are surely scattered by the wind? So transgressors and the dishonest shall perish from the face of the Lord, but the righteous shall feast in unbroken assurance with Christ, and they shall judge the nations, and reign over unjust kings for ever and ever. Amen.

I testify before God and his angels that it shall be so, as he has intimated to my ignorance. These are not my words, but [the words] of God, and of the apostles and prophets, which I have written in Latin, who have never lied. "He that believeth shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be condemned." God hath said it. I entreat earnestly, that whosoever is a servant of God, he may be prompt to be the bearer of this letter; that it by no means be abstracted by any one, but much rather that it be read before all the people and before Coroticus himself; to the end that if God would inspire them, they may at some time return to him, and may, though late, repent of what they have so wickedly done; these murderers of brethren in the Lord may set free the baptized captives whom they formerly seized, so that they may deserve to live for God, and may be made whole here and in eternity. Peace to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ST. PATRICK AND BAPTISM.

A remarkable ancient Irish description of believers' baptism—Patrick's own account of believers' baptism—Numerous baptisms of believers recorded in his "Lives"—Persons immersed by thousands in some places—Wells dug by Patrick at new churches for immersion—An American baptismal well like Patrick's—Immersion the baptism of the Christian church in Patrick's age.

WITH PATRICK, AS WITH OTHER LEADERS OF THAT DAY, PROFESSED BELIEVERS WERE THE ONLY SUBJECTS OF BAPTISM. In the "Tripartite Life," the Great Commission is quoted: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you," etc. Upon these words this celebrated "Life" makes the following, among other comments: "Go ye, teach. *Meet is the order, teaching before baptism. For it cannot be that the body should receive the sacrament of baptism before the soul receives the verity of faith . . . He directed the apostles, first to teach all nations, and then to baptize them with the sacrament of faith, and in favor of faith and baptism, to enjoin all things that were to be heeded.*"¹

This is, perhaps, the most scriptural, and, at the same time, the most thoroughly Baptist description of the subjects of Christian baptism ever penned. And it is in such complete harmony with St. Patrick's practice, that it is reasonable to suppose that the "Tripartite Life" gives the Saint's own exposition of the Commission. Patrick's account of the persons he baptized shows that they were believers. In the third chapter of the "Confession," he writes:

"So that even after my death I may leave as legacies to

¹ "Government Tripartite Life," Introduction, Vol. I., p. 65.

my *brethren*, and to my *sons* whom I have baptized in the Lord, so many thousand *men*." Here there is no place for unconscious infants. In the sixth chapter of the "Confession" he states: "Perhaps, since I have baptized so many thousand *men* I might have expected half a *screpall* [a coin worth six cents], from some of them; tell it to me and I will restore it to you." There is no room here for irresponsible children.

In Patrick's "Letter to Coroticus," he describes some of the persons whom he immersed as "baptized captives," "baptized handmaidens of Christ for whom he was put to death and crucified," as "baptized women distributed as rewards," and then, as "baptized believers." Those whom Patrick baptized were men, women, handmaidens, and *believers*, a term that includes both sexes and the young and the old, who had put their trust in Christ. These are Patrick's unquestioned accounts of his baptisms, and from them it is clear as a bright, summer day, that Patrick immersed believers only. It would have been easy for him to add to the "baptized" men, women, and handmaidens, and believers, *infants*, but evidently he did not baptize them.

Hinemar, archbishop of Rheims, in giving a statement of the baptism of Clovis and a multitude of others, administered by his predecessor, St. Remigius, in A. D. 496, says: "Moreover,¹ from his army three thousand men were baptized, without counting women and children." If this statement about the baptisms of the children was true, how natural and proper in Hinemar to record it? St. Patrick's account of his baptisms does not mention baptized children. In the immersion of professed believers only, Patrick was on firm *scriptural and Baptist ground*. In Patrick's day, infant baptism was little known in the practice of the Eastern churches, and we have *no evidence* that it had *any existence whatever* in Great Britain and Ireland.

¹ Vit. St. Remig. Patr. Lat., Tom. 125, pp. 1160, 1161. Migne.

The subject of Patrick's baptism, according to the writers of his "Lives," were believers. Of Dichu, supposed to be Patrick's first convert, the "Lebar Brecc Homily," says: "Dichu repented and believed in one God, and Patrick baptized him, and a great host along with him."² The baptized persons on this occasion were penitent believers.

"Erc, the son of Deg, believed in God, and confessed the catholic faith [that is, the *universal*, not the Romish faith], and was baptized by Patrick."³ Once in journeying, "Patrick saw a tender youth herding swine. Mochae was his name. Patrick *preached to him*, and baptized him."⁴ He was old enough to take care of swine, and to listen to such a gospel address as Patrick would give to a youth, and he was converted. "Patrick baptized Enda,⁵ and he offered his son, Cormac [to Patrick], who was born the night before, together with every ninth ridge of his land throughout Ireland." Cormac was not presented to Patrick for baptism any more than the land, and while Enda was baptized, Cormac was simply handed by Patrick "to four of his household to be reared." The child was probably motherless. If Patrick had practised infant baptism, surely this little one would have received it. And if he had received it, the fact would have been recorded.

"The men of North Munster to the North of Limerick went in sea-fleets to meet Patrick. . . and he baptized them in Tirglass."⁶ There must have been a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon these throngs who came by water to the missionary for baptism; but no intimation is given that their little children received the rite with their parents.

It is said, "Patrick went into the province of Mugdoirn to Domnach Maigen, and he baptized the men of Mugdoirn."⁷ "At Temair Singite, Patrick baptized the men of Assail."⁸

² In "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. II., p. 451.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 45. London, 1887.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

In these records of Patrick's baptisms, there is absolutely no evidence that unconscious little ones received the sacred rite from him. The men, that is, the people, baptized were of both sexes and of all ages, and they all professed to be such believers as Patrick claims in his two celebrated works that he baptized; without their profession of faith before baptism in each case Patrick's description is sadly lacking in veracity.

The "Würtzburg Glosses," a brief commentary in Irish on Paul's Epistles, in Latin, written about A. D. 815, a work of Calvinistic orthodoxy, expounding 1 Cor. 14: 6: "What shall I profit you, except I shall speak to you either by revelation, or by knowledge, or by prophesying, or by doctrine," says, "Prophesying; that is, preaching, the stirring up of every one to *belief that he may be ready for baptism.*"¹ This is the doctrine of all Baptists, and of St. Patrick, and his followers for some time after his death.

ST. PATRICK'S BAPTISM WAS IMMERSION. The "Tripartite Life of Patrick," written in the eleventh century, the best known of his biographies, represents Patrick himself as being baptized *in a fountain*; it says: "A church, moreover, was founded over that well in which Patrick was baptized, and there stands the well [fountain] by the altar."²

From the same work we make the following quotations: "Patrick founded a church at Domnach Maige Slecht—and there is Patrick's well *wherein* he baptized many."³ These persons, like Patrick himself, were baptized *in* the spring or well. The well was dug at this church, which was founded by him, as a baptistery, just as he opened many other baptismal fountains. And it was called by his name because he had its water tapped and brought to the surface; or if running along the ground he had a basin made for its reception suitable for the immersion of an adult. Wells, except by

¹ "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 64. Dublin, 1888.

² "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. I., p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

accident, are seldom found in Ireland in connection with churches. Neither the heat of the climate, nor the convenience of the people requires them. In Patrick's time the church was built near a spring, or a well was sunk close to the church for a baptistery. If baptism had been by sprinkling or pouring, Patrick would never have had a well in Ireland; in no country on earth are springs more abundant or more accessible; and for sprinkling purposes they are more than ample. A great missionary well-sinker roaming over Ireland partly to bore for water for the common uses of life, is a senseless office to assign to St. Patrick; to build churches and prepare baptismal fountains, are righteous duties even for him.

"The Tripartite Life" says: "Patrick went to Naas; . . . to the north of the road is *his* well [his baptistery] *wherein* he baptized Dunling's two sons—Ailill and Illann."¹ Tirechan relates that Patrick came into the regions of Corcutemne to the fountain Sini, *in which*² he baptized many thousand men, and he founded three churches.

Patrick's well at Naas was one which he sank and prepared for immersion; the fountain at Sini was evidently a considerable spring, with a large natural cavity, like others spoken of, or yet to be mentioned, which, without labor, were used to "bury believers in baptism." Of the province of the Deisi, it is said: "Patrick's well is in that place, and there is the church of Macc Clarid."³ Patrick's well and the church are linked together, showing that immersion in the name of the Trinity was the purpose for which the well was intended. Again: "Patrick baptized the men of the east of Meath; his well is in front of the church."⁴ This baptismal fountain, called Patrick's well, was located by him where it would be needed for the immersion of believers. This quotation re-

¹ "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. I., p. 185.

² Tirechan's collections in "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. I., p. 323.

³ "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. I., p. 209.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

minds us of a well in front of the New Britain Baptist Church, Bucks Co., Penna.; it is a baptistery dug in the ground, suitably finished and covered; a spring supplies it with water; and in it many have been baptized. Any one, perhaps of hundreds of well-baptisteries prepared by the Baptist apostle of Ireland, could have furnished a model for the one at New Britain. "Patrick," it is further said, "founded a church at Drumne, and by it he dug a well."¹ These accounts of Patrick's wells are frequent in his biographies. They were close to churches; he is sometimes said to have dug them, and many of them are called Patrick's wells, because he had them sunk; in Patrick's, and other wells, or in lakes and streams, all his converts were baptized.

When it is said of the most famous of all St. Patrick's baptisms, in which the seven Amalgaid princes received the ordinance: "In that day twelve thousand were baptized *in the well* of Oen-adarc,"² a grand immersion took place, just as all the well baptisms of Patrick were immersions. Rev. Dr. Blackburn, a Presbyterian, states that St. Patrick "it may be, showed tolerance of the old superstitions . . . also the wells that had long been used for heathen purposes he allowed to be used for baptism."³ Passing over two assertions in this quotation which are chiefly baseless, it is clearly admitted that St. Patrick employed wells and not the sprinkling font for baptism. Baptism in springs or wells in Ireland meant dipping, as it meant everywhere in Christendom at that time, and could mean nothing else.

The Würtzburg Glosses, explaining Ephesians 4 : 5, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism," says: "One baptism, though the dipping is three-fold."⁴ Jerome, the great biblical scholar, a contemporary of St. Patrick, expounding the same Scripture, writes: "We are immersed three times that the unity of the

¹ "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. I., p. 109.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ "St. Patrick and the Early Church of Ireland," p. 161. Philada.

⁴ "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 90. Dublin, 1888

Trinity may appear in the sacrament.”¹ In this way Patrick baptized his converts; this was the form of baptism of the ancient British churches and of the whole Christian world in the days of Patrick and Jerome, and for many ages later.

St. Patrick baptized believers, and he immersed them in baptism. He maintained views as to the form and the subjects of baptism which are dear to our whole denomination.

¹ “Hieronymi Opera,” Tom. IX., p. 108. Froben. Basl, 1516.

CHAPTER XIX.

ST. PATRICK HELD THE LEADING DOCTRINES OF THE BAPTIST DENOMINATION.

St. Patrick rejected all canons, creeds, and councils—The Nicene creed—Columbanus and a remarkable canon—Contempt of Irish missionaries for canons—The Bible is Patrick's code of laws—His love for it—Ancient Irish eulogy of it—Religious liberty for pagans and others—Patrick as a foreign missionary—His teaching ultimately sends out swarms of missionaries to heathen lands.

BAPTISTS *have always refused to surrender the independence of their churches*, even to their own Associations. They reject all ecclesiastical authority, with its canons, creeds, and synods, except the Holy Scriptures, with their laws for the government of lives and churches.

St. Patrick stood on the same ground. He rejected the creed of the council of Nice, a celebrated synod, which convened in A. D. 325. He made a creed for himself, which will be found in the second chapter of his "Confession," in this volume. In it he treats chiefly of the Godhead, and its Trinity of equal persons. The Nicene creed is devoted to the same mysterious and exalted subjects; but it is not Patrick's creed. We have before us the Nicene creed preserved by Socrates,¹ and also the copy of Theodoret,² the one born about A. D. 380, and the other about 387.

We have also the creed of Constantinople,³ adopted A. D. 381, an enlargement of the Nicene, and passing under its name in the Episcopal church and elsewhere. Patrick's creed differs widely from the Nicene, and more extensively from the creed of Constantinople. Nor can the supposition that Patrick intended to write the Nicene creed, but quoted

¹ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 8. ² "Eccles. Hist.," Ibid., cap. 12.

³ "Definitions of Faith and Canons of Discipline," p. 58. New York.

from memory instead of a written text, account for the serious differences between the two creeds.

Patrick never calls his the Nicene creed, and this is a remarkable omission. If he had intended it for the venerable document of Nice, notwithstanding its variations, he should have given its name to it. His "Confession," in which he placed it, was intended as a defense. The council of Nice was the most honored synod that ever assembled, and its name attached to his creed would have given it and him a valuable orthodox character. But Patrick recognized no authority in creeds however venerable, nor in councils, though composed of several hundred of the highest ecclesiastics, and many of the most saintly men alive. He never quotes any canons, and he never took part in making any, notwithstanding the pretended canons of forgers. So abhorrent to the apostle of Ireland was the despotism of councils, canons, and creeds, that he did not designate as a *creed* that portion of his "Confession," which, by its terms and theme has been called by some his "creed." Nor does he invite any special attention to the creed-like section of his "Confession"; it stands with the same claims to respect as the account of his conversion, of his missionary call to Ireland, of his strong desire to save men, or of God's frequent answers to his prayers. Patrick wrote his "Confession," as he states, late in life, and not long before his death; what he does not describe as a *creed*, because it was not intended to possess either the *power or the name of a creed* in his day, though we call it Patrick's creed, is in his "Confession"; so that, during his entire ministry of fifty or sixty years prior to the writing of the "Confession," Patrick had no creed either for himself or his churches. In that document he imposes no creed upon his followers; he and they were as free from councils, and their canons and creeds, as the apostles and their churches, or as modern Baptists.

Tirechan, who wrote in the seventh century, and from whose documents we learn so much of interest, declares that Patrick

ordained four hundred and fifty bishops in Hibernia.¹ This was a violation of the fourth canon of the council of Nice, which required at least three² bishops to consecrate a new member of their order. This canon is still binding in the Protestant Episcopal church.³ And in the Methodist Episcopal church, its spirit still survives; the bishop-elect is required to have the hands of three bishops laid upon him, or "at least of one bishop and two elders," or, in extreme cases, the hands of three elders.⁴ But Patrick ordained his own bishops without scruple. He paid no attention to canons. In the latter half of the sixth century, when Kentigern was to be ordained bishop of the Strathclyde Britons, whose country was formerly Roman territory, in which the canons of Nice were binding, according to Ussher,⁵ an Irish bishop, when requested, crossed the sea, and unaided, consecrated Kentigern; he, like Patrick, was no respecter of canons.

In the end of the sixth century, Columbanus, a Hibernian, went to the continent as a missionary, prompted by the great success of Columba among the Picts. Annoyed in his mission on account of his observance of Easter at the Irish time, he appealed to Boniface⁶ IV. for permission to keep it at the customary time of his country without reproach, and he urged his application because the second canon of the council of Constantinople, in A. D. 381, decreed that: "The churches of God, among the barbarians, must be administered according to the customs of the fathers which have prevailed."⁷ The word "barbarians," to an ancient Roman, meant generally *foreigners*, a nation, like the Irish, never subject to the Romans. The interpretation of this canon by Columbanus, if accepted, would have largely freed the Irish Christians from

¹ Tirechan's Collections in "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. II., p. 304.

² "Definitions of Faith and Canons of Discipline," p. 33. New York.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁴ "The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church," p. 86. New York.

⁵ Ussher's "Works," Vol. VI., p. 225.

⁶ Du Pin's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. II., p. 5. Dublin.

⁷ "Definitions of Faith and Canons of Discipline," p. 65. New York.

the ever threatening tyranny of councils. For the customs of the fathers, which prevailed in Hibernia, and still bore sway there, Patrick and his missionaries were to set aside all councils with their canons and creeds. Columbanus himself knew that there was no biblical authority for councils, canons, and creeds, and his appeal to the canon of Constantinople shows that when he was at home he cast aside the whole system, as this canon would have allowed, if the Roman empire still existed.

The English Boniface, the Romish apostle of Germany, writes about Clement, an Irish missionary in his field: "He resisted the Catholic church; rejected the canons of the churches of Christ; refuted the works and opinions of the holy fathers, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory; and he regarded with contempt the laws of councils."¹ These Irish ministers, instructed by Patrick's teaching, and many others like them, held, with the apostle of Ireland, that no councils, canons, or creeds, have any scriptural dominion over Christ's churches. Modern Baptists unite with St. Patrick in cherishing this doctrine.

His sole authority to rule churches or Christians is the Bible. He never appeals to any other. In his "Confession," and "Letter to Coroticus," Dr. Wright, with each page, has printed the Scriptures quoted or alluded to; and they number one hundred and thirteen. He has done the same thing with the hymn called "The Deer's Cry,"² and in it the references are thirty-two. Considering the small size of these works, the number of allusions to or quotations from the Divine word are very remarkable. Promises, commands, prohibitions, heart exercises, prayers, the condition of men around, these and many other things stir up Patrick to quote Scripture.

In the "Leber Brecc Homily on St. Patrick," written in the thirteenth century, we have either an ancient sketch from

¹ In Ussher's "Veter. Epist. Hibern. Sylloge. Works," Vol. IV., p. 275.

² "The Writings of Patrick the Apostle of Ireland." Religious Tract Society of London.

Patrick's own pen of the Bible, or else the exact echoes of his teaching about the Book of books. It says :

One of the noble gifts of the Holy Spirit is the Divine Scripture whereby every ignorance is enlightened, every earthly distress is comforted, every spiritual light is kindled, and every weakness is strengthened. For it is through the Holy Scripture that heresies and schisms are cast forth from the church. In it is found perfect counsel and fitting instruction by each and *every grade in the church*. For the Divine Scripture is a mother and a gentle nurse to all the faithful ones who meditate upon it and consider it, and who are nurtured until they are chosen sons of God through its counsel.¹

These were Patrick's sentiments, whether or not he penned the words originally. In the Bible he saw everything to bless the soul and rule the church, and outside of it nothing ecclesiastical or secular to exercise lordship over Christ's people. He could apply the words of Chillingworth to himself and his converts: "The Bible, I say the Bible only, is the religion" of Patrick and his Christian Hibernians, to guide their souls and rule their religious communities. In this, Patrick was a Baptist.

There is reason for believing that Patrick taught that *no good citizen should be punished* for his irreligious or pagan opinions. This doctrine is in harmony with his whole converted life. St. Patrick's mother is said to have been a sister of St. Martin, the celebrated bishop of Tours. Ninian, a countryman of St. Patrick, built a church for the southern Picts bearing his name. Dr. M'Lauchlan says, "he became famous in the Celtic churches."² No man in his day was better known or more highly esteemed all over western Europe. When Priscillian and his friends were condemned to death for heresy, Martin declared it to be an *unheard-of* thing that an ecclesiastical matter should be judged by a secular court on principles of the civil law; and he entreated Maximus to spare the lives of the unfortunate men,³ but they

¹ In "The Tripartite Life," Introduction, p. CLXII.

² "Early Scottish Church," p. 63.

³ Neander's "History of the Christian Church," Vol. II., p. 712. Boston.

were beheaded. This event created a great sensation, speedily known for that age, even in Britain and Ireland. The course of Martin was applauded. St. Patrick, through Gallic friends, and probably relatives, who sent money and helpers for his mission, heard of it, and in his warm-hearted way denounced secular penalties for erroneous religious opinions; and that for ages made the Hibernian churches the freest in the world; religious opinions, except in times of ungovernable excitement, could not be punished by secular penalties.

Columba and Columbanus followed Patrick's example in becoming foreign missionaries, the first to leave Ireland to preach abroad, and they followed his doctrine of liberty of conscience. In A. D. 575, there was held at Drumceatt, about twenty miles from Londonderry, Ireland, a great national convention. It was composed of the chief men of Ireland in civil and in ecclesiastical life, with immense numbers of retainers. The convention continued fourteen months, and was under arms during its whole existence. It granted independence to the Irish Dalriada kingdom of Scotland, the great object for which it met. When it was unanimously agreed at the convention to put the bards to death as adverse to the Christian religion, Columba alone plead for them. They opposed his mission in Caledonia at every step, yet he could not slay or hurt them for paganism. And such was the eloquence and power of the appeal and the influence of the advocate, that the bards were saved.¹ Full of gratitude for their deliverance, the bards issued a poem, composed by Dallan Forgaill, poet laureate of Ireland at that time, in honor of Columba, which is still in existence.²

Columba's treatment of the bards showed Christian generosity, conformity to the Saviour's will, and attachment to the famous doctrine of Roger Williams.

When Columbanus, who was born in Ireland in A. D. 543, was prosecuting a successful mission in France, the envy of

¹ Smith's "Life of St. Columba," p. 125. Glasgow, 1824.

² "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. 127.

neighboring bishops led them to summon him before their synod to punish him, ostensibly for keeping Easter at the Irish instead of the Romish time. He sent a letter in reply, declining their request, and telling them that "He desired only that every one might keep his own custom, and follow his own tradition."¹ According to Columbanus these bishops had no right to dictate to him in any religious act, and punish him for not conforming to their views as they were planning to do; neither had he or any one else authority to inflict civil penalties upon the religious opinions or acts of others unless they were criminal. St. Patrick, Columba, and Columbanus, stood upon the Baptist platform of liberty of conscience.

Patrick was remarkable as a missionary. When he sailed for Ireland to preach the gospel, that country had many British slaves engaged in the lowest occupations and suffering the greatest hardships. His old master waited to seize him and enslave him again. Petty wars, piracy, tyranny, and idolatry were rampant all over the island; but the intrepid Patrick, in the name of Jesus, fearlessly entered upon his work and pursued it for half a century or more, until all Ireland was nominally Christian, though its entire people were not converted. He presents his missionary plan in his "Confession" when he writes: "Therefore, it is necessary to spread our nets so that a large multitude and throng may be taken for God." There never was a foreign missionary whose heart embraced a wider field, and whose labors among pagan barbarians were more successful in the conversion of souls; among whom he planted such a missionary spirit as led them to complete his unfinished work in Ireland, and to send missionaries to Caledonia to the pagan Anglo-Saxons, and in unparalleled numbers to many other European nations. The denomination of Carey and Judson may justly claim Patrick, the illustrious foreign missionary, as holding all their leading doctrines, and as being substantially a Baptist.

¹ Du Pin's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. II., p. 5. Dublin.

BOOK III.

SCOTLAND AND THE CONVERSION OF THE PICTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE SOUTHERN PICTS.

Their conversion due to Britons—The Strathclyde Britons—The earliest Scots in Caledonia—The Irish Scots settled there in the sixth century—Pictish raids—Roman walls—Christian captives among the Picts—A Hibernian slave—Coroticus and his captives—Heathen plunderers bring home missionaries—The Diocletian persecution sends fugitives among the Picts.

THE conversion of the southern Picts was accomplished through the instrumentality of Britons, private persons and prominent missionaries.

Anciently, the greater part of Scotland was called Albania or Alba, as England bore the name of Albion. Caledonia was also an early name of the same region. The country of the ancient Britons included England and the southern part of Scotland. From the county of Cumberland, in England, to Dumbarton, in Scotland, the people were all Britons.

This territory and its people formed the kingdom of Strathclyde, governed by a native ruler subject to the Romans, and surviving for centuries after they abandoned Britain. To these Britons St. Patrick belonged, a people as thoroughly British as the heroes who fought under King Arthur in his celebrated victory over the Anglo-Saxons at Badon Hill.

The Scots, though not known by that name until the fourth century, had an earlier home than that in Caledonia. In the beginning of the sixth century, the Dalriadani¹ Scots of Antrim, Ireland, founded a kingdom in Argyleshire, Albania,

¹ "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. 113.

which afterward became the dominant power in Scotland, and gave its present name to that part of Great Britain. Bede, writing of these Irish settlers in Pictland, says: "Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who, migrating from Ireland under their leader, Reuda, either by fair means or by force of arms, secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts which they still possess." In the same connection he adds: "Ireland is properly the country of the Scots."¹

The Strathelyde Britons were evangelized before the end of the fourth century; many of them, perhaps, long before it. They were the neighbors of the Picts, and separated from them by barriers which in peaceful times were crossed by numbers every day from both sides. The Christianity of the Britons undoubtedly and savingly impressed some of their Pictish neighbors. The gospel, in its early converts, was a treasure of such overwhelming importance, that they could not hide it from friends or enemies. Pains, terrors, the loss of everything, universal scorn, or the worst form of slavery, could not restrain their boundless enthusiasm. The converted ancestors of St. Patrick among the Strathelyde Britons, as they thought of the perishing heathen Picts across the border, and of the agonizing death of the cross, must have felt the enthusiasm of the words:

For love like this, let rocks and hills
 Their lasting silence break,
 And all harmonious human tongues
 The Saviour's praises speak.

And undoubtedly they told these pagans, in words of touching compassion, the Saviour's unspeakable forgiveness, and the power of his blood to cleanse from all sin; and the eloquence of their glowing faces would constrain the Christless Picts to fly to the wounds of the crucified Saviour. In this way most probably many of them were brought to the Redeemer in the first gospel ages.

¹ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 1.

Armed excursions across the Romano-British border were frequent during the entire Roman occupation of Britain, and after it ended. They secured immense quantities of plunder, and inflicted death upon multitudes without mercy. Dangers from Picts and Scots were so great that in the reign of the Emperor Domitian, Agricola, about A. D. 81, fortified the line between the Forth and the Clyde to secure protection from them. About A. D. 126, the Emperor Hadrian contracted his possessions in Britain and built a new defensive wall between the Tyne and the Solway. About A. D. 144, the Emperor Antoninus Pius drove the barbarians of Pictland beyond the wall of Agricola, and constructed, between the Forth and the Clyde, breastworks of turf, a deep ditch, a military road, and a number of forts at proper distances to repel the northern enemy. The last wall to protect the Roman provinces of Britain was constructed by the inhabitants, and by a legion of Roman soldiers sent over after the emperor had abandoned the country, in response to an almost despairing appeal.

By these endless raids the Britons were robbed for ages of vast quantities of treasure and portable property, and of great numbers of captives who were reduced to slavery. For centuries the people of Pictland were served in their dwellings, fields, and laborious pursuits by slaves chiefly from Britain, but also from Ireland. Columba, the apostle of the Picts, as Adamnán¹ informs us, in the sixth century, saw among the northern Picts a girl held in slavery by Broichan the magician, the foster-father of the powerful King Brude. He demanded her freedom, which Broichan at first refused. Afterward the slave was liberated. This poor captive came from Christian Ireland, evangelized about a century and a half before. St. Patrick, in his "Letter to Coroticus" denouncing his capture of many of his recent converts and his murder of some of them, says: "Wherefore the church laments and bewails her sons and daughters whom the sword

¹"De Vita St. Columbæ," Lib. II., cap. 21., pp. 752, 753. Migne.

has not yet slain, but who have been carried away and reduced to slavery chiefly among the basest, the vilest, and the apostate Picts." Christian slaves from Ireland were among the heathen in Pictland; and believing Britons must have been enslaved by these barbarians while they were unconverted especially, in great numbers; though some of them, after professedly receiving Christ, still inflicted slavery upon captive brethren. Every true disciple in slavery in the family of a heathen Pict must have been a missionary in some measure. And perhaps to that cause, as much as to any other, were the Picts, especially the southern Picts, indebted for their general preparation to accept the Redeemer, and many of them for their complete conversion.

By a decree of Providence, not of *appointment*, but of *permission*, the Picts were allowed to make many expeditions into the country of the Britons, for riches and slaves; that in every faithful Christian captive whom they brought home they might add another to the numerous witnesses for Christ who lived among them. Encouraged by the tidings which reached them of the conversion which blessed the restricted efforts of godly captives, and of the pious soldiers and officers, or merchants supplying necessaries to Roman camps on the border in intervals of peace, it is possible that godly volunteer missionaries, bent on the salvation of souls at all risks, penetrated the region beyond the "walls," and with the eloquence of earnestness, aided by the Holy Spirit, drew large numbers to the Saviour. This would be in accordance with numerous examples in similar cases. No one of these could be a Ninian, or a Columba. If there had been such a laborer as either, the conversion of the southern, or of the northern Picts would have borne his name through all generations, and many histories.

And it is certain that there were many followers of Christ among them about the close of the fourth century. These were of sufficient strength to be known throughout all Albania and Britain, and in some distant quarters of the globe.

Tertullian,¹ the well-known presbyter of Carthage, in North Africa, as we stated before, about A. D. 200, in enumerating the many peoples that had become Christian, places in his list the inhabitants of "parts of Briton not reached by the Romans, but subjugated to Christ!" This account describes exactly the converts among the Picts, whom the Romans had not subdued, and never could conquer.

The Diocletian persecution was an unspeakable outrage upon the laws of God and the rights of man. Historians generally regard this scourge to Christians in every section of the Roman Empire, as an active agent in spreading the gospel in the country of the Picts and in Ireland. Both were outside of the dominions of the Cæsars; and regarded them, and their edicts and soldiers, with abhorrence. Spotswood says:

But that which furthered not a little the propagation of the gospel in these parts [the country of the Picts], was the persecution raised by Diocletian, which at that time was hot in the south parts of Britain [all England and the south of Scotland, owned by the Britons and ruled by the Romans]. This brought many Christians, both teachers and professors, into this kingdom² [of Scotland].

There is no reasonable doubt of the correctness of this statement. The simple fact that the Christian Britons were regarded with deadly hatred by the Romans, the persecutors of the Picts for generations, even then would open their hearts and homes to the innocent fugitives.

The number of fugitive Christians must have been very great. Bede states that, "Many persons, with the constancy of martyrs, died in the confession of their faith." He also relates that:

At the same time that Alban was martyred, Aaron and Julius suffered, and many³ more of both sexes in several places; who when they had endured sundry torments, and their limbs had been torn

¹ "Adv. Judæos," Part IV., cap. 7, p. 303. Lipsie, 1841.

² "History of the Church and State of Scotland," p. 3. London.

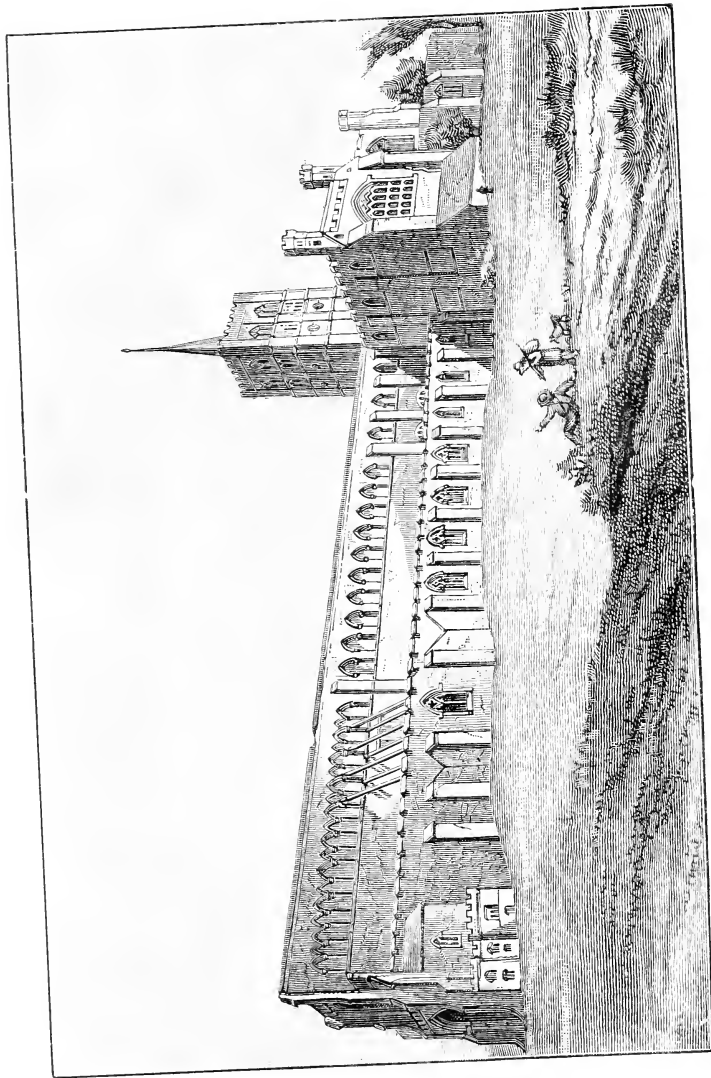
³ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 7.

after an unheard-of manner, yielded their souls up to enjoy in the heavenly city a reward for the sufferings through which they had passed.

The number of martyrs, according to this historian, must have been very great. The tidings of their sufferings were undoubtedly sent by Christians on the spot, or living near by, over the whole Roman province of Britain. And then, the alarmed children of God would fly to some refuge in their own country; or, doubting the safety of any home asylum, would set out for the country of the Picts.

It is also worthy of notice, that those who fled in this persecution were the resolute servants of God. The first thought about them naturally is, that they were afraid of the pains of martyrdom, and ran away to escape them. From Bede we learn that Alban was twice offered deliverance from death if he would "sacrifice to the great gods,"—that is, to "devils," as Alban properly described them. Unworthy believers required no asylum at home or abroad from Roman torture or death; they had only to blaspheme Christ and sacrifice to demon gods, and they were safe. When these saints appeared among the Picts, it would speedily be known to them that they could have lived in peace and prosperity at home if they had only denied Christ; that for him they had given up home, loved ones, property, friends, and safety; and now they were ready for hunger and cold, and pagan inhospitality and cruelty among them; and when these poor believing Britons informed the Picts, that such was their love for Christ that "they counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus their Lord, for whom they had suffered the loss of all things," what an effect their flight and their verbal testimony to Jesus must have had upon their heathen hosts!

We can judge better of their practical preaching to the Picts by the conversion of St. Alban among the Britons, more fully related elsewhere in this work. He was a pagan when the Diocletian persecution began to rage in Britain.



THE ABBEY OF ST. ALBAN,
The First British Martyr.

At this time he gave shelter to a godly minister flying for his life. Bede¹ relates, that Alban—

Observed this man to be engaged in continual prayer, and watching day and night; when, on a sudden the divine grace shining on Alban, he began to imitate the example of faith and piety which was set before him, and being gradually instructed by his wholesome admonitions, he cast off the darkness of idolatry, and became a Christian in all sincerity of heart."

If such was the case in Britain, many pagan Picts must have been saved by the fugitive British Christians among them. Valentia, then a Roman province occupied by Britons, now a part of Scotland, must have suffered like the rest of Roman Britain. Its persecuted ones naturally would fly for refuge to their neighbors, the Picts. Dr. M'Lauchlan writes :

Beyond the wall of Antonine, to the north, lay an extensive region, inaccessible either to the power or persecutions of Rome, and thither many of the oppressed Christians would flee, betaking themselves for security to the kind offices of the neighboring heathen; nor would they be received less cordially because of their being fugitives from Rome. These fugitives would carry with them the faith for which they had suffered, and would strive to repay their hosts by communicating to them the knowledge of its saving truths.²

In this way, in common with a number of others, we are convinced that the gospel reached many hearts in the country of the Picts. And this is fully established by the account of their reception of Ninian, the apostle of the southern Picts. From his biographer, Ailred,³ we learn that he was welcomed by a great concourse of people, among whom were joy, devotion, and praise of Christ. The people hailed him as one of the prophets. This was a Christian greeting from the children of God to their new pastor. And while there is no doubt that the majority of the southern Picts were still idolaters, it is quite certain that the Christians among them

¹ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 7.

² "The Early Scottish Church," pp. 50, 51.

³ Vit. Nin., cap. 2, in "Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum in Scotia." Pinkerton ed. London, 1789.

were a very numerous body. This meeting between Bishop Ninian and his future flock was held at Whithorn, in Galloway; and the "territory of the southern Picts included Galloway and the Lothians."

Ninian was the first permanent missionary who labored in this fruitful field. That there were occasional ministers who visited the southern Picts before Ninian, may be taken for granted; but very much of the gospel work among them was done by laymen.

CHAPTER II.

NINIAN, PALLADIUS, AND KENTIGERN.

Ninian's birthplace—His love for the Scriptures—His church at Candida Casa—His writings and success—Pilgrimages to his grave—He left no Romish brand upon his institutions—Palladius in Caledonia—He sundered his Roman ties—He trained Servanus and Ternan—Servanus instructed Kentigern—He became bishop of Glasgow—He is driven to Wales—There he has many converts and founds the present bishopric of St. Asaph—He returns to his old field and is joyfully received—Many churches bear his name.

NINIAN or Ringan was born about A. D. 360. His parents were Christians. He was inclined from early youth to lead a godly life, and to search the Holy Scriptures with diligence. Like the celebrated Pelagius, who remained for a considerable period in Rome with others fully and regularly engaged in the study of the word of God in their own rooms, Ninian went to the eternal city, and gave much time to the same blessed pursuit. Collier says he was born in North Wales, and it is possible that Ninian may have learned to love the Divine oracles under the very influences that made them especially dear to the great Welsh heretic, Pelagius.

Ailred, his biographer in the twelfth century, writes of him: "He was sparing of his words, assiduous in study, courteous in manner, ever subjecting his flesh to the spirit, and devoting himself to great searching of the Holy Scriptures; so much so that he discovered that among his people [the Britons] its real sense was not thoroughly understood."¹ The stigma cast upon the supposed ignorance of the ancient Britons about the Scriptures is only a sneer at their Protestantism by Ailred, the Romish abbot of Rievall in Yorkshire, England.

¹ Vit. Nin., Cap. 4, in "Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum in Scotia." Pinkerton ed. London, 1789.

From Ailred we also learn that so chaste was he in body, so wise in counsel, that all men spoke of him [in Rome], and he enjoyed the highest favor of the supreme pontiff. . . And the Roman pope hearing that in the western part of Britain, while some had not received the Christian faith, others had received it from heretics, or from men unlearned in the divine [popish] law, consecrated Ninian to the episcopal office, and sent him as the first apostle to the people of his own nation.¹ Ailred represents Ninian as a papal emissary coming to set up the authority of the pontiff among the Britons, and to convert the Picts; and Bede,² whose testimony is decisive, relates, that—

The southern Picts, who dwell on this side of those mountains, had long before [A. D. 565], as is reported, forsaken the errors of idolatry, and embraced the truth by the preaching of Ninian, a most reverend bishop and holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth; whose episcopal see, named after St. Martin, the bishop [of Tours], and famous for a stately church, wherein he and many other saints rest in body, is still in existence.

Archbishop Spotswood³ writes, that Ninian proved himself a notable instrument in the church, for he converted the southern Picts to the faith of Christ, and for his continual labors in preaching, not among them alone, for he traveled also among the Scots and Britons, and he sent ministers everywhere to aid him in carrying the good tidings to each village and home in the country of the Picts. To assist him in this part of his missionary work he had a school for training ministers.

His church, called Candida Casa, or White House, built of stone, must have been a wonder to the Picts. French masons erected it; and there was no other structure of the kind among them. Ninian was a man of genius, his church pleased the Picts, and it gave dignity and permanency to his mission.

¹ Vit. Nin. Cap., II. Pinkerton ed. London, 1789.

² "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., Cap. 4.

³ "History of the Church and State of Scotland," p. 7. London.

Ninian, the Briton, was another St. Patrick, the Briton, in a diminished form, practical, persevering, and filled with the love of Christ, so that he could never rest until the idols of all the southern Picts were destroyed, and Jesus was their acknowledged Saviour.

Ninian wrote a commentary upon the Psalms, and a book of selections of the remarkable sentences of holy men, "as Bale¹ relates"; probably in the style afterward used by Peter Lombard in his celebrated work called "Sentences," in which he collected and arranged the biblical opinions of the Latin fathers, and for which he was often called "Master of the Sentences."

Ninian died in A. D. 432, when he was seventy-two years of age; and while Camden writes his noblest epitaph: "Ninian the Briton, a holy man, who first enriched the southern Picts with the Christian faith,"² yet other witnesses attest his extraordinary worth. Multitudes of all ranks made pilgrimages to his tomb.

"His name," says Dr. Alexander, a Scotch author, who died about thirty years ago, "still survives in popular legends which have been handed down from father to son for many generations, and which ascribe to him deeds, in number and marvelousness, sufficient to have made the reputation of a dozen saints."³ George Chalmers⁴ counts twenty-four churches and chapels in Scotland bearing the name of St. Ninian, and it is known that this list does not include all.

Ninian's connection with Rome evidently ceased soon after he entered upon his mission to the southern Picts. For Ninian to maintain the dominion of any Roman priest over him and the congregations he was about to organize among the Picts, would have been to stir up the most virulent opposition from the entire Picts, north and south, and would, almost to a certainty, have resulted in his expulsion or death.

¹ Cited in Collier's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. I., p. 101. London, 1840.

² Britannia, article "Galloway," p. 379. Amsterdam, 1639.

³ Alexander's "Ancient British Church," pp. 171, 172. London.

⁴ "Caledonia," Vols. I., p. 315; II., p. 211.

The earth never nourished a people who hated the Romans more bitterly than the Picts and the original Albanian Scots. In Ninian's day they fought the Romans, and they had waged war with them, with some intermissions, for nearly four hundred years, and the new missionary was so anxious to preach the gospel that he concluded to say nothing about the powerful bishop of Rome.

At Canterbury, the bishops of Rome constantly maintained their despotic relations with Augustine, the first archbishop, and all his successors until the Reformation. The whole Christian world saw the chains that united Canterbury and Rome. Scotch history shows no papal links uniting Ninian's churches to the pope. He left no mark of Romanism upon any of his ecclesiastical institutions.

Eager for the salvation of the pagans around him, he was silent about his Romanism for a time through prudence, until the Spirit of God showed him the falsehood of even the modified papal supremacy of that day; and then he discarded it for ever, and ultimately left his church as Protestant as the neighboring churches of Britain.

As we shall notice more fully again, according to Prosper of Aquitaine, and Venerable Bede, "Palladius was sent by Celestine, the Roman pontiff, to the Scots who believed in Christ, to be their first bishop," in A. D. 431. The Scots referred to in his commission were the Irish. His stay in Ireland was short, though he managed to build three churches in that country; rude, wooden structures, one of which was called "The House of the Romans." He left their country, as the "Four Masters" tell us, because "he did not receive respect in Ireland." The name of the above church, whether given by himself or contemptuously applied by the people, furnishes evidence that he had avowed himself a Roman emissary. As Rome was abhorred by the Irish as much as by the Picts, though every Roman soldier had evacuated Britain some years before; and, as the Irish episcopal dignity, conferred by Pope Celestine upon Palla-

dus, aimed to set aside St. Patrick, who had long labored in Ireland under the auspices of Christians in Britain and Gaul, without any relations with Rome, it is likely that patriots, who hated the legions of Imperial Rome, and converts who revered the devoted Patrick, united in encouraging Palladius, the papal intruder, to leave Hibernia, after a brief sojourn in it.

Palladius, learning that there were some Scots and many Picts yet unsaved in Pictland, sailed for that country. He settled, it is supposed, at Fordoun in Mearns. There he labored, according to Spotswood,¹ for twenty-four years with success, and maintained a character without reproach. He built a little church, "which from him to this day is called by a corruption of the word, 'Paddie's Church,'" and a neighboring well² yet bears his name. There is still held at Fordoun an annual fair called "Paddie's, or Palladie's Fair."

While the mission of Palladius was rewarded with some converts, it bears no comparison in its results with the harvest gathered by Ninian, Columba, or Kentigern.

Ninian set Palladius an example about references to Rome in North Britain, which he appears to have carefully followed after his repulse in Ireland. M'Lauchlan justly writes: "It is clear that, so far from the mission of Ninian and Palladius being successful in introducing the Roman system into Scotland, they had no successors [as popish emissaries], and it was seven hundred years ere Scotland submitted to the jurisdiction of the Roman see."³

Palladius accomplished more through two of his disciples in Caledonia than by his own direct efforts—these were Servanus, or St. Serf, and Ternan. These men were favored greatly by Providence in extending the Saviour's kingdom. Their names are mentioned with honor by all the early historians of Scotland. On the Forth, he founded a famous

¹ "History of the Church and State of Scotland," p. 7.

² A baptismal well.

³ "The Early Scottish Church," p. 106.

school where many clergymen were educated, in reference to which it is said that, "Servanus taught the Christian's law to the clergy."¹ His most remarkable pupil was Kentigern, and he was his favorite disciple. If he had never instructed another, he deserves the loving remembrance of all Christians in and out of Scotland, in his own age and every other. It has been truly written by M'Lauchlan: "The impression produced by the perusal of the 'Life of Kentigern,' the pupil of Servanus, is, that Servanus preached and taught as a Christian missionary at Culross, according to the system of the ancient British church;"² that is, he rejected the supremacy of the pope, as the British bishops declined to submit to Gregory the Great, or to receive Augustine whom he had appointed to be their archbishop.

Kentigern was born about A. D. 514. His birth is enshrouded in mystery, occurring at Culross on the Forth. Like Ninian, he was a Briton. According to Archbishop Ussher, he was placed in the school of St. Serf when young—

And, being talented, the boy advanced successfully in the acquisition of knowledge; he was beloved above all his companions in the eyes of holy Servanus, and it was his custom to call him Munchu [Mungo], which means most dear friend. It is well known that not otherwise than by the name of St. Mungo was Kentigern spoken of by the Scots even to this day.³

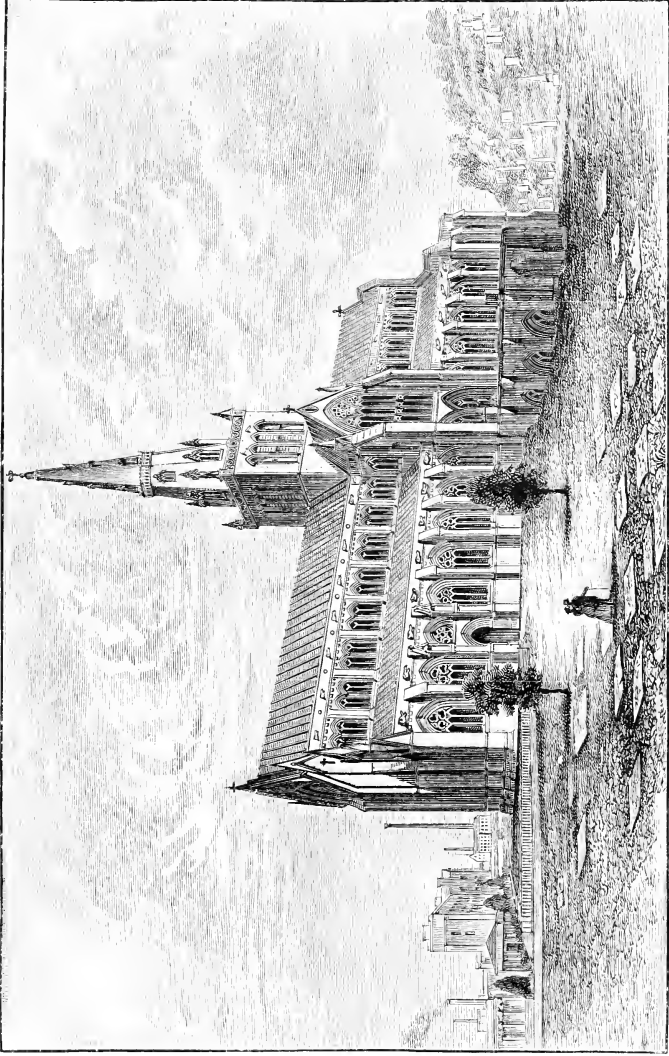
Archbishop Spotswood⁴ describes Mungo as so compassionate to the poor that he distributed to them all that came to his hand. That he ate no flesh, tasted no wines or strong drink, and that when he retired to rest he slept upon the cold ground, having a stone for his pillow. He practised these discomforts, not to atone for his sins, the only sacrifice for which was the slain Lamb of God, but to crucify his passions and fit him to walk with God. And he succeeded wonderfully in his object.

¹ "Life of Kentigern in Glasgow Chartulary," p. 85.

² "The Early Scottish Church," p. 103.

³ Ussher's "Works," Vol. VI., p. 225.

⁴ "History of the Church and State of Scotland," p. 11.



GLASGOW CATHEDRAL,
The Memorial of Kentigern.

We learn from Archbishop Ussher¹ that, in his twenty-fifth year, Kentigern was consecrated bishop of Glasgow :

The king, the clergy of the Strathclyde Britons, with other Christians, although few, elected him to be their pastor and bishop, while he opposed it very much. Moreover, they had him consecrated for their bishop, according to the usage of the Britons and Scots by a single Irish bishop whom they sent for.

His diocese [field; there was no diocese in Scotland for centuries afterward] was of vast extent, reaching from sea to sea; he traveled over it always on foot, sparing no pains to spread the light of the gospel among the unbelievers, of whom he converted and baptized great numbers.²

The apostasy of the Southern Picts, soon after their conversion, and of the Britons of Strathclyde, St. Patrick's countrymen, gave him continual pain, and prompted many an earnest sermon and daily and fervent prayers for their rescue from general blacksliding. In the midst of his godly efforts, Kentigern suffered both insult and injury from the king of the Strathclyde Britons; and he fled to Wales for protection.

Staying with St. David, in Menevia, as Archbishop Ussher³ states, he converted many to the faith, and built a church. He also constructed a monastic school and constituted it a bishop's see. In this institution there were nine hundred and sixty-five persons; all of them in some way laboring for the triumph of grace over guilt and ruin. On the banks of a Welsh clyde, he founded this monastery and a bishopric which exists now, and which is still known by the name of his disciple and successor, St. Asaph.

After he had been many years in Wales, Kentigern was recalled by the King of the Strathclyde Britons, and other Christians in conjunction with him. He returned to Glasgow, accompanied, as his biographer says, by six hundred and twenty disciples. He was received on his arrival with great joy; and rich blessings descended upon the ministry of

¹ "Works," Vol. VI., p. 225.

² Butler's "Lives of the Saints," Vol. I., p. 54. Dublin.

³ "Works," Vol. VI., p. 85.

the word. At Holdelin, many were converted by the preaching of Kentigern and his disciples.¹

When Kentigern returned from Wales—

He renewed his missionary labors, in which he was cheered by a visit from Cclumba [the great apostle of the northern Picts] and, dying about A. D. 601, he was buried where the cathedral of Glasgow now stands. The fame of St. Kentigern is attested by the many churches which still bear his name, as well in Scotland as in the north of England. The church of Crosthwaite, where Southey is buried was dedicated to him. Some of his miracles are still commemorated by the armorial ensigns of the city of Glasgow; these are a hazel tree whose frozen branches he kindled into a flame, a tame robin which he restored to life, a hand-bell which he brought from Rome [where he never was] a salmon which brought from the depths of the Clyde the lost ring of the Queen of Cadyow.²

If, however, his spurious miracles, which received form after his death, still survive in the city arms of Glasgow, he exerted an influence, through the gospel, on the hearts of hosts of Caledonians in his day, which has wielded a beneficial power over their descendants through all the ages since, and which will live and work while the sons and daughters of his spiritual children continue in any land under an earthly sun.

¹ "Early Scottish Church," p. 124.

² Chamber's "Encyclopædia," article "St. Mungo."

CHAPTER III.

THE LIFE AND LABORS OF COLUMBA.

Importance of Columba's future labors—His ancestry, education, and piety—His grand reception at Clon—His institutions at Derry and Durrow—His copy of the Gospels still in existence—Derry's interesting history—He goes to Caledonia *for Christ*.

ST. COLUMBA was trained in the religious community of which the illustrious St. Patrick was the human founder. Looking at the successes of his personal ministry, and those of his disciples during his life and after his death, in Great Britain and Ireland, he was among the foremost preachers of the gospel of any age in these lands. His work in Ireland was useful in an extraordinary measure. His labors in Scotland not only secured the conversion of hosts under the general name of "The Northern Picts," but were an unexampled blessing to that entire country. The pupils whom he himself taught in Iona, and some of their disciples instructed at Iona, Lindisfarne, Melrose, and Whitby, led to the Saviour the great bulk of the Anglo-Saxons.

There is ample room to assert that in A. D. 635, when Aidan entered the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria with his Iona preachers, through apostasy and original heathenism, the celebrated mission of Augustine and Gregory the Great in England was confined to the little kingdom of Kent and Northumbria, the east Saxons having fallen into apostasy from their nominal Christianity.

After nearly forty years of labor, the Romish mission had made little advance from A. D. 597, when Augustine baptized Ethelbert of Kent and ten thousand of his subjects. But the Iona mission under God swept over a large part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and brought their people to the Saviour.

Little wonder that Dr. Alexander writes: "Columba stands before us as one of the great missionary heroes of the church. He has earned for himself a name which shall be held in everlasting remembrance; for his is the imperishable glory of having kindled a light in these northern lands which has never since been utterly extinguished."¹

According to Adamnán,² "Columba was descended from famous ancestors, his father was Fedlimid, the son of Fergus. His mother was Aethnia, the daughter of MacNave." He was a relative of the royal family of Ireland. Columba was a great-grandson of Neill of the nine hostages; "so named from the hostages which he received from so many [Hibernian] nations that were subject to him." His father was grandson by the mother to Lorn Mòr, son of Erc, one of the three leaders of the Dalriadic³ colony that founded the kingdom of Argyle in Caledonia. He was united by blood to the royal families of Ireland and of the Scots of Argyle.

Columba was born about A. D. 521, in the county of Donegal, Ireland. He received the two extraordinary names of Crimthan, a wolf, and Columba, a dove. Subsequently, either from his interest in the worship of the sanctuary, or from the great number of churches which he established, he was frequently called Columcille, that is, Colum "of the church."

The only authorities regarded as reliable for the leading events of Columba's life are the biographies written by his successors in Iona, Cumin Fion and Adamnán, Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," and the works of the Irish "Annalists." Cumin wrote about sixty years after Columba's death, Adamnán about ninety, largely appropriating Cumin's work, Bede about a hundred and twenty, and Tighernac, the earliest of the "Annalists" in the eleventh century. The word "reliable," as applied to these authors, has reference simply to the ordinary facts of history which they record; there is nothing

¹ "Iona," pp. 99, 100. Religious Tract Society. London.

² "Vita Columbæ," Lib. I., cap. 1., p. 727. Migne.

³ Bishop Reeves' "Vit. Colum.," p. 71.

miraculous to be received on their testimony, though there is no doubt of their conscientiousness in relating many incredible wonders.

In early life, Finnian¹ of Clonard was his instructor; he was a man of extensive learning, of great popularity as a teacher, and especially devoted to the study of the Scriptures. Large numbers received their education from him, some of whom became eminent ministers of the gospel. Adamnán says that, "On one occasion, when St. Finnian saw Columba approaching him he perceived an angel of the Lord as the companion of his walk, and he addressed some brethren near by, and said: 'Behold, now you see St. Columba, who deserves to have an angel from heaven as his companion and guardian.'" ² From this statement it is certain that Columba's conduct had been so remarkably Christlike, that when a mere youth at school he was called "saint" by the head of the institution, who also represented him as having an angel as his companion and guardian. Adamnán in a large measure accounts for Columba's unusual piety in another part of his "Life" by his reference to "the period during which he remained with St. Finbar the bishop [another of his instructors], in his youth, learning the wisdom of the sacred Scriptures." ³

With another of his preceptors [Gemman], as we learn from Adamnán: "He was engaged in seeking divine [biblical] wisdom while yet a young deacon." The teacher had a special regard for his pupil, and was accustomed to call him "saint" Columba, and apparently to study with him away from the institution. On one of these occasions a savage and murderous enemy chased a little girl fleeing from him on the open plain; when she saw the aged teacher of the young deacon mentioned above, as he was *reading* in the field, she fled directly to him with all possible speed. Alarmed by her

¹ Ussher's "Works," Vol. VI., pp. 472, 473.

² "Adamnáni Vit. Colum.," Lib. III., cap. 4; p. 761. Migne.

³ Ibid., Lib. II., cap. 7, p. 762. Migne.

terrified appearance he called Columba, who was reading at some distance, that both might protect the girl with all their might from her foe. He, coming suddenly without any regard for them, killed her at once with his spear under their garments, and turning away he began to depart, leaving her lying dead at their feet. The old man full of grief said to Columba: "Holy youth, Columba, how long will God, the just judge, suffer this wicked deed to be unpunished to our disgrace?" The saint replied: "In the same hour in which the soul of the slain girl enters heaven, the soul of the murderer shall descend into hell." Adamnán adds that the assassin at once fell a corpse "before the eyes of the holy youth [Columba]," as Ananias lost his life in the presence of Peter, and that "the report of this sudden and dreadful punishment spread immediately through many of the provinces of Ireland, giving a marvelous reputation to the deacon." However it may be explained, it is certain that this story attracted much attention to the young Bible student. Columba was also a pupil of the celebrated St. Ciaran in the monastic college of Clon, upon the Shannon, in Ireland, which he founded. He preached to the Irish Dalreudini of Kintyre with success. He died in A. D. 594. For this venerable man Columba ever cherished the warmest regard.

An ode which he wrote on St. Ciaran's death is still in existence, in which he commemorates his virtues, thanks the Saviour for sending to the world such an apostle, and styles him the "Lamp of this Island."¹

Columba probably received the first idea of preaching to the heathen Picts from Ciaran. In the monastery of Clon,² the brethren, no less than Ciaran, were enthusiastic admirers of Columba. He paid a visit to the monastery after an absence of some years, and preparations were made to give him a hearty welcome. Adamnán writes that when—

The approach of Columba was announced, the whole people, in every direction from the lands near the monastery, assembled to—

¹ Alexander's "Iona," pp. 65, 66. London.

² Clonmacnois.

gether, and were met by those who were in it; and going forth from the enclosures of the monastery, following the Abbot Alitherus with great eagerness, they advanced with one mind, as if to meet an angel of the Lord, with faces turned in submission to the earth. When he appeared they kissed him with warm reverential regard; and, singing hymns and praises, they conducted him with honor to the church; and that he might not be distressed by the pressure of a multitude of his brethren they made a safeguard of pieces of wood, bound together, to surround the saint while walking, which was to be carried by four men keeping step with him."¹

He left Clon as a student, and this triumphant reception was but an example of his experience as a scholar in St. Ciaran's University. That Columba's reception was not exceeded in respect, love, and joy by any similar event in the history of student life and educational institutions, may be taken for granted. His generosity created enthusiasm everywhere.

In a visit to France, he was solicited by King Sigibert, who made him large promises, to remain with him. But Columba, whose ambition was to be useful rather than great, told him that he was so far from coveting the wealth of others, that for Christ's sake he had already renounced his own."² This answer corresponds with the generous devotion to Christ of Columba's entire religious life.

Columba possessed a superior education. He was familiar with Latin and Greek, secular and ecclesiastical history, the principles of jurisprudence, the law of nations, the science of medicine, and the laws of mind. He was the greatest Irishman of the Celtic race in mental powers; and he founded in Iona the most learned school in the British Islands, and probably in Western Europe for a long period.

In his twenty-fifth year, Columba established his first missionary institution at Derry. This important event occurred in A. D. 546. Bede, speaking of it, says: "Before he passed over into Britain, he built a noble monastery in Ireland, which from the great number of oaks, is called in the

¹ "Adamnáni Vit. Colum.," Lib. I., cap. 3, p. 730. Migne.

² Smith's "Life of Columba," p. 51. Glasgow.

Scottish [Irish] tongue, Dearn-ach, the field of oaks.”¹ Writing of the colleges of Iona and Derry, he states that, “From both of these monasteries, many others had their beginning through his disciples, both in Britain and Ireland.” It is probable that like the city of St. Gall, in Switzerland, which originated from the monastery of the Irish missionary, Gallus, Derry, or Londonderry as it is now called, owes its existence to the great school of Columba, located in its field of oaks. It was only about twenty miles distant from Gartan, County Donegal, where Columba was born; and it is not unlikely that it was selected for the triple purpose of conferring educational and religious blessings upon his numerous kindred and early friends, and of receiving their protection and help in his first great missionary institution; and also to make it a religious “camp” in which to drill recruits for the invasion of heathen Caledonia, a project which he cherished at an earlier day than the commencement of the Derry establishment. Its proximity to the Scottish coast makes it almost certain that this was a leading reason for its selection as a site; while the benefits to be conferred upon relatives and friends, and reasonably to be expected from them, made it an excellent location from which to found other literary institutions, theological seminaries, training schools for missionaries, and workshops for teaching young mechanics for Ireland and Scotland.

Bede’s statement that many other monasteries sprang from Iona and Derry, is confirmed by any number of witnesses. At this early period of Columba’s life, he was full of consecrated effort. Had he been a soldier, like young General Wolfe, at Quebec in 1759, he would have led an army up its tremendous cliffs to the heights of Abraham, and, infusing his own courage into his men, would have snatched victory where ordinary generals would have met defeat. He went everywhere throughout Ireland, preaching Christ; difficulties seemed to increase his ardor, and apparent impossibilities quickly disap-

¹ “Eccles. Hist.,” Lib. III., cap. 4.

peared ; weariness seldom crippled his energies ; and the success of one, or half a dozen great undertakings, instead of calling him to retirement, or even restful relaxation, only urged him forward to equal or to greater efforts to glorify God. Souls were saved in large numbers through his ministry, backsliders were reclaimed, Christians were revived, the penurious became liberal givers, the sleeping and idle became wakeful and active workers. His name was honored throughout every part of his native country. When he preached, multitudes came to hear ; and when he commenced a new church or college, the number of volunteer helpers was great ; and when one of his monastic schools was opened, the best teachers in the island were anxious to instruct its students, and they gathered, sometimes in thousands, to profit by its advantages. It was the age of consecrated men in Ireland, and Columba was regarded, as his years increased, as the greatest of all living believers. He was freely placed next to the illustrious Patrick himself, an honor never accorded to any other man. "Columcille,"¹ the "Four Masters" say, "the apostle of Alba, [Scotland], *head* of the piety of the most part of Ireland and Alba, *after Patrick*, died in his church in Hy [Iona] in Alba on Sunday, the ninth of June. He was aged seventy-seven, and he was in the thirty-seventh year of his pilgrimage."

Durrow Monastic Mission Institute was founded A. D. 553, and became the largest and most celebrated of all the Irish colleges of Columba. A book of the Gospels, belonging to this monastery and bearing its name, and now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland, claims to have been written by Columba. "An entry,² in Latin, now partly obliterated, claims remembrance of the scribe, Columba, who wrote this evangel in the space of twelve days." It is believed by many that this ancient copy of the four Gospels is the work of Columba. "To Columba is ascribed

¹ "Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland," at A. D. 592, O'Donovan. Dublin, 1849.

² "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. 107. London, 1888.

the origin of three hundred churches in Ireland, among which are numbered those of Derry, Kells, Tory Island, off the Donegal coast; Drumcliffe in Sligo, Swords, in the county of Dublin; Raphoe, Lambay, near Malahide, and Durrow."

Londonderry has now a population of about twenty-five thousand. It is famous as the seat of Columba's first monastic college, and as the port from which he set out for his successful mission among the northern Picts of Scotland, as also for its heroic defense against the army of the popish despot, James II., who had been a fugitive from England for some time. The few hours' sail between Derry and Scotland, where James had many friends, made its possession extremely desirable, that through Derry and Scotland he might finally reach London. He brought an army there in the spring of 1689, composed of Irish and French, and more than twenty-five thousand strong; when the soldiers arrived, Macaulay says, the citizens were "betrayed, deserted, disorganized, and begirt with enemies." The number of refugees and citizens "capable of bearing arms within the walls was seven thousand, and the world could not have furnished seven thousand better qualified to meet a terrible emergency, with clear judgment, dauntless valor, and stubborn patience. They were all Protestants: "Presbyterians and Episcopalians," the former the more numerous, all Scotch-Irish, and from their names a goodly number of them the descendants of Columba's Caledonian converts. "Twice a day worship was conducted in the principal church." The walls and other defenses were very weak. Provisions were scarce and soon there was a famine. But the besieged defended themselves with unsurpassed bravery. "The women were seen in the thickest of the fire serving out water and ammunition to their husbands and brothers." Famine and pestilence, rather than arms, reduced the garrison "from seven to three thousand men." The reign of hunger during most of the one hundred and five days of the siege furnished scenes of horror never surpassed, the peru-

sal of which cannot cease to shock even hearts unaccustomed to compassion ; and yet "no surrender," was the unanimous cry of the besieged, of all ages and both sexes, from the beginning of the siege until the popish enemy fled. The entire people inside the walls felt that they were suffering and fighting for salvation through the blood of the Lamb, and they were all prepared to die, like those who had already fallen as martyrs for the enthroned Redeemer. Two vessels laden with provisions, and protected by the frigate "Dartmouth," passed up the Foyle to Derry, through Irish batteries fiercely active ; the second morning after the arrival of the vessels, the French and Irish besiegers were in full retreat. "So ended," says Macaulay, "this great siege, the most memorable in the annals of the British Isles."¹ By their bravery, the defenders of Londonderry stopped rapid transportation to or from Scotland, and gave wonderful encouragement to the patriotic Protestants of that country and of England at a very critical time,

Columba's monastic school at Londonderry, and the siege of the city in 1689, have made it famous ; and have long since proved themselves blessings of a high order to Great Britain and Ireland, and some countries beyond their limits. The one broke the yoke of paganism from the Northern Picts and the great body of the Anglo-Saxons, the other burst the chains of civil despotism and Romish tyranny in the British islands and their colonies.

When Columba sailed for the Picts, the pioneer foreign missionary from Ireland, in the enjoyment of some love from nearly every Irish heart, with the blessings of the rich and the poor, the old and the young accompanying him, he went to save pagans "for Christ" ; and he steered for the Scottish coast at forty-two years of age, with all his powers, physical, intellectual, and spiritual, in full development. He went as a living sacrifice for God—with the windows of heaven open to flood him and his companions with the richest blessing.

¹ Macaulay's "History of England," Vol. III., pp. 57, 58, 59, 71 ; Butler's ed., Philadelphia, 1856.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF COLUMBA'S MISSION TO THE NORTHERN PICTS.

Columba sails from Derry with twelve disciples—They take possession of Iona—Its hallowed and glorious memories—Its location and condition—The island granted by King Brude—An Irish monastic building—The early Egyptian monks lived for their own supposed religious benefit—Columba's disciples were missionaries and teachers of ministers—They were called "Soldiers of Christ"—They were spiritual Knights of St. John—Iona raised the supplies needed—Much to give away.

THERE is no ground for doubt that Columba sailed for his new mission field from his first college in Derry, Ireland. He took with him twelve disciples, who were all, it is supposed, relatives of the missionary. The band left Derry for their new home in coracles, boats made of rods and covered with hides.

The missionaries first landed, according to tradition, upon the island of Colonsay, from which they could still see the coast of Ireland; to avoid this they put to sea again, and continued their course until they arrived at Iona. Here they came ashore upon an island which they and their successors made famous for all time. More than thirteen hundred years after the establishment of this mission, large numbers of intelligent tourists every year, from nearly all parts of the world, visit Iona, not to see the Romish ecclesiastical ruins still remaining there, or the burial places of ancient nobles and kings, but the little island where the holiest man that ever lived in Britain planned and prayed for pagan Picts, heathen Anglo-Saxons, and Christless souls in countries outside of Great Britain and Ireland.

The island of Iona lies off the larger island of Mull on the

west coast of Scotland. It is about three miles long, and varies in breadth from a mile to a mile and a half; its area is estimated at two thousand imperial acres. The soil is remarkably fruitful, and it yields earlier crops than most parts of Great Britain. Bede¹ states that the island was given to Columba by Brude Meilochon, "the powerful king of the Pictish nation." Tighernac, in his annals, at A. D. 574, writes that Conall, son of Comgall, king of Dalriada in Caledonia, granted it to Columba. The record of Bede is reliable; Conall probably confirmed the gift.

The monastic collegiate buildings, erected by Columba, were chiefly of wattles and clay. They were of slender construction, but stanch in their occupants. Adamnán² relates that his monks in Columba's time were sent to gather rods for building a "guest chamber," which shows that the humble dwellings of the inmates at that period were of no more enduring materials. After these homes were in use for some time it is not unlikely that planks were substituted for wattles and clay. Bede informs us that when Finan, the Scot, became bishop of Lindisfarne, in Northumbria, "He built a church after the manner of the Scots, not of stone, but of hewn oak,³ and covered it with reeds." Such a church was reared at Iona. The monks occupied huts around a central court. Columba himself had his "little hut" upon an eminence overlooking the monastic buildings. The Latin word used by Adamnán, which we translate "little hut," is *tuguriolum*, the term used by St. Patrick in his "Confession" to describe his lodgings when as a penniless fugitive slave he found shelter at the seaside until he could secure a passage to Scotland. Adamnán, speaking of Columba, represents a young man as standing "at the entrance of the little hut in which the blessed man was writing." At another time he speaks of "the holy man when he was sitting writing in his little hut," copying his last

¹ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., cap. 4

² Adamnán's "Vit. Colum.," Lib. II., cap. 3.

³ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., cap. 25.

verse from the Psalms,¹ "They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing."

Professor Stokes² thinks that there were two hundred persons in the monastery at an early day. At some periods there were more. But this number would not be excessive when we consider the labors required by its vast fields, the great body of teachers needed in its immense classes, those engaged in copying the Scriptures, the preachers for many miles around whose only parsonage was Iona, and all who followed mechanical pursuits in the ministry. These and visitors from various quarters formed a large village of huts. Around this little city of primitive homes a kind of fortification was thrown up, circular in form, a fort in strength and height. The cell of St. Cuthbert on the isle of Farne, in the present county of Durham, England, as Bede relates, had a mound so high around it that he could see nothing but heaven.³

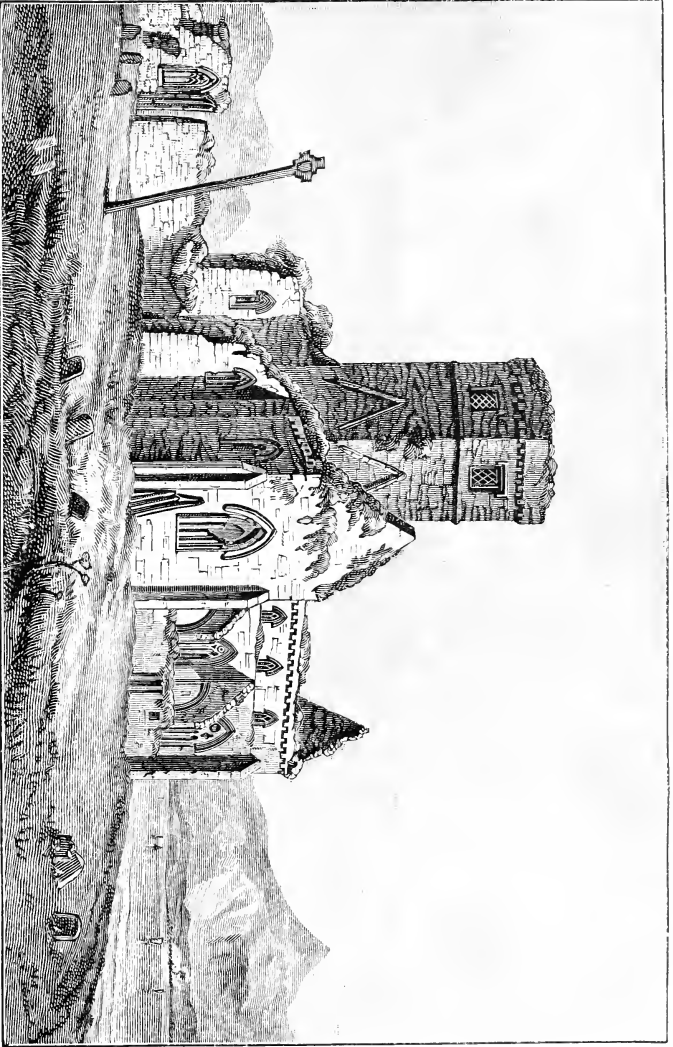
No buildings of the early period of Iona's Christian occupants exist; their perishable materials have disappeared many ages ago. Traces of the ancient structures can still be found; but the present ruins, instead of being the fragments of Columba's buildings, are the remains of Romish ecclesiastical edifices scattered over the little island, truly representing the papacy as Christianity in ruins. Never were men before, like Columba and his brethren, with such culture, such consecration to Christ, and such sure prospects of successes, equalling those of apostolic times, so poorly housed in wattle huts. But they were the followers of him who as man was born in a manger, to establish his throne on the earth.

As we have already seen, Columba wished to go abroad *for Christ*, and therefore sailed for Britain, that he might gather the Northern Picts into his fold and destroy their

¹ Adamnán's "Vit. Colum.," Lib. II., cap. 14; Lib. III., cap. 19, 29.

² "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. 119.

³ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. IV., cap. 28.



ABBAY OF IONA.

Originally founded by St. Columba.

idols. This was his only object in coming to Caledonia, and the chief design of all his brethren in taking possession of Iona. Curzon in 1849 published his "Visits to Monasteries in the Levant," in which he gives the following :

The Desert of Nitria [is] famous in the annals of monastic history as the first place to which the anchorites in the early ages of Christianity retired from the world, in order to pass their lives in *prayer and contemplation, and in mortification of the flesh*. It was in Egypt that monasticism first took its rise; and the Coptic monasteries [houses occupied by many monks] of St. Anthony and St. Paul claim to be founded on the places where the first hermits established their cells on the shores of the Red Sea.¹

The objects aimed at by anchorites, hermits, and monks in convents were, as Curzon says: "To pass their lives in prayer and contemplation, and in mortification of the flesh." There was not a single person in the monastic mission of Iona in Columba's day and for ages afterward, whose duties were limited to prayer, contemplation, and the mortification of the flesh. They entered Iona, as Columba came to labor, as missionaries for Christ. The early monks² of Columba were all ordained presbyter-missionaries, who proclaimed Christ, founded churches, and carried their spiritual treasure wherever pagans lived, though rugged mountains and savage wilds had to be crossed to reach them.

The celebrated missionaries, Carey, Marshman, and Ward, sent to India by British Baptists, at Serampore, India, set up printing presses to spread the knowledge of Jesus throughout that land; for the same object they established a school which ultimately became a college, and they preached incessantly. Iona was a school and college; it was full of students, professors, and preachers; and it was very active in Scripture distribution, as will be shown presently. The college at Serampore was a monastery in its aims and constant efforts of precisely the same order, conducted on a more limited scale, as the mission institute of Iona.

¹ "Visits to Monasteries in the Levant," p. 66. New York.

² "The Early Scottish Church," p. 173.

There was no monastery in Columba's day in England, Ireland, or Scotland of the common Romish type, whose inmates had practically nothing to do for the outside world, and the sole objects of whose cloistered lives were prayer, contemplation, and the mortification of the flesh. All the monasteries of Ireland and Scotland were educational mission institutes.

One of the common names for the monks of Columba was "a Soldier of Christ" (*Christi miles*). Adamnán¹ appears to delight in the use of this term. It was remarkably applicable to Columba and his brotherhood. They occupied Iona to make war upon the idolatrous Druid strongholds of the northern Picts. To rescue captives from heathenism they were resolved to watch and pray; to preach the gospel and set a good example; to make long journeys; endure hunger and cold; and risk constant danger and a violent death.

The famous Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, in the thirteenth century, had nineteen thousand manors in Europe, each one of which could furnish a well armed soldier for the succour of the Holy Land. These warrior monks had professedly no earthly business but to fight the Moslems² for the rescue, or for the retention of Palestine; and often they inflicted disastrous defeats upon their foes. The sole and abiding duty of Columba and his brethren was to be brave soldiers of Christ in Pictland. And nobly they used their spiritual weapons until its paganism was destroyed, and its people became the happy captives of triumphant grace.

The community of Iona had apple orchards, fruitful fields, overflowing barns, and an abundance of everything to supply the wants of their large family and their numerous visitors; and to provide for frequent cases of poverty or improvidence on the part of the neighbors. These fruits of their island were the rewards of their labors. What a wealthy missionary society Columba's regulations organized! The great community had no need to ask a single temporal gift from any one except sunshine and showers from God, and they were able to

¹ "Vit. Colum.," Lib. III., p. 23.

² "Matthew Paris," at A. D. 1244.

furnish preachers for a whole kingdom in Caledonia, and for several Anglo-Saxon kingdoms! The men of Iona, Columba, no doubt, at their head, conducted their entire farming and domestic labors themselves. Bede writes,¹ that Biscop, his own abbot, "like the rest of the brethren, delighted to exercise himself in winnowing the corn and threshing it, in giving milk to the lambs and calves, in the bakehouse, in the garden, in the kitchen, and in the other employments of the monastery." Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne was one of the worthy disciples of Columba in Iona, and when in A. D. 664, he was driven out of England by King Oswy, of Northumbria, because he would not accept the pope's Easter, as we learn from Bede, he went to Ireland, taking with him Scots and English belonging to the church of the Scots in Northumbria. In process of time he found it necessary to build a monastery for his English brethren, which was called Mageo; "it became very large," as Bede states; "its monks were gathered from the province of the English, and lived by the labor of their hands, after the example of the venerable fathers."² The fathers to whom Colman refers are the founder and the brethren of Iona, and their successors.

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Pref. p. 10.

² Ibid., Lib. IV., cap. 4.

CHAPTER V.

COLUMBA'S SUCCESS.

Columba's devotion to copying the Scriptures—Thus engaged on the day of his death—He selected talented youths for education and future usefulness—Marriage allowed in Iona, the wives living in a neighboring island—Anglo-Saxons employed in Iona that missionaries in England might learn its language—No monkish rule enjoined by Columba.

THE brethren at Iona, from the abbot to the least important member, appear to have adopted the task of preparing the Scriptures for circulation. The "Four Masters" say: "Columcille¹ went to Alba [Scotland], where he afterward founded a church." And in a note it is added, "He wrote three hundred New Testaments with his own hand, and portions of the Old Testament." This statement is more likely to be below the number than above it; and it represents a vast amount of labor. Among the early things that gave him prominence was a dispute with St. Finnian and King Diarmad, about a psalter, which he copied, which Finnian claimed, because he owned the original.

The day of his death, with a strong conviction that he should go to heaven that day,

He sat in his hut transcribing the psalter, and coming to the sentence in the thirty-fourth Psalm where it is written, "They that seek the Lord shall not want any good"; he said, "Here I must stop at the end of the page; what follows let Baithen transcribe." The last verse which he wrote was appropriate for the saint about to depart, for everlasting mercies would never fail him. For his successor, the father and teacher of his spiritual sons, the following is proper, "Come, children, hearken unto me, and I will teach you the fear of the Lord."²

If ever a Christian was especially earnest in making copies

¹ "Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland," at A. D. 556. O'Donovan's ed.

² Adamnáni "Vit. Colum.," Lib. III., cap. 29.

of the Scriptures in his earlier days and in his later years, for the enlightenment and salvation of men, that believer was the venerable Columba. His followers imbibed his love for the sacred volume.

Dr. M'Lauchlan's statement cannot be reasonably doubted, that "Columba's own *home* work, and that of his disciples, was transcribing the Scriptures."¹ And if he, with the supreme direction of a great many monasteries in Caledonia and Ireland, wrote three hundred New Testaments "with his own hand," and portions of the Old Testament, the monks of Iona, during his long presidency of their institution, must have transcribed many thousand copies; and the issue of the Scriptures by his very numerous monasteries must have been simply enormous; especially as they rejected all mere human authority in religious belief, or in Christian observances.

Another rule that governed Iona was the selection of the most talented and godly youths for careful instruction in several branches—an education which, for that age, or even for our own, was of no mean order; and such a training as would develop their piety and prudence in the largest measure. He chose men of learning, devoutness, and zeal for his first associates in Iona.² By this perfectly proper course the Jesuits secured for a time almost the mastery of Europe. Columba's selection invariably joined piety to manifest ability. The results of this course are conspicuously seen in the Scottish missionaries, whose success in the conversion of a large majority of the ancient Anglo-Saxons, deserves the gratitude of their descendants everywhere.

Aidan was a man of eminent talents and of apostolic piety. Finan, Colman, and Diuna would have been great religious leaders in any country. There is much ground for believing that these men were chosen in early life for missionary training by Columba himself;³ they were all instructed in

¹ "The Early Scottish Church," p. 175.

² Smith's "Life of Columba," p. 185. Glasgow.

³ *Ibid*, p. 188.

Iona. The enlistment of men of eminent talents, who lived near to God, to go from Ireland to Pictland, and the training of students, largely contributed to the success of the Pictish mission at the beginning as well as later in its history.

Marriage was not prohibited in Iona, though its practice may not have been common. Dr. W. Lindsay Alexander thinks otherwise. He says :

Marriage¹ was allowed, and most of them [the monks of Iona] seem to have entered into this state. Their wives were not permitted to reside with them in the college. Near Iona there is an island which still bears the name, *Eilen nam ban* [Women's Island], where their husbands seem to have resided with them, except when duty required them in the college or the sanctuary.²

So resolved were the missionaries in Iona upon the accomplishment of their great work, that when their brethren had to minister to a people who spoke a foreign language, they employed suitable persons from their country in their colleges to teach them the strange tongue. When Aidan began to preach in England, King Oswald, of Northumbria, was his interpreter ; but missionaries for the Anglo-Saxons were soon after instructed³ in Iona by natives of their field. Adamnán mentions some of these in Iona, such as "Genereus,⁴ a Saxon, and Pilu, a Saxon."

There is no evidence that they accepted any formal monkish rule. Columbanus had a rule, and one of great strictness, and from the similarity of his name to that of the founder of Iona, Columba has been sometimes credited with it. The three ordinary vows of the monks—celibacy, poverty, and obedience—were either rejected totally at Iona, or received in a modified form. Celibacy and poverty were never imposed there, and even obedience was only imposed within moderate limits.

¹ "Iona," pp. 109, 110. Religious Tract Society of London.

² Jamieson's "History of the Culdees," pp. 30-32.

³ Smith's "Life of St. Columba," p. 146.

⁴ "Vit. Colum," Lib. III., cap. 14, p. 764, and Lib. III., cap. 26, p. 769. Migne.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ABBEY OF IONA.

The decision of the abbot of Iona sometimes reversed by the brethren—Columba preached “The word of Life”—Preparations made to support the mission—Columba preaches to King Brude—The Druids’ hostility to Columba—Conversion of the King and his friends—The Northern Picts become a Christian people.

THE abbot’s authority was supreme until an appeal was made to the brotherhood, and their decision might, and sometimes actually did, reverse his. Adamnán, the abbot, Columba’s biographer, was persuaded to adopt the Romish Easter while he visited Alfrid, king of Northumbria, and upon his return, as we learn from Bede,¹ “he endeavored to bring his own people into the way of [Romish] truth, that were in the isle of Iona or that were subject to that monastery; but in this he could not prevail.” “That is, to say, the brethren in Iona overruled the abbot’s decision and nullified it, as they had a perfect right to do; and of their authority to do this he makes no complaint. All the Columban institutions in Scotland followed Iona.”

Columba’s doctrines were thoroughly evangelical. Adamnán writes, “Columba ought to be called pure and innocent, as with a dove-like disposition, he had given a guest chamber within himself to the Holy Spirit.” The Saviour says, “When he the Spirit of truth is come he will guide you into all truth.” Iona, ruled by an abbot like Columba, whom it trusted and loved, yielded joyfully to him in everything.

He knew nothing of salvation by works, prayers, sacraments, payments, or sufferings; he preached Christ’s love, his death, his readiness to save, his intercession for all that came to God by him; and through these truths, pressed upon him

¹“Eccles. Hist.,” Lib. V., cap. 15.

by the Spirit within him and upon others by the same Spirit attending his ministrations, the Redeemer was glorified by the converts of counties or of a kingdom.

He preached salvation by the repentance which takes a man from the practice of his sins to the Saviour and removes the guilt of his iniquities without the influence of any ceremony, or human merit.

Let us go, says Columba to his servant, to meet a proselyte whose true repentance Christ has accepted. But Fechnaus [the proselyte], descending from the vessel, ran to meet the saint coming to the harbor. . . and he made a very sad lamentation, and confessed his sins before all who were there. The saint, weeping together with him, said to him, "Arise, son, and take comfort, thy sins are remitted of which thou art guilty; for thus it is written, 'God does not despise the lowly and the broken heart.'" He arose joyfully and was received by the saint.¹

In this account Columba makes no claim to pardon the man by saying, like the Catholic priest to his penitent, "I absolve thee," etc. He simply says, "Thy sins are remitted." And the ground for this assurance is the writing of the Holy Spirit, "God does not despise the lowly and the broken heart." Columba did not preach among the Picts the washing away of sin by baptism, or its removal by priestly absolutions. We have in connection with the conversion of Fechnaus an account of the intense interest Columba had in the salvation of men. Somehow he had learned, before his vessel reached port, that "Fechnaus was in distress about his sins," and as soon as his servant saw the boat approaching the harbor, Columba, full of eagerness, set out to encourage the proselyte, not yet landed; when the saint met him weeping and confessing his sins, he mingled his tears with those of the penitent, and pointed him to the fountain of consolation and cleansing.

While "Columba tarried for some days in a province of the Picts," as Adamnán² relates, "a certain peasant, with his

¹ Adamnáni "Vit. Colum.," Lib. I., cap. 16.

² Ibid., Lib. II., cap. 20.

whole household, hearing *the word of life* through an interpreter, the holy man [Columba] being the preacher, believed and was baptized, the husband with the wife, and the children, and the servants." Here the theme of the apostle of the Northern Picts was "the word of life," and faith was the instrument of salvation, the possession of which fitted them for a public profession of Christ in baptism.

Adamnán¹ writes in another place of an—

Old decrepit pagan whom two youths lifted from a ship and placed before the face of the blessed man [Columba]. He immediately believed the word of God received from the saint [Columba] by an interpreter and was baptized by him; and after the mysteries of baptism were completed, as the saint prophesied, he died in the same place, and his companions buried him there and piled up a heap of stones [upon his grave] which is seen at this day on the seashore; and the river, at that place *in which he received baptism*, is called in our times by the inhabitants after his name.

In this case Columba preached "the word of God"; and the man, though an old heathen, burdened with the superstitions of idolatry throughout a long life believed. Elsewhere, Adamnán² relates that "the holy old man, stating these things, as quickly as he could, preceded his fellow-travelers until he came down into a field, and there a certain aged man, Enichatus by name, was found who heard the word of God preached by the saint [Columba], and he believed and was baptized." This shows most emphatically that "the word of God" was the subject of Columba's preaching to the Northern Picts; and that true, heart-felt repentance and faith were wrought in those whom he baptized. At least, these formed the basis of their acceptance for baptism.

These were the chief themes which filled his conversations, and his sermons, and eventually, the hearts of all Pictland.

Bede,³ who died about A. D. 735, some thirty years after

¹ Adamnáni "Vit. Colum.," Lib. I., cap. 19.

² *Ibid.*, Lib. III., cap. 18.

³ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., cap. 4.

Adamnán, gives the same subject as the burden of Columba's sermons.

His declaration is, "There came into Britain, in A. D. 565, a famous priest and abbot, a monk by habit and life, whose name was Columba, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the Northern Picts." The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," at A. D. 565, states that Columba came to the Picts and converted them to the faith of Christ. Columba's orthodoxy was that of a modern evangelical missionary. Is it remarkable, that having "the word of God," which is the sword of the Spirit, as his missionary weapon, with the Spirit himself occupying the guest chamber of his heart, he should uproot grievous sins and the idolatry of the Northern Picts, and through his disciples the heathenism of multitudes of the ancient Anglo-Saxons?

It is greatly to be regretted that we have no good "Life" of Columba; the two ancient biographies of this distinguished man have taken but little notice of the details of his purely missionary labors.

Such historical matters as Adamnán does give, and they are numerous and valuable, are merely frames for his pictures of Columba's supposed prophecies, miracles, and visions of angels.

It took some time for Columba to erect his large college in Iona, and to plant crops and fruit trees for his numerous family, so that his mind might feel at ease on their account, and that numbers of them might be ready to enter upon the full work of gospel preachers when he began it himself. He may have spent one or two years in preliminary arrangements, essential to future usefulness. Meanwhile, perhaps through an interpreter, he acted according to his custom observed before and after this period, by presenting the gospel to the people of the neighboring islands, and others on the mainland, who in many cases accepted it. In this way he and his brethren received much encouragement from their limited services for Christ.

At length he resolved, after earnest prayer for help, to go and preach to King Brude himself. He knew that his conversion would secure the attention of his subjects, and that the Spirit of God would unlock their hearts. The journey was one of at least a hundred and fifty miles by land and water, and had little attraction for a missionary in that day. The men along its lochs, and rivers, and glens had no friendship for any Christian; but it mattered not, God was with him, and he was sure of it; and as Adamnán relates, "In the first great weariness¹ of the journey," without waiting for rest, he resolved to seek an interview with Brude himself, the mighty king.

He, puffed up with regal conceit in his fortress, in a spirit of arrogance would not open his gates on the first approach of the blessed man [Columba]. When the man of God noticed this, he drew near with his companions and first making the sign of the Lord's cross upon the closed doors, then knocking, he placed his hand upon the gate, which instant'y opened of its own accord with great swiftness, the bolts having been driven back with much force. Through the gate, instantly opened, the saint and his associates entered. The circumstances becoming known, the king and his advisers were greatly alarmed, and leaving the palace he advanced to meet the blessed man with respect, and addressed him very courteously in conciliatory words, and from that time afterward, during the remaining days of his life, the king held the holy and venerable man in very great honor.

Of course the miraculous part of this narrative is a mere legend, and so also was the making of the sign of the cross over the gate. But, that Columba and his followers practically forced themselves into Brude's presence, and that he supposed that their god alone could give them such courage, seem unquestionable facts. The king at first was seriously alarmed, and so were the members of his chief council [*senatus*]; but when Columba preached to him and them the word of God, showing the greatness of his love, the atoning power of Christ's sufferings, the sure punishment of the unbelieving in the lost world, and the immediate need of repentance and

¹ "Vit. Colum.," Lib. II., cap. 23.

faith in the Saviour, the king and his friends were deeply troubled by their sins, and as he poured out an audible prayer to the Redeemer in the spirit of a hymn which he composed :

“ As thou didst suffer on the cross,
 To save a guilty race,
 Show me thy power with thy love,
 And glory grant and grace,”¹

they put their trust in the Lamb of God, and from that time, until death Brude was the warm friend of Columba. The saint became a welcome and, considering the distance, a frequent visitor at Brude's residence. And his conversion and friendship, together with the favor of his cabinet, were of the greatest service to Columba in the conversion of the Picts.

The hostility of the Druids was constant and deadly ; but Columba burning with love to Jesus, and with zeal to save the lost, went everywhere preaching the word. The apostle of the Northern Picts had a “ voice which could be heard like a trumpet, even to a mile's distance ” ; he had real eloquence ; sympathy ran in every utterance and opened the hearts of his hearers to receive the gospel ; he had tact as a speaker and ruler of monasteries which was never surpassed ; his well-known purity of character and generosity gave immense force to his addresses ; sickness, weariness, wickedness, were scarcely impediments to his march over the rugged highlands ; he wanted no money or goods from the rich or the poor to compensate him for his unceasing toils and sacrifices ; and then he had the noblest message for guilty men ever conceived in heaven or proclaimed to broken hearts—the blood of Jesus Christ, God's son, through faith, cleanses from all sin. As he went everywhere over his wide field, Bible in hand and the Spirit of God in the “ guest chamber ” of his heart, the clansmen in tens of thousands followed the example of King Brude and of their chieftains, and the whole country was aroused.

¹ Smith's “ Life of St. Columba,” p. 174. Glasgow.

Ministers from Iona and from the Columban monasteries in Ireland accompanied their veteran leader and were sent out on all sides of his line of travel to open new fields for sowing gospel seed, or to follow converts to their homes and establish churches among them. Others were left by Columba to preach permanently in the chief centres of gospel power. Bibles, made in Ireland for this glorious regeneration of a whole people, were placed in locations where some one could expound them to listening throngs. The work of Columba and his assistants knew no abatement, nor did the prosperity of the mission ; and at last the pagan section of the Picts, through years of prayerful toil, became a Christian kingdom.

CHAPTER VII.

COLUMBA'S WORK ESTABLISHED.

Columba's name commemorated in many places—Iona a famous school of learning—Bishops subject to its abbot—Columba used no liturgy—Remarkable answers to his prayers.

“COLUMBA'S name has been traced to fifty-three places, both among Scots and Picts, where it is commemorated either in [baptismal] wells, or in churches dedicated to him.”¹ Dr. Smith writes :

Columba planted churches in all our western isles, and in all the territory of the ancient Scots and Northern Picts, and some even beyond them. Most of our parishes still bear the names of his disciples ; and the number of places whose names begin with “Kil” [church], show how thickly our churches were anciently planted, so that there is much reason to believe that the largest number ascribed to Columba is not above the mark. Providence smiled in a remarkable manner upon his labors, and his success was astonishing. It is no wonder that such an extraordinary man should have been greatly revered while alive, and that his memory should have been profoundly venerated after death.²

Neander writes of Columba :

In Iona he founded a monastery which under his management during thirty years, attained the highest reputation, a distant and secluded seat for the pursuit of biblical studies and other sciences. The memory of Columba made this monastery so venerated, that its abbots had the control of the bordering tribes and churches ; and even bishops acknowledged their authority, though they were but simple priests.³

Not a hint is given by early writers, who describe the life and labors of Columba, of any liturgy which he used. He and his associates, as we are informed, made copies of the

¹ “Vit. Colum.,” p. 289. Reeves' ed.

² “Life of St. Columba,” pp. 180, 181. Glasgow.

³ “History of the Christian Church,” Vol. III., p. 10. Boston.

Psalms, Gospels, New Testament, and of the Old Testament ; but nothing is said about transcribing liturgies, or any forms of prayer or worship. The Lord's Supper, in the early churches, inspired an interest only partially known in later times ; if any written form of service existed in Columba's day, we should find it in the celebration of the Eucharist ; but though Adamnán makes repeated references to it in his "Life of Columba," there is absolutely nothing of a liturgical character in it. Adamnán mentions that four of the holy founders of monasteries from Ireland visited Columba ; and with one consent, "they chose him to consecrate the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist in the church before them ; he complied with their wishes, and on the Lord's Day entered the church at the same time with them ; and then, *after the reading of the Gospel, according to custom, the solemn rites of the service [for believers] were celebrated.*"¹ This included the Eucharist. It is worthy of special notice, that reading the Gospel [the account of the institution of the Eucharist] was the customary introduction to the actual distribution of it, in Iona, when Columba directed its devotions. The observance of this ordinance in most non-Episcopal, evangelical churches of our day, is very much like Columba's.

Columba lived very near to God, especially in his supplications. He not only offered petitions to God by day and by night, but all new undertakings and apprehended dangers sent him at once to the mercy seat. Adamnán mentions a number of his remarkable appeals to the Redeemer.

On a certain occasion, when the holy man was in Iona, he suddenly said to his servant, "ring the bell." The brethren, aroused by its sound, ran quickly to the church, their chief priest going before them, to whom he said : "Let us earnestly pray to the Lord for King Aidan and this people, for at this hour they are engaged in battle." After a brief interval, he left the house of prayer, and looking to heaven he said, "Now the barbarians are put to flight and Aidan has secured the victory."²

¹ Adamnáni "Vit. Colum.," Lib. III., cap. 21, p. 767. Migne.

² Ibid., Lib. I., cap. 7.

This prayer was answered.

At another time, when the saint was at sea in the usual open wicker boat, the lives of those on board were in great danger from the wind and the heavy sea. Columba, during the storm, was busy helping to bale out the coracle, when :

The sailors¹ said to the saint, assisting them to empty the vessel, "Why are you doing this? It profits little to remove our dangers; you ought rather to pray for us while death threatens us." When the saint heard this he ceased baling out the salt water and began to pour forth precious and earnest prayers to the Lord, and wonderful to relate, at the moment when the saint, standing on the prow with hands outstretched toward heaven, prayed to the Almighty, the entire tempest in the air, and the fury of the sea, appeased by a word, quickly ceased.

A Christian peasant and wife had a serious misunderstanding, which resulted in the refusal of the woman to live with her husband. He solicited Columba's assistance. The saint reasoned with her like a loving and godly father; she showed no malice, but refused to yield on the main question. Adamnán relates the conversation. Never were wiser scriptural counsels given; but Columba seemed to fail. At last he said to the unhappy couple :

Let us² three, this day, that is, I and the husband and wife, fast and pray to the Lord [for a reconciliation]. She said, "I know that it will not be impossible to you, as the things which seem difficult, or even impossible, when sought from God, may be given." On the same day the wife, together with her husband, agreed to fast with the saint. Columba was sleepless the night following, praying earnestly for them, and on the next day he addressed the wife, the husband being present, and said, "Are you prepared, O woman, to-day to enter a monastery, as you said yesterday?" She replied, "Now I have learned that God has heard thy prayer for me; for the man I hated yesterday I love to-day."

The prayers of Columba brought domestic peace. Once Broichan threatened to raise a tempest which would hinder Columba from sailing upon the day he proposed; as he was

¹ Adamnáni "Vit. Colum.," Lib. II., cap. 2.

² *Ibid.*, cap. 28.

a well-known magician and Druid the saint, determined to trust in God and leave port. At the appointed time the heavens became dark; a contrary tempestuous gale was blowing, while a multitude followed the saint to the place of sailing.

Our Columba, seeing the furious elements stirred up against him, called upon Christ the Lord [for help], and while the sailors showed timidity, he became more resolute and ordered the sail to be raised. This thing was done while the throng was looking on; and the vessel, driven in the teeth of the gale, ran with surprising speed, and after a brief interval the contrary winds were turned back so as to help [Columba's] trip.¹

And he ended his brief voyage so successfully that his safety was regarded as a divine miracle, unexampled in the history of those who saw it. At any rate, it was his prayer to Christ that fitted an inexperienced man like himself to guide the frail coracle, threatening to founder every moment, in perfect safety when old sailors hesitated to embark until the storm abated.

As a specimen of his supplications in secret, we learn from Adamnán that on one occasion, when he desired to pray alone, he found it necessary for some special reason to warn the brethren not to follow him. His wishes were respected by all but one of them, and he set out alone as he desired to a retired place; but "the fraternal spy, heedless of the abbot's request, stole along another way" to an eminence where he could see him, "desirous of discovering the reason for the solitary walk of the blessed man; when he beheld him he was standing and praying with his hands spread out to heaven, and his eyes lifted up to the skies."² Columba's praying power was to him an invincible weapon, the use of which overcame all enemies. And he recognized in other faithful Christians the possession of the same praying power. He was exceedingly anxious at one time to be taken to his heavenly home, and grieved that for some years longer he must stay on earth; and he gave as a reason for it, the prayers of

¹ Adamnání "Vit. Colum.," Lib. II., cap. 22.

² Ibid., Lib. III., cap. 26.

his brethren. He says: "The Lord has granted to the prayers of these churches against my wish, that from this day four years shall be added to my life."¹ In all this Columba does not exaggerate the influence with God of faithful, pleading Christians. He knew, scarce less than James, that the "supplication of a righteous man availeth much in its working."

¹ Adamnáni "Vit. Colum.," Lib. III., cap. 31.

CHAPTER VIII.

INCIDENTS OF COLUMBA'S LIFE.

Columba's faith in Providence—Kindness to the captured robber—His benedictions in view of death—His last message—His death—The funeral rites—The eulogy—Columba's writings—Other laborers in Caledonia.

IN prospect of meeting a great ocean monster which had created terror among the people of Iona as it raised itself upon the surface of the sea near their island, Baithen, the successor of Columba, who had much of his spirit, as he was about to sail where it had been recently seen, said to Columba, "I and that monster fish are under the dominion of God." "Go in peace," said the saint, "your faith in Christ shall protect you from this danger." The huge whale appeared to Baithen and his men, but speedily plunged under the waves and never was seen again.¹

When Broichan threatened the great tempest to which we have already referred, which was intended to hinder Columba from sailing on a particular day, his answer to the magician was, "The omnipotence of God rules all things; he is the Governor by whose authority our entire movements are controlled."² The saint, trusting in him whose sceptre of love exercises dominion over everything mighty and minute in his universe of worlds, went to sea with confidence and completed his little voyage without injury. Such reliance as this upon the universal earthly government of God fitted him to meet any danger, and to attempt undertakings surrounded by the greatest difficulties. Benevolence was one of the several remarkable features in Columba's character. Once a robber was waiting an opportunity to steal from the

¹ Adamnáni "Vit. Colum." Lib. I., cap. 12.

² Ibid., Lib. II., cap. 22.

saint. He had him seized and brought before him. On seeing him, the saint said to him, "Why do you so frequently steal the property of others, breaking the divine commandment? Come to me when you are in need, and you shall have the necessary things which you ask."¹ He also sent other gifts a little later, because he noticed that disease threatened the criminal's life. Kindness like this to a robber is the last thing seen on earth. It was evidently compassion on the part of Columba; and yet it was an argument for the divine origin of Columba's Christianity that could not be refuted.

Before Columba's death he was carried in a vehicle to visit the brethren laboring in the western part of the island, and as he sat in the carriage² he turned his face to the east and blessed the island with its inhabitants and the brethren in the college. At another time he visited the barn³ with Diarmad, and when he saw two heaps of corn, he praised God and gave him thanks, and said, "I warmly congratulate my dear monks, if indeed I shall leave you, you shall have a year's supply."

Then he ascended an eminence overlooking the institute, and stretching out both hands he blessed it, saying, "Upon this place, although small and mean, not only the kings of the Scots with their people, but the rulers of barbarous and foreign nations with their subjects, shall confer great honor. Saints also of other churches shall greatly venerate it."⁴ It is reasonably certain that while Columba was blessing his college, that is praying to God to pour out his mercies and grace upon it, Aidan and the other missionaries who were instrumental in the conversion of many of the Anglo-Saxons were in it, and shared in this blessing. And the prediction of the patriarchal missionary was strikingly confirmed.

After this he descended to the hut which was probably his own special dwelling, and proceeded with a psalter, a copy of

¹ Adamnán's "Vit. Colum.," Lib. I., cap. 20.

² *Ibid.*, Lib. III., cap. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. 28.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cap. 28.

which he was making, until he came to the end of a page; he had sought a blessing upon the island and its inhabitants; upon the heaps of corn in the barn; and now he bids farewell to Scripture copying. After finishing the page of the psalter, he went to church to the evening service of the Lord's Day. After his return, through Diarmad, his attendant, he sent a message to the brethren:

My¹ little children, I commend to you as my last words, that you have mutual and unfeigned love among yourselves; and if you will follow the example of the saints, God, the strength of the good, will help you, and I, abiding with him, will intercede for you; and not only shall the necessaries of this life be granted you by him, but the reward of eternal blessing prepared for those who keep the divine precepts, shall be given to you.

It was not imagined in Iona that any one was to pray to him instead of Christ as an intercessor. Adamnán never states that any one ever prayed to him or to other men, though he wrote about ninety years after Columba's death. Columba, it is supposed, simply meant, that if he was permitted, he would commend their situation to God; his intercession to refer solely to his knowledge of their state when he left the earth.

When the bell was rung at midnight, he hastened to the church, and going quicker than the others, he entered alone and kneeled in prayer near the altar. Diarmad followed him slowly, but could not see him in the darkness, and cried out, "Where art thou, father?" He discovered the saint lying before the altar; sitting near him and raising him a little, he placed his head on his breast; meanwhile, the congregation of monks with lamps, came to him and began to lament their father, who appeared to be dying. Soon after he breathed his last. The whole church was filled with sorrowful lamentations.

After the death of the saint, when the morning hymns were ended, the sacred body was carried from the church to

¹ Adamnáni "Vit. Colum.," Lib. III., 29.

the house, accompanied by the chanting of psalms by the brethren. The last rites were completed with honor during three days and nights. "The venerable body of our holy and blessed patron, wrapped in pure, fine linen, was placed in a coffin prepared for it, and buried with due reverence, to rise in luminous and unfading glory at the resurrection."

Such was the end of the life of our distinguished patron, who according to the Scriptures, is now a companion to the fathers in eternal triumphs, and has become united to apostles and prophets, and to the thousands clothed in white, who have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb and follow him whithersoever he goeth. Our Lord Jesus Christ himself has granted this grace, to whom, with the Father in the unity of the Holy Spirit, be honor, power, praise, glory, and dominion, forever and ever.¹

Columba died June 9th, A. D. 597.

Though placed on earth, he was fitted for the morals of heaven. He was angelic in aspect, brilliant in speech, holy in deed, lofty in genius, and great in counsel. No part of an hour could pass in which he was not earnestly engaged in prayer, reading, writing, or in some other work.²

His extraordinary piety, talents, and usefulness, accompanied with a perpetual serenity of mind, cheerfulness of countenance, simplicity of manners, and benevolence of heart, have deservedly raised him to the first rank of saints.³

We are not surprised that the mourners at his death spoke of him as "the pillar of many churches." Nor is it remarkable that a man of such piety had a hope of heaven so unclouded, that, for at least four years before his death, he desired earnestly to lay aside bodily infirmities and his weighty official burdens, and go to his beloved Redeemer. His instructions and example survived in his island home and elsewhere in Caledonia centuries after his death; and his name and chief missionary college were regarded with the greatest reverence. As the learned Pinkerton justly ob-

¹ Adamnáni "Vit. Colum.," Lib. III., cap. 31, 33, 34.

² Ibid., Lib. I., cap. 1

³ Smith's "Life of St. Columba," p. 165. Glasgow.

serves, "Iona was the Rome of Scotland until the end of the ninth century."¹

It would interest many to see all the literary works of Columba. From Bede we know that, "Some writings were preserved of his life, and discourses by his disciples"; of these a portion was penned by himself. From the "Life of Columba," in Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga* we learn that there were "A great many of Columba's own writings, full of piety and devotion, some in prose, but mostly in Latin or Irish verse." Of Columba's Latin poems, Dr. Smith publishes translations of three: "One composed during a thunder-storm," at Durrow; another, "On the Creation, Fall of Angels, and Final Judgment"; the third is addressed to the Redeemer. The² following stanzas are from the translation of the third poem:

Thy glory shines above the skies,
Where thou art God and King;
And to the New Jerusalem
Thy people thou wilt bring.

As thou didst suffer on the cross
To save a guilty race,
Show me thy power, with thy love,
And glory grant, with grace.

Protect us, O thou God most high,
Until we reach the place,
Where endless anthems we shall sing
Around thy throne of grace.

Iona was plundered and burned several times by the "Danes," and in A. D. 805, sixty-eight of the brethren were slain by the "pirates." The "Northmen" were almost as eager to burn the Scriptures and the religious books of the monastic missions as they were to rob and murder. The Scandinavian pirates destroyed invaluable literary treasures in Caledonia, and among them, most of the writings of Columba.

¹ Cited in Smith's "Life of St. Columba," p. 145. Glasgow.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 175.

Independent missionaries, contemporaries of Columba, labored in Caledonia; one of them, named Kenneth, or Cainnechus, gave his name to Inch-Kenneth, in Mull; to Kennoway, in Fifeshire, and to other places in Scotland, as well as to localities in Ireland. He was an Irishman by birth, but a successful laborer in Alba.

Ciaran, of Clonmacnois, a special friend of Columba long before he came to Alba, labored in that country for a considerable period with encouraging results. He gave Campbeltown, in Kintyre, its Gaelic name of Kilkerran, *Ciaran's Church*. Kilkerran, in Ayrshire, took its name from him, and other places in Scotland.

Colum of Eala (pronounced Colmonell), has left his name to Kilcalmonell, in Kintyre, and to the parish of Colmonell, in Ayrshire.

Donnan preached in Scotland in Columba's day. The country of Sutherland has the parish of Kildonan, or *Donnan's Church*; and in the island of Eigg the parish church is still called Kildonan.

Molaise, another missionary, left the name of Lamlash, in Arran, a corruption of the words *Eilean Molaise*, or Molaise's Island. "Molaise was one of that famous band which, at an early period, laid the foundations of the Scottish church, and who were of kindred sentiments with the great missionary of Iona."¹

¹ "The Early Scottish Church," M'Lauchlan, p. 205. Edinburgh.

**FOLDOUT
HERE**

BOOK IV.

THE MISSION OF THE SCOTS TO THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

CHAPTER I.

PROTESTANTISM IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

Pagan temples built by Anglo-Saxons—Adoption of heathen customs by the Romanists—Apostasy among their converts in Northumbria, among the East Saxons, and in Kent—Northumbria accepts the gospel of Paulinus.

THE missionaries came from Iona in Scotland, where Columba established his great educational and evangelizing institution in A. D. 565. Its founder and his brethren were Hibernians, descendants of the converts of St. Patrick, the Briton; and their successors for ages were chiefly Irish Scots.

The Anglo-Saxons, after wide-spread slaughter, the destruction of churches and Christians of every vestige of civilization, and of every trace of the true religion in their portion of Britain, reared temples to their ferocious deities all over the fruitful country where pious Britons for centuries had sung hallelujahs. The Scots of Ireland, inspired by the commission of their risen Lord, left their native land to bring the Northern Picts to the Saviour; and after nearly seventy years of incessant toil, self-denial, and prayers, the pagans of Scotland, having been converted to Christ, they were free to seek new heathen fields for their loving labors. As their first missionary efforts in England were undertaken to recover from apostasy converts of the pope's Italian mission it is

necessary to give a brief account of the labors of these foreign preachers.

In A. D. 596, Augustine and some forty monks, it is said, came to England by command of Gregory I., Pope of Rome, to evangelize the pagans in Ethelbert's kingdom of Kent. The way had been opened for them by Bertha, the Christian wife of Ethelbert, and her godly French chaplain, Bishop Luidhard. The Romanist Lingard, truly describing the situation, writes :

From the epistles of Pope Gregory it appears that these and similar causes had awakened a desire for religious knowledge among the inhabitants of Kent, and that application for instruction had been made to the prelates of the Franks, whose apathy and indolence are lashed by the severe but merited animadversions of the pontiff. It was at this favorable period that Augustine reached the isle of Thanet, and sent a messenger to inform Ethelbert that he had arrived from a distant country to open to him and his subjects the gates of eternal happiness.¹

In the course of a short period Ethelbert and ten thousand of his subjects were baptized in the Swale near Canterbury.²

Augustine, Mellitus, Justus, Laurentius, and Paulinus, the prominent members of the mission, were men of feeble ability and of poor courage. They were so alarmed by the apprehended dangers of the mission when they were in France, on their journey to Britain, that the whole party sought a release from Gregory from such a dangerous enterprise. Mellitus and Justus fled from their flocks when they apostatized, and Paulinus when alarmed for his safety and Laurentius had planned to fly to France. These men were deficient in talent and in general fitness for the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons; and while their success was limited in the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and especially in bringing regenerated persons into the church; and while admitting that they were good men we must look, in a considerable measure, for their success such as it was, to Gregory's guidance, and to the favor to-

¹ "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 23. Philada.

² "Vita Sanct. August. Patrl. Lat.," Tom. LXXX., pp. 79, 80. Migne.

ward the gospel created by Providence in the hearts of the leading persons in Kent, and in Sabert, the nephew of Ethelbert, king of the East Saxons.

In one direction Gregory inflicted a great evil upon the infant Anglo-Saxon Church. The pagans were accustomed "to slaughter many oxen in sacrifices to devils," and feast upon parts of them around their temples. As these structures, after purification, became churches, Gregory thought that there ought to be some solid festivities around them still; so he ordered that upon the day of the dedication [to Christian uses] of the temples, or upon the nativities of the holy martyrs, the people should build huts of boughs of trees around the old temples, now called churches, and that they should kill and eat cattle, and return thanks to the Giver of all things for the food.¹ This was simply a heathen custom disguised; and there is reason to fear that other idolatrous practices were furnished with the mask of Christianity by the pliant preachers, so that when Ethelbert and Sabert died, and their pagan sons succeeded them, their people quickly removed the mask and showed that they were pagans still, by restoring idolatry.

After the death of Edwin, king of Northumbria, who was slain in a battle which he fought with Penda, king of Mercia, and Cadwallada, king of the Britons, his kingdom was ravaged for more than a year by the conquerors, during which, as Lingard says, "The converts [of Northumbria], deprived of instruction [their bishop having fled to Kent], easily relapsed into idolatry."² Bede complains bitterly, in connection with the cruelties to the converts in Northumbria after the battle with Edwin, that, "It is the custom of the Britons, not to pay any respect to the faith and religion of the English, nor to correspond with them any more than with pagans."³ It is reasonable to suppose that the Britons

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 30.

² "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 26.

³ Bede's "Eccles. History," Lib. II., cap. 20.

were well acquainted with the apostates of Kent, and of the East Saxons, and of the character generally of the Northumbrian "New Christians," as well as of the heathen practices, tolerated by the missionaries, though somewhat disguised; and it is difficult to see how intelligent and faithful British Christians could recognize the English converts of the Italian mission, as a whole, as disciples of Christ.

Northumbria, the missionary field of the illustrious Aidan, the first and greatest missionary of the Scots to the Anglo-Saxons, was the scene of the labors of Paulinus, the papal apostle of that kingdom. He entered it in A. D. 625. He was to officiate as chaplain to Queen Ethelberga, and seek assiduously the conversion of Edwin, her pagan husband. After many efforts the king at last consented to call a national council to discuss the propriety of the whole nation adopting Christianity. When it convened, he solicited an expression of opinion upon the business for which they had been called.

The Chief Priest Coifi answered, "O king, consider what this is which is now preached to us; for I verily declare to you, that the religion which we have hitherto professed, has, as far as I can learn, no virtue in it. For none of your people has applied himself more diligently to the worship of our gods than I; and yet there are many who receive greater favors from you, and are more preferred than I. Now, if the gods were good for anything, they would rather forward me, who have been more careful to serve them."

One of the king's thanes said:

"The present life of man, O king, seems to me, in comparison with that time which is unknown to us, like the swift flight of a sparrow through the room in which you sit at supper in the winter, with your commanders and ministers, and a good fire in the midst, while the storms of rain and snow prevail abroad; the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door, and immediately out at another; whilst it is within it is safe from the wintry storm, but after a short space of fair weather it immediately vanishes out of your sight. So this life appears for a short space, but of what went before, or of what is to follow we are utterly ignorant."

At Coifi's request Paulinus addressed the council, after which he strongly commended the religion of Paulinus, and pro-

posed to burn the temples and altars of the gods. And soon after, upon a royal horse, he went to the temple and profaned it, to the horror of the multitudes, and then by his order the temple was destroyed by fire.

“King Edwin, with all the nobility and a large number of the common people, received the faith, and was baptized.” Bede tells us that the baptism occurred at York,¹ in A. D. 627.

Paulinus had several large baptisms after that in Northumbria. The writer visited a spring in Northumberland, England, on the crest of a small hill, two miles from Harbottle, and eleven from Alnwick Castle, the well-known residence of the duke of Northumberland; the basin of the fountain was thirty-four feet long by twenty feet wide. In it was a large granite cross, bearing upon one side the inscription, “In this place Paulinus, the bishop, baptized three thousand Northumbrians, Easter, A. D. 627.” This baptism was an immersion. But unfortunately these baptisms generally were the result of a decision of the Witenagemot, or national council of Northumbria, rather than the action of the Spirit of God in “opening their eyes and turning them from darkness to light”; and hence when Edwin was killed, as Lingard says, “The converts easily relapsed into their former idolatry.” Had the people been truly converted, like Holy Alban, the Briton, only a few days a believer, before he became a triumphant martyr, they would have suffered anything rather than have apostatized, even though but recent converts.

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. II., cap. 13, 14.

CHAPTER II.

KING OSWALD CONVERTED.

Aidan the true apostle of Northumbria begins his ministry there—King Oswald interprets his sermons—Vast numbers believe—"The holiest spot in Britain"—Many Scottish preachers join Aidan—The Bible is his supreme authority—He gives a fine horse to a beggar—Oswald's victory over Cadwalla—He cuts a silver dish in pieces for the poor—Gospel triumphs.

IN A. D. 635, Oswald became king of Northumbria. He was the son of Ethelfrid, the pagan king of Northumbria, who slew the twelve hundred unarmed monks of Bangor, who were praying for their brethren in arms whom Ethelfrid had marched an army to destroy. Lingard writes that "Oswald and Eanfrid, the sons of Ethelfrid, the predecessor of Edwin, in the mountains of Scotland, had concealed themselves from the jealousy of that prince; and had spent the time of their exile in learning from the monks of Iona the principles of the gospel."¹ That the sons of such a heathen murderer of so many saints should be sent to receive Christianity from the godliest men in Europe is a situation with few parallels in the history of Christianity. The Spirit of God took Oswald to the island of Iona, and made him the most saintly sovereign that ever sat upon a British throne.

As soon as Oswald grasped the scepter of Northumbria, he felt a strong desire to enthrone Christ in the hearts of all his subjects. In A. D. 635, he began to take steps to secure a suitable preacher. It does not seem to have occurred to him to send for Paulinus, the Italian apostle of his kingdom, though he was living then and for years afterward at Rochester, in Kent. He had heard of his great baptisms, and he saw his people given over to idolatry, though perhaps

¹ "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 26. Philadelphia.

all were baptized, and he wanted most earnestly Scottish missionaries for himself and his subjects. He sent to Iona for a bishop, by whose instructions and ministry his people might put their trust in the Saviour. The first preacher lacked prudence and gentleness, but Aidan, who soon followed him, was eminently qualified for extensive usefulness among all classes. When Aidan preached, which was very often, the king accompanied him as interpreter. The ambassador of Christ and the royal interpreter had immense congregations to hear and receive the word, and among them, as Bede states, were the "ministers and commanders." The usefulness of these two heralds of the cross was such that believers were soon multiplied beyond calculation.

Upon the arrival of Aidan, King Oswald appointed his episcopal see in Lindisfarne, at his own request. Paulinus, his predecessor, was made bishop of York, a bishopric covering the same territory as Aidan's, in accordance with directions given to Augustine by Pope Gregory; but Aidan was a true Protestant, and paid no attention to papal requirements. Lindisfarne was an island upon which a monastic school was immediately built; and it became the home of Aidan as long as he lived. Like Iona, it was selected chiefly because it was away from the busy scenes of human life, where its occupants could hold communion with God without interruption. The little island was the birthplace of the churches of Northumbria. Alcuin, the celebrated Northumbrian favorite of Charlemagne, writing of the monastery of Lindisfarne, speaks of it, "as the holiest spot in Britain," although the first church of the Anglo-Saxons, and the remains of their Romish apostle Augustine were still in Kent. In addition to Lindisfarne, Aidan, at an early day, established a monastic mission school at Melrose, anciently called Mailros.

Aidan was habitually a man of prayer. During the siege of the Royal City [Bambrough] of the Northumbrians, by Penda, king of Mercia, when he had surrounded it to a great

¹ Malmesbury's "Chronicle," Vol. I., cap. 3.

height by combustible materials and set them on fire, designing to destroy the city and its people, Aidan was in the isle of Farne, two miles distant, where "he was accustomed to retire to pray in private, that he might be undisturbed;" and when he saw the flames and the smoke above the city walls, with eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he cried to God for deliverance for the city; and the wind immediately changed and blew the flames upon those who kindled them, which created such alarm that the siege was abandoned. In State and Church, Aidan's faith and prayers gave strength and prosperity to Northumbria.

Oswald listened to the appeals of Aidan, and applied himself industriously to build up and extend the Saviour's kingdom in Northumbria. "Many Scots came daily into Britain, and with great devotion preached the word in King Oswald's provinces." Churches were built, money and lands were donated for monastic schools, and the people showed great interest in all departments of church work. Aidan's faith and practice were built exclusively upon the inspired writings. Speaking of the Iona ministers, Bede says: "They only practised such works of piety and chastity as they could learn from the prophetic, evangelical, and apostolical writings;"² and of Aidan and his companions in service, he says, "They³ were employed in meditation, that is, either in reading the Scriptures or learning psalms. This was the daily occupation of himself and of all that were with him whersoever they went." And when Aidan and his fellow Scots, by preaching the word of the Lord, unsheathed this "sword of the Spirit," the great Comforter seized it with almighty energy, and gave it constant employment until Oswald's kingdom was the Saviour's.

Bede says: "The object which Aidan had in view in all that he said, did, or preached, was the same as ours, that is, the redemption of mankind through the sufferings, resurrection, and ascension into heaven of the man Jesus Christ, who

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., cap. 16.

² *Ibid.*, cap. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. 5.

is the mediator between God and man.”¹ This was the doctrine which produced the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Such were the teachings of holy Aidan—a perfect salvation at once, by trusting the slain Lamb of Calvary, the ever prevailing intercessor for all believers. Aidan’s doctrines moved Northumbria like a moral earthquake. The missionary would give anything to the poor. It was his custom to journey on foot, even when he had to travel long distances; to aid him in his ministry, King Oswin gave him a fine horse to be especially useful in crossing rivers, or on occasions when haste was needful. Some time after, a poor man on the road solicited alms, and Aidan immediately dismounted and gave the horse with his “royal furniture” to the beggar, “for he was very compassionate, a great friend of the poor, and, as it were, the father of the wretched.” The king heard of it, and as Aidan some time after was going into dinner with him, he asked him why he had given away to the poor man that “royal horse,” when he had inferior horses which would have been good enough for him? To which he immediately answered, “What is it you say, O king? Is that foal of a mare dearer to you than a son of God?”

Aidan’s present to the beggar, under ordinary circumstances in our day, looks very foolish; but he preferred walking to have the opportunity to present Christ in conversations with travelers. He knew well that the mendicant’s unexpected horse, like similar donations which he had bestowed before, would open more widely the ears of Northumbrians to his message of love from the precious Redeemer.

“Aidan was accustomed to traverse both town and country on foot, never on horseback, unless compelled by some urgent necessity; and whenever in his way he saw any, either rich or poor, he invited them, if unbelievers, to embrace the mystery of the faith; or, if believers [he endeavored] to strengthen them in faith, and to stir them up by words, and actions to alms and good works. He never gave

¹ Bede’s “Eccles. Hist.,” Lib. III., cap. 17.

money to the powerful men of the world, but only food, if he happened to entertain them; and the gifts which he received from the rich, he bestowed in ransoming those who had been wrongfully sold as slaves; many of whom he afterward instructed and advanced to the priesthood."¹

Aidan was an itinerant preacher; speaking of a locality where there was a church with a chamber connected with it, Bede says: "Aidan was accustomed to go and stay there, and to make excursions to preach in the country round about, which he likewise did at other places." In this way the indefatigable minister was all the time moving over his great field, preaching continually to thousands, or to individuals, and ever laboring to appear as a man approved of God; bearing blessed testimony to the truth of the gospel in earnest and eloquent words:

"In love of peace and charity, in a mind superior to anger and avarice, despising pride and vain glory, in industriously keeping and teaching the heavenly commandments, in reproving the haughty and powerful, in tenderly comforting the afflicted and relieving or defending the poor. To say all in a few words—he took care to omit *none of those things which he found in the apostolical or prophetic writings*, but to the utmost of his power endeavored to perform them all."

Such is the testimony of Bede, an eighth century Romanist, based upon "the information of those who knew Aidan"; to which he adds: "I in no way commend or approve what Aidan imperfectly understood in relation to the observance of Easter; nay I very much detest the same, as I have most manifestly proved in a book I have written, '*De Temporibus*.'"

Oswald was a courageous soldier, and as interpreter to Aidan he rendered valuable services in the conversion of his people. He had great faith in the success of prayer. When going to fight Cadwalla, a victorious and troublesome enemy of the Northumbrians, before the battle began, he erected a cross, and—

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., cap. 5.

² *Ibid.*, cap. 17.

“ Raising his voice he cried to his army, “ Let us all kneel and jointly beseech the true and living God Almighty, in his mercy, to defend us from the haughty and fierce enemy, for he knows that we have undertaken a just war for the safety of our nation.” All did as they were commanded, and advancing accordingly toward the enemy with the first dawn of day, they obtained the victory as their faith deserved.”¹

The army of Oswald was small, but praying faith made it invincible. This victory showed the heathen of Northumbria that Jehovah was on the side of Christian Oswald, so that from “ this time,” as Malmesbury says, “ The worship of idols fell prostrate in the dust ” ;² not that Christianity had succeeded paganism yet, but its votaries had lost confidence in their gods. Once—

“ On Easter day, when he was at dinner with Bishop Aidan, and a silver³ dish was set before him, laden with royal delicacies, and he was on the point of putting out his hand to bless the bread, on a sudden, the servant came in to whom the charge of ministering to the poor was committed, and told the king there was a multitude of poor people approaching, who were sitting everywhere about the streets, entreating alms from the king. And he immediately ordered the food that was set before him to be carried down to them, and the dish to be broken into small pieces, and to be distributed among them. Aidan was delighted at this act of royal piety.”

Oswald's liberality to the cause of Christ in building churches, his help to Aidan as interpreter of his sermons, his extraordinary consecration to Christ, his unbounded influence in his kingdom, and his power at the mercy seat, so frequently employed for the salvation of Northumbria, made him, next to Aidan, the chief man in bringing his kingdom to Christ.

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., cap. 2.

² William of Malmesbury's "Chronicle," Vol. I., cap. 3.

³ Matthew of Westminster, "Flowers of History," at A. D. 644.

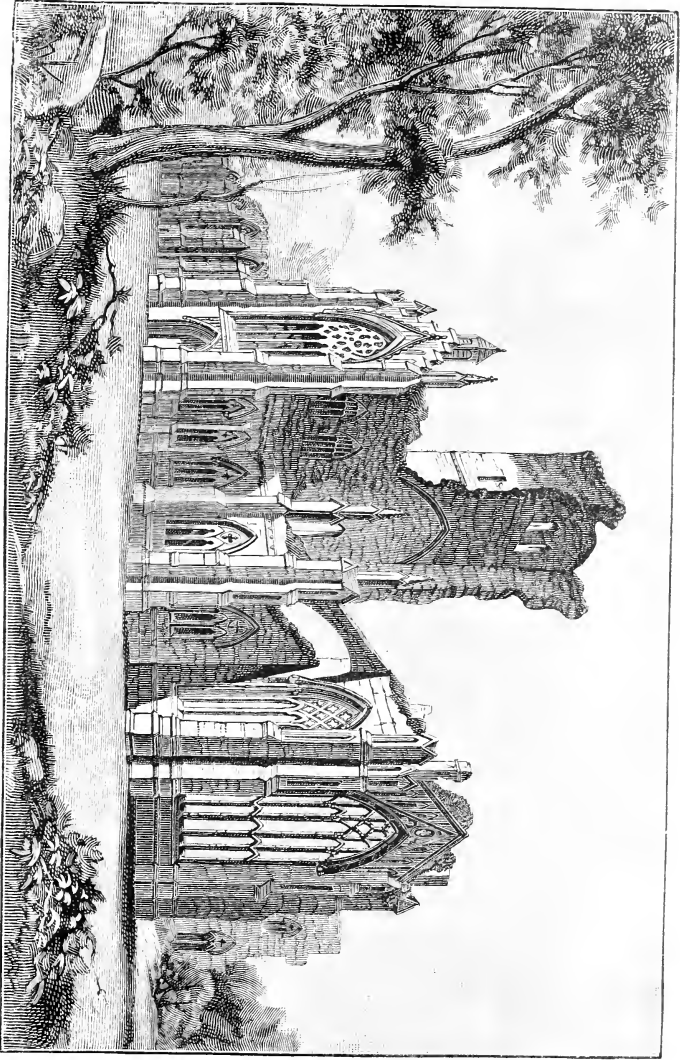
CHAPTER III.

HIBERNIAN MISSION SCHOOLS AMONG THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

Melrose founded by Aidan—Cuthbert—Popularity of the monastic mission preachers—Whitby Abbey under Hilda—Hilda as a missionary, college president, and theologian—Caedmon, the Protestant, the first eminent Anglo-Saxon poet.

THE monasteries of Patrick's spiritual offspring among the Anglo-Saxons, were designed, like all these monasteries elsewhere, as great missionary schools, to train ministers, bring the young under godly influences, and to expound the Scriptures every day. "Famous monasteries," says Ussher, "were planted in England by Aidan, Finan, and Colman, unto which the people flocked apace on the Lord's Day, not for the feeding of their bodies, but for learning the word of God."¹ The monastery of Lindisfarne was founded by Aidan, the pioneer missionary. It was constructed after the manner of the Scots, not of stone, but of hewn oak, covered with reeds. It had no more houses than were necessary for its occupants and their schools, besides the church. The inmates had no money, but they had cattle. They had no need for riches, or houses to entertain the great, for these only came to the church to pray and to hear the word of God, and if they remained to take a repast they were satisfied with the ordinary food of the brethren. From Lindisfarne went forth numbers of Scots, who came to assist Aidan, as well as converted and trained Anglo-Saxons, to every part of Northumbria, to preach Christ crucified. When one of them entered a village he was soon surrounded by a congregation anxious to hear the blessed gospel. They knew that the ministers only came to their town "to preach, baptize, visit the sick, and in few

¹ "Works," Vol. V., p. 297. Erlington ed.



MELROSE ABBEY.
Originally founded by St. Aidan.



words, to take care of souls. They were so free from worldly avarice that none of them received lands and possessions for building monasteries, unless compelled by the civil authorities." Lindisfarne was a noted instrument in securing the evangelization of Northumbria and the other Anglo-Saxon nations.

The monastery of Mailros¹ or Melrose, on the river Tweed, was founded by Aidan, and it prospered greatly through his efforts. It was the home of Eata, Boisil, and Cuthbert, in whose day its usefulness extended over some counties of what is now called Scotland, and over the entire north of England.

Cuthbert was trained by Eata in Melrose; he was one of twelve Anglo-Saxon youths adopted by Aidan and Boisil. Cuthbert's life at Melrose affords us an example of the practical training imparted at a mission institute of the Scots, and of the labors expected, and commonly given. He set out to preach sometimes on horseback, but more frequently on foot; upon his arrival at each town the whole people surrounded him to hear the word, and generally they listened to it eagerly, and carried it away in their hearts. Under the power of the truth, men would sometimes confess and deplore publicly their most secret sins. The minister did not shrink from going to mountain villages, located amid craggy heights, and occupied by a rough and almost barbarous people, to tell them of Christ's great love. In these evangelizing tours he would remain away from a week to a month, preaching, very likely, at least once every day. Such were the men brought up under Aidan's personal oversight, or in accordance with his directions, either before or after he entered the heavenly rest. These missionaries of the Scottish church gave an immortality of saintly fame to the old hewn-log abbey of Melrose far surpassing any glory ever acquired by its successor, whose magnificent ruins are known to the world.²

Whitby Abbey, anciently called Streanshalch, was founded

¹ Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., p. 304. Erlington ed.

² Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. IV., cap. 27.

and presided over by St. Hilda, a grand-niece of Edwin, king of Northumbria. She was instructed by Aidan and other godly men. In her monastery there were two separate divisions, one for each sex ; her institution had a very large list of students. Her wisdom was so remarkable in settling controversies among her scholars, and in imparting right principles to govern their future lives, that soon her fame spread everywhere, and persons of the highest rank, even kings and princes, in their difficulties came to her for counsel. She made the Scriptures so much the subjects of reading and study that her monastic home became a great theological seminary, from which no less than five bishops graduated. From so many leading bishops coming from the celebrated school of Hilda it is certain that there must have been a large number of less note who went forth on preaching tours. This was the custom in all the Scottish missions in Ireland, Scotland, and England. The toils of the inmates of the monastery so called, in the broad fields donated for its support, sustained its entire family, sometimes numbering thousands, abbess, professors, teachers, ministers, and pupils.

In Whitby and other abbeys of the Scots, many were employed in making copies of the Scriptures ; others in teaching mechanical trades to boys ; others in giving instruction to young girls in callings suitable to their sex ; and many in all grades of secular education ; and the abbess and others, in the simplest and most profound biblical studies. The male and female establishment at Whitby under Hilda, was a great common school for the very young, a manual training school, a secular university, a Sunday-school during a portion of every day in the week, a theological seminary for ministers, and a parsonage for the preachers who furnished the bread of life to the people of a very extensive district. This was one of many such monasteries belonging to the Scots in Great Britain and Ireland.

Hilda was one of the most talented and useful women of the whole Anglo-Saxon race. In the organization of her col-

lege, she and Aidan followed the example of Iona except in receiving members of both sexes.

A man possessing remarkable talents was unexpectedly discovered in the lowly position of hostler in the stables of the abbey. He was accustomed to turn into English poetry any portion of the Latin Scriptures translated to him. By his verses many became Christians.

One night, after leaving an entertainment because he could not "sing in turn with others for the sake of mirth," he fell asleep, and some one spoke to him and insisted that he should sing; and as he would take no refusal, Caedmon inquired, what he should sing? "Sing," replied the visitor, "the beginning of created beings." Immediately he began to sing verses to the praise of God which he had never heard before. On awaking, he remembered all that he had sung in his dream, and it filled him with such astonishment and delight that he informed the steward. He, deeply moved, communicated the intelligence to Hilda. She sent for Caedmon, for she was ever anxious to discover talents that could be used for the glory of God; and in the presence of "many learned men," evidently belonging to her monastery, at her request "he related his dream and repeated the verses" he heard in it. "They all concluded that heavenly grace had been conferred upon him by our Lord."

They gave him a passage of Scripture which they ordered to be turned into verse. The next morning he gave it to them "composed in excellent verse." Hilda rejoicing over the grace of God in the man, at once placed him in her monastery, and ordered that he should be taught the whole series of sacred history.

"He sang of the creation of the world, the origin of man and all the history of Genesis, and he made many verses on the departure of the children of Israel out of Egypt, and their entering into the land of promise; the incarnation, sufferings, resurrection of our Lord, and his ascension into heaven; the coming of the Holy Spirit, and the preaching of the apostles; also the terror of future judgment, the horror of the pains of hell, and the delights of heaven; besides many

more about the divine benefits and judgments by which he endeavored to turn away all men from the love of vice, and to excite in them the love of and application to good actions; for he was a very religious man."¹

Caedmon's poetical sermons were sung all over Northumbria; and only a little later, over all the Anglo-Saxon nations. Nor is there any doubt of their great effect.

The hymns and poems of Caedmon must have had a powerful fascination. Sung by travelers, and around the wood fires where the family gathered at night; by the ploughman in his furrow, and the lonely shepherd with his flock; by the worshipping hundreds in the log church, or the listening thousands in the open air; they were eminently fitted to draw the people nearer to God.

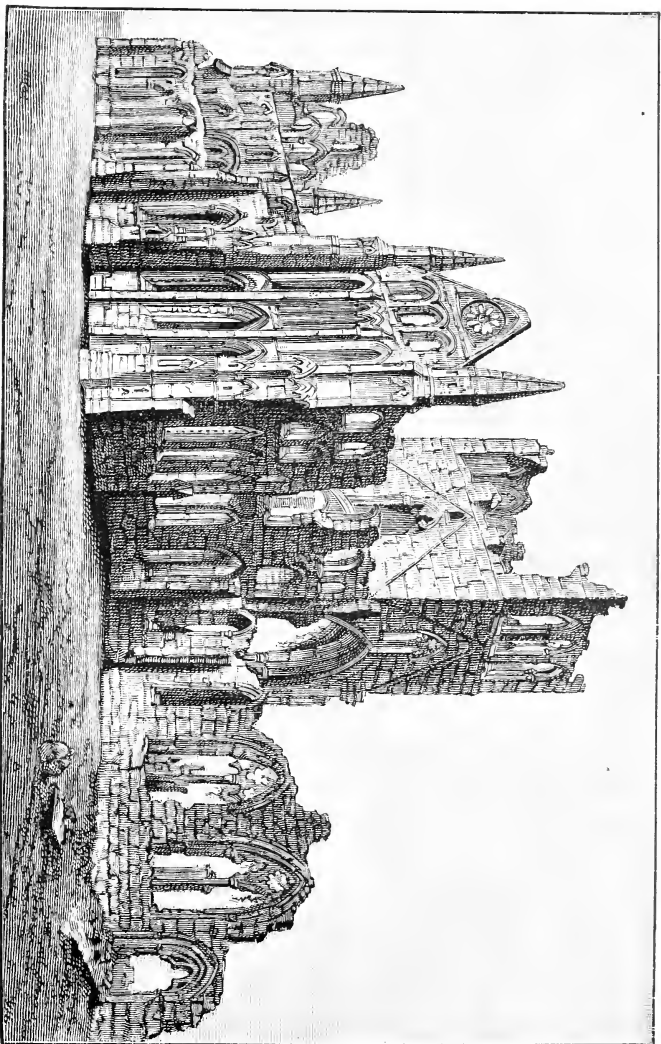
In A. D. 1665, biblical poems, under the name of Caedmon, were published at Amsterdam, between which and "Paradise Lost," in some parts, there was such a striking similarity that it was supposed Milton might have had some hints from Caedmon.² It is certain, however, that he had poetical genius of a high order, and that it was not dedicated to the Virgin, St. Joseph, or any angel: but to the Father, Son, and Spirit, and their works, and to the Holy Scriptures. That Caedmon was a Protestant Scot in his belief, is just as certain as that he was in race an Anglo-Saxon.

Aidan's object in Northumbria was precisely the same as Columba's in Iona, from which he came; and there is no evidence that Aidan's Anglo-Saxon monasteries, while under the control of the Scots, differed in object or in vows from Iona. The inmates could leave at any time, marry, exercise the rights of ownership over such property as they had not surrendered or might yet acquire, and withdraw the temporary obedience necessary in the monastery, but regarded as unpledged and unjust, in the case of withdrawal.

Through the labors of Lindisfarne, Melrose, and Whitby,

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. IV., cap. 24.

² Soames' "Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 253. London.



WITLEY ABBEY.

Founded by St. Hilda.

aided by less prominent monasteries, Aidan and his missionaries, Christianized the whole of Northumbria. The entire workers in the Northumbrian mission, in monastic institutes, and in gospel pulpits seem to have been made free from their guilt and their besetting sins by faith in the Crucified, and by the sceptre of reigning grace ; and they were free from the barbarous bondage of popish nuns and the unchristian shackles of Romish monks.

CHAPTER IV.

NORTHUMBRIA AND MERCIA.

Extent of Northumbria—It was evangelized by the Hibernian Scots and their disciples—Conversion of the southern Mercians, and of the Mercians proper—Extent of Mercia—William Carey and the first American ancestor of Adoniram Judson were born in these counties.

NORTHUMBRIA contained¹ the southeastern counties of Scotland; and in England the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Westmoreland, York, and Lancaster. This was an extensive country, and must have contained a large population at the time of its re-conversion under its powerful preacher, Aidan. He had not only burning zeal, but astonishing administrative ability to direct successfully and without a jar the individuals and institutions working for the Saviour in this great kingdom. And yet it is supposed that at his death in 651, Northumbria had received the gospel. Even Lingard writes of this eminent Protestant :

The success of Aidan was owing no less to his virtues than to his preaching; the severe austerity of his life; his profound contempt for riches, and his unwearied application to the duties of his profession, won the esteem, while his arguments convinced the understanding, of his hearers. Each day the number of his proselytes increased; and within a few years the church of Northumbria was fixed upon a solid and permanent foundation.²

“Aidan was the successful Apostle of Northumbria,” and in the marvelous series of missionary successes which brought this kingdom to Christ, Aidan, Oswald, Hilda, and even Cuthbert, though partially Romanized in his later years, stand forth among the noblest Christians and missionaries ever laboring for Christ in Great Britain or Ireland.

¹ Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., p. 357.

² Lingard's "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 75. Phila.

The Southern Mercians, also known as the Midland Angles, were converted about A. D. 653. Peada was their ruler. His father, the pagan Penda, king of Mercia, made him prince of the Southern Mercians. He was an accomplished young man, endowed with an excellent disposition, and possessing a flattering reputation.

He sought in marriage Elfreda, daughter of Oswy, the king of Northumbria. Oswy belonged to the Scottish church; and though somewhat easily led, when his prejudices favored any course, he was a Christian, and he absolutely refused Peada's request unless he first became a Christian, and made efforts to secure the conversion of his people.

Oswy's refusal of Elfreda led Peada to listen to the preaching of the gospel, and to statements about the evidences of Christianity; and finally he became such a firm believer that he declared that he would be baptized even though Elfreda should never be his wife. He was baptized by Finan, the successor of Aidan, with all the earls, soldiers, and servants that came with him. He received four priests, whose learning and godliness qualified them as missionaries; these were Cedd, Adda, Betti, and Diuma. They arrived in the province with the prince, and preached Christ with such demonstrations of the Spirit's power, that "many, as well of the nobility as of the common people, renounced the abominations of idolatry, and were baptized daily." Neither did Penda oppose this great work among the Mercians.

Two years later, Penda began a deadly war against Oswy and the Northumbrians, whom he determined to exterminate from "the highest to the lowest." The pagans had three times as many soldiers as Oswy; and they were led by veteran commanders, famous in former wars. The Christians appealed to their heavenly Captain for succor in their great peril; and they had faith in him that he would give them the victory. Penda was slain and his soldiers killed, drowned, or put to flight. After the war ended, Diuma, a disciple of Columba of Iona, was ordained bishop of the Southern Mercians, by

Finan the Scot. Rapin says, "As for the conversion of the Mercians, the Italian missionaries [the pope's] had no hand in it at all,"¹ meaning, as he fully shows in the context, that the Scots were the apostles of Mercia.

Soames² justly represents "the whole centre of England," that is, the ancient kingdom of Mercia, as being converted by the Scottish missionaries without any aid from the Romanists.

Mercia contained the modern counties of Chester,³ Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln, Shropshire, Stafford, Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, Huntingdon, Hereford, Worcester, Warwick, Gloucester, Oxford, Buckingham, and parts of Hertford and Bedford. Mercia was the largest of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Its population, when its inhabitants were converted, must have been very numerous for such an early period. Its conquest for Christ, considering its extent, its commanding situation, and the power of its people was of the greatest importance.

It is a matter of some interest that Dr. William Carey, the founder of modern missions, was born in Northamptonshire, in the old kingdom of Mercia, England. Dr. Judson, next to Carey the greatest agent in the establishment of modern missions, was the descendant of William Judson, who came to America from Yorkshire, in England, in 1634. Yorkshire was an important part of the kingdom of Northumbria, Aidan's special field; and it was the home of St. Hilda and her great monastery at Whitby, where her memory and works are still cherished, though she died in A. D. 680. It is worthy of notice in passing, that the founder of modern missions was born on an ancient, successful foreign mission field of the Scots in England, and that the English ancestor of Dr. Judson, the great co-operator with Dr. Carey in the general establishment of modern missions, came from another prosperous section of the same Scottish mission to the same land.

¹ "History of England," Vol. I., p. 79. London.

² Soames' "Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 66. London, 1856.

³ Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., p. 357. Erlington ed., Dublin.

CHAPTER V.

THE EAST SAXONS.

Extent of the kingdom of the East Saxons—Its people were baptized pagans—The sons of pious King Sabert and their people re-establish idolatry—Apostasy in papal Kent—The fraudulent miracle of Romish Laurentius—Cedd and another Scot bring the East Saxons to Christ—Northumbria, the southern counties of Scotland, Mercia, and the East Saxons, were won for Christ—Cedd's ordination defective—Small success of Augustine.

THE kingdom of the East Saxons contained the modern counties of Middlesex,¹ the site of London, Essex, fifty-four miles long and forty-five wide, and the southern part of Hertfordshire.

In A. D. 604, Archbishop Augustine ordained Mellitus bishop of the East Saxons. London was then their capital. Sabert, son of Ricula, sister of Ethelbert, king of Kent, was their sovereign. When they were supposed to be converted by the ministry of Mellitus, Ethelbert built the first church of St. Paul, in London, for Mellitus and his successors in the see of London.

Sabert, the king, died in A. D. 616. He was a true follower of Christ, and his death inflicted a fatal blow for the time being upon the infant church of the East Saxons. Immediately after his death his three pagan sons, who inherited his dominions, openly professed idolatry, which during their father's reign they had seemingly abandoned; and they granted full liberty to their subjects to worship idols.

The princes sought a quarrel with Mellitus, and compelled him and his attendants to leave their kingdom. The bishop seeing that he had, in his ignorance, been baptizing pagans instead of true converts, fled to France with Justus, of Roch-

¹ Ussher's 'Works,' Vol. IV., p. 357.

ester in Kent, who, like Mellitus, was a fugitive from the lately baptized idolaters. These persons, in Sabert's reign, either through fear, or to advance their worldly interests, desired baptism in thousands. Augustine, Mellitus, and Paulinus administered it to unregenerate idolaters, as many as might come. And when the baptized pagans openly returned to their idols, the two bishops sailed for France; and Laurentius was ready to keep them company for the same reason, and would have been a fugitive but for a lying miracle which he devised, and which frightened Ethelbert's son into a profession of Christianity. The idolatrous sons of King Sabert were killed in battle not long after their father's decease; but their people having yielded themselves to the worship of wicked demons, would not renounce them on account of the death of their three princes who had led them back to the public worship of their old gods. King Eadbald of Kent, having become apparently a Christian, recalled Justus and Mellitus, and sent them to govern their churches. "But the Londoners would not receive Bishop Mellitus, choosing rather to be under their idolatrous high priests."

In A. D. 653, Sigebert, king of the East Saxons, was on very friendly terms with Oswy, king of Northumbria, who frequently reasoned with him about his folly in worshiping idols, and rejecting the present and everlasting blessings of the gospel. Finally, when on a visit to King Oswy, he accepted Christ, and his friends who were with him joined him in putting their trust in the Saviour; and he and they requested baptism from Finan, the Scot, bishop of Lindisfarne, who baptized the king and his distinguished attendants, "at the village called 'At the Wall,' because it is close to the wall by which the Romans formerly divided the island of Britain." Oswy, at Sigebert's request, on his return home, "Gave him some teachers who might convert his nation to the faith of Christ, and baptize them"; these were Cedd and another priest of the communion of the Scots.

These men, traveling in all parts of the country of the

East Saxons, gathered numerous churches to our Lord, and were so prospered in their blessed work that Cedd felt the need of advice from the wise and godly Finan of Lindisfarne, to whom he came, and whose heart was made glad by the prosperity of Cedd's mission. Finan, the Protestant Scot, ordained him bishop of the East Saxons. Cedd, encouraged by his visit to Finan, built a number of churches for his increasing congregations, and ordained priests and deacons to assist in preaching the truth, and in the administration of baptism, especially at Ithrancestir on the Blackwater, and in Tilbury, near the Thames, opposite Gravesend. At Tilbury he established a monastic school to aid his growing mission in the education of ministers, and in furnishing a home for his numerous preachers.

While his efforts were prospering in every direction, suddenly Sigebert was murdered by two of his kinsmen. The successor of Sigebert was Suidhelm, who was baptized by Cedd in the province of the East Angles, who maintained a friendly relation to the Christian church, now permanently established among the East Saxons.

After the death of Suidhelm, Sighere and Sebbi, under Wulfhere, king of Mercia, governed the East Saxons. In their reign a dreadful pestilence raged extensively among the Anglo-Saxons, from which the East Saxons suffered severely. In their terror and despair, Sighere and his subjects insanely, for a short period, turned to idolatry. In this situation there is no record made of any effort to reclaim them by the Romish bishops of Canterbury and Rochester, their neighbors in Kent. But from Mercia, converted by the Scots, Jaruman, the bishop, and a priest came to restore them from their temporary aberration.

Faithful and prayerful labors accomplished their blessed object, so that soon the people turned to the Saviour again, and "opened their churches, and rejoiced in confessing the name of Christ." So that Jaruman and his companion returned to their Mercian field.

During the defection of Sighere and his subjects, Sebba and his people "very devoutly preserved the faith which they had embraced," without the slightest wavering.

Soames¹ writes :

The kingdom of the East Saxons had sunk in unheeded heathenism since the failure of Mellitus, the Romish missionary. One of its princes, however, Sigebert, had become a frequent guest at the Northumbrian Court, and he was there converted. At his desire, Chad [Cedd], of the Scottish communion, repaired to the East Saxons. He received eventually Episcopal consecration from Finan, the Scot, prelate of Northumbria, and it was chiefly by his exertions that the diocese of London, the kingdom of the East Saxons, as it remained until recently, was reclaimed from gentile superstition.

The kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and of the East Saxons, won for Christ by the missionary Scots inside of thirty-five years, show rich triumphs of redeeming mercy through the earnest prayers and consecrated labors of strangers from another land and speaking a foreign tongue.

In A. D. 665, Chad [Cedd] had to be ordained by Wini of the West Saxons, with the aid of two British bishops, who did not belong to the Roman communion, and by its adherents were not regarded as lawfully consecrated. Speaking of this transaction, Bede writes,² "For at that time there was no other bishop in all Britain canonically ordained, besides Wini." Wini himself was ordained in France, so that he had no taint in his consecration, coming from the hands of Protestant Scottish or British ordaining bishops.

Rapin-says :

Augustine has run away with the honor of converting the English, when in the main the progress he made was not very considerable. It is true that he preached to the Saxons of Kent, as Mellitus did to those of Essex, and that with good success.

In the height of his success, for which he is so greatly honored, Augustine established only two bishops, Justus at Rochester [in his own Kent], and Mellitus at London, over the East Saxons. This is clear evidence that the progress with which he was credited

¹ "Anglo-Saxon Church," pp. 66-7. London, 1856.

² "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., cap. 28; Lib. III., cap. 7.

was not so considerable as Gregory imagined. Surprisingly strange is it that the conversion of the English should be ascribed to Augustine, rather than to Aidan, to Finan, to Colman, to Cedd, to Diuna, and the other Scottish monks, who undoubtedly labored much more abundantly than he. But here lies the case: these last had not their orders from Rome, and therefore must not be allowed any share of the glory of this work.¹

Only two counties north of the river Thames were under Roman Catholic superintendence during their transition from paganism to Christianity, and these two were largely indebted to domestic [Scottish] zeal for their conversion. Every other county from London to Edinburgh, a distance of about four hundred miles, has the full gratification of pointing to a native church of unknown antiquity, but seemingly of Asiatic origin, as its nursing mother in Christ's holy faith.²

Soames, in the above statement, is sustained by evidence that defies contradiction. By "native church" he means the church of the ancient Britons, of which St. Patrick's denomination was a branch.

The Scots rendered much assistance in the conversion of the Romish Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The East Angles fell from the Christianity of Roman monks into idolatry. Six years afterward, through the labors of Fursey, a Protestant Scot, great numbers of the apostates were reclaimed. King Oswald was the head of the Protestant Anglo-Saxon church, but he succeeded in securing the conversion of King Cynegils and his daughter, whom he married, and lent powerful help to their Romish bishop, Birinus.

About A. D. 680, Ethelwalch, king of the South Saxons, was converted while on a visit to the Mercians, a kingdom evangelized by the Scots. This was an event of the greatest importance in leading to the conversion of his people.

The East Angles, the West Saxons, and the South Saxons were Roman Catholics, whom the Protestant Scots, or their disciples, efficiently helped to relinquish heathenism and embrace the Saviour. Of course the Scots were but instruments in these conversions, the power came from the divine Spirit.

¹ Rapin's "History of England" Vol. I. pp. 79, 80.

² Soames' "Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 67.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SCOTS AND THEIR ANGLO-SAXON CONVERTS.

They were engrossed with winning souls—Denominational training neglected—The opposition of King Ethelbert's family—The Easter and tonsure controversies—Queen Elfreda's influence—The council of Whitby—Oswy's treachery—Wilfrid, and Peter as the rock—Persecution—The "tea tax"—Archbishop Theodore.

THAT the grand results of such a wide-spread work should be removed from the supervision of members of the Scottish communion, is a matter justly causing much surprise. The church of the Hibernian Scots, in their island home, or in what is now called Scotland, was essentially a missionary establishment for centuries, during and after St. Patrick's day. This was the controlling purpose governing all its institutions, efforts, and contributions; and sending many of its noblest sons to preach the gospel in Scotland, England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. The Scots were entirely engrossed with the glorious work of soul saving, and paid little attention to the instruction of their converts in their denominational peculiarities. George Whitefield was probably the greatest preacher, in many respects, that ever addressed an Anglo-Saxon audience; wherever he proclaimed the gospel men and women were converted, and often in large numbers; and in one great meeting upon the Calton Hill, in Edinboro, five hundred souls are said to have been born again. England, Scotland, and America had multitudes of his spiritual children, who speedily brought other throngs to Christ.

But Whitefield taught no denominational doctrines, and established no community bearing his own or any other name; and as a natural result his disciples filled up the ranks of

other denominations, and constituted no church with which Whitefield's name was inseparably linked.

It is safe to say, that if all the persons born again, or revived, under Whitefield's ministry, and all others blessed in the same way through their instrumentality and the agency of their successors, and if the living among them existed in one denomination to-day, it would be much the largest in England or America. But Whitefield lost posthumous fame, and Protestant churches gained enormously in souls overflowing with love to Christ. The Scots acted substantially upon Whitefield's principle. Had it been otherwise, no power in England could have driven them from two-thirds of the Anglo-Saxon dominions in Britain, occupied and owned by their disciples. If their spiritual children, after the possession of new hearts, had been trained thoroughly in the great principles of the Scots as contrasted with those of Rome, as they ought to have been, they would have discovered among themselves some warlike, God-fearing Cromwell, who would have purchased liberty of conscience for them, if necessary, even by the sword. But they never tried to form a compact, indoctrinated denomination, which might have continued pure, and perhaps have rendered the Reformation of the sixteenth century unnecessary in much the larger part of the territory governed in the seventh century by the Anglo-Saxons.

Bribery was active in robbing the Scots in Britain of the people who were rescued from idolatry by their efforts. How extensively this powerful argument was employed it is impossible now to prove; but it was used successfully in one notable case, and it may have been practised in a number of others. Bede relates that Wini, for money given to the king of Mercia, obtained the see of London, and became the religious teacher of the East Saxons, a people converted from apostasy and idolatry by the Scottish missionaries, and permanently gained to Rome by Wini.

Romanism has secured enormous advantages from kings; and often through the arts of queens. The royal family of Kent

was loyal to Rome ; Bertha, the queen became such before the coming of Augustine, Ethelbert, soon after, and his family generally, except during the brief apostasy of Eadbald, immediately after Ethelbert's death. This family enjoyed the confidence and respect of all the Anglo-Saxon princes. Their reputation was greatly exalted, because they were the first patrons of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons. And it was a special subject of gratification to them that their Christianity came from Rome, the famous old capital of the world, and from Gregory, who possessed more personal wealth and public respect than any bishop in Christendom, and not from missionaries, destitute of refinement, who came from the barbarous country of the Northern Picts, or from Hibernia. Their relation to Augustine, as they considered it, bound them in honor to sustain Romanism in every one of the Saxon kingdoms when an opportunity was given, and to supplant the Scottish missionaries by popish priests.

A subject of bitter controversy arose between the Scots and Romanists in Britain, about the proper time to celebrate Easter. The feast itself had been regarded for some centuries even then as of the greatest importance. It divided occasionally members of the same family in its celebration. While one was observing the lenten fast with a view to celebrate Easter, another had ended the fast, and was inclined to indulge in all the joys then customary at Easter. The Roman party made the *date* of the celebration of Easter as important almost as the doctrine of the incarnation, and possessed the demon of intolerance toward their Scottish brethren.

Eanfleda, the wife of Oswy, king of Northumbria, was a Kentish princess, a granddaughter of Bertha, so resolutely bent upon the conversion of her grandfather Ethelbert, king of Kent. She was the friend of the Romish Augustine living, and was buried near him after death. Eanfleda was a resolute Papist, and she brought a chaplain named Romanus with her to shield her from the necessity of being present at the services of the faithful Scots. Her son's tutor was Wilfrid, the

bitterest Romanist outside the papal chair. On one occasion, as Prof. Stokes says :

The king had ended his fast of Lent, and was celebrating his Easter, while the queen was still fasting, and observing the lengthened services of Palm Sunday and of passion week ; and you may be sure she felt bound, as an ardent Romanist, to bring Oswy round to a more catholic frame of mind, by putting him upon the same meagre allowance she herself was enjoying in that penitential season.

This enemy of the Protestant Scots, apparently teased, flattered, and argued her husband into a renunciation of the Scottish communion privately, with a view to a public discussion and pretended refutation of the points in controversy between them and the Romanists.

Another disputed question between the Scots and Romanists was the form of the tonsure. The Roman clergy shaved the crown of the head, which was surrounded by a circle of hair, and was supposed to represent the Saviour's crown of thorns ; this, the Romanists claimed, had descended to them from St. Peter. The Scottish priests shaved the fore part of the head from ear to ear in the shape of a crescent, which their enemies called in mockery the tonsure of Simon Magus. As a matter of fact, the tonsure was a heathen practice. Bingham¹ denies the existence of this custom in the early ages of the gospel, and quotes in proof Jerome's comment on the words, " Neither shall they shave their heads, nor suffer their locks to grow long ; they shall only poll their heads " (Ezekiel 44 : 20). He says :

This evidently demonstrates, that we ought neither to have our heads shaved, as the priests and votaries of Isis and Serapis ; nor yet suffer our hair to grow long, after the luxurious manner of barbarians and soldiers ; but that priests should appear with a venerable and grave countenance : neither are they to make themselves bald with a razor, nor clip their heads so close that they may look as if they were shaven ; but they are to let their hair grow so long that it may cover their skin

" It is impossible," says Bingham, " for any rational man

¹ " Antiquities of the Christian Church," Book VI., chap 4, sec. 16.

to suppose that Christian priests had shaven crowns in the time of St. Jerome, when he so expressly says that they had not, and that none had but the priests of Isis and Serapis.' These were the two grand objections to the Scots urged by the Romanists, the Scottish time of celebrating Easter being the greater heresy of the two.

Eanfleda, her popish son Alfrid, and Wilfrid, having completed their plot against the Scots, and having undoubtedly secured the acquiescence of King Oswy, an ecclesiastical council was called to meet at Whitby; and in A. D. 664 it assembled; Oswy presided over it. In his opening address he declared that he thought that "those who served one God should observe the same rule of life; and as they all expected the same kingdom in heaven, they ought not to differ about the celebration of the divine mysteries; but rather to inquire which was the truest tradition, that the same might be followed by all." However true these statements were as independent propositions, in the connection in which they were used they were but pretenses in order to condemn the Scots and to declare that the king renounced their customs and would tolerate only the Roman usages. Both sides were heard; Bishop Colman ably defending the Scots, as far as the king permitted.

Wilfrid, the tutor of Alfrid, Oswy's son, quoted the text so frequently employed, and so often misapplied by Romanists, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock [his confession just made that Christ was the son of the living God] I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven," etc. Wilfrid, with the utmost coolness assumed that Peter was the foundation of the church, and with natural audacity claimed that the pope was his successor, and held his keys. Oswy was not astonished at this falsehood; he had heard it often from Eanfleda, Alfrid, Romanus, and Wilfrid; and he had concluded to crush the Scots, and free himself from the tormenting efforts of Eanfleda to make him a Romanist. The king said:

“Is it true, Colman, that these words were spoken to Peter by our Lord?”

He answered, “It is true, O king.”

Then said he, “Can you show any such power given to your Columba?”

Colman answered, “None.”

Then the king in substance answered that as Colman and Wilfrid both agreed that the keys of heaven were given to Peter, he would obey in all things the decrees of Peter, the doorkeeper of heaven, lest he might refuse to admit him by his keys when he sought an entrance into paradise. There was not one word uttered by Colman or Wilfrid about the time for celebrating Easter, or the form of the tonsure, which inspired the slightest interest in King Oswy, though the settlement of troubles in connection with these usages was the object for which the meeting was ostensibly held. But when Peter as the rock, and the holder of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, was introduced, then Oswy was deeply moved, and avowed himself a follower of Peter, that is, a Romanist, and condemned the entire Scots communion in Northumbria, which condemnation was the whole object of the synod.

Colman seeing that “his doctrine was rejected and his sect despised,” and conformity to the Roman Easter and tonsure demanded under severe penalties, took with him the faithful Scots and such Anglo-Saxons as would not accept the popish Easter and tonsure, and withdrew first into Scotland, and subsequently into Ireland.¹ Great numbers of good men conformed; others were silent and lived secluded; many flocks were scattered; and the Christianity of two-thirds of the Anglo-Saxons received a blow like the one struck by the act of uniformity in England in 1662, when about two thousand of the noblest Christian ministers in the English church, the equals of Colman and his brethren, were driven forth homeless, and often penniless, because they would

¹ Bede's “Eccles. Hist.,” Lib. III., cap. 26.

not conform to Romish usages, and were bitterly persecuted for years.¹

With the departure of the leaders of the Scots their system was broken up. Romanists filled their positions; Canterbury took the place of Lindisfarne; Rome took the place of Iona, and sent Archbishop Theodore, as Iona had sent Aidan, Finan, and Colman. The Scots educated many of their successors, and implanted a love for the Scriptures in the vast population intrusted to them for instruction, which lived in their hearts long after their dear old teachers had been removed from their beloved flocks.

Many have said, "How foolish the Scots were to leave their mission fields for the sake of retaining their own Easter and tonsure. Why did they not give them up and accept the Romish?" In a way for which we cannot account, the Scots believed that their tonsure and Easter were divinely appointed, and that they were urged by Romanists on the basis of the pope's authority to give up their religious usages and accept his. They scorned his pretended superiority, and reckoned it a great crime against Christ to recognize his usurpations, even in little things in the Saviour's kingdom.

When, in 1773, the British Parliament repealed certain taxes which it had unjustly imposed upon the American colonists, but retained six cents a pound as duty upon tea; and when opposition to the tea tax showed irrepressible strength, compelling the return to Europe of some of the tea, hindering its sale everywhere, and prompting some disguised Boston patriots to empty the tea chests into the water,² would any intelligent man on earth ask, "Why run such tremendous risks with England for six cents a pound upon tea?" Not one. The lover of his country would know that the colonists were fighting against "taxation without representation", in short, for freedom, and against tyranny. The Scots rightly viewed the Easter and the tonsure of Rome, as the patriotic colonists

¹ Neal's "History of the Puritans," Vol. IV., p. 305. Dublin.

² Anderson's "General History," p. 370. New York.

regarded the tea tax, and they resisted her claims to rule them in little or great things as impious opposition to Christ, the only lawgiver of Christians. They should, however, have remained in England and marshalled their forces against the pope, and all his queenly, kingly, and priestly abettors in the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy.

It was necessary, four years after the withdrawal of the Scots, to send a man to Rome to be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, apparently to secure respect for his decisions in Britain. But he died abroad, and Pope Vitalian, to stop religious dissension in England, selected a Greek named Theodore, a native of Tarsus, in Cilicia, for this great office. Theodore was a man of considerable learning and of a despotic will, and he bent all his energies to the triumph of Rome in England.

In the twenty-one years of his primacy, by the exercise of Greek shrewdness and of tyrannical power, and by the support of the armed forces of the Anglo-Saxon kings, Romish Easter, the papal tonsure, and all the public ceremonies of popery were openly observed, and in the great majority of cases secretly hated.

It is not improbable that if Theodore had not come to Canterbury the Scots might have been recalled, and an open Bible continued to two-thirds of the Anglo-Saxons.

Colman, the defender of the Scots at Whitby, finally settled with other saints on the island of Inis-bo-Finne, off the coast of County Mayo, Ireland, and founded a church upon it, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the island. His death occurred in August, A. D. 675.¹

¹ O'Donovan's "Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland," by the Four Masters, at A. D. 667.

CHAPTER VII.

PROTESTANTISM IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

The Celtic people of Britain and Ireland were all one Protestant denomination in the seventh century—Letters of the Romish bishops Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus—Meetings of the British clergy with Augustine, in A. D. 603—A pretended miracle of Augustine—His pride—Insolent demands and threatenings—The Britons had no intercourse with Rome—They were treated as rebellious schismatics—Ancient Welsh account of the meeting with Augustine—The Britons declared that they owed no obedience to the pope.

THE original inhabitants of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in the *beginning* of the seventh century, were all Protestants, in the modern sense of that term. At exactly the same period, the little community of Anglo-Saxon converts were Romanists. About the middle of the seventh century Protestant Anglo-Saxon believers were very numerous.

The ancient British, Irish, and Caledonian churches were substantially one great Protestant body, like the "United Church of England and Ireland" (Episcopalian), of the present day, with the same articles of faith, but with separate local jurisdiction. Laurentius, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishops Mellitus and Justus, in a letter written about A. D. 605, which Bede¹ has preserved, and which they addressed to the "bishops and abbots throughout all Scotland," that is, to the Scots of Ireland and Caledonia, say :

Becoming acquainted with the errors of the Britons, we thought the Scots had been better; but we have been informed by Bishop Dagan, coming into this aforesaid island [Britain], and the Abbot Columbanus [an Irishman], in France, that the Scots in no way differ from the Britons in their behavior [toward Romanists].

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. II., cap. 4.

Baronius¹ writes, "that the Scots were dipped in the same schism with the Britons," and for this reason affirms that the Britons were subjected by Providence to the wrongs inflicted upon them by a "barbarous nation," meaning the Anglo-Saxons.

Wilfrid, Queen Eanfleda's able and arrogant assailant of the illustrious Scottish missionaries at the council of Whitby, speaking of them, and of Easter, says:² "Only these and their accomplices in obstinacy, I mean the Picts and Britons, who foolishly in these two remote islands, and only in part even of them, oppose all the rest of the world." These words were uttered in A. D. 664, a little before which there had been some defection in the south of Ireland toward Romish Easter, not toward submission to the supremacy of the pope, to whom they did not bow for several hundred years afterward. Wilfrid alludes to this defection in the quotation, but admits the agreement of the Scots, Picts, and Britons, about Easter, which stood in the forefront of all the differences separating them from Rome. Soames writes:

It is quite certain that, in Augustine's time, from A. D. 596 to 604, [Celtic] Britain and Ireland were agreed upon religious questions. . . Their clergy may be described as one body, with as much accuracy as the whole Anglican clergy, be they where they may, or the whole Romish clergy, be they where they may, may be described as one body.³

Few more interesting conferences have ever been held in Britain, than the one in which the chief of the Italian missionaries in England and the bishops of the ancient Britons took part, in A. D. 603.

King Ethelbert of Kent "drew together the bishops, or doctors, of the next province of the Britons," at a place called, in the eighth century, Augustine's Oak. Augustine, by "brotherly admonitions," tried "to persuade them to preserve Catholic unity with him," to preach the gospel to the pagan

¹ "Annales Ecclesiastici," at A. D. 604, sec. 78.

² Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., cap. 25.

³ Soames' "Latin Church," p. 51. London, 1848.

Anglo-Saxons, and to adopt the Romish time for the celebration of Easter. He also charged them with "doing several other things which were against the unity of the church." "When, after a long disputation, they did not comply with the entreaties, exhortations, or rebukes of Augustine and his companions, but preferred their own traditions before all the churches in the world, which in Christ agree among themselves," he proposed to end the controversy by a miracle. The Britons "consented unwillingly." A blind Englishman, not a Briton, was the proposed subject, of the miracle. This friend of Augustine received no relief from "the ministry of the Britons," according to the report which reached Bede, but immediately received sight through the prayers of his archbishop.

If Augustine had been a man of superior sagacity he would have insisted upon the Britons procuring a blind man of their race for his miraculous test; had this been done, and had the man received sight through Augustine's prayers, there might have been some result favorable to Rome from the supposed supernatural response to the archbishop's appeal to heaven. As matters occurred, it was a pre-arranged fraud, with the pretended blind Englishman apparently at hand ready to receive the sight which he had never lost. False miracles in that age abounded. Bede himself has an extensive list of them from the archives of Canterbury, or even from the memories of credulous Northumbrians.

The most striking features of the first conference were that the Britons were required to preserve Catholic unity, to surrender certain things, to perform certain other things, and in general to comply with the demands of this arrogant monk from Rome. A witty lady, speaking of the most common and sacred of earthly unions, once said: "The husband and wife are one, and that one is the husband." Her view of the wedded union was precisely the idea of Augustine about Catholic unity. The Britons must give up their Protestantism and become Romanists, then there would be

glorious Catholic unity. The Britons rejected the Romish scheme at the first meeting, but agreed to it at a second. Bede states that they sought it, and confessed, after the false miracle, that Augustine was the preacher of divine truth. No doubt this was the Canterbury tradition which was sent to him; but if it is to be credited, why did not some of them advocate Augustine at the second conference? Their acts at both meetings flatly contradict the Canterbury story.

Another remarkable statement in the conference, which Bede does not deny, though he records it, was made by the Britons, "that they could not depart from their *ancient* customs" without the consent and leave of their people. The ancient customs of which they speak are their usages and doctrines, which prohibited them from joining the church of the pope. From this statement, it follows that they were not at any time rebels to the pope, who were guilty of schism and formed a church of their own, as Romanists have asserted; but that they were, from the first preaching of Christianity in Britain, an independent community, borrowing no Roman rites, and refusing the kingly tyranny of the popes.

At the second conference, as Bede relates, there were present :

Seven bishops of the Britons, as was asserted, and many most learned men, especially from their most noble monastery, which, in the English tongue, is called Bancornburg [Bangor], over which the Abbot Dinooth is said to have presided at that time.

The representatives of the Britons before coming to the conference took council of a "holy and discreet man, who was accustomed to lead a hermit's life [living in a solitary place] among them," in reference to forsaking their traditions "at the preaching of Augustine." He answered, "If he is a man of God, follow him." "How shall we know that?" said they. He replied, "Our Lord saith, 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart'; if, therefore, Augustine is meek and lowly of heart, it is to be believed that he has taken upon him the yoke of Christ, and offers the same

to you to take upon you. But if he is stern and haughty, it appears that he is not of God, nor are we to regard his words." They insisted again, "And how shall we discern even this?" "Contrive," said the anchorite, "that he may first arrive with his company at the place where the synod is to be held; and if at your approach he shall rise up to you, hear him submissively, being assured that he is the servant of Christ; but, if he shall despise you, and not rise up to you, whereas you are more in number, let him be despised also by you."

They took the hermit's advice, and it is more than probable that they would have followed the course he counseled if they had not heard his suggestions. When they came to the place of meeting, Augustine was there, and seated, and he did not arise to receive them. Bede says, that the Britons on

Observing this were in a passion, charged him with pride, and endeavored to contradict all that he uttered. He said to them, "You act in many particulars contrary to our custom, or rather to the custom of the universal church, and yet, if you will comply with me in these three points: Keep Easter at the due time; administer baptism, by which we are again born to God, according to the custom of the holy Roman Apostolic Church; and jointly with us preach the word of God to the English nation, we will readily tolerate all the other things you do, though contrary to our customs." They answered that they would do none of these things, nor receive him as their archbishop.¹

After this response, Augustine "breathed out threatenings" about the "vengeance of death," which they would suffer from their English enemies.

There could not be a more complete and determined rejection of Augustine himself and his rites, customs, and church, and of the authority of Pope Gregory, who sent him. The noble protest of the Reformers at the diet of Spire in 1529, against certain of its decrees, gave them and subsequent rejecters of Romanism the new name of Protestants. The British representatives at Augustine's Oak, protested quite as loudly as the Reformers at Spire; and they had this in

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. II., cap. 2.

their favor, that while the German Protestants had been always Romanists until a short period before their famous protest, the Britons were never Roman Catholics. According to the learned Bingham: ¹

The Britannic churches for six hundred years never acknowledged any dependence upon Rome. And for the business of the paschal controversy, they were so far from paying any deference to the Roman custom, that they continued their ancient practice of observing Easter on a different Sunday from Rome for some ages after, notwithstanding all the arguments that the pope or his party could urge against them. For which reason they were treated as schismatics by the agents and emissaries of Rome.

It is certain that Augustine informed them that the pope had appointed him their archbishop. There are three reasons for this assurance. The first is his evident vanity, as seen in his occupation of a chair when courtesy, even in that day, required him to stand. Then, in answer to a question which he put to Gregory, "How are we to treat the bishops of France?" Gregory tells him that he "gives him no authority over the bishops of France."² And he explains and enforces his answer in such a way, and to such an extent, as indicated that Gregory was apprehensive lest he should attempt to usurp supremacy over the French bishops. The question itself seems to imply such a purpose. His pride makes it certain that he would proclaim himself archbishop at Augustine's Oak. And it is very probable that it was for that purpose that King Ethelbert was requested to convene the British bishops. The second reason is, Pope Gregory had made Augustine, by his decree, archbishop of the British bishops. The full question, already quoted of Augustine to Gregory, his seventh question is, "How are we to deal with the bishops of France and Britain?" To the British part of the query, Gregory answers: "But as for all the bishops of Britain, we commit them to your care, that the unlearned

¹ "Antiquities of the Christian Church," Book IX., chap 1, sec. 11.
Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 27.

may be taught, the weak strengthened by persuasion, and the perverse corrected by authority." Surely the ambitious Augustine, receiving the oppressed British bishops as he sat in his chair, would make no secret of his papal authority to rule them. And the third reason is given in the answer of the British bishops to Augustine: "They replied that they would do none of those things [demanded by Augustine] nor receive him as their archbishop." Here we have, not only a peremptory refusal to abandon any of their religious usages, or to yield anything to him which he claimed, but a specific rejection of him as their archbishop. The declinature to receive him as archbishop leaves no room for doubt about the announcement by Augustine of his appointment to this dignity by Gregory. The Roman Catholic author, Lingard, writes:

As Bede, when he enumerates the demands of Augustine, omits the recognition of his authority, some Catholic authors have maintained that it was not mentioned, and of consequence was not rejected. Their opinion, however, is expressly refuted by Bede himself [in the words], "nor would they receive him for [their] archbishop."¹

The claim of Augustine to regulate their religious observances was based solely upon Gregory's appointment to be their archbishop; so that their rejection of him and his ecclesiastical directions, were a contemptuous repudiation of Gregory the Great, and his attempted usurpations over them.

There is another account of the meeting of Augustine and the seven bishops, presented by Sir H. Spelman² in Welsh, English, and Latin; this record is of great antiquity, and it corresponds in the main statements with Bede, but gives more details of the discussion. It is of Welsh origin. The substance of it is:

That the abbot of Bangor, in the name of the British churches, declares that they owe the subjection of brotherly kindness and charity to the church of God, and to the Pope of Rome, and to all

¹ "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," pp. 42 43.

² "Spelman Concil. Britan.," An. 601. Tom. I., pp. 108, 109.

Christians; but other obedience than that they did not know to be due to him whom they called pope; and for their part they were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Caerleon upon Usk, who was under God, their spiritual overseer and director.

These are the words of the learned Dinooth of Bangor; they are manly and truly Christian, but they do not go beyond the record of Bede in rejecting Augustine and Pope Gregory, except in particularizing their more general statements.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ANSWER OF THE BRITONS TO AUGUSTINE.

Giraldus Cambrensis and the answer of the Britons to Augustine—Dagan, a Hibernian bishop, refuses to eat with the Romish missionaries—Papal bishops reprove the Britons for their errors—Pope Honorius charges the Scots with presumption—Pope-elect John follows Honorius—Taliessin the Briton and “Romish wolves.”

THE Welsh writer,¹ whose “Topography of Ireland” and “Conquest of Ireland,” are known to scholars, works written in the twelfth century, from the country of his birth and residence might be supposed to know better than many the Welsh or ancient British account of the conference between Augustine and the British bishops. He writes :

When the seven bishops appeared, Augustine, sitting in his chair with Roman pride, did not rise up at their entrance. Observing his haughtiness . . . they immediately returned, and treated him and his statutes with contempt, publicly proclaiming that they would not acknowledge him for their archbishop.

It is not surprising that the British and Irish Protestants excited so much interest in the hearts of papal dignitaries. In all Christendom no class of men showed such resolute opposition to their pretensions, and such a determination to shun them and their communion ; and yet they held the truth in a spirit of generous love, as the memorable address of Dinooth at Augustine’s Oak, so clearly shows.

About A. D. 605, Laurentius, archbishop of Canterbury, and Mellitus and Justus, “servants of the servant’s God,” addressed a letter “To our most dear brothers, the lords, bishops, and abbots throughout all Scotland [Ireland].” According to Bede :

Laurentius, when he understood that the course of life and profes-

¹ “Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis,” p. 418. London, 1863.

sion of the Scots, as well as of the Britons in Britain, were not truly ecclesiastical; especially that they did not celebrate the solemnity of Easter at the due time; . . . wrote jointly with his fellow-bishops an exhortatory epistle, entreating and conjuring unity of peace, and conformity with the church of Christ spread throughout the world.

From the letter of Laurentius, we learn that such was the odiousness of a Romish clergyman to a Scot, that Dagan, one of that nation, informed him that the Scots hated Romish institutions as much as the Britons; and "Bishop Dagan," Laurentius writes, "not only refused to eat with us, but even to take his repast in the same house where we were entertained."¹ This letter was written about two years after the synod at Augustine's Oak; and it shows the intense love which the Scots and Britons had for the freedom of their church from the rule of popes.

Bede says: "The same Laurentius and his fellow-bishops wrote a letter to the priests of the Britons, suitable to his rank [probably as their Rome-made archbishop], by which he endeavored to confirm them in [Roman] Catholic unity." But no success attended this effort. This epistle, like the one sent to the Scots, is dated A. D. 605. Twenty-nine years later

Pope Honorius wrote to the Scots whom he had found to err in the observance of Easter, earnestly exhorting them not to think their small number, placed in the utmost borders of the earth, wiser than all the ancient and modern churches of Christ throughout the world, and not to celebrate a different Easter, contrary to the paschal calculation and the synodical decrees of all the bishops upon earth.²

The argument that small numbers and remoteness of habitation detract from the worth of an opinion was not original in conception. A Greek philosopher in Athens could have used this argument with quite as much force against the "Carpenter's Son" and his fishermen followers meeting in an upper room; or even against Jerusalem itself, his home for a time, a city far from the culture, the arts, the literature, and the secular glories of the old world. But the Scots, though

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. II., cap. 4.

² *Ibid.*, cap. 19.

few in number compared to the whole Christian world, and remote from Rome, and other great centres of population and wealth, exerted a vast influence upon the evangelization and education of several nations.

John IV., when pope-elect, about A. D. 639, wrote to the Scots a letter about Easter and the Pelagian heresy. His treatment of the Easter controversy, according to Bede, was marked "by great authority and erudition for correcting the same error."¹ The Roman see was vacant at the death of Severinus, John's predecessor, four months and twenty-four days; and though John was chosen a few days after the death of Severinus, he had to remain without ordination during weary months, and "without being a true pope, until he was confirmed by the emperor."² The pope-elect must take a hand in the popular Romish warfare upon the Easter of the Scots. They were not Romanists, and no opportunity to scourge their schism must be passed by unimproved. John took upon him this odious office, because of a letter from some Scots sent to Pope Severinus, which reached Rome after his death.

On the death of Deusdedit, Archbishop of Canterbury, kings Oswy, of Northumbria, and Egbert, of Kent, sent Wighard to Rome to be consecrated by the pope as his successor. But Wighard died suddenly at Rome before his consecration. After his decease in A. D. 665, Pope Vitalian wrote a letter to King Oswy about filling the vacancy in Canterbury, in which he says: "By the protecting hand of God you have been converted to the true and apostolic faith." This occurred in A. D. 664, when he apostatized from the communion of the godly Scots to that of Rome. According to Vitalian, the faith of the Scots was not the "true apostolic faith," but a creed so unholy that "the protecting hand of God" was employed in rescuing him from it. In this letter, after advising Oswy "in all things to follow continually the pious rule of the prince of the apostles in celebrating Easter"

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. II., cap. 19.

² Bower's "History of the Popes," Vol. I., p. 438.

[Romish Easter, which he accepted about a year before], he adds: "As¹ soon as such a proper person [for archbishop of Canterbury] shall be found, we will send him, well instructed, to your country, that he may by word of mouth, and through the divine oracles, with the assistance of God, root out all the enemy's tares throughout your island." The tares were the doctrines and practices of the Scottish apostles of two-thirds of the Anglo Saxons.

It is not surprising that Roman Catholic abuse stirred up indignation even among the noblest of the Scots and Britons. Taliessyn, in the early part of the seventh century, was probably the most eloquent man among the ancient Britons. He was honored with the title of Ben Beirdh, that is, chief of the bards or wisemen. He thus describes one of the battles of Urien:

When the shouts of the Britons ascended louder than the roaring of the waves upon the storm-tossed shore, neither field nor forest afforded safety to the foe. I saw the warriors in their brave array! I saw them after the morning's strife! Oh, how altered! I saw the conflict between the perishing hosts; the blood that gushed forth and soaked the ground red. The valley that was defended by a rampart was no longer green. Wan, weary men, pale with affright and stained with blood, dropped their arms and staggered across the ford. I saw Urien with his red brow; his sword fell on the bucklers of his enemies with deadly force; he rushed on them like an eagle enraged.²

Taliessyn wrote the original of which the following is Archbishop Ussher's translation:

Wo be to that priest yborn,
That will not cleanly weed his corn
And preach his charge among;
Wo be to that shepherd (I say)
That will not watch his fold alway,
As to his office doth belong;
Wo be to him that doth not keep
From Romish wolves his sheep
With staff and weapon strong.³

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., cap. 29.

² Alexander's "Ancient British Church," p. 186. London.

³ Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., p. 352.

CHAPTER IX.

PERSECUTION OF THE SCOTS.

Persecution of the Scots by the Romanists—Lingard's apology for such wrongs—The Archbishop of Canterbury a religious tyrant—The council of Hertford denounces Scottish Easter—The ordination of Scots and Britons condemned—British and Scottish church edifices need a Romish reconsecration—Aldhelm's famous work against the error of the Britons—The Britons of South Wales detest every Romish usage—The papal council of Celychyth forbade the Scots to officiate in English churches.

THE circumstances attending the expulsion of the Scots from England, show that the Romanists regarded them as dangerous heretics, unworthy of toleration. The simple condemnation of their cause at Whitby, through the hypocrisy and malice of Oswy, was a small matter. It would never have removed Colman and his friends from their dear Northumbrian converts. Persecution drove them from their homes, pulpits, and flocks. King Alfrid, the son of Eanfleda and Oswy, received the kingdom of Deira, one of the two provinces of Northumbria, from his father. In it he gave the monastery of Ripon with land for thirty families to Wilfrid; the land he had previously granted to the Scots for a monastery, which they had built. After Wilfrid returned from Rome, the king allowed the Scots their choice; either to retain his gift, enriched by their own toils, and give up their principles, "adopting the Catholic Easter and other canonical rites, according to the custom of the Roman apostolic church"; or preserve their principles with a good conscience, and he would resume his gift of the land without allowing anything for their buildings, and bestow it, as Bede relates, "upon him whom he found to follow better discipline and better customs." Wilfrid, in accepting this donation without paying

for the improvements, acted dishonestly. Bede further represents this robbery of men, who preferred a good conscience to the loss of everything, as followed by expulsion. He says, "The king, not long after having discovered and banished the Scottish sect, as was said above,"¹ etc. This was the penalty King Alfrid cruelly inflicted upon ministers of the Scottish communion, with the full approbation of Oswy, his father, the supreme sovereign of his kingdom of Deira. Banishment from the country was the doom of the entire Scottish clergy who would not conform to Romanism. Dr. Lingard, while admitting the violence of the controversy between the Scots and Romanists in Northumbria, forgets to tell that it all arose from the Roman Catholics trying to force the Protestant Scots to abandon their own usages and adopt the Romanist. "The great objects," writes this historian, "which called forth the zeal and divided the harmony of these holy men [Scots and Romanists], regarded not the essentials of Christianity."² And yet his Romish brethren plundered and banished the holy Scots for non-essentials, because they belonged to a communion much more scriptural, and, excepting a few men like Bede, with a much holier membership.

It is a little singular to see men like Lingard, and Alban Butler, author of "The Lives of the Saints," write *St. Columba*, *St. Columbanus*, *St. Fursey*, *St. Boisil*, and *St. Aidan*. These men were scholarly Romish historians, and frequently, though not invariably, fair; and the parties named are "sainted" by them, though as good Protestants as Philip Melancthon, the associate of Luther in the glorious Reformation. And yet Lingard is the apologist of the persecutors of the Scots. He writes:

The termination of this controversy has subjected the successful party to the severe but *unmerited* censures of several late historians. They affect to consider the Scottish monks as an injured and persecuted class, and declaim with suspicious vehemence against the

¹ Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. V., cap. 19.

² "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 35.

haughty and intolerant spirit of the Roman clergy. But if uniformity were desirable, it could only be obtained by the *submission* or *retreat* of one of the contending parties; and certainly it was unreasonable to expect that those who observed the discipline which universally prevailed among the Christians of the continent should tamely yield to the pretensions of a few obscure churches on the remotest coast of Britain.¹

This statement assumes really, though not in words, that uniformity, even though obtained by force, was necessary. The Scots did not regard *compulsory* uniformity as necessary, and never sought it upon any occasion. Roman Catholics have always tried to secure it, when they could "obtain the submission or retreat" of Protestants, even when the "submission" came through imprisonment or shocking tortures, and the "retreat" through an untimely grave. Roman Catholic Lingard, who died so lately as 1851, the best informed Romanist in early Anglo-Saxon literature who has lived for centuries, who received, according to common English usage, from the crown for his learned historical services a pension of fifteen hundred dollars a year; even he says that the "censures" pronounced against the Romish persecutors, who compelled the Scottish Protestants and their converts in Northumbria, in the seventh century, to accept Romanism or fly into Scotland, were "unmerited." If similar treatment were given to Romanists, its iniquity would be denounced in all the papal histories of the world, where there was any pretense for its presence. But the Protestant and Romish communities stand out distinctly in Northumbria, about A. D. 664 for toleration. Religious uniformity, enforced by bodily suffering, is an invention of Satan.

When Theodore became archbishop of Canterbury, in A. D. 668, though he was then an old man, he speedily began to show remarkable industry, and acted as if he owned the English Church, and could do as he pleased with its bishops and people; as the venerable John Fox says, "Theodore, being

¹ "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," pp. 38, 39.

made archbishop of Canterbury began to play the '*Rex*' [king], placing and displacing bishops at his pleasure." One of the favorite instruments which he employed for this purpose, was a council, or "synod of bishops, and many other teachers of the church." At the synod of Hertford, held in A. D. 673, as Fox says, he played the "*Rex*" by reading ten canons, and securing their unanimous adoption. The first of these canons is: "That we all in common keep the holy day of Easter on the Sunday after the fourteenth moon of the first month." This is a condemnation of the Easter of the Scots at the beginning of his list of canons. Though their leaders were gone, their people cherished their instructions still. The sixth canon reads: "That bishops and clergymen when traveling, shall be content with the hospitality that is afforded them, and that it shall not be lawful for them to exercise any priestly function without leave of the bishop in whose diocese they are." This is a mere translation of the canon; John Fox gives a translation, which is something of a paraphrase as well. His version is:

That foreign bishops and clergymen coming into the realm should be content only with the benefit of such hospitality as should be offered them; neither should intermeddle any further within the precinct of any bishop, without his special permission.¹

There is no ground for doubting that this was aimed at Scottish clergymen coming to see their old converts and brethren. Fox evidently thought so when he translated the first part of the canon, "*foreign* bishops and clergymen." And the attack upon the Easter time of the Scots, in the first canon, strongly confirms this opinion. The absent Scots are assailed in this synod as Protestant enemies of Rome.

Ussher quotes several decrees which were adopted by some of the Saxon bishops, probably in Theodore's day, of the genuineness of which he had no doubt. One of these reads: "Such as have received ordination from the bishops of the

¹ Fox's "Acts and Monuments," Vol. I., pp. 355, 356. London, 1841.

Scots, or the Britons, who in the matter of Easter and tonsure are not united unto the Catholic Church, let them be again by imposition of hands confirmed by a Catholic bishop."¹ This was simply a declaration that the churches of the Scots and Britons were, in principle, hostile to Romanists, and outside of their communion altogether.

The same decree of the Saxon bishops, in Ussher, further enjoined, "In like manner also let the churches that have been ordered [governed] by those bishops [British and Scottish], be sprinkled with exorcised water, and confirmed with some [religious] service." This is just what Pope Gregory commanded Augustine to do with the pagan temples of the Anglo-Saxons. He says: "The temples of the idols in that nation [the English] ought not to be destroyed, but let the idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples."² We have an extraordinary exhibition of the breadth and depth of the gulf which the Romanists beheld between themselves and the Britons. Says Ussher:

One of the instructions that the Romans gave the Saxons, was this. You must beware that causes be not referred to other provinces or churches which use another manner and another religion; whether to the Jews, who serve the shadow of the law rather than the truth, or to the Britons, who are contrary unto all men, and have cut themselves off from the Roman manner, and the unity of the church.³

Aldhelm, in A. D. 705, "by order of a synod, wrote a notable book against the error of the Britons, in not celebrating Easter at the proper time, and in doing several other things not consonant to the purity and peace of the church." This work is only a small tract, and yet it made a great sensation, chiefly because it appeared in the infancy of Anglo-Saxon authorship. It has for centuries excited unusual attention, because of its account of British opposition to Romanism; in this book, Lingard says:

¹ Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., p. 350. Erlington ed., Dublin.

² Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. I., cap. 30.

³ Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., pp. 350, 351.

St. Aldhelm assures "us that the clergy of Demetia [South Wales] carried their abhorrence of the Catholic discipline to such an extreme, that they punished the most trivial conformity with a long course of penance, and purified with fanatic scrupulosity every utensil which had been contaminated by the touch of a Roman or a Saxon priest."¹

This letter furnishes increased evidence that the ancient Britons had no connection with the Romish church. The forty days which Aldhelm calls days of penance, may have been merely days of instruction and probation, to fit them for membership in a purer church.

The council of Celychyth, or Calcuith, was held in England in A. D. 816. It enacted eleven canons, the fifth of which decreed, "that none of the Scottish race (*de genere Scottorum*) be permitted to usurp to himself the sacred ministry in any one's diocese . . . because we are not certain how, or by whom, they were ordained."² Du Pin gives as the meaning of this canon that "no Irishman be suffered to discharge any ecclesiastical function out of his own country."³

From this canon of the early part of the ninth century, it is clear that the Romish clergy of England regarded the Scottish church as an outlawed community, whose clergy must be ordained by Romish ecclesiastics before they could officiate in England; and whose churches must be rededicated, and "sprinkled with exorcised water, and confirmed with some [religious] service." Westminster Abbey, from A. D. 1065 to 1483, received, in whole or in part, not less than six or eight consecrations and holy sprinklings. If by permission of Providence, as a scourge to England and the British race over the world, this grand temple, the creation of centuries, the collective monument of many great Anglo-Saxons, should fall into the hands of Romanists, it would be consecrated again, and once more "sprinkled with exorcised water," to purify it from the Rome-abhorred exercises of Protestant

¹ "The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 39. Phila.

² "Spelm.," Vol. I., p. 329. Wilkins' "Concilia," Lib. I., p. 170.

³ Du Pin's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. II., p. 107. Dublin.

worship. This is the spirit of the fifth canon of the council of Celychyth. Though Iona had given up her Easter time ninety-nine years before the synod of Celychyth assembled, the attitude of the Scots, in Britain and Ireland, toward Rome was still hostile; and the fifth canon of Celychyth shows that the Romish bishops of England regarded them with contempt and malignity.

CHAPTER X.

THE INFLUENCE OF IRISH MISSIONARIES.

The popes afraid of the influence of Irish missionaries—Warning epistles from Gregory III.—The oath of Bishop Boniface against heretics—Protestant Hibernian missionaries occasioned that oath—An archbishop has no authority without a pall—None in Ireland until the twelfth century—The Celtic church of Ireland outside of the Roman communion until that time—The Danes, who held Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, were Catholics sooner—St. Bernard of Clairvaux on the absence of Romish authority and palls in Ireland until the twelfth century.

EVEN the pope was afraid of the Protestant spirit of the continental missionaries from the British islands.

If the more free-minded British and Irish missionaries, scattered among the German populations, had succeeded in gaining the preponderance, there would have gone forth from the German Church a reaction [from Romanism] of free Christian development. At Rome the danger which threatened from this quarter was well understood; and the formal oath prescribed [by the pope] to Boniface [the apostle of Germany], was doubtless expressly intended for the purpose of warding off this danger and of making Boniface the instrument of the Roman Church system, for suppressing the freer institutions which sprung from the British and Irish churches. The purpose of his mission was not barely to convert the pagans, but quite as much also to bring back those whom the hereticks had led astray, to orthodoxy and to obedience to the Roman Church.¹

Neander quotes an old report of the errand of Boniface, the apostle of Germany, in which his mission is thus described: "He should go beyond the Alps, where heresy chiefly flourished, and he should utterly destroy it with sound doctrine." He quotes epistle forty-five, of Pope Gregory III., addressed to the bishops of Bavaria and Germany, admonishing them to adopt the liturgy and creed according to the

¹ Neander's "General History of the Church," Vol. III., p. 49. Boston.

model of the Roman apostolic Church ; and to *beware of the doctrine of the Britons coming [among them] , or of false and heretical priests.*" He also quotes epistle six, of the same pope, addressed to the German bishops and dukes, stating that the object of the mission of Boniface was partly to convert the heathen, and *partly to correct those who were led into heresy by diabolical craft.*

Boniface, who reorganized the German church in the interest of the pope, was persuaded by him to take an oath¹ of special solemnity "to blessed Peter and to blessed Gregory, your vicar," in which he pledged himself:

To maintain to the last, with the help of God, the purity and unity of the holy Catholic faith ; to consent to nothing contrary to either ; to consult in all things the interests of your church, and in all things to concur with you, to whom power has been given of binding and loosening, with your above-mentioned vicar, and with his successors. If I shall hear of any bishops *acting contrary to the canons*, I shall not *communicate with them, nor entertain any commerce with them, but I will reprove them and hinder them if I can* ; if I cannot I shall acquaint therewith my lord, the pope. If I do not faithfully perform what I now promise, may I be found guilty at the tribunal of the eternal Judge, and incur the punishment inflicted by you on Ananias and Sapphira, who presumed to deceive and defraud you.

This shocking oath has two principal objects. The first is, the unity of the faith, that is, the suppression of every form of Christian belief at variance with Romanism ; to accomplish this, Boniface must sacrifice everything to the advancement of his church ; if any clergymen or bishops, like the Hibernian Scots, show contempt for popish canons, he must have no fellowship or connection with them ; if he is able he must hinder them ; and failing in this, like a hired detective of the pope, he must report "to his lord" at Rome the spiritual rebellion of these Protestant ecclesiastics. The second object of the oath was to make him a slave of the pope ; it requires him "in all things to concur with the pope." Hence it follows that however widely his opinions, or his proposed efforts might differ from the pope's, his oath compelled

¹ Othlon, in "Vita Bonifac.," Lib. II., cap. 1, 14, 20.

him "to concur in all things" with the Bishop of Rome. As the heathen in Burma, who knew Dr. Judson for years, were accustomed to speak of him as "Jesus Christ's man," because they saw that his sole business in their country was to serve the Saviour in all his words and ways, and to enlist every one for the same blessed employment, so rugged Boniface was bound by his oath to be the pope's man in all things, and chiefly in destroying the influence of Protestant missionaries from the British islands in Germany.

This was the first oath of obedience taken to the pope by any bishop in Christendom, outside of his own province as Bishop of Rome. Boniface kept his oath, and was at great pains, not only in Germany, but in France, to bring all other bishops into the abject slavery to which he himself had so meanly, and in view of his Anglo-Saxon origin, so disgracefully submitted.¹

This wretched oath of Boniface was the beginning of the oath which to-day binds in slavery to the pope all the Romish bishops of the world. It is one of the most nefarious oaths ever imposed by any ecclesiastical authority, or taken by any clergyman, since the Saviour's birth; yet every Roman Catholic bishop takes it at his consecration. Two clauses of it are:

I will, with all my power, observe, and cause others to observe, the rules of the holy fathers, the apostolic [the pope's] decrees, ordinances or dispositions, provisions and commands. To the utmost of my power I will persecute and attack hereticks, schismatics, and rebels against the same our lord, or his aforesaid successors.²

No matter how independent a Romish bishop may be, or benevolent, or intellectual, and there are many of these in the church of the popes, he is a general in the pope's army; he has taken the oath of allegiance; the eyes of the officers are upon him, and multitudes of the rank and file; and when the army moves he must go with it; when it fights he must

¹ Bower's "History of the Popes," Vol. II., pp. 23, 24.

² "Pontificale Romanum," pp. 59-61. Antwerp, 1758.

share in the wrongs it inflicts, and in the wounds it receives. In short, he is not his own master ; the pope looks after that matter for him, and his only remedy is to drop his weapons and uniform, break his detestable oath, and desert to truth, the true saints, and to God our Saviour. It is strange that the success of saintly ministers from the British islands, in France and Germany, should have prompted the manufacture of odious chains for Romish bishops by the popes, which they have been wearing for more than eleven hundred years.

Practically the pall, or pallium, is the popes' commission to an archbishop. They gradually secured the introduction of this insignia of office, until in process of time every metropolitan in Western Europe was compelled to receive one. This was secured for France in A. D. 742, in a council, by the apostle of the Germans, Boniface.¹ But long before his time a Romish pall was regarded with reverence, and subjected its recipient in some measure to the bishop of Rome. According to Lingard: "At the period in which our ancestors were converted, no archbishop was permitted to perform the most important of his functions, until he had obtained the pall from the hands of the pontiff."² The period referred to is the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. Says Archbishop Ussher, speaking of Ireland :

This country, for the number of holy men that lived in it, was heretofore termed the "Island of Saints"; of that innumerable company of saints, whose memory was revered here, what one received any solemn canonization from the pope, before Malachi of Armagh and Laurence of Dublin? We read of sundry archbishops that have been in this land between the days of St. Patrick and of Malachi; what one of them can be named that ever sought a pall from Rome? The author of the "Annals of Mailros" [Melrose] writes, "In the year A. D. 1151, Pope Eugenius, to whom St. Bernard wrote his book, *De Consideratione*, did, by his legate, John Paparo, transmit four palls into Ireland, whither a pall before had never been brought." Therefore Giraldus Cambrensis,³ though he acknowledges that St. Patrick chose

¹ Collier's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. I., pp. 160-163. London, 1840.

² Lingard's "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 105. Phila.

³ "Topography of Ireland," Dist. III., cap. 17.

Armagh for his seat, and did appoint it to be, as it were, a metropolitan see, and the proper place for the primacy of all Ireland, yet doth affirm withal, that in very deed "there were no archbishops in Ireland, but that bishops only did consecrate one another until John Paparo, the pope's legate, brought four palls thither"; whereupon some of our chroniclers after him, state concerning Gelasius, at that time archbishop of Armagh, "that he is said to have been the first archbishop, because he used the first pall, and that others before him were called archbishops and primates in name only, for the reverence of St. Patrick, as the apostle of that nation."¹

It is remarkable that the Irish church maintained its independence of Rome to such a late date. In the twelfth century it submitted to the pope for the first time in its history. The Danes of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, converted descendants of the robbers, incendiaries, and murderers who tormented Britain and Ireland with savage ferocity, hated the Irish people and their church, and became Roman Catholics, holding communion with the archbishop of Canterbury at an earlier day; but the Irish people resisted Romanism until the time of Malachi, who became their primate about A. D. 1134. Through his influence chiefly his countrymen submitted to the pope. According to the learned Bower:²

In A. D. 1153, the pontiff sent John Paparo into Ireland with four palls for four bishops of that kingdom, namely, of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. On his arrival he disposed of the palls as he had been directed. Thus were four archbishoprics established this year in the kingdom of Ireland.

So that St. Patrick's archbishopric of Armagh was reckoned as nothing, though it was founded more than seven hundred years before, because it had never received the Romish pall until John Paparo left it for Armagh.

The account of the Irish church left by the famous St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, in France, in his "Life of St. Malachi," is of unusual importance. Of him, Bayle³

¹ Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., pp. 319, 320, 321.

² Bower's "History of the Popes," Vol. II., p. 481.

³ Bayle's "Dictionary," Vol. I., p. 772. London, 1734.

writes: "St. Bernard flourished in the twelfth century. He acquired so great an esteem, that the whole weight of the church seemed to lie on his shoulders, and that kings and princes made choice of him for the general arbitrator of their differences." Bayle quotes from Francis D'Amboise the following: "St. Bernard was so generally admired and beloved that he had the good wishes of the whole world." In the four hundred and forty letters printed in his works, many of them addressed to kings, queens, popes, cardinals, bishops, and other distinguished persons living in various countries, he finds an opportunity for three letters to Malachi, Archbishop of Hibernia, and one to Irish brethren on the death of Malachi. He was an untiring worker, interested in little things, as well as in matters of supreme moment. If Malachi, the poor Irish bishop, had been a great king, Bernard could not have been more attentive to him when his guest at Clairvaux, or in treating the details of his life when writing his biography. Bernard heard from Malachi personally and by letters, the facts recorded in his "Life"; he had Irish clerics placed in his charge by Malachi for entrance into his monastic order; through his French monks he founded Mellifont Abbey in Ireland. From these persons Bernard had an opportunity to gather exact information about Malachi and the Irish church.

Bernard says that Malachi, in his reforms in the Irish Church, thought that:

He was not quite safe in making them without the authority of the apostolic see, and he resolved to set out for Rome; and especially because a metropolitan see [a *primates*] was as yet wanting, and *the use of the pall, which is the fullness of honor, from the beginning had been wanting (defuerat ab initio pallii usus)*.

According to Bernard, as well as Giraldus, Patrick and his successors down to Malachi, had no Roman authority and no *primate's* see, being without the pope's pall, so that all consecrations of bishops were nullities.

Bernard, speaking of Malachi's crusade against the inde-

pendence of the Irish church, describes as follows the great change his efforts produced :

Harshness yielded, barbarianism slept, an angry house began by degrees to be appeased, correction is admitted easily, discipline is received ; from the centre, where barbarous laws are enacted, *Roman laws* [the pope's commandments] *are introduced* ; everywhere the ecclesiastical customs [of the papacy] are accepted ; the contrary [customs of the Irish Church] are rejected.

Here Romanism is a novelty thrust into the Irish Church by Malachi. Again, says Bernard, of Malachi laboring in Ireland :

He gave laws full of righteousness, full of moderation and honesty ; and he also appointed in all the churches apostolical statutes and the decrees of the holy Fathers, and chiefly the institutions of the holy Roman Church (*præcipueque consuetudines sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ*).

Malachi here, according to Bernard, was making the Irish a popish church for the first time. Bernard informs us that when Malachi visited the pope "he solicited the confirmation of the new metropolitan see [subject to Armagh, established by Celsus, Malachi's predecessor], and that palls for both sees [Armagh and Cashel] should be given to him. He soon received the grant of confirmation ; but about the palls the pope said : "That business must be transacted more solemnly. Let the bishops, clergy, and nobles of the land be convened and celebrate a general council ; and should you in this way, with the knowledge and desire of all, seek the pall for worthy persons, it shall be given to you !"¹ The confirmation by the pope of a new episcopal see created by the primate of Armagh was without example in Irish church history.

The application to Rome by Malachi for two palls, one of which was for himself as primate of Ireland, never was made before ; as Bernard says : "The use of the pall from the beginning has been wanting [from the see of Armagh]." And to show that the pope regarded his pall as a novelty for Ireland,

¹"Sancti Bernardi Opera. Vita S. Malachiæ," cap. 15, cap. 10, cap. 8, cap. 3, cap. 16. Parisiis, 1690.

whose religious, freedom-loving people, looking upon a papal pall as a badge of slavery to an insolent Italian priest, might expel Malachi and his pall from their island, or perhaps destroy both, he insisted upon a request from an Irish general council for the palls before he granted them.

A synod was held at Holmpatrick in A. D. 1148 to request the palls, and a second time Malachi started for the symbols of slavery, the palls which the pope promised. He was the first ecclesiastic representing the authority of the Irish church that ever made an appeal to the pope. His application for a pall for Armagh is unquestionable evidence that down to the middle of the twelfth century the church of Ireland was not under the canons or the government of the bishops of Rome. Michelet¹ well says: "No churches in the middle ages continued longer independent of Rome than those of Ireland and Brittany."

¹ Michelet's "History of France," Vol. I., p. 153. New York.

CHAPTER XI.

THE EARLY BRITISH CHURCHES.

The Britons of Cornwall resist papal authority in the tenth century—
The pope's jurisdiction in Wales began in the tenth and became universal in the thirteenth century—Llewellyn—Sir William Wallace—
No metropolitans in Scotland to consecrate bishops in twelfth century—Dioceses first established in Scotland in the twelfth century—
Romish rule for only four hundred years in Scotland—Dr. Döllinger and the independence of the early Irish and British churches.

THE people of the county of Cornwall, in England, in the tenth century, were ancient Britons; and in the register¹ of the priory of Canterbury, in the time of Archbishop Plegmund, there is a record of a particular provision made for the Cornish men to recover them from their errors, for that county, as the register reads, refused to submit to and took no notice of the pope's authority. The Cornish men were the religious descendants of the Britons, who rejected the claims of Pope Gregory's missionary in A. D. 603, at Augustine's Oak, and they continued during the intervening centuries faithful to the Rome-rejecting doctrines of their anti-papal ancestors. For this they are censured in the register, and probably suffered many things in words and deeds from Plegmund and his successors.

In A. D. 981 the archbishops of Canterbury, according to Rapin,—

Acquired a new jurisdiction in Wales. Gucan, a Welsh priest, being chosen bishop of Landaff, was consecrated by Archbishop Dunstan. This precedent was followed by his successors, who, like him, owned the archbishop of Canterbury for their metropolitan. Some infer from this that all the British [Welsh] bishops, at the same time recognized the superiority of the church of Rome, "But this consequence cannot be admitted. It is certain that the bishops of St.

¹ Spelman's "Concil.," Lib. I., pp. 387, 388.

David's all along exercised the archiepiscopal functions in Wales until the time of Henry I. [about A. D. 1109]; and that without the ornament of the pall, the mark of submission to the pope.¹

Prior to Gucan's time the pope had no authority in Wales. In the reign of Henry I., Rapin writes :

Gucan's² successors following his example, the archbishops of Canterbury claimed the same power with regard to all the other bishops in Wales; but they met with great opposition. At length Bernard, the queen's chaplain, being nominated to the see of St. David's, was consecrated by Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, who maintained that since his jurisdiction was owned by the chief of the Welsh bishops, the rest could not be excused from professing obedience. However, as Bernard repented afterward, a long contest arose, which was not decided until Wales was united to England in the reign of Edward I.

The Romanists now had two of the Welsh bishops in their power, with a demand upon the others for submission, which was long resisted. Giraldus Cambrensis says: "Until the entire subjugation of Wales by Henry I., the Welsh bishops were always consecrated by the bishop of St. David's, and he was consecrated by his suffragans, without any profession or submission being made to any other church."³ Collier commenting upon the statement of Cambrensis, writes :

It follows pretty plainly that the British churches lived independently of the see of Rome till the reign of Henry I.; and that there was no correspondence between them; for by the canons of the Roman church, an archbishop was not to enter upon any part of his metropolitan distinction [such as consecrating bishops], until he had received a pall.⁴

Popery completed its triumph in Wales under peculiar circumstances. On December 11, 1282, the famous Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, after years of conflict, and in a battle where he was greatly outnumbered, was killed. He was a hero of unsurpassed bravery; generous to a fault, he was dearer to

¹ Rapin's "History of England, Vol. I., p. 145. London, 1732.

² *Ibid.*, p. 214.

³ "Itinerary Through Wales, Historical Works," p. 417. London.

⁴ Collier's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. I., p. 474. London.

patriotic Welshmen than their own lives. His name is borne to-day by large numbers of men in Wales and all over Anglo-Saxendom. He was descended from one of the oldest royal families in Europe; and yet the greatest military commander of his day, either in a fit of brutality or more probably from natural ferocity, had his head struck off; and, after crowning it with ivy, ordered it to be exposed on the walls of the Tower of London. Rapin says:

The Welsh lost at length their liberty after preserving it in that little corner of the island above eight hundred years. Destitute of all succors, without foreign alliances, and without a naval power, they had stood their ground against the kings of England, Saxon and Norman, who had almost all tried to subdue them with forces vastly superior.¹

The Protestantism of the Welsh was finally sacrificed in all its manifestations, outside of the secrets of the heart, on the altar of Romanism, when they lost their independence, and their Church and State were incorporated into the Romish Church, and the tyrannical State of the England of that day. Edward, whose troops were defeated by Sir William Wallace, among the noblest of European patriots, inflicted a complete overthrow upon the army of the Scottish hero at Falkirk in 1298. In 1305, Wallace, having fallen into Edward's power, was by his order "hanged, drawn, and quartered," in Smithfield, London. The king, whose unprovoked war upon the Welsh, led to the killing of Llewellyn, the Washington of Wales, and whose wicked war upon the Scotch, exhibited the heroic patriotism of Sir William Wallace, the Washington of Scotland, was the base tyrant who destroyed the last public manifestation of ancient British Protestantism. His tomb in Westminster Abbey is only a few feet from the coronation chair, with the stone which he carried from Scone Cathedral, upon which many Scottish and Irish kings were crowned. Upon that old monument should be plainly cut: "Remember Edward, the slayer of Llewellyn, and Sir William Wallace, and of whole armies of patriotic Scots and Welsh; and the

¹ Rapin's "History of England, Vol. I., pp. 360, 361. London, 1732.

destroyer of the last remnant of ancient British Protestantism." We do not believe that either the Irish or Welsh Christians of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries were as free from error as their religious ancestors. We simply assert that they were in the main anti-Romanists.

Scotland had no metropolitan of her own in the twelfth century, when for the first time in the history of that country her sovereign wanted *Romish* consecration for his bishops. For this purpose the bishops-elect received their consecration in England. In all former ages, such bishops as the Scotch had were ordained at home without the services of a metropolitan or the use of a pall; and consequently they were not Romanists.

In A. D. 1126, John, of Crema,¹ a cardinal priest, held a council of Scottish bishops at Roxburgh. This was the first exercise of papal power in Scotland. The ancient Scottish church was erroneous in some things, but hostile to Rome in everything. The same statement is true about the ancient Celtic churches of Britain and Ireland. A work generally understood to have been written by Dr. Döllinger, of Munich, lately deceased, the celebrated "Old Catholic," one of the most learned men in Europe, says: "In the West, the Irish and the ancient British church remained for centuries autonomous, and under no sort of influence of Rome."² This is the testimony of the leading ecclesiastical historians of the world, a testimony which Rome corroborates by ages of efforts, cunning, tyrannical, and persecuting, which she employed to entrap or drive them into her fold. Scotland and Wales were dragged into it, but Rome could keep neither of them. And the day will come when the Irish, whose fathers, Bible-loving and Protestant, St. Patrick led to the fountain of atoning blood, will forsake the priest, the mass, and the crucifix, and fly to the great sacrifice of Calvary.

¹ Smith's "Life of St. Columba," p. 203. Glasgow.

² "The Pope and Council," p. 69. Boston, 1870.

BOOK V.

BRITISH AND IRISH PRESBYTERS AND BISHOPS; THEIR MARRIAGES AND HOMES.

CHAPTER I.

PRIMITIVE CHURCH ORDER.

Milman on "p resbyter bishops"—A throng of British bishops at the council of Brevy—St. Patrick's hundreds of bishops in Ireland—St. Bernard speaks of great numbers in Ireland in the twelfth century—Dioceses and diocesan episcopacy had no existence in Ireland before A. D. 1112—Scotland was in the same state—Columba, a presbyter, ruled bishops—Why did he not become a bishop?—The story about Bishop Cronan's visit to Iona—The presbyters of Iona ordained the bishops sent out by their monastery.

MILMAN, an Episcopalian dignitary and scholar, writes that :

The earliest Christian communities appear to have been ruled and represented, in the absence of the apostle who was their founder, by their elders, who are likewise called bishops, or overseers of the churches. These *presbyter bishops* and the deacons are the only two orders which we discover at first in the church of Ephesus, at Philippi, and perhaps in Crete.¹

He supposes that it "was by no means improbable," that afterward the apostle may have appointed an overseer, "superior to the co-ordinate body of elders." Milman's positive statement, sustained by the Scriptures which he quotes, cannot be refuted. His supposition is wholly lacking in evidence. Stillingfleet² refers to an account of the great council of Brevy, Wales, taken from the manuscript of Utrecht, which represents one hundred and eighteen bishops as present at its

¹ "History of Christianity," p. 104. New York.

² "Antiquities of the British Churches," p. 358.

deliberations. The learned bishop objects to the number of bishops assigned to it, though he admits that Colgan defends the large representation of bishops. The number was not too great, if the minister of every church was a bishop, though very much too large if the synod of Brevy was an Episcopalian council. It is not unlikely that the chief ecclesiastics of this assembly were substantially "presbyter bishops." According to Nennius,¹ Patrick founded three hundred and sixty-five churches, and consecrated the same number of bishops, and ordained three thousand presbyters. If we take the testimony of Nennius, St. Patrick placed a bishop in every church which he founded; and several presbyters, after the example of the New Testament churches. Nor was the great number of bishops peculiar to Patrick's time; in the twelfth century, St. Bernard tell us that in Ireland "bishops are multiplied and changed according to the pleasure of the primate, without reason or order; so that one bishopric is not satisfied with one, but almost every church had a bishop of its own."² As far as numbers went, the Irish churches at this period had bishops after the order of Baptist churches.

Professor George T. Stokes³ declares that, prior to the synod of Rathbresail, in A. D. 1112, "Episcopacy had been the rule of the Irish church; but *dioceses and diocesan episcopacy had no existence at all.*" Episcopacy, without territorial jurisdiction and with so many bishops, could only be congregational.

"Scotland," as Collier⁴ relates, "in the ninth century was not divided into dioceses, but all the Scottish bishops had their jurisdiction as it were at large, and exercised their function wherever they came. And this continued to the reign of Malcom III.," who was crowned in A. D. 1057. When Collier speaks of jurisdiction, we must remember that they had no jurisdiction in its proper sense; the early Scottish bishops

¹ "History of the Britons," Sec. 54.

² "Vit. St. Malachi, Episc. Hibern.," Cap. X., . 667. Parisiis, 1690.

³ "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. 338.

⁴ "Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain," Vol. I., p. 367. London.

were like their brethren in Ireland, without dioceses and without jurisdiction. Eminent writers like Dr. Todd,¹ of Trinity College, Dublin, freely assert this.

Bede relates that "Iona had for its ruler an abbot, who is a priest, to whose direction all the provinces, *and even the bishops*, contrary to the usual method, are subject, according to the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a priest and monk."² To this Bede makes no objection, though there is not in the history of Romish Christendom, before, or in, Bede's day, another case of the kind; and there certainly has not been one since. Why did not Columba become a bishop? Many scores of bishops would have shown joyful haste to confer that office upon him; and if the position was really higher than his standing among the presbyters, he would surely have become a bishop; but it cannot be doubted that he deemed his rank as a presbyter to be fully equal to that of any bishop on earth. On the same principle, it is not unlikely that his countryman, Gallus, a presbyter, declined to be bishop of Constance, and had his friend and pupil, John, invested with the responsibilities of that office.

Adamnán, in his "Life of Columba," is represented as speaking of the visit of Cronan, an Irish bishop, to Iona. He was disguised, but Columba supernaturally recognized his episcopal orders; and as Columba, according to Adamnán, was seeking two presbyters to celebrate the Lord's Supper, when he perceived that Cronan was a bishop, he said to him, "Christ bless thee, brother, consecrate *alone*, according to the episcopal rite, for I know thou art a bishop." This story is told ostensibly to show Columba's supernatural powers of discernment; but the writer of it probably forged it to prove that Columba, though he ruled bishops, recognized their rank as superior to his own. The basis of the Cronan fabrication is without foundation; two presbyters were not necessary in Columba's time to celebrate the Eucharist. Adamnán himself, in his work

¹ "St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland," Introduction. 1864.

² "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., p. 4.

in which the Cronan story now appears, plainly intimates that one presbyter was competent to celebrate the Lord's Supper; he says that "Columba observed a certain presbyter administer the sacred rite of the Eucharist, whom the brethren of the monastery who lived there had selected to celebrate the solemn service because they regarded him as very devout";¹ and he writes that as Columba observed the presbyter and the Eucharist,

He uttered an alarming denunciation, "The pure and the unclean are seen to be equally mixed here; the pure is the holy rite of the [symbolical] offering administered by a guilty man, who, notwithstanding, conceals in his conscience a foul crime." Those present who heard these words trembled, and were exceedingly astonished. But the man of whom they were spoken was constrained to confess his sin.

The recognition by Columba that a bishop was the superior of a presbyter, as seen in the Cronan case, is a mere forgery, and it is of a later day than Adamnán's.

Neither Adamnán nor any other ancient writer ever mentions a bishop as a resident of Iona. There is absolutely no evidence that Bishops Aidan, Finan, Colman, Diuma, and Cellach, missionaries among the Anglo-Saxons, were ordained by bishops. The presbyter abbot of Iona and his fellow-presbyters in the monastery, evidently ordained all the presbyters and bishops who left their institution to preach Christ. And when any of the bishops returned to reside at Iona, they came as presbyters, like the other ministering brethren there; and like Columba himself.

There is some reason for believing with M'Lauchlan² that "The ordinary clergy, as distinguished from the members of the [monastic] colleges, were the bishops of the early church."

¹ "Vit. Colum.," Lib. I., Cap. XX., p. 737. Migne.

² "The Early Scottish Church," p. 337.

CHAPTER II.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE CLERGY.

Patrick's grandfather a married presbyter—Married British bishops—Hibernian married missionaries in the eighth century—Patrick seeks a man with one wife for a bishop—Cormac, the Irish married bishop and king—St. Bernard states that eight married bishops held the see of Armagh before Celsus, A. D. 1106.

AMONG the ancient Britons no stigma rested upon the marriage of a member of any grade of the ministry. St. Patrick, a Briton, commences his invaluable "Confession" with these words: "I, Patrick, a sinner, the rudest and least of all the faithful, and most contemptible to great numbers, had for my father Calpornius, a deacon, a son of the late Potitus, the presbyter." He mentions the church offices held by his father and grandfather, as he gives an account of his age and capture.

He seems to regard his relationship to them as an honor; and their wedlock as inflicting no disgrace upon them or him, either among British believers or Hibernian Christians, to whom he addressed his "Confession."

Gildas, the Briton, commenting upon Paul's account of the qualifications of a bishop, writes, "Well governing his house," saith the apostle, "having his children subjected with all chastity."

"Imperfect, therefore, is the chastity of the parents [the bishop and his wife], if the children be not also endued with the same. But how shall it be where neither the father [the bishop], nor the son, depraved by the example of his evil parent, is found to be chaste?"¹ The context shows that some married bishops were not faithful to their wives.

¹ "The Works of Gildas," Sec 109.

Gildas does not censure the marriage of bishops, which he evidently thought a divinely instituted form of chastity, but episcopal licentiousness. It is probable that many presbyters and bishops among the Britons were married. Nennius dedicated his "History" "to Samuel, the son of Benlanus, the presbyter, his preceptor, a British clergyman, counting it a grace, rather than any kind of disparagement to be the son of a learned priest."¹

Of the opponents of Boniface, the English missionary in Germany in the eighth century, who seriously disturbed his Romish tranquility, Neander writes: "Some of them were free-minded British and Irish clergymen, particularly such as would not submit to the Roman laws touching the celibacy of the priests, whose married life appeared to Boniface, looking at the matter from his point of view, an unlawful connection."²

As the Scots were found everywhere on the continent in the eighth century as teachers and missionaries, Michelet frequently speaks of them. Writing of St. Boniface, he says: "His chief hatred is to the Scots, the name given to the Scotch and Irish, and he especially condemns their allowing priests to marry."³

In "Additions to Tirechan's collections,"⁴ a work written in Irish in the ninth century, we have an account of the selection of a bishop by Patrick, in which he was aided by Dubthach. Patrick wanted a man from his disciples of good lineage, without defect, without blemish, neither rich nor poor; "I wish a man," he says, "of one wife, unto whom hath been born only one child." Through Dubthach's information, Fiacc was appointed a bishop. He was the husband of one wife and he had the other qualifications. Commenting upon

¹ Cited in Ussher, Vol. IV., p. 295.

² "General History of the Christian Church," Vol. III., p. 53.

³ "History of France," Vol. I., p. 110. N. Y.

⁴ "Additions to Tirechan's Collections" in "Government Tripartite Life," Vol. II., p. 345.

this matter, Dr. Whitley Stokes remarks: "Polygamy existed [in Ireland], and hence Patrick, like Paul, requires for the bishopric of Leinster, a husband of one wife."¹ The same event is recorded in the "Tripartite Life of Patrick," written some two hundred years after.

Cormac of Cashel, the great warrior, bishop, and king, was born A. D. 831; he became king of Munster in A. D. 896, and reigned only seven years. He was a married bishop years before he was king. He perished in the battle of Ballymoon near Carlow. Gormlaith,² the wife of the bishop-king when he was only a prelate, married soon after his death his conqueror at Ballymoon; and losing him, the next year she married Neill, king of Ireland.

In his description of the city of Armagh, Ireland, where the primacy of the Irish Church has been located from remote antiquity, the learned Camden states, that "Among the archbishops of that city who attained special celebrity, was St. Malachi, who first prohibited the marriage of priests in Ireland."³ Malachi was the first to stop the marriage of Patrick's successors, the bishops of Armagh, and through this great change, marriage was eventually forbidden to the clergy of all grades in Ireland.

Celsus, the primate, who ordained Malachi a deacon, presbyter, and bishop, was anxious that he should succeed him as archbishop of Armagh, which he did eventually. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, writing of the primacy of Armagh, in his "Life of Malachi," says:

A very wicked custom grew up through the diabolical ambition of some powerful persons to obtain the holy see [Armagh] by hereditary succession. Neither would they suffer any persons to perform episcopal duties unless they were of their own tribe and family, . . . Finally eight married men held the office before Celsus.⁴

¹ "Additions to Tirechan's Collections" in "Government Tripartite Life," Intro., p. 168

² O'Donovan's "Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland," at A. D. 909.

³ "Britannia," p. 434. Amsterdami, 1639.

⁴ "De Vita Malach., Episc. Hibern.," Cap. 10, pp. 667, 668. Parisiis, 1690.

We learn in the same chapter of Bernard, that when Malachi was urged by the bishops and princes to enter upon the primacy, that at first he refused, saying: "It was a serious thing for a poor man like him to oppose himself to such persons, so numerous, so powerful, and so rooted [in their guilt], who now for almost two hundred years, held possession, as if by hereditary right, of the sanctuary of God [the primacy of Armagh]."

In the time of Brian Boru, who was killed at the battle of Clontarf, A. D. 1014, Maelmury was bishop of Armagh; he was a married man, and belonged to the family that held the primacy for two hundred years. Celsus, Malachi's legitimate predecessor, belonged to the same great family of bishops who held the see for two hundred years; "he was the grandson of a previous primate; and he is said by some to have been married."¹

It has been asserted that these married primates had no episcopal consecration; St. Bernard, falsely informed, states this, and that they employed regular bishops to perform all their public ecclesiastical duties, while they carefully collected the emoluments of the primate's office. To this Professor Stokes replies:

The bishop [of Armagh] of Brian's day was succeeded in his office by no less than two sons. Yet at his death he was revered by the whole of Ireland, and is described by the "Annals of the Four Masters" as "the head of the clergy of the west of Europe; the principal of all the holy order of the west; and a most wise and learned doctor," than which no stronger words can be invented to describe a bishop invested with full ecclesiastical functions. His son, Amalgaid, who presided over the see from A. D. 1021 to 1050, acted as a real primate over all Ireland, and was the first bishop of Armagh who exercised such power by making the first primatial visitation of all Munster. His great-grandson, Maurice, successfully held the see for five years in opposition to St. Malachi.²

¹ "Ireland and the Celtic Church," pp. 335, 337.

² *Ibid.*, p. 357.

CHAPTER III.

MARRIED MONKS AND NUNS.

Many of the early monks and nuns married—They lived in their own houses—These persons led stricter lives than others in their ordinary dwellings—They gave much time to devotions and Bible study—Such was the course of Pelagius—Bingham on married monks—Athanasius on monks who were fathers of children—Augustine's statement—Many of St. Patrick's monks and "virgins of Christ" were no doubt married—Devoted much time to Scripture reading—Probably conducted cottage Bible schools very extensively—There is no evidence that Patrick ever established a monastery.

COLLIER writes that :¹

Those were called monks at Rome in Pelagius' time [the beginning of the fifth century] who had no office in the church, but yet retired from the common employments of the world for religious studies and devotion. Thus Garnerius confesses that Pelagius was not otherwise a monk than as those were so called *who led stricter lives than others within their own houses*. The chief employment of these persons, next to their devotions, was the study of the Scriptures, as appears from Jerome's epistles ; and here some person of particular eminency used to instruct his disciples [from the Bible]. This was Jerome's practice at Bethlehem. This office Ruffinus performed to Pammachius, and to Melania and her family. And so did Pelagius at Rome. It was under this employment that he wrote his short commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles, and his letters to Melania and Demetrias.

This is the testimony of all scholarly, impartial historians. That great student of the antiquities of the church of Christ, Joseph Bingham, writes :²

Thus much is certain from the express words of Athanasius and St. Augustine, that in their time some went by the name of monks who were married men and possessed estates. For Athanasius, writing to Dracontius, a monk, to persuade him to accept a bishopric, to which he was averse, because he thought it would not consist with his ascetic

¹ Collier's "Ecclesiastical History," Vol. I., p. 95.

² "Antiquities of the Christian Church," Book VII., chap. 2, sec. 6.

way of living, uses this argument to him : " You may still, after you are made a bishop, hunger and thirst with Paul, and abstain from wine with Timothy, and fast frequently as St. Paul was wont to do. Many bishops are not married ; and on the other hand, many monks are the fathers of children ; you may also find bishops that are fathers of children, and monks that are not so ; clergy that eat and drink, and monks that fast. For these things are at liberty, and no prohibition laid upon them ; every one exercises himself as he pleases." From these words of Athanasius [who died A. D. 372] it seems plain that as yet the rules of the *monastic* life obliged no man to *renounce either his possessions or a married state*, but he might use both if he pleased, without any ecclesiastical censure. And though the case was a little altered with some monks before St. Augustine's time [he died in A. D. 430], yet others reserved to themselves their ancient privileges ; for St. Augustine, writing against the hereticks who called themselves " Apostolics," says : " They arrogantly assumed to themselves that name because they rejected all from their communion who had either wives or estates, of which sort *the Catholic church had many, both monks and clergy.*"

Augustine died when Patrick had labored about forty years in Ireland. He was the most influential man in Christendom ; or that had been in it since the days of the apostles. He was such a friend of the monkish system that he set up that way of living among the clergy of Hippo, by " making¹ the bishop's house a monastery of clergymen," as he says. And yet, the greatest theologian of the Christian ages, during Patrick's ministry in Ireland, denounced the heretical " Apostolics" for excommunicating the " many monks and clergy of the Catholic church who had either wives or estates."

Bingham modestly adds :¹ " So that at least some monks were still at liberty to enjoy both a conjugal state and possessions of their own, without any impeachment of apostasy, or breach of vow in the Catholic church." These monks with wives and property, of course, " led stricter lives than others *within their own houses.*"

St. Patrick in his " Confession" speaks joyfully of the lately idolatrous Irish " as having become the people of the Lord." " Sons of the Scots [Irish] and daughters of chief-

¹ Bingham's " Antiquities of the Christian Church," Book VII., Chap. 2, Sec. 6.

tains are seen to be monks and virgins of Christ." Patrick does not write a word in his little works about a convent or a monastery, or about a special residence for any considerable number of them. These persons lived in Ireland as many of them at first lived elsewhere, in their own homes, often married, and only differing from other Christians by special consecration to God.

In populous places, where the Christians were somewhat numerous, we can imagine these lovers of the Bible forming ten or twelve little companies, each one of which would visit some family and their invited guests, and read and expound to them the book of God; and continue these Bible readings in suitable places during portions of every day in the week. And we can suppose that they had also a daily Bible and supplication meeting for their own profit at each other's dwellings. We can comprehend some measure of their anxiety, as they plead with God very frequently that they might be kept as true virgins and monks of Christ, and not chiefly as the treasures of husbands or wives; or the slaves of mammon or pleasure.

These devoted disciples—"living sacrifices" to Christ—rendered noble service in the evangelization of Ireland and in building up Patrick's converts in scriptural knowledge; a service all the more valuable on account of the scarcity of copies of the divine word and of the multitudes who could not read. There were undoubtedly numbers of married and single persons among these specially consecrated helpers of the apostle of Ireland, just as St. Augustine, writing during a part of Patrick's Irish labors, speaks of "many monks and clergy of the catholic [universal] church, who had either wives or estates." St. Patrick's monks and virgins of Christ, wedded or unmarried, were parts of the "bride, the Lamb's wife" to whom her heavenly Husband was the chief among ten thousand and altogether lovely.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY MONASTERIES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Brigit's nunnery a fiction—Bangor the first in Ireland—The other Bangor the first in Britain—Clonard enthusiastic for Bible study—St. Ruadamus, St. Kieran, and the aged and decrepit go to Clonard for Bible exposition—Many Anglo-Saxons attended Irish monasteries to learn wisdom from the Scriptures—Free books, teaching, and food in some cases.

It is difficult to fix the exact date when the first monastery was established in Ireland. It is certain that Patrick was long in his grave before this took place.

St. Brigit is said to have founded a nunnery at Kildare, over which she presided. This lady was full of activity in spreading the gospel in Ireland, and was almost second to Patrick in that great work; and second, if not equal to him for centuries, in the regard of the people of Ireland. If she founded a nunnery, the evidence to prove it is as securely hidden as the grave of Abel. She was probably the leader of a woman's missionary society. Bangor in Ireland was founded by Comgal. Bingham states that it was established about A. D. 520; and this date is apparently the true one. He informs us that it was the most ancient monastery in Ireland, as the famous monastery of Bangor was the oldest in Britain.¹

These two monasteries soon collected a great number of so-called monks, and similar institutions were speedily planted in every direction, several of which had a membership numbering two or three thousand. Bangor in Wales, as Bede writes, had "So great a number of monks that the monastery was divided into seven parts, with a ruler over

¹ "Antiquities of the Christian Church," Book VII., chap. 2, sec. 13.

each; and none of the parts contained less than three hundred men, who lived by the labor of their hands."

The special occupation of the inmates of these early monasteries was the study of the Scriptures. This was the chief pursuit of monks where they were simply more devout than many, and lived in their own houses, with their wives or families like other men. The monastery was chiefly a Bible school.

"Gildas was a monk of the famous monastery of Bangor"¹ in Wales, in the sixth century, of whom Dr. M'Lauchlan writes:

It was remarked by Polydore Vergil respecting Gildas, that he quoted no book in his long letter "On the Destruction of Britain," but the Bible; and certainly his quotations from it show, on the part of the British historian, a very thorough acquaintance with the word of God. The idea seems completely to pervade the minds of the men who relate to us the events of this period that the people possessed the Scriptures."²

In the sixth century, the monastery of Clonard, in Ireland, obtained great celebrity, especially for the successful study of the Scriptures. It was founded by St. Finnian, who was a student for years under Gildas in Wales; and from his love for expounding the divine word to his pupils, we have a strong confirmation of the warm regard in which it was held by Gildas and other British monks. Finnian had commonly, about three thousand scholars receiving his instructions. Archbishop Ussher writes:³ "That the blessed Ruadamus lived at Clonard with St. Finnian, reading different parts of the Scriptures; and he was largely profited by them." He also states "of St. Kieran, who greatly loved to hear and to be taught from the divine Scriptures, even to decrepit years, that it was said of him and other Hibernian saints of his time, that they came in their old ages to that holy and most wise man, Finnian, abbot of Clonard, that they might

¹ Collier's "Ecclesiastical History," Vol. I., p. 143.

² "The Early Scottish Church," p. 62.

³ "Works," Vol. VI., pp. 472, 473.

read the divine writings in his sacred college." Men, full of love for their Bibles, went away from Finnian's institution to read them privately, and to expound them publicly. Bede informs us that in the first half of the seventh century, Agilbert, a Frenchman, labored as a bishop among the West Saxons for many years; he also writes that before this service, "he lived a long time in Ireland for the purpose of reading the Scriptures."¹

In A. D. 664, according to Bede, a pestilence² ravaged the southern coast of Britain and the kingdom of Northumbria, "destroying a great multitude of men." Its harvest of death was as extensive in Ireland.

Many of the nobility and of the lower ranks of the English nation were in Ireland at that time, either for the sake of divine studies [the study of the divine Scriptures], or of a more continent life. The Irish willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food; as also to furnish them with books to read and their teaching gratis.

Bede speaks of "Egbert and Chad, when both were youths in Ireland, praying, observing continency, and meditating on the Holy Scriptures."³ Professor Stokes⁴ justly observes, "that all the ancient Irish saints were specially devoted to the study and exposition of Holy Scripture."

¹ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., cap. 7.

² *Ibid.*, cap. 27.

³ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. IV., cap. 3.

⁴ "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. 101.

CHAPTER V.

COMMENTARIES IN MONASTERIES.

The commentary of Pelagius the British monk—Of Ninian, a Briton—Of Augustine, a Hibernian monk—Of Columbanus, an Irish monk—Of Sedulius, a Scot—Of Claudius, his countryman—The Hibernian comments called the "Würtzburg Glosses"—Many commentaries, with Bibles and all kinds of Christian books, were destroyed by the Danes in Ireland, and by the pagan Anglo-Saxons in Britain.

THE earnest examination of the Scriptures commonly produces something in the form of an exposition. Works of this character, written by the fathers, especially the commentary of Jerome upon the Vulgate, are well known, and show the interest which the early Christians took in the holy word. Sunday-school "helps" are commentaries for the use of teachers; and such expositions were never so generally used as in our day. And yet, among the ancient British and Irish Christians, expositions of Scripture were common, and were freely used in monasteries. Pelagius,¹ a British monk, at the commencement of the fifth century, wrote short notes upon thirteen of Paul's Epistles; and so popular were they, that they were widely read and greatly admired by large numbers, many of whom were ignorant of their real author or of his heresies.

About A. D. 400, Ninian, a Briton, commenced his labors as a missionary among the Southern Picts, where he was largely prospered in his work. He wrote a commentary upon the Psalms.² Augustine,³ an Irish monk of the seventh century, was the author of a solution of the difficulties of the Bible, which he called the "Wonders of Scripture," in

¹ Du Pin's "Church History," Vol. I, p. 366. Dublin.

² Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. III., p. 4.

³ "Ireland and the Celtic Church," pp. 221-4.

which he treats of the difficulties in the historical books, in the prophets, and in the New Testament. It is a commentary upon many portions of Scriptures, distinguished by learning and intelligence, and fitted for usefulness. He rejects the story of Bel and the dragon, "because it has not the authority of Holy Scripture; and declines to discuss the difficulties of the Maccabees on the same ground." "This work was long ascribed to the great St. Augustine of Hippo, and bound up with his works.

Jonas, the author of the "Life of Columbanus," the Irish abbot of Bobbio, in Italy, writes of him :

In his breast the treasures of the Holy Scriptures were so laid up, that within the compass of his youthful years, he set forth an elegant exposition of the book of Psalms.¹

Ussher adds: "By whose industry afterward the study of God's word was so propagated, that in the monasteries which were founded according to his rule beyond the seas, not the men only, but the religious women also, did carefully attend the same, that through patience and comfort of the Scripture they might have hope."

Sedulius,² a Scot, wrote a commentary upon the Epistles of Paul, about A. D. 818, distinguished by its sound teaching; it is remarkably Pauline in its principles. This was a favorite view of the doctrines of grace in the days of Sedulius, though not one which was universally received.

Colcu, who died in A. D. 790, is represented in the "Annals of the Four Masters," at the date of his death as having "arrived at such eminence in learning and sanctity that he was called chief scribe and master [teacher] of the Scots in Ireland." "He made St. Paul's Epistles a special study, and accepted him as his master and patron in the letter as well as in the spirit." Mr. Olden³ says that he was selected by his monastery of Clonmacnois to represent its people in a theological discussion, and "that in consequence of his successful vindication of St. Paul, the story went that when returning

¹ Jonas in "Vit. Columbani," cap. 2.

² Du Pin's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. II., p. 140. Dublin.

³ "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," Preface, p. 8. Dublin.

Hoc uti scilicet uideri potest per prophetas quia
uincit fugat iniquitatem
causam huiusmodi

etiam a parte concessit iacob donec
planando gremium in terra & sic omnis israel
ab ipso dicitur

saluus factus sicut scriptum est in propheta uolens
et non qui respicit & audiat impietatem ab
iacob

Et huiusmodi amantem cum ab ipso
per dicitur in uolens planando gremium

per dicitur in uolens planando gremium
per dicitur in uolens planando gremium
per dicitur in uolens planando gremium

si cum non propter peccata sine peccata uolens
et non qui respicit & audiat impietatem ab
iacob

et non qui respicit & audiat impietatem ab
iacob

et non qui respicit & audiat impietatem ab
iacob

et non qui respicit & audiat impietatem ab
iacob

et non qui respicit & audiat impietatem ab
iacob

et non qui respicit & audiat impietatem ab
iacob

et non qui respicit & audiat impietatem ab
iacob

et non qui respicit & audiat impietatem ab
iacob

et non qui respicit & audiat impietatem ab
iacob

A page from the "Wurtzburg Glosses" (in Latin and Irish), a Commentary on Paul's Epistles, about A. D. 815. Taken from "Olden's" Translation.

laden with books from the assembly, St. Paul appeared in person, relieved him of his burthen, and bore it to his destination." Sedulius like Coleu, in his commentary, rejects the justifying efficacy of works, and insists that faith alone confers that matchless blessing.

Claudius, another Scot, in A. D. 815, completed his commentary on Matthew, as he tells us in a letter preserved by Ussher, and addressed to Justus, the abbot. In another letter in Ussher, written to Drueterannus, the abbot, he speaks of his exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians; and of his extensive selection of materials for commentaries on the other Epistles.¹ Like the notes of Sedulius, the expositions of Claudius bring out prominently the great doctrines of evangelical Protestants without a taint of Romanism, though they are commended by him to the abbots of two monasteries.

The most interesting commentary made by Irishmen, now known to exist, is that of the "Würtzburg Glosses" [comments]. Irish monks founded a monastery at Würtzburg, in Germany, at an early period. It was visited by Irish ecclesiastics as late as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is supposed that the "Glosses" were placed in the library of the monastery by some of these Hibernians. It is now in the University library of Würtzburg. The comments are made upon an older Latin text than the Vulgate of Jerome; and they are written in Irish "of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century," as competent authorities affirm. It contains Paul's Epistles, with Colossians placed after the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, the arrangement followed in the "Book of Armagh," and in some of the ancient codices. Olden, the translator, remarks that "it has a great advantage over many other ancient documents in being free from the suspicion of interpolation or alteration; for when the Irish monasteries on the Continent lost their national [Irish] character . . . there was no one who could read the language." Of the date of this invaluable

¹ "Vet. Epist. Hibern.," Sylloge. Epist. XIX., XX. Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., pp. 468, 471.

document the translator says, "Charlemagne was probably reigning, or at least he could not have been long in his grave," when the "Würtzburg Glosses" were written. The existence of this commentary was little known until the publication of the great work of Zeuss on Celtic Grammar in Berlin, less than thirty years ago. The "Glosses" themselves were issued from the press in Berlin in 1881; in England they were translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes, and published by the Philological Societies of London and Cambridge, in 1887; and in 1888 they were issued, somewhat abridged, in Dublin, to the countrymen of their three original authors, in a translation made by a learned Irish Episcopalian, Rev. Thomas Olden, bearing the title, "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago."¹

The "Glosses" are very brief and wonderfully orthodox; their theology generally is in complete harmony with that of Charles H. Spurgeon; their words express more than we have ever observed in the language of any other writers. These commentators were monastery monks, not the early monks who lived with special devoutness in their own houses.

We have many reasons for believing that there were numerous other commentaries in Ireland and Britain some of which may yet be found on the Continent, as the "Württemberg Glosses" were. But only fragments of the ancient literature of Ireland escaped the destructive fury of the Danes, though it was extensive for that period, as many scribes were in the land. The writings and books in every church and sanctuary where they were kept were burned and thrown into the water by the Danes, from the beginning of their ravages in A. D. 795 to the end of their sway in Ireland.

¹ "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," Pref. V., VI., p. 117.

CHAPTER VI.

MONASTERIES WERE BIBLE MANUFACTURING AND DISTRIBUTING SOCIETIES.

Great demand upon the monasteries for Scriptures—Immense number of copies made in Ireland—Great beauty of the text and splendor of ornament attained by copyists—Giraldus Cambrensis and an Irish copy of the Gospels of supposed supernatural origin—"The Book of Kells," "The Book of Durrow," and "St. Cuthbert's Gospels," still in existence, are magnificent—Opinions of two modern artists—The *Scriptorium* or copying room in every ancient Protestant monastery—An eighth century prayer for its toilers.

THE early monastery was a Bible society. This was true of all the pioneer monasteries of the British islands. Soon there were hundreds of these institutions, some of them with thousands of students under one abbot, and all Bible schools.

Clonard had three thousand pupils, who, while pursuing other branches of learning, were chiefly engaged in seeking Bible knowledge. This throng, even with the scanty allowance of one copy to three or four persons, would require from seven hundred and fifty to a thousand New Testaments. Then Scriptures were needed for the many churches dependent upon the monasteries. Their scribes supplied them all; and their students, who left the monastery for different fields of Christian labor, in some cases made New Testaments in hundreds. These monasteries were grand Bible making and distributing societies.

In Ireland the copying of the Scriptures reached the greatest perfection in the beauty of the writing and in the splendor of the ornamentation. Giraldus¹ Cambrensis writes of a copy of the Gospels which he saw in Kildare, in which,

Every page is illustrated by drawings illuminated with a variety of

¹ "Topography of Ireland," Dist. II., cap. 38.

brilliant colors. In one page you will see the countenance of the Divine Majesty supernaturally pictured; in another, the majestic forms of the evangelists, with either six, four, or two wings: here is depicted the eagle, there the calf; here the face of a man, there of a lion; with other figures in almost endless variety. . . If you apply yourself to a more close examination, and are able to penetrate the secrets of the art displayed in these pictures, you will find them so delicate and exquisite, so finely drawn, and the work of interlacing so elaborate, while the colors with which they are illuminated are so blended, and still so fresh, that you will be ready to assert that all this is the work of angelic and not of human skill.

Giraldus states that the Irish in his day believed that the "book was written at the dictation of an angel." A footnote states that the celebrated Mr. Petrie regarded this work as the famous "Book of Kells," still preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland. "The 'Book of Kells' dates from the seventh or eighth century; and it does not stand alone; the 'Book of Durrow' [in the same library] and numerous MSS. all prove that a high state of artistic skill existed in the monasteries of Ireland."¹

In a work of great value,² with splendid illuminated initial letters, facsimiles of letters made by ecclesiastical scribes from the sixth to the sixteenth century, it is stated:

That in delicacy of handling, and minute but faultless execution, the whole range of palæography offers nothing comparable to these early Irish manuscripts; and those produced in the same style in England, by the monks of Iona, and their Anglo-Saxon disciples at Lindisfarne. When in Dublin some years ago, I had the opportunity of studying very carefully the most marvelous of all, "The Book of Kells," some of the ornaments of which I attempted to copy; but I broke down in despair. Of this very book Mr. Westwood examined the pages, as I did, for hours together, without ever detecting a false line or an irregular interlacement. No wonder that tradition should allege that these unerring lines were traced by angels.

"The Art of Illuminating" has two plates containing *fac similes* of superb initial letters from "St. Cuthbert's Gospels,"

¹ "Ireland and the Celtic Church," pp. 206, 207.

² "The Art of Illuminating as Practiced in Europe from the Earliest Times," pp. 14, 15. London.

otherwise known as the "Durham Book," now in the British Museum. "It is the most celebrated production of the Anglo-Hibernian monastery of Lindisfarne, founded by St. Aidan and the Irish monks of Iona." "This manuscript is surpassed in grandeur only by the 'Book of Kells.'"¹

If Irish monks and their Anglo-Saxon disciples acquired such eminence in the writing and illuminating of the Gospels in the seventh and eighth centuries, it was simply because they made, as is well known, innumerable copies of the word of God, in Gospels, New Testaments, and in entire Bibles; and their experience, gathered from generations of transcribers, and from hundreds of monasteries, in each of which there was a band of writers continually at work making copies of the Scriptures, fitted them to rank as the manufacturers of the most beautifully written and the most splendidly illuminated Scriptures or sections of Scriptures, not only in the seventh and eighth centuries, but perhaps of all time.

The *Scriptorium* or copying room was in every Irish, Caledonian, Anglo-Hibernian, and Ancient British monastery. The transcribing room, no doubt, varied in size, and in the measure of its activities, but warm love for the Bible made its existence a necessity. A prayer for the *Scriptorium*, in the eighth century, in a French Visigothic MS. by monkish copyists, was probably learned from some British or Irish missionary: "Vouchsafe, O Lord! to bless this *Scriptorium* of thy servants, and all that dwell therein; that whatsoever sacred writing shall be here read or written by them, they may receive with understanding and bring the same to good effect, through our Lord."² That these ancient British and Irish Protestants had such a prayer is certain, and it was many times answered.

¹ "The Art of Illuminating," p. 16. London, 1860.

² *Ibid.*, p. 27. London.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EARLY BRITISH AND IRISH MONASTERIES WERE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES, AND HOME AND FOREIGN MISSION SOCIETIES.

Early monasteries were *theological seminaries*—Clonard educated Columba and many other notable men—Bangor, in Ireland, trained Columbanus, Gallus, and other church teachers—Bangor, in Wales, instructed Gildas, the learned Dinooth, and the entire British ministers—Irish monasteries graduated the Hibernian clergy for ages—Iona was the chief seminary of Caledonia, where Aiden and the other Protestant apostles of the Anglo-Saxons learned theology—Monasteries were *home mission societies*—Bangor, in Ireland, an example—They were *foreign mission societies*—Columba and the Northern Picts—Columbanus in France, Switzerland, and Italy—The work of Gallus—Fridoiin—Thrudpert—Kilian—Cataldus—Fiacre—Colman—Furse—“Swarms” of Irish foreign missionaries.

MONASTERIES were theological seminaries. We have an example of this in the “Annals of the Four Masters,”¹ which states that St. Finnian, abbot of Clonard, educated in his monastery one hundred bishops, and instructed many celebrated saints, among whom were the two Columbs, Columcille and Colum MacCrimthainn, Brendan of Clonfert, Kieran of Clonmacnois, and many other clergymen, who presided over churches, or became presbyter abbots. Bangor, in Ireland, educated large numbers of clergymen, some of whom, like Columbanus and St. Gall, secured a reputation which has survived the wrecks and the oblivion of almost thirteen hundred years. Bangor, in Wales, sent out Gildas, and Dinooth, who distinguished himself in resisting Romish Augustine of Canterbury, and the entire clergy of the ancient Britons for a long period.

¹ At A. D. 548, note. O'Donovan ed.

Monastic Bible schools also instructed in theology the entire ministry of Ireland and of the Northern Picts of Scotland, for generations, and the great Scottish missionaries and their assistants, whose open Bibles and full salvation led two-thirds of the Anglo-Saxon ancestors of the present English people to the Saviour.

Monasteries were home missionary societies. When St. Comgall founded Bangor, in Ireland, parts of the country around Loch Neagh, rendered a poor support to an ignorant population. This region, while not in the immediate neighborhood of Bangor, was probably not more than fifteen or twenty miles from it. "The Glens of Antrim" were about the same distance from Bangor, whose numerous people were only in comfortable circumstances after participating in successful raids, such as resulted in the capture of St. Patrick and others. In peaceful times and in later days, the population suffered much from the poverty of their mountain soil. And, while much of the country adjacent to Bangor provided all necessaries for its people, there were other quarters besides those named, which needed help to sustain religious institutions, and missionaries to preach Christ.

All over these destitute regions, ministers from Bangor preached and prayed and read the Scriptures in mountain huts, in fishermen's cottages, and in the presence of large congregations. By the labor of their own hands, the Bangor brethren supported themselves, and frequently gave assistance to the poor. This great home missionary society founded large numbers of other institutions of its own order, preaching the gospel over extensive regions of the north of Ireland, literally without cost, and among a people who had scanty, if any means of paying for it. In the sixth century, when Bangor was established, no society existed to support home or foreign missions, and the monastery supplied a pressing necessity.

Monasteries were foreign missionary societies. The ancient Britons evidently believed in such missions, or Patrick, one

of their nation, would never have preached to the foreign Irish pagans; or Ninian, another Briton, to the heathen Southern Picts. The remarkable usefulness of Columba among the Northern Picts, in uprooting their paganism, profoundly moved the earnest Christians of his country. Many hundreds of pious Irishmen in monasteries asked: "Could not we, with God's blessing, accomplish as much among some of the idolatrous peoples of the continent of Europe?" And soon a goodly number of foreign missionaries started for distant fields, the pioneers of a large army soon to follow.

Columbanus made France his first mission field. France, in his day, needed the labors of true missionaries nearly as much as when the saintly Greek preachers first brought the gospel to her pagan inhabitants. He took with him twelve students from Bangor to aid him in seeking the salvation of the Franks.¹ He founded the first Irish monastery in France; Luxeuil and Fontaines followed soon after. These, like other Irish abbeys, were chiefly great schools, and they were soon crowded by the sons of the most powerful Franks and Burgundians. The influence of Columbanus spread in all directions; education and the gospel triumphed widely over barbarism and irreligion. For twenty years this eminent man labored until his name and successful work were known over France, and in some degree over Europe. Fredegarius, the continuator of the "History of France," by Gregory of Tours, writing of Columbanus, at the height of his prosperity at Luxeuil, says:

The fame of the blessed Columbanus increased everywhere in the cities, and in all the provinces of Gaul and Germany; by universal report he was worthy of commendation, and he was venerable with the honor given to him by all, so that King Thierry frequently came to him to Luxeuil, and with all humility, solicited an interest in his prayers.²

Bruneault, the grandmother of King Thierry, in A. D.

¹ Du Pin's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. II, cap. 4. Dublin, 1723.

² In "Gregorii Opera Omnia," p. 624, Patr. Lat., Tom. LXXI. Migne

610, banished him from Burgundy, where his monasteries were established.

Columbanus and Gallus labored three years in Switzerland and founded a mission from which considerable success immediately resulted. The rage of the heathen, however, at the destruction of one of their temples¹ by Columbanus, seriously impaired the usefulness of the mission for a time, though it afterward yielded rich harvests.

In A. D. 613, Columbanus entered Italy, where he was cordially received by Agilulf, king of the Lombards, who gave him an ancient church, and lands near Pavia, upon which he erected the monastery of Bobbio. Here, in his last days, his plans and toils secured abundant fruits in the conversion of great numbers of pagans and Lombard Arians, and in collecting an extensive library of invaluable books. A learned writer says: "The Bobbio manuscripts are known everywhere by the discoveries which have been made in their palimpsests."² Columbanus died in A. D. 615. He was a Christian of the apostolic order. He felt within him, as Jonas of Bobbio, his biographer, states, "that fire which our Saviour says he came to kindle on the earth." In his "Rules" for the spiritual life he writes in the first: "We do not seek a God staying far from us, but one whom we have received within us; for he dwells in us as the soul dwells in the body, if we are his sound members."³ No man ever loved the Bible more warmly; and no man ever seemed more anxious for the salvation of souls. He had no more respect for a pope than for an Irish monk; perhaps not as much, as his writings show. He was a fearless missionary of Christ from Hibernia; supporting himself and other missionaries by his monastic institutions.

Gallus, who came from Ireland with Columbanus, and was unable through disease to go with him to Bobbio, after his

¹ Neander's "General History of the Christian Church," Vol. III., p. 34.

² "The Art of Illuminating," pp. 14, 15. London.

³ Cited in Neander's "General History of the Christian Church," Vol. III., pp. 29, 32.

recovery began to preach among the idolaters of Switzerland in their own language, which he had learned; he received so much encouragement from the great number of converts, that he built the monastery named by the people "St. Gall," which flourished greatly. The missionary's name was not only given to the monastery, but to the city which grew up around it, and to the Swiss canton of that name. There is a sermon of Gallus extant which he preached at the ordination of his disciple, John, as bishop of Constance, a position which he secured for him after declining it himself. Archbishop Ussher refers to the sermon¹ with evident approval, as it accorded strongly with his own vigorous Calvinistic opinions. Gallus lived to the age of ninety-five, according to Mabillon, in great reputation and honor, having led multitudes to Christ. The monastery of St. Gall collected a large library, rich to this day in ancient Irish manuscripts. As a competent writer says, "The library of St. Gall is too celebrated to require mention."²

Soon after the death of Gallus, according to Neander, a monk named Thrudpert, a Hibernian, went to Breggau, in the "Black Forest," and Kilian, from Ireland, preached in a part of the Frankish territory. Bishop Reeves, of the Irish Episcopal Church, a very learned writer upon Hibernian antiquities, states that Fridolin preached in what is now known as the canton of Glarus, in which his figure finds a place in the cantonal arms and banner. St. Cataldus, from Ireland, preached in Southern Italy, where San Cataldo, near Otranto, is named after him; St. Fiacre, from the same country, in France, and the Irish St. Colman, is patron saint of Lower Austria.³

According to Roger of Wendover,⁴ about A. D. 649, prompted by love for Christ, Fursey visited France, and exercised his ministry there with success, and founded a monas-

¹ "Works," Vol. IV., p. 252.

² "The Art of Illuminating," p. 15. London

³ Cited in "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. 131. Dublin, 1888.

⁴ "Flowers of History" at A. D. 449.

tery at Lagny. He was joined by his brothers, "Foillan and Ultan, who became eminent in France"; Foillan afterward established the monastery of Fosse.

The names of hundreds of the Hibernian missionaries are forgotten; and of those who are known the names of only a few are given. Speaking of the multitudes of Irish missionaries in France Michelet¹ says, "these holy adventurers, these bird-like travelers, alight in flocks in Gaul."

Neander writes: "The monasteries of Ireland were filled to overflowing . . . Thus whole colonies of monks under the guidance of solid, judicious men as their abbots, emigrated into these parts"² [idolatrous portions of Germany]. There is every reason for believing that Hibernian Columbanus was the William Carey who led the great Irish and Anglo-Saxon missions on the continent of Europe in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Patrick, the missionary who brought the Irish to Christ; Columba, his religious descendant, who evangelized a large part of Scotland; Aidan, Finan, and Colman, disciples of Columba, and of Patrick's churches, who, under God, converted hosts of the Anglo-Saxons, and Columbanus and his multitudes of missionary associates and successors, who laid the foundations of many gospel triumphs among European pagans, deserve the admiration and love of the Christian world.

¹ "History of France," Vol. I., p. 72. New York.

² "General History of the Christian Church," Vol. III., p. 29. Boston.

CHAPTER VIII.

MONASTERIES AMONG THE ANCIENT BRITONS AND IRISH WERE LEARNED UNIVERSITIES; MARRIAGE IN CONNECTION WITH MONASTERIES.

Bede and the scholarship of British Bangor—Dr. Johnson and learning in Ireland—Malmesbury, Lingard, and Ussher on the learning of Irish monasteries—Students from every country at Lis-more—Dagobert II., of France, educated at Slane—Irish Virgil announced the rotundity of the earth in the eighth century—Irish Clemens succeeded Alcuin as principal of Charlemagne's palace school—Marriage in connection with monasteries—Seventh Day Baptist monks and nuns.

BEDE, speaking of the delegation of Britons who came to meet Romish Augustine in A. D. 603, says: "There came, as it is asserted, seven bishops of the Britons and many most learned men, particularly from their most noble monastery of Bangor."¹ Bede was a man of fine scholarship; and his testimony to the learning of these Bangor men is important.

The Rev. Thomas Olden, in his preface to the "Würtzburg Glosses," quotes the statement of Dr. Johnson: "Ireland was the school of the West, the quiet habitation of sanctity and literature." To most readers this declaration, even from Samuel Johnson, appears almost incredible; and yet historical students everywhere repeat it.

Michelet, writing of the seventh century, states that "all the sciences were at this period cultivated with much renown in the Scotch and Irish monasteries."² "Ireland," he says, "was always the school of the West, the mother of monks, and the isle of saints, as it was termed."³

William of Malmesbury, states that Alfrid, a Northumbrian

¹ "Eccles. Hist.," Lib. II., cap. 2.

² "History of France," Vol. I, p. 102. N. Y.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 137. N. Y.

prince, in the end of the seventh century, retired to Ireland, where, safe from the persecution of his brother, "he became deeply versed in literature, and enriched his mind with every kind of learning."¹

In the end of the seventh century, Lingard writes :

The monasteries of Ireland and the western isles [of Scotland] were filled with men whose well-earned reputation was acknowledged by the other Christian nations of Europe. The praise of their virtue and learning had been the favorite theme of Aidan, Finan, and Colman, the first three bishops of Lindisfarne [England]; and the desire of improvement induced a crowd of noble youths to cross the sea, and assist at the lessons of those foreign masters.²

Archbishop Ussher has preserved many testimonies to "the reputation of Irish schools, especially for the teaching of the Holy Scriptures." One of these is about the great monastic school of Lismore, in the county of Waterford. The archbishop inserts a Latin poem of considerable length,³ eight lines of which we quote from an excellent translation of Olden, in his Preface to the "Würtzburg Glosses" :

Now haste Sicambri from the marshy Rhine;
Bohemians now desert their cold north land;
Auvergne and Holland too, add to the tide;
Forth from Geneva's frowning cliffs they throng;
Helvetia's youth by Rhone and by Saône
Are few: the Western isle is now their home.
All these, from many lands, and by many diverse paths,
Rivals in pious zeal, seek Lismore's famous seat.

Among the students at Slane monastic school, in the seventh century, was Dagobert II., king of France; other persons of much prominence, and many of great ability, received their education in Irish monastic colleges.⁴ Dr. Maclaine writes :

That the Irish distinguished themselves in those times of ignorance [the eighth century] by the culture of the sciences beyond all the other European nations, traveling through the most distant lands,

¹ "Chronicle of the Kings of England," Lib I., cap. 3.

² "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 259.

³ Ussher's "Works," Vol. VI., p. 304.

⁴ "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. 209.

both with a view to improve, and to communicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have long been acquainted.¹

Virgil, bishop of Salzburg, in Germany, in the eighth century, first proclaimed the rotundity of the earth and the existence of the antipodes; besides which he preached the blessed gospel with unusual success.

Charlemagne had a school in connection with his royal residence, which he attended as a student; and to which all the officials of the court, and many others were accustomed to go. Alcuin, a native of England, and the most celebrated educator of his day, was the first principal of this remarkable institution. Clemens, a Hibernian, became his successor when he retired; as Lingard² and others relate, Clemens was destitute of all support, except such as extraordinary learning could give a wandering Irishman. And through it, he received from Europe's greatest soldier and sovereign, the most conspicuous literary appointment of the age in which he lived.

Neander writes:

As in the Irish monasteries not only the Latin, but also the more free-spirited Greek Church fathers, the writings of an Origen, were studied; so it naturally came about that from that school issued a more original and free development of theology than was elsewhere to be found, and was thence propagated to other lands.³

Irishmen, as preachers of the gospel, were met in every section of pagan Europe; and they were found as instructors in literature and art wherever they could secure pupils. These Protestants were the most conspicuous evangelists and educators in Europe. Ussher states:

Our monasteries in ancient times were the seminaries of the ministry; being, as it were, so many colleges of learned divines, unto which the people did resort for instruction . . . Yea, this was the principal means by which a knowledge, both of the Scriptures and of all other

¹ Mosheim's "Eccles. Hist.," Maclaime, p. 175, note. Baltimore.

² "Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 209. Phila.

³ Neander's "History of the Church," Vol. III., p. 460.

good learning, was preserved in that inundation of barbarism. where-with the whole West was in a manner overwhelmed ¹

Marriage probably existed, not in, but in connection with, most of the British and Irish monasteries. We see no reason to doubt the statement of Michelet, that "the Culdees of Ireland and Scotland permitted themselves marriage, and were independent, even when living under the rule of their order."²

But the mania that celibacy possessed a special sanctity spread over the world, and many of St. Patrick's religious, Bible-loving descendants were caught in its delusive snares. It is surprising that such a practice should exist among modern Baptists of any denomination, and yet the German Seventh Day Baptists of Pennsylvania, in 1733, established an order of monks and nuns. They adopted the white habit of the Capuchins; they wore cowls; they applied monastic names to those who united with them. In 1740 there were thirty-six brethren in the cloisters and thirty-five sisters. "They considered celibacy a virtue," and quoted the apostles as favoring that opinion. "This was a fondly cherished theme and was constantly inculcated; it was a prolific subject for many of their hymns, which seemed to hallow and sanctify virginity."

These monks and nuns regarded the Bible as the "only rule of faith and practice"; they relied solely upon the Saviour's atonement for salvation; their views of the Trinity were orthodox. Some of their doctrines were Arminian, while a few of their observances came from the Dunkards. They were evangelical, immersed believers, with a valid claim upon the regards of true Christians, notwithstanding their curious monastic practices.³ The early British and Irish monks who were not married, wore no cowls nor Capuchin habits, and exhibited a zeal for the salvation of pagans never surpassed even in apostolic times.

¹ Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., pp 297-8.

² "History of France," Vol. I., p. 72. N. Y.

³ "The Religious Denominations of the United States," pp 110-12. Phila., 1859.

BOOK VI.

SOME OF THE DOCTRINES AND OBSERVANCES OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH AND IRISH CHRISTIANS.

CHAPTER I

SIN AND SALVATION.

Views scriptural—Man naturally under the control of sin—His spiritual vision darkened thereby—Salvation not acquired by human merit or efforts—Righteousness to be found in Christ.

COMMENTING upon Romans 5 : 6, "When we were yet without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodly," the "Würtzburg Glosses" say: "*Ungodly*: all were ungodly, as it is written, 'There is none that doeth good, no not one.'"¹

Sedulius, a Hibernian, whose work is of the same date as the "Glosses," in his notes on the second chapter of Ephesians, states "that the minds of men from youth are set upon evil; for there is not a man who sinneth not"; and upon the fourth chapter of first Corinthians² he writes that a man "hath nothing from himself but sin."

Claudius,² an Irish writer of the same age as Sedulius, in his commentary on Matthew, Book First, says: "God is the author of all good things, both of good affections and a good will, which, unless God sets it in motion, a man cannot exercise; for a good will in man is prepared by the Lord; that by the gift of God he may do that which of himself he was unable to accomplish by the desire of his free will." Sedulius, on the ninth chapter of Romans, writes: "God's mercy shall go before me, and his mercy shall follow after me; it goes

¹ "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 11.

² Cited in Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., pp. 253, 254.

before an unwilling man that he may will [aright], and it follows after the willing that he may not will in vain." These Irish commentators speak briefly, but very strongly, about the dominion of sin over unregenerate persons. To them its tyrannical power is so great that a man must be born of the Holy Spirit before he can render acceptable service to God. Even John Scotus, the great advocate of the freedom of the will in the ninth century, admits this doctrine fully.

At the request of Charles the Bald, in A. D. 851, Scotus joined in a common attack upon Gottchalk's theory of "Double Predestination." Neander quotes this striking illustration from him: "As a man in the dark, though he possesses the ability to see with his eyes, yet sees nothing till the light comes from without; so is it with the corrupt will till the light of divine mercy shines upon it."¹ The divines of Ireland were agreed that men were naturally under the control of sin.

Irish commentators teach the doctrine that salvation is not acquired by human merits or efforts, as clearly as if they had lived after Luther's great Reformation instead of many centuries before it. Sedulius, expounding the second chapter of Ephesians, says: "By grace are ye saved through faith; that is, not by works." And, upon the second chapter of Galatians, he writes that "Grace is mean and vain if it alone [without works] is not sufficient for me." Upon the third chapter of Galatians he comments, "Ye hold Christ to be worthless as long as you think that he is not sufficient [without your merits] for your salvation."² The "Würtzburg Glosses," expounding Romans 11 : 6, "And if by grace, then it is no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace," etc., reads, "By '*grace*': if it is grace, works have not preceded it;³ that is, grace, and not human effort, is the original cause of all true religion in the soul.

¹ Neander's "General History of the Christian Church," Vol. III., p. 488.

² Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., p. 255.

³ "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 30.

The same exposition upon the words "obtain mercy," in Roman 11 : 31, says: "It is by mercy that they will be saved when they believe, and not by merit ; nor by the work of the law."¹

The "Würtzburg Glosses," expounding Ephesians 2 : 7, "That in the ages to come he might show the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness toward us through Christ Jesus," says, "'Grace': it is his grace that saved us, and not our own merits."² In the exposition of the "Würtzburg Glosses," on Philippians 3 : 9, "And be found in him, not having mine own righteousness," we read, "*righteousness*: he shows here that it is the righteousness of Christ that justifies, and not the righteousness of the law,"³ secured by our obedience to it. These ancient Christians, while contending for holy lives in all believers, emphatically renounced salvation by human merits.

¹ "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 33.

² *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

CHAPTER II.

THE ATONEMENT AND CONVERSION.

Substitutionary nature of Christ's death—Blood of Calvary, theme of preaching—Saviour's death only atoning agent—Patrick's recognition of the Holy Spirit in conversion—Deliverance from sin by grace—Columbanus on conversion.

THE substitutionary character of Christ's death is very clearly taught by the ancient British and Irish writers. St. Patrick, the Briton, had a vision apparently about his mission to the pagan Hibernians; and in it he heard these words: "He who gave his life for thee, is he who speaks in thee." These words are found in his "Confession." Patrick undoubtedly thought that Christ uttered them. The reference to the Saviour's gift of his life shows that in Patrick's opinion Christ died as his substitute upon the cross.

In Fiacc's hymn, a composition of the eighth century, giving the leading incidents in St. Patrick's life, the author writes of him: "He preached for three-score years Christ's cross to the tribes of the Feni [Hibernians]." ¹ The "Würtzburg Glosses" thus explains the twentieth verse of the first chapter of Colossians: "And having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself: *cross*': this is the name of the act of crucifying." ² The blood of Calvary was the theme of Patrick's preaching, and of the sermons of his followers for some ages after his death.

The same writers, expounding the words, "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us" (Gal. 3: 13), say, " '*Curse*': he was offered up on account of sin and the curse." ³

¹ In "Government Tripartite Life of Patrick," Vol. II., p. 409.

² "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

Again, in their note on Colossians 2 : 14, "Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross," they write: "'Ordinances': death was decreed to us. '*Nailing it*': so that *it was drowned in his blood.*"¹ According to this venerable commentary, the notes of which were written in Irish more than a thousand years ago, the only atoning agent known to its authors was the Saviour's agonizing death upon the cross.

"The Lord opened to me the knowledge of my unbelief, that even late I might remember my sins, and turn to my Lord with my whole heart." Such is Patrick's account of the commencement of the divine life in his soul. It occurs in the first chapter of his "Confession," in this work. It is very like the account given by Luke (Acts 16 : 14) of the conversion of Lydia, "whose heart the Lord opened that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul."

Patrick writes again, in the same chapter of the "Confession," at the end of what is called his creed: "He hath poured out upon us abundantly the Holy Spirit, the gift and assurance of immortality, who causes men to believe and to become obedient that they might be sons of God and joint heirs with Christ." Here faith, obedience, sonship with God, and the assurance of immortality come exclusively from the outpouring of the Spirit upon the unsaved.

Sedulius, in his commentary on Ephesians, chap. 3, writes: "We are saints² by the calling of God, not by the merit of our deed;" "according to the power that worketh in us, not according to our merits." The Spirit of God, not our act, calls us into the kingdom of Christ; and he works in us both to will and to do of God's good pleasure. The "Würtzburg Glosses,"³ expounding Romans 6 : 18, "Being then made free

¹ "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 103.

² Cited in Ussher, Vol. IV., p. 261.

³ "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 15.

from sin, ye became the servant of righteousness," says: "Not through yourselves, but by God and his grace"; that is, God and his grace delivered us from slavery to sin, and gave us power to serve the righteous Saviour.

Comgall of Bangor, Ireland, in the sixth century writes: "Religion does not consist in bodily efforts, but in humility of heart."¹ Columbanus, a Hibernian missionary in the beginning of the seventh century, in his "Rules for the Spiritual Life," gives a striking account of the source and supremacy of the religious power of the soul. He says: "We have accepted a God abiding not far from us, one whom we have received within us; for if we are his saved members, he dwells in us as the soul in the body."² According to Columbanus, when a man is converted, the Spirit enters his heart and he is born of God; and as the temple of God he lives there, working in him that he should bear "the fruits of the Spirit, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance."

¹ Cited in Neander, Vol. III., p. 31.

² *Ibid.*, p. 32. Note.

CHAPTER III.

JUSTIFICATION, LIFE, AND INTERCESSION.

Maccu-Mactheni on justification—Faith in Christ the basis of it—Justification by faith held in strictest purity—Christ the source of the believer's new life—Teaching of the "Glosses" thereon—Holy hearts and lives insisted on—Mary's intercessory office not mentioned—No intercessor except Christ.

IN Muirchu Maccu-Mactheni's notes on the "Life of St. Patrick," a biography written in the seventh century, we have a brief reference to Patrick's sermon before Loeghaire, the king, and his nobles at Tara. It is also stated by Muirchu, that when Patrick appeared before this distinguished assembly, Dubthac, the chief poet, alone among the Gentiles arose in his honor; and "he first on that day believed in God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness," or justification. Here is a striking and early example of justification by faith in Ireland.

The "Würtzburg Glosses," commenting upon Romans 3 : 22, "Even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe, for there is no difference," reads: "'*Jesus Christ*': It is through faith in Jesus Christ every one becomes righteous."² Upon Romans 3 : 24, "Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, the 'Glosses' states: "'*Justified*': By faith only; that is, by faith of belief in Jesus Christ."³ Upon Romans 4 : 5, "But to him that worketh not, but believeth upon him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness," the above commentary says: "'*Faith*': He is to be justified by faith,"⁴ The "Glosses,"

¹ In "Government Tripartite Life of Patrick," Vol. II., p. 283.

² "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 18.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

in expounding Romans 10 : 4, "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth," says: "'For Righteousness': Every one who believes in Christ shall be righteous."¹ His faith gives him Christ's righteousness.

In the same chapter, in its notes upon the tenth verse, "For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness," etc., the "Glosses" says: "'Believeth': Belief in the heart makes the man righteous."² In the "Glosses," on Romans 8 : 1, "There is therefore now no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus," we read: "'No condemnation': Here or yonder [*i. e.*, beyond the grave]." "'Are in Christ Jesus':—Those who believe in Jesus,"³ that is to say, believers are justified triumphantly by Christ's righteousness and cannot be condemned in any world. In the same commentary on Philippians 3 : 9, "And be found in him, not having mine own righteousness," we read: "'Righteousness': He shows here that it is the righteousness of Christ that justifies, and not the righteousness of the law."⁴ Justification by faith was held with the strictest purity by many Celtic believers in Britain and Ireland at this period.

Sedulius, in his commentary on the first chapter of Romans, declares that: "It was right that, as Abraham was justified by faith alone, so the rest that followed his faith should be saved in the same way."⁵ Fitly do Sedulius and Claudius, in their commentaries upon the sixth chapter of Galatians, unite in the declaration that we should rejoice, "not in our own righteousness or wisdom, but in the faith of the cross, by which all our sins are forgiven us."⁶ By the faith of the cross all our sins are blotted out. Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one of us who believes, for God hath "made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him."

¹ "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁵ Cited in Ussher, Vol. IV., p. 256.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

In their notes upon Paul's words, "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me" (Galatians 2 : 20), the "Würtzburg Glosses" says: "'Crucified': So that I am dead to the will of the flesh, like Christ. '*I live*': I deny it; it is not I who live; that is, I am [only] alive because Christ is in me."¹ According to this comment, the believer should be dead to all corrupt tastes; and Christ within him should be the mainspring of his whole life. The writers of the same work, explaining the words of the apostle of the Gentiles, "And such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the spirit of our God" (1 Corinthians 6 : 11), give this explanation: "'Justified': These three things belong to you—purity, and holiness, and righteousness, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit."² In the "Glosses," where the words are explained, "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service" (Romans 12 : 1), it is written: "'Acceptable to God': Pure and free from sin; that is, from all vices, for the soul is ready to do the will of God; let the soul therefore be stirred up to do good. '*Holy*': As the [victim] offered under the law before the door of the temple was without any appearance of blemish, [so be ye] without any appearance of sin."³

Gildas, the Briton, in the sixth century, writes of the sins of his Christian countrymen with grief and indignation. He applies the words of Isaiah to them as found in some old Latin version: Children without a law, have ye left God and provoked to anger the holy One of Israel? Why will ye still inquire, adding iniquity? Every head is languid and every heart is sad; from the sole of the foot to the crown, there is no health in him." "And thus they did all things

¹ "The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

contrary to their salvation.”¹ He denounces the iniquities of the Britons, clergy and laity: he pours out a flood of lamentation over their backslidden condition. Leading Christians in the British and Irish churches, before their perversion to Romanism, while rejoicing in justification by faith alone, continually insisted upon holy hearts and lives.

We know from personal examination the truth of Dr. Whitley Stokes’² statement, that “the blessed Virgin Mary is never mentioned by Patrick, or Secundinus, Muirchu Maccu-Matheni, or Tirechan.” And of all the Christians in Britain or Ireland, these men were the least likely to slight Mary’s intercessory office, if she held that position. These are the earliest Christian writers of Ireland. We have read with great care, Adamnán’s “Life of Columba,” written about the end of the seventh century, treating of the doctrines and practices of that distinguished man, and there is no hint given that he knew of any intercessor except Christ. Not for several centuries after Patrick’s death was the Saviour’s mother made an advocate in heaven.

¹ “The Works of Gildas,” Sec. 21.

² “Government Tripartite Life,” Introduction CLXV.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LORD'S SUPPER, OR EUCHARIST.

The Lord's Supper in "both kinds"—The daughters of King Loeghaire receive bread and wine—Columba and communion wine—Paschasius Radbert's God in a loaf—John Scotus Erigena against his heresy—Berenger and the doctrine of Scotus—English Elfric follows Scotus—The "Würtzburg Glosses."

LOEGHAIRE, king of Ireland in Patrick's time, had two daughters converted through his instructions. When they asked Patrick "to see Christ's face" [as they had previously seen their idols] he said to them, "ye cannot see Christ unless ye first taste of death, or unless ye receive Christ's body and his blood."¹ This incident is related in the "Tripartite Life," and it unquestionably represents the practice of St. Patrick and of the Irish church for ages. The body and the blood are the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper, which are spoken of by the Saviour as his body and blood because they are figures of them; and here both were given, as we learn from the narrative for the first time, to the daughters of an Irish king.

It is related of Columba that in his early years, when only a deacon, he discovered that there was no wine for the Lord's Supper, which was about to be celebrated by the ministers of a certain church; and that "he took a pitcher and went to a spring and drew water for the service of the Holy Eucharist,"² after which he prayed to Christ to turn this water into wine, as he had done at Cana of Galilee. "Entering the church he placed the pitcher with the liquor in it near the altar, and to the ministers he said, 'You have the wine here which Christ the Lord sent you for completing his [eucharistic] mysteries.'" We have no ground for crediting the miraculous part of this

¹ "Government Tripartite Life of Patrick," p. 103. London, 1887.

² Adamnán's "Vit. Columb." Lib. II., p. 1.

story, though its truth was received by the people of Adamnán's time; but there is every reason from this report to believe that Adamnán celebrated the Lord's Supper in "both kinds," as he correctly represents the Irish Christians to have done in Columba's early manhood.

The Lord's Supper was only a figurative sacrifice among the ancient British and Irish Christians, as it was at first among all believers. Adamnán describes it as "a sacrificial mystery,"¹ that is, a symbol of Christ's sacrifice. He writes of it as "the services of the holy Eucharist";² as "the mysteries of the sacred Eucharist"; as "the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist." But no hint is given in these accounts of the Eucharist, or in the others written by Adamnán, that it was Christ himself, and that it should be adored as God. Adamnán speaks in the same terms of baptism. Writing of the baptism of an aged convert he says, "After the mysteries of baptism were celebrated."³ In all the descriptions of the Eucharist quoted there is no indication that it is the God of glory, in every particle of its consecrated bread and wine; in fact, as far as Adamnán teaches, if the bread and wine are turned into Jesus Christ, soul, body, and divinity, by consecration to sacramental uses, the element of water in baptism is changed into the blood of the incarnate God which cleanses from all sin; of which it is a figure.

Elsewhere Adamnán speaks of the Eucharist as "the body⁴ of Christ"; the thought expressed by the Saviour when he said of the bread, "This is my body." Immediately after, writing of the Eucharist, he represents Columba as declaring that "two presbyters should break the Lord's bread."⁴ According to Adamnán, both he and Columba regarded the eucharistic loaf as *bread* after consecration, the *Lord's* bread, or the figure of the Lord's body. Just as Paul, describing both elements of the Eucharist, after consecration, says, "For as

¹ Adamnáni "Vit. Columb." Lib. II., p. 1.

² Ibid., Lib. III. p. 21.

³ Ibid., Lib. I., p. 19.

⁴ Ibid., Lib. I., p. 26.

often as ye eat this *bread* and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."

If Columba, of whom Adamnán wrote, even according to his account of the heaven-honored missionary, had seen in prophetic vision the decree of the future council of Trent: "If any one shall deny that in the sacrament of the most holy Eucharist there is contained, really, truly, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and so whole Christ; but shall say that he is only in it in sign, or figure, or power, let him be accursed,"¹ he would have been greatly shocked, and would have regarded the framers of this decree, either as a synod of candidates for the restraints of the insane, or as a body of ordained deceivers, imposing upon the credulity of the Christian world.

John Scotus Erigena, in the ninth century, honored Ireland and common sense by his denunciations of transubstantiation. Michelet writes:

Paschasius Radbert in the ninth century [A.D., 831] first explicitly taught the marvelous poetry of a *God in a loaf* . . . of infinity in an atom [in the Romish wafer]. Vainly did the Irish church protest in the name of logic [against a God in a loaf]; it did not hinder the doctrine from pursuing its triumphant progress through the middle ages.²

Michelet is right in making the Irish church protest against Radbert's novel absurdity, though John Scotus Erigena was the chief representative of that church in this controversy. One of his names, Scotus, was generally applied at this period to natives of Ireland; the other, Erigena, was used to make it certain that he was an Irish Scot. Hampden,³ in his "Bampton Lectures," an accomplished judge, properly describes him as:

One of the most remarkable persons in the history of the middle ages. He was quite the meteor of the ninth century; as no one of

¹ "Canones et Decreta Conc. Trid.," Can. I., Sess. XIII., p. 63. Lipsiæ, 1863.

² "History of France," pp. 135, 136. New York.

³ "On the Scholastic Philosophy," pp. 35, 415, Note 1.

his contemporaries appears to have approached him in the depth of his learning, or the acuteness of his philosophy. His great learning, particularly his knowledge of languages, the Greek, the Hebrew, and the Arabic, appears to have been acquired by travels.

When Paschasius Radberr published his treatise "On the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ," maintaining that the body of Christ in the Eucharist is "the same body that was born of the virgin, that suffered on the cross, and that was raised from the dead," the emperor Charles, the Bald objected strenuously to this innovation, and, as Waddington says,¹ employed Ratramn and John Scotus to investigate the suspicious opinion; the arguments of Scotus, according to Waddington, are more direct, and his sentiments more conspicuous and consistent than Ratramn's: "he plainly declared that the bread and wine were no more than the symbols of the *absent* body and blood of Christ."

At a great council held at "Vercelli, A. D. 1050, composed of bishops from different countries, especially France and Germany, and most of the learned men in the West, in which the pope presided in person, the book of John Scotus was read and condemned; and the doctrine of Berenger, the same with that of Scotus, was condemned by the council."² A month later than the imposing council of Vercelli with the pope at its head, King Henry I., "as the dispute had made a great stir in France, summoned all the bishops and learned men of his kingdom, to meet in October, A. D. 1050, in Paris, to examine it and Berenger." At this council, in the absence of Berenger, an intercepted letter, written by him, was read, condemning the opinion of Paschasius, and "extolling that of Scotus, as entirely agreeable to the belief of the church in primitive times, and the doctrine of the fathers." The sentiment of this letter was unanimously "pronounced heretical"; "the book of Scotus, whom they styled

¹ "History of the Church," pp. 257, 258. London.

² Bower's "History of the Popes," Vol. II., pp. 349, 350.

the author of the new heresy, was condemned"; and it was decreed that Berenger and his followers should be seized and put to death wherever found, "if they did not publicly retract their impious doctrine."

Berenger, through Ricardus, an abbot and a great favorite of the king, in a letter, wished him to inform his majesty that Scotus wrote his book at the request of Charles the Bald to refute many gross errors about the Eucharist, originated chiefly by Paschasius; and that so deserving a man should be protected after his death, by the successors of the sovereign by whose command he had written such a useful work.¹ Berenger's revival of the scriptural teachings of John Scotus was eventually destroyed by the fierce opposition of the Romish clergy, from the pope to the most ignorant priest. But the genius of this distinguished Irishman, about one hundred and fifty years after his death, shone forth in his little work on the Eucharist, and nearly set western Europe on fire. The doctrine of John Scotus, that the Eucharist was a remembrancer of the Saviour's body and blood, and not his real flesh and blood, was the belief of the English church at one period. Elfric, says Soames,² seems to have died only fifteen years before the Conquest, that is, in A. D. 1051. Soames writes further: "Elfric merely finished, but with a vigor equalled probably by Erigena [Scotus] alone, that unyielding array of testimony against Lanfranc's eucharistic system, which echoes from the whole theological school of ancient England." That "eucharistic system" was transubstantiation. Elfric writes of the Eucharist in his "Second Epistle":

The lively bread is not, however, bodily, the same body Christ suffered in, nor is the holy wine the Saviour's blood that for us was shed, in corporeal reality. But in *spiritual* meaning, both the bread is truly his body and the wine also is his blood; even as the heavenly bread which we call manna, which forty years fed God's folk [was truly his body], and the clear water that ran from the rock in the wilderness was truly his blood. Paul accordingly wrote: "All our

¹ Bower's "History of the Popes," Vol. II., p. 350.

² "The Anglo-Saxon Church," pp. 195, 196.

fathers ate in the wilderness the same spiritual meat, and drank the spiritual drink. They drank of the spiritual rock, and that rock was Christ." The apostle said, even as ye now heard, that they all ate the same *spiritual* meat, and they all drank the spiritual drink. He does not, however, say *bodily*, but *spiritually*. Then Christ was not as yet born, nor was his blood shed, when the people of Israel ate the meat and drank of the rock; and the rock was not Christ *bodily*, though he said so; those were merely the sacraments under the old law, and they *spiritually* betoken the spiritual Eucharist of the Saviour's body which we hallow.¹

Elfric's lay sermons were read with difficulty in England, and were seldom heard in her churches. To remedy this defect, he prepared two series of homilies, of forty each, the one following upon the success of the other; both works were approved and their use authorized by Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury.² His homily, which was read in the churches of England on Easter day; his Epistle to Wulfstine, bishop of Sherborne, and his Epistle to Wulfstan, archbishop of York, show conclusively that transubstantiation was not received in England in Elfric's time.³

Soames states that "Elfric embodied, for the use of ordinary congregations, the substance of the famous attack upon transubstantiation which Ratramn⁴ wrote, when desired to examine it by Charles the Bald." There is no doubt that Elfric's attention was called to transubstantiation by the book of Paschasius Radbert; and that he regarded it as a work full of danger to the gospel of Christ in England. It is equally certain that he used the arguments against it so forcibly employed by John Scotus Erigena. In the Berenger controversy in France on the same subject, and partly in Elfric's day, there was not a word about Ratramn or Bertram. At the great council of Vercelli, and at the French convocation called by the king soon after, Scotus and his book

¹ Cited in Soames' "Anglo-Saxon Church," pp. 272, 273. London, 1856.

² Soames' "Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 187. London.

³ See Bower's "History of the Popes," Vol. II., p. 350, and Soames' "Anglo-Saxon Church," p. 188.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 195.

were soundly denounced, but not a word against Ratramn or Bertram. It was the same work which armed Elfric. Bower, a historian of extraordinary learning, states that Scotus, in his treatise "On the Body and Blood of our Lord," declared that :

The faithful received the body of our Lord figuratively, mystically, sacramentally, spiritually, and not really or corporeally; that he published that work under the feigned name of Bertram, which induced Sigebert and Trithemius to ascribe it to Ratramn, who wrote by the order of Charles the Bald, two books upon predestination. In the disputes that arose in after days about the Eucharist, this treatise is constantly quoted as the work, *not of Bertram or Ratramn, but of Scotus*, and no mention is ever made of any writer upon that subject under either of those names."¹

Bower's opinion that the work of Scotus was published anonymously under the name of Bertram was held by distinguished men² of competent learning. The arguments sustaining his view are conclusive: Bertram was Scotus. Ratramn wrote upon predestination, but published nothing in reply to Paschasius Radbert.

John Scotus Erigena protected the people of England, through the able and pious Elfric, from the idolatry of transubstantiation for many years. In Germany, France, England, and in his native Ireland, he was the greatest enemy of the Romish mass before the Reformation, and furnished the leaders of that glorious movement with some of their most powerful weapons against papal idolatry. John Scotus Erigena, a graduate of the monastic college of Bangor near Belfast, honored before all Europe the learning of Ireland, and the scriptural doctrine of the Lord's Supper as taught by Baptist St. Patrick, in a controversy in which he successfully defied the greatest men in the Old World and the warring forces of centuries.

The "Würtzburg Glosses," expounding the apostle's words, "In whom we have redemption through his blood," says :

¹ Bower's "History of the Popes," Vol. II., p. 348.

Du Pin's "Eccles. Hist.," Vol. II., pp. 81-2. Dublin.

"*Through his blood*, through the *material* blood which poured from his side when he was on the cross, and through the *spiritual* blood which is offered every day upon the altar."¹ This learned commentary in the ancient language of Hibernia is emphatic in its renunciation of transubstantiation and in that the asserting wine in the Eucharist is only spiritual or figurative blood. This conclusion about the Lord's Supper was the general opinion in Ireland at that time.

Sedulius, the Scot, who wrote his commentary during the period that produced the "Würtzburg Glosses," expounding the words, "This do in remembrance of me" (1 Corinthians 11 : 24), speaking of the Eucharist says: "He left a *remembrancer* of himself to us, even as if one setting out for a distant country should leave some token with him whom he loved, that as often as he should see it, memory might recall his favors and friendship."² Sedulius clearly declares that the Saviour is absent in the flesh in the Lord's Supper; and that it is observed in memory of the great sufferer of Calvary, who is alive in a glorified body in the heavens.

Claudius, another Irish commentator of the age of Sedulius writes: "It pleased the Saviour first to deliver to his disciples the sacrament of his body and blood; . . . and afterward *the body itself* to be sacrificed upon the altar of the cross."³ Claudius distinctly asserts that the sacramental body of Christ is not the "body itself" which was sacrificed upon the cross; it could, therefore, only be a figurative body.

¹ Published as the "Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago," p. 87. Dublin.

² Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., p. 284.

³ *Ibid*

CHAPTER V.

THE DOCTRINE OF PURGATORY.

Immediately after death the ancient British and Irish Christians entered Heaven ; this their belief—They knew nothing of Purgatory.

ST. PATRICK, in his "Letter to Coroticus," speaking of his converts whom that pirate slew, says, "Thanks be to God, baptized believers, ye have passed from this world to paradise ; I see you have begun to migrate *where there shall be no more night, nor grief, nor death.* . . . Ye therefore shall reign with the apostles, and prophets, and martyrs, and obtain the eternal kingdom." There is no purgatory then, according to the great Patrick. Speaking of the death of St. Brendan, Columba said, "Last night *I saw heaven suddenly opened ; and choirs of angels descended to meet the soul of St. Brendan,*¹ by whose luminous and incomparable glory the whole globe was made bright."

Speaking about a view which Columba had of a battle in the heavens, he states, "I saw² the holy angels fighting in the air with hostile powers, and I gave thanks to Christ, the master of conflicts, because the angel conquerors had *carried to the joys of the celestial country the soul of this stranger,* who was the first of our number to die in this island."

Adamnán, writing about a certain blacksmith who lived in the central part of Ireland, who was much given to works of charity, and whose life was full of other deeds of righteousness, states that when he came to the end of a good old age, on the same hour on which he left the body :

Columba, residing in Iona, spoke thus to the few seniors standing around him : "Columbus, the blacksmith, did not toil in vain ; he was

¹ Adamnáni, "Vit. Colum.," Lib. III., cap. 15.

² Ibid., cap. 6.

glad to purchase eternal rewards [not heaven or salvation] by the labor of his own hands. *Behold, now his soul is being carried by angels to the joys of the celestial country.*"¹

Columba himself went to no purgatory after death, as his biographer relates: "He was united to apostle and prophets and to the thousands clothed in white who have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb, *and follow him wheresoever he goeth.*"² In these testimonies we learn that no place of purification by pains or otherwise, after death, had any existence in the theology of St. Patrick, Columba, Adamnán, or of the men of their times.

After describing the horrid butcheries, burnings, and desecrations of their churches and of their dead, inflicted by the pagan Anglo-Saxons upon the Christian Britons, Gildas, who wrote in the sixth century, speaks of the truly faithful who perished in these slaughters, surrounded by their backslidden countrymen, as "*being carried at that time into high heaven by the holy angels.*"³

The soul of the celebrated St. Hilda, of St. Aidan's Protestant Scottish church in Yorkshire, England, in the seventh century, according to Roger of Wendover, "was seen *carried to heaven by angels, where with Christ she is solaced with eternal joys.*"⁴

William of Malmesbury relates that the pious King Oswald, who brought St. Aidan from Caledonia in A. D. 635, and interpreted his sermons when he preached, "on the day that he was murdered in a moment *ascended to the heavenly tribunal.*"⁵

Nennius gives some account of the evangelizing efforts of Germanus in Britain, when he came from Gaul at the request of the Britons to oppose and destroy Pelagianism, in the first half of the fifth century. On a certain day, Germanus and

¹ Adamnáni, "Vit. Colum.," Lib. III., p. 13.

² Ibid., cap. 34.

³ "Works of Gildas," Sec. 24.

⁴ "Flowers of History" at A. D. 680.

⁵ "Chronicle," Lib. II., cap. 13.

his friends came to the gate of a British city to see and remonstrate with its wicked king. While engaged in fervent prayer for the success of their efforts in this city—

A man covered with perspiration came out and prostrated himself before them. St. Germanus, addressing him said: "Dost thou believe in the Holy Trinity?" To which the man having replied, "I do believe," he baptized and kissed him, saying, "Go in peace; within this hour thou shalt die; the angels of God are waiting for thee in the air; *with them thou shalt ascend to that God in whom thou hast believed.*"¹

He was put to death as Germanus foretold, and entered immediately into heaven.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, writing of the Diocletian persecution, says :

All the churches were pulled down, and all the copies of the Holy Scriptures that could be found were burned in the public markets. The priests also, with the believers under their care, were put to death, and with emulation pressed in crowds together for a speedy passage *to the joys of heaven*, as their proper dwelling place.²

Gallus, the successful Irish missionary in Switzerland, said of Columbanus, his countryman, who died in A. D. 615, to Magnus, his deacon: "After this night's watch, I understood by a vision that my master and father, Columbanus, is to-day departed out of the miseries of this life *into the joys of paradise.*"³ These statements might be increased very largely, but it is needless; they represent the ancient Britons, the Picts, and the Irish: and they show conclusively the belief that heaven was the immediate home after death of all the early Christians of Great Britain and Ireland. There is no foundation in their genuine writings, as there is none in the Bible, for the following decree of the council of Trent:

Since the Catholic Church, instructed by the Holy Spirit from the sacred Scriptures and the ancient tradition of the fathers, has taught in holy councils, and very recently in this general synod, that there is a purgatory, and that the souls confined therein receive assistance

¹ Nennius' "History of the Britons," Lib. II., sec. 32, 33.

² "British History," Lib. V., cap. 5.

³ Cited in Ussher's "Works," Vol. IV., p. 270.

from the suffrages of the faithful, but chiefly from the acceptable sacrifice of the altar. the holy synod commands the bishops that the sound doctrine about purgatory, handed down by the holy fathers and sacred councils, be believed, held, taught, and every where proclaimed by the faithful in Christ. . .¹

For centuries after the conversion of Britain and Ireland this fiction was wholly unknown by the people of both islands.

After a conscientious and extensive examination of reliable writings, we affirm with confidence that for many hundreds of years the Ancient British and Irish Churches were strictly Protestant, that St. Patrick had no taint of Romanism, and though he held some things which we reject, he cherished all the leading principles of the Baptist denomination ; that Columba and many others followed his example ; and that the ancient Britons, his countrymen, taught him his Baptist principles.

A literary friend, writing of the leading persons in this book, says : " We have found how evangelical they were in their beliefs, and how consecrated they were in their deeds. The missionary efforts put forth have aroused our admiration, and the sufferings encountered at the hands of bigotry and hate have called out our sympathy. We have seen how little these people, whose life and work we have viewed, had in common with the ecclesiastical tyranny that at first ignored, but since has claimed them, and that Patrick himself, the noblest hero of them all, has come forth from the mists substantially a Baptist. This review of history so little known, will lead us to value yet more our own heritage, while it should make us still more guarded against the colossal power of Rome, whose acts in the name of religion have in many ways been so baleful."

¹ " *Canones et Decreta Conc. Trid.*," Sess. XXV., Decr. Purgator., p. 173. Lipsiæ, 1863.

INDEX OF AUTHORS QUOTED.

The numbers indicate the pages in this book.

	PAGE		PAGE
Adamnán	167,	Fox	17,
182, 183, 185, 191, 192, 194, 196, 198,		31, 90, 265.	
200, 203, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 212,		Geoffrey of Monmouth	332.
213, 214, 322, 323, 330, 331.		Gibbon	33,
Ailred	171,	41, 52, 53, 55, 68.	
173, 174.		Gildas	20,
Alexander, Dr. William Lindsay	62,	25, 30, 32, 52, 54, 285, 321, 331.	
175, 184, 198, 261.		Giraldus Cambrensis	57,
Anderson	248.	65, 73, 80, 119, 253, 272, 278, 299.	
Baronius	251.	Gregory, of Tours	21,
Bayle	273.	304.	
Bede	12,	Gregory (the Great)	83.
13, 16, 19, 20, 30, 44, 45, 46, 48, 64, 56,		Hampden	324.
67, 73, 85, 86, 98, 115, 166, 169, 171,		Jamieson	198.
174, 186, 191, 192, 195, 199, 201, 219,		Jerome	38,
221, 224, 225, 226, 227, 229, 232, 240,		61, 157.	
247, 250, 251, 254, 255, 259, 260, 261,		Jonas	296.
263, 266, 283, 294, 295, 308.		Keating	109.
Bernard of Clairvaux	80,	Lanigan	74.
275, 282, 287.		Lightfoot	42.
Bingham	41,	Lingard	218,
245, 255, 256, 263, 264, 281, 289, 290,		219, 222, 233, 267, 272, 309, 310.	
291.		Macaulay	189.
Blackburn	156.	M'Lanchlan	49,
Bower	22,	90, 122, 162, 171, 177, 178, 193, 197,	
94, 96, 260, 271, 273, 325, 326, 327,		216, 284, 293.	
328.		Matthew Paris	194
Butler	55,	Matthew of Westminster	120,
179.		227.	
Chalmers, George	175.	Michelet	22,
Collier	33,	51, 276, 286, 307, 311, 324.	
37, 43, 46, 175, 272, 278, 282, 289,		Milman	39,
293.		281.	
Constantine	85.	Mosheim	18,
Curzon	193.	22, 121, 310.	
Döllinger	280.	Neander	17,
Du Pin	37,	21, 42, 50, 65, 121, 162, 206, 269, 286,	
51, 57, 91, 92, 97, 160, 164, 267, 295,		305, 307, 310, 313, 317, 319.	
296, 304, 328.		Neal	248.
Eusebius	16,	Nennius	282,
23, 28, 29, 31, 111.		286, 332.	

	PAGE		PAGE
Nicholson.....	73,	Stillingfleet.....	17,
125, 140.		34, 40, 42, 55.	
Origen.....	27.	St. Patrick.....	123,
Pelagius.....	43.	127-150.	
Perceval.....	91,	Stokes, Dr. Whitley.....	146.
92.		Stokes, Prof. Geo. T.....	108,
Rapin.....	52,	110, 122, 125, 163, 165, 187, 192, 282,	
53, 120, 241, 278, 279.		288, 294, 295, 300, 306, 309.	
Reeves.....	66,	Tacitus.....	13,
182.		14, 25	
Richard of Cirencester.....	41,	Tertullian.....	169.
63, 71.		Thackeray.....	15.
Roger of Wendover.....	120,	Theodoret.....	28.
306, 331.		Todd.....	81,
Sale.....	100.	283.	
Smith.....	163,	Ussher.....	46,
185, 197, 198, 204, 206, 214, 215,		55, 64, 83, 88, 118, 119, 121, 160, 161,	
280.		178, 179, 183, 228, 229, 233, 236, 237,	
Soames.....	232,	261, 266, 273, 293, 297, 306, 309, 311,	
236, 240, 241, 251, 326, 327.		312, 316, 329, 332.	
Socrates.....	158.	Vergil, Polydore.....	57.
Sozomen.....	39.	William, of Malmesbury.....	56,
Spotswood.....	169,	86, 90, 120, 223, 227, 329, 331.	
174, 177, 178, 201, 284.		Withrow.....	104.
Spelman.....	256,	Waddington.....	325.
267, 277.			
Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn.....	12,		
28.			

INDEX OF WORKS REFERRED TO OR QUOTED.

The numbers indicate the pages in this book.

	PAGE		PAGE
Acts and Monuments of the Church.		Dictionary (Bayle).....	273
(Fox).....	17,	Eccles. Hist. (Bede).....	12,
31, 90, 265.		13, 19, 30, 44, 45, 46, 48, 54, 56, 67,	
Adv. Judæos (Tertullian).....	23.	73, 85, 86, 98, 115, 166, 169, 171, 174,	
Annales (Tacitus).....	13,	186, 191, 192, 195, 199, 201, 219, 221,	
14, 25.		224, 225, 226, 227, 229, 232, 240, 247,	
Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland..	69,	251, 254, 255, 259, 260, 261, 263,	
72, 103, 118, 187, 196, 249, 287, 302.		263, 283, 294, 295, 308.	
Annales Ecclesiastici (Baronius).....	251	Eccles. Hist. (Collier).....	34.
Antiquities of the Christian Church		37, 43, 46, 55, 175, 272, 278, 282, 289,	
(Bingham).....	41,	293.	
245, 255, 289, 290, 292.		Eccles. Hist. (Du Pin).....	37,
Antiquities of Down and Connor		51, 91, 94, 97, 163, 164, 267, 295, 296,	
(Reeves).....	66.	304, 328.	
Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon		Eccles. Hist. (Eusebius).....	16,
Church (Lingard).....	218,	29, 23, 29, 31.	
219, 221, 234, 263, 264, 267, 272,		Eccles. Hist. (Socrates).....	16,
309, 310.		158.	
British History, Geoffrey of Moun-		Eccles. Hist. (Mosheim).....	18,
mouth.....	332.	22, 121, 310.	
Canones et Decreta Conc. Trid.	324,	Eccles. Hist. (Theodoret).....	28.
333.		Eccles. Hist. (Sozomen).....	40.
Chronicle (William of Malmesbury)	56,	Eccles. Hist. of Ireland (Lanigan)....	71.
85, 90, 120, 223, 227, 309, 331.		Ep. Demetrias (Pelagius).....	43.
Council Britan. (Spelman).....	256,	Evangel. Demonst. (Eusebius).....	28.
267, 277.		Flowers of History (Roger of Wend-	
Decline and Fall of the Roman Em-		over).....	120.
pire (Gibbon).....	33,	306, 331.	
41, 52, 53, 68.		Flowers of History (Matthew of	
Definitions of Faith and Canons of		Westminster).....	227.
Discipline.....	158,	General History of the Christian	
160.		Church (Neander).....	17,
De Martyrol. Pal. (Eusebius).....	29.	21, 42, 50, 65, 121, 162, 206, 269,	
De Vita Martini.....	38.	286, 305, 307, 310, 313, 317.	
De Vita St. Columbæ (Adamnán)....	167,	General History of Ireland (Keat-	
182, 183, 185, 191, 192, 194, 196, 198,		ing).....	109.
200, 201, 203, 206-214, 284, 322, 323,		General History (Anderson).....	248.
330, 331.		Germani Antisist Vit.....	49.

	PAGE		PAGE
Government Tripartite Life (of Patrick)	42,	Life of Columbanus (Jonas).....	296.
49, 61, 70, 71, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80,		Lives of the Saints (Butler).....	55,
83, 88, 99, 103, 105, 107, 108, 111,		179.	
115, 118, 119, 125, 153, 154, 155, 156,		Omnium Operum (Jerome).....	38.
160, 162, 286, 287, 315, 318, 321, 322.		On Galatians (Lightfoot).....	42.
History of Christianity (Milman)....	16,	On the Scholastic Philosophy (Hampden)	324.
39, 281.		Researches into the Ecclesiastical and Political State of Ancient Britain (Thackeray)...	15
Hist. Franc. (Gregory of Tours).....	21.	Six Old English Chronicles (Richard of Cirencester).....	41,
History of France (Michelet).....	22,	63, 71.	
51, 276, 286, 307, 308, 311, 324.		St. Patrick the Apostle of Ireland (Todd).....	82,
History of the Popes (Bower).....	22,	283.	
94, 96, 260, 271, 273, 325, 326, 327, 328.		St. Patrick and the Early Church of Ireland	156.
History of England (Rapin).....	52,	The Ancient British Church (Alexander, W. L.)	62,
53, 120, 236, 241, 278, 279.		175, 261.	
History of the Britons (Nennius)....	282,	The Anglo-Saxon Church (Soames) 232,	
332.		236, 240, 241, 256, 326, 327.	
History of England Polydore Vergie. 57.		The Antiquities of the British Churches (Stillingfleet).....	17.
History of the Church and State of Scotland (Spotswood).....	169,	34, 40, 42, 55, 281	
174, 177, 178.		The Art of Illuminating	300,
History of Caledonia (Chalmers, Geo.).....	175.	301, 305, 306.	
History of England (Macaulay).....	189.	The Catacombs of Rome (Withrow) 104.	
History of the Culdees (Jamieson)...	198.	The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church 160.	
History of the Puritans (Neal).....	248.	The Early Scottish Church (M'Lauchlan).....	49,
History of the Church (Waddington).....	325.	90, 122, 162, 171, 177, 178, 180, 193, 197, 216, 284, 293.	
Historical Memorials of Canterbury (Stanley).....	12,	The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years ago (Olden, translator).....	42,
28.		154, 156, 296, 298, 312, 313, 314,	
Historical Works (Giraldus Cambrensis).....	57,	315, 316, 318, 319, 320, 329.	
73, 258, 278.		The Koran (Sale).....	100.
Homilies (Origen).....	27.	The Latin Church (Soames).....	62,
Iona (Alexander).....	182,	251.	
184, 198.		The Pope and Council.....	280.
Ireland and the Celtic Church (Stokes, Geo. T.).....	64,	The Religious Denominations of the United States.....	311.
66, 108, 110, 122, 125, 163, 165, 187, 192, 282, 288, 294, 295, 300, 306, 309.		The Roman Schism (Perceval).....	91,
Life of St. Patrick (Nicholson).....	73,	92.	
125.		The Topography of Ireland (Giraldus Cambrensis).....	65,
Life of Germanus (Constantine).....	85.	80, 119, 272, 299.	
Life of St. Columba (Smith)	163,		
185, 197, 198, 204, 206, 214, 215, 280.			
Life of Ninian (Ailred).....	171,		
173, 174.			
Life of Kentigern.....	178.		

	PAGE		PAGE
The Writings of Patrick the Apostle of Ireland.....	106,	Vit. St. Remigius.....	152.
123, 161.		Works (Gildas).....	20,
Visits to Monasteries in the Levant (Curzon).....	193.	25, 30, 32, 52, 54, 285, 321, 331.	
Vita Bonifac.....	270	Works (Gregory the Great).....	83.
Vit. Constant. (Eusebius).....	29,	Works (Ussher).....	46,
48, 111.		55, 64, 83, 88, 118, 119, 121, 160,	
Vit. Gild.....	55.	161, 178, 179, 183, 228, 229, 234, 236,	
Vita Sanct. August.....	218.	237, 261, 266, 273, 286, 293, 297, 306,	
Vita St. Malachiæ (Bernard of Clair- vaux).....	80,	309, 311, 312, 313, 316, 319, 329, 332.	
275, 282, 287.			

GENERAL INDEX.

PAGE	PAGE
Aidan, St.: Talented and pious..... 197	Bangor: (Wales) Site of celebrated
missionary to Northumbrians.... 229	school..... 55, 56, 104
success of, among Northumbrians..... 223, 234	Gildas, Abbot of..... 57
a true Protestant..... 223	(Ireland) Columba, a member of, 104
a man of prayer..... 223	monastery at..... 292, 303, 308
faith and practice built on Bible 224	Baptism: Administered to many
his teachings..... 225, 226	Britons..... 49, 50
his humility and earnestness... 225, 226	immersion (trine)..... 49
founded Lindisfarne..... 228	as administered by St. Patrick... 49, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 157
founded Melrose..... 229	infant, unpractised..... 50, 151, 153
Alban, St.: Story of his conversion... 171	of believers..... 50
Anglo-Saxons, The: Attacking Britons..... 45	of Northumbrians..... 221
fierce war by..... 52	administered to unregenerate idolaters..... 238
conquest of Britain by..... 54	Baptists: Claim church independence 158
missionaries sent to. 164	may claim St. Patrick substantially..... 163
pestilence among..... 239	Bernard: of Clairvaux..... 273, 274
rearing their temples..... 217	on Irish clergy 287, 288
monasteries among..... 228	Boniface: Reference to and oath of. 269-271
monasteries of, similar to that at Iona..... 232	opponents to..... 286
churches of, "exorcised"..... 266	"Book: that of Armagh 42
Arius: Doctrines of..... 35, 36	in existence A. D. 87. 124
Augustine, of Hippo: Assailing Pelagius 43	contains St. Patrick's "Confession." .. 124
addressing him by letter 46	of the Angel, a fraud 99, 100
member of African council..... 97	of Kells 300
establishing monasticism 290	of Durrow 300
Augustine, the Monk: Seeking England..... 218	Brigit, St.: St. Patrick's helper..... 99
ordained Mellitus over East Saxons 237	Britain: Gospel introduced into..... 14
undue credit given to 240	Roman legions in..... 14
pretended miracle by..... 252	Tyrians trading with..... 15
conference held by, at Augustine's Oak..... 251-253, 259	Christians in, numerous..... 28
his haughtiness. 254, 258	the birthplace of Helena 33
his assumption of authority... 255-257	bishops in..... 34
command to, from Gregory..... 266	Christians numerous in..... 37
	education in, under Romans..... 39
	Roman cities in..... 41

	PAGE		PAGE
Britain: Revival in, A. D. 429	48	Christians: of Vienne and Lyons. ...	16
Saxon conquest of	54	(Greeks) in France.....	16
division of, by Romans.....	63	in Britain prosperous.....	28, 29
sending helpers to St. Patrick.....	103	persecution of, by Diocletian.....	29, 30
bishops of, repudiating Augusti-		freedom of, under Constantine...	34
tine.....	255, 256	numerous in Britain.....	37
Britons: Influencing Anglo-Saxons.	11	forbidden the schools*in Britain	39
belonging to Celtic race.....	13	in Ireland opposed to Pelagian-	
subjugated by Agricola.....	14	ism.....	43
adopting Roman costumes.....	14	persecuted by Saxons	54
Greek Christians, preaching to...	16	enslaved in Ireland.....	60
Lucius not king of, as repre-		bearing tidings of persecution...	170
sented.....	19	renouncing salvation by human	
as characterized by Gildas.....	20	merit.....	314
evangelizing the Picts.....	166	of Great Britain and Ireland	
evangelistic success among.....	32	believed in heaven direct.....	332
charge of heresy against.....	35	Christianity: Origin of, in Britain...	16
schools among	40	Paul claimed as founder of.....	17
writings of	40	from East	17
many of them Pelagians.....	44	Eastern origin denied.....	19
attacked by Saxons.....	45	Rome, reputed founder of.....	19
religious awakening among.....	48, 49	success of, detailed by Eusebius..	20
believers' baptism among.....	50	of Britain	37
monastic schools among.....	50	slow growth of in France.....	38
copying Roman elegance.....	52	in relation to education.....	39
suffering from Roman departure	52	destroyed in Britain by Saxons..	54
admitting Saxons.....	53	in Ireland.....	62
driven to Cornwall and Wales...	53	Northumbrians accepting.....	220
held Baptist doctrines.....	58	Church: "Eldest Son" of.....	22
churches of, hostile to Roman-		usurpation over (English) by	
ists	266	Theodore.....	264, 265
marriage of ministry approved		Scottish, an outlawed commun-	
among	285	ity	267
Canons: Of Nice and Sardica.....		Irish, independent of Rome.....	273
92, 93, 94, 97, 98		Irish, protested against Rad-	
that of Milevi	93	bert's view of Eucharist.....	324
that of St. Patrick, non-existent	98	Churches: In Britain, settled A. D.	
that of Celychyth.	267, 268	314	34
Caedmon: The poet	231, 232	interested in Ireland.....	59
Canterbury: Augustine at.....	12	in Ireland independent of the	
St. Martin's church at	28	pope.....	85
bishops of Rome maintained at..	175	in Africa overruled by the pope..	92
baptisms near	218	of Gaul denied the pope's author-	
archbishop for, appointed.....	249	ity.....	95
Theodore, archbishop of	264	numerous among East Saxons....	239
new jurisdiction for archbish-		of ancient Britain essentially	
ops of.....	271	one Protestant body	250, 251
Carthaginians: Rivalled by Greeks..	15	of Britain independent of Rome	255
Christians: Early zeal of.....	15	of Scots and Britons hostile to	
persecutions of.....	15	Romanists	266
		of Ireland independent of Rome	276

	PAGE		PAGE
Clovis and Roman Church.....	22, 23	Councils: That at Sardica, A. D. 347, 36,	91
Colman, bishop: Brave in defense of		that at Ariminum, A. D. 350.....	37
Protestant Britons.....	248	Hilary of Poitiers on.....	37
returning to Ireland.....	249	that at Whitby, A. D. 664.....	86
Columba: From school at Bangor...	104	that at Chalcodon, A. D. 451.....	92
work of, among the Picts.....	160	that of Africa, A. D. 419.....	97
trained in St. Patrick's school....	182	that of Constantinople, A. D. 381, 160	267
his descent and biographers.....	182	that of Celychyth, A. D. 816.....	281
his preparation for work.....183, 184	185	that of Brevy.....	128
work in Ireland.....	185	Creed: St. Patrick's.....	158
his ability and consecration.....185, 186	304	of Constantinople.....	13
success of his work.....187-189,	190	Druidism: in Britain.....	14
sailing for Iona.....	190	overthrown.....	109
founding the community.....	192	renounced by Cormac MacArt,	194
engaged in multiplying Script-	196	king of Ireland.....	204
ures.....	199	warred on from Iona.....	204
his doctrine evangelical.....	200	Dumbarton: St. Patrick's birthplace	63
no claim to pardon sin.....	201	at.....	66
preached the "word of God".....	202	plundering raids against.....	12, 220
no good "Life" of.....	202, 204	East Saxons: Apostasy among.....	237
effort for King Brude.....	206	territory of.....	237
his name commemorated.....	207	Mellitus ordained bishop of.....	238
his services non-liturgical.....	207, 208	king of, baptized.....	239
power in prayer.....	209	numerous churches among.....	118
a peacemaker.....	211-216, 322	Easter: Epistle regarding.....	160
incidents of his life.....	215	observance of, by Columbanus...	265
his literary work.....	216	dispute respecting.....	327
associates of....	233, 284	244, 251, 254, 260, 262,	327
not a bishop.....	330	Elfrie's sermon, read on.....	282
vision of.....	330, 331	Episcopacy: In Irish church.....	324-328
death of.....	331	Erigena, John Scotus.....	88, 315
did not go to purgatory.....	331	Fiacc: Hymn of.....	48
Columbanus: Mission of, to conti-	160, 304, 305	Germanus: Visits Britain.....	49, 50
nent.....	161	administering baptism....	51
his appeal to Canon of Constan-	198	churches named for him.....	84
tinople.....	296, 322	the friend of St. Patrick.....	23, 24
rule of, for monks.....	317	Gospel: First conquests of.....	25
reference to.....	295-298	introduction into Britain.....	26
spiritual teaching of.....	297, 298	in Britain, A. D. 63.....	26, 27
Commentaries: In monasteries...	316-319	success of, mentioned by Tertul-	54
that of "Wurtzburg Glosses".....	124-145	lian.....	103
that of Sedulius.....	266	extended in Britain by monastic	234
Confession: St. Patrick's.....	267	schools.....	15
Consecrations: Of Saxon Protestant	277	success of, in Ireland.....	83
Churches.....	34	received by Northumbria.....	15
of Westminster Abbey.....	35, 324, 332	Greedy: Succeeding Carthaginians,	15
Cornwall: People of, ancient Britons	36, 92	Gregory, the Great: Silence of, as to	83
Councils: That of Arles, France,	34	St. Patrick's success.....	83
A. D. 314.....	35, 324, 332		
that of Trent, A. D. 1563.....	36, 92		
that at Nice, A. D. 325.....	36, 92		

	PAGE		PAGE
Gregory, the Great: bringing evil to		Leo, the Great: Rescript of.....	95
Anglo-Saxon Church.....	219	Lindisfarne: Colman, bishop of.....	195
command of, to Augustine.....	266	see of Aidan in.....	223, 228
Hilda (St.): Abbess at Whitby.....	86	trained men going from.....	2-8
talented and useful.....	230	Finan, bishop of.....	238
Iona: Attempt to make it Romanist.	98	Londonderry: Fame and siege of,	
Columba identified with.....	186	188, 189	
founded by Columba.....	191	Lord's Supper: Celebrated in two	
ruins at.....	192	kinds.....	322
the inmates of.....	193	a figurative sacrifice.....	323, 328
its development.....	194	transubstantiation of denounced	
monks of, engaged in preparing		324-326	
Scriptures for circulation.....	196	Lucius (King): Not known to Gildas, 20	
marriage permitted at.....	198	not mentioned by Eusebius.....	21
no intercessor at, but Christ....	213	unmentioned by Gregory.....	21
plundered by Danes.....	215	not "eldest son" of church.....	23
missionaries for Anglo-Saxons		reputed founder, St. Martin's	
from.....	217	church.....	28
Anglo-Saxons' monasteries like..	232	Malachi (St.): Primacy of.....	287, 288
bishops subject to abbot of.....	283	Marriage: Of ministry.....	285-288
Ireland: Description of.....	59	of monks and nuns, 289-291, 293, 311	
St. Patrick, a missionary to...59,	60	Melrose: Founded by Aidan.....	229
call of St. Patrick to.....	69	Cuthbert trained therein.....	229
Palladius sent to.....	72	Mercia: Finan, the missionary to... 235	
people of, converted.....	73	dimensions of.....	236
Christian congregations in, be-		Carey, and Judson's ancestors,	
fore, A. D. 431.....	74	born in.....	236
St. Patrick's labors in, successful	76	Monasteries: That at Hippo.....	290
gospel victorious in.....	103	that founded by St. Brigit.....	292
gospel preached in, by St. Patrick	164	that at Bangor, oldest....292, 303, 308	
country of the Scots.....	166	monks at, married.....	298, 311
Columba's work therein.....	185	employed for study of Scripture, 293	
influence of Scriptures in.....	205	that at Clonard.....	293, 299, 302
furnishing refuge to the perse-		commentaries written in.....	295-298
cuted.....	249	were Bible societies.....	299, 300
churches in, Baptist as to bishops	282	Scriptorium in.....	301
school of the West.....	308	theological seminaries.....	302
Kentigern, St. Mungo: A Briton.... 178		home and foreign mission so-	
his work in Scotland and Wales,		cieties.....	303-307
179, 180		that at St. Gall.....	306
spurious miracles connected		Irish and Scotch schools.....	308-310
with.....	180	that of Seventh Day Baptists.....	311
"Lebar Brecc," The: account of		Muirchu Maccu-Maitheni: His no-	
St. Patrick's Roman commis-		tice of St. Patrick.....	87, 318
sion in.....	79, 80	story by.....	107, 108
story of St. Patrick in.....	108	account of Patrick at Tara...115, 116	
quotation from.....	119	Ninian: Sent to Picts.....	85, 295
St. Patrick's words of Bible, in... 162		mentioned by Bede.....	87
		welcomed by the Picts.....	171

PAGE	PAGE		
Ninian: Born A. D. 360, in Wales.....	173	Paulinus: Missionary work of.....	13, 221
of exalted character and success	174	Pelagius: War against.....	36
eminent as a commentator	175	a Briton.....	41
no marks of Romanism in his		an eminent scholar.....	42, 295
work.....	176	his errors.....	43
Northumbria: Edwin, king of.....	219	character of, unblemished	43
missionary field of Aidan.....	220	assailed by Augustine.....	43
Oswald, king of.....	222	followers defeated in debate.....	44
Christianized.....	233	a writer of force.....	46
extent of.....	234	made many friends.....	46
persecution in.....	262, 263	among ablest of British Chris-	
Oswald (king): Mentioned by Bede..	86	tians.....	47
of saintly character.....	222	monks, in his time.....	289
appointing a see for Aidan.....	223	Pelagianism: In Britain, A. D. 425....	44
interpreting for Aidan.....	223	defeated.....	44
a brave soldier	226, 227	revived.....	45
his liberality	227	outbreak of, in Wales.....	55
head of Protestant Church.....	241	Persecution: Cruelty of, under Dio-	
Palls: Insignia of pope's commis-		cletian	29-31, 169
sion.....	272, 278	St. Alban martyred in.....	29, 30
four brought from Rome	273	discontinued by Galerius.....	31, 32
requested.....	275, 276	against Britons by Saxons.....	54
Palladius: Sent to Ireland.....	72, 73	of anti-Romanists.....	247, 248
name of, confounded with St.		of Scots.....	262-268
Patrick's	74	Picts, the: Invading Britain.....	45
Tirechan's reference to.	77	opposed by Germanus.....	48
ordained by Pope Celestine.....	81	ferocious warriors.....	52
laboring in Pictland.....	177, 178	Ninian sent to them.....	85
Papal Rome: Relation of, to pagan-		success of Columba among.....	160
ism.....	21	united with Scots.....	166
mission efforts of, delayed.....	22	evangelized by Britons, 166, 168, 170	
its commission of St. Patrick....	80	unconquered by Romans.....	169
appeals to.....	91	work of Columba among.....	304
canon commanding appeals to....	99	Protestants: Original inhabitants of	
Ninian's connection with, ceased	175	Britain, such	250
failure of, among East Saxons.		interest excited by.....	258
210, 241		pope afraid of spirit of.....	269
guilty of bribery.....	244	Irish, conspicuous evangelists of,	310
persecuting Protestant Chris-		Purgatory: No belief in.....	330-332
tians.....	247, 248	Religious Liberty: favored by St.	
seeking authority in Britain.....		Patrick.....	162
253-256, 272, 273, 277-279		by Columba and Columbanus....	
atrocities of, in Northumbria, 262, 264		163, 164	
" " Wales and Scot-		dear to Scots	259
land.....	280	Romans: Legions of, in Britain.....	11
Paschasius Radbert: Novel view of	324	favoring education.....	39, 40
Scotus opposed to.....	325, 326	cities of, in Britain.....	41
Paulinus (Suetonius): Destroying		removing from Britain.....	51, 52
Druids.....	13	not attempting conquest of Ire-	
		land.....	59

PAGE	PAGE
Romans unable to conquer the Picts. 169	St. Patrick: kidnapped.....41, 64
Schools: Among Britains..... 40	father of.....41, 285
monastic, established..... 50, 51	compared with Pelagius..... 47
Bible studied in 54	baptized in a well..... 49
that at Bangor.....56, 303, 308	administered immersion..... 49
that at Whitby.....86, 229, 230	became a missionary to Irish...59, 60
that of St. Patrick.....103, 105	ordaining and edifying..... 62
that at Durrow.....118, 187	held as a slave..... 66
that at Londonderry..... 186	a Briton..... 67
that at Iona186, 189	born about A. D. 360 69
no rules at, of celibacy and pov-	unskilled as a scholar..... 69
erty 198	his call to preach.....69, 70
the brotherhood of, supreme..... 199	letter of to Coroticus.....70, 71
that at Melrose..... 223	in Ireland long before supposed
that at Lindisfarne.....223, 228	papal mission..... 72
those of Lismore and Slane.... 309	his work ignored by papal
Scots, The: Possessed an earlier	authorities..... 73
home than Caledonia..... 165	confounded with Palladius 74
missionaries from, successful in	his vision.....75, 315
England.....240, 241	a missionary to Ireland before
did not train their converts..... 242	end of fourth century..... 76
bribery seduced their con-	stories of by Tirechan.....77, 78
verts..... 243, 244	had no papal commission..... 80
disputes of, with Romanists...244-248	his "Confession" 80-82
Romish institutions hated by.... 259	his work unnoticed by Gregory.. 83
papal libel on 260	attached to Gallic brethren.... 84
expulsion of, from England...262, 263	not spoken of by Bede..... 85
compulsory uniformity repug-	Bede had knowledge of him..... 87
nant to..... 264	reason for non-mention of by
churches of, hostile to Roman-	Bede..... 87
ists 266	did not go to Rome..... 88
church of, outlawed..... 267	hymns in praise of..... 88
Scriptures, The: Studied in schools, 56	specimen of Bible Christianity... 90
texts from,cited 57	explanation of supposed Roman
copies of, multiplied at Iona and	commission..... 90
elsewhere..... 197	close relations of, to France..... 96
benefits of, in Ireland..... 205	reputed canon of, non-existent... 98
ministry of, sanctioning mar-	helped by St. Brigit. 99
riage 286	of humble mind..... 101
St. Patrick's disciples versed in.. 291	persevering and wise.....102
Secundinus: Alphabetical hymn of	helpers of, from Gaul and Brit-
88, 89, 104	ain 103
makes a grand character of St.	various works of..... 105
Patrick 89	of powerful intellect..... 105
had knowledge of Greek and	preaching to King Loeghaire's
Latin..... 104	daughters..... 105, 106
Sedulius: Commentary of.....316, 319, 329	of great courage..... 105, 106
St. David: 55	his visit to Miliuc..... 107
St. Patrick: Birthplace of.....	his visit to King Loeghaire.....
40, 63, 64, 65, 68	108, 314, 316
	visit of, to Tara.....112, 113, 115, 116

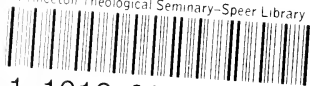
	PAGE		PAGE
St. Patrick: His relation to miracles	116	Tara: Capital of Ireland	110
his knowledge of Irish	116	people met at	111
his magnetic power	116	the feast at	111, 112
reliance of, upon God	117	St. Patrick's visit to	112, 113
his brethren, Baptists	117	The Deer's Cry (hymn)	114, 115
results of his work	118	Tirechan: An unreliable biographer of St. Patrick	77, 78
quotations regarding	118-123	St. Patrick's selection of a bishop in	286
"Confession" of	124-145	Tyrians: Supplanted by Carthage	15
his letter to Coroticus	145-150	Virgin Mary: Intercessory office of not mentioned	321
his creed	128, 159, 316	Wales: Romish authority in	277, 278
his adherence to scriptural baptism	152, 154, 155-157, 251	peculiar circumstances of acqui- rement	278, 279
held to the independence of churches	158	Protestantism of, a sacrifice to Rome	279
ordained his own bishops	160	Wall, Roman: Built against Picts and Scots	167
agreement with modern Baptists	161	West Saxons: Chad, bishop of	240
his words about the Bible	162	Whitby: Council at, A. D. 664	86
St. Patrick and religious liberty	162	school at	86
remarkable as a missionary	164	Whitefield: Used as illustration	242, 243
substantially a Baptist	164	"Würtzburg Glosses"	297, 298, 308, 309, 312-314, 315, 316
reference to conversion of Irish	290	318-320, 328, 329.	
his disciples versed in Scripture	291		
he preached Christ	315		
he preached conversion	316		
opposed to purgatory	330		
Taliessyn: Extracts from	261		



BW5080 .C36

The ancient British and Irish churches.

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00035 2387