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the world, however soon our own may come to an end. The largest coal-field in the world is that of the United States. There is excellent coal in Nova Scotia. From Brazil we have received samples of coal, apparently of the carboniferous system, but much of it is worthless from the presence of pyrites in large quantity. We have examined the lignites of Trinidad, some of which are of good quality, and one variety closely resembles carboniferous coal in composition as well as appearance. There is lignite even on Desolation Island in the South Pacific Ocean, but it is comparatively worthless from its being seamed, remarkable to say, with a zeolitic mineral. The lignite of New Zealand is a valuable fuel. There is carboniferous coal in Borneo and Australia. We have referred to the coal-field of China. There are copious deposits of lignite in Europe, as in Bohemia and many other localities. France, Belgium, Saxony, and Prussia, raise annually an increasing amount of carboniferous coal; but probably in the aggregate not a third of what is gotten in Great Britain. There is much interesting information on this subject in the volume of 'Reports received from Her Majesty's Secretaries of Embassy and Legation respecting Coal,' to which we invite attention. We would suggest that in future Reports of this kind it would be desirable to present a well-digested summary of the produce of the different countries in the convenient form of a table.

The time must come when Great Britain shall cease to be a great manufacturing nation, according to the accepted meaning of that expression; but, however mournful and unwelcome this proposition may be, we have the satisfaction of knowing that we are now laying the foundation of prosperous and mighty kingdoms in various parts of the world. Nor can we for a moment believe that, even when the resources on which we now so much rely shall have been exhausted, this great imperial nation, which possesses so many advantages of position, will cease to be the abode of liberty, of happiness, of religious and intellectual enlightenment.

ART. VI.—1. *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland: a Memoir of his Life and Mission.* By James Henthorne Todd, D.D., S.F.T.C.D., &c. Dublin, 1864.

2. *Essay on the Origin, Doctrines, and Discipline of the Early Irish Church.* By the Rev. Dr. Moran, Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome. Dublin, 1864.

3. *The Ancient Church of Ireland: a few Remarks on Dr. Todd's Memoir of the Life and Mission of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland.*

eland. By Denis Gargan, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical history in the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth. Dublin, 1864.

ORD BOLINGBROKE tells a story of some man of letters who never omitted in his devotions to offer a special thanksgiving for the existence of men who were satisfied to spend their time and labour in compiling dictionaries, and other fragments of useful knowledge. We feel very much disposed to join in the good man's thanksgiving, when we find antiquarians and archæological societies exhuming the materials of history from the rubbish in which they had been long concealed and almost lost. No doubt their labour has been a pleasure to them. However dreary the questions investigated may seem to the uninitiated, they have the same attraction for the professed antiquarian as the solution of a difficult problem for a mathematician. For ourselves, without in the least doubting the interest which men feel in their studies we are well satisfied to have the results of their investigations laid before us, without any trouble on our part, and to begin our inquiries where theirs generally

We prefer examining and polishing the diamonds which have dug up to becoming miners ourselves.

In Ireland, as in England, attention has been at last directed to the importance of preserving ancient records, and printing and curiously documents in such a shape as to be accessible to the public. If such records are not history, they are the materials for the historian's use; and their accumulation is as necessary and preliminary to the writing of a genuine history as the labours of the quarryman to the building of a club-house in Pall-mall. We are thankful for dictionary-makers, and no less so for antiquarians and archæological societies.

Nothing can be more creditable than the publications of the Archæological Society. Some of the oldest and most valuable documents connected with the history and religion of Ireland, which had been almost forgotten, and ran the risk of being mutilated or destroyed, have been printed with an accuracy and neatness of type that cannot be surpassed. But these efforts have been restricted to societies. They have been ably seconded by individual enterprise. Works like Petrie's 'Tara,' Todd's

'Patrick,' and the promised publication of the 'Book of Inagh,' by Dr. Reeves, open up stores of ancient lore to the general reader. The discovery of the 'Codex Sinaiticus,' and its publication by Tischendorf, are scarcely more interesting to the Biblical critic than the investigation of the contents of the 'Sol. 119.—No. 238.

famous 'Book of Armagh' to the student of Irish Church history. Since the days of Archbishop Ussher this precious manuscript had been almost forgotten, having passed from the custody of the officials of Armagh, through less careful hands, into the possession of a private family. It has at last found its proper resting-place in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; and its contents will soon be published, in two quarto volumes, by Dr. Reeves.

We have placed Dr. Todd's 'Memoir of the Life and Mission of St. Patrick' at the head of this article, because it is not a mere compilation of ancient records, but an attempt to give the result of modern researches, in a readable form, to the public. The subject is one that ought to interest every native of the British isles. It is not only the history of one of those remarkable men whose labours turned a whole nation from Paganism to at least the profession of Christianity, and who seem to have no successors in these degenerate days; but it is the history of the foundation of those ecclesiastical institutions which in the succeeding centuries sent bands of zealous missionaries to various parts of the world. To some of these we are indebted for rescuing half of England from the Paganism of the Saxons. Notwithstanding the busy, material spirit of the age, we must be sadly deficient in the higher feelings of humanity, if our curiosity is not aroused to know something of the secret of St. Patrick's success. Why cannot we, with all the resources of modern learning and civilisation at our command, produce as deep an impression upon the heathen nations of the East? How did the Church founded by St. Patrick not only occupy Ireland, but show vitality sufficient to revive the Christianity which had been extinguished elsewhere? We cannot help asking whether any answer has been given to these questions by recent investigators. We open Dr. Todd's book with at least the prospect of learning all that is known upon the subject. The author possesses every requisite for his task. A scholar of extensive and multifarious learning, he has always devoted a large share of his time and thought to the literature of his country. It is said that in his ardour to make himself master of the Irish tongue he at one time spent the summer in a lonely island on the Western coast, where not a word of English was spoken. In time he became skilful in the interpretation of Celtic MSS., and edited some of the most valuable volumes published by the Irish Archæological Society. But he has long devoted special attention to the records of the See of Armagh, and the life of its great founder. In the 'Memoir' we have the result of some of these studies in a form thoroughly accessible and intelligible; and if we have some faults to find with

with the execution of the work and the conclusions of the writer, we fully appreciate the service which he has rendered to literature and religion by his well-timed and valuable publication.

But Dr. Todd's fame as an antiquarian has not saved his work from hostile scrutiny. He could scarcely handle such a subject without offending the theological prejudices of many of his countrymen. He has maintained that there is no ground from ancient and authentic records for the common tradition, that St. Patrick received his commission from Pope Celestine. Moreover, he has given a picture of the saint's tenets and practices, in which a member of the Anglican Church could find little to object to. He offends still further, by attributing superstition to some of the early Irish saints, and by ascribing irregular and uncanonical practices to the ancient Irish Church; and to crown all, he adopts the theory which represents the Church in Ireland, in common with the early British Church, to have been independent of Rome, and to have long refused submission to its authority. These views are not novel. They have obtained a wide circulation among the English public, through Canon Wordsworth's attractive sermons on the history of the Irish Church; and are well and clearly discussed in the first volume of King's excellent Church History of Ireland. But to have put forward these views as the result of the most modern and searching investigations was an unpardonable offence on Dr. Todd's part. Accordingly, it was not long before an octavo volume, in answer to the 'Memoir,' appeared, from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Moran, Vice-Rector of the Irish College in Rome; and a less elaborate but more popular work by the Rev. Dr. Gargan, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Maynooth. The object of both these books is entirely polemical. The investigation of historical truth is not the avowed object of the writers, but to uphold the view commonly held by Roman Catholic divines of their Church's position in Ireland. We have no right to complain of this: such books were to be expected. But in placing them side by side with the work to which they profess to reply we are warned at every step of the different spirit of the writers. We do not always agree with Dr. Todd's conclusions; but we feel that his search for truth is honest, and his temper philosophical. His opponents cannot for a moment get rid of the tone and temper of polemics; and they seek for every opportunity of destroying the credit of a writer from whose conclusions they shrink.

Dr. Todd says in his preface:—

'The story of St. Patrick's commission from Pope Celestine is rejected in the following pages, simply because the writer believes that there is no satisfactory evidence for it. He hopes that no reader will

suppose him to have been influenced by any controversial prejudice in coming to this conclusion. He is conscious of no such prejudice. He is indeed sincerely attached to the Reformed Church of these kingdoms, in which he holds the office of a priest; but he cannot perceive how the question whether Patrick had or had not his mission from Rome affects in any way the controversy which now unhappily divides the Western Church. The Rome of the fifth century was not guilty of the abuses which rendered the Reformation necessary in the sixteenth. If we acknowledge, as we must do, the Roman mission of Palladius, as well as the Roman mission of Augustine of Canterbury, it is difficult to see what is to be gained by denying the Roman mission of Patrick.*

It is possible, notwithstanding this profession of candour, that Dr. Todd may have an unconscious bias in favour of a theory which asserts the independence of his own Church from its foundation. His opponents cling tenaciously to the opposite view. As Roman Catholic writers of note on the continent have acknowledged the alienation that existed between the ancient Church in these islands and the See of Rome; it seems strange that Irish writers of the same faith should be so intolerant on the point. We have no intention of following out this question in its theological bearings. Our object is to give our readers a sketch both of the facts which seem generally admitted, and the points which are still in dispute. But we must first endeavour to enumerate briefly and classify the authorities which are relied upon as evidence.

There are probably many persons who think of St. Patrick as they would of our patron saint, St. George; and regard both as equally mythical characters. No doubt the toads and snakes, which St. Patrick so summarily ejected from Ireland, belong to the same fairy-land as St. George's renowned dragon; but we possess more solid memorials of the Irish saint. We find an almost universal agreement as to the authenticity of a work commonly known as St. Patrick's 'Confession.'† This work gives an account, written by himself in advanced life, of the motives which induced him to undertake his Irish mission. It is in fact the religious autobiography of the apostle, and, so far as it gives an account of his history and opinions, it outweighs all other authorities. There seems no reason to doubt the authenticity

* Preface, p. vi. †

† Baronius says, 'Eâdem plane quâ Britanni, pariter et Scoti erant schismatis fuligine tincti, ac discessionis ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ rei.'

‡ "The genuineness of this work, and of the 'Epistola ad Coroticum,' is admitted by Ussher, Ware, Cave, Spelman, Tillemont, Mabillon, D'Aché, Martene, Du Cange, Bollandus, Dupin, O'Connor, Laigan, Villanueva, and others.—Todd's 'Memoir,' p. 347.

also of his 'Epistle to Coroticus' and of the hymn known as his 'Lorica.' In the same class with these may be placed another authority which claims to be contemporary with the saint, or very nearly so—namely, the 'Hymn of Sechnal,' or 'Secundinus,' written in his praise. These documents are of far higher authority than any written subsequently, and must be considered as the first class of records available as evidence.

There is one other document of great antiquity and importance, though it cannot rank with those we have mentioned; that is the 'Hymn of Fiacc,' written probably not more than eighty years after the saint's death. Beside its great antiquity, it has a peculiar value, inasmuch as it is a *biographical poem*.

The chief collection of lives of St. Patrick in common use contains this one ancient document, with six other larger biographies of very doubtful authority. It was compiled by *Colgan* early in the 17th century, and has been the chief storehouse from which subsequent writers have drawn. Unquestionably these lives contain fragments of much older documents, but they are themselves comparatively modern, and filled with legendary and miraculous stories. Dr. Lanigan, the Roman Catholic historian, says of the second, third, and fourth lives, in this collection, that they are 'full of fables;' and he attaches even less credit to the sixth life by Joceline. The fifth life, attributed to Probus, though by far the best, cannot be assigned to a very ancient date. In all probability the oldest of these lives is at least 400 years later than St. Patrick's time. All these writers use the biographical outline of the acts of St. Patrick, which is given in his own writings. 'That outline is as it were the skeleton which the biographers have clothed with miracle and legend.'

Intermediate, between the older and more modern documents, are the ancient lives contained in the 'Book of Armagh,' viz., the 'Life by Muirchu Maccumachtene' (whom for brevity we shall call *Muirchu*), and the 'Annotations' of Tirechan. Dr. Todd and other writers assign them to the beginning of the eighth century. We may safely say that while they are older by two centuries than any of the lives in *Colgan's* collection (except the 'Hymn of Fiacc'), they are more than two centuries subsequent to the Confession, or even the 'Hymn of Sechnal.' But it is not easy to determine their exact value as narratives of fact. Their authors have overlaid the original story with palpable legends, though not to the extent of later writers.

There is a host of other documents bearing more or less directly upon St. Patrick's history. For example, the 'Chronicle of Prosper,' written in the saint's lifetime, and the 'History of Bede,'

Bede,' which was nearly contemporaneous with the lives in the 'Book of Armagh,' both record the mission of Palladius to Ireland, and ignore the existence of St. Patrick. This fact gives rise to various speculations, while every document which records the death of a king or of a saint is appealed to to corroborate or confute some chronological theory. The only safe course is obvious enough, and has been generally followed by Dr. Todd; and that is, to take the oldest class of documents as the only trustworthy authority, and to supplement their meagre story with the narrative of later writers so far as their antiquity and the inherent consistency and probability of the events narrated warrant us in so doing.

It would have been a great assistance to his readers if Dr. Todd had given a separate chapter classifying his authorities and stating his reasons for giving them more or less weight. His remarks on such matters are scattered up and down in his book, and it is not easy to discover the principles by which he has been guided in adopting one story and rejecting another.

The unanimity that prevails with regard to the mission of Palladius to Ireland, A.D. 431, is due undoubtedly to the 'Chronicle of Prosper,' who was a contemporary writer, and an unimpeachable authority. He records the fact that Germanus was sent in the year 429 to extinguish the Pelagian heresy in Britain. He says that, 'by the instrumentality of the deacon Palladius, Pope Celestinus sends Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, in his own stead to displace the heretics and direct the Britons to the Catholic faith.*' He thus records the mission of Palladius himself, in the year 431 (a date famous as that of the Council of Ephesus): 'Palladius was consecrated by Pope Celestine, and sent to the Scots believing in Christ (ad Scotos in Christum credentes), as their first Bishop.†

It may be well to remind our readers that, according to the most common modern view, the 'Scoti' meant the *Irish*, and

* This is Dr. Todd's version: the words are:—'Et deturbatis hæreticis Britannos ad Catholicam fidem adigit.'

† Memoir, p. 270. Dr. Todd denies that there is any authority for the current story that Palladius was Archdeacon of Rome. But in addition to the fact that he is called a deacon by Prosper, and that the mission of Germanus to Britain is ascribed to his intervention with Celestine, he is expressly called by Muirchu 'Archidiaconus Pape Celestini urbis Romæ episcopi.' Dr. Todd strangely omits these words in his translation of the passage from Muirchu, though he gives them in full in a note; and, as if totally forgetting them, he says elsewhere (p. 276) 'that Palladius being called a deacon by Prosper is the *only* foundation of the opinion that he was a deacon in the Church of Rome.' He adds, that 'it is *nowhere* said that Palladius was of Rome, or a deacon of Rome, much less that he was a deacon to Pope Celestine.' This is one of those slips which gives a great advantage to his opponents. Dr. Todd may not consider Muirchu's authority sufficient; but if not, he was at least bound to notice and discuss it.

'Scotia'

notia' Ireland, not only in Prosper's time, but down to the tenth century: and the colonies which left Ireland in the third century, I settled in Argyleshire and the western isles, ultimately gave its name to the country which they had only partially colonised. We learn from this passage of Prosper that there were Christians in Ireland before the mission of Palladius. This fact is corroborated by a sentence of Jerome, who sneers at his Gallican opponent as being '*stolidissimus et Scotorum pulvis zgravatus.*' Whether the opponent alluded to was Pelagius himself or not, these words imply the existence of a Christian of Irish birth, who had ventured to engage in controversy with Rome.*

All accounts agree in representing the mission of Palladius as a failure. He landed near the present town of Wicklow, but was returned; though, according to some accounts, he made several converts and founded three churches. Whether he suffered martyrdom in Ireland, or removed to Scotland and preached to the Picts, or, according to Muirchu's account, died on his way back from his abortive mission, it seems impossible to determine. Prosper and Bede make no mention of any further mission to Ireland from Celestine or his successors; but the biographers of St. Patrick are almost unanimous in representing him as having landed in Ireland A.D. 432. Whether his mission had any connexion with Palladius or Celestine we shall have reason to discuss; but first it will be necessary to sketch briefly what is known of St. Patrick's previous life and education.

It seems impossible, and not very important, to determine the place of St. Patrick's birth. He tells us himself, in his 'Confession,' that his father had a farm near Bonavem Taberniæ, from whence he was carried away captive; and the 'Hymn of Fiacc' tells us that he was born at Nemthur. But where were these places, and were they the same? Dr. Todd inclines to the story told by the scholiast on Fiacc's Hymn, which represents him as having been born at Alcluaid (near Dumbarton), but having been gratified with his family to some place in Armorica (Brittany, in France). The story of his family and his captivity is best told in his own words, taken from the 'Confession':—

I, Patrick, a sinner, the rudest and least of all the faithful, and the most despicable among most men, had for my father Calpurnius, a son, son of the late Potitus, a presbyter, who was of the town Bonavem Taberniæ; for he had a farm in the neighbourhood, where I was taken captive. I was then nearly sixteen years old. I knew not the true God, and I was carried in captivity to Hiberio,† with many

* See 'Quarterly Review,' v. xciii., pp. 19, 20.

† The name he always gives to Ireland.

thousands of men, according to our deserts, because we had gone back from God, and had not kept His commandments, and were not obedient to our priests, who used to warn us for our salvation. And the Lord brought upon us the wrath of His displeasure, and scattered us among many nations, even unto the ends of the earth, where now my littleness is seen among aliens. And there the Lord opened the sense of my unbelief, that even, though late, I should remember my sins, and be converted with my whole heart unto the Lord my God, who had regard unto my lowliness, and had compassion on my youth and on my ignorance, and preserved me, before I knew him, and before I could understand or distinguish between good and evil, and protected me, and comforted me, as a father would a son.'

Dr. Todd gives the following abstract from the 'Confession' of the circumstances of Patrick's captivity and escape:—

'He was employed when he came to *Hiberio*, as he always calls Ireland, in tending cattle daily; but was every day frequent in prayer: thus he says, the love and fear of God and faith increased so much, and the spirit of prayer so grew upon him, that often in a single day he would say an hundred prayers, and in the night almost as many, so that he frequently arose to prayer in the woods and mountains before daylight, in snow and frost and rain: "and I felt no evil," he adds, "nor was there any indolence in me, because, as I now see, the Spirit was burning within me."

'One night, he tells us, he heard in a dream a voice saying to him, "Thy fasting is well; thou shalt soon return to thy country." He waited some time, and again had a dream, in which the same voice told him that the ship was ready, but was distant two hundred miles. Although he had never been to the place, and knew nothing of the inhabitants, he fled from his master, with whom he had been in slavery for six years; "and I went," he adds, "in the power of the Lord, who directed my way for good, and I feared nothing till I arrived at that ship." The captain of the ship, however, roughly refused him a passage, and Patrick was about to return to the hut where he dwelt, first offering up a prayer, as was his wont. His prayer was not finished, when one of the sailors called to him, saying, "Come back quickly, for these men call thee." He returned, and they said, to him, "Come, for we receive thee in faith, make friends with us how thou wilt."

'They were three days at sea, and afterwards twenty-eight days wandering in a desert till their provisions ran short. No doubt, Patrick had been speaking to them of the power of God, of the efficacy of prayer, and of trust in God's Providence. The leader of the party therefore said to him, "What sayest thou, Christian? Thy God is great and all-powerful. Why, then, canst thou not pray to him for us? for we perish with hunger, and we can find here no inhabitants." Patrick answered, "Turn ye in faith to my Lord God, to whom nothing is impossible, and He will send you food, and ye shall be satisfied, for He has abundance everywhere." And so it was; for a
hard

herd of swine soon after appeared, many of which they killed. Patrick and his companions were relieved from their hunger, and remained in that place for two nights. After this, he says, "they gave great thanks to God, and I was honoured in their eyes."*

This narrative is extremely interesting. † It breathes a spirit of great simplicity and deep piety, and presents a striking contrast to the legendary tales of later writers. There seems no reason to doubt that the scene of Patrick's captivity was in the north of Delaradia, in the part of Antrim near to Ballymena. Subsequent events are not so easily arranged. He tells us that he was with his parents in the Britannia (whatever be the locality meant), and that they received him as a son, and besought him after such sufferings not to leave them again. He felt himself bound, however, to return as a missionary to Ireland, and he traces this obligation to an inward call. He gives the following account of some of the visions which urged him on to undertake the preaching of Christ in Ireland:—

'And there (he says) [namely, in the Britannia, with his parents] in the dead of night, I saw a man coming to me as if from *Hiberio*, whose name was *Victoricus*, bearing innumerable epistles. And he gave me one of them, and I read the beginning of it, which contained the words, "*the voice of the Irish*." And whilst I was repeating the beginning of the epistle, I imagined that I heard, in my mind, the voice of those who were near the wood of *Foclut*, which is near the Western sea. And thus they cried: "We pray thee, holy youth, to come, and henceforth walk amongst us." And I was greatly pricked in heart, and could read no more; and so I awoke. Thanks be to God, that after very many years the Lord granted unto them the blessing for which they cried.

'Again on another night, I know not, God knoweth, whether it was within me, or near me, I heard distinctly words which I could not understand, except that at the end of what was said there was uttered, "He who gave His life for thee is He who speaketh in thee." And so I awoke rejoicing. And again I saw in myself one praying, and I was as it were within my body, and I heard him, that is to say upon my inner man, and he prayed there mightily with groanings. And meanwhile I was in a trance, and marvelled, and thought who it could be who thus prayed within me. But at the end of the prayer he spake so as to reveal that He was the Spirit.† And so I awoke, and recollected the Apostle's words, "The Spirit helpeth the infirmity of our prayer. For we know not what to pray for as we ought; but the Spirit Himself maketh intercession for us, with groanings that cannot be

* Todd's 'Memoir,' p. 367-370.

† This is evidently the true reading, and not that in the Book of Armagh. We cannot understand Dr. Todd's hesitation about adopting it. The passage otherwise has no meaning.

uttered,"

uttered," which cannot be expressed in words. And again, the Lord our advocate intercedeth for us.'

On these passages Dr. Todd remarks :—

'There is nothing in all this which is not quite consistent with the feelings of an enthusiastic mind, filled with the holy ambition of converting to Christ the barbarous nation amongst whom he had been in captivity. There is no incredible or absurd miracle. He believed, no doubt, that his call was supernatural, and that he had seen visions and dreamt dreams. But other well-meaning and excellent men, in all ages of the Church, have in like manner imagined themselves to have had visions of this kind, and to have been the recipients of immediate revelations.*

The 'Confession' is silent as to the long interval which must have elapsed between the resolution of the saint to return to Ireland and its actual accomplishment. The common story of all the later writers is, that he was sixty years of age when he returned to Ireland in A.D. 432, and that he spent another sixty years in the work of his mission. The only clue to amend this chronology is given in a passage which is found in some copies of his 'Confession,' but not in that given in the 'Book of Armagh.' It states that a fault committed by him at the age of fifteen was brought forward and objected to him by his friends thirty years afterwards with a view to prevent his being consecrated a bishop, and to obstruct his design of devoting himself to the Irish mission. To determine the value of this passage would involve us in a controversy similar to that with regard to the longer and shorter forms of the Ignatian Epistles. The copy of the Confession in the 'Book of Armagh' is much shorter than the other copies; and the question arises, Are the passages omitted in the shorter version (like that mentioned above) to be considered authentic? Dean Graves, in his masterly examination of the 'Book of Armagh,'† gives it as his opinion that the copy of the Confession in that manuscript, though professing to be transcribed from the Saint's autograph, was meant to be an abridgment of the original work. Dr. Todd says (p. 348) that the passages omitted in that manuscript 'are of high antiquity. They are written in the same rude dialect of Latin, and exhibit internal evidence of having proceeded from the same pen as the rest of the work.' This being so, we seem to be safe in relying upon this passage and assuming that St. Patrick was forty-five years of age when he was consecrated a bishop. This is not inconsistent with his having commenced his mission at the age of sixty; but it is more probable that his

* Memoir, p. 378.

† In Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy, Nov. 30, 1846.

consecration immediately preceded his journey to Ireland, as is expressly asserted in the story (in 'Book of Armagh') of his consecration by Amatorex, as well as in the later histories which represent him as consecrated by Celestine. But even this computation leaves an interval of more than twenty years unaccounted for. How was this spent, and where?

We cannot understand why Dr. Todd so dogmatically rejects the story of Patrick's having studied under the famous Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and in the convent of Lerins. The 'Confession,' if true, makes no mention of it, but it says nothing of how the interval was spent, or of the place and manner of his consecration. But, in the authority next in age to St. Patrick's writings, the 'Hymn of Fiacc,' it is expressly stated as follows:—

'He went across all Alps beyond the sea.
Happy was the journey.
He remained with Germanus
Southwards, in the south of Leatha.
He dwelt in the isles of the Torrian (Tyrrhenian) Sea,
As I record. [or "There he meditated."]
He read the Canons with Germanus,
As histories relate.'

This story is repeated in the 'Book of Armagh,' for though the first leaf of Muirchu's life has been lost, we have the headings of the missing chapters, which are as follow:—

De etate ejus quando iens videre sedem apostolicam * voluit discere scientiam.—De inventione sancti Germani in Galliis, et ideo non vit ultra.'

Much stress cannot be laid upon the fact, that later writers repeat this story in various and not very consistent forms; but only there is no reason for rejecting such ancient authorities for the fact, which is neither improbable in itself nor contradicted elsewhere. Dr. Todd is certainly not warranted by any principles of sound criticism in setting aside these authorities, and saying dogmatically,—

'It is evident, therefore' [i.e. because Fiacc's hymn asserts it] 'that a part of the history of Palladius had begun to be transferred to the saint Patricius, in the interval between the publication of the former life, and the composition of St. Fiacc's Hymn.'†

The reasoning of this passage is singularly inconclusive. The writings of St. Patrick are silent about his connexion with Germanus, as they are about all the events of more than twenty

* *Sedes apostolica* is the title given by the same writer (Muirchu) to the See of Rome, when recording the mission of Palladius. See Memoir, p. 288. Note.

† Memoir, p. 314.

years. Fiacca's Hymn, written eighty years later, asserts plainly, that he spent part of that time studying under Germanus, and in some insular retreat; *therefore*, says Dr. Todd, this later account cannot be true of Patrick, but is an incident transferred to him from Palladius. We may remark that we have no evidence of any kind that Palladius ever studied under Germanus or at Lerins. We know only that it was by his intervention Germanus was sent to Britain.

But Dr. Todd says,—

'It is not possible that an ecclesiastic who had been regularly educated in the schools of St. Germain and St. Martin could have thus spoken of himself, as he speaks throughout the whole of the 'Confession.' . . . He speaks of himself as unlearned, *indoctus*, and alludes to his want of skill or knowledge, *imperitia mea*. The rude Latin of this tract [the Epistle to Coroticus], as well as of the Confession, is confirmatory of the author's defective education, and a collateral evidence of the authenticity of both.'*

This seems pushing the argument too far. The expressions referred to are partly used out of modesty, partly to exalt his spiritual gifts as 'an Apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father.' The passage most relied upon by Dr. Todd to show that he had never been in a school like that of Germanus, seems to bear quite another meaning. St. Patrick says,—

'I have not read like others who have been well imbued with sacred learning, and have never changed their studies from infancy, but have added more and more to perfection; for my speech and language have been changed into another tongue.†

These expressions seem suitable enough in the mouth of one whose early years had been spent herding cattle as a slave, and who had been employed, at the time when he wrote, for 40 or 50 years in teaching a barbarous people, far from the abodes of learning. His humble estimate of his own learning rather bespeaks one who had been the fellow-student of Vincentius of Lerins, and Hilary of Arles; men who, unlike himself, had 'never changed their studies from infancy,' and who in after life were 'adding more and more to perfection,' while he himself felt his 'speech and language changed into another tongue.'† We may remark that no disciple or admirer of St. Patrick (if the Confession had been forged by such a one) would have written thus.

* Memoir, p. 311, 312.

† Ibid., p. 311.

† We assume that the 'other tongue' here mentioned is the Irish; which, after half a century spent in missionary work, must have nearly supplanted the Latin of his earlier years. Can Dr. Todd understand the other tongue to be Latin?

cannot doubt that we are reading here the words of Patrick himself.

In the absence of any conflicting testimony, therefore, we feel ourselves bound to receive the evidence of more than one ancient authority that Patrick studied under Germanus; and to the Roman Church we must also assign the saint's consecration and missionary commission. Men, according to their theological views, will admit or reject the story of his commission from Celestine. It is a striking fact, upon which Dr. Todd lays much stress, that the most ancient authorities say nothing about it. This is of little importance as regards some of them, but it is remarkable as regards the 'Confession,' and the 'Hymn of St. Patrick,' because these works are both biographical. It certainly appears strange that St. Patrick should make no mention of his commission from Celestine (if he had received it). But the force of this argument, from his silence, is diminished by the fact that he makes no mention of the circumstances of his consecration, and of the events of more than twenty years. The 'Confession' is no doubt a biography, but it is rather the history of internal feelings and changes than of external events. The silence of the 'Hymn of St. Patrick' seems more decisive, inasmuch as it records his travels and his sojourn with Germanus. The more we are inclined to credit this statement, the more we are compelled to discredit the story of his consecration by, or commission from, Pope Celestine. The silence of Prosper, and of Sozomen (who, while they distinctly record Palladius's mission, make no mention of St. Patrick) must be regarded as a strong corroboration.

Passing from the oldest documents to those next in antiquity, we find a story in Muirchu's life, in the 'Book of Armagh,' which is at least consistent with all that older documents say or hint at. Probus, in the fifth life, adopts it, and tries to combine it with the story of the Roman mission, but fails signally to weave them into a consistent narrative. Muirchu narrates, that an angel, in a vision, warned Patrick that the time was come when he was to go forth to fish with evangelic net; that immediately he set out 'to the work for which he was before prepared, namely, the work of the Gospel.' Germanus, he tells us, sent him Patrick an aged priest named Segetius, to be a witness and companion of his labours, 'for Germanus had not yet raised him to the Pontifical order, inasmuch as it was certain that Palladius had already been ordained and sent by Pope Celestine' to convert the Irish. It would seem from this narrative that Patrick had already set out for the scene of his future labours, when Augustine

tine and Benedict,* the disciples of Palladius, met him at Ebmorea, and communicated to him the news of their master's death. What followed must be told in Muirchu's words:—

'Then Patrick and those who were with him went out of their way to a certain wondrous man and chief bishop, named Amathorex, who lived in a neighbouring place; and there St. Patrick, knowing what things were to happen, received from the holy bishop Mathorex (*sic*) episcopal orders. Auxilius and Iserinus, and others of inferior rank, were ordained on the same day as St. Patrick.'†

On the whole this appears to be the most probable account that has come down to us, as it is certainly the most ancient, of the circumstances of St. Patrick's consecration and entrance upon his Irish mission.

Much has been said upon the fact that the ancient life by Muirchu wants the first leaf; and it is the most unworthy exhibition of the *odium theologicum* which this controversy has elicited, that both Dr. Moran and Dr. Gargan insinuate plainly that it was designedly cancelled on account of its bearing testimony to the Roman mission of St. Patrick. To us that idea seems sufficiently negated by the story given above from the leaf which follows the lost one. It represents Patrick as sent out on his mission by Germanus, and afterwards consecrated on his way by Amathorex. But Dr. Gargan says—

'Dr. Todd cannot prove that [Muirchu] Maccumachtheni has not noticed Patrick's mission from Celestine, in that part of his tract which has been lost, *perhaps designedly destroyed*, within the last two hundred years.'‡

He speaks elsewhere of the probability of some works of St. Patrick, which

'distinctly inculcated the doctrine of Papal supremacy, and consequently of the necessity of a mission from Rome,' having 'shared the fate of so many Irish records that have been lost, either through neglect or from lapse of time, or *destroyed by the barbarous policy of rulers hostile to Catholic faith and Irish nationality.*'

Dr. Moran is equally suspicious. He speaks (p. 77) of the 'two chapters of Mactheni having *mysteriously disappeared* from the 'Book of Armagh;' and elsewhere (p. 74) he says,—

'It is an unfortunate and *as yet unexplained circumstance*, that within

* The occurrence of these great names is suspicious, though they may possibly have been the names of the companions of Palladius. Benedict, from its derivation, must have been a common, long before it became a famous, name; and the name of Augustine was already celebrated.

† Memoir, note, p. 317.

‡ Gargan's 'Ancient Church,' p. 88. the

the last two hundred years the first leaf of the tract of *Maetheni* has disappeared; and with it have been lost those chapters in which we would expect to find commemorated the close relations of St. Patrick and Pope Celestine. I say within the last two hundred years, for in Ussher's time the tract was complete.*

' . . . Thus, then, the silence of *Muirchu-Maccu Maetheni* is a rather mysterious silence, and one to which we hope Dr. Todd will not refer again.*

Those who know anything of our universities and public institutions will scorn the insinuation here implied, and which certainly is not creditable to the moral standard of those who make it. Had the 'Book of Armagh' remained in the custody of the See of Armagh, or been lodged with Ussher's MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, no care would have been wanting to preserve it in safety. Unfortunately, even in Ussher's time, it was not under his control; and through the bankruptcy of the official in whose custody it was, it was pledged for a small sum in the year 1680. Dr. Reeves, in his interesting sketch of the history of the MS., informs us that the name of the holder, and what happened to it between 1680 and 1707 is not known. It then came into the possession of a private gentleman, Mr. Arthur Brownlow,

' who, not without much labour, arranged in their proper order the leaves which were at the time displaced, wrote the numbers at the head of the pages, to mark the leaves, added others in the margin to distinguish the chapters, and took care, when they were so arranged, to have them securely stitched in their old cover in the condition in which it now appears, and caused the whole to be kept in the ancient case, together with a bull of a Roman Pontiff which was found in company with it,' &c.†

It remained in the possession of the Brownlow family till a few years ago, and they gave it into the custody of the Royal Irish Academy in 1846, without, however, resigning the ownership. This wise and liberal act led to the examination of the MS. by Dean Graves and others. It was purchased by Dr. Reeves in 1853, and from him the late Primate of Ireland purchased it in 1858 for 300*l.* (the price which Dr. Reeves had himself given), and lodged it in its present resting-place in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Such is the history of this precious MS. since the time of Ussher. That there was great carelessness at one time on the part of its keeper is undeniable; and even after it had passed into better hands the Bull which

* Dr. Moran's Essay, p. 74.

† Reeves's 'Memoir of Book of Armagh,' p. 9.

accompanied it was lost, and the MS. was more than once in serious jeopardy. Dr. Reeves says (p. 11),—

‘Transmitted through six successions of the Brownlow family, as the manuscript was, and in later times liberally lent to the curious, and on one occasion *all but lost*, it is very likely that the loose document (the Bull) was either disregarded as unimportant, or forgotten during the literary travels of its principal.’

If Dr. Moran and Dr. Gargan had taken the pains to inquire into the history of the MS. they would rather express thankfulness for the care which has preserved so much, than indulged in unworthy insinuations about the causes which led to the loss of a single leaf.*

Certainly the designed mutilation of the ‘Book of Armagh,’ imagined by Drs. Moran and Gargan, must have been very clumsily performed; for it left untouched another part of the volume, which contains a distinct assertion of Patrick’s commission from Celestine. The Annotations of Tirechan, which Dr. Todd admits (p. 289) to be of equal antiquity with the Life by Muirchu, contain the following passage:—

‘In the thirteenth year of the Emperor Theodosius, the Bishop Patrick was sent by Bishop Celestine, Pope of Rome, to teach the Irish. This Celestine was the forty-fifth bishop in succession from the Apostle Peter in the city of Rome.

‘Bishop Palladius was first sent, who was called Patrick by another name, who suffered martyrdom among the Irish, as the old saints record.

‘Then the second Patrick was sent by the Angel of God, named Victor, and by Pope Celestine, whom all Ireland believed, and who baptized almost the whole nation.’†

There is no stranger omission in Dr. Todd’s work than his leaving unmentioned this passage of Tirechan, when he insists so strongly upon the silence of his contemporary Muirchu. He quotes it elsewhere (pp. 289 and 305) in connexion with the history of Palladius, and makes great use of the statement contained in it that Palladius was also called Patrick; but he omits it from the list of witnesses, whom he interrogates about the commission from Celestine.

* Nothing can be more futile than Dr. Moran’s attempt (p. 77) ‘to reconstruct the missing chapter’ of Muirchu-Mactheni’s life, by taking instead the narrative of Probus in the ‘*Vita Quinta*,’ which he says is ‘nothing more than an *amended text of Mactheni*.’ Probus, indeed, makes Muirchu’s life the basis of his own; but he adds largely to it, and we have no way of knowing whether his account of Patrick’s prayer and visit to Rome is one of these additions or ‘*emendations of the text*,’ as Dr. Moran mildly terms them.

† Dr. Moran’s Essays, p. 25. Todd’s ‘Memoir,’ p. 289.

We cannot place implicit credence in these lives in the 'Book of Armagh,' as in many cases they have palpably overlaid the original story with legendary matter. (See the accounts of St. Patrick at Tara, quoted by Dr. Todd, pp. 419-425.) But in many instances they had unquestionably a true outline of facts. The story of the consecration by Amathorex is one not at all likely to be an invention, and it is altogether at variance with the story of a consecration by Celestine, or even by Germanus. But these lives in the 'Book of Armagh' show that there was a desire in the writers' time (A.D. 700) to connect St. Patrick with the Roman See, and they may have had some warrant in historic fact for so doing. It is not impossible or inconsistent with older authorities that St. Patrick may at some period of his life have visited Rome. He may have been marked out by Germanus (whose connexion with both Celestine and Palladius we have already seen) to take a part in the Irish mission, either distinct from or subordinate to Palladius, and may have actually been on his way to Ireland when the news of Palladius's death reached him and induced him to seek for consecration from the nearest bishop. All this is at least consistent with the silence of some ancient documents and the statements of others, and helps to fill up the blank which Dr. Todd's scepticism leaves in the history of one important era of the Saint's life.

But if the silence of St. Patrick's own writings and other ancient documents does not actually disprove his commission from Rome, and still less a commission from Germanus, that was considered to carry with it the sanction of Celestine, it is certainly a strong proof that his opinion as to the supremacy of the See of Rome was very different from that held by Dr. Moran and Dr. Gargan. Rome was then the capital of Western Christendom and the centre of civilisation and letters. St. Patrick might well have desired to visit Rome, and might even have obtained the sanction and blessing of its patriarch for the intended mission, without entertaining any extravagant view of his prerogative. And we so far assent to Dr. Todd's argument that we think it quite inconceivable, if St. Patrick regarded a commission from Rome as the one credential of paramount importance, that he could have passed it over in silence in his Confession. Imagine Dr. Cullen, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, or the late Cardinal Wiseman, omitting to press this against adversaries who doubted their right to govern and dictate in the Roman Catholic Church in these islands. Would they fail to produce their authority from Rome, and to silence all opposition by an appeal to the commission they held? We grant that St. Patrick *may* have had a commission from Celestine, and we admit that his silence

out it is not absolutely inconsistent with the fact; but we grant it only on the supposition that he set upon it no extravagant value, but regarded it as a colonial bishop in our Church might regard his mission from Canterbury and his consecration at Lambeth.

This view is strongly confirmed by the struggles which the early Irish Church maintained, longer and more pertinaciously than that of Britain, against the encroachments of Rome. The contests about Easter, about the tonsure, and other matters, plainly show that the early Irish Church had *no close connexion* with Rome, but clung fondly to customs which were regarded as the traditions of its founder. It is impossible that this could have happened if St. Patrick had been as anxious as Dr. Cullen would be to extend the influence and establish the discipline of Rome.*

It might be expected that, whatever obscurity hung over St. Patrick's early life and education, would disappear when we came to inquire into the actual circumstances of his mission. But if, in the former case, we are perplexed by the silence of the most important documents and the want of information, in the latter we are embarrassed by the extent to which the real history has been overlaid with legends and miracles. Still the outline of his travels is plain enough. He landed at the mouth of Lough Strangford, in the county of Down, and made his first ecclesiastical settlement at Sabhal, or Saul, which was also the place of his death. The most marked event was his preaching at Tara, then the most important place in Ireland, before King Laoghaire and his court. In all probability this was the crisis on which

* Dr. Todd is not satisfied to adopt the common chronology which places St. Patrick's arrival in Ireland in A.D. 432. He fancies that he has discovered traces of an older and truer chronology, which would place his arrival some ten years later. He attributes the current date to the desire of later writers to prop up the story of the mission from Celestine, who died in 432. No doubt the later date would reduce the length of St. Patrick's life and mission within more probable limits, besides allowing sufficient time to elapse between the failure of Palladius and the mission of his more fortunate successor. For this latter reason chiefly it was adopted by the excellent historian Tillemont. But the evidence which Dr. Todd brings forward in support of it is of a very doubtful kind. This may be the most original, but it is certainly not the most successful part of his book. The fact is that all attempts to construct a thoroughly consistent chronology must fail, and it is simply a useless exercise of ingenuity, and one that will be sure to bring him who attempts it into trouble. Dr. Todd's conjecture that many of the adventures of Palladius (who, as we learn from Tirechan, was also called Patrick) have been transferred by later writers to his greater namesake, is more happy, and helps to solve some difficulties. St. Patrick's alleged landing in the county of Wicklow, and rejection by the native tribes (p. 338), seems plainly a leaf from Palladius's life. But Dr. Todd pushes this conjecture quite too far: it is with him a *Deus ex machina*, always at hand to dispose of every difficulty. He has no right to use it, as he does, to set aside positive testimony of ancient date.

depended

ed the fate of Patrick's mission. The opposition he met and the courage he displayed appear through the legendary which are crowded round this portion of his life, and which destitute of interest. Dr. Todd preserves the best of these, from the 'Book of Armagh' (pp. 412-425). Perhaps the interesting point that transpires in connexion with Tara is that, notwithstanding his profession of Christianity, Kingaire was buried, at his own desire, with Pagan rites—upright in the ramparts of Tara, with his armour and his face turned towards his hereditary foes (Memoir, 438). This mode of sepulture, which would reverse the ancient precept of forgiveness and carry men's enmity with them to the grave, shows how imperfect must often have been the reception of Christianity by its first converts.

Todd comments thus upon this and other similar events:—
 "Viewing the history of St. Patrick's missionary labours, we are struck by the fact that he appears to have always addressed himself first instance to the kings or chieftains."

* * *
 This policy must have been pursued by St. Patrick as much from prudence as from a knowledge of the character and habits of the people. A chieftain once secured, the clan, as a matter of course, were disposed to follow in his steps. To attempt the conversion of the clan, without the will of the chieftain, would probably have been attended upon inevitable death, or at the least, to risk a violent expulsion from the district. The people may not have adopted the outward profession of Christianity, which was all that, perhaps, in the first instance they adopted, from any clear or intellectual appreciation of its utility to their former religion; but to obtain from the people an outward profession of Christianity was an important step to success. It secured toleration at least for Christian institutions. It enabled Patrick to plant in every tribe his churches, schools, and monasteries. He was permitted, without opposition, to establish the half-Pagan inhabitants of the country societies of holy men, devotion, usefulness, and piety soon produced an effect upon the barbarous and savage hearts.

It was the secret of the rapid success attributed to St. Patrick's mission in Ireland. The chieftains were at first the real converts. The submission of the chieftain was immediately followed by the adhesion of the clan. The clansmen pressed eagerly round the missionary who visited the chief, anxious to receive that mysterious initiation to a new faith to which their chieftain and father had submitted. The requirements preparatory to baptism do not seem to have been rigorous; and it is, therefore, by no means improbable that in many, and other remote districts, where the spirit of clanship was strong, Patrick, as he tells us himself he did, may have baptised some hundreds of men.*

* Memoir, pp. 498, 499.

St. Patrick's course, after his encounter with the Druids at Tara, is overlaid with legends, some beautiful, others merely puerile. We can trace his course from Tara, under the guidance of two Western chieftans, sons of King Amalgaidh, into Connaught, where he preached in Tirawley, especially near the modern town of Killalla in Mayo. From Connaught he went to Leinster. Dublin was then too insignificant a place to receive any notice from him or his more ancient biographers. In Munster also he spent some time, and is said to have stood upon the Rock of Cashel and baptised King Aengus there. Many curious legends cluster round the foundation of the ecclesiastical settlement at Armagh, which unquestionably became the seat of the saint and his successors. Nevertheless, it was not there he died, but at his first settlement, Saul. He was buried at Downpatrick.

But instead of attempting to wade through the legends that cover the events of the Apostle's career, it will be more interesting to inquire how far we can trace the system of his missionary operations, and the form of those ecclesiastical institutions which were destined soon to be a blessing to other lands. One point we have already adverted to, namely, the policy which led St. Patrick, in the first instance, always to direct his efforts to secure the adhesion, or at least the toleration, of the chiefs.* His method of dealing with Pagan superstitions is thus described by Dr. Todd :—

'In this policy, also, we may perceive the cause of that spirit of toleration which he seems to have shown towards the old superstitions. Conscious that he had gained only the outward adherence of the adult members of the clan, he was compelled to use great caution in his attempts to overthrow the ancient monuments and usages of Paganism. It was only in some rare instances that he ventured upon the destruction of an idol, or the removal of a pillar-stone. Sometimes he contented himself with inscribing upon such stones the sacred names or symbols of Christianity. The very festivals of the Irish were respected, and converted into Christian solemnities or holidays. The *Beltine* and the *Samhain* of our Pagan forefathers are still observed in the popular sports of May-day and All-hallow-e'en. "Nothing is clearer," says Dr. O'Donovan, "than that Patrick ingrafted Christianity on the Pagan superstitions with so much skill that he won the people over to the Christian religion before they understood the difference between the two systems of belief; and much of this half-Pagan half-Christian religion will be found not only in the Irish

* This was not peculiar to him. The conversions of Clovis and Ethelbert were the result of similar efforts and led to similar effects. The method of conciliating Pagan prejudices was also common to all the early missionaries. Pope Gregory directed Augustine (of Canterbury) not to demolish the Pagan temples, but to convert them into churches.

stories of the middle ages, but in the superstitions of the peasantry to the present day." * *

Dr. Todd thus describes the effect of the monastic institutions in Ireland:—

‘Many of the foundations of St. Patrick appear to have had the effect of counteracting this evil, by creating a sort of spiritual clanship, well calculated to attract a clannish people, and capable of maintaining itself against the power of the secular chieftains. But this was, perhaps, an accidental result only: it was certainly not the primary design of these institutions. St. Patrick had a much higher object in view. He seems to have been deeply imbued with faith in the intercessory powers of the Church. He established throughout the land temples and oratories for the perpetual worship of God. He founded societies of priests and bishops, whose first duty it was to make constant supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks for all men, for kings, and for all that are in authority; persuaded, in accordance with the true spirit of ancient Christianity, that the intercessions of the faithful in their daily sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving were efficacious, as St. Paul’s words imply, for the salvation of mankind, and for bringing to the knowledge of the truth those upon whom appeals to reason, and arguments addressed to the intellect, would have been probably a waste of words.’

* * * *

‘The lands given by the piety of St. Patrick’s converts for the foundation of these establishments often conveyed the rights of chieftainship, and so secured the allegiance of the clan. When this was the case, many of the causes obstructive to Christianity were removed, and the people were with less difficulty weaned from their ancient superstitions, and brought the more fully under the influence of the Gospel. But in some places the lay succession continued, and in time swallowed, or became identified with the ecclesiastical authority. In every case, however, it is evident that the spirit of clanship was ingrafted upon the institutions of the Church. This, in the earlier ages of Christianity in Ireland, tended to protect the monastic societies from outrage and plunder, as well as to spread their influence amongst the people. This was also the real cause of the great extension of the monastic life in Ireland. The state of society rendered it practically impossible to maintain the Christian life, except under some monastic rule. The will of the chieftain was law. The clansman was liable at any time to be called upon to serve upon some wild foray, in a quarrel or feud with which he had personally no concern. The domestic ties were unknown, or little respected. No man could call his life, or property, his wife or children, his own; and yet, such is the inconsistency of human nature, the people clung to their chieftains and to their clan with a fidelity and an affection which continue to the present day. Hence the spirit of clanship readily transferred itself to

* Memoir, p. 500.

the monastery. The abbat was sometimes also chieftain, or a near relative of the chieftain, and the welfare or progress of the monastic society was identified with the prosperity of the clan.*

St. Patrick sought from the first to identify Christianity with the institutions of the country, and to raise up a native ministry. Dr. Todd says,—

‘St. Patrick seems, in a large majority of instances, to have placed natives of the country as priests and bishops over the ecclesiastical or monastic societies which were founded by him. This may, at first sight, seem difficult to understand. It is not possible (miracle apart) that a lawless chieftain, baptised in adult life, could be at once converted into a devoted priest or a saintly bishop, without any previous preparation or instruction. But it is a prominent feature in St. Patrick’s history that he was at all times accompanied by a body of men under training for the priesthood.’

‘The churches and ecclesiastical or collegiate bodies established by St. Patrick throughout the country must have had considerable educational influences. Every such society, as it was formed, became a school for the education of the clergy. The daily offices of devotion trained the inmates to the correct observance of the ritual of the Church, and prepared them to become the heads, as priests or bishops, of similar establishments.†

‘Hence it was that in Ireland Christianity became at once a national institution. It was not looked upon as coming from foreigners, or as representing the manners and civilisation of a foreign nation. Its priests and bishops, the successors of St. Patrick in his missionary labours, were many of them descendants of the ancient kings and chieftains so venerated by a clannish people. The surrounding chieftains and men in authority, who still kept aloof in Paganism, were softened by degrees, when they perceived that in all the assemblies of the Christian Church fervent prayers were offered to God for them. In this point of view, the public incense of prayer and “lifting up of hands” of the Church in a heathen land, is perhaps the most important engine of missionary success. “Nothing,” says Chrysostom, “is so apt to draw men under teaching as to love, and to be loved,” to be prayed for in the spirit of love.’‡

It is impossible to read these valuable remarks without a feeling of deep regret that so little of the spirit and wisdom here described descended to later times. It is painful to recall the fact that, under English rule, it was made penal by the infamous statute of Kilkenny (A.D. 1367) to present an Irishman to benefice, and it was also made penal for any religious house within the English pale to receive any Irishman to their pri-

* Memoir, pp. 503-506.

† Ibid., p. 506.

‡ Ibid., pp. 513, 514.

fession. In fact, as Dr. Todd has pointed out (p. 241), there were two Churches in Ireland from the Conquest to the Reformation, the one the Church of the English, within the pale, from which the natives were rigorously excluded, the other the

'Church of the native Irish, discountenanced and ignored by Rome as well as by England. It consisted of the old Irish clergy and inmates of the monasteries, beyond the limits of the English pale, who had not adopted the English manners or language, and who were therefore dealt with as rebels, and compelled to seek for support from the charity or devotion of the people.'

And at a subsequent period, when the clergy as a body had accepted the Reformation, when the mere Irish clergy were found to have become practically extinct, the spirit and example of St. Patrick were again forgotten. Neither a native clergy nor a liturgy in their own tongue were given to the Irish people,* and the bulk of the population, as happened also in Wales, were allowed to escape from the control of the Church. But it is painful to dwell on these instances of folly and wrong. We return with pleasure to the study of St. Patrick's career. Dr. Todd thus sums up the lessons derived from his life:—

'On the whole, the biographers of St. Patrick, notwithstanding the admixture of much fable, have undoubtedly portrayed in his character the features of a great and judicious missionary. He seems to have made himself "all things," in accordance with the apostolic injunction, to the rude and barbarous tribes of Ireland. He dealt tenderly with their usages and prejudices. Although he sometimes felt it necessary to overturn their idols, and on some occasions risked his life, he was guilty of no offensive or unnecessary iconoclasm. A native himself of another country, he adopted the language of the Irish tribes, and conformed to their political institutions. By his judicious management, the Christianity which he founded became self-supporting. It was endowed by the chieftains, without any foreign aid. It was supplied with priests and prelates by the people themselves; and its fruits were soon seen in that wonderful stream of zealous missionaries, the glory of the Irish Church, who went forth in the sixth and seventh centuries to evangelise the barbarians of Central Europe. In a word, the example and success of St. Patrick have bequeathed to us this lesson, that the great object of the missionary bishop should be to establish among the heathen the true and unceasing worship of God's Church, and to supply that Church with a native ministry.' †

Dr. Todd's book is not limited to the life and times of

* As the clergy were sometimes unable to read the Liturgy in English, they might have edified their people by instructing them in the Irish tongue, but the Act (2 Eliz. c. 2) ordered them in that case to read the service in *Latin*!! See 'King's Church History', p. 756.

† Memoir, pp. 514, 515.

St. Patrick. A large portion of it is devoted to the history and peculiarities of the church in subsequent times. By a strange, and, as it seems to us, injudicious inversion of chronological order, he has placed this portion of his work first as an introduction, reserving the biography of St. Patrick for the end. The changes and peculiarities of the Church in subsequent times, would have formed a natural and interesting sequel to the life of its founder. The wisdom of St. Patrick's institutions is attested by the vitality of the Church in subsequent times. In the following century, St. Columba settled at Iona, and became the Apostle of Scotland. Fifty years later still, Aidan, and other monks from Iona, converted the Saxons of Northern England to the Christian faith, and restored the churches which Paganism had nearly overwhelmed. At an earlier date, Columbanus and his companions were among the most famous missionaries to the barbarians of Central Europe, while the Irish Church, in common with the remnants of the British Church, struggled vigorously to maintain its ancient customs, and resist the dictation of Rome.

But though the wisdom of St. Patrick's institutions is attested by their vitality, it is hard to form any definite idea of their nature, and of the changes which they underwent in subsequent times. There seems little room to doubt that they were in many points unlike the system which prevailed elsewhere, and which was gradually established in Ireland, though not fully developed till the twelfth century. We know enough to be able dimly to discern the outline of the changes which took place in the two centuries which followed the era of St. Patrick.

No student of Irish ecclesiastical history is ignorant of the division of the Fathers of the Irish Church into what are called the three orders of Saints. The catalogue first published by Archbishop Ussher, and assigned by him to the middle of the eighth century, marks out plainly the distinguishing features of the three eras, which may be described—the first, as the era of St. Patrick and his disciples, from A.D. 432 to A.D. 534; the second, as the era of Columba, from A.D. 534 to A.D. 600; and the third as the ascetic era, from A.D. 600 to A.D. 666. We subjoin the leading sentences of this remarkable catalogue, omitting the lists of names.

‘THE FIRST ORDER of Catholic Saints was in the time of Patrick; and then they were *all bishops*, famous and holy, and full of the Holy Ghost; 350 in number, founders of churches. They had *one head*, Christ, and *one chief*, Patrick; they observed *one mass*, one celebration, *one tonsure* from ear to ear. They celebrated *one Easter*, on the fourteenth moon after the vernal equinox, and what was excommunicated by one church, all excommunicated. They rejected not the services
and

and society of women, because, founded on the rock Christ, they feared not the blast of temptation. This order of saints continued for four reigns.'

* * * * *

'THE SECOND ORDER was of Catholic Presbyters. For in this order there were few bishops, and many presbyters, in number 300. They had one head, our Lord; they celebrated *different masses*, and had *different rules*, one Easter, on the fourteenth moon after the equinox, one tonsure from ear to ear; they refused the services of women, separating them from the monasteries. . . . They received a mass from Bishop David, and Gillas, and Docus the Britons.'

* * * * *

'THE THIRD ORDER of Saints was of this sort:—They were holy presbyters and a few bishops, 100 in number, who dwell in desert places, and lived on herbs and water, and the alms of the faithful; they shunned private property; and they had *different rules and masses*, and *different tonsures* (for some had the crown and others the hair), and a *different Paschal festival*. . . .

'These lived during four reigns . . . and continued to that great mortality.' [A.D. 666.]

* * * * *

'The first Order was most holy; the second Order very holy; the third Order holy. The first burns like the sun, the second like the moon, the third like the stars.'

This catalogue plainly indicates the progress of change. The unity of the first order is infringed by the *different masses* and *different rules* of the second, and a growing tendency to asceticism. In the third order there is a further diversity in the tonsures, and the time of celebrating Easter. The triumph of asceticism is marked by the prevalence of the hermit life. We see here the breaking up of the old rules and discipline of St. Patrick preparatory to the uniformity which was afterwards established on the basis of Rome. The ancient practices or irregularities (we may regard them in either light) in connexion with the episcopate, seem to have held their ground the longest.

These points, which were characteristic of the Irish Church through a long period of its history (though not found in it exclusively), were, according to Dr. Todd, 1st, Bishops without sees; 2nd, consecration by a single bishop; 3rd, consecration *per saltum*. The first two are plainly alluded to by Archbishop Anselm, in his letter to Murtach O'Brien, in the beginning of the twelfth century. He writes:—

'It is also said that bishops in your country are elected at random and appointed without any fixed place of episcopal jurisdiction; and that a bishop, like a priest, is ordained by a single bishop.'

* Memoir, p. 88, 89, note.

† Ibid., p. 2.

But not only were there many bishops without any fixed territorial jurisdiction, but they were often attached to monasteries, and were subject to their respective abbots, though these were only presbyters. From the story given by Dr. Todd (pp. 11-13) it appears that St. Brigid had a bishop attached to her monastery at Kildare, to perform all the functions peculiar to the episcopate, without, however, giving up any of her own authority or jurisdiction. This, and many other stories, fully confirm the accusation made as to the want of fixed dioceses. The story in the 'Book of Armagh,' of St. Patrick's consecration by Amathorex, plainly shows (whether the tale be true or not) that in Muirchu's time (about A.D. 700) it was not considered an irregularity that a bishop should be consecrated by a single bishop. Dr. Todd (pp. 74-77) gives other proofs of this. The ordination *per saltum*, i. e., conferring episcopal orders upon one who had not received the previous orders of deacon and priest, rests upon more slender evidence, though it is not improbable that it may have existed along with the other practices which we have mentioned.

All these show either that the customs of the Irish Church were not derived from Rome, or that the insular position of the Church, and its want of intercourse with the Latin Churches had caused the introduction of anomalous practices. The probability seems to be, that the Irish Church derived many of its customs through a portion of the Gallican Church, from Asia Minor; and its insular position preserved many of these customs long after they had been completely obliterated elsewhere. The traces of orientalisms in the early Irish Church are undoubtedly wrapped in much obscurity; but we must not dismiss as mere idle legends the tradition that ascribed their time of keeping Easter, their tonsure, and their liturgy* to the appointment of St. John.

We cannot linger over these topics, which offer so tempting a theme to the student of Church History, but must now take leave of St. Patrick and his biographer. On the whole, notwithstanding its solid merits, we confess to some feeling of disappointment in Dr. Todd's book. It does not place us so far in advance of the knowledge given by others as we expected; and the arrangement of the work takes much from its interest. We say the arrangement; for certainly the defect is not in the style, or in the want of interesting matter. The extracts we have given are sufficient to show that Dr. Todd handles his subject clearly and philosophically, and writes in an attractive style. Notwithstand-

* See the curious tract printed by Dr. Moran, p. 248, which traces the Irish Liturgy *cursum Scottorum*, from St. John through Irenæus, Polycarp, Germanus and Lupus,

ng, his book is a heavy one to read through. This seems to arise from a defect in the plan, which not only reverses the natural chronological order, but scatters the remarks upon a single topic among different parts of the book. But though we notice this defect, we willingly testify that Dr. Todd has rendered a great service to the literature of his country and the history of the Church; and we believe that the name of his biographer will long be remembered in connexion with that of the Apostle and Patron Saint of Ireland.

ART. VII.—1. *Principles of Education*. By the Author of ‘Amy Herbert.’ 2 vols. 1865.
2. *Woman’s Mission*. Tenth edition. 1842.

IN more than one treatise on the education of women, we have seen it laid down that its end and object should be to fit them for the duties of maternity. They are to be taught and trained to the end that they may be able to teach and train their children. If this theory is to be admitted, at least there should be no offence to the theorists in a faint smile at the inadequacy of the means to the end, under modern systems. Shallow, superficial, rapid as modern female education too often is, it is not quite fair to assume that the rising generation stands to it in the exact relation of fruit to tree. And, notwithstanding familiar instances of great men, whose character, ability, and genius have been directly traceable to maternal character and influence—notwithstanding Napoleon’s dictum ‘that the fate of the child is always the work of his mother,’ and the corroborations of it in the case of John Wesley, the Napier family, and many others—much remains to be said for the other side of the question, and examples, such as the second Pitt and the second Peel, may be urged to show that not seldom it is from the male parent that ability, energy, and intellect descend to his offspring. Without at all undervaluing that benignant influence, to have lost or never to have known which is one of the sorest earthly privations, the softening, winning, humanising influence of a mother, we think that it is an incomplete and narrow view of the scope of education to limit it to training woman for a destiny that may never be hers. Rather should that system recommend itself which purports to educate for the wider object of producing ‘the perfect woman, nobly planned,’ who shall be equal to the occasion, whether it be to bring up children, to be companion to a husband, whose home it is denied her to bless with offspring, or, perchance, to illustrate in single blessedness the sunny ‘afternoon