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ART. IV.—IRELAND AND THE ANGLO-NORMAN CHURCH.

Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church: A History of Ireland and Irish Christianity from the Anglo-Norman Conquest to the Dawn of the Reformation. By the REV. G. T. STOKES, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, Keeper of St. Sepulchre's Public Library, and Vicar of All Saints, Blackrock. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1889.

THE former work of Professor Stokes on the Celtic Church was the subject of an article in this Magazine in the year 1886. The book deservedly obtained a large circulation. Dr. Stokes sent a brisk breeze through the mists and myths of early Irish history, and showed us living men, standing out clear though far, who took the place of the shadowy names to which we had been too long accustomed. To make Celtic Christianity interesting was a difficult task. By common consent the author succeeded in doing this.

He has now printed a second series of lectures, delivered, like those which made up his previous work, to the divinity students of Trinity College, Dublin. He has taken in hand the most difficult of the three periods with which Irish Church history may be divided—the Keltic, the Anglo-Norman and the Reformation. The second of these is not a pleasing epoch for the ecclesiastical historian, for no Christian nation, surely, ever had so little to show for its Christianity in three hundred and fifty years. No Christian missions attempted; no Christian martyrs made; not one name standing forth as saintly, literary, reforming, unless we point to the lonely efforts of Fitzralph to put down the mendicant friars, or to the feeble resistance of the Baltinglass monk, Henry Crumpe, to the doctrine of transubstantiation. The days had passed away with the Norman invasion when Irish monasteries were the seats of sacred learning and the schools of sacred art; when Irish bishops sent forth priests, or went themselves, to plant the Gospel in other lands.

In fact, the historian has but scant materials to manipulate so long as he wishes to deal with the Church, even in its more secular aspect. He is compelled, following the examples of the many ecclesiastical annalists of Ireland, to give most of his attention to political affairs. And this Dr. Stokes has done, and done extremely well. The volume before us is mainly occupied with the story of the Anglo-Norman conquest or occupation of Ireland, and with the internecine strife continued for over three centuries of the great Palatine princes who obtained lordship under the shadow of the English rule in various parts of Ireland. The method pursued by the author is a judicious one. Instead of following the chronicles in their weary, if conscientious,

details of every event, great or small, which could be recovered and set down without proportion or historical perspective, great men and great epochs are selected, and the converging rays shed by every accessible writer and chronicler are focussed successively, first on one and then on another of these men and scenes, until a picture full of light and shade has been impressed on the reader's mind.

The sources of the Irish history of the period are abundant. But many of them still lie in Dublin in the form of unpublished manuscripts, in the Public Record Office, and in the collections of the Archbishopal Palace, of Christ Church, of Marsh's and Trinity College libraries. As yet the Treasury has refused to undertake the publication of such valuable records as the *Liber Niger* and the *Repertorium Viride* of Archbishop Alan, or the *Crede Mihi*, the *Liber Niger* and the *Liber Albus* of Christ Church. Late years, however, have seen the publication of several of the most instructive annals. The *Rolls* series, the calendar of Irish documents, edited by Mr. Sweetman, the publications of the English and Irish Record Commissioners, have shed a flood of fresh light on Anglo-Norman affairs in Ireland. In 1880 Professor Atkinson published a transcript of "The Book of Leinster," otherwise called "The Book of Glendalough." "The Annals of Lough Ce" and the "Chronicon Scotorum" have been published in the *Rolls* series, under the able editorship of Mr. Hennessy. The Royal Irish Academy has employed the same editor to publish "The Annals of Ulster," while "The Annals of the Four Masters," a work known at least by name to many of our readers, has been in print since 1851. "The Irish Archæological Miscellany" has from time to time done good work in the like direction. But these form but a part of the stores still lying buried in MSS. In the report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records (Ireland) for 1888, there is an abstract of 467 documents formerly in the custody of Christ Church, Dublin, the earliest being a grant by Strongbow to one of the Danish princes of Dublin. Let us hope that Dr. Stokes' earnest plea for the publication of some of these MS. treasures may bear fruit, and that the work of bringing the obscurities of Irish history to the light of day may soon be more vigorously pressed forward.

From the English side the sources of the history of the times we are dealing with are mainly the writings of Gerald Barry, the Giraldus Cambrensis whose works, under the titles of "The Topographia" and "The Expugnatio Hiberniæ," have been splendidly edited and published in the *Rolls* series in seven volumes. Messrs. Bohn, in their Antiquarian Library, have also published a convenient edition of Giraldus. Morice Regan, one of the attendants of Dermot M'Murrough the younger, has left

us also, in the form of an Anglo-Norman poem, a graphic account of the stirring scenes in which he took part. We promise the reader of Dr. Stokes' book equal amusement and instruction from the perusal of the chapters dealing with the personal history of Cambrensis, and with the opening scenes in the conquest of Ireland, which are pictured from the Welsh Archdeacon's pages.

To give an abstract, within reasonable compass, of the events which led to the invasion of Ireland by Henry II., would be quite possible; but it would have the disadvantage of being quite uninteresting. Many a writer has given us a *sketch* of those stirring times. The sketch—witness the recent handbook of Dr. William Francis Collier—is too condensed to be pictorial, and, therefore, is too uninteresting to be remembered. Dr. Stokes' great virtue is that, while making the largest use of his authorities—references to which are repeated in his footnotes almost to excess—he knows where to pause and enlarge, and brings a lively historical imagination to bear upon his materials. Aided continually by this, and by his wide topographical knowledge, he has placed his pictures in the light best suited to show them to advantage.

We may give an example or two of this sort of picture-making, which only one well acquainted with minute topography could write :

The winter of 1168-9 passed as winters usually passed in Ireland in those times. The old Irish inverted the order of their descendants. The long nights are famous in the annals of modern Irish disturbance for many a sad tale of assassination and bloodshed. The long nights and the short days, and the tempestuous weather, in ancient times gave the inhabitants of this land their only season of peace. The circumstances of the case explain the reason why. The resources of civilization have benefited and blessed mankind in a thousand ways, but they have also made crime easier and more terrible. Good roads, railways, telegraphs have made life more convenient and enjoyable, but they have also served to help the criminal. If a party of moonlighters wish to attack a house twenty miles distant, a good road serves their purpose as well as that of the merchant or honest labourer. Seven hundred years ago the roads of Ireland ran in the main on the same tracks as at present, but they were mere passes through forests and bogs, which the September rains rendered impassable till the following spring opened them again. Some of these passes still remain in their primitive state. Would you see one of them, often used, doubtless, by Dermot and his men, go to the head of Glenmalure Valley in Wicklow, and traverse the pass which leads from that wild glen to the towns of Donard and Dunlavin. It is a magnificent walk over the shoulder of Lugnaquilla. It proceeds up by the Ess [qu. *Esth*] waterfall to the height of 2,000 feet, and then descends beneath the beetling cliffs of the north prison and beside the head waters of the Slaney into the Vale of Imaal. I have traversed it on a beautiful day at the end of a fine April, and yet it brought me well within the snow-line, and was in parts as impassable as the Slough of Despond itself. Such were all the roads of Ireland, and of Wales, too, in those times (pp. 66, 67).

Or again, describing Henry's four months' sojourn in Dublin :

We can determine the very spot where Henry II. spent the Christmas of 1171. St. Andrew's Church now occupies the top of the hill where the Danes of those days held their thingmote. But it was erected there only 200 years ago, when the hill was cut down by the barbarians of those days, who had no eye either for antiquities or scenery, and the soil carried away to raise Nassau Street to its present height above the College Park (p. 135).

Or, to take another example, Professor Stokes writes :

The Irish princes, who thronged to Henry's Court from every quarter, brought with them large hosts of retainers. They easily encamped, after the Irish fashion, in huts of turf and branches, spreading themselves over the meadows, fields, and strand, which extended on every side of the Dublin of that day. I have often mentioned that the Dublin of 1172 and for hundreds of years after, was a very small place. . . . Fields and gardens ran close up to the castle in Dame Street . . . woods intermingled with meadows covered St. Stephen's Green and Ranelagh and Cullenswood, the last name bearing witness to the ancient fact. . . . The wild Celtic soldiery squatted down on every vacant spot, especially along the highlands of St. Stephen's Green, then called Colonia or Cualan (a name now represented by the prebend of Cullen in St. Patrick's Cathedral), where wood and water were abundant. . . . They satisfied their thirst from the brook which then ran from Stephen's Green to the sea, as it still runs in the sewers under Grafton Street (pp. 139, 140).

The events of history are thus throughout the book linked on with topographical information, and this feature renders Dr. Stokes' story more easily assimilated and remembered than those of his predecessors, as historians of Ireland, Geoffrey Keating, Sir Richard Cox, John Lynch, Silvester O'Halloran, Thomas Leland, or O'Lanigan.

Commending, then, to our readers the author's graphic account of the invasion of the Geraldines, and the extraordinary history of Dermot M'Murrough, which are full of interest, and passing over the story of Henry's coming, and the foundation of the Anglo-Norman rule, we come to the important subject of the Norman organization of Ireland.

The principle on which this was effected was a radically unsound one. The feudal system worked fairly in England. It introduced a degree of cohesion into a society which, constituted of Anglo-Saxons, would otherwise have been broken up into units under the influence of the native self-dependence which characterizes the race. In England this system lasted from the Conqueror to Henry II., who fused all the elements thus prepared into one mass. In Ireland the same feudal system was introduced, but there was no presiding genius in the shape of a monarch or permanent viceroy to seize the favourable moment and fuse the contending forces when the temporary discipline had done its work. The De Courcys, the De Burghs, the Geraldines, the Butlers, the De Lacys, quarrelled,

fought, oppressed the people, defied the Viceroys, despised the Crown, and never were crushed, as the iron hand of Henry crushed the Anglo-Norman feudatories of England. Had Henry II. not been absorbed for the remaining seventeen years of his strong life in his great work of organization in England, and in the papal difficulties connected with the murder of Becket, he would have returned to Ireland, and the robust arm which brought all classes in England under the government of the King, unembarrassed by the rights of any order or the traditions of any class, would have done the same in Ireland, if any man could have done it. But Providence had otherwise ordered it for our poor Ireland. Henry, indeed, during his four months' stay, devoted himself to the organization of the social life of Ireland. He tried to unbarbarize the native princes, and appeared before them clad in scarlet and green, with trimmings of fur, and wearing a sword set with brilliants. He treated them to the rarest wines and costliest French cookery, and sent them home astonished, and bearing charters of privileges in their pouches, on which was impressed the broad seal of England.

The Church, too, he endeavoured to organize, and a synod was summoned by him who so seldom himself attended Mass. The Plantagenet King, who used to whisper and scribble and look at picture-books while the Divine mysteries were being celebrated, who never confessed, who cursed God in wild frenzies of blasphemy, he was the mighty one, the agent of Pope Adrian IV., who reduced the Irish Church to the Roman obedience, who summoned the historical synod which met in the newly erected cathedral on the Rock of Cashel, under the presidency of Ralph the Abbot, and three other Royal Commissioners, and which passed the decree which finally swept away the liberties of the Keltic Church, the Church of Patrick, Columba and Brigid: "Divine offices shall be henceforth celebrated in every part of Ireland according to the forms and usages of the Church of England."

Henry organized the legal and municipal affairs of Ireland. Assize Courts date from his visit. Ranulf de Glanville, "greatest and earliest of English lawyers," was by his side, and his signature can still be seen to the Dublin charter of 1171, in "*Chartæ Privilegia et Immunitates*," published by the Irish Record Office. But while he, then, during his brief stay in Ireland planted the seeds of law and order, Henry planted also, however unwittingly, fresh seeds of unending division. The Palatine system, under which a great part of Ireland was held by the feudatory princes, the great Earls, Strongbow in Leinster, De Lacy in Meath, De Courcy in Dalriada, or Eastern Ulster, and Fitz-Adelm De Burgh west of the Shannon, contained

within itself the germs of monstrous evils. Hear Dr. Stokes on this subject, to which he returns again and again :

To the neglect of the Crown, to the weakness of the Viceroy, to the selfish, foolish internecine struggles of the great feudatories of Ireland, its slow development and its subsequent sad history must be traced.

The quarrels of the Anglo-Norman nobles were, I repeat, the original cause of English failure in Ireland. You see, I differ from Mr. Froude. He imputes all Irish troubles to the unfortunate Kelts; I attribute them rather to the great Anglo-Norman nobles. . . . The great nobles of Ireland were simply feudatories claiming to exercise towards the sovereign the same rights, and paying to him the same homage, as their sovereign paid to the King of France for his Continental dominions. The Anglo-Norman princes of Ireland, such as De Lacy in Meath and De Courcy in Ulster, claimed to be independent princes, with right to levy war and make peace upon and with one another, and with the Crown, not only in virtue of their grants from the Crown, but also in virtue of their succession to the ancient Celtic chiefs. And the Crown grants seem to sanction this view (pp. 233, 234).

The failure of Henry II. and his successors to bring all the Irish princes under one strong government, the extraordinary vacillation of purpose exhibited in the incessant changing of Viceroy, so that no Viceroy ever had a chance—if we leave out John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, in the thirteenth, and Sir John Wigan in the fourteenth centuries—of so much as becoming acquainted with the difficulties of the case, much less of coping with them—these were the main causes of the deplorable delays which for centuries forbade the civilization of Ireland.

The great nobles were never long content within their own boundaries. The De Lacys and De Courcys were especially hostile. These factions were in fierce war in John's reign, till De Courcy was seized by treachery at Downpatrick, and carried a prisoner to London.

Hugh de Lacy was now triumphant. De Courcy was compelled to take the cross and set out on a crusade to Palestine, while the earldom of Ulster was conferred on the successful Hugh. But the troubles of the King with Ulster were only beginning when he installed De Lacy in the place of De Courcy. Within five years—that is, in the spring of 1210—King John was obliged personally to invade Ulster and chase Hugh de Lacy out of Ireland, seizing the whole possessions and principalities of the De Lacy faction in Ireland and England alike. While, by a kind of poetic vengeance, there stood by King John's side in that same invasion of Ulster the very John de Courcy whom De Lacy had defeated and deposed by King John's command in 1205—so tortuous, confused, and vacillating were Anglo-Norman policy and rulers in those times.

During the following twenty years, from 1210 to 1230, the De Lacys were the source and centre of Irish anarchy. But it is impossible in this sketch that we should follow further the varying fortunes and the constant wars of the great Anglo-Norman princes. The reader will find in the chapter on the

wars of Meath and Kildare much valuable information, and interesting illustrations of the author's opinion as to the real sources of Irish troubles. It is time that we should turn to devote a little space to Church matters.

As we have already said, there is little to tell during these troublous times on the subject of the Church which redounds to her credit. All the brilliant achievements of the old Keltic times were at an end. The Missionary Church of Columba, to which, after its centres had been fixed at Iona and Lindisfarne, is due the greater part of the evangelization of Anglo-Saxon England,¹ when it passed in Ireland in 1172 under the papal yoke, left its first love, and its history thenceforth is merged in the history of the establishment, and triumph and decay of the Anglo-Saxon monastic system.

The entire surface of Ireland is dotted over with the ruined remains of these monastic buildings. The style and character of the ruins at once proclaim to the visitor their origin.

The old Keltic establishments—such as those at Clonmacnoice, Glendalough, Inis-cleraun, Innis-murray—were collections of small, square, stone-roofed churches, without any architectural adornments, enclosed within a cashel, or fortification, wherein were the stone or mud cells of the monks, and usually associated with a round tower. The Anglo-Norman monastery is a stately building where the monks live the life of the community, sleeping in dormitories, dining in a common hall, and assembling themselves in a magnificent church, which witnesses by its style to the influences of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (p. 351).

This distinction holds good when the Anglo-Norman is contrasted with the earlier type of Keltic buildings. But we have evidence in such highly ornamented and architecturally perfect buildings as those, for example, on the Rock of Cashel, where King Cormac's Chapel still stands, a type of the Hiberno-Romanesque in its beauty, that, shortly previous to the Conquest, there were architects who could design, and builders who could execute, works which still command our admiration.

The ancient Keltic orders or communities, followers of St. Kevin, St. Canice, St. Kieran and St. Columba, were overwhelmed in all but the west by the newly-imported foundations from England or the Continent.² Cistercians, Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, built, endowed and flourished.

¹ The reader is referred to Mr. Lane's "Illustrated Notes on Church History" (S.P.C.K.) for a very full and fair account of the part played by the Keltic Church in the conversion of England. A paper in the *Mission Field* (S.P.G.) for September, 1889, accompanied by an outline map, will also help the reader to trace what a small part of this conversion was due to Roman influence.

² Mr. Warren gives a list of Keltic foundations on page 14 of his "Ritual and Liturgy of the Celtic Church." Many Irish foundations were to be found in France. St. Bernard compared the missionary inundations of foreign countries by the Irish to a flood. *Vita S. Mal.*, c. vi.

Tintern, Jerpoint and Dunbrody in the south, Mellifont in the east, Boyle in Roscommon, Donegal and Sligo, and Cong, and many another stately pile, witnessed to the zeal and wealth of these imported communities. In Dublin, St. Mary's and St. Thomas's abbeys looked down across their peaceful groves and lawns on the then pure stream of the Liffey.

While these foreign orders flourished and grew rich, the ancient Irish orders dwindled away. The Culdees were long regarded by historians and by the popular opinion as a mythical kind of beings, until the present Bishop of Down and Connor, tracing them in Ireland, Scotland and Wales alike, proved¹ that they were the representatives of the ancient Keltic monks in the state of decrepitude and decay. These Culdees, or *Coli Dei*, *i.e.*, worshippers of God, were, in short, the corrupt descendants, by *marriage* or by ecclesiastical descent, of the old monks whom the Church of Rome superseded in most of the European countries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the regular canons of the mediæval orders. The monks of the Keltic Church were originally extreme ascetics; but time, and worldly strife, and weariness, and poverty had spoiled their primitive purity. They married. Discipline was relaxed, their religious character vanished, and they were either absorbed into the new foundations, or became attached to cathedrals, as at St. Andrew's, York and Armagh, or gradually died out, no further use being found for their existence.

Dr. Stokes has not much to tell us of the inner life of the Church during the three centuries and a half covered by his history. The truth is, the chronicles of the period pass over such matters very lightly. Even in a much later age, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the religious-minded student who searches the old Church records, the visitation returns, the correspondence of Bishops, such as Boulter, with the English Government in Church and State, is disappointed to find that nothing meets his eye but the records of external matters. Take, for example, the reports of the Episcopal Visitations of the seventeenth century. Bishops' visitation returns in the present day afford a full picture of the state of parochial work and life, the number of Church members, of communicants, of Sunday scholars, the offertories, the missionary collections, etc. But the old returns contain little but the names of the incumbents and curates, the amount of their tithes, and the all-important account of their visitation fees.

We may surely feel thankful that attention has gradually been directed from the outer to the inner part of the Church's life and work. But we must leave, probably in lasting obscurity, the

¹ "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. xxiv.

record of those matters which would be to the mind of enlightened Christendom to-day of far more glowing interest than the story of all those wars and struggles, of the origin of all those monastic orders, and of the skilful manipulation of affairs by which Erastian Bishops of the olden time enriched their sees.

Liturgical and ritual questions do not commend themselves greatly to the mind of Professor Stokes. In his earlier volume he glanced but very briefly at the subject of the ritual of the Keltic Church, a subject which Mr. Warren has so ably treated.¹ The vexed question as to how far the Keltic Church was pure from Roman corruptions we do not find alluded to in his pages, save where in one paragraph, at the close of chapter viii, he gives us this brief but suggestive glance at the religion of the Church in the days of St. Lawrence O'Toole, the last Keltic Bishop of Dublin :

Had the party [who raised the outcry in our days against a screen in Christ Church] but gone into the Christ Church of seven hundred years ago, they would have found much more to vex their souls than a screen and stained glass. In that cathedral was kept the miraculous staff of Jesus, which the English took away from Armagh. There, too, a miraculous crucifix was preserved, about which Giraldus Cambrensis tells some wonderful stories in his "Topographia" . . . which miraculously spoke, etc., etc.²

We do not know whether Professor Stokes considers the subject of the worship and doctrine of the Church as coming fitly under the head of ecclesiastical history. Either a lack of interest in this branch of the subject or a lack of materials has kept him almost silent on this, to many minds, one of the most important matters on which, when inquiring into the thinkings and doings of our ancestors, we are anxious for information.

Much fuller is his treatment of such Irish Church subjects as the lives of great Bishops, and the origin and history of great cathedrals. We shall glance with his aid at an example or two of each :

The story of the two Dublin cathedrals is bound up with the history of three Archbishops of Dublin—the Church of the Holy Trinity, commonly known as Christ Church Cathedral, with that of the Keltic St. Lawrence O'Toole, and St. Patrick's Cathedral with that of the Anglo-Norman Archbishops, John Comyn and Henry de Londres, who immediately succeeded him, and were the founders of St. Patrick's.

¹ "The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church," by F. E. Warren, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1881. Dr. Stokes refers to the work in his preface to "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. vii.

² For a complete catalogue of the relics of Christ Church, see Mant's "History of the Church of Ireland," pp. 78-81.

O'Toole was brother of the great King Dermot, or Diarmid M'Murrough himself. He was the first Archbishop of Dublin, and succeeded in 1161 Gregory, the last Bishop. He received the pall from Cardinal John Paparo, who at the Synod of Kells, in 1152, established the four archbishoprics of Ireland. Born in Co. Kildare, educated at Glendalough, he was raised from being Abbot of Glendalough to wear the archiepiscopal mitre at the age of twenty-nine. The archbishopric was not strictly territorial, for the ecclesiastical rule of O'Toole was exercised over the scattered Danish settlements all along the coast. At that time the See of Dublin was quite overshadowed by the glory and wealth and territorial possessions of the See of Glendalough.

St. Lawrence O'Toole ruled the See of Dublin for ten years previous to the Norman invasion. He had been a church-builder at Glendalough; he continued to be a great church builder in Dublin. Sitric the Dane had founded the Priory of the Holy Trinity on the high ground at the right bank of the Liffey about the year 1038. O'Toole turned the old foundation into a monastery of the Augustinian Order of Aroasia, and it has stood ever since on its steep sloping hill, surviving, as Christ Church Cathedral, its sister foundation of St. Mary's Abbey on the opposite bank of the Liffey, and after many vicissitudes recently restored to all its early glory and beauty by the munificence of a Dublin merchant. It is now the cathedral of the Diocese of Dublin, and St. Patrick's is the national cathedral, standing in equal relations with all the dioceses of Ireland.

St. Lawrence lived to resist Strongbow, who came with the sword, and to accept the inevitable in the shape of Henry II., who came armed with the Bull of Adrian IV., and subsequently obtained at the hands of Strongbow and his wife Eva, who was O'Toole's own cousin, the lands and estates of Glendalough for his nephew, the Abbot Thomas.

This last Keltic Bishop is honoured as a saint; and his life, written while his memory was still fresh, tells us that he used to spend whole nights prostrate before a crucifix, and to go forth before dawn to pray in the cemetery for the departed. He lived by his cathedral, but paid frequent visits for retirement to the beloved and romantic Wicklow Valley, where the skies, shut in by frowning and gloomy mountains, look down on the secluded lake, with its round tower, its cashel, and its seven churches. Before St. Lawrence died in 1180, Kelt, Norman, and Dane were worshipping and ministering side by side in Dublin churches, and the Use of Sarum, superseding the old Keltic liturgies, was firmly established there, and continued till the first Act of Uniformity of Henry VIII.

The last Keltic prelate of Dublin was succeeded in 1181 by

John Comyn, the first Anglo-Norman Archbishop. Henry II. had resolved that no more Irish need apply for such promotions, and his resolution continued to be that of the English authorities, with very few exceptions, down to the present century. There were twenty-three Archbishops from St. Lawrence to the Reformation. Not one of these was an Irishman. There were twenty between the Reformation and the year 1800; of these, four only were of even nominal Irish extraction.

John Comyn was in deacon's orders when nominated to the See of Dublin. He had for some years been a useful agent of the Crown, and a warm supporter of Henry in his struggles with the Pope. Dr. Stokes has in a couple of lines described Comyn for us: "There was not one atom of a clergyman about him according to modern notions. He was one day an ambassador, the next day a judge, but never a priest or a pastor of souls." He had, indeed, acted as a judge in the North of England for several years before his elevation to the prelacy. As he was English in his origin, so also in his consecration. He was consecrated by Pope Lucius III., and thus introduced, whatever we may think of it, a succession direct from Rome.

On this subject of the succession of orders in the Church of Ireland, it has been a favourite theory that the Romish succession was introduced only after the Reformation, and that up to that period the Church had the succession purely and directly from St. Patrick. This view needs to be considerably modified. And while it may be safely maintained that the Church of Ireland has, and the Roman Church in Ireland has not, succession from Patrick, that succession is blended and inextricably confused with English and Roman orders introduced from time to time in the same way as that which we have just mentioned in the case of John Comyn. Very many Bishops of the Church of Ireland have been consecrated in England, and sent over with English orders. Doubtless those orders themselves were in part Keltic, but he who sets himself to prove that the orders in the Irish Church have come down in an unmingled succession from St. Patrick proposes to himself an impossible task.

The Norman Archbishop set two objects before him—the enrichment of the See of Dublin, and the establishment of St. Patrick's Cathedral. The Archbishop found the See poor, and left it rich. He secured the reversion by charter of all the estates of Glendalough. He advanced the archbishopric to the position of a great feudal dignity. He became a baron, with power to hold courts and execute justice. He had his seneschals, coroners, bailiffs, his prisons and his gallows. The episcopal gallows stood just outside the city walls, at the south side. Archbishop Comyn regulated all matters, from trials for murder down to the

weight of a loaf and the measure of a pot of beer, and this over a large portion of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare.

But (for there is a *but* in the lot of us all) Comyn lived under the provostship of the Dublin authorities, both of the Corporation and of the Castle. He resolved to be independent, and for that purpose he fixed his mind on erecting outside the walls a cathedral and a palace suitable for his high position. This was the origin of St. Patrick's Cathedral and of the adjacent old palace of St. Sepulchre,¹ now turned into a barrack for mounted police, while the archiepiscopal residence has been moved to the more fashionable quarter of St. Stephen's Green.

St. Patrick's had been a parish church for many years, and Boethius, in his "Scottish History," informs us that before the times of the Danes, in 890, Gregory, King of Scotland, made a solemn procession to this church. Anyhow, it had long been a church, bearing the name of the great Irish saint, before Comyn, on March 17, 1191, reopened it as a collegiate church, with thirteen prebendaries, whom he endowed out of the vast newly-acquired possessions of the see.

Comyn finished his days as a courtier and great magnate, ever watchful over English interests, and, so far as we can learn, entirely devoid of all care for the Keltic population, which under him and his successors were at best ignored.

The successor of Comyn, Henry de Londres, raised the College of St. Patrick to the rank of a cathedral in 1213, appointing a dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer, and placed the election of the dean in the hands of the chapter, which now consists of the dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, ten sacerdotal prebendaries, four diaconal and eight sub-diaconal.² All these matters are discussed and illustrated from many sources by Dr. Stokes in the eighth to the eleventh chapters of his book. We have three remaining chapters, under the titles of "Two Centuries of Anarchy," "The Wars of Bruce and of the Roses," and "The Celtic Church in Anglo-Norman Times," to which we can do no more than allude.

It is not merely that the Professor of Ecclesiastical History must needs keep his book within certain limits, that he has dealt in one chapter with two hundred years of time. No one knows better than Dr. Stokes how to fill ten chapters, and to fill them well, with the story of less than one hundred years. But the fact is that it is impossible to weave into a connected story the innumerable details of the chroniclers; you might as

¹ So called because at this time the subject of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Crusades for its rescue from the Turks, were in everyone's mind. The Temple Church and St. Sepulchre's in London, and St. Sepulchre's in Cambridge, date from the same period.

² Alan's Liber Niger, fol. 391: Marsh's Library.

well try to weave sand into a rope. We find, however, that English authority *in Church matters* was during these two centuries well established in all parts of Ireland. Even the most remote sees were often filled by Englishmen.¹ The first Parliament duly elected was held by Sir John Wogan in 1295; and we have not elsewhere met with an anecdote related by Dr. Stokes of a later Parliament of Sir John, which in 1311 ordered that "all business should be referred to a committee of ten persons, which committee was to be reduced by successive elections to one person, *quia se ipso dissentire non potest*"—a first-rate plan to secure unanimity and despatch.

If anyone should profess himself perplexed as to the sources of Irish discontent, disunion, and anarchy, surely he has already seen enough in the course of the above sketch to enable him to trace the greater part of it to the weak and vacillating government of the Anglo-Norman Earls, and to the unspiritual administration of Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics. What streams, we may well ask, of life-giving truth or knowledge, what currents of sympathy, during all these years, can we discover flowing from the greater and stronger to the smaller and weaker island? We have found no trace of such. On the contrary, we find a Keltic population trodden down, kept in ignorance and serfdom, while an Anglo-Irish population grew up in the pale, intermarried with the older inhabitants, and became in many cases *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*.

And then came the desolating incursion of Bruce, whom the unhappy Kelts had invited to help them against the foreigner, and who made Ireland, during the three and a half years of his occupation, simply a hell upon earth. This visitation was like that of an Eastern province under the ravages of an army of locusts. Ulster was thrown back, and the development of Ireland's resources was retarded a full three hundred years; the Anglo-Norman power was broken in Down and Antrim; the O'Neills had possession of Ulster as far east as Carlingford.

And now we must conclude this sketch of the period covered by Dr. Stokes' deeply interesting narrative. Division and misgovernment had degraded the unhappy island; the crushing of the Keltic inhabitants had kindled enduring hatred of England.

¹ Dr. Stokes sometimes makes a slip in details. He speaks of John, Bishop of Ardfert, a monk of St. Albans, who *resigned* the see of Ardfert. If Ware is to be trusted, this John was *deprived* by Pope Honorius III., and died at St. Albans in 1245. We have noticed a few other trifling errors, as on page 180, line 15, where the See of Glendalough is said to include the Danish settlements on the coast. On page 320, we doubt whether Connaught should appear in the list of counties, or Carlow in the list of liberties.—See Ball's "Irish Legislative System," p. 5. Each writer refers to the *Liber Niger* of Christ Church as his authority.

Religion had taken the shape of an universal monasticism, and monasticism had declined from its original purity. A foreign army under Bruce had pillaged and destroyed all classes alike ; and then, as if matters were not sad enough, the Black Death swept the Irish cities and villages, sparing no age nor sex. In 1348, to quote the words of a Kilkenny Franciscan, "that pestilence deprived of human inhabitants villages and cities, castles and towns, so that there was scarcely found a man to dwell therein, from Christmas Day to the sixth day of March. Eight friar preachers died in Kilkenny. Scarcely ever one alone died in an house ; commonly husband, wife, children and servants went the one way of death."

"Why," asks the professor, "prolong the mournful tale, which becomes the dreariest of the dreary in its recital? War, pestilence, misrule, neglect, had done their utmost, and English and Kelt alike were involved in one common ruin. Every attempt to remedy the state of Ireland only seems to have made the matter worse." Under the viceroyalty of Fitz-Clarence, second son of Edward III., who married an heiress of the great De Burgh family in 1352, was passed the statute of Kilkenny, which stereotyped all the old hatred and all the old disabilities of the Kelt, and accentuated for future ages the race distinctions which have been Ireland's bane. There was then and ever since an Irish party and an English party, only in pre-Reformation times the sympathies of Rome were with the latter, and were transferred at the Reformation to the former. The Reformation must needs either prove Ireland's great uniting power, combining different races in one Church, or it must accentuate the race opposition, by enrolling two opposed nations in two opposed Churches. Unhappily, its issue was of the latter kind, and an ill-advised precipitancy and insistence in Reformation work, for which there had been no preparation, did but aggravate existing troubles.

And such is the story of the past. What remains in store in the future there is no one living possessed of sagacity to reveal. That future may be politically and religiously brighter than the past, if in the sphere of politics "fairness" and "firmness" be the watchwords of an unvacillating Government, and if in the sphere of religion a spirit of enlightened inquiry were fostered among the Roman Catholic population, and if to this were presented by the Church of Ireland the spectacle of a Church united in itself, Reformed but Catholic, not ashamed of any usage or doctrine of truly primitive character, and filled with genuine love and sympathy for the troublesome and trying race which she has been too long accustomed to despise.

G. R. WYNNE.