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As for its spiritual teaching, the maxim of the Founders is a wise one: "Evangelical work should be kept in Evangelical hands." Evangelical principles do not change. It would, therefore, be folly to part with the old lamp which gives light, and which has elicited treasures, for new ones, which may or may not give light. Folly to drop solid meat into the water for a vague reflection of something which looks like meat but may not be. Folly to part with a present stock of provisions, though small, and a cruse of water which have not failed the Church at home or the heathen abroad, for a glowing mirage, which, when it is reached, may prove to be barren sand.

GEORGE KNOX.

NOTE.—Since the foregoing was written and placed in the hands of the Editor of *THE CHURCHMAN* there has been a long debate in the Upper House of Convocation (Feb. 14). The practical result may be summed up by stating that no agreement could be come to by the Bishops on the schemes before them. Serious and complicated objections of all sorts presented themselves. The whole subject is to be taken up *de novo* in accordance with a motion of the Bishop of Lincoln, to the effect that "A general committee of both houses be appointed to consider the subject of the Board of Missions, and that his Grace the Archbishop of York and the Northern Provinces be invited to nominate a committee of their Houses to confer with a joint committee: and that this resolution be communicated to the Lower House and to his Grace the Archbishop of York." In the terseness of military parlance this is tantamount to "As you were" twelve years ago. The Archbishop of Canterbury's more recent speech is said to have been incorrectly reported.

G. K.

EXTON, March 20.

ART. V.—EPISCOPACY IN ENGLAND AND WALES; ITS GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT, TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THERE are thousands who are intimately acquainted with the face of the country in England, and who are familiar with maps of it, who know the facts as they see them, but who could tell nothing of their origin and history. They are ignorant, and they do not dream of inquiring, as to how or when the sections which are now called counties became shire-ground; nor have they ever thought why parishes differ in area or in pecuniary value to their respective incumbents; or what relation, if any, existed between landed estates and civil parishes. A book like Quinn's "Historical Atlas" is very instructive, but vastly more suggestive; for it shows the different ways in which a country may be divided, and the reasons which render such variations necessary or desirable.

These remarks are equally true, but still more forcible, in the case of dioceses, which are very little associated with daily current events. The public—even members of the Church of England—know comparatively little of them; there are no maps that can be consulted;¹ and of course their limits are, except in special cases, imperfectly known. Yet our dioceses may be viewed in historical sequence as well as in geographical order; and an examination of them shows that we are not, as Mr. Bright once said in reference to another subject, “hide-bound.” An examination of them chronologically is of great interest; for the subject is interwoven with many others, all throwing light upon our common country. Within the last few years, the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge has issued several *Diocesan Histories*²—books which are, no doubt, of great interest to persons in the respective localities, but which cannot, and indeed do not, pretend to give them a mental grasp of the whole subject. I have never seen any such examination made, or even heard of it, yet I was bold enough to attempt it myself.³ And even admitting that there may be a few errors, especially in dates ranging over a period of more than seventeen centuries, the novelty and speciality of the inquiry, apart from its importance and attraction, may be pleaded in apology.

We believe that the three orders of ministers have existed almost since the infancy of Christianity, certainly since the Apostolic times; and that the expression, “Acts of the Apostles,” may almost be translated, “Proceedings of the Missionaries.” So that the distinction between the early ages and our own was less diverse than many suppose, though, of course, there was a difference. For example, we read in the Revelation, of the “Angels of the Seven Churches,”⁴ and these have been said to be the bishops, or chief ministers, of those places respectively. I do not say of those *dioceses*, for though the idea of place was always more or less associated with the idea of a person, the formal limits of modern fields of labour, such as a rivulet, a

¹ Diocesan maps were, till lately, regarded as curiosities, and certainly were very rare. Some have been published recently in the *Diocesan Calendars*, but among the best and cheapest are those of the Rev. Donald Mackay, B.A., Canon of St. Ninian’s Cathedral, Perth,—of England, Ireland, and Scotland respectively. (W. & A. K. Johnson, Edinburgh and London).

² Those of Canterbury, Durham, Peterborough, Salisbury, and Chichester are already before the public.

³ In preparing an account of “How Liverpool became a Diocese,” I was insensibly drawn aside to the wider question—“Growth of the Episcopate.” A paper read before our Liverpool Clerical Society, July 5, 1880, was privately printed, and some of its materials are made use of in this paper.

⁴ Rev. i. 20, &c.

chain of hills, or a secular boundary, were not thought of. A good man—apostolic, or, as we say, “missionary” in spirit—entered a large town, appealed to the population when and where he could obtain a hearing, made converts, and founded churches or congregations. He sometimes reaped great harvests, and then gleaned single ears afterwards; but a large portion of the land lay untilled. In the parts beyond the walls of great cities, among the hamlets and rural population, the sound of the Gospel travelled slowly, so that the word for a wanderer¹ came to indicate a heathen, and that for a countryman a callous sinner or criminal.²

But this was not always the case; for sometimes there was no great aggregation of population, and it was impossible to address the people otherwise than singly or in small groups. No doubt such cases occurred in the apostolic times, from causes similar to those which we see to-day. They were known in the days of Mahomet, who succeeded in impressing sparse populations of shepherds and camel-drivers; and our own missionary records tell of the success of the Gospel in New Zealand, Patagonia, and the isles of the Pacific.

We have the clearest evidence that the latter was the mode in which Christianity was introduced among our own countrymen. In the Roman times the population must have been very limited, for most of the people were in a primitive condition. There is little known of their success in hunting;³ but though they possessed flocks and herds, agriculture was in a low state. And without it—by which in theory “every rood of ground maintains its man”—a large area is required for the support of even a hundred people.

Further, it has been computed that at the Norman Conquest there were about a million and a quarter of inhabitants in England and Wales; but even without the intervention of wars, population increases very slowly among people of a low grade of civilization.⁴ Within sixty years, or from 1821 to 1881, the population of the whole country has more than doubled; yet, if we make a liberal allowance, and suppose it to have doubled

¹ Paganus—(1) a villager; (2) a person unconverted; (3) a heathen. Bishop Heber, in the first sketch of his well-known Missionary Hymn, wrote “The Pagan in his blindness,” &c.

² Villain.

³ The rounds in the ladder of civilization are such as the following—(1) the roaming savage; (2) the hunter; (3) the herdsman; (4) the agriculturist; (5) the manufacturer, &c.

⁴ In reality, the growth of population is very little influenced by emigration or im-migration; the principal cause is the excess of births over deaths. And inasmuch as infancy is protected and age prolonged in every modern civilized community, population doubles itself with a rapidity quite unknown a few centuries ago.

every hundred years in the olden time, we go back to A.D. 166 and find fewer than 3,000 persons on the same ground. This is not credible, but the computation—erroneous as it is in the assumed rate of increase—is sufficient to show that the numbers at that time were very limited.

CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN.

Gildas¹ tells us that after the death of Tiberius Cæsar, the precepts of Christ were taught to the soldiers remaining in Britain. As Tiberius died A.D. 37, it was probably some time after: for St. Clement had not then succeeded St. Peter as head of the Church, though in the time of Nero there were many Christians in the city and throughout the empire. At all events, there are numerous evidences that the inhabitants of Britain were early acquainted with the tenets of Christianity.

Let us imagine a large encampment, or even a moderate-sized one, of intelligent skilful soldiers, who could not only fight, but could also build, make roads, cultivate the ground, work in metals, and some of them even read and write. We know the reverence and astonishment with which untutored tribes see the implements and the resources of missionaries at the present time; and feelings of this kind were surely quite as strong then. The dwellings of the natives, who supplied physical labour and brought in food, were mere booths,² when they had not natural, or sometimes artificial, caves; and the outlaws of periods long subsequent, like Hereward and Robin Hood, were sheltered

¹ Gildas, c. vi.

² The prehistoric houses, as shown in the lake habitations of Switzerland and other countries, were of basket-work, occasionally stuffed with grass, and plastered over with clay. I have seen several such in the primitive forests, among the Indians of South America. They are very uncomfortable, especially in the rainy season, and children have a hard time of it, many dying, especially of lung diseases. Often a cottage is discovered, like a nest among the bushes, by the violent coughing arising from frequent smoke and constant draughts. The houses on the Irish "crannogues," or islands in lakes, were of the same kind. St. Columba lived at first in a house of this kind at Iona, and so did his followers also. It is said that the numerous crosses at Iona were of basket-work filled with sand; and the late Mr. Gilbert French, of Bolton, who advocated this theory, reproduced some beautiful ones of this kind. But even so recently as 1655, Sir William Petty, the ancestor of Lord Lansdowne, found no houses in the rural parts of the large parish of Dromore (a see of which Percy was afterwards bishop), "except removable *creachts*." The walls were constructed of posts and wattles, and each wall, as well as the roof, could be removed from place to place, like a tent or wooden hut. Shakspeare gives us, here and there, a few glimpses of life in the forest, such as the ancient Britons must have led, both "in winter and rough weather," and "under the blossom that hangs on the bough." But, for a detailed account, see the old dialogue ballad, "The Nutbrowne Maide," printed *cir.* 1502.

little, if at all, better. Living on milk and flesh, with a small portion of vegetables, the Britons looked to their masters for guidance, and learned the new faith along with other items of instruction. Thus, the warriors and victors spoke peace to the vanquished: the sword had long become a ploughshare, and the spear a pruning-hook; while the poor Briton was surprised and pleased at the sort of friendliness and equality which this better religion told him of. It reminds us, who are better informed, of the touching request of Paul to Philemon, "that thou shouldst have him . . . no longer as a servant, but more than a servant, a brother beloved."¹ As time passed on, events silently matured; but as there was peace for some time, there was little matter for the notice of the historian.

Though dates are somewhat uncertain in the early years of our era, it may be assumed that Eleutherius was Pope in A.D. 176, and reigned for about sixteen years. During his time, it is said that a British king—that is to say, a local petty chieftain—called Lucius, sent to him, praying that he might be made a Christian. The request was granted; and, apparently, Christianity was now more formally introduced, especially in the South, where Lucius appears to have resided.

There are some whose critical zeal—like that of Niebuhr in reference to early Roman History—degenerates into scepticism; and who will not admit the existence of Lucius at all²—trying to convert his alleged name into a descriptive epithet. In like manner, some deny the existence of St. Patrick—for Patricius was a common term: and others say that Iphigenia was not sacrificed at Aulis, inasmuch as Agamemnon had no such child—the name merely meaning "Jephthah's daughter," and thus showing the Hebrew origin of the story. Well, be it so. For the sake of argument, let us concede the principle of the critic; still, it is clear, that without a strong inherent probability, such a story could not have obtained universal acceptance in the early time. Obviously, the formal introduction of Christianity must have occurred in some such way, and may have occurred precisely as Bede declares that it did: therefore—all reasoning to the contrary notwithstanding—we will continue to believe in Lucius.

One can form an opinion of the large standing army which was kept up in Britain, when about A.D. 410, so many as 20,000 disciplined soldiers were withdrawn from the country.³ This

¹ Philemon 16, R.V.

² See Todd's "Life of St. Patrick," p. 266. He refers in a note to Rees's "Welsh Saints," and Innes's "Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland."

³ I am reminded of this, and other facts of interest, by a very valuable address delivered by the Dean, in Lichfield Cathedral, on St. Chad's

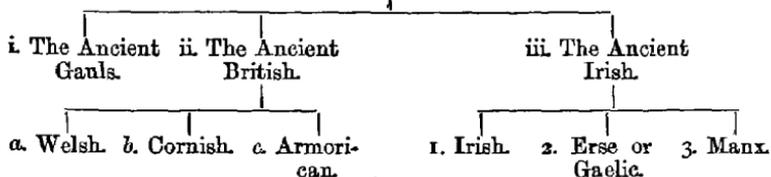
was a physical disaster, or national calamity, to the poor natives, who then numbered probably little more than 30,000. But the moral injury to them was still greater, for they were left open to attack by two sets of heathen people—their own countrymen from the north, and others, still more powerful and less merciful, from beyond the narrow seas.

From the earliest historic times there were two sets of people occupying Britain—those on the west, who are generally said to have come from Gaul, and those occupying the great eastern plain, who appeared to be related to the Belgic people, and were more advanced in civilization. In other words, one ethnological theory is, that two waves of the great Celtic¹ nation passed over Britain at different dates, and that in the days of Julius Cæsar the older Celts were to be found in the mountainous districts of the north and west, and the more modern ones in what is now called England proper. This appears to account easily and pleasantly for some of the facts, but further investigation shows that it is not correct. Bishop Percy's theory is very interesting, but it also must be discarded. It is given in his preface to Malet's "Northern Antiquities;" but he frankly tells us that in his own opinion the six languages² mentioned are not descended from one common stock. It is quite true, that at the time of Cæsar's invasion the Celtic element was strong, and comprised practically the whole population. They had ethnological relationship with *Celt-iberia*, in Spain, and Gallic *Celt-ica*; and though they appear to have been almost blotted out during the Roman period, they have left their traces in many hundreds, possibly thousands,³ of place-names, easily translatable by means of the Irish language. They were

Day [2nd of March], 1880. Second edition. Bivingtons. He quotes from a little volume by the Rev. E. L. Cutts.

¹ That it was a great nation in the Roman times is undoubted; and some think that it must have been so many centuries before. See "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," by Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A.; and Sir William Betham's "Gael and Cymri," Dublin, 1834.

² The Celtic.



³ A large number of names of rivers, in and near Gaul, end in the Irish word for water—i.e. *avon*, pronounced "avaun," or "aun." Thus, the Rhine [Rhen-*anus*] meant the royal or chief river, and the Rhone [Rhod-*anus*] the rapid river. Sir William Betham has translated the names of 172 rivers in Britain, all expressed in Irish Celtic.

conquered by a portion of the Cimbri,¹ who were not Celts,² about the time of the fall of the Roman Empire. These took possession of Cumberland, and the whole west coast, including Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany.

A few testimonies will serve to show that the Church was thoroughly organized in Britain during the Roman occupation, and centuries before the Saxon people had set foot upon the soil. They may be given in chronological order.

1. The Saxon Chronicle gives substantially Bede's account; but I quote from it for the benefit of the reader, as an English translation is appended. "This year (A.D. 167) Eleutherius obtained the bishoprick of Rome, and held it in great glory for twelve years. To him Lucius, King of Britain, sent letters praying that he might be made a Christian, and he fulfilled that he requested."

2. Tertullian, writing about A.D. 202, states that the various nations of Britain believed in Christ, and that places inaccessible to the Romans were subdued by Him.

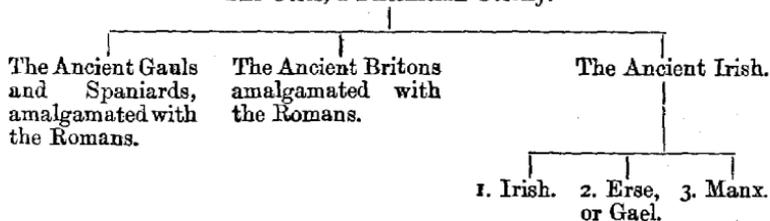
3. In the time of Diocletian, a persecution raged from A.D. 303 to 313, when, during a single month, 17,000 Christians perished. Britain did not escape, for St. Alban was martyred in 305 at Verulam, and Aaron and Julius,³ who were distinguished persons, natives of Caerleon on the Usk, in Monmouthshire.

4. In 314, certain British bishops were present at a Council held at Arles⁴ in France—one from York, another from London, and a third probably from Caerleon. There was also a priest and a deacon.

5. In 347, there were British bishops at the Council of Sar-

¹ Some say they were from the Cimbric Chersonese, supposed to be Jutland, and others that they were of the Cimmerii, near the modern Crimea. They were of Germanic origin.

² The following is from the "Gael and Cymri," p. 9;—
The Celts, a Phœnician Colony.



³ Cum aliis pluribus viris ac foeminis.

⁴ Nomina episcoporum cum clericis suis qui ex Britannia ad Arelatensem synodum convenerunt. Eborius episcopus, de civitate Eboracensi, provincia Britannia. Restitutus episcopus, de civitate Londinensi, provincia suprascripta. Adelfius episcopus, de civitate Colonia Londinensium: exinde Sacerdos presbyter, Arminius diaconus.—Qu. in "Mon. His. Brit.," p. xcix.

dica;¹ and in 359, some were present at a Council at Ariminum (Rimini) in Italy. Chrysostom, about 370, says: "And even the Britannic isles, lying without this sea, and situated in the ocean itself, have felt the power of the word. For even there, churches and altars have been erected: Go where you will, to the Indians, to the Moors, to the Britons, to the whole habitable globe, you will find 'in the beginning was the Word' and a virtuous life."

BRITISH BISHOPS.

(i.) YORK.—It is recorded that a bishop was placed at York in 180, or more than seventeen hundred years ago; and it will be observed that Eborius of York takes precedence of Restitutus of London, in 314. This was about the time when Constantine the Great became emperor. York, or *Eboracum*,² was a Roman colony; in it was the residence of the emperor, and there also was the Prætorium, or chief seat of justice. It was called, by way of eminence, "Civitas." But it was greatly exposed to the incursions of enemies; and after the arrival of the Saxons, Christianity was nearly blotted out for about 150 years. The episcopate was restored, however, in 622, and York became a metropolitan see, which for centuries had jurisdiction over a large portion of Scotland.³ The first church erected appears to have been a small wooden house; and the little fountain at which Paulinus, Bishop of Northumbria,⁴ baptized Edwin the king, is still visible now in a crypt of York Minster.⁵

(ii.) LONDON.—It is supposed that there was a bishop at London about 180, but details are wanting. In comparatively modern times, and with an erroneous meaning, the first sixteen have been called archbishops; but it is not certain that London

¹ Athanasius, writing about 350, mentions bishops of Gaul and Britain at Sardica; and apparently at two other places.

² The name of York occurs in upwards of twenty forms, sometimes arising from great variety of spelling, and sometimes from the use of different words. From certain forms of the name, *Eforwic*, *Everwick*, *Eberawic*, it has been inferred that the people of Yorkshire and neighbouring districts, the Brigantes, were Gaels of the tribe or children of Heber. The archbishop signs "William *Ebor*."

³ The bishops of Whithorn, or Whithern, in Strathclyde and Galloway were consecrated at York, and some of their names appear along with the English lists. But after the time of Archbishop Neville (1373-87), Scotland had archbishops of its own—viz., at St. Andrews from 1466 to the Revolution, and at Glasgow from 1484.

⁴ In the early days, civil and ecclesiastical areas were conterminous; this little kingdom was what we call a diocese, and the diocese was a kingdom.

⁵ Lecture by the Dean of Lichfield. Florence of Worcester says in his Appendix: "Vir Deo dilectus, Paulinus, a Justo archiepiscopo missus, regem Northumbrorum Eadwinum, cum tota sua gente ad fidem Christi convertit, in Eboraco episcopali sede accepto."

was ever a metropolitan see. Jocelyne of Furness, has preserved the names of these early bishops, but their respective dates are wanting. It is evident, however, that what York was to the north, London was in a great degree to the south. I have somewhere read that the first church was erected at St. Peter's, Cornhill; though the cathedral, or principal church, was on the site of the present St. Paul's. When Christianity was re-introduced, by Augustine, the glory of London to some extent departed; but its bishop takes rank to this day, next after the two archbishops.

(iii.) St. DAVID'S.—At a very early period, say A.D. 200, a bishop was seated at Caerleon, on the Usk,¹ in Monmouthshire; and we have seen that this place furnished its quota of martyrs during the persecution. Also, Bishop Stillingfleet, in his “*Origines Britannicæ*,” seems to say that there can be no doubt the third bishop at Arles, in 314, was from this place. “The two first were Missionaries from that division of the island said to have been made by Constantine the Great—viz., *Maxima Cæsariensis*, the capital, EBORACUM; *Britannia prima* the capital LONDINIUM; and *Britannia secunda*, *Civitas Legionis ad Iscam*, whence ignorant transcribers have wrote *Civitas Colonia Londineus*, for what must have been ‘*ex civitate Col. Leg. II.*’ being the known station of that legion.” Caerleon, therefore, though now a very small place, and still diminishing,² was then a metropolitan see; but after the arrival of the Saxons it was found to be inconveniently near to their territory. It was, therefore, removed to the remotest point of Pembrokeshire, to a district called Menavia,³ on the sea shore. Here the first archbishop was St. David, whose consecration is dated 577. But after him follows a list of forty-seven names, with no date appended to any of them. The next date that occurs is 1147,⁴ when the Bishops of St David's submitted to the See of Canterbury; and this gives us an average for each of the undated ones, of twelve years and a small fraction. Now St. Sampson, who occurs as twenty-fourth in order, is said to have been the last Archbishop of the Welsh, for in consequence of a pestilence breaking out in his diocese he fled to Brittany, carry-

¹ The Usk and the Esk both mean *the water*, a name which the Scotch almost invariably apply to the river in their own neighbourhood. A specific name is required at a distance, or, for distinction, when the speaker knows several rivers (Celt.-Irish *uisg*, water).

² In 1881, the urban sanitary district of Caerleon contained only 223 houses, having lost about one-fifth during the previous ten years.

³ Hence, each bishop was called “*Menavensis*,” and Asser, the historian and biographer, is best known as “*Asser Menavensis*.”

⁴ See list in Haydn's “*Book of Dignities*,” Beatson's “*Political Index Modernized*.”

ing with him the pallium, or pall¹—the insignia of his office. Reckoning by averages, this was about 870. But the episcopal head of St. David's, rightly or wrongly, exercised the authority of archbishop,² without the pall, down to the time at which it was incorporated with our southern province.

(iv.) BANGOR.—This diocese dates from 516. Its first bishop was St. Daniel, to whom the cathedral was dedicated; but the record of its line of bishops appears to have been wholly lost for a period of nearly six centuries. The town is said to owe its existence to a company of monks from Bangor Monachorum, or Bangor Iscoed (in the wood); a place greatly decayed, and now little known. The population of the whole parish is under 1200. Another company founded Bangor in Ireland, on Belfast Lough, and about ten miles from that town.

(v.) LLANDAFF.—This see was founded in 522, but its early history is obscure. Its first bishop was Dubritius,³ and its second, St. Thelian, to whom the cathedral is dedicated. But the dates of accession of twenty-four of its bishops have not been preserved—that is, till 982, or over a period of 460 years. The see was formerly much more wealthy than at present. The place takes its name from its situation on the river Taff.

(vi.) ST. ASAPH.—This see was founded in 583 by Kentigern, or Mungo, Bishop of Glasgow. The river Elwy flows by the site where the first church was erected; and hence the place was named Llanelwy, or *Elwensis*. But the second bishop was St. Asaph, whose name it bears. This see also was formerly much more wealthy, but its revenues were greatly lessened by one of the bishops, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

(vii.) HEREFORD.—The origin of this diocese appears to be unknown, and no explanation respecting it is given by Florence of Worcester. It is said to have been founded in 480; but it is really of earlier date, having existed in the time of the Britons, and been subject to the metropolitan see of St. David. After the arrival of its first Saxon bishop, in the seventh century, its boundaries were adjusted, and have remained the same ever since, with the exception of a few Act of Parliament alterations. Hereford has always been the bishop's chief seat; he had several

¹ See "The Glossary of Heraldry" for various forms; and full description in Marriott's "Vestiarium Christianum," both text and plates. The author quotes from an undated MS., edited by Martene: "Quod autem collo cingit, antiquæ consuetudinis est, quia reges et sacerdotes circumdati erant pallia, veste fulgente, quod gratia præsignabat."—MARRIOTT, p. 204.

² Doubts have been expressed as to whether St. David's held the same *status* as Caerleon; and it thus appears that it did so for a certain time.

³ Some Welsh antiquaries refuse to concur in this; and the Diocesan Calendar for Llandaff is said to contain the names of eleven bishops previous to Dubritius.

others, but none on the western side. The only residence near the Welsh border was at Bishop's Castle, on English ground; but it may possibly have been within the "Welsh Marches," a troublesome district in Norman and mediæval times.¹ The diocese comprises 986,244 acres, of which nearly 65,000 are in Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire in Wales.

VARIOUS EXPLANATIONS.

Civil history tells us with sufficient clearness, of "the groans of the Britons," on the departure of the Romans; and of the sufferings which the people endured after the Saxons had come to "protect" them. The protection which they afforded was "such as vultures give to lambs—covering and devouring them." We should bear in mind that the people in Britain had classified themselves, and that the division of labour was known to them. The Romans had been the soldiers when fighting was necessary, and in times of peace they had practised the leading and more difficult occupations; the natives cultivated the arts of peace—they were herdsmen and labourers. On the other hand, the Saxons were a fierce race, all trained to the military habits of those rude times. And here was a fine country, which they could easily make their own.

In reading of the peaceful Saxon agriculturists of succeeding centuries, one can hardly identify them with the merciless followers of Hengist and Horsa. The latter remind one of Attila, of whom it is said that no grass grew where his horse had trod; or of the desolating wars of the Turks in past times.² They spared neither high nor low, age nor sex; cruel murder was frequent as well as open battle; and property was wasted in order to create a solitude. In the subsequent oppression of the Saxons by the Normans, there was some measure and limit; but here they seem to have ceased from destruction, only when hope was effectually crushed out, and resistance³ impossible.

¹ Information kindly communicated by the Rev. F. T. Havergal, of Upton Bishop Vicarage, near Ross.

² When the culverin's signal is fired, then on;
Leave not in Corinth a living one—
 A priest at her altars, a chief in her halls,
 A hearth in her mansions, a stone on her walls.—BYRON.

³ *Ruebant ædificia publica simul et privata, passim sacerdotes inter altaria trucidabantur, præsules cum populis, sine ullo respectu honoris ferro pariter et flammis absumebantur, nec erat qui crudeliter interemptos sepulturæ traderet. Itaque nonnulli de miserandis reliquiis, in montibus comprehensi acervatim jugulabantur: alii fame confecti procedentes manus hostibus dabant, . . . alii perstantes in patria trepidi pauperem vitam in montibus, sylvis, vel rupibus arduis, suspecta semper mente, agebant.*—BEDÆ, Lib. i. 15.

As a matter of course, all traces of Christianity seemed to be destroyed; the deities of the heathen north were introduced; and no more was heard "In the beginning was the word," to which Chrysostom refers, though a virtuous life had not ceased. A conquered people invariably learn caution; and in cases of great oppression or little scruple, they match cunning and mendacity against power. In this case, we may safely assume that though Christianity had outwardly disappeared, it was still cherished in remote places, and at points of safety. Nor was this safety necessary for solitary households merely; the desire for it drove Columba to Iona, David from Caerleon to Menavia (St. David's), and Aidan from York to Holy-Isle.¹

In this darkness which covered the land, it is generally supposed that light arose at only one point; and, certainly, the history of more than twelve centuries tends to convey that impression. Yet it is not correct, for there was light from three points. Let us bear in mind that Saxon heathenism had stamped out—apparently, at least—British Christianity, and had triumphed over its ruins for 150 years. Not until the end of that time, or till near A.D. 600, did help arrive from Rome; and yet the light had begun for some time to shine again.

The three points were (1) *Scotia*,²—i.e. not Caledonia, or the modern Scotland, but Celtic Ireland, which then, and for centuries after,³ bore the name. (2.) *Wales*, where the lamp of truth had never been extinguished, and where the scattered efforts of Christian people had taken permanent shape, in the formation of three new dioceses in Saxon times. Among these, we do not reckon Hereford, nor the old Archbishopric of Caerleon, which had maintained its somewhat perilous footing on the remote sea coast, through all the period of tribulation. (3.) *Rome*, which was last in the field, though eventually most influential; and as Adam Smith said, in reference to another matter, like Moses's rod, it eat up all the other rods.

Very great interest attaches to the first of these, which is least known. *Scotia* [Ireland] was early converted to Chris-

¹ Any one may have noticed in the south of France, near the base of the Pyrenees, that the churches are usually built on the tops of isolated and steep hills. This was for the purpose of protecting person and property; the people fled to the churches when the Spanish raiders crossed the hills.

² The Dean of Lichfield is one of the few writers who has given reasonable prominence to this series of facts.

³ Several of the early English bishops are said to have been *Scots*; and this is true, but it means that they were *Irish*. "Until the twelfth century, the name *Scotia* referred to *Hibernia*, not to *Caledonia*.—'Venerunt Scotti a partibus Hispaniæ, ad *Hyberniam*.' *Nennius* VI. In later times, Ireland was styled, for distinction, *Scotia major*, or *vetus*, or *ulterior*, or *insula*."—*Todd's Life of St. Patrick*, p. 41, n.

tianity; and reckoned numerous bishops and priests before the arrival of Patrick, about 432. He largely confirmed and extended the good work, and though born in Scotland¹ became the patron saint of Ireland. Two points, however, require to be noticed: (1) That Ireland was not then connected with Rome—for that doubtful advantage she is indebted to England—but possessed “Apostolic Christianity;” and (2) That though she had bishops and archbishops she had not *dioceses*, till about the twelfth century, or a century after our Norman Conquest. This appears strange to us; and yet it need not, when we find in the Diocesan Calendar for the present year no fewer than seventeen retired Colonial Bishops, and others, to the number of ten, who are strictly missionary bishops. In theory, a bishop may be without a diocese, as well as a priest without a parish; but Ireland was exceptional in the extent to which the principle was carried. Dr. Todd says, in his valuable work:—

From the foregoing facts and anecdotes, no doubt can remain in the mind of any unprejudiced reader, that the normal state of episcopacy in Ireland was, as we have described, non-diocesan; each bishop acting independently, without any archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and either entirely independent, or subject only to the abbot of his monastery, or in the spirit of clanship to his chieftain.

One of the consequences of this system was necessarily a great multiplication of bishops. There was no restraint upon their being consecrated. Every man of eminence for piety or learning was advanced to the order of a bishop, as a sort of *degree* or mark of distinction. Many of these lived as solitaries or in monasteries. Many of them established schools for the practice of the religious life, and the cultivation of sacred learning, having no diocese, or fixed episcopal duties; and many of them influenced by missionary zeal, went forth to the Continent, to Great Britain, or to other then heathen lands, to preach the gospel of Christ to the Gentiles.²

There were, therefore, bishops at numerous towns,³—some of

¹ In a note to the “Annals of the Four Masters,” Sir William Betham notices a curious fact. It is that from three to five centuries ago Patrick was a favourite and frequent name among the highest peerage families of Scotland; it is now a common name among the peasantry of Ireland, and is their national “By-name,” like Sawney among the Scotch.

² “Life and Times of St. Patrick,” p. 27.

³ Previous to the formation of regular dioceses, there were bishops at Clonard, Duleek, Kells, Trim, Ardraccan, Dunshaughlin, &c., all in Meath.—ABBE MACGEORHEGAN, *Christn. Irelld.*, c. x.—Meath contained several small bishops’ sees—namely, Clonard, Duleek, Ardraccan, Trim, Kells, Slane, Dunshaughlin, and Killskyre in East Meath; with Fore and Uisneagh, or Killere, in Westmeath. All these sees were consolidated in the twelfth century, and formed into the diocese of Meath. In the year 1568, the ancient see of Clonmacnois, in Westmeath and King’s County, was annexed to the diocese of Meath. The ancient see of Lusk, which lay in the Kingdom of Meath, was united to the diocese of Dublin.—Note by Dr.

them very small—in Ireland; and frequently several bishops resided in the same house.¹

During the dark days of Saxon heathenism, Ireland was the great nursery for missionaries; and from her colleges went forth learned and fearless men to almost every country of Europe. Some of them had visited Iceland centuries before the time of Columbus; and France and Italy were nearly as well-known to others as they are to the clergy of our own day. At home, numerous large monasteries were colleges; and surrounded as they were by a heathen people, who had but little regard for human life, many of them were virtually strongholds.² From St. Finian's monastery at Clonard, in Meath, came the enterprising and saintly Columba, to whom Scotland and the north of England were deeply indebted. It was usual for a monastery to retain a bishop as an indispensable officer, but he was subject to the abbot or head.³ At the close of the eighth century the Northmen, commonly called Danes, destroyed many of the religious houses and scattered the inmates; so that hundreds of bishops⁴ and priests went through the countries of western Europe, preaching Christ only, but having no regard to territorial limits.

A. HUME.

(To be continued.)

MACDERMOTT in the "Annals of the Four Masters." Canon Mackay, in his Diocesan Map of Ireland, gives most of these places; but he omits Uisneagh or Killere, Killskyre, Lusk, and Clonmacnois.

¹ The number was very often seven, and not unfrequently the whole seven were sons of one father. Angus, the Culdee, mentions 141 such cases!

² A very large number of the residences of the new proprietors in Ireland, especially in the seventeenth century, were called "castles," for a similar reason; and they still retain the name.

³ St. Columba was a presbyter only, though he trained and sent out many bishops. The story is that he went to be consecrated, thinking that he might proceed from deacon to bishop *per saltum*; but he was ordained priest as the intermediate step. At this he expressed great disappointment and some annoyance, and declared that in the circumstances he would never be a bishop.—*Martyrol. of Christ. Ch. Dubn.* (Irish Archl. Soc., 1844), p. liv.; "Todd's St. Patrick," p. 71. "Columba, a mass-priest, came to the Picts and converted them to the faith of Christ; they are dwellers by the northern mountains. And their king gave him the island which is called Ii. . . . Now in Ii [Iona] there must ever be an abbot and not a bishop; and all the Scottish [*i.e.* Celtic Irish] bishops ought to be subject to him, because Columba was an abbot, not a bishop."—*Sax. Chron.*

⁴ Wandering far from their native country, without proper credentials, it is not wonderful that sometimes their qualifications were called in question. In fact a class of persons arose called *Episcopi vagantes*, or wandering bishops, having no recognized sees or homes. At the Council of Maçon in 585, there were three such bishops who subscribed the Acts; and they had appeared previously at the Council of Antioch