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## The Independence of the Early Irish Church

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## The Independence of the Early Irish Church

In the annals of the past one frequently finds a twilight zone, where tradition and history meet, where fact must be distinguished from fancy and mythical accretion. It is rather challenging and intriguing to evaluate both secondary and primary sources in the effort to determine just which points may be regarded as the nuclear truth. In the history of the Apostles, for example, only that is acceptable without question which we find in the New Testament. With regard to later accounts and church tradition we must exercise great care to separate truth from legend. Thus we may, from the apocryphal Acts, accept the fact of Peter's having died as a martyr in Rome and possibly even that of his having been crucified with his head downward, but we should have to hesitate very much in giving credence to the mass of legendary accounts which have attached themselves to Peter's last imprisonment.

This method of critical selection must be applied also to the history of other events which are associated with the establishment of Christianity in various countries. The acknowledged procedure of conservative historical criticism is that of focusing a merciless spotlight on all secondary sources of information, especially if far removed in time and place from the original locality, and to place

*"Barriers to Christian Unity.* 1. Unchristian denominationalism. 2. Unwillingness to sacrifice denominational identity. 3. Resistance to any modification of the denominational idea. 4. Sectarian preferences in polity, ritual, and theology. 5. Established custom and inherited prejudices. 6. Indifference or antagonism to collective effort. 7. Lack of theological liberality. 8. Lack of will to unity. 9. The lack of prayer for unity. 10. Lack of intimate fellowship. 11. Lack of belief that further unity is necessary. 12. Lack of faith that further unity is possible. 13. Differences of intellectual attitudes. 14. Natural conservatism in favor of the inherited form of Christianity. 15. Holding fast to crass Biblical literalism. 16. Unwillingness to go through intellectual, moral, and spiritual struggle. 17. Racial, national, and denominational self-satisfaction. 18. Creeds and confessions. 19. Order of the ministry.—*How the Barriers May Be Removed.* 1. Going Christ's way and going that way with Christ Himself. 2. Deepening and strengthening of the Christian life. 3. More Christian esteem and confidence. 4. Association in common work. 5. Recognition of various forms of ordination. 6. Intercommunion and joint services. 7. Interchange of preachers. 8. Coming together of Christians in world organizations. 9. Universal federation of Protestant churches. 10. Universal federation of Episcopal churches, Eastern Orthodox, Anglican, and Protestant Episcopal. 11. Working of the Spirit of truth. 12. Preaching and praying for the ideal. 13. Stressing the universality note in each denomination. 14. Stressing the Catholic character of Christian fellowship." (A Symposium; by twenty-three leaders of the Churches. Condensed by *The Lutheran*, Feb. 3, 1927.)

even primary sources under a most careful scrutiny, lest there be an inadvertent acceptance of an unsupported bit of evidence. In the present study a combination of circumstances gives us a rather favorable setting for our task, that of offering a brief, but comprehensive review of the Christian Church in Ireland between the fifth and twelfth centuries, or from approximately 432 to 1152 A. D.

The religion of ancient Ireland was Druidism. This had evidently been imported from the East, from the plains of Shinar, and was a system which pervaded the life of the island in every possible way, molding the minds of the people, dictating their laws, and making its influence felt from the cabin of the poor to the throne of the king. The important function of Druidism was forecasting of future events, divination, practiced by the pagan Irish in connection with practically all affairs of general interest, such as military expeditions and other notable undertakings. Sorcery was practiced on a wide scale, and the belief in fairies was universal, as was the worship of idols, likewise the worship of weapons and of the elements, especially fire. They taught a belief in a future land of everlasting youth and peace, beautiful beyond conception and always inhabited by fairies. They made use of ordeals, had a decided preference for certain numbers, and believed in the evil eye.

Contrary to popular belief, the word *Druid* is not derived from the Greek word for oak, but from the Irish word *draíod*, meaning a learned man. The Irish translation of the Bible uses the word in Ex. 7:11 to apply to the learned men, or sorcerers, of Egypt, and in Matt. 2:1 to the wise men from the East. The Druids, as a matter of fact, were the exclusive possessors of whatever learning was then known, combining in themselves all the learned professions. They were priests and poets, lawyers and historians, prophets and judges, and even physicians, as well as astronomers. Their influence upon the people was so great as practically to give them control of all the affairs of everyday life, with the exception of warfare.

Fortunately Druidism had lost a great deal of its influence by the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century. It was a decaying system, its moral power being gone, so that the people had lost confidence in it. "Although the Irish seem naturally disposed to be religious, yet Druidism had never elicited the strength of their affection. It was a cold, crude, and unsocial system. There was nothing attractive in it; it was too ideal for them or for any other unlettered people. . . . Druidism also lacked all that excited the passions; there was no poetry in it; it wanted the grace of statuary and the seductive associations of the elegant

and refined mythology of Greece and Rome." (De Vinne, *History of the Irish Primitive Church*, XIII.) In a negative manner, therefore, the way for Christianity had been prepared.

Just when the first Christians came to Ireland is hard to determine. England had undoubtedly been Christianized, at least in part, at an early date, the first churches being founded not far from the south shore of what is now the Bristol Channel. As the Christian religion spread in ancient Britannia, it established contacts chiefly along the trade routes. By the beginning of the fifth century Christians in considerable numbers were found in Ireland, chiefly in the southeastern part, in the present County Wicklow. Prosper of Aquitaine relates that in the year 431 Pope Celestine sent a missionary by the name of Palladius "to the Scots [that is, the Irish] believing in Christ, to be their first bishop," a statement which is repeated by the Venerable Bede. If the Pope thought a bishop necessary, he must undoubtedly have had information concerning the presence of Christians in that part of Ireland. Palladius accepted the commission of the Pope, landed in Ireland, and gathered a few groups of Christians at Cill Fine, Tech-na-Roman (House of the Romans), and Dommach Arte. But the ministry of Palladius was clearly of a very short duration, having little effect beyond the small circle of congregations in County Wicklow, and he soon left the island, dying at Fordun in Kincardineshire on his way back to Rome, if the ancient accounts are right.

The real honor of having evangelized Ireland goes to Sukkat, or Patricius, now known very generally as Saint Patrick, the bishop and apostle of Ireland. He came from a Christian family, his grandfather Potitus having been a priest in the old British Church and his father, Calpornius, a deacon. In secular life Sukkat's father was a Decurio, as he himself states in his *Epistle to Coroticus*: "Ingenuus fui secundum carnem, Decurione patre nascor." As Todd writes in his biography of Saint Patrick: "Recent investigations into the antiquities of the Roman Empire show that decurions, who are not magistrates, but councilors and members of the local Senate, were found all over the Roman Empire to its extremest bounds by the end of the fourth century." Evidently the British Church was at that time not operating under the rule of celibacy.

The birthplace of Sukkat was formerly given as Bonaven, in the southern part of what is now Scotland, chiefly on the strength of the reference to Bonavem Taberniae in the first chapter of *St. Patrick's Confession*. But careful research work seems to have established quite definitely that Caerwent, in Romanized Britain, was the place where the Apostle of the Irish was born.

The year of his birth was most probably 387 A. D. His mother's name was Conchessa, and she was a native of a province in Gaul. It is a well-established fact that there was constant communication between the congregations in Gaul and those in Britain (or in the Britanniae) at that time, and Calpornius may well have met his future wife when he was acting in some capacity for the government.

In those days Irish pirates frequently ravaged the coast of England (as it is now called), and when young Sukkat was sixteen years old, he was captured by the invaders, as he himself states, and taken to Hibernia (Ireland). He is said to have been sold into slavery to a certain Milcho, who lived in that part of Dalriada now included in the County of Antrim and near a mountain that was called Slievemis. His own account (*Confession*, ch. VI) states: "After I arrived in Ireland, there every day I fed cattle, and frequently through the day I prayed; and more and more the love and fear of God burned, and my faith increased, and my spirit was enlarged, so that I said a hundred prayers in a day and nearly as many at night. And in the woods and on the mountain I remained; and before the light I also arose to my prayers, in the snow, in the frost, and in the rain, and I experienced no evil at all, nor was there any sluggishness about me, for then I felt that the spirit was fervent within me."

At the close of the sixth year of this servitude Sukkat obtained his liberty, probably by escaping from his master ("in my departure I left the man with whom I had been six years"). He had some difficulty in getting passage on a boat over to England, but he resorted to prayer, and the crossing, apparently to some part of North Britain opposite Ireland, was effected by the third day. After some rather interesting adventures, in the course of which Patrick experienced a miraculous hearing of his prayer and thus kept himself and his company from starvation, he was again seized and delivered into slavery, as chapter X of his *Confession* states, but he was able to escape after two months.

He returned to the home of his parents in Brittany (*in Britanniiis*) and shortly afterward had what he describes as a vision in the night, which induced him to go to Ireland as a missionary. Whether he, at this time, spent some years on the Continent, possibly as a pupil of St. Germaine of Auxerre, in Burgundy, as later writers state (five centuries after his death) is not very probable. It is certain, however, that Patrick considered himself under the direction of God in becoming a missionary to the country where he had been a slave. Unworthy as he felt himself for the sacred office, he cried out: "Who am I, O Lord, and what is my calling, that Thóu hast covered me with much of the divine glory?"

(Chap. XIV.) It is improbable that he received any amount of training for his work, for he repeatedly speaks of himself as an *indoctus* and deeply deploras his lack of erudition in the accepted sense. His Latin is certainly not elegant, his style is without adornment, and his ideas are arranged in the manner of one who has not had the advantage of any training in the rhetorical art. While it may be assumed that Patrick was ordained to the ministry before he set out for Ireland, there is no early account of his ordination, and the story of his visit to Rome for episcopal ordination is an invention of later days. He himself speaks of his commission as being directly from God, "to preach the Gospel in that country."

It was in the year 432, when Patrick was about forty-three years old, that he landed in Ireland, at a place then called Inver Dea, apparently the present port of Wicklow. There were no evidences of Christianity in this part of Ireland, but Druidism still held sway. After some slight initial success, opposition against the missionary and his companions arose, and they were obliged to move northward along the coast, until finally they reached the Bay of Dundrum. The local chieftain, Dicho, consented to give Patrick a hearing, and the first sermon was delivered in a barn, which long retained the name of *Sabhul Phadruic* (Patrick's Barn) and was afterward regarded with superstitious veneration.

If later accounts may be credited, it seems that Patrick's first great success is connected with his going to the great annual festival at Tara, the stronghold of Irish paganism. It was here, on the high hill of Slane, that Patrick, contrary to the heathen usages, or possibly in ignorance of the rules attending the great solemnities, built a fire before that of the king had been kindled. He was summoned before the king for his alleged transgression of a religious rule, and tradition has it that he at that time composed the famous *Hymnus Scoticus* (CONC. THEOL. MONTHLY, VIII:707), undoubtedly one of the most beautiful invocations of the divine presence which has ever been written. The missionary persuaded the king to give his message a hearing, and the next day he was permitted to preach in the palace before the king, the bards, and the Druids. This proved to be the opening wedge for Christianity, for, although not many of the leading men of the country were as yet ready to submit to the Cross, Patrick persuaded them to have their sons and daughters instructed in the faith.

From Tara Patrick proceeded to Connaught, thence to Leitrim, where he had an encounter with idolatry in its most abhorrent form, for there stood an idol known as *Cean Groith*, the Head of the Sun, which seems to have been the Moloch of the West. Subsequently Patrick journeyed to the northwestern part of Ireland, and the conquest of the entire island for Christ was accomplished

within about three decades. As soon as the opposition of Druidism had been overcome and Christianity had become more generally known, a large part of the work of evangelization could be carried on by the disciples of Patrick. Just before his death Patrick returned to the center of his early labors, and at *Sabhul* or in its vicinity he died on March 17, A. D. 465, in the seventy-eighth year of his life.

We can refer but briefly to the mythical accretions to the story of his life. Some of the accounts may have a nucleus of truth, but there have been so many fanciful additions that it is difficult to distinguish between truth and fiction. The story of Coroticus is apparently true, at least in its essential points, for we have Patrick's *Epistle to Coroticus* with his own account of the manner in which he rebuked him and his soldiers. The band consisted of Welshmen who were at least nominally Christians, who had captured or slain some of Patrick's Irish Christians. The story, as stated, may be colored by some fanciful accretions, and it is worth reading for its powerful appeal to the sinners, its mixture of indignation and pity, of honor and quenchless hope for the wronged. We may find the story of Ethne and Fedelm, the daughters of King Laoghaire, somewhat more difficult to believe, at least with regard to certain individual episodes. That they were brought to faith and subsequently baptized may certainly be accepted without question, but that they should have died at once, and in such a romantic manner, seems little short of marvelous, and is so regarded by many writers. Very likely Patrick wanted to portray in this story his conception of the beauty and purity of Irish womanhood, for there can be no doubt of his having made use of the services of women in Christianizing Ireland, not, indeed, in the capacity of official teachers, but in that of assistants, especially in the field of education and in that of Christian charity. Thus the name of Brigid, or Bridget, is held in high esteem in Ireland to this day, as abbess of Kildare and guardian of the sacred fire of Ireland, who probably arrogated to herself more authority than she was entitled to, without the consent of the bishop in charge. Another tale, called by De Vinne a "world-wide fable," is that of Patrick's being visited in a mountain retreat by flocks of sea fowl, who were said to be demons who were bound to disturb him and his companions in their devotions. With this is connected another fable, namely, that of the alleged expulsion of all reptiles and venomous creatures from Ireland. As a matter of fact, this fanciful tale is not even alluded to in any of the Irish annals before the eleventh century. The fame of Patrick is quite secure, without the need of resorting to such questionable means of giving him greater renown.

But one fact cannot be challenged successfully, namely, this, that the antecedents of the early Irish Church were definitely not Roman, just as its establishment and early growth was independent of the papacy. Among the many reasons which have been adduced in support of this assertion the following may suffice. The early connections of the family from which Patrick sprang clearly go back over Gaul to Ephesine influence, and the very names of his grandfather and his father have been derived from Greek roots. In spite of all later reports, there is no evidence that Patrick was commissioned by any papal emissary. His own *Confession* speaks only of his own inner call, and the entire account of his labors agrees with this view. As a matter of fact, the papacy had not yet, at the time when Patrick undertook the conversion of Ireland, assumed general jurisdiction over the affairs of all Christian congregations in Western Europe. Germany had not yet been evangelized, except along the Rhine, and the Gallican Church, with its branch in Britain, was entirely independent of Rome at that time, since its antecedents connect it with Ephesus, as all the available evidence abundantly proves. Palladius had indeed been connected with Rome, but his work had not in any manner influenced that of Patrick. Another point is found in the fact that the Irish Church, even after the time of Patrick, followed the customs of the Eastern Church, as in her reception of the date of Easter, differing from that of Rome, in her attitude toward the Three Chapters Controversy following the Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries, in using the frontal rather than the coronal tonsure, in her quotations from the Greek rather than the Latin Scriptures, all of which facts connect the early Irish Church with the East rather than with the West. So strongly marked was the difference between the Irish Church and that under the jurisdiction of Rome that the latter, as late as the eleventh century, complained about the stubbornness of the former in not being ready to conform to the Roman rites in the matter of marriages, of the consecration of bishops (since Ireland permitted such consecrations by only one officiating bishop), of the baptism of children without using the consecrated chrism, and other matters. De Vinne seems to stand entirely on historical ground when he writes: "Incidents abound throughout Irish history sustaining our position that for more than five hundred years the popes had no ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Ireland." (*The Irish Primitive Church*, p. 179.)

The entire plan of education for the early Irish Church was one prepared by Patrick, for to him and his successors religion and learning were twin sisters. Patrick alone is credited with founding about one hundred of them. And these schools were at



first not modeled along the lines of monastic education, but were more on the nature of parish schools, where students, young and old, married or single, lay or clerical, were made welcome. The Irish scholars, or Culdees, exerted their influence wherever their missionaries went. Their schools continued to flourish, with these characteristic features, for more than a century; in fact, it was only when Romanism infiltrated into Ireland that they changed their character and were modeled along the lines of specific papal examples. Craik (*Pictorial History of England*, I:278) writes that, as late as the eighth to the tenth century, "the chief seat of learning in Europe was Ireland and that the most distinguished scholars in other countries were either Irishmen or those who had received their education in Irish schools." Secular as well as ecclesiastical learning was fostered, for besides divinity, the study of the Scriptures, and the classics, for those intending to enter church work, the students of these schools were instructed in general literature and in science, fitting them also for ordinary civil or military life. The fame of some of these schools attracted students from England and even from the Continent, and the University of Armagh had such a reputation for learning that, as late as 1162, at a synod held at Clane, it was "decreed that no person should thenceforward be permitted to give public lectures in the sacred Scriptures or in theology in any part of Ireland unless he had studied for some time at Armagh."

Just how comprehensive the training offered in the various schools of Ireland at that time was appears from the high degree of culture exhibited in the field of the fine arts. Music and poetry flourished, the harp being the favorite instrument used by the bards or minstrels. Much time was given to the copying, ornamenting, and illuminating of books, especially of copies of the Scriptures or portions of the Bible. The artistic metal work of Ireland, particularly in the nature of crosiers, crosses, bells, brooches, and similar articles, has been recognized, from the extant remnants, as ranking with the finest work in any period of the history of art. Many of the early bells have been preserved, and a vocabulary was developed to distinguish the various kinds of bells as they were manufactured by prominent artists.

The missionary enterprises of the early Irish Church were likewise undertaken and maintained without supervision by Rome. By the time of the second half of the sixth century the majority of the people of Ireland were Christians, and therefore the leading men of the Irish Church turned their attention more and more to the conversion of other people. Soon a most extraordinary zeal for spreading the Gospel in other lands was manifest, so that hundreds of devoted missionaries left the shores of the Green Isle,

in order to Christianize countries yet without the saving message. Among the first and most illustrious of these men was *Columba*, the name, in its complete form, being *Columb na ceille*, shortened to *Columbkille*, the "dove of the Church." Having spent some time in preaching in Ireland, he was fully prepared for his task. In his forty-third year, A. D. 563, *Columba*, after the custom of the day, chose a company of twelve men and embarked for *Druid's Island*, afterward called *Iona*, off the coast of Scotland. From here he set out to preach the Gospel to the Picts and Highlanders on the north side of the *Grampian Hills*. Although he met with considerable opposition at first, *Columba* did not permit himself to become discouraged. By the force of the truth proclaimed by him, aided by the gentleness of his own spirit, he won over the Pictish king of the neighborhood, and this proved the opening wedge, for all of Northern and Western Scotland were soon evangelized by *Columba*, and his helpers went as far north as *Iceland*. His fame and the scope of his work extended to the *Anglo-Saxons* in *Northumberland*. It was he who should have been given the honor of being called the "Apostle of Scotland," a name which was later conferred upon a much inferior man, namely *Andrew*. Toward the end of his life *Columba* returned to the place which he had founded, *Iona*, where he breathed his last. He was an independent missionary all his life, for the end of his life came too soon for him even to have had any contact with the missionaries from *Rome*, who spread the Gospel in *Southern Britain* for the second time.

One of *Columba's* highly honored successors was *Aidan*, born 605 A. D. Because *King Oswald* of *Northumberland*, when he had fled to *Ireland* in the course of a terrible war, had become a Christian, he desired to have the blessings of Christianity for his country also. *Aidan* of *Iona* was the man chosen for this task. Although handicapped at first by his inability to speak the *Saxon* language, he pursued his course with an undaunted spirit. The king assigned to him the island of *Lindisfarne*, off the northeastern coast of *Britain*, and here he founded the monastery which became one of the most illustrious in the history of the country. It has rightly been said that *Augustine* (coming in from the south, from *Rome*) was the *Apostle of Kent*, but *Aidan* was the *Apostle of England*.

Among other notable missionaries who labored in the northern part of *Britain* were *Finnan* (d. 661) and *Colman* (d. 676). Both of these men governed the monastery of *Lindisfarne* after the death of *Aidan*, the former being especially successful in *Middle Anglia* and *East Anglia*, and the latter extending the influence of Christianity still farther south. But then came the *Synod of Whitby* (664 A. D.). When the missionaries who succeeded *Augustine* of *Kent* moved northward, they naturally came in contact with

the missionaries of the Irish Church. Margaret of Kent, the wife of king Oswiu, brought with her the loyalty of the Kentish church to the Roman see, and she was shocked by the differences which were evident between the two groups, both claiming to be representatives of the Gospel. Oswiu, who presided at the synod, partly under the influence of his wife, partly overawed by the claim of the representatives of Rome as to the power of the keys having been given to Peter, decided against Colman. When the Lindisfarne clergy sided with the Roman faction, Colman, followed by the entire number of the Irish-born brethren and thirty of their English fellows, forsook the see of Aidan and sailed away to Iona.

Meanwhile, however, other events transpired which showed that the early Irish Church had been established and had developed independently of Rome. For the labors of the zealous missionaries from Ireland were extended also to the Continent. There was *Columbanus* (559—615 A. D.), who had been trained at Banchor Seminary, in Ireland. With twelve brethren he set out for Upper Burgundy, in the neighborhood of the Alps, and the ablest of his assistants was Gallus, whose name was later given to the abbey and the town of St. Gall, in Switzerland. Their first camp, or monastery, was in a wild section of the forest, at the foot of the Vosges Mountains, twelve cabins being erected to house the men. For twenty years Columbanus labored in this territory before he extended the work to other parts of the country. Toward the end of his life he removed to Italy, first to Milan, and finally to Bobbio, where he died in the fifty-sixth year of his age. *Gallus* had remained in Switzerland, as noted above, and he labored there until his death, A. D. 665, in the ninety-fifth year of his age.

Other Irish missionaries who brought the Gospel to Central Europe were *Fridolinus*, surnamed Viator, the Traveler (d. 670), who made frequent, long, and continuous journeys through Lorraine, along the Rhine, in parts of Switzerland, and in parts of Germany; *Furseus* (b. A. D. 615), who first went to England and later traveled through Austria, Brabant, Flanders, and several other countries; *Livinius* (ca. 668 A. D.), who started out from the "Monastery of the Irish," at Brabant, and traveled extensively through the different countries along the Rhine; *Killian* (ca. 689 A. D.), who was later called the "Apostle of Franconia," who died a martyr, a victim of hatred and treachery; and *Virgilius*, or Fargil (ca. 704), who labored in parts of France and incurred the displeasure of Boniface, who hailed from England, but was the Pope's legate to Bavaria.

This last incident, as well as the entire history of the period, offers abundant evidence of the fact that the Irish missionaries

labored independently of the papal see. They neither received orders from Rome nor did they permit themselves to be guided by papal emissaries. The Synod of Whitby had indeed stopped the further progress of the Irish missionaries into Southern England and delivered this country into the hands of Rome, but the Irish Church was still independent and, to a large degree, autonomous, a thorn in the side of the Roman curia, and especially of the papal representatives in Britain. Unfortunately the incursions of the Danes, with their ravages of the land, and, somewhat later, the conquests of the Norsemen materially reduced the prosperity of Ireland and of the Irish Church. Its greatest glory came to an end before the end of the eighth century, when many of its finest churches and abbeys were destroyed. From about 950 to 1170 A. D., when some terrible internecine wars were waged, many Irish chieftains became as ferocious and predatory as the Danish invaders, reckless of the lives of their own countrymen and regardless of the obligations of their religion. It was really the discipline of the Church, weak as it had become, which supplied the place of the civil law. By the battle of Clontarf (A. D. 1080), indeed, the Danish power in Ireland was forever broken, but for another century and a half there were continuous wars among the Irish chieftains for the national sovereignty. Not only was agriculture neglected and industry hampered, but the people were impoverished, and the schools, once the glory of the nation, were, for the most part, closed and their inmates dragged to the armies or driven to the Continent.

It was at this time, as De Vinne remarks, "that Rome and the Papal Church of England put forth their united and most vigorous efforts to fasten the entire system of popery upon the Irish people."

Even before Whitby it had been irksome to the papal see that Ireland had an independent Church, and mention is constantly made of the fact that the Irish must be brought "to the one Catholic and Roman office." At the beginning of the eleventh century these efforts became more and more systematized. In 1056 A. D. Lanfranc of Canterbury addressed a very flattering letter to Thorlough, in which the latter is called "the magnificent king of Ireland," the purpose being to prepare him for some rather pointed suggestions concerning the so-called lack of uniformity in the matter of marriages, consecrations, and baptisms. Similar suggestions were offered in 1090 by Pope Gregory, in 1095 by Anselm of Canterbury. Even before this, in 1038, a Danish ecclesiastic by the name of Donat had been consecrated at Canterbury, and the third bishop, who bore the same name, openly made the declaration of canonical obedience: "I, Donat, Bishop of the See of Dublin in Ireland, do

promise canonical obedience to you, O Lanfranc, and to your successors."

After this first breach had been made, further encroachments followed. In A. D. 1152 Pope Eugenius sent Cardinal Papyrio as his legate to Ireland, to call a synod and to incorporate the Irish Church into the See of Rome. For a century there had really been two church organizations in Ireland, the old native one, and that of the new Dano-Irish, which gave allegiance to the Pope. Thus we find the old native Synod of Armagh still functioning, deploring and protesting against the slaughterings and devastations of the English. But the year 1152 marked the end of the old independent Church, for Papyrio presented the palliums sent by the Pope to the four archiepiscopal dioceses of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam, these palliums being received as investitures, pledging the men and their successors to obedience to Rome. And the so-called "great reformatory synod" of Cashel, held in 1172, fully established popery for all of Ireland at that time.

It is interesting to note, however, that many of the minor ecclesiastics of Ireland maintained their independent spirit, even after Cashel. In fact, the resentment against the manner in which their leaders had been inveigled into obedience to Rome smoldered for centuries. Some writers believe that if the Reformation had come to the Irish in their own language and through their own ministry, they would very likely have received it. As Todd (*Life of St. Patrick*, 143) puts it: "If the Reformation had come to them in Irish dress and language and through their own priests, they would have received it. But as it was, they rejected it at once without examination." And as late as 1869 Stanley, Dean of Westminster, declared: "The Episcopal order in Ireland has never shaken off the effects of this early Presbyterianism," that is, their manner of appointing their own bishops or clergymen. The same writer states: "As late as 1825 a scheme was discussed by the Irish Roman Catholic bishops for the establishment of an Irish 'Patriarch,' who should become the real head of the old national Church, fostered by the most powerful of all the Roman Catholic prelates of that time, Bishop Doyle." (*The Three Irish Churches*, 11.) \*

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\* *Chief References:* De Vinne, *The Irish Primitive Church*; Joyce, *The Social History of Ancient Ireland*, Vol. I; Charles, *Early Christian Missions of Ireland, Scotland, and England*; O'Brien and others, *Pamphlets on the Irish Church*; Green, *Short History of the English People*. A very recent book by de Blacam, *St. Patrick* (Bruce), is built up largely on tradition, evidently ignores even the implications of Whitby, and is therefore not reliable.