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BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.



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Was St. Aidan an Anglican?

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

Dr. Lightfoot, whose premature death we all so much deplore, had occasion to preach on several occasions in places memorable on account of their part in the early

ecclesiastical history of Northumbria.

These sermons were published in 1891, (after the preacher's death) the little volume containing some additional sermons on certain post-Reformation occupants of the see of Durham, in pursuance of the ruling idea that continuity between the Catholic past and the Anglican present has never been interrupted.

With these more recent celebrities we are not concerned. But, as the sermons on the early Northumbrian saints and missionaries are considered by Anglicans, especially in the North, to afford a valuable support to the continuity theory, we shall do well to examine into the matter, at any incidental expressions of hostility to ourselves.

"It was not from Imperial Rome, nor from Kent, the handmaid of Rome, that Northumbria was destined to receive her Christianity. A larger and freer spirit must be stamped on the English Church in her infancy, never to be obliterated in maturer age."* In these words we have the key-note to the preacher's contention. The spirit of the modern English (that is, Anglican) Church is a spirit of freedom. It is this which makes recogni-

^{*} Leaders of the Northern Church. By the Right Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., late Bishop of Durham, p. 41.

tion of the Roman thraldom an impossibility to her, and it is her consolation to find that this self-same spirit, which she has so faithfully preserved, is congenital. She received it from the earliest of all her founders. For the founders in question were founders, not of the Northumbrian Church only, but to the entire English Church, one small corner in the south-east alone To Aidan, not to Augustine, must be attributed the conversion of every kingdom of the Heptarchy save that of Kent. "Augustine was the Apostle of Kent, but Aidan was the Apostle of England."* When we probe deeper and inquire into the cause of Aidan's success and Augustine's failure, we discover it in the power of "earnest, simple, self-denying lives, pleading with a force which no eloquence of words can command:"† the suggestion being that these qualities were deficient in the Roman missionaries led by St. A tendency to disheartenment, want of Augustine. courage to face persecution, imperfect realization of the difference between solid and superficial conversions, and other defects are imputed to the Roman, by contrast to the Celtic, missionaries. It would seem as if we were to understand that this better moral equipment, with the consequent success in the arduous labours of the apostolate, was the natural outcome of the alleged rejection by the Celtic missionaries of the Papal Supremacy; although the inference is hardly supported by the comparative results of Anglican and Catholic missionary effort in modern times. Such is the substance of Dr. Lightfoot's contention in the first four sermons of his little volume, a contention which in the sermons themselves is rather asserted than proved, but which is supported by some slight attempts at proof in the appended notes.

A few words first to give in outline the history of the planting of the Christian faith in this country. St. Augustine was sent by Pope Gregory the Great, in 596, with a few companions, to convert the island of Great Britain. The missionaries seem to have set out with

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some very natural trepidation of heart on their journey to the distant land where the Roman arms could afford them no protection. On their arrival in France, the reports reaching them of the ferocity of the islanders daunted their courage still more, and it required all the authority and persuasiveness of the intrepid Pontiff, who would have readily shared their dangers in his own person, to nerve them to their enterprise. however—an easy success in the first instance—was in store for them. Ethelbert, King of Kent, was gained over almost at once, and the example of the monarch whom they revered and trusted, was followed generally by his subjects, and the see of Canterbury was founded in what had hitherto been the royal city. For a time the obvious course was to consolidate the work commenced. But after an interval of seven years an opportunity offered of establishing another Christian centre in the neighbouring East Saxon kingdom. Mellitus was sent to London, and the foundations of the original Cathedral of St. Paul's were laid. Failure, however. overtook this new effort, twelve years later, when the Christian King Sabert died and his three Pagan sons succeeded him. Mellitus was bidden to depart, and the fate even of Kentish Christianity hung for a time in the balance when Ethelbert's death, occurring about the same time, transferred the sceptre to his Pagan son Eadbald. The latter danger was fortunately averted by the conversion of Eadbald, but though the sons of Sabert were all slain in battle after a short reign, some forty years intervened before the East Saxons would give heed again to the voice of the preacher.

After St. Augustine had been twenty years in his grave, an opportunity at last offered of making the truth known to the Angles of the North. Ethelburga, a sister of Eadbald, was chosen as his bride by Edwin, the Northumbrian Sovereign of Deira—Edwin, the son of that very Ella whose name had caused St. Gregory to say in his quaint manner, as he gazed on the white-skinned Anglian boys in the Roman slave-market, that Alleluias (Ella-luias) should sound in the land of Deira,

and that it should soon be rescued from the wrath of God (de ira Dei). Eadbald demanded for his sister Ethelburga full liberty to profess her faith, and Edwin nobly replied that she should have it, and that he himself would embrace it, if on examination he found it to bear the marks of truth. Here was a bright prospect for St. Paulinus, now sent with the Princess as her chaplain. For a time, indeed, he had to wait for his harvest. Edwin was dilatory about his promised examination, but at length he was convinced, received Baptism, and joined with Paulinus in an active

apostolate among his people.

The people seem to have listened with eager ears. Bede gives a glowing account of the plentiful conversions, and mentions by way of illustration how at one time at Yevering, at the foot of the Cheviots, Paulinus was occupied for thirty-six consecutive days in an uninterrupted labour of first instructing, and then baptizing in the waters of the glen, the crowds who flocked to him from all the villages and places around. This was in Bernicia, the northern division of Edwin's kingdom. Deira, the southern division, a similar sight could be witnessed on the banks of the Swale near Catterick. Nor did Paulinus confine his labours to the provinces north of the Humber. His zeal looked beyond, and we find him presently in Lindsey, the modern Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, repeating the same happy suc-At Lincoln itself the Governor and his family were converted, and a church erected near the site of the modern Cathedral; and at Tiovulfingacestir, probably Southwell, the Trent emulated the Glen and the Swale, and lent its waters to a multitude of neophytes. To the impulse of Paulinus also we ought fairly to attribute the apostolate undertaken by Edwin in East Anglia. At the time this East Anglian effort was not crowned with lasting success. Though many embraced the Faith in company with their King, Eorpwald, the latter was shortly afterwards martyred, and the province relapsed into heathenism. For a time only, however. It was permanently regained three years later, under Sigbert, the new King, who had been converted during a foreign exile. Shortly after his accession to the East Anglian throne, a Burgundian monk of the name of Felix crossed over into Kent and offered his services to Archbishop Honorius. Honorius sent him on to Sigbert, by whom he was gratefully received. And thus he became the Apostle of East

Anglia.

To return to the northern kingdom. When the work of evangelizing it had lasted six years, and was full of the happiest promise, a great disaster befell the land. Penda, King of Mercia, the central sovereignty of the island, in league with Cadwallon, King of North Walesthe first a pagan, the second worse than a pagan in his bitter antipathy to the Christianized Anglians—invaded the dominions of Edwin, and defeated him in a decisive battle at Hatfield, in south-eastern Yorkshire. Edwin himself was slain on the field, and then ensued a "very great slaughter in the church and people of Northumbria." The Welsh king, particularly, spared neither women nor children; he put them all to a cruel death amidst great torments, and for a length of time harried all their provinces, in the resolve to exterminate the entire Anglian race from the territory of Britain. St. Paulinus, apparently, saw no object in remaining where for the present little work could be done, and, moreover, deemed it his duty to escort the Kentish Princess, with whom he had been charged, back to her brother's dominions. He left his companion, James the Deacon, to supply his place so far as was needful, and we may suppose, in the defect of any positive record, that his intention was to return to the work himself when the storm should have blown over. However, the see of Rochester falling vacant at the time of his arrival in the south, he was appointed by Honorius of Canterbury to fill it.

The storm in Northumbria lasted for a year—"a year hateful to all good men"—and then the air was clear once more. St. Oswald overthrew Cadwallon in the famous Battle of Heavenfield, and recovered all his uncle Edwin's dominions. Having spent many years of

exile among the Scots, and received Christian Baptism and instruction from the monks of Iona, it was natural he should send thither for pastors to whose care he could commit his people. The result was the sending of St. Aidan, followed presently by many others from the same source; and thus the evangelization of Northumbria was commenced anew by these Celtic monks. Aidan fixed his see at Lindisfarne, and thus caused Bernicia rather than Deira, of the two provinces of the kingdom, to be the centre of the new missionary operations. We have heard from Bishop Lightfoot, in this faithful to the account given by the Venerable Bede, what manner of man St. Aidan was, and how his gentle saintliness told with the people. "Churches were built in various places, crowds used to come with joy to hear the Word preached, possessions and territories were given by royal munificence for the erection of monasteries. English children were taught by Scottish teachers, and learnt at the same time both more advanced studies and the observance of regular discipline."

No further interruption was destined to stay the course of Northumbrian Christianity. After a nine years' reign Oswald was, indeed, slain in battle, probably at Oswestry, by the same Penda who had slain his uncle Edwin. But, though Deira and Bernicia were divided again for a short time, each received a Christian ruler, and after a few years Oswy, the brother of Oswald, united them both under his sceptre, and the succession was secured to his family. Aidan himself was spared for sixteen years to superintend the progress of his work, and after his death there were Finan and Colman and their successors to continue

it.

Nor was it only in the Northumbrian provinces that the Celtic mission from Iona gathered its fruits. During the episcopate of Finan, Peada, son of Penda, sought Baptism at his hands and begged for some monks, who were given him to convert the Mid-Anglians. An attempt was also made to re-convert the East Saxons by Cedd, one of St. Aidan's disciples, and, after the death of

Penda on the field of Winwæd, Diuma was sent to

establish at Lichfield a bishopric of Mercia.

This was the extent of the Celtic labours. influences altogether independent of Columba, the West Saxon kingdom was evangelized. Birinus was sent over by Pope Honorius, with a commission to evangelize the Mid-Saxons. Landing, however, in Hampshire, he found the West Saxons in need of conversion, and felt that he would be fulfilling best the spirit of his charge by bestowing his first labours upon them. This was a few years before the arrival of St. Aidan in the North. The work of Birinus, very soon after its inauguration, had to pass through a crisis, but it came out safely, and, after the death of Birinus, was taken up and carried to completion by Agilbert, a Frankish Bishop, and other successors. The only English race still remaining Pagan was that of the South Saxons. The distinction of effecting their conversion was reserved for St. Wilfrid in 681, during one of his unjust exiles from Northumbria.

With the aid of this slight sketch, it is possible to estimate Dr. Lightfoot's contention that Aidan, not Augustine, was the Apostle of England. As Catholics, we have no motive for undervaluing the work done by the monks of Iona. They and the missionaries from the Continent are cherished with equal veneration by ourselves now as they ever were by our Catholic ancestors. We regard them all equally as our fathers in the faith, and they while living regarded one another as ministers of the same faith and fellow-labourers in the same good cause. Aidan, says Bede, "was deservedly loved by all, even by those who thought differently about the Pasch; and not only by persons of ordinary station, for he was held in like reverence by the Bishops themselves, Honorius of Canterbury and Felix of the East Anglians."* When, however, we are required in favour of St. Aidan to dispossess St. Augustine of his traditional title of Apostle of England, accorded to him by all previous generations, we may well ask on what grounds.

^{*} Eccles. Hist. iii., 25.

Former ages have been unhesitating in awarding the title to St. Augustine and to him only. In the Council of Clovesho, for instance, in 747 it was decreed: "That the birthday of the blessed Pope Gregory, as also the day of death, falling on May 26th, of St. Augustine, Archbishop and Confessor, who, sent by the aforesaid Pope, our Father St. Gregory, brought to the English race the knowledge of faith, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the knowledge of the heavenly country, be honoured and venerated by all as is becoming."* Surely they were better able to know then than modern Anglicans can know now, what was the comparative impression made upon the country by the different workers and classes of workers, who, not further back than a century and a half, had founded their Church? And they tell us out of this their fuller knowledge, that the original and the dominating impulse in the evangelization of the country was St. Augustine's not St. Aidan's. Now this is just what is ordinarily meant by apostleship. belongs to the labourer who lays the foundations, and it is not necessary that he should have personally carried the building founded to its completion, or that he should have extended the borders of the Church to every province of the nation.

What St. Augustine did was to found the Church in the kingdom of Kent, and thereby establish a basis for Christian rule and influence in the land. We can well understand why he did not do more. His episcopate lasted but six years, he had necessarily but a very few colleagues of his own, and the Britons to whom he applied for aid refused it in their un-Christian hatred of their Teutonic enemies. In spite of this dearth of helpers, he made an attempt to found two other bishoprics—one at Rochester, the other at London—and it was not his fault if the accession of the heathen princes expelled Mellitus from London before the newly-sown faith of the East Saxons had had time to mature.

To St. Augustine's impulse we must also attribute the

^{*} Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, p. 368.

grand work of St. Paulinus in the North, although it did not commence till twenty years after the Saint's death. We must call it a grand work, for so it was. Already we have heard Bede's account of what was done: but because a terrible persecution overtook it in its infancy and interrupted its course, we are asked by Dr. Lightfoot to regard the labours of Paulinus as a mere exhibition of "feverish activity." Paulinus, it is alleged, had not the prudence to think of consolidating his work: his only anxiety was to multiply converts. Consequently, when the trial came, "it was as if a sponge had passed over the land." How amusingly unconscious Anglicans are of the inconsistencies into which their position leads them! Augustine can spare no monks for external work, and seeks to consolidate that already begun. In consequence he is blamed for his want of zeal. Paulinus is beset by vast multitudes seeking admission into the fold. He spends himself day and night in giving such preliminary instruction as was possible under the circumstances, and then administers Baptism. In consequence, he is accused of feverish activity. What sort of historical justice is this? Paulinus could not do much towards consolidating his work, because he had neither the means nor the time. did what he could: he made a beginning; and doubtless would have proceeded to mature what was in its infancy had his destiny allowed him. It is true he left when Cadwallon was devastating the land, and Dr. Lightfoot considers this to evince faint-heartedness. No doubt it would have been magnificent to stay and court martyrdom. But would the useless sacrifice of life have been more according to the dictates of Christian prudence than a temporary withdrawal, the more so as he did leave another to sustain the neophytes in their trial, one who perhaps was the better fitted for that office, just because he was the less known?

And by what authority does Dr. Lightfoot tell us that the work of Paulinus was altogether blotted out? Bede is the only informant that we have, and he certainly does not say so much. At most it is Dr. Lightfoot's inference from Bede's story, and, we submit, it is a false inference. There was only a year's interval between the departure of Paulinus and the coming of Aidan. Bede himself tells us that St. Hilda had been christened by Paulinus, and he has preserved to us a touching account. told in his own hearing by one old man, of the veneration felt for Paulinus when he baptized in the Trent. is reasonable to think that, although St. Aidan of course added many besides to the Church, a large number, the nucleus in fact, of the flock which gathered round him on his arrival was formed out of those whom Paulinus had converted and baptized. They were won back rather than won, and many of them not so much won back as preserved to the faith which they had not abandoned at heart during the persecution. There was continuity, in other words, between the work of Aidan and that of Paulinus: and so Paulinus more than Aidan, and, behind Paulinus, Augustine, was the Apostle of the North.

Such is Augustine's claim to the title of Apostle. What about Aidan's? Aidan and his monks did undoubtedly a grand work. The faith of the neophytes was no longer in their days subjected to the trial of royal persecutions, and this made the labours of the missionary We must note this difference between the easier. circumstances under which the Celtic and the Roman missionaries respectively laboured, because it ought to enter into the comparison which Anglicans have challenged in the view of disparaging the Romans. difference is in itself, however, matter only for thanksgiving, by no means for disparagement of the labours of the Celts. As regards the extent of their part in the conversion of the country, we may call Aidan co-apostle, with Paulinus, of the North; and we may call his disciple Cedd an apostle of the East Saxons, and his other disciple Chad the apostle of Mercia. We may also award Aidan his share in the conversion of the South Saxons, whose immediate apostle was his still more famous disciple St. Wilfrid: although Dr. Lightfoot must have experienced a difficulty in comprising Wilfrid's

works in the category of successes attributable to the freer spirit of the Celtic missionaries.

But it is time to pass to the more essential question, whether there was any such difference in faith between Aidan and Augustine as Anglicans have lately taken to maintain?

The story of the efforts made by St. Augustine to establish relations with the British clergy, is familiar to us all. There was a meeting under an oak-tree, somewhere near Cirencester, between the two parties, which came to nought because they could not arrange the terms. St. Augustine seems to have been aware that there was some difference of practice between the Britons and the rest of Christendom, the result of their great isolation from the centre of ecclesiastical life and teaching, and he had considered with himself how much of this dissentient practice he could conscientiously tolerate. He required of the Britons only that they should celebrate their Pasch at the same time as the rest of the world, that they should observe the rites of the Roman Church in the administration of Baptism, and that they should co-operate in converting the Anglians. these points the last was a matter of obligation under the precept of Christain charity, and the second must always remain obscure to us through the lack of further As regards the first we have full information. The Britons differed from the rest of the world in their assignment of Easter in two respects: first, in following a computation of Paschal cycles which, though formerly in use at Rome, had on account of its defects been superseded by one more accurate; secondly, in keeping the feast on the fourteenth day itself of the Paschal moon when that day happened to be a Sunday, instead of transferring it to the twenty-first, the Sunday following.

After some negotiations the Britons rejected the overtures of St. Augustine, and the question arises, what was the real motives of the rejection? Anglicans, not deeming the points mentioned to involve any important principle, have concluded that the real issue lay behind, and was that of the Papal claims. So, for instance, Dr.

Bright, who censures Lingard as follows; "Lingard argues that the subjects of Papal authority and British independence did not come into consideration.* This is futile. The British delegates could not fail to know that Augustine did come to them as specially empowered from Rome. And their reverence for Rome did not, in their view, commit them to obedience to its emissary. But it must have done so, had it included a belief in Papal Supremacy."† If, however, these subjects had come into consideration, Bede must have known it from his authorities. The dialogue, too, would have taken a different form altogether. There was no motive on either side for concealing the true issue, if it was that alleged. Dr. Bright's mistake is to assume that conduct is always strictly logical. If it were so, the inference from resistance and disobedience to rejection of authority would be sound. As it is not, the inference is unsound.

What then were the real motives by which the Britons were actuated? That St. Augustine's pride in not rising to receive their envoys counted for very much is not conceivable. Judging from the circumstances, we may set down dislike of the Saxons, their race-foes, as the main ground of the British refusal. Still, probably each of St. Augustine's demands was repulsive to the Britons. Religious rites and usages, although only involving discipline, may through long custom become intensely precious. This very matter of Easter computation supplies us with an apt illustration from our own experience. When the suggestion is made that, in the interests of practical convenience. Easter should be a fixed instead of a moveable feast, it is always urged that no principle can possibly be involved in the proposal. Yet what Catholic does not instinctively feel that the change would cut him to the guick, and that if, what is of course inconceivable, the Pope could be got at by the advocates of change and should prescribe according to their wishes, it would require of us an almost heroic exercise of obedience to submit?

^{*} Anglo-Saxon Church, i., 380. † Early English Church History, p. 83.

We are to conclude, then, that no evidence of difference of creed between St. Augustine and the Britons can be inferred from the occurrences at Augustine's oak. And this is to the point, although we are immediately concerned with the faith of Aidan and the Northern Celts, not of the Celts in Wales. It is to the point, because the faith of all the Celts was confessedly the same, and one argument advanced by Anglicans for the alleged "independence" of Aidan is the alleged "independence" of the Britons. It is to the point again, because we have in the Easter controversy between the supporters of Colman, Aidan's successor, and those of Wilfrid, which came to a head at the conference of Whitby, sixty years later, a mere reproduction of the previous dispute at the oak. In Aidan's time, we are told by Bede, his error in celebrating the Pasch was tolerated. He was so respected and venerated by all, that those who knew better did not like to trouble him about an observance which he would have found it so hard to surrender. But after his death the inconvenience arising out of the clash between the two observances grew more acute and caused the scandal of differing from the Universal Church in so sacred a matter to be more fully realised.

The crisis was reached one year, when King Oswy, following the Celtic computation, began his Easter festivities whilst his Kentish Queen was just addressing her mind to the mournful ceremonies of Holy Week. Then the conference of Whitby was held. The Celtic representatives were Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne. with his clerics from Scotland, Bishop Cedd, who had preached to the East Saxons, and Abbess Hilda of Whitby. On the other side were Agilbert, Bishop of the West Saxons, Wilfrid, James the Roman deacon left. behind by Paulinus, and Tuda, a Celt from Southern Ireland. Also there were present Kings Oswy and Alchfrid, the former inclining to the Celtic, the latter to the Roman, usage. Colman expounded the argument for his own side, relying on the authority of St. Columba and the supposed authority of St. John. Wilfrid replied, with some unnecessary heat of words, but with an excellent exposition of the motives demanding compliance with the Catholic custom, drawn partly from the reasons by which the Universal Church had been moved to adopt her method, partly from the general duty of obedience. Dealing with the authority of St. Columba pleaded by his opponents, he attributed that Saint's error to the absence of more accurate information in his distant dwelling-place, and expressed confidence that he would have abandoned it had the information arrived in his days. That thus he had suffered no harm from his error. which however would not be the case with the present generation of his sons, who would certainly sin if they contemned the decrees of the Apostolic See and the Universal Church. For were St. Columba and his monks of higher authority than the blessed Prince of the Apostles, to whom the Lord said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven"?

This appeal brought up King Oswy, who asked of Colman if such words were truly said by our Lord to St. Peter. On receiving the acknowledgment that they were, he rejoined, "This then is the door-keeper whom I will not resist, but as far as my knowledge and power goes, I will obey all his decrees, lest perchance when I approach the doors of the Kingdom of Heaven, there be none to open, he turning his back to me to whom

the keys are proved to have been given."

The words of the Gospel brought home forcibly to the mind of the King the necessity of obedience to him whom God had placed over His Church, blessed Peter, ever living in the line of his successors. The effect on Cedd was the same. So was the effect on Eata and many of the monks of Colman's own Abbey of Lindisfarne: so probably was it on Hilda of Whitby, since she continued at her post under the rectified observance: so certainly it was on many others, as we learn from Bede, who says, "All present agreed with the King, the leaders from their seats, the commoner sort from the place where they stood."

Colman, with a few others, alone continued to resist the change. They returned to Scotland, "in order to treat with their own people there what should be done." The phrase here used is noticeable. We may fairly gather from it that even Colman was not altogether sure of a point concerning which so many of his previous adherents had been convinced by the discussion held. He wanted light, and went to seek it of those in whom he had confidence. That he ever passed over himself to the Catholic observance does not appear. but the Celtic Christians had all accepted it within the space of half a century from 664, the date of the Council of Whitby. Those in South Ireland-had even accepted it thirty years earlier, according to Bede, "in deference to the admonitions of the Bishop of the Apostolic See." The Northern Irish accepted it in 704, convinced by the reasoning of Adamnan, the then Abbot of St. Columba's own monastery at Iona. Adamnan was less successful with his own people, but these too were gained over twelve years later by the Anglian Egbert. In Wales, nourished probably by the intense animosity felt by its inhabitants for their English neighbours, the erroneous system held out longer. It was not completely extinguished till the commencement of the ninth century. But, as a set off against this, we find the Welsh consistently regarded by English writers as in schism on account of their attitude towards the rest of the Christian world.

From these facts we are able to see how little there is in common between the position taken up by modern Anglicans and that of these ancient Celtic Christians. The Anglican position is one of protest based on a conscious theory that the "Bishop of Rome hath no authority in this realm of England," the authority which he claims belonging of right only to the English Crown. The attitude of the Celtic monks was not based on any theoretical differences in regard to the ultimate seat of authority between themselves and the rest of the Christian world. It was merely an attitude of practical protest against a particular measure, and based on the

very strong feeling that the usage to which they had been so long accustomed, and into which they had, so to speak, grown, ought not to be abandoned. We may call this, as we have called it higher up, disobedience: refusal to obey a recognized authority as distinguished from refusal to recognize the authority commanding: refusal, too, to obey, not of the baser sort, but refusal arising out of the mistaken persuasion that the particular order issued was in violation of a most sacred obligation.

Let it however be granted, for the sake of argument, that the Anglican thesis is completely proved: that Welsh and Irish and Scottish* were in their origins quite as Anglicans are now. What then? Are they brought by this a whit nearer the establishment of their pet theory, that in the days of Henry and Elizabeth no breach took place in the continuity which they claim to hold with the Church of the Dunstans and the Anselms. the Cuthberts and the De Burys? If we are to say that the Celtic Church of Northumbria did differ, on the point of Roman supremacy, from the rest of the world, we must say also that it was of short survival. It gave way at once before the influx of what was deemed to be fuller light at Whitby. It retired to a remote island off the coast of Mayo, there also soon to lose all traces of its peculiar usages. Meanwhile in Northumbria all classes hastened to harmonize their beliefs and practices with those of their southern and continental brethren: and it is from them, not from the Celts—that is, supposing the two to have represented essentially different creeds that the later English Church, the Church of the Anglo-Saxon and mediæval periods, derives its origin.

^{*} These terms are used, here and throughout, for convenience sake, as they are understood now-a-days.

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