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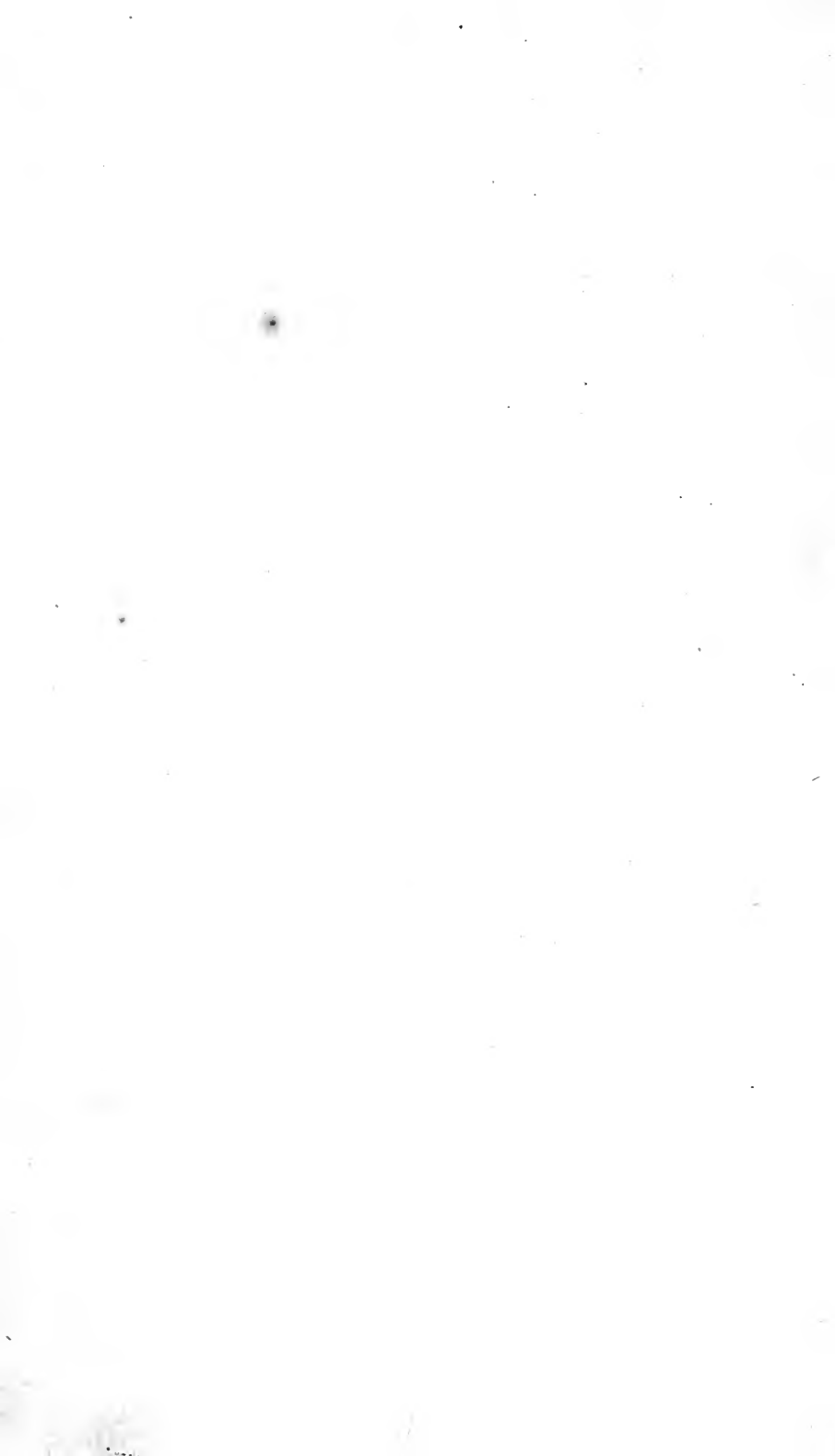
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TO

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

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This Treatise,

COMMENCED IN THE HOPE OF SERVING THE CHURCH OVER WHICH

HIS GRACE PRESIDES,

AND NOW COMPLETED BY HIS DESIRE,

IS HUMBLY AND DUTIFULLY

INSCRIBED.



P R E F A C E .

THE controversy with Rome, which has passed through many different phases, turns at present on the claim of papal supremacy. It is not purgatory, nor the mass, nor indulgences, nor the worship of the dead, nor any such question, which has now to be argued ; but whether there exists, by divine right, a central authority, super-eminent and universal, in obedience to which all doctrines are to be received, and all discipline regulated. Our opponents contend that its establishment includes all else ; and that arguments on the separate parts of the Roman system in detail are therefore superfluous and ineffectual. We cannot well refuse to reason the case in the form on which they insist, because it is indispensable that there should be agreement on the issue to be tried ; and we may consent the more readily, because there is better hope of avoiding extreme mutual irritation, than if we were to renew the debate on subjects which belong to the interior spiritual life of individuals. In dealing with the question into which the present controversy resolves itself, our first and main appeal lies to the bible. But the facts of the case, as well as the judgment of those who lived in primitive times, must be gathered from a period sub-

sequent to that at which all information from scripture is closed. To abandon the ground of antiquity would be tantamount to an admission that we did not feel secure of its testimony; which never occurred to the early reformers, whatever their country or their school. They maintained, with one voice, that their exposition of scripture on this subject of the supremacy was confirmed by the facts of the case; and they knew that there was no possibility of deciding the great issue which had been raised, except on the ground of a broad investigation. The reformation had no better friends than the learned men of that age. Reuchlin, Erasmus, Hutten, and a multitude of others, contributed hardly less than those who were more exclusively theologians.

There are two periods to which we must look for all valuable information about the present revived controversy; the one extending from the first overt acts of the reformers to the end of the sixteenth century, the other occurring some years later. But in both we find that those who took the leading part on the protestant side made use of all the resources within their reach. Among ourselves, Ridley and Cranmer, Rainoldes and Jewel, and among continentals, Melancthon, Beza, and Chemnitz, were, beyond denial, as learned persons as that age produced; and the records of the reformation furnish many such names. It is needless to say, that these great men maintained the absolute supremacy of God's word; it was their foremost and distinguishing principle. But they never dreamed of neglecting, much less of disparaging, the use of ecclesiastical studies. And

so, in the next century, Jeremy Taylor and Ussher, and, after them, Stillingfleet and Barrow, followed the same method with equal success, and held fast all that their predecessors had gained. The disparagement of human learning would have found just as little favour with Baxter, Owen, Calamy, and other nonconformists of that period, or with the French reformed church, when it produced men like Blondel. Chillingworth himself, who has embodied in a sentence the grounds of authority to which protestants ultimately appeal, is so far from giving any countenance to the abuse of his language by the idle or the incapable, that his pages abound in references to the facts of church history.

Whoever desires to comprehend the questions now in debate, must follow the example of these older writers. Not that the mere reprint of their volumes will serve our purpose, because the form of the controversy has changed, and is centered upon a different point. It will not suffice to take down the weapons which have been hanging on the wall for a century and a half; they will not fit our hands, nor suit the present warfare. And we shall gain little by using the authorities, from whatever sources they may be derived, which have descended as an heirloom to one generation of controversialists after another, unless we are prepared to answer some important questions connected with them. Who were the writers? in what context are the passages to be found? on what occasions were they written? under what circumstances? are they neutralised by any statement made by the same person elsewhere?

Roman controversialists of the time should have obtained the knowledge of primitive writings from such a source, would have seemed impossible in the days of Bellarmine and Hosius. The case is not very different with the converts lately gained from the English church. It would be hard to find more melancholy reading than the apologies which some of them have presented for their momentous change. They are the extremest ultramontanes,—*plus catholique que le pape*. We find much harsh speaking against the communion just forsaken, and the exaggerated expressions with which people try to stifle their own misgivings, as if the violence of their words would impose upon themselves, and make their convictions stronger; but there is none of the calm self-conscious power which can dispense with bitter words, and but little of that charity with which a christian man, himself in the haven of peace, should regard those whom he believes to be still tossed on the dark waters. Dr. Newman gives us pages of cold pleasantry on subjects in which all the hopes of those who were lately his fellow-churchmen are bound up; and Mr. Allies searches out the most horrible image in the whole *Inferno* of Dante to describe the communion of which, a few months before, he was the champion. Of those who have left us, some have studied in the school of such Jesuits as Petau, and some have taken their scheme entire at the hands of Fleury and the Gallicans; who can wonder at the result? They shape the facts of ecclesiastical history to fit their own changed position, after such a sort, as to remind us of what Jacques Boileau says in his reply

to M. Maimbourg: "Il paraît que ses inclinations sont changées, et qu'il accommode les histoires du temps passé aux vûes différentes qu'il a dans le temps présent." One quotes with derision what he supposes to be the words of Dr. Barrow, but which are really those of St. Chrysostome. Another cites, more than once, as if it were conclusive, the heading of the sixth Nicene canon, though Roman writers themselves acknowledge that it is spurious. Even cardinal Wiseman's blunder has found a follower, who produces, as the work of Athanasius, a homily which Baronius, or Bellarmine¹, or the Benedictine editors would have told him was a forgery of a much later time. But the instances are endless.

Remarques sur le traité de l'église de Rome, ch. viii. p. 140.

Lecture xiii. vol. ii. p. 108.

Want of preparation for the controversy has told favourably for Rome. Its strength lies in the unlearnedness of the age, and has kept pace with the decline of ecclesiastical studies. It has always been the same. As long as the argument from scripture and antiquity was familiar, the papal cause seemed desperate: the intelligent people of Germany, the English, the Scotch, and other great nations of the north were lost irrecoverably; while the French church paid but half-allegiance, and was again and again on the verge of separation. Spain and Italy would have followed in the same path of spiritual freedom, and had begun to reckon many illustrious schools of sound

¹ Bellarmine in this, as well as in many other cases, is very wanting in integrity. He speaks thus of the homily in question: "Sermo de sanctissimâ Deiparâ non videtur esse S. Athanasii, sed alicujus posterioris, qui post concilium tertium, et quartum, imò etiam sextum floruerit, &c." — *De scriptoribus eccles.* p. 112. Yet he quotes it in his controversial writing without a word to imply that it is even of doubtful authority. — *De sanct. beat.* lib. i. c. 19. p. 434. And, again, *Apologia pro respons.* c. viii. p. 125.

doctrine, when the old papal methods were put in force again, and the torments of the inquisition were brought to bear upon the disciples of gospel truth, till the last spark of the fire kindled by holy hands was trampled out.

Ignorance in one age may do the work which was done by persecution in another. Able and accomplished theologians our time certainly produces, but their learning is not of the kind which was found so availing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The current of men's thoughts sets now in a different direction ; and this renewed controversy, which found us in a measure unprepared, has been but imperfectly handled. Rome will never, indeed, regain its lost provinces till the dark ages return. Let us take good heed that we do not suffer even a temporary disadvantage, which we might have escaped by a deeper acquaintance with the question at issue.

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THE WHOLE EVIDENCE

AGAINST THE

CLAIMS OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE EVIDENCE OF SCRIPTURE.

THE final reference of all religious questions must be made to the word of God. Romanists, among others, are obliged to admit this appeal, although there is sufficient reason why they would be glad, if possible, to decline it, for on the doctrine which in a certain sense includes all others, its testimony is very far from favourable. There are but three texts on which their controversialists depend for establishing the supremacy of the pope; that is to say, Matt. xvi. 18, 19., "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" Luke xxii. 32., "I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren;" and John xxi. 15, 16, 17., "Feed my lambs. Feed my sheep." Other passages may be quoted for illustration, of which we shall speak hereafter; but these alone have to furnish the whole amount of proof. The huge edifice of power and prerogative has no other foundation; and whether the question is about the appointment of bishops throughout Christendom, or ruling points of faith and discipline, or determining all ecclesiastical suits in the last appeal, or the visitation of dioceses by the bishop of Rome

Only three texts adduced for the supremacy.

as supreme ordinary, or the canonising of holy persons, or the calling and confirmation of councils, or the dispensing with oaths, or the excommunication and deposition of princes, these texts form the sole authority. They were adduced by the earliest opponents of Luther, and they are cited, without any addition, by the latest enemies of the reformation.¹

Scripture
proof indis-
pensable.

In the sixteenth century it became indispensable to find, if possible, some scripture authority for the position which the church of Rome had assumed. Nothing could supply its place; no testimony of the fathers, nor decisions of councils, nor gifts of princes. The bible was in the hands of the people, and they required to know what judgment it pronounced on the great question in debate. Even the keenest opponents of the reformed religion, such as Caietan, acknowledged that the issue must be tried theologically, that is, according to the revelation of the divine will.² There was the strongest inducement for discovering, if possible, some clear witness from the word of God in support of papal claims; yet the attempt was strangely unsuccessful. In the public documents which belong to that period, and which contain authentic statements of the grounds of the Roman system; in sermons preached on the most notable occasions, as for example, by theologians and bishops before the council of Trent; and in the multitude of controversial writings, beginning with those of John Eck, there is but the repeated allegation of the same limited testimony. Whether it is a pope who maintains his own prerogatives, or whether it is some distinguished champion who undertakes his defence against the host of formidable assailants, they have nothing more to produce.³ Perhaps as remarkable an instance

¹ The Grounds of the catholic doctrine, by R. Challoner, D. D., p. 60. 14th edition, London, 1832.

² "Fatentur hanc de primatu universali, et ecclesiasticâ monarchiâ materiam, totam esse in se absolutè theologiam, neque eam posse, aut debere aliundè inquiri, et declarari aut definiri,

nisi ex divinâ Scripturâ theologicè. Hæc est expressa Caietani protestatio, &c."—*De Dominis de Repub. Ecclesiast.* iv. 7. 3. p. 619., ed. 1617.

³ There is a remarkable paper given in Le Plat's collection, entitled "Sanctorum patrum sententiæ variæ pro illustrandâ R. pontificis auctoritate, ad Fer-

as any, is that of Laynez, who in 1562 delivered a discourse at Trent, in which he advanced the most extravagant statements, representing the pope as an absolute monarch, to whom the church is subject as it is to Christ¹; and excluding the faithful from even the least share of power or jurisdiction, except such as they might derive from him. He also laid the whole burden of proof on the three often quoted texts, although he alludes to those also in which the church is compared to a field, to a net, and to a building. And no one could speak with higher authority, for he had been sent to the council by Paul and Julius successively, as one of their theologians, and in the later sittings he was general of the order of Jesuits, besides having a great reputation for learning and ability.

Discourse of Laynez in the council of Trent.

It was the same in the second great period of the controversy, when Bellarmine and the others into whose hands it had fallen, though far more profound and learned than their predecessors, and fully alive to the importance of meeting protestants on their own ground, were unable to add anything to the evidence which was at once so needful, and so defective. The eighteenth century was very unlikely to supply the deficiencies of the seventeenth, or to make much contribution to the theological necessities of the Roman church; and though this question of the supremacy has become the point on which the whole controversy now centres, the materials are very little more than were left a hundred and fifty years ago. No discovery has been made of any fresh authority from the bible.

The importance, then, of these texts, in relation to the

dinandum Cæsarem transmissa." It is drawn up with great care, but it contains only the texts Matt. xvi. 18. and John xxi. 15.—*Le Plat, Monumenta con. Trid.* vi. p. 103.

¹ "Qu'ainsi le Pape à commencer depuis S. Pierre jusqu' à la fin des siècles, étoit un vrai monarque absolu, qui avait une puissance, et une juridiction pleine et entière, et à qui l'église

étoit soumise comme elle l'étoit à Jésus Christ."—*Hist. du C. de Trente par F. Paolo Sarpi, traduite par Courayer*, liv. vii. s. 20. p. 393. ed. 1738.

Caietan uses only the texts from St. Matthew and St. John; and Iavarone, the professor of theology at Naples in the present century, does the same. Vid. *Institutiones theologicae*, tom. ii. p. 200. ed. 1824.

present argument, can hardly be overrated. If their meaning can be sufficiently established in favour of the Roman claim, it is no valid objection that they are few in number, because even a single announcement of the divine will is conclusive against all objections. But in proportion as the ground of inquiry is thus limited, it becomes the more indispensable that we should ascertain how far the primitive church, as well as later theologians, consent to the interpretation on which our opponents insist; and still more, whether it is borne out by the context, as well as by other portions of scripture taken in connection with the circumstances under which they were written. If Bellarmine is right, when he says that it is not merely a simple error, but a pernicious heresy to deny that the primacy of St. Peter was instituted by Christ¹, we may well expect to find at least one clear statement in the divine record, and some unanimity in the way in which it has been understood.

Importance
of right in-
terpreta-
tion.

The Rock.
Matt. xvi.
18.

Four inter-
pretations.

“Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.” There are four interpretations of this text. It is applied by some to Peter, in his own person; by others to the apostles and their successors; by a third class, and that by far the most numerous, to the faith which Peter confessed; and by a fourth to Christ himself.² Launoy, whose arrangement of authorities on this and kindred subjects is the most exact and systematic, has given the expositions not only of primitive fathers, but of councils and popes, and the great recognised commentators of the Roman communion.³ And it is obvious that the inquiry about

¹ “Est reverâ non simplex error, sed perniciosa hæresis negare B. Petri primatum à Christo institutum.”—*De Rom. Pont.* lib. i. c. 10. p. 139.

² Suicer gives these four interpretations, and of the third he says:—“Longè plures sunt qui appellatione petrae intellexisse Dominum crediderunt Petri doctrinam, fidem, seu confessionem à

Petro hoc loco editam.”—*Thesaurus eccles.* tom. ii. col. 700. ed. 1682.

³ Launoyii *Epist.* part. v. ep. 7. pp. 419—433.; see also *De Dominis*, de *Rep. Eccles.* lib. i. c. 6. pp. 43—68.; Casaubon, *Exercit. de Rebus Sac.* xv. c. 12. pp. 263—290.; Dupin, de *Ant. eccles.* dis. diss. iv. c. 1. p. 304.; Banck, de *tyrannide papæ*, c. iii. p. 22.; Bp.

the judgment of the church in different ages can only be satisfied by citations upon a broad and impartial scale. It is nothing to the purpose that certain passages are alleged from one writer or another, whether of an earlier or later period. Do they present the unanimous, or the preponderating decision of those whom the church has ever held in esteem? Are they outweighed by the conclusions of others whose authority is equal or greater? Are they neutralised by different statements, made in other places, by the same persons?

We shall find that the exposition which makes the faith confessed by Peter to be the foundation spoken of by Christ, has the greatest sanction, both in point of numbers and of weight.¹ Hilary, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril, Augustine, Ambrose, and Chrysostome, are among those by whom it is supported; besides some even of the bishops of Rome, as Gregory the great and Nicholas I.² There is, as nearly as possible, the consent of Christian antiquity for the very interpretation which Bellarmine ventures to represent as peculiar to Luther and the reformers.

The differences among the early expositors, when we come to examine them, turn out, as we might indeed expect, to be apparent rather than real. For whether we speak of the act of confession, or of the faith confessed, or of Christ

The best supported exposition.

Real agreement in different expositions.

Morton, Grand imposture, ch. iv. s. 4. p. 39. Citations in favour of the Roman interpretation may be found in Pighius, de Hierarchiâ eccles. iii. 3. 79.; Stapleton, Relectio princip. Fid. doctrinalium, cont. iii. q. 1. art. 1.; Sanders, de visib. mon. eccles. lib. vi. c. 3., &c.

¹ "Par cette Pierre sur laquelle Jésus-Christ dit qu'il bâtera son Eglise; on entend la foi que S. Pierre avoit confessée. C'est ainsi que l'expliquent S. Hilaire, S. Grégoire de Nysse, S. Ambroise, S. Chrysostome, St. Augustin en plusieurs endroits, S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie, &c."—*Dupin, Traité de la Doct. Chrét.* liv. i. ch. 14. p. 351.

² "Hæc fides ecclesiæ fundamentum est."—*Hil. de Trinit.* lib. vi. s. 37. p. 903.

Augustine says: "Non super Petrum, quod tu es; sed super petram quam confessus es, &c."—*Serm.* 270. tom. v. col. 1097. And again: "Super hanc petram ædificabo fidem, quam confiteris. Super hoc quod dixisti, Tu es Christus, &c., ædificabo ecclesiam meam."—*Serm.* 295. col. 1194.

"Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam, id est super fidem confessionis."—*Chrysost. in Matt.* xvi. t. vii. p. 548.

"Super istam petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, hoc est, in hæc catholicæ fidei confessione statuo fideles ad vitam."—*Ambrosii Comment. in Eph.* iv. c. 2. fol. 549.

De Dominis cites passages from Gregory, Leo, Nicholas, and other popes, in favour of the same exposition. *De Rep. Eccles.* i. 6. 12, 13. p. 47.

who is its supreme object, or of the principle subjectively considered, either in the body of the apostles, or in Peter as representing them, the prevailing idea is one and the same. It makes, however, a very important difference, which must by no means be overlooked, whether Peter is spoken of as the type of a principle common to his colleagues and to all Christians, or whether he is considered as pre-eminent on account of a gift peculiar to himself: the former is what primitive writers really affirm; the latter is the gloss which Romanists are anxious to put upon their statement. In the words of archbishop Laud, "The foundation and firmness which the church of Christ hath, is not placed in or upon the person, much less the successor, of St. Peter; but upon the faith which by God's Spirit in him, he so firmly possessed: which is the common received opinion both of the ancient fathers and the protestants." Or, as it is expressed by Bishop Morton, "Our exposition hath ever been to understand that by 'rock' is meant the confession of Peter, when he said of the Godhead of Christ, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God;' and consequently signified (by a metonymy) Christ Himself. Where we mean, not the confession of Peter *in concreto*, as you would have it understood with relation to Peter, but as the said confession of the Godhead of Christ may be the confession of every Christian; to which truth many of your own authors bear witness." Or, again, as Bishop Jeremy Taylor, having quoted some great authorities for interpreting the "rock" of Peter's confession, adds, "Though all these witnesses concurring cannot make a proposition to be true, yet they are sufficient witnesses that it was not the universal belief of Christendom that the church was built upon St. Peter's person."

Dupin. Diss.
iv. c. i.
p. 304.

Conference
with Fisher,
s. iii. p. 13.
ed. 1849.

Grand Im-
posture,
ch. iv. s. 4.
p. 39.

Liberty of
prophe-
syng,
s. vii. p.177.

It is, of course, a matter of deep interest to show that the great doctors of the church are not really at issue among themselves. On the one theory this is not difficult, on the other it is impossible; for the Roman interpre-

tation, which assigns a special and distinct prerogative to Peter, excludes all the other interpretations, by whomsoever sanctioned, and makes the fathers not only contradict each other, but themselves also. The supposition on which the entire scheme depends can only be maintained by preferring the judgment of the few to that of the many; and even the selected witnesses cannot be made availing, except by suppressing half their evidence. For of those who make Peter the foundation, some describe elsewhere the rest of the apostles, and some the principle of faith, in similar terms. The same writers speak at one time of faith, and at another of Christ himself as the rock. Augustine, in different places, advances all the interpretations, as if they were consistent with each other, and capable of being brought into harmony, which they undoubtedly are. The rule established by the council of Trent, that scripture shall be interpreted according to the unanimous consent of the fathers, has never been more signally broken than by Roman controversialists.

Launoi,
Epp. part. v.
ep. 7. p.
428.

Sess. iv.
dec. 2.

What we require, is the production of some clear primitive testimony, that by the application of this text personally to St. Peter, his supreme power over the whole church was understood; but nothing of this kind is to be found.¹ The words themselves, in their ordinary and apparent sense, carry no such meaning, and there is nothing in the figure employed which would suggest it. Steadfastness and strength are the ideas presented to us, and not the exercise of any authority at all; and when Bellarmine asserts, as the catholic opinion, that there is in these words the conveyance of ordinary and perpetual government, it is to assume, without the shadow of proof, the very point at issue.² We can hardly, indeed, doubt

The text
does not
suggest the
notion of
govern-
ment.

¹ "Quod si quis ex patribus antiquioribus, Petrum facit propterea solum totius ecclesie primatem et monarcham, quia super ipsum dicatur aedificanda ecclesia, eum producant; nos enim nullum prorsus id aut censuisse, aut protulisse, aut innuisse putamus."—*De Dominis*, i. vi. 30. p. 55.

² "Catholici docent hanc metaphoram aedificationis significari Petro esse commissum regimen totius ecclesiae, et praecipue circa fidem."—*De Rom. Pont.* lib. i. c. 11. p. 141.

that he was distrustful of his own position, since we find him trying to maintain it by an epistle of Athanasius to Felix, which, at the time that he wrote, he must have known to be of no authority at all, and which even Baronius rejects as spurious.¹

Primary
and se-
condary
meanings.

In many expressions of scripture we recognise a secondary, as well as a primary signification. Thus our Lord is called the shepherd, the priest, the light of the world ; and in strictness and propriety of speech, the names suit no one besides ; yet with a lower meaning, and by accommodation, they are applied to the apostles and others. In this way Christ is called the foundation, in a separate and incommunicable sense, as St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." It was prefigured under the old dispensation, and fully revealed under the new ;

1 Cor. iii. 11. "They drank of that spiritual rock that followed them : and that rock was Christ ;" and as David uses the same expression, "The Lord is my rock ;" and again, "Who is God save the Lord, and who is a rock save our God ?" In an inferior sense, we need not deny that Peter was called the foundation, for so were all the other apostles, and so are all faithful ministers of the word and sacraments.² St. Paul, writing to the Ephesians, reminds them

1 Cor. x. 4.

2 Sam. xxii.
2. 32.

¹ "Eleganter Athanasius Petrum facit fundamentum, quo nituntur episcopi, super quos ut columnas totum ædificium collocatur."—*De Rom. Pont.* lib. i. c. 10. p. 140. Yet Baronius proves that Athanasius could not have written this letter. He says truly : "Nullus plane locus vel tempus cogendæ synodi potuerit esse, &c." (vid. *ad Annum* 357) ; and he adds, "At ipse suas merces mercator emat." Duval cites the same epistle for the same purpose. *De supremâ R. P. pot.* pars 1. q. 3. p. 108.

² "Omnibus porrò apostolis non minus quàm Petro, eandem competere metaphoricam fundamenti rationem, senserunt patres ferè omnes catholicæ ecclesiæ propugnatores."—*De Dominis,*

i. vi. 45. p. 62. He proves his assertion by an ample citation of authorities.

So Banck, having applied the term first to Christ, as the great foundation of the church, adds : "Si vero fundamentum illud ita non limitatur, quin possit ad unumquemque Ecclesiæ doctorem, qui in eadem plantandâ et ampliandâ est occupatus, referri nemo est qui dubitat."—*De tyrannide Papæ,* c. i. p. 23. (Laurence Banck was professor of civil law in the University of Franeker about the middle of the seventeenth century. His reputation as a jurist was very great.)

Card. de Cusa says : "Si Petrus per petram tanquam lapis fundamenti ecclesiæ intelligi deberet, tunc, secundum S. Hieronymum, alii Apostoli fuerunt

that they “are built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.” So St. John, describing the heavenly Jerusalem, says that “the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.” Cyril, in a striking passage, speaks of Christ as the one foundation giving consistency and firmness to the spiritual building, and then applies the name, in its secondary meaning to the apostles and evangelists, the eye-witnesses and ministers of the word.

Eph. iv. 20.

Rev. xxi.
14.
In Isaiam,
lib. iv.
orat. 2.

We may understand the term, as used in the text under review, either in its primary signification, and this is countenanced by the analogous place in which Christ calls his own body the temple; or in its derived and adopted sense, for which there is equal authority. But we can get no support either from scripture or the early church for any third sense distinct from the two, and assigned to Peter separately from his fellow-apostles. Whoever tries to maintain it, is reduced to one of those vicious circles with which the Roman controversy is so familiar. St. Peter is the foundation in a pre-eminent way, because he is the head and chief of the apostles; and then his headship is proved by his being the foundation.¹

John, ii. 19.

But if no favourable argument can be drawn from the metaphor by any true criticism, just as little can be derived from the fact that a new name was assigned to the apostle. There are many such instances in scripture.²

Peter's
change of
name.

lapides fundamenti ecclesiæ,” &c.—
De concord. cath. lib. ii. c. 13. p. 727.

¹ “Ideo caput et gubernator ordinarius, quia fundamentum: et ideo fundamentum singulare, quia caput et gubernator ordinarius.”—*De Dominis*, i. vi. 49. p. 66. Thus Bellarmine says of the apostles: “Illi habuerunt summam atque amplissimam potestatem ut apostoli seu legati, Petrus autem ut pastor ordinarius. Deinde ita habuerunt plenitudinem potestatis, ut tamen Petrus esset caput eorum, et ab illo penderent, non è contrario.”—*De Rom. Pont.* i. c. 11. p. 141. And yet this text and one besides make up the whole

evidence from scripture which is alleged for Peter being the head.

² “Invenimus in Scripturis divinis quibusdam veterum commutata vocabula, ut ex Abram vocatus Abraham; ex Sarai, Sara; et ex Jacob, Israel. In Evangeliiis quoque ex Simone, Petrus, et filii Zebedæi Boanerges nuncupati sunt.”—*Origen Comment. in Ep. ad Rom.* Præfat. tom. iv. p. 460.

Chrysostome says of Paul, “Cur nomen ejus immutavit Deus, et Saulum vocavit Paulum? Ne hæc etiam in parte apostolis inferior haberetur,” &c.—*In Rom.* hom. i. tom. i. p. 429.

It had reference no doubt to his character, as many other names among the ancients, which cannot be understood except by translation, as Hosius, Eusebius, Irenæus, and others. In the same way Christ gave a new name to James and John, which was also characteristic. The Roman interpretation requires that the appellation should have been given in consequence of the confession; but it had been previously bestowed, and our Lord now uses an illustration derived from it; according to his frequent method of discourse, a main topic being suggested by something which incidentally presented itself. Thus the mention of water, in the conversation with the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well, gave occasion for what he said in respect to the gift of the Holy Ghost. So again the mention of bread at another time led him to speak of himself as the spiritual sustenance of his people. But as the material water and bread were only suggestive of something far higher, and were then dismissed from consideration, our Lord entering upon so great a topic as the perpetuity of his church, ceased to make any farther reference to the disciple whose name had served for an illustration. To turn an incidental analogy into a topic of proof, could never have been suggested except there were a remarkable deficiency of evidence.

It is sometimes urged, as a consideration which has weight in the question, that the foundation and the edifice must be one in kind; and that as the church is a congregation of men built up as living stones, so the foundation also must be a man. But it is answer enough, that whether we speak of Christ as the rock, his incarnation makes him one with his people; or whether we speak of faith in his divine nature, as the primary and foundation truth to be confessed, then it is faith also embodied in believers which is built thereon.

The Roman view not only contradicts the judgment of antiquity, but is open to other obvious objections. If Peter in his own person were the rock, and the church

Luke, v. 8.
vi. 14. &c.

John, iv. 10.

John, vi. 48.

Casaub. Ex.
xv. s. 12.
p. 277.

Acts, viii.
37. ix. 20.

Objections
against the
Roman in-
terpreta-
tion.

were founded on him, it must have fallen when he fell. In spite of this difficulty one class of commentators maintain their interpretation on the strength of the present form which is used; while another class, yielding to the force of the objection, and remembering that Peter is said not to have been invested with the priestly character till long afterwards, admit that there is only a foreshadowing of a future prerogative, which is, in other words, to abandon the text, for any use which it can render to their case.

Again, it can hardly escape notice that Peter does not assume the title, nor is it assigned to him by any one of his contemporaries and colleagues. He never calls himself the rock; and Mark writing, as it is believed, under his direction, gives only the confession, and omits this portion of the record, as if it were incidental, and not of the essence of the instruction conveyed. Stapleton ascribes this omission to the modesty of St. Peter, of which explanation we need hardly say more than that it bears witness to the weight of the objection without contributing anything to its removal. Nor does St. Paul make any reference to St. Peter in his alleged character, even on occasions when it seems to have fallen in naturally with his subject, as for instance, when he speaks of himself as a wise master-builder laying the foundation.

Again, in order to make a plausible case for the Roman interpretation, it would be necessary to show that Peter was alone in his acknowledgment of Christ's divinity, which certainly cannot be maintained¹, for he had previously confessed the same great truth in the name of his fellow-disciples, and in his own. That he was now also speaking for them, as well as for himself, the fathers with very few exceptions affirm. The words of Augustine are very express; Peter answers for all, one for many. So

¹ "Non est verisimile, omnes apostolos, præter Petrum, primum illud religionis Christianæ elementum ad hanc diem ignorasse."—*Casaubon, Ex. xv. c. 12. p. 265.*

Mark, vii. 29.

Cor. iii. 10.

John, vi. 69.

Peter an-

swered for all.

Chrysostome, commenting on this passage, calls him the mouth of the apostles ; while Jerome and Cyril speak of the fervency of his faith, which made him the most prompt in word and act. A similar confession had been made by Nathaniel, by John the Baptist, and by all the disciples in common when they were in the ship with Christ. Some of the fathers, and especially Origen, have noted that a fuller revelation of heavenly mysteries was made to John the divine than to Peter, and they speak of the former as the type of contemplation, and the latter of action, assigning the higher privileges to the beloved disciple.

John, i. 49.
iii. 31.
Matt. xiv.
33.

Romanists
disparage
the fathers.

The more learned of Roman controversialists, finding how little service they can hope to derive from the fathers, if fairly cited, are driven, as the only alternative, to speak of them in very disparaging terms. Thus Bellarmine, by implication, condemns all as heretics who maintain any other than the Roman exposition, though the list includes the whole circle of primitive commentators. Maldonat, referring to the interpretation of Hilary, Chrysostome, Augustine, and others, says, that nothing can be more alien from the meaning of Christ.¹ Duval tells us that Augustine applies the "rock" to our Lord through ignorance of Greek and Syriac, as if his view were not fully borne out by others whose reputation is almost as great as his own. And it is remarkable that a passage from one of the homilies of this chief doctor of the Latin church, which bears an unfavourable testimony and not to be explained away, was expunged from the Roman breviary.

De Rom.
Pont. b. i.
c. 10. p. 140.

De Sup. R.
P. auct.
ii. 2. 1.

De Dominis,
i. 6. 15.
p. 49.

Power of
the keys.
Confusion
of figures
properly
distinct.

The proof of Peter's pre-eminent authority is based sometimes on the figure of the rock, sometimes on that of the keys, and sometimes on the two taken in combination, as by Bellarmine and others.² Each portion of this text

¹ "Nihil magis a sensu Christi alienum cogitari potuit, quam ut dicere voluerit super seipsum, aut super aliam rem quam super Petrum fundaturum ecclesiam."—*Maldonati in Matt. xvi.* 18. col. 333.

² "Quorum verborum planus et obvius sensus est, ut intelligamus sub duabus metaphoris promissum Petro, totius ecclesie principatum. Prior metaphora est fundamenti ac ædificii quod enim est in ædificio fundamen-

is really independent, though belonging to the same discourse. The one speaks of the foundation on which the church is built, the other of the government by which it is administered. We might wonder why things which are in their nature so distinct should ever have been confused, and mingled, as it were, in one broken and incongruous image, the parts of which have so little coherence or mutual relation. It arises from the necessity felt by Roman writers of forcing, if possible, some favourable evidence from the two passages taken in connexion which they will not furnish separately. The former says nothing, indeed, about government, but then it has, *primâ facie*, a special reference to Peter; while the latter, though proved to apply to the body of the apostles, and not to an individual of their number, certainly speaks of authority to be exercised in the church. By dealing with the two texts under one head, and by suppressing what is unfavourable in the interpretation of each, some proof seems to be furnished. But it is at the expense of such an extravagant exposition as that which assigns the same office to the foundation in respect to the house, as to the prince in his kingdom, or to the father in his family; and it vanishes altogether on an examination of the different portions of the entire passage. When we separate the promise, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," from the preceding words, it will be found still less availing for controversial use on the Roman side. It is encumbered with similar difficulties, and with some also peculiar to itself. There is an apparent reference to a passage of Isaiah: "The key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open." Which

Matt. xvi.
19.

What is
implied in
the gift of
the keys.

Isa. xxii.
22.

tum, id est in corpore caput, in civitate rector, rex in regno, paterfamilias in domo, &c."—*Bell. de Rom. Pon.* lib. i. c. 10. p. 140.

"Diversis metaphoris alterâ fundamenti, alterâ clavium, unus idemque

principatus significatur, et una alterius explicatio est."—*Maldonati in Matt.* xvi. 19. col. 340.

Cornelius à Lapide adopts the words of Bellarmine. Vid. in *Matt.* xvi. 18. p. 314.

text is expressly applied to our Lord himself in the book of the Revelation : " These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth ; and shutteth, and no man openeth." The power which belongs to him supremely as the head of the gospel kingdom, he communicated under the same figure to his apostles, giving them, as the canonists express it, the keys of knowledge, of order, and of jurisdiction. The present text records, however, not the gift, but only the promise of it. There is no pretence for alleging any immediate communication of power ; and indeed it is the doctrine of the council of Trent¹, that the apostles, Peter included, were not made priests until long afterwards, and, therefore, not at that time capable of exercising it. The fulfilment took place, not as Bel-larmine affirms², when Peter was charged to feed the flock of Christ, but on the evening of the resurrection day, when the apostles received, together with the gift of the Holy Ghost, the power of remitting and retaining sins, in terms equivalent to those which our Lord had previously employed, as bishop Andrewes and others have abundantly proved.³

Rev. iii. 7.

The keys not given but promised.

John, xx. 23.

Tortura Torti, ss. 61—65. p. 74.

Matt. xviii. 18. Renewal of the promise.

In the meanwhile, the promise made to Peter was shortly afterwards renewed to the rest of the apostles. Our Lord addressed them in the same words, and there is no

¹ Sess. xxii. On the sacrifice of the mass, chapter 1. After stating the delivery of the species to the apostles by Christ, it is added, " quos tunc novi Testamenti sacerdotes constituebat."

² " Si quis autem quaerat, ubi datum sit Petro, quod ei promissum fuerat Matt. xvi. respondeo datum fuisse Joan. ultim."—*Apologia pro respons.* c. 15. p. 294.

³ " Non enim sine causâ inter omnes apostolos hujus ecclesiæ catholicæ personam sustinat Petrus ; huic enim ecclesiæ claves regni cœlorum datæ sunt. Et cum ei dicitur, ad omnes dicitur, Amas me ? Pasce oves meas."—*August. de agone Christiano*, c. 30. tom. vi. col. 260.

" Petrus in multis locis scripturarum apparet quod personam gestet ecclesiæ ; maximè in illo ubi dictum est, Tibi dabo claves. Nunquid istas claves Petrus accepit, et Paulus non accepit ? Petrus accepit, et Johannes et Jacobus non accepit, et cæteri apostoli ?"—*Sermo* 149. tom. v. p. 706. He repeats in many places that Peter represents the church.

" Quamvis Petro soli dictum sit, Dabo tibi : omnibus tamen et apostolis concessæ sunt. Quando ? Cum dixit, Quorumcumque remiseritis peccata remittuntur."—*Theophylact. in Matt.* xvi. tom. i. p. 85.

possibility of evading the obvious conclusion of their perfect equality in their charge, unless it can be shown that, beyond the expressions which are identical in both places, there is something to be found in the former over and above what occurs in the latter, which is, indeed what Caietan and some others have attempted to prove. They endeavour to establish a difference, which even Bellarmine condemns as ill founded and over subtle, between the power of the keys, and that of binding and loosing, as if the one were restricted to Peter, while the other is common to the rest of the apostles. There is an utter want of agreement among Roman commentators where it is most important that they should be of one mind. Thus, Caietan says that opening and shutting imply greater power than binding and loosing; Cornelius à Lapide, exactly the reverse; and Bellarmine, that there is no difference.¹

Bishop Jeremy Taylor expresses, with great clearness, the primitive doctrine on this subject: "The same promise of binding and loosing (which certainly was all that the keys were given for) was made afterwards to all the apostles, Matt xviii., and the power of remitting and retaining, which in reason, and according to the style of the church, is the same thing in other words, was actually given to all the apostles; and unless that was the performing the first and second promise, we find it not recorded in scripture how or when, or whether yet or no, the promise be performed." And again: "If the keys were only given and so promised to St. Peter, that the church hath not the keys, then the church can neither bind nor loose, remit nor retain, which God forbid: if any man should

The same
promise to
all apostles.

Lib. of
Prophe-
syng,
s. vii. p. 174.

¹ Bellarmine cites the words of Caietan: "cum latius patere videatur et aperire et claudere quàm solvere et ligare," and puts aside his view as untenable. He gives as his own exposition, that by the keys the authority is expressed, and by binding and loosing the exercise of it; and he adds: "ut omnino sit idem solvere et aperire,

claudere et ligare." — *De Rom. pont.* lib. 1. c. 12. p. 143.

"Explicat Christus hic potestatem clavium per metaphorum, non aperiendi et claudendi (quæ duo sunt propria clavium officia) sed per aliam efficaciorum, scilicet vinculorum," &c. — *Corn. à Lapide, in Matt. xvi. 19. p. 316.*

endeavour to answer this argument, I leave him and St. Austin to contest it.”

The apostles knew nothing of any different power conveyed to one of their number beyond what was common to him with the rest, as we may reasonably conclude, since there is no record of any authority exercised on the one side, or of obedience rendered on the other.¹

Roman interpretation contradicts antiquity.

Maldonat.

The proposed distinction is, indeed, utterly untenable, and the whole testimony of antiquity is against it; yet it is maintained by some of the chief Roman commentators. Maldonat, for instance, who is one of the best known and most popular, in his exposition of this place, declares the keys to have been given to Peter, that is, the power of binding and loosing, of opening and shutting, in subordination to Christ alone, while the rest of the apostles received only an inferior jurisdiction. For this interpretation he advances no proof at all, except the mention of the keys in the address to Peter, and the omission in what was spoken to the rest, which he pronounces an irrefragable argument²; and on the foundation of this alleged separate gift to Peter he builds the right of jurisdiction for his successors, extending to the supreme decision of spiritual causes on earth, and the regulating the condition of souls in purgatory. Cornelius Van den Steen, or à Lapide, as he is usually called, seems to have followed the interpretation of Maldonat, and says that by the keys is signified the power of order and jurisdiction granted to Peter over the whole church; and that Christ explains his meaning in the words which follow. He falls into the fallacy of representing the term “rock” as conveying the notion of government; and then, as if this were an unquestionably

Cornelius à Lapide.

¹ “Certes c’est une présomption ridicule d’estimer qu’aucun aujourd’hui entende mieux les paroles de Jésus Christ que tous apôtres. Or il est clair que les apôtres n’ont pas entendu que par ces paroles Jésus Christ donnât à S. Pierre aucune supériorité.”—*P. Du Moulin, Défense de la Foi*, art. 23. p. 607.

² “Firmissimum etiam est argu-

mentum quod cum Christus aliis apostolis ligandi solvendique potestatem dedit infra, cap. xviii. 18. et Joann. xx. 23., nullam de clavibus mentionem fecit. Solus ergo Petrus eas claves habuit, quibus ita aperiebatur, ut nemo clauderet, ita clauderetur, ut nemo aperiret, &c.”—*Maldonati in Matt. xvi. 19. col. 340.*

accurate representation, he goes on to blend figures which have nothing in common, and assumes that in this way the supreme power of the pope is adequately proved.¹ Like his predecessor, he vindicates the most unlimited exercise of it, whether in enforcing obedience, or in granting dispensations, in enacting ecclesiastical laws, pronouncing excommunications and other censures, delivering decisions on questions of faith, with other acts which fall under the head of binding, or those of an opposite character, which belong to the power of loosing. In order to dispose of the difficult fact that Christ is recorded to have given the same power of binding and loosing to others as well, he affirms that Peter was first singled out to signify that the rest of the apostles were committed to his care as his subjects, and that he was empowered to control, limit, or take away their jurisdictions as he should see fit; though it is clear both that the apostles exercised, in point of fact, the highest church discipline, and that there is not a word which implies their having done so by delegation. He very characteristically confirms his exposition by a synodical letter, which the great Roman annalist had given up as spurious some years before.²

Both these writers were theologians of the highest repute, the one professor at Paris, the other at Louvain. They may be fairly taken to express the judgment of the party at present dominant in the Roman church. No-

¹ "Nam pontifex non tantum homines ligat et solvit sed et peccata vota juramenta, &c. Transit a metaphorâ clavium ad metaphoram vicinam ligandi et solvendi: vicina enim sunt aperire et claudere, ligare et solvere. Unde per eam idem significat, quod per claves, et per petram, nimirum summam potestatem Petri et pontificum, in regendâ Ecclesiâ."—*Corn. à Lapide in Matt. xvi. 19. p. 315.*

Turrecremata speaks in very large terms of the power of the keys as possessed by the pope. "Plenitudo potestatis in Romano pontifice ostenditur in potestate clavium, in foro conscien-

tiæ. Extenditur enim potestas clavium in eo ad omnia loca, ad omnes personas, ad omnes casus."—*Summa de Eccles. lib. ii. c. 52.*

² "Ut significetur ipsum in hac potestate esse primum et principem, ut cæteros apostolos quasi sibi subditos suæque curæ commissos, in ea dirigere, arctare, corrigere possit, et subinde debeat, imo eandem, si opus foret, eis adimere, et auferre. Unde synodus Alexandrina, cui præsedit S. Athanasius ex sententiâ concilii Nicæni scribit Felici papæ, &c."—*Corn. à Lap. in Matt. xvi. 19. p. 316.*

Jesuit interpretations cannot be relinquished.

Judgment of the fathers.

thing can be more extravagant than their interpretations, or more feebly supported by proofs; yet they are indispensable to the position of the ultramontanes. This extreme doctrine, revived by the Jesuits, for it was invented a century earlier¹, has no pretence of confirmation from any of the primitive expositors of scripture. They declare, with one voice, that the keys were given to the church in the person of Peter.² In the words of Ambrose, "what is said to Peter, is said to the apostles."³ Cyprian and Origen, Jerome and Basil, are of one mind on this point. The statement of Augustine, repeated in a multitude of places, is as clear as possible that the church received the power of the keys, and not an individual apostle.⁴ The fathers were not writing with any view to the present controversy; and many of their expressions, taken separately, would give a very untrue representation of their meaning, by making them maintain opinions which, in their time, had not been even suggested. Thus Cyprian, in his treatise on the unity of the church, applies the disputed texts to Peter; but then he speaks of him as the type of unity, the representative of a great principle; and to guard his meaning against perversion, he states, in the plainest terms, that the rest of the apostles were what Peter was, and had equal participation of honour and authority.⁵ So

¹ "Dicunt quidam recentiores, Petrum apostolos misisse ad particulares provincias, volentes ex hoc trahere quod exercitium potestatis ligandi et solvendi fuit a Christo Petro datum, et per Petrum aliis."—*Cusani de concord. cath.* lib. ii. c. 13. p. 728.

Card. de Cusa wrote during the session of the council of Basle. Æneas Sylvius says of him, "Hercules omnium Eugenianorum N. Cusanus existimatus est; homo et prisearum literarum eruditissimus, et multarum rerum usu perdoctus."—*De gestis Basil. con.* lib. i. fol. 2.

² "Illi igitur oppidò falluntur qui soli Petro datas claves esse autumant. At non ita antiqui, qui unanimi consensu tradunt claves istas in personâ

Petri toti ecclesiæ datas."—*Dupin, Diss.* iv. c. i. s. i. p. 308.

³ "Quod Petro dicitur apostolis dicitur."—*D. Ambrosii in Ps. xxxviii.* fol. 365.

⁴ "Launoy cites twenty-six passages to this effect from Augustine.—*Epist.* part. ii. ep. 5. p. 136.

⁵ "Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis: sed exordium ab unitate profieiscitur."—*D. Cypriani de unitate eccles. Op.* p. 150.

In the edition of Cyprian by Pamelius, the important words, "et primatus Petro datur," are inserted at the close of this sentence, and the addition is defended in the notes. The editor refers

the fathers continually speak of him as figuring the oneness of the church universal. They exalt his chair, but they are careful to explain that they are speaking, not of an individual bishop possessing supreme authority, which was the farthest from their thoughts, but of that one undivided episcopacy, to use Cyprian's well-known words, of which every bishop possesses a portion.

Dupin affirms that the fathers are unanimous in assigning ecclesiastical power, either to the church generally, or to the apostles, and, after them, to bishops; that there is not one to be found who holds it to have been given to Peter and his successors alone¹; and that they have guarded against any wrong inference which might be drawn from the promise given to Peter, by showing that he was regarded as the representative of the church. He furnishes some authorities on this subject, not only from the early fathers, but from popes, great bishops of the Roman church, scholastic writers, and universities; and he adds, that the number of passages which might be adduced is infinite. The same great writer states strongly the importance of the question; for if, as he says, the power of the keys belongs to the pope alone, there can be no doubt that

Dupin.

to the dialogues of Alanus Copus (N. Harpsfield), who in turn vindicates the words in question by citing one of the spurious decretals: "Quam Cypriani sententiam aliis verbis extulit Anacletus Romanus Pontifex."—*Dial.* i. c. 20. p. 125. The sentence is proved by Baluze and Rigault to have been interpolated contrary to the evidence of the earliest editions and the best MSS. Dupin says truly, "A proposito Cypriani aliena planè sunt."—*Diss.* iv. s. 2. p. 314. And yet, as Gieseler rightly says, "these interpolations have quite a different sense, in the mouth of Cyprian, from that meant by those who inserted them."—*Eccles. Hist.* i. p. 154.

¹ "On n'en trouvera pas un qui ait avancé que cette puissance ait été donnée à S. Pierre et à ses successeurs seuls, afin qu'ils la communiquassent à l'église: au contraire, on en verra

plusieurs qui craignant qu'on ne tirât cette fausse conséquence de la promesse que Jésus-Christ a faite à S. Pierre de lui donner les clefs de l'église, remarquent que S. Pierre représentoit l'église en cette rencontre, et que c'est à l'église à qui Jésus-Christ les a promises en la personne de S. Pierre. On pourroit apporter un nombre infini de passages sur ce sujet. Il n'y a presque point d'auteur ecclésiastique qui n'en fournisse quelqu'un."—*Traité de l'Autorité Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 16.

"Hoc est scilicet questionum propositarum fundamentum; nam si clavium potestas est penes solum pontificem R. haud dubium est quin super universam ecclesiam potestatem habeat, cum aliam potestatem hâc in hypothesi non habeant ecclesia et praelati quàm quæ illis ab ipso communicatur."—*Diss.* vi. s. i. p. 380.

he has authority over the whole church ; since, upon this hypothesis, neither the church nor its prelates can have any other power than such as they derive from him.

Council of Paris.

In the council of Paris, held in the eighth century, under the emperors Louis and Lothaire, the bishops expressly claimed this power of binding and loosing, without any reference to the successor of St. Peter. The council of

Council of Constance.

Constance, in its fourth session, declared, in the strongest language, that the church has its jurisdiction immediately from Christ ; and this judgment was embodied in acts of the highest significancy and importance. The council of

Council of Basle.

Basle, in its first session, passed a decree in exactly the same spirit, and almost in the very same words. Æneas Sylvius, the historian of the council, and afterwards Pius II., expressly vindicates the text in question from the interpretation which favours the pontifical authority.¹ So

cardinal de Cusa, writing at the same period, claims for the other apostles the very same power of binding and loosing which was conveyed to Peter by the words of Christ.² And John Gerson refers to this very place, in maintaining the superiority of a council to a pope.³ Even

Council of Trent.

in the council of Trent, we find the cardinal of Lorraine speaking to the same effect ; and though he may be worthless as a theologian, he is valuable as a witness. He alleged various passages, from Augustine and others, in proof that bishops derive their jurisdiction immediately from God. And, indeed, the whole argument of the French and Spanish prelates in favour of the divine right of epis-

¹ "A quibus verbis (sc. Tu es Petrus, &c.) ideo placuit exordiri, quod aliqui verba hæc ad extollendam R. pontificis auctoritatem solent adducere, sed (ut statim patebit) alius est verborum Christi sensus, quam aliqui opinentur."—*De gestis Bas. con.* lib. i. fol. 4. (Fasciculus rerum expet. ac fugiend.)

² "Nihil enim dictum est ad Petrum quod etiam aliis dictum non sit. Nonne

sicut Petro dictum est quodcumque ligaveris super terram, ita aliis quemcumque ligaveritis?"—*Cusani de con. cath.* lib. ii. c. 13. p. 727.

³ "Tale concilium potest potestatem papæ limitare. Quia tali concilio cum representet ecclesiam universalem, claves ligandi et solvendi sunt concessæ."—*Gersonis de ref. Eccles.* c. ix. p. 88. ap. Von der Hardt.

copy was based on the very interpretation of our Lord's words which the Jesuit school condemns.¹

The canonists bear the same testimony. Thus, Van Espen, and there are few higher authorities, delivers it as the doctrine of the fathers on this subject, that, while Christ spoke to Peter in the singular, he made conveyance of the powers in question to all the apostles.² Duaren speaks to the same effect. He affirms that the power of binding and loosing was given to the church, and not to an individual.³

Canonists.

Some even of the Roman commentators give a similar interpretation. Thus, Nicholas de Lyra says that, as the confession of Peter was the confession of the rest, so the power given to him was bestowed on all. D'Espence and many others give the same exposition.

Commentators.

The severe rebuke administered to Peter, following so closely upon his confession, puts another difficulty in the way of those who insist on his great personal prerogatives. Gregory de Valentia proposes, as a rule of interpretation, that some things are to be taken as addressed to Peter in his public, and some in his private, character. Thus, he supposes him to have been called the rock in the former, and Satan in the latter; but this distinction is arbitrary, and obviously invented to serve a purpose. We shall not be more disposed to adopt the opinion of Hilary, who would have us consider the one part of the sentence addressed to Peter, the other to the evil spirit.⁴ But while,

Rebuke of Peter. Matt. xvi. 23.

¹ "Il allégué sur cela plusieurs passages de S. Augustin qui dit que lorsque les clefs avoient été données à Pierre ce n'avoit pas été à sa personne qu'elles avoient été données, mais à l'unité, &c."—*Sarpi*, liv. vii. s. 38. p. 434.

² "Itaque tamet si Christus subinde verba direxerit ad solum Petrum, hæc nihilominus ad totum apostolorum collegium, sive omnes apostolos, quorum personam gerebat Petrus, directa fuisse, censuere patres."—*Jus eccles. univ.* part. i. tit. xvi. c. ii. p. 126.

³ "Non enim uni Petro, cujus dicitur

successor pontifex R. data est a Christo potestas ligandi et solvendi, sed toti ecclesiæ."—*De sac. eccles. min.* lib. iii. c. 2. pt. 66.

⁴ Maldonat refers to this interpretation of Hilary, and he mentions a protestant saying of those days, which will hardly surprise any one who knows what popes were, even in the sixteenth century: "Impudentes nostri temporis hæretici sunt, qui in hunc solum titulum R. pontificem Petro successisse dicitant."—*In Matt.* xvi. 23. col. 346.

with the great body of ancient doctors, we admit the sin; we may well believe that God in his wisdom overruled it for good, by making it a warning that we should not think even of this eminent apostle more highly than we ought to think.

If it were not for the zeal with which men commonly defend a position once usurped, the portion of scripture which we have had under review would hardly have been employed in support of the supremacy, when it is found to be encumbered with so many unanswerable objections, and so unfavourably interpreted by the chief expositors. Baronius puts in a strong point of view the straits to which commentators of his school are reduced, when he proposes that the whole passage should be taken for the history of a council held by Christ and his disciples, in which the first decree was proposed by Peter, and another of church government delivered by our Lord; an interpretation of which Casaubon speaks in terms of just severity.¹

“I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren.” A meaning has been assigned to this passage which could hardly have occurred to any one, unless the spirit of controversy had been admitted to the work of interpreting scripture.² It is alleged that, as in other texts we find the conveyance to Peter of supreme power, so in this

Indefectibility.
Luke, xxii.
32.
Meaning of
the text.

¹ “Hæc sententia non solum propter novitatem cordatis viris debet esse suspecta; verum etiam propter manifestam absurditatem rejici atque explodi meretur.”—*Ex.* xv. 9. p. 253.

Yet Baronius introduces this extravagant exposition as if it were worthy of the deepest consideration: “Hic pedem sistat, atque paululum attendat, diligens lector, rem animadversione dignissimam, &c.”—*Ann.* 33. p. 136.

On the subject of the keys, vide Launoii Epp. part ii. ep. 5. pp. 135—151.; Dupin, *Autorité Eccles.* tom. ii. pp. 9—34., and Diss. iv. c. i. p. 307. vi. s. i. p. 379.; Bauck de Tyran. Papæ,

c. iii. p. 26.; Mason. de minist. Ang. iv. p. 3. 438.

² “Le privilège d’infailibilité que l’on attribue au pape, de quelque manière qu’on l’explique, n’est fondée sur aucun passage de l’écriture, bien entendu et expliqué suivant la tradition des saints pères.”—*Dupin, Traité de la doct. Chrét.* liv. i. ch. 14. p. 349. And again: “Il n’y a donc point de passage dans l’évangile qui établisse l’infailibilité des pontifes Romains dans leur jugement de quelque nature qu’ils soient.”—*Ibid.* p. 354. Protestants do not use stronger language than this eminent member of the Roman church.

there is the promise of unfailing faith by which he was qualified for exercising it. But the mere fact that a certain exposition falls in with a theory of doctrine or discipline, affords not even a *primâ facie* reason for believing it true. We have to inquire the details of the history with which it stands in connection, and what has been the judgment of the early expositors who had no controversial purpose to serve. There is as little as possible in the present case to be gathered from these independent sources favourable to the Roman view. In the prospect of his passion, Christ prayed for his apostles, and for Peter separately, as being in greater peril, not in higher dignity, than the rest. He warned them that in the approaching time of trial they would all be offended, and forsake him; so he predicted to Peter the heavy guilt into which he was about to be betrayed beyond the rest. "In the danger of them all," says Dr. Rainoldes, "but greatest danger of Peter, he putteth him in mind, first of his fall, to humble him; then of his rising, to comfort him; last of his duty, to quicken him unto it." A question of privilege would have been very much out of place, for it was a special temptation and grievous guilt which were impending. Self-confidence had given a great advantage to the enemy, and the foremost disciple was about to come upon the very brink of destruction; he must be saved so as by fire. The foretold sin was one, to which an awful penalty had been annexed: "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven," but by a miracle of divine mercy it was to be averted. In the words of archbishop Laud, "The special grace which this prayer of Christ obtained for St. Peter was, that he should not fall into a final apostasy; no, not when Satan had sifted him to the bran, that he fell most horribly, even into a threefold denial of his master, and that with a curse. And to recover this, and persevere, was *aliquid speciale*, I trow, if anything ever were." An injunction was laid upon Peter, in connexion

Conf. with
Hart, ch. iii.
div. 2.
p. 106.

Matt. x. 33.

Pardon, not
privilege.

Conf. with
Fisher,
s. xxv.
p. 209.

with the predicted sin and the promised recovery, "When thou art converted strengthen thy brethren." The duty was made the more urgent by all the peculiarities of the case.¹ His fall would peril men's faith; so, on his recovery, he was the more bound to confirm them in the truth of the gospel.² The motive was unusually strong, but the duty itself is no more than is laid upon every Christian, especially those to whom any ministry or charge in the church has been entrusted. No greater proof of prerogative can be deduced from the words addressed to Peter, than from the record of Paul's history; that he went through Syria and Cilicia confirming the churches; or that he sent Timothy to establish the Thessalonians. So the angel of the church in Sardis was charged to strengthen the things which remained, and were ready to die. That any supreme authority in matters of faith should be conveyed by such words, and on such an occasion, was, of all things, the most improbable. Bossuet declares, that any such conclusion is false; and that the duty of confirming the unstable is declared by scripture to be the object of all ministerial charge.³

Acts, xv. 41.

1 Thess. iii.

2.

Rev. iii. 2.

It was objected to the Roman commentators on this text, that if the popes have the gift of indefectibility by right of participation in the prayers of Christ for Peter, they must be assumed also to partake of his denial and subsequent conversion; to which Bellarmine replies by proposing as the sense of the passage, not, "Thou, when

¹ "Tu Petre conversus, bonum exemplum poenitentiae eris omnibus, ut nullus credentium in te respiciens desperet."—*Theophylact. in Lucae xxii. tom. i. p. 471.*

² This is well expressed by De Dominis: "Tu qui lapsu tuo plurimum fratres tuos apostolos scandalizasti, qui maxime omnium debebas esse caeteris posterioribus, et junioribus exemplum constantiae, conversus tuae poenitentiae confirma illos; ut qui viderunt lapsum, mox visam tuae poenitentiae a scandalo releventur, et tuo exemplo territi, ipsi etiam in constantia corroborentur."

And again: "Ideo confirma, quia conversus; quia in lapsu, et errore, et infidelitate non perseverabis, alios ad exemplum tui a lapsu retrahere, erige, et tuo confirma exemplo ut surgant."—*De repub. eccles. i. vi. 39. p. 60.*

³ "Jam quod aiunt, ipsam confirmandi vocem, supremum et indeclinabile iudicium, cumque auctoritatem indicari, qua nulla major esse possit, falsum est." And again: "Ostendunt scripturae passim, confirmare vacillantes animos, per omnia ecclesiastica officia fustum,"—*Def. declarat. pars iii. lib. x. c. 3. p. 189.*

converted from sin to penitence, strengthen thy brethren ;” but, “Thou whose faith cannot fail, when thou seest any changing and wavering, turn thyself to them and confirm them.”¹ Which exposition, as it has no support from any one else, and no probability in itself, is only worth mentioning as an instance of the unscrupulous handling of scripture to which the papal scheme reduces its defenders.

Exposition proposed by Bellarmine.

That the words of Christ are to be understood of Peter in his own person, is the interpretation of nearly all the most eminent among the early commentators. Launoy, with his usual diligence and learning, has collected their testimonies.² Other Roman writers have fully admitted the truth of his conclusion. Dupin, for instance, explains that the temptation of Satan had respect to Peter personally, and that the prayer of Christ had no other object than his recovery from sin, his final maintenance of the faith, and his adherence to the duty of helping his brethren.³ Bossuet speaks to the same effect, and contends that, as involving a promise of final perseverance in the faith, the words have reference only to Peter, and could be applied to his successors by none but a very foolish commentator. He speaks indeed of a secondary sense, in which Peter is contemplated as representing the church catholic, or the particular church of Rome.⁴ Thomas Aquinas, Bona-

Peter addressed in his own person.

Judgment of Dupin

and of Bossuet.

¹ “Dico, non esse absurdum, si dicamus, illud, conversus, non referri ad penitentiam Petri, sed ad tentationes aliorum, ut non sit sensus, Tu à peccato ad penitentiam conversus, confirma fratres ; sed tu, cujus fides non potest deficere, quando videris aliquos mutantes, et vacillantes, ad eos conversus, illos confirma.”—*De R. pont.* lib. iv. c. 3. p. 210.

² Part. v. ep. vi. pp. 402—418.

³ “Tentatio illa Satanae respicit personam Petri et apostolorum, similiter oratio Christi non habet alium finem quàm ut Petrus, licet à diabolo tentatus, à fide tamen penitus et usque ad finem vitæ non deficiat, sed ut post negationem, conversus confirmet fratres,

hoc autem totum in ipsâ personâ Petri adimpletum est.” And again : “Si quid enim ex istâ oratione Christi pro Petro de ejus successoribus colligeretur, inferri deberet pro Petri successoribus, non secus ac pro ipso Petro orasse Christum, ut à fide ipsi privatim minimè deficerent, at nullus huc usque somniavit id ipsis privilegii adscribi posse.”—*Diss.* v. c. 2. p. 367. See also his work entitled *Traité de la doctrine Chrétienne*, liv. i. ch. 14. p. 350.

⁴ “Quo sensu, promissio solum Petrum spectat, non autem successores, quos in fide confirmatos, nemo, credo, nisi insipientissimus dixerit.” And again : “Hoc igitur est quod Petro in propriâ personâ promissum est, neque

Æneas
Sylvius.

ventura, and some others do the same. But of course this exposition, even if it could be established as true, would render no help in proving that the bishops of Rome individually have any promise of indefectibility. Æneas Sylvius, again, in his History of the council of Basle, fortifying himself by the authority of Augustine, as well as by the testimony of scripture, refers the prayer of Christ to the church represented by Peter, and rejects as untenable, the contrary exposition which applies them to the bishops of Rome as his successors.¹ It is nothing to the purpose that he retracted, as pope, and in very humiliating terms, the book which he had written as secretary to the council.² It is no more than cardinal Caraffa did, when he became Paul IV.; and many others have been compelled to qualify themselves for preferment, by disavowing former sentiments. The act is discreditable enough, but it leaves the force of the arguments untouched.

Protestant writers take the passage in its plain meaning, and are content with what all antiquity has ruled to be the true interpretation. In the words of a profound scholar of the seventeenth century, "Every one sees that the promise was made by Christ privately to Peter alone, and on account of his foreknowledge of Peter's threefold denial."³ Even in its application to Peter personally, the passage contains no assurance that he would be always steadfast and unswerving in the faith. Christ prayed for him, not that he should never be guilty of infidelity, but that he should not finally fall away. Though he was preserved from apostasy, he fell into temporary unbelief.

ad posteros transiturum; nempe ut in fide et gratiâ confirmetur."—*Def.* pars iii, lib. x. c. 4. p. 189.

¹ "Nec illis præstemus aures qui verba illa Christi Jesu Oravi pro te nolunt ad ecclesiam referri," &c.—*De gestis Basil. con.* lib. i. fol. 4.

² His Bull is addressed to the University of Cologne, and bears date May, 1463. It is entitled, "Retractatio eorum

quæ ipse pontifex in minoribus existens, scripserat pro concilio Basiliensi contra Eugenium IV."—*Magnum bullarium Rom.* i. p. 376.

³ "Quis non videt hanc Petro sol. privatim promissionem à Christo esse factam, et ideo factam quia præsciebat ter se negatum iri à Petro?"—*Salmasius, Apparatus ad lib. de primatu,* p. 209.

Thus he was among those to whom the words of the women, announcing the resurrection, seemed as idle tales. So, again, Christ “appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen.” Peter was among them, and there was no exception made in his favour. Æneas Sylvius expressly declares that Peter’s faith did fail, and he uses this as the foundation of an argument against the ultramontane interpretation.¹

Luke, xxiv.
11.

Mark, xvi.
14.

The necessity of maintaining, if possible, the application of this text in the extreme Roman sense, has induced some writers to extenuate the transgression of Peter. Maldonat, though he acknowledges that the apostle’s fault increased with the amount of the temptation, denies that he lost his faith.² Cornelius à Lapide confesses that by his denial he lost grace and charity, but whether he lost faith is doubtful.³ Harpsfield says that he did not deny the faith of Christ, but that he denied Christ, preserving his faith⁴; Bellarmine that he failed in charity, but not in faith⁵; and Duval, that he did not err except in outward act, and that he preserved his interior conviction⁶, an assertion for which, of course, he offers not even the shadow of a proof. There are many who support this

Extenuation of
Peter’s sin.

¹ “Aliter vero stare veritatis verba non possent, cum paulò post Petri fides ad tempus Christum negando defecerit. At fides ecclesiæ, cujus personam Petrus gestabat, semper intemerata permansit. De R. vero pontificibus liceret exempla admodum multa ferre, si tempus sineret, quoniam aut hæretici, aut aliis imbuti vitiis, sunt reperti.”—*De gestis Bas. con.* lib. i. fol. 5.

² “Cavendus vulgaris error est eorum, qui putant fidem Petrum perdidisse; nec enim fidem perdidit, sed negavit, quod aliud esse theologi dicunt.”—*In Matt.* xxvi. 75. col. 609.

³ “Quare Petrus hic Dei gratiam et charitatem negando perdidit; an fidem perdiderit, dubium est.”—*In Matt.* xxvi. 75. p. 502.

⁴ “Certé Petrus non fidem Christi, sed Christum, salvâ fide, negavit.”—*Alani Copi*, dial. i. p. 51.

⁵ “Ore autem confessio fit ad salutem. Itaque S. Petrus habuit in corde fidem, quæ disposuit ad justitiam; sed ex defectu charitatis caruit confessione oris ad salutem.”—*Respons. ad Apolog. pro Jurament. Fid.* p. 98.

⁶ “Petrus itaque in trinâ suâ negatione contra exteriorem fidei actum egit, sed non contra interiorem primum et præcipuum.” And again: “Falso asserit Richerius D. Petrum Christum ter abnegando errasse; peccavit quidem, sed propriè non erravit.”—*De R. pont. potest.* pars ii. q. i. p. 224.

view ; while others endeavour to evade the difficulty by suggesting that the denial occurred before he was made supreme bishop.

The extenuation of Peter's sin derives, unhappily, some countenance from the commentary of Ambrose on this passage ; from which, if it teaches us nothing else, we may learn not to follow any individual father too implicitly. He says that the apostle denied that he had been with the Galilæan, not that he had been with the Son of God ; he denied him as man whom he knew to be God.¹

That Peter fell for a season, the primitive writers in many places assert ; and they draw from the fact, especially Chrysostome and Augustine, an argument for the necessity of prayer to obtain the grace of perseverance. They speak strongly of the sin into which he was betrayed, including loss of faith ; and they say that it was permitted in order to teach him forgiveness ; which view the tone of his epistles remarkably confirms. If no promise were made to Peter of unbroken constancy in the faith, much less can it be claimed for his successors. "It may be remembered," writes bishop Taylor, "that for all this prayer of Christ for St. Peter, the good man fell foully, and denied his master shamefully : and shall Christ's prayer be of greater efficacy for his successors, for whom it was made but indirectly, and by consequence, than for himself, for whom it was directly, and in the first intention ? And if not, then, for all this argument, the popes may deny Christ, as well as their chief and decessor Peter." Or as Bossuet expresses it, that promise can suit no one unless it is certain that his faith will never fail, which certainly cannot be affirmed of the popes.²

No promise of infallibility to Peter or his successors.

Lib. of Prophecy-
ing, s. vii.
p. 173.

¹ "Negaverat hominum consortia, non Dei gratiam. Negaverat ex illis se esse qui cum Galilæo erant, non negavit cum Dei filio." And again: "Bene negavit hominem quem sciebat Deum."—*D. Ambrosii in Lucae xxii. fol. 492.*

of Augustine. "Petrum ipsum potius attendamus. Si nihil peccavit, quare flevit ? Non interrogemus de Petro, nisi lacrymas Petri : fideliores testes de illo non inveniemus.—*Enarrat. in Ps. 141. tom. iv. col. 1576.*

Very different indeed are the words

² "Ista promissio nemini convenit, nisi ei in cujus corde certum sit, nun-

None of the primitive fathers are to be found who interpret the text in question so as to deduce from it the authentication of Roman infallibility; and the later expositors who do this are few in number, and are open to suspicion as interested witnesses. "Bellarmine," says archbishop Laud, "proves this exposition of that text only by the testimony of seven popes in their own cause; and then takes a leap to Theophylact, who says nothing to the purpose. So that upon the matter Bellarmine confesses there is not one father of the church, disinterested in the cause, that understands this text as Bellarmine doth, till you come down to Theophylact. So the pope's infallibility appeared to nobody but the popes themselves, for above a thousand years after Christ, for so long it was before Theophylact lived." He might have added that two even of the epistles in question are undoubtedly spurious; and of the chief authority cited, dean Field says, very truly, "Theophylact doth not attribute the confirmation of the brethren by Peter, which he is commanded to perform, to his constancy in the true faith and in the profession of it; but to the experience that he had of the tender mercy and goodness of God towards him." In the words of Stillingfleet, "When a reason is demanded for so strange an inference (from a promise of recovery to St. Peter, to an impossibility of falling in the pope), nothing else is produced but the forged epistles of some popes, and the partial testimonies of others in their own cause."

Romanist interpretation supported but by few and interested writers.

Conf. with Fisher, s. xxv. p. 210.

Of the Church, book v. ch. 42. p. 586.

Grounds of the Protestant Religion, part ii. ch. 7. p. 452.

The witness of the fathers, and the consent of the church, are so broadly contradicted by the sense put by Roman writers upon the text, that it never would have been advanced, if it were not the sole dependence of an essential doctrine.¹ It was said, not without reason, by a

quam defecturam fidem. Non autem talis est Romanus pontifex: non ergo profectò hæc ei promissio convenit."

— *Append. ad Def.* lib. iii. c. x. p. 98.

¹ Turrecremata, for instance, who makes the broadest assertion of papal

great protestant writer, that we have no better proof of the patience of God, than that he endures such a perversion of his word.¹

The supreme pastoral charge. John, xxi. 15—17. Importance attached to this text.

“Feed my sheep,” &c. In this text it is said that authority is conveyed, the promise of which was previously recorded; that not only the interpretation of the former texts adduced is implied and confirmed, but that whatever was wanting in them is supplied. They are commonly quoted with a certain hesitation and distrust, as if the objections against the Roman interpretation were not altogether to be evaded, and as if they could only be employed in combination with some scripture proof to be obtained elsewhere. But the passage recorded by St. John is assumed to contain the final revelation of the divine will for the settlement of the church; the gift of plenary jurisdiction to one apostle and his successors.² According to Bellarmine, by these words the pope is proved to be the pastor and teacher of the whole church.³ He deduces from them the right of supreme judgment in controversies of faith, superiority to all councils, power over princes, &c. Duval and his school affirm that although the power of preaching, as well as of binding and loosing, was given to all the apostles, the supreme pastoral charge was committed to Peter alone, and that all external jurisdiction in the church is derived from the pope as his successor⁴; which is what Caietan and others

Bellarmino, Duval, &c.

freedom from error, finds only this text for his authority: “Sedis apostolicæ iudicium in his quæ fidei sunt, et ad humanam salutem necessaria, errare non potest.”—*Summa de eccles. lib. ii. c. 109.*

¹ “Nous n’avons point de plus grande preuve de la patience de Dieu que de souffrir un tel abus de sa parole.”—*Du Moulin, Défense de la foi*, art. xxiii. p. 589. (He is speaking of the interpretation of Luke, xxii. 32.)

² Thus Bellarmine says, referring to Thomas Aquinas: “Quod promissum fuit Petro Matt. xvi. per illud, Tibi

dabo claves, datum est reipsâ eidem Petro Joan. xxi. per illud, Pasce oves meas. Inveniet quoque (rex) hæc verba, Papa qui est in loco S. Petri habet plenariam potestatem, alii verò ab ipso.”—*Apolog. pro Respons. c. xv. p. 297.*

³ “Quòd his verbis pontifex sit institutus pastor et doctor totius Ecclesiæ supra demonstratum est, &c., si ille erret, tota Ecclesia errabit.”—*De Rom. pont. iv. c. 3. p. 210.*

⁴ “Quòd fit ut universalis potestas in Petro tanquam in vero et legitimo pastore ordinariè residerit, in cæteris verò

had maintained a century and a half before. The biographer of the popes tells us that when the advisers of Gregory VII. wished to restrain him from publishing his excommunication of the emperor, he adduced in reply, this text as his authority for the act.¹ But the instances in which it has been alleged by popes, in vindication of their claims, are endless. These infallible interpreters, for the most part, lay upon it the entire burden of proof for their assumed prerogatives. In the council of Trent, it furnished the refuge of those who were the most zealous in defending papal assumption.²

Gregory VII.

Council of Trent.

Maldonat, in common with all Jesuit writers, lays the utmost stress upon this text. He takes for granted, that it records the fulfilment of the promise made to Peter before his fall; as if the purpose of a foundation, and the duty of a shepherd, were not, in the very nature of things, as distinct as possible; and, as if the one could, with any propriety of language, be prefigured by the other. With a profane licence, he gives these as the words of our Lord addressed to Peter, "It is my will to build my church upon thee, that is, to commit my sheep to thee to be fed, as I had promised thee."³ He insists much upon the time at which the words of Christ are recorded to have

Romanist commentators.

apostolis tantum extraordinarie, et per accidens, atque propter necessitatem: Quia scilicet in dispersionem gentium erant abituri, et longis locorum intervallis a Petro separandi, ut pro ecclesiarum, quas ipsi fundabant, necessitatibus vix ac ne vix quidem eum possent convenire."—*De R. pont. potest.* pars i. q. iii. p. 110.

So again, elsewhere: "Nec minus constat habere episcopos, et multo magis summum pont. potestatem jurisdictionis, dandi indulgentias, dispensandi in legibus, votis, juramentis, et similibus; sed pontificem habere illam absque limitatione et principem et caput ecclesie universe, episcopos autem cum limitatione ut vocatos in partem sollicitudinis."—*Apologia pro respons.* c. xv. p. 294.

¹ "Quibus ita pontifex respondit quando, inquit, Christus ecclesiam suam Petro commisit, et dixit, Pasce oves meas, exceptit ne reges?"—*Platina in Vit. Greg.* vii. p. 177.

² "Hoc videlicet validissimum scutum omnibus concilii definitionibus, quibus potestatis, et majestatis pontificie arcana attingerentur, pretereunte potuit, ut in nihilum recideret, quicquid illa synodus in S. Sancto legitime congregata, minus gratum, acceptumque pontifici decerneret."—*Heideggeri Tumulus con. Trid. ad sess. 19 notæ,* t. ii. p. 32.

³ "Volo nunc super te ecclesiam meam ædificare, id est oves meas pascendas tibi committere, quemadmodum tibi promiseram."—*Maldonati in Joan.* xxi. 15. p. 511.

been spoken, because, according to a proposed canon, which is obviously untrue, he is said to have performed all important acts after supper.¹ The use of such an argument, by so acute and learned an expositor, seems to imply that, after all, he did not greatly trust the evidence furnished by the words of the text itself. So, again, he quotes a spurious writing, ascribed to Eusebius Emisenus, to prove that power was granted to Peter over bishops, as well as over all other Christians; that is, over shepherds, as well as their flocks.²

Cornelius à Lapede affirms that, in this place, the proof is furnished that Peter, with succession to the bishops of Rome, was constituted head and prince of the church, and that all the faithful, even bishops, patriarchs, and apostles, were placed under his charge to be taught and governed by him.³ He concludes that the rest of the apostles, being the sheep of Christ, became the sheep of Peter; and that he received the important charge of correcting their errors, composing their strifes, and exercising universal control over them.⁴ But if this great duty was laid on Peter, it is remarkable that not a single instance is recorded in which he performed it.⁵

These are the most esteemed among the later expositors in the church of Rome; and their authority has never been superseded. They are witnesses to the great importance attached to the present text. It is beyond question the sheet anchor of the supremacy⁶, the last

¹ "Observo ejus fuisse consuetudinem, ut res omnes magnas post prandium aut cœnam institueret."—*Maldon. ibid.*

² Having referred to this document, he adds: "Poteramus tanto adjuti auctore cum Lutero et Calvino certare," &c., p. 512. But this Eusebius is known to have been unsound in the faith; and the homilies which passed for a time under his name were not written by him. See Cave's *Historia lit. ann.* 341. p. 130.

³ "Ex hoc loco patet S. Petrum, et ejus successorem R. pontificem, esse

caput et principem ecclesiæ, omnesque fideles, etiam episcopos, patriarchas, et apostolos illi subjici, et ab eo pasci regique debere."—*In Joan. xxi.* 15. p. 547.

⁴ "Apostoli ergo cæteri, quia erant oves Christi idcirco erant pariter oves Petri. Unde Petrus eos dirigere, et sicubi errarent corrigere, dissidia eorum componere, ac per omnia gubernare debebat."—*Ibid.* p. 548.

⁵ "Si verò oves, quas jussus pascere Petrus, notant apostolos, ubi igitur apostolos pavit Petrus?"—*Heideg. Tumulus c. Trid.* i. p. 76.

⁶ "Superest illis fidissima illa om-

dependence of the Roman controversialist; and if this fails, there is no other passage of scripture on which he can fall back.

Popes have not been backward to put in use the authority which theologians and commentators have assigned them; they have employed it in very diversified ways, and always on the plea of this commission given to Peter. It may be a question of faith to be determined; the pope rules it, because it is the shepherd's duty to provide wholesome pasture. Or there may be heretics to put to death; they are wolves, whom he is bound to destroy, as Salmeron expresses it. "Who can deny," asks also John Eck, "that the wolf is to be driven away, to prevent him from hurting the flock; and killed too if he is obstinate?" Whence he concludes that heretics being wolves, must be destroyed.¹ Whether sovereigns are to be excommunicated, or subjects absolved from allegiance; whether individuals are to be burned, or multitudes given up to indiscriminate slaughter; whether, as more recently, the whole body of bishops in one country are to be deposed, or a schismatical episcopate to be set up in another, still there is the same plea of the shepherd's duty; this is the only ground on which a defence is even attempted.

It is not too much to say that when powers so extensive and so important are in question, the deed of conveyance had need be very clear. The mere allegation of a text is not enough, especially when such a wonderful breadth and compass are assumed for its application.

nium tempestatum anchora, per fugium illud universale, unde ad eos omne privilegium, omnis potestas in cœlo, et in terris promanat, Pasce, &c."—*De Dominis, de rep. eccles. vii. 5. 39. p. 89.*

When the archbishop of Spalatro had returned to the church of Rome, he himself laid great stress upon this text, giving unconsciously a confirmation of what he had formerly said. "Spes nunc omnis in triariis vestris, tribus nempe illis vocabulis, Pasce oves meas," are the words of his opponent

Crakanthorpe. Def. eccles. Ang. c. xxii. s. 7. p. 108.

¹ "Quis negare potest, quin lupus arcendus sit, ne noceat gregi? Si autem tam pertinaciter inhiat ovibus rapiendis ac devorandis, tunc interimatur lupus: hæretici autem sunt lupi, &c." And he goes on to cite our Lord's words, Matt. vii. 15., which enjoin heedfulness, indeed, in the case of false teachers, but give no authority for tormenting or killing them. Eckii Apologia pro reverend. legato, s. ix. fol. 161.

And, apart from their controversial use, the words themselves certainly do not suggest the alleged meaning. A plain Christian reading them again and again would never discover it; and, as we shall see, it was equally hidden from the early fathers of the church.

Interpreta-
tion of text.

The key of interpretation is furnished by the previous history of Peter. He had committed a great sin, which stands out so much the more, because it is contrasted with the boldness of his previous profession. With one exception, he had been more guilty than the others. The promise of adherence to Christ had been made by all the disciples, but especially by Peter; so it had been broken by all, but by him beyond the rest. Yet Christ's prayer for him had not failed, any more than the truth of the warning. The prediction of his sin had been fulfilled, and so likewise had the promise of recovery. There is no greater instance of divine grace on record, and it occurs to us familiarly when we want to illustrate the merciful dealing of God with penitent sinners. He was restored to all that his guilt had forfeited; as Cyril of Alexandria says, "The Lord renewed to him the dignity of the apostleship;"¹ and as Cyril of Jerusalem, "He not only received the pardon of that denial, but he also retained the apostolical dignity."² It was pardon, not prerogative; it was equality restored, not pre-eminence bestowed. The restoration was public, that the others might be certified; just as the charge had been given by the angel, "Go your way, tell his disciples, and Peter, that he goeth before you into Galilee." As if his very discipleship were likely to be called in question, and as if his colleagues, as well as himself, needed to be re-assured.

Mark, xvi.
7.

¹ "Dixit autem, Pasce agnos meos, apostolatús illi renovans dignitatem; ne propter negationem, quæ humana infirmitate accidit, labefactata videretur."—*Cyrl. Alex. in Joan. xii. c. 64.*

² "Fletus enim veram, seu ex corde pœnitentiam designat, atque ideo, non

solum negationis illius accepit condonationem, verum etiam dignitatem apostolicam non ablatam retinuit."—*Cyrl. Hierosol. Catech. 2. s. 12.*

Hammond, Stillingfleet, Barrow, and others, interpret the words as an exhortation, and not as a commission.

The way in which Peter received the gracious words of his master, that is, with grief, were most suitable to the character of a penitent, though strangely out of place if it were the inauguration of a supreme authority. He who had been confident and self-asserting, became lowly and self-distrusting. The remembrance of his sin, though the penalty had been remitted, was yet full of sorrow. It served, doubtless, to keep him humble; so that when he wrote to the elders among the dispersed converts, he spoke of himself only as a fellow elder. And when he had occasion to mention the chief shepherd, he made no reference to himself as holding any pre-eminent pastoral charge. It is not possible even to imagine a stronger contrast than that which subsists between the meekness of the apostle and the arrogance of his pretended successors. The very terms which they had suffered to be employed, sometimes in direct addresses, sometimes in the canon law, such as, Holiest father, Most blessed lord, Divine majesty, Corner stone of Zion, Light of the world, Lion of Judah, God upon earth, &c., are so many tokens of their utter unlikeness to him whose successors they boast of being.¹ What shall we say of the ordinary superscription of letters addressed to them by bishops and others, and in which profane reference is made to an act of the deepest reverence paid to him who is Lord of all?² Or of the words employed by a master of the sacred palace in his reply to Luther, in which he asserts that “the pope is the prince of all spiritual, and the father of all temporal, princes; the head of the whole world; nay, that he is, virtually, the whole world?” It is a poor evasion of a Jesuit writer, that the pope does not claim honour for himself, but that

Peter's grief and humility.

¹ Peter, v. 1. 4.

Arrogance of popes.

Ranke's Reformation, book ii. c. 3. p. 470.

¹ Vid. Banck, de Tyrannide Papæ, c. iv. p. 42.; Casaubon, Exercit. xv. s. 15. p. 303.; Du Moulin, Défense de la Foi, ch. xxiii. p. 579.; Brutum Fulmen, p. 5. &c.; Lynde, Via devia, p. 478.; Heideggeri Hist. papatûs, p. 322.

² Post humillima pedum sacrorum oscula.

Turrecremata, who was a great leader of the monarchist party, ascribes to the pope many titles which the scriptures apply only to Christ. See *Summa de eccles.* lib. ii. c. 27.

he refers it to Christ, whom he represents.¹ Gerson says, truly and boldly, that the pope ought not to commit falsehood by calling himself, in his letters, the servant of the servants, but that he ought to style himself lord of the lords of the world.²

Command not privilege.

Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, p. 97.

Grounds of the Protestant Religion, part ii. c. 7. p. 456.

No conveyance of new powers.

John, xx. 21.

Matt. xxviii. 19.

The words spoken to Peter contain a command, rather than a privilege.³ "These words," says Dr. Barrow, "do not seem institutive or collative of power, but rather only admonitive or exhortative to duty; implying no more, but the pressing a common duty, before incumbent on St. Peter, upon a special occasion, in an advantageous season, that he should effectually discharge the office which our Lord had committed to him." "How often have you been told," writes Dr. Stillingfleet, "that these words contain no particular commission to St. Peter, but a more vehement exhortation to the discharge of his duty, and that pressed with the quickness of the question before it, Lovest thou me?" All the chief protestant expositors agree in this view of the text; and it is confirmed by many considerations.⁴ There was no new power imparted, no larger commission given, no distinct office created. Nothing more was granted to Peter separately, than to the apostles previously in common; and indeed the terms which had been addressed to them were still more weighty. Their mission was declared by Christ to be according to the pattern of his own: "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." If the pastoral charge conveyed by the words, "Feed my sheep" be extensive, it is not wider than the command, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations," preceded, as those words were, by the signi-

¹ "Pontifex non sibi honorem illum vindicat; sed in Christum refert, cujus vices in terris gerit."—*Costeri Enchiridion*, c. iii. p. 165.

² "Revera papa non deberet mentiri in literis suis dicendo, servus servorum Dei, sed, dominus dominorum mundi."—*De reform. eccles.* c. 28. ap. Von der Hardt, t. i. pars 4.

³ "Verba illa præceptiva tantùm sunt, non ordinativa: hortantis solùm sunt, non instituentis."—*Crakan., Def. eccles.* c. xxiii. p. 109.

⁴ "Nihil enim aliud est oves Christi pascere, quàm easdem ad verum Dei cultum hortari, et de viâ salutis informare, et admonere."—*Banck.* c. 3. p. 28.

ficant assertion of universal power bestowed upon our Lord himself.¹ If the apostles were already commissioned in terms so wide, it is conclusive against the notion that they received their authority subsequently from Peter. The flock given in charge was the church which Christ purchased with his own blood. The commission was received not by Peter alone, but by all his fellow apostles with him. In whatever sense Peter was the shepherd, so were they; in whatever sense they formed part of the flock, so did he. They all possessed a twofold character. In the one, they were members of the flock over which Christ is the shepherd; in the other, they performed the pastoral office in subordination to him.

The fathers constantly speak of Christ, in his supreme charge, as the good shepherd, and of the apostles as having, in common, the care of the flock, to be exercised in virtue of their union with him. Ambrose and Augustine, certainly as great doctors as the church ever produced, are of one mind in ascribing to all pastors what was said to Peter.² Dr. Barrow, citing the words of some of the chief fathers, says, "How could these great masters more clearly express their mind, that our Lord, in those words to St. Peter, did inculcate a duty no wise peculiar to him, but equally together with him belonging to all guides of the church; in such manner as when a master doth press a duty on one servant, he doth thereby

Judgment
of the
fathers.

Treatise of
the Su-
premacý,
p. 99.

¹ "Cur enim præmisit illa verba, Data est mihi omnis potestas, nisi ut significaret, se eos cum eadem potestate, intellige quatenus communicabilis esset, omnes æque instructos, ad habendam curam ovium mittere?"—*De Dominis*, i. viii. 4. p. 86.

² "Quas oves, et quem gregem non solum tunc beatus suscepit Petrus, sed et nobiscum eas suscepit, et cum illo eas nos suscepimus omnes."—*D. Ambrosii Liber de dig. sacerdotum*. c. ii. op. fol. 341.

"Et quidem, fratres, quod pastor est, dedit et membris suis; nam et Petrus pastor, et Paulus pastor, et cæteri apostoli pastores, et boni episcopi pasto-

res."—*August. in Joan. Evang.* c. x. tract. 47.

To use the words of a learned protestant, "Tam proficua sunt R. pontificibus pauca illa verba Christi, Pasce oves meas, quæ tamen officium potius omnibus veri divini ministris commune, quàm privilegium ejusmodi omnino exceptione majus complectuntur."—*Heideggeri, Tumulus C. Trid.* ii. p. 32.

Dupin writes to the same effect: "Tous les autres évêques ne sont ils pas des pasteurs et des docteurs? Ces paroles de Jésus-Christ à S. Pierre ne s'adressent elles à eux comme à lui?"—*Traité de la Doct. Chrét.* liv. i. ch. 14. p. 353.

admonish all his servants of the like duty? Whence St. Austin saith, that St. Peter in that case did sustain the person of the church; that which was spoken to him belonging to all its members, especially to his brethren the clergy." And again, "The sheep which our Saviour biddeth St. Peter to feed were, not the apostles who were his fellow shepherds, designed to feed others, and needing not to be fed by him; but the common believers, or people of God, which St. Peter himself doth call the flock of God." So of this text, bishop Taylor says, "There is little in that allegation, besides the boldness of the objectors; for were not all the apostles bound to feed Christ's sheep? Had they not all the commission from Christ, and Christ's Spirit immediately?" Again, referring to some instances in which popes had required counsel from other bishops, he adds, "In these cases, the sheep came to feed the shepherd, which, though it was well enough in the thing, is very ill for the pretensions of the Roman bishops."

Treatise of the Supremacy, p. 100.

Lib. of Prophecy-ing, s. vii. p. 175.

Ibid. p. 176.

The earlier popes knew nothing of the modern view which makes Peter and his alleged successors to be the supreme pastors, and all other bishops subordinate and deriving authority from them. Launoy cites no fewer than forty who employ the term fellow-bishop, and fellow-priest; which utterly contradicts the opinion of Bellarmine and his school. The very formula which indicates the invasion of episcopal independence, "By the grace of the apostolic see," is not to be traced farther back than the middle of the thirteenth century. Yet Duval argues that because the jurisdiction of bishops can be limited or taken away by the pope, it is not derived immediately from Christ.¹ The converse is the true proposition; because it is derived immediately from Christ, it cannot be limited or taken away by the pope.

Part. v. ep. 8. p. 439—445.

Thomassini Eccles. dis. part. i. lib. i. c. 64. p. 142.

John, xxi. 15.

A good deal of stress has been laid upon our Lord's inquiry, "Lovest thou me more than these?" as if the

¹ "Si potestas jurisdictionis prælatorum à Christo tantùm manaret, prorsus esset immutabilis, nec à pontifice posset imminui aut auferri, &c."—*De supremâ R. P. potest.* part. i. q. 2. p. 93.

profession of greater love than that of others, were preparatory to the constitution of a higher authority than theirs. If this were a true interpretation, it would be hard to explain why pre-eminent love should not be a necessary qualification for the inheritance of the chief pastoral charge, just as the unerring faith of Peter is said to descend on each of his successors, fitting him to be the foundation. But the words really contained only a sorrowful meaning. They referred to the bold and presumptuous engagement which had been so signally broken. It was a rebuke which was involved, though very gentle, and affording the apostle an opportunity of public humiliation, preliminary to his public restoration. His answer was in exact harmony with this view. He did not venture to say, as he might once have said, that his affection was greater than that of the others, but he was content and thankful to be ranged with them.

Rebuke
addressed
to Peter.

Again, the repetition of the question, which some writers connect with their notion of privileges conveyed, had reference obviously to the threefold denial of which Peter had been guilty. His answer contained no token of satisfaction, as if he had received a prerogative, but of distress because his love had been doubted; while yet by the wonderful grace and compassion of Christ, he was allowed to countervail, by his threefold confession, the sin of his threefold denial. This is beautifully expressed by several of the fathers, especially by Augustine.¹ Maldonat, who cannot but admit the reference to Peter's former sin, and who is too acute not to perceive how fatally it tells against the probability that such a time would be chosen for his preferment above the rest, endeavours to find also a mystical reason, as if the question were three times asked, that the perfection of the apostle's love might be proved by the perfection of the number.²

Repetition
refers to
threefold
denial.

¹ "Redditur negationi trinæ trina confessio, ne minus amor serviat lingua, quàm timori; et plus vocis elucuisse videatur mors imminens quàm vita præsens."—*In Johannem Evang.* c. 21. tract. 123.

² "Ego ad negationem non dubito Christum allussisse; sed credo etiam

Of which it is enough to say, that a cause must be felt to be well nigh hopeless, which is defended by such arguments.

Alleged distinction between the sheep and the lambs.

Roman controversialists generally attach great importance to the distinct mention of sheep and of lambs, as if it were implied that by the one the apostles, and by the other the rest of the faithful were placed under Peter's charge. Thus, Becan deduces from the distinction an argument for the power of the pope, not only over bishops and clergy, but over kings also; for which he cites the authority of Eucherius, bishop of Lyons.¹ Duval says, that, by the sheep, the mothers of the lambs, bishops are understood, whose duty it is to bring up spiritual children for Christ²; Reding, that the words signify the power of the pastoral office, embracing all the faithful, and the apostles themselves, therefore, as lambs of Christ³; and Bellarmine, that bishops are signified by the sheep, and the Jews and gentiles by lambs twice mentioned⁴; while Caietan affirms that, in token of the power committed to him, Peter undertook the care of John, inquiring "Lord, and what shall this man do?"⁵ And yet the whole argument upon which these interpretations depend, proceeds upon a mistake, for the very words, sheep and lambs, are used indifferently by our Lord elsewhere. The distinction must not be assumed in a solitary passage to serve a controversial purpose.

John, xxi. 21.

Matt. x. 16.
Luke, x. 3.

propterea ter interrogasse, quia rem illi maximi momenti committere volebat; itaque volebat perfecte ejus explorare charitatem: solet enim hic numerus perfectionem significare."—*In Joan.* xxi. 17. p. 514.

¹ "Quid unquam simile dictum est regi vel imperatori? Imò eos ipsos, si oves Christi sunt, Petro commissos esse, necesse est, cui totum ovile commissum est."—*Jacobi regis apol. refut.* c. iii. p. 88.

² "Per oves, agnorum matres, episcopos intelligimus, quibus, ex officio, incumbit filios spirituales Christo quotidie suscitare."—*De R. P. potest.* pars i. q. vii. p. 165.

³ "Hisce verbis significatur pastoralis officii potestas, indefinite complectens omnes Christi fideles, atque adeo ipsos etiam apostolos ceu Christi agnos."—*Diss.* iv. s. ii. c. 3. p. 218.

⁴ "Agnos bis repetitos esse ad significandum duos populos Judaicum et gentilem, oves autem, semel nominatas, significare episcopos qui sunt veluti matres agnorum."—*De Rom. Pont.* lib. i. c. 16. p. 146. He proposes an unauthorized reading of the text, to support a false conclusion.

⁵ "In cujus signum Petrus statim factus pastor, curam Joannis suscepit, interrogans de eo, Hic autem quid."—*De auct. papæ et con.* c. ii.

So again, the reasoning which depends on the word which Christ employed in the second delivery of his charge, as if it expressed the notion of supreme government, is easily refuted. It means literally, perform the duty of a shepherd. The Roman commentators refer us to Homer, who employs it to express, by a metaphor, the duty and office of a king. We can only assign such a meaning to it in this place, by doing violence to the continuity of our Lord's discourse, and introducing an allusion which corresponds singularly ill with the context. It is the duty of the shepherd, which is the subject, and not the authority exercised by governors and kings. But whatever signification may be assigned, the word is the same which is employed to express the charge laid upon all pastors of Christ's flock indifferently.

ποιμαίνε.
v. 16.

Acts, xx.
28.
1 Peter, v. 2.

The interpretation which assigns supreme power to the pope as Peter's successor, would make him universal bishop, and leave nothing but vicarial power to all other bishops, which is exactly the conclusion so strenuously resisted by Gregory the great, when he feared the growing importance of the see of Constantinople. Bellarmine admits the title to be antichristian and profane; but when he attempts to draw a distinction in favour of the powers claimed for the bishop of Rome, he reasons illogically, as Launoy has abundantly proved.¹ Either the charge of feeding the flock is applied to Peter in the same sense as to all other pastors, or else it is assigned to him with a separate and distinct meaning, which would make the rest to be no bishops at all, properly speaking, but only his vicars.

Title of
universal
bishop.

There was no reference to the alleged scripture testimony, on occasions when it would have put an end to very injurious contests, such, for instance, as that which subsisted between Cyprian and Stephen. The African bishops

Occasions
for produc-
ing scrip-
ture
testimony.

¹ "Romanum pontificem ecclesie in tota foret ecclesia."—Part. v. ep. viii. totius pastorem et doctorem perinde p. 434. facit, ac si nullus alius pastor et doctor

would have yielded to plain evidence from the word of God, if it had been producible; and the bishops of Rome would not have been driven to practise a fraud, by presenting the Sardican canons under the name of the Nicene, from which such loss of character resulted.¹ And so, again, the councils which first appointed any privilege to the Roman see, instead of bestowing a limited right², would have reverently acknowledged the heavenly gift of universal authority. To have assigned mere precedence, and on such low and earthly ground as the greatness of the imperial city, when supremacy had been already bestowed by the head of the church, would have been profaneness in respect to Christ, and an affront to the see of St. Peter. The spiritual monarchy had no existence as a fact until long afterwards; and the plain testimony of scripture made it impossible for those who lived in the centuries preceding the great usurpation to imagine any other ground than such as had been alleged for the pre-eminence of any particular church.³

The witness of the bible remains, in spite of all efforts to conceal or pervert its meaning by those who are interested in defending an adverse system. It represents the office of Christ as incommunicable and unapproachable. He is the root, from which the branches derive life and strength; the shepherd, who knows his sheep, and is known of them; the heavenly bridegroom, to whom the church is espoused.⁴ So, again, he is "the head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." When the title is ascribed to

Eph. i. 22,
23.

¹ This subject is fully stated by Richer, *Hist. concil. gen. lib. i. c. 3. s. 8—17.*

² C. Nice, can. vi.; C. Constant. can. 3.; C. Chalcedon, can. 28.

³ "Quis illorum (sc. patrum) appellavit Petrum caput visibile universæ Ecclesiæ, eo sensu quo hodie ista vocabula usurpantur?"—*Casaubon, Ex. xv. 12. p. 286.*

⁴ *Turrecremata* claims for the pope

the title "*sponsus ecclesiæ universalis.*"—*Summa de eccles. lib. ii. c. 37.* Bellarmine does the same, and contends for the subjection of a council to the pope, on the ground that the wife is subject to her husband: "*Est autem contra apostolum Eph. v. contra naturæ ordinem, ut sponsa præsit sponso, et non potius subsit.*"—*De concil. auct. lib. ii. c. 17. p. 267.*

another, there is insurmountable difficulty involved. If Peter, or the bishop of Rome, is the head, then the church must in the same sense be his body, which no one ventures to say. The distinction, again, between a visible and an invisible head has not the least show of scripture proof, and is no better than an invention to meet an obvious difficulty. Nor is it of any avail to speak, as some do, of Christ as the essential, and Peter as the ministerial head, because whatever relation to the church is represented by the figure, can exist only under the former, that is, by the union of believers to Christ, which is maintained through the ministry of the word and sacraments.

Christ's office incommunicable.

Becan illustrates the headship of Peter by the analogy of an earthly kingdom, the government of which is administered by a regent during the absence of the sovereign. He is followed by some others; the comparison, however, obviously fails, because Christ is not absent from his church, but, according to his own true promise, he will be present with it to the end of the world.¹

Manuale controv. i. c. 4. s. 27. p. 63.

Matt. xxviii. 20.

That the alleged texts do not explicitly favour the Roman view is hardly to be denied. A great canonist², anticipating the doctrine of development, with which Moehler and his followers have since made us so familiar, says that the prerogatives in question were implied in the words addressed to Peter, and that they became evolved as the circumstances of the church required. This theory, even if it accounted for the silence of primitive antiquity in respect to the authority claimed, could no way touch the positively adverse testimony of the fathers. It is not that they say nothing, but that they say what can never be brought into harmony with the doctrine of the papal supremacy. If

Antiquity not silent, but adverse.

¹ "Morte extinctus non est, sed vivit; ac nobiscum est omnibus diebus ad consummationem sæculi; judicaturus vivos ac mortuos; qui perpetuo in Ecclesiâ suâ præsens, semper Summi Pastoris ac Sacerdotis munere fungitur."—*Banck*, c. v. p. 81.

verbis ad Petrum et de Petro, inserta atque implicata fuisse jura illa omnia, et insignia potestatis privilegia, quæ in longâ sæculorum serie explicuerunt sese, et in lucem eruperunt, cum ecclesiæ utilitas et charitas flagitavit."—*Thomassini Vet. et Nov. Discip.* part. i. lib. l. c. vi. p. 18.

² "Ecquis, enim, non videt illis Christi

only a few such witnesses could be produced adverse to the Roman system, it would be sufficient to destroy the plea of catholic consent; and of course the strength of the case is proportionately increased when we find that they form the immense majority. This is one of the many instances in which the rule proposed by Vincent of Lerins, difficult as it always is, not to say impossible, of application on the affirmative side, becomes irresistible on the negative.

Scripture texts alleged in confirmation.

Essay on Development, ch. iii. s. 4. p. 172.

Treatise of the Supremacy, p. 102.

But there are other passages of scripture cited by advocates of the papacy, not indeed as affording direct proof, for which they are confessedly insufficient, but because they are supposed to strengthen the conclusions already established. In the words of Dr. Newman, "Such are various other indications of the divine purpose as regards St. Peter, too weak in themselves to be insisted on separately, but not without a confirmatory power; such as his new name, his walking on the sea, his miraculous draught of fishes on two occasions, our Lord's preaching out of his boat, and his appearing first to him after his resurrection." Of which, and of similar citations, Dr. Barrow says very truly: "In confirmation of their doctrine they draw forth a shoal of testimonies, containing divers prerogatives, as they call them, of St. Peter, which do, as they suppose, imply this primacy; so very sharp-sighted indeed they are, that in every remarkable accident befalling him, in every action performed by him, or to him, or about him, they can descry some argument, or shrewd insinuation of his pre-eminence, especially being aided by the glosses of some fanciful expositor. From the change of his name, from his walking on the sea, &c., they deduce or confirm his authority." Of these references some were used in the days of Constance and Basle, and some were discovered by the writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bellarmine has arranged them as if they furnished heads of collateral evidence; so has Stapleton, as well as some others; and they have de-

scended as an heir-loom to the controversialists of our own time.

And yet, when we come to examine them, we shall find that there are many altogether irrelevant, or strained to a meaning which they will not bear; such as the payment of tribute by Christ for Peter, as if he were the head and representative of our Lord's family¹; or the washing of his feet first, (which, indeed, the scripture does not state,) as if it implied pre-eminence; or the command to put his sword into the sheath, as if it proved the secular power to belong to him, though he was then restrained from using it; or the prayer which was offered for him by the church when he was in prison, which was no more than a duty generally enjoined, "Remember those that are in bonds as bound with them;" or the visit paid by Paul to him at Jerusalem, designed, as Chrysostome says, to add personal acquaintance to brotherly regard; or his declaration that Judas had fallen from his apostleship, as if this were the first exercise of pontifical power in deposing a bishop, though Judas was dead and out of the reach of an earthly sentence.² Turrecremata finds weight for his cause in Peter's forwardness to answer for the rest; Eck, in the inquiry how often a brother's offence is to be pardoned; Sanders, in the rebuke for sleeping in the garden addressed to Peter alone; and others wander, if possible, still farther from sober and reasonable interpretation.

There are other texts which derive whatever application they may be supposed to possess, from figurative exposition. Thus from our Lord's words addressed to Simon, "Launch out into the deep," there is inferred a charge of ecclesiastical government³; by the two ships it is said

Inapplicability of texts.

Matt. xvii. 27.

John, xiii. 5.

Matt. xxvi. 52.

Acts, xii. 5.

Heb. xiii. 3.

Figurative exposition.

Luke, v. 4.

¹ The chief authority for this interpretation is a work entitled "Quæstiones Vet. et Nov. Testamenti," ascribed to Augustine, but which he did not write. See Cave. Hist. lit. sec. iv. p. 190.

² "Petrus pronuntiat Judam proditorem apostolatu et episcopatu suo

excidisse, Act. i., ubi autoritatem pontificiam in deponendis episcopis primus exercet."—*Stapleton, Relectio controv.* iii. l. 3. p. 679.

³ "Petrum ducere in altum est navim, hoc est ecclesiam visibilibus gubernare."—*Sanders, De visibili monarchiâ*, lib. vi. c. 2. p. 153. (The work

that Jews and gentiles are signified, and by the filling of them with fish taken by Peter, the union of both in one church under him.¹ When we read that Christ taught from Peter's ship, one writer would have us understand that our Lord teaches only in the congregation where Peter is supreme.² And in the account of the miraculous fishing in the last chapter of St. John, another instructs us that the world is represented by the sea, the net is the church, the land is eternal life, the fishermen by whom the net is drawn to shore are Peter and his successors.³ Bernard of Clairvaux, writing to Eugenius, says that by walking on the water Peter showed himself to be the vicar of Christ, whose office it is to preside over, not one nation, but all; as the waters are many, so are the nations.⁴ Coster finds an argument in favour of his church from the inscriptions on the cross. He says that the Latin was placed the lowest to show that the Latin church was to be nearest to Christ.⁵ But the most remarkable of these interpretations is, perhaps, that of Bellarmine, who, by means of a physical analogy, deduces the supreme authority from the command, "Rise, Peter; kill and eat."⁶ The allegation of such texts must always

Luke, v. 3.

John, xxi.
6. &c.Matt. xiv.
29.

Acts, x. 13.;

of Sanders, who was professor at Louvain, abounds in such reasoning as this. It is an elaborate argument to prove that a monarchy has always subsisted in the church of God, and that from the apostles' days the bishop of Rome has been its supreme governor on earth. His books are dedicated to Paul V.; and Bellarmine says of them, "Quos hactenus a nullo scriptore re-futatos vidimus."—*Apolog. pro respons.* c. viii. p. 162.)

¹ "Piscibus a S. Petro captis, utramque navim implevit, ut non esset in ecclesiâ distinctio Judæi aut gentilis, &c."—*Costeri Conciones*, pars i. con. iv. p. 89.

² "Quod in nullâ navi (id est) in nullâ congregatione aliâ concionetur Christus, quàm in quâ Petrus clavum teneat et regat, quæ est sancta catholica Romana ecclesia, &c."—*Ibid* p. 82. Bellarmine says the same, *De Rom. Pont.* lib. i. c. 20. p. 149.

³ "Rete significat ecclesiam, terra vero significat vitam æternam; nulla ecclesia trahitur ad vitam æternam, nisi sub iis pastoribus qui piscantur cum Petro, et quorum dux Petrus est."—*Sanders*, lib. vii. p. 214.

⁴ "Gradiens super aquas unicum se Christi vicarium designavit, qui non uni populo sed cunctis præesse deberet. Siquidem aquæ multæ, populi multi."—*Bernard*, *De considerat.* lib. ii. tom. i. col. 1622.

⁵ "Ideo enim Latina lingua in tituli inscriptione infima, adeoque Christo proxima fuit."—*Conciones*, pars i. con. 4. p. 89.

⁶ "Capitis est manducare, et per manducationem trajicere cibum in stomachum et illum sibi incorporare. Significatur enim hæc metaphorâ, Petro convenire ut ipse tanquam caput ecclesiæ, infidelles convertat, et efficiat membra ecclesiæ."—*De R. pont.* lib. i. c. 22. p. 150.

be useless, because the expositions, even when far more reasonable than these, cannot be enforced. They are arbitrary, and will not serve for the ground of argument. To urge the authority of certain fathers is of no avail, for they are as far as possible from any agreement in the metaphorical meanings which they deduce from scripture. But, in truth, we deal very unfairly by these great primitive writers when we take the loose language of rhetoric which they often employed, and transfer it to a subject for which it was never intended, and which demands logical demonstration.

There are many passages which contain very important counsels and promises, but which are altogether inapplicable to the purposes for which they are used by Roman writers, because they belong to the church at large, and cannot be limited to any separate portion of it. They are such as these, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it," and "The church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth," spoken to assure us of the permanence of the church catholic, and cited to prove the stability of the particular church of Rome; or, "Lo I am with you always, even to the end of the world," and "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," which is the encouragement of all Christian assemblies, as if it were a pledge in favour of councils convened by the pope; or, "He shall give you another comforter," as if the blessed gift were specially limited to the Latin church; or the injunction, "Obey them which have the rule over you," as if submission to the bishop of Rome were chiefly in view; or the words, "He that heareth you, heareth me," as if they were addressed to pastors deriving authority from the pope, and not to all faithful ministers.

It is a favourite argument, repeated again and again, as if it carried some weight, that in the order of the apostles' names that of Peter stands first. But if this priority were always assigned, which it is not, it would

Texts
unduly
limited.

Matt. xvi.
18.
1 Tim. iii.
15.

Matt.
xxviii. 20.
Matt. xviii.
20.

John, xvi.
16.

Heb. xiii.
17.

Luke, x. 16.

John, i. 44.
Gal. ii. 9.

1 Cor. i. 12.
1 Cor. iii. 22.

Order of
apostles'
names in-
conclusive.

prove nothing to the purpose. No authority could be inferred from this circumstance, nor any thing beyond bare precedence. Reuben was first in the numbering, but Judah was chief in rank. Chrysostome, in his homilies on St. Matthew, assigns certain grounds of preference; if there were any supremacy involved, he certainly knew nothing of it. Jerome says that Peter was preferred for his age; Augustine, for his abundance of grace. But it was the common opinion of the fathers that he was the first called of the apostles¹, as Paul was the last. Thus, Augustine speaks of Stephen as the proto-martyr. It was at most a place of honour, and not of authority. But to use an argument which would prove only a primacy among equals, and to conclude from it an absolute power over subjects, is a fallacy which has been often refuted. And it is to be observed, that whatever weight may be given to the reasoning from Peter's place in the list of apostles goes to invalidate the consequence assigned to his confession, which was subsequent.

texts not
to be taken
alone.

Matt. iv. 19.
Mark, i. 17.

John, xx.
14.

Again, the impression in favour of Peter's superiority, which might be produced by certain passages, is neutralised by the consideration of others. Thus, if the promise made to him, that he should be a fisher of men, is urged as a confirmation of his headship, it is enough to answer, that the same promise had been previously made to Andrew as well. Or, if our Lord's appearance to Peter first of the disciples is alleged, we remember that he had shown himself already to Mary Magdalene. There are some striking instances of the way in which controversy bribes the judgment to unfair conclusions on evidence. Thus, Peter preaching to Cornelius is taken to imply that he was the head of the gentile church; but Paul's declaration of apostleship to the uncircumcision has no weight on the other side. That Christ sat in Peter's boat is evidence that he was primate-designate of the whole church; but

¹ "Nec dubium esse debet, quin ex ordine vocationis ibi recenseantur apostolorum nomina."—*Salmasius Apparatus ad lib. de primat.* p. 13.

Paul's express declaration of being equal to the chiefest apostles does not impeach the claim. That Peter struck Ananias and Sapphira with death, is a good argument for his supereminent authority; but that Paul smote Elymas with blindness, does not prove that he exercised similar power. The shadow of one apostle falling on the sick, and healing them, argues his greatness beyond the rest; but the handkerchiefs and aprons, brought from the body of the other with the same effect, do not interfere with the conclusion.

Then there are some plain mis-statements and contradictions advanced. Thus, Noel Alexander says that Peter summoned the council for choosing an apostle in the place of Judas, and he refers to the first chapter of the Acts, where there is not a word which favours such a conclusion; and modern controversialists repeat the same statement.¹ Stapleton says that Peter gave his definitive sentence in the council at Jerusalem, after which all held their peace; though the record in the Acts plainly contradicts the statement.² Bellarmine says that Peter performed the first miracle in confirmation of the faith³; yet, in the preceding chapter, we read that "many wonders and signs were done by the apostles."

Misrepresentation of scripture statements.

Acts, xv. 12, 13.

Acts, ii 43.

Not less remarkable is the perversion of scripture, when its meaning is unfavourable. Our Lord's words, "He that is greatest among you let him be as the younger, and he that is chief as he that doth serve," forbid the exercise of authority by one disciple over another, and therefore present an obstacle in the way of the supremacy. Cardinal Orsi explains the text to mean that our Lord, so far from denying one of their number to be superior and chief, admits this headship, and shows how it is to be exercised.⁴

Luke, xxii. 26.
Matt. xviii. 4.

Perversion of scripture.

¹ "Quòd primum ecclesiæ concilium convocaverit."—*Nat. Alex. Hist. sæc. i. diss. iv. p. 89.*

² "Item animadvertunt Petrum primum indicere concilium, &c."—*Fr. Iavarone Instit. theolog. ii. s. 5. p. 201.*

³ "Post cuius sententiam definitivam

tacuit omnis multitudo."—*Relectio controv. iii. 1. 3. p. 679.*

⁴ "Primum miraculum in testimonium fidei à Petro fit." (Act. 3.)—*De Rom. Pont. lib. i. c. 22. p. 150.*

⁵ "Quibus verbis aliquem inter suos majorem ac principem fore, non modo

Matt. xviii.
17.

Gregory de Valentia gives the same exposition.¹ Again, the command, "Tell it to the church," plainly recognises an authority in the body of believers to which individual members are responsible. Bellarmine says that the pope fulfils the injunction, by telling the matter to himself, and to the church over which he presides.²

Luke, xii.
42.

Sometimes the argument proceeds on an unwarranted exposition, as if it were clearly established. Thus, when our Lord speaks of the faithful and wise steward, Bellarmine assumes, without any show of proof, that the pope is the person meant; and then goes on to reason as if he were drawing an inevitable conclusion from undeniable premises.³ Irenæus says that the text applies to all presbyters; Hilary, to bishops; Chrysostome, to the rich; Jerome, to all Christians.

These, then, and such as these, are the only confirmations to be found in scripture for an absolute power alleged to be conveyed by divine grant to one apostle, and exercised by him over the whole church.

Scripture
evidence
against
Roman
claims.

We do not expect, on the other side, to find in the bible any express denial of the supremacy, because its existence was not contemplated for some centuries after the closing of the canon. Yet there was ample provision made, by supreme wisdom, for the guidance of the faithful when the necessity should arise; just as the various heresies, when they emerged one after another, were found to have their refutation in the word of God. The fact that

non inficiatur, verum et apertè indicat, et sacri principatûs ideam exemplo suo informat."—*Dissert. de modo conciliandi*, &c. c. v. p. 52.

¹ "Minimè Christus negavit aliquem in ecclesiâ superiorem reliquis fuisse futurum, &c."—*Analysis fid. cath.* lib. vii. c. 3. p. 67.

² "Dicere ecclesiæ, id est, sibi ipsi, ut præsi, et ecclesiæ cui ipse præest."—*De concil. auct.* lib. i. c. 19. p. 268. Of this exposition Gerson had said long before: "Nec accipiendum est, hoc, dic ecclesiæ, id est, papæ, &c."—*De*

juribus eccles. et concil. consid. iv. Æneas Sylvius uses this text to prove that the pope is subject to the church.—*De gestis Bas. con.* lib. i. fol. 6. So little agreement is there among Roman expositors.

³ "Sine dubio sententia Scripturæ illa est, ut episcopi particulares sunt summi œconomi in suis ecclesiis, ita esse episcopum Romanum in Ecclesiâ universâ."—*De concil. auctorit.* lib. ii. c. 17. p. 266.

See Dupin, *Autorité ecclésiastique*, tom. ii. p. 164.

scripture nowhere speaks of the alleged prerogatives of St. Peter, furnishes in itself a presumption very unfavourable to the claim. The silence is inexplicable, on the supposition that the authority existed. If there had been any purpose of establishing a spiritual monarchy, there were many occasions on which our Lord would have been likely to explain so important a subject to his disciples; when he was alone with them on the mountain, for instance, or afterwards in the garden. It is not improbable that they expected one of three to be chosen, who were ordinarily distinguished, especially Peter, who was foremost in zeal, or John, who was nearest in affection. But, instead of this, we have an absolute denial of any chiefdom among them, precepts of humility, a little child as their pattern, and the kings of the gentiles as their warning; and this after the grant of the keys, on which so much stress is laid. Whatever promise of advancement or glory there might be was given to an order, and not to an individual: "Ye who have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." And again: "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." After the time when it is said that precedence was established, we find the disciples so utterly ignorant of it, that they strove among themselves which of them should be greatest; and the strife was renewed even at the last supper. When the mother of Zebedee's children entreated pre-eminence for her sons, our Lord did not instruct her, and the disciples, that the place of dignity was already appropriated to one; but he showed by whom, and on what terms, it would be bestowed. In his parting discourse Christ spoke of the commandment to "love one another," but not a word of Peter and his supposed successors. In his last prayer he pleaded that they might be one; but there was no reference to the alleged centre of

Matt. xxiii.
8.
Matt. xviii.
2.
Luke, xxii.
25.

Matt. xix.
28.

Luke, xxii.
29, 30.

Luke, xxii.
24.

Matt. xx.
23.

John, xv.
17.

John, xvii.
11.

unity. Before he left the world he gave a most precious promise of his abiding presence, but it was no more directed to Peter than to the other apostles, no more to the apostles than to other pastors.

Matt. xxvi.
20.

Precedents
furnished
by the
apostles.

The instructions given by Christ for the government of his church were embodied by his disciples in their public acts, which formed a practical commentary on the ecclesiastical principles of the earliest age, and furnished a collection of precedents for future reference. That Peter had always a distinguished place, and was often the foremost amongst his colleagues, is exactly what his previous history would lead us to expect. He had been, at all times, zealous, and now there was the remembrance of unexampled grace to make him yet more earnest; but there is no token to be found of any authority which he exercised beyond the rest. There was no assumption of pre-eminence on the one side, or acknowledgment of it on the other. They were equal and co-ordinate; and, as the jurists speak, *par in parem non habet potestatem*. There is required some evidence that Peter exercised jurisdiction analogous to that which is claimed for the bishop of Rome as his successor, but nothing parallel is to be found. That he did not deal with the rest of the apostles as the pope with all bishops is, indeed, so clear, that Roman writers take great care to explain why he did not. Thus, Lainez, in the council of Trent, assigned as a reason why there is no record of his interference, that they afforded him no opportunity by any failure of duty.¹ Whether this explanation is satisfactory or not we have the acknowledgment of a very unscrupulous and acute champion, that no instance is to be found; which is all that our present purpose requires.

No interference by
Peter.

And yet the occasions which occurred for the intervention of a commanding authority, if any such existed,

¹ "Que si on ne voyoit pas que S. Pierre les eût corrigés, ce n'étoit pas faute de pouvoir en lui, mais parce qu'ils s'étoient bien acquittés de leur emploi."—*Concile de Trente*, liv. vii. s. 20, p. 395.

were very remarkable. When some one, for instance, was to be substituted in the place of Judas, Matthias or another would have been nominated by the vicar of Christ, and the inauguration of the new apostle would have been signified by some phrase equivalent to that which is now in use. Instead of which, we find the whole matter administered by the body of disciples, and Peter no way distinguished from the rest, except that it was he who proposed the performance of a needful duty. But the Roman argument requires that he should not only have ordained Matthias, but all the other apostles, which few, however, will venture to maintain. The pope's universal power of appointing bishops is, however, involved; for it cannot be allowed that he has any prerogative above that which was exercised by his alleged predecessor. The derived authority cannot be greater than the original; the waters in the stream cannot rise higher than their source. Lainez, who was alive to the objection, endeavoured to remove it, by suggesting that Christ, who ordained the apostles, performed, for the occasion, the part which belonged properly to Peter, giving to them, by his own act, a power which they would otherwise have received from their chief.¹ In this case, also, whatever the value of the explanation may be, and that is, indeed, as low as can be imagined, there remains the acknowledgment of a difficulty.

Then, again, when a new order of ministers was to be created, an act very important in its consequences, the twelve called together the multitude of the disciples², and the seven deacons whom they selected were ordained by the apostles as their joint act. There is no separate mention of Peter from the beginning to end of the record. If we want to understand how fatally this case tells against the claim of the bishop of Rome, we have only

Election of
Matthias.

Appoint-
ment of
deacons.

Acts, vi. 3.

¹ "Qu'il avait fait pour cette fois lui-même ce qu'il appartenait à S. Pierre de faire, en donnant aux apôtres une puissance qu'ils auroient dû recevoir de S. Pierre, &c."—*Concile de Trente*, liv. vii. s. 20. p. 395.

² Binius calls this the convening of the first Christian synod.

to contrast its circumstances with those under which any religious order, that of the Jesuits for instance, has been instituted or suppressed by his sole authority.

Council of
Jerusalem.

Acts, xv. 2.

Somewhat later, a question about the obligation to keep the law of Moses, which affected the whole body of converts, arose in the church at Antioch, and was carried by reference to the church of Jerusalem. Here, at least, if anywhere, we might expect to find some indication of the supremacy of Peter, since this has, by general consent, been taken for the model of such assemblies: but he neither summoned the council, nor presided in it; he neither pronounced the decision, nor published the decree. He did not even open the discussion, for there had been much previous disputation; and he was followed by Paul and Barnabas, who recounted the results of their mission, while

Acts, xv. 7.
12, 13. 19.

Acts, xv. 23.

Acts, xv. 28.

James, as bishop of Jerusalem and president of the synod, concluded the matter, and formally delivered a definitive judgment.¹ The sentence thus deliberately prepared by common consent, was delivered to the churches under the co-ordinate authority of the whole body of the faithful, without any mention of Peter's name, or the faintest allusion to any separate or superior power which he possessed.² The decretal letter assumed the highest possible sanction, and was delivered by Paul and Silas through the cities of Asia Minor, as the act of the council alone, that is, of the apostles and elders, without reference to any one beside.³ To use the words of Dr. Barrow, "In all this action, in

Treatise of
the Su-

¹ "Jacobus episcopus Hierosolymitanus sententiam dixit."—*Banck de tyran.* c. iii. p. 27.

"Petrus quidem præ aliis sermonem auspicatur; cujus orationem excipit D. Jacobus, et Jacobi sententiæ assenserunt omnes, et Petrus ipse, et apostoli, ac presbyteri."—*Nili de primatu*, lib. i. p. 19.

"Quâ in synodo, si quis apostolos non veros judices à Christo constitutos, sed Petri consiliarios dixerit, nimis ineptus est."—*Bossuet, Defensio*, pars iii. lib. 8. c. 11. p. 89.

"Jacobus protulit definitionem S.

Concilii super cessatione legalium, de quo Act. xv. notatum est."—*Gersonis de juribus eccles. consid.* xiii.

² "Si aujourd'hui un concile où le pape fut présent écrivait lettres décidantes un différent, on trouveroit fort étrange qu'en ces lettres ne se fit aucune mention du pape."—*Du Moulin Défense*, c. xxiii. p. 621.

³ Cur (quæso) ad apostolos et presbyteros, et non ad Petrum? Si Petrus solus locum Christi propriè tenebat, ad ipsum erat confugiendum, &c."—*De Dominis*, i. 2. 12. p. 128.

this leading precedent for the management of things in ecclesiastical synods and consistories, where can the sharpest sight descry any mark of distinction or pre-eminence which St. Peter had in respect to the other apostles?"

premac-
y, p. 65.

But the whole history contained in the Acts bears consistent testimony against the pretensions of the bishop of Rome. Peter did not give mission to Paul and Barnabas, or to any others; he ruled no questions of faith or discipline for the church; he exercised no control over his colleagues; and there is not a single precedent to be found for the appointment of a vicar apostolic, or for sending a legate, or for publishing a papal rescript. Everything was done by the common authority of those to whom Christ committed the government of his church; and, throughout the whole record, not the slightest trace can be discovered of the spiritual monarchy which is now so fully developed in the Latin communion.

The whole
history is
against
papal
claims.

The letters which the apostles wrote to different churches, under various circumstances, are in perfect harmony with their acts. Peter, himself, wrote in a tone which exactly agrees with his previous history, and not at all with the pretences advanced on his behalf. It is tender, lowly, self-distrusting, as if the remembrance both of his sin and of his pardon were always present. He calls himself an apostle and servant of Jesus Christ, a witness of the sufferings of the Lord, and a partaker of future glory, a fellow elder, but no where a prince or supreme governor of the church. He speaks of the flock of God, and of the chief shepherd, but never of himself as having any pre-eminent charge; but, on the contrary, he ranges himself with the other apostles. Warnings there are against lordliness, and exhortations to humility, but not a single word which can, even constructively, be used for any claim of supremacy. That he should have received so great and responsible a charge, and yet have made no allusion to it in any part of his writings, is as

Apostolical
letters.

St. Peter.

1 Peter, v.1.

1 Peter, v.
2. 4.

2 Peter, iii.
2.

unreasonable a supposition as any that could be suggested.

Epistles of
St. Paul.

In the same way, St. Paul handles a great variety of subjects, some local and occasional, some general and of permanent interest, the duties of pastors and people, the obligations and safeguards of the spiritual life; yet he never uses a single expression which even the skill of controversialists is able to allege in maintenance of a principle which is said to be bound up with the very existence of the church. Heresies had begun to arise in some communities; there were disputes and schisms in others; he ruled each case as it arose by his own authority, and without reference to any power greater than his own.

Eph. iv. 3—
5.

He wrote to the Ephesians, enjoining unity, on the ground of oneness in calling, and faith, and baptism. It was the very occasion which Roman writers would seize for dilating on the blessing of a spiritual head. As archbishop Bramhall says, the apostle reckons up seven bands of unity, but the monarchy of Rome is not in the number. To the Corinthians, he enlarged on the subject of ecclesiastical order, and gave an enumeration of offices constituted for the edification of the body of Christ. Apostles, prophets, teachers, and others are mentioned, but there is not a word about the supreme ruler and infallible judge.

1 Cor. xii.
28.

1 Cor. i. 12.

Nay, when he blamed those who used his name, and that of others, he made no exception in favour of such as called themselves followers of Peter; and yet, on the Roman theory, they were right, and deserved commendation.

Rom. xiii. 1.

1 Peter, ii.
17.

2 Thess. ii.
3. 15.

Addressing the Romans, he enjoined obedience to the higher powers, but said nothing of that bishop of bishops, who is alleged to be so infinitely above all princes.¹ To the Thessalonians, he spoke of the apostasy, and the revelation of the man of sin; and he charged them to hold fast the traditions which they had been taught, but he

¹ Salmeron furnishes a very disrespectful commentary on this passage. "Blanditur hoc capite imperatoribus

et regibus Paulus, quemadmodum Petrus, in priori sua epistola."—*Comment. Rom. xiii. Disput. 4. p. 975.*

made no reference to Peter, as the refuge of the faithful in times of peril. It would be easy to multiply such instances. That a power should have existed in the church for ruling all questions, ending all strifes, and meeting all emergencies, yet that it should never once have been exercised, and that Paul, who faithfully delivered the whole counsel of God, should have never once alluded to it, is utterly incredible.

There are passages, also, in the personal history of St. Peter, which plainly contradict the assumption of his superiority. Such are the following: when he came to Jerusalem, after the baptism of Cornelius and his company, the converted Jews contended with him. In his reply, he detailed the reasons of his conduct, without any reference to his dignity as chief governor; that is, by the very fact of entering on a defence, he admitted himself to be subject to the judgment of the church. Nothing is more intelligible than that Peter should make this acknowledgment, though it is irreconcilable with the notion of his supereminent authority.¹ Again, the apostles at Jerusalem sent Peter and John to Samaria, just as they afterwards sent Paul and Barnabas to Antioch. In this case Peter derived his mission from those whom, according to the Roman view, it was his office to send. It was an act of authority which they performed, and it is not to be explained away. One writer suggests that he was sent by entreaty; another that the phrase is to be understood only as we should say of counsellors, that they send their king to war.² But Gerson, on the other hand, alleges the act in his vindication of the power of the council.³

History of St. Peter.

Acts, xi. 2. 4.

Acts, viii. 14.

¹ Gerson and others, in the time of the great schism, urged this case as an availing proof that the pope is amenable to a council. Æneas Sylvius uses it for the same purpose in his history of the council of Basle.—Lib. i. fol. vii.

² Thus St. Peter, by entreaty, was sent to the people of Samaria, and he, of courtesy or charity rather, did give an account afterwards why he preached

to the Gentiles, &c.”—*S. N. Antidote, Controv.* x. p. 206.

“Sic consiliarii mittunt regem ad bellum. Igitur Petrus missus est, non ex imperio, sed ex consensu et consilio apostolorum.”—*Becan. Manuale*, lib. i. c. iv. s. 53. p. 72.

See also Bellarmine de R. pont. lib. i. c. 16. p. 147.

³ “Unde et apostoli miserunt in Sa-

Gal. ii. 11.
12.

Liberty of
Prophe-
syng,
s. vii. p. 184.

S. N.
Controv.
x. p. 206.

Again, Peter was guilty of dissimulation, in withdrawing from the company of the converted gentiles, with whom he had previously associated; and Paul withstood him to the face as worthy of blame. The act, as far as it went, was that of a superior, and certainly proves that the whole right of ecclesiastical censures cannot be derived from Peter, since it was exercised by another, and he himself was the subject. In the words of bishop Jeremy Taylor, "If he had but withstood any of them to their faces, as St. Paul did him, it had been more than yet is said in his behalf." Much pains have been spent in explaining a case which harmonizes so ill with the dignity of an ecclesiastical head, and the character of an infallible judge. One writer says, that the thing for which St. Paul reprehended St. Peter, was an error of fact, not of faith. Belarmino alleges that it is not unusual for superiors to be blamed by inferiors, and with some profaneness he cites the instance in which Peter ventured to reprove our Lord.¹ And elsewhere he says that it was an error of conduct, and not of preaching.² The fathers, however, speak strongly of the reality and greatness of Peter's sin. Jerome, indeed, maintained that it was a case of collusion between the apostles, designed to bring the Jews to their duty by the feigned submission of Peter. But Augustine argues irresistibly against him, that if Peter acted rightly, Paul was guilty of falsehood; if Paul wrote what was true, Peter's conduct was inconsistent with the gospel rule.³ The conclusion seems inevitable, and it is very injurious to the papal claim.⁴ "Choose now," says

marium Petrum et Johannem tanquam subditos ecclesiæ."—*De juribus ecclesiæ et concil. consid.* xi.

¹ "Quasi non soleant aliquando superiores ab inferioribus reprehendi. Ipse certè Petrus Christum increpare cœpit dicens, Absit Domine, non erit tibi hoc."—*Apologia pro respons.* c. viii. p. 169.

² "Quòd autem aliquando S. Petrus coegerit gentes Judaizare, non fuit

error prædicationis, sed conversationis."—*De Rom. pont.* lib. iv. c. 8. p. 213.

³ "Si verum scripsit Paulus, verum est quòd Petrus non ingrediebatur, ad veritatem evangelii, id ergo faciebat quod facere non debebat."—*Ep.* 19. ad *Hieron.* c. 2.

See also Ambrose in *Epist. ad Galat.* c. ii. fol. 544.

⁴ This is one of the cases in which there is even more than the usual dis-

bishop Bilson, "whether you will disclaim Peter for no bishop of Rome, and so lose your succession from him, or grant that the bishop of Rome may be lawfully resisted as Peter was, which is the very thing you required us to prove. One of these twain you shall never avoid, do what you can."¹

On Christian Subjection, part i. p. 95.

The equality of the apostles, about which the testimony of scripture is very clear, plainly contradicts the claim of supremacy. They cannot co-exist; if the one is established, it must be at the expense of the other. From the body of the disciples, twelve were chosen for a higher office than the rest. They received the same instruction and the same gifts, and they were sent out to perform the same work. There was perfect community in their charge, their endowments, and their promise of reward. When Christ was about to quit the world, he delivered to them a discourse full of exhortation to duty, but containing not a word about obedience to a spiritual ruler. And he prayed for them that they might be kept in mutual love, but he did not select one of their number as needing special mention on account of a weightier charge. In the same way, after his resurrection he addressed them in words of the deepest meaning, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations;" no commission could be wider. "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you;" no pattern could be more heavenly. "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained;" no power could be more sublime. Our Lord's last discourse was

Equality of the apostles.

Matt. xxviii. 19.
John, xx. 21.

John, xx. 23.

agreement among Roman writers. We have Gregory the Great praising Peter because he honoured Paul in spite of the blame cast upon himself: "Eccc Paulus in epistolis suis scripsit Petrum reprehensibilem; et ecce Petrus in epistolis suis asserit Paulum in iis quæ scripserat admirandum."—*Hom.* 18. in *Ezech.* cited by De Dominis. Baronius acquits Peter of having sinned (Ann. 55. n. 34.), while Maimbourg makes the reality of the sin an impor-

tant head of his argument. (*Prærogat.* c. viii.) Noel Alexander argues that Peter was guilty of dissimulation, but his opinion was severely censured by the authorities. (*Hist. Sæc.* 1. synopsis, art. 1. c. 7., also diss. xi. sæc. 1.)

¹ "Petrus item patitur se à Paulo increpari. Quo pacto vero papa Romanus instar tyranni nullum admittit vitæ suæ censorem?"—*Nili de primatu*, p. 40.

Luke, xxiv.
50, 51.

Acts, ii. 4 ;
iv. 31.

Equality
asserted by
the fathers,

and by later
writers.

spoken to the community of the apostles ; he was in the act of blessing them when he was taken up out of their sight. On the day of Pentecost, and again when they were assembled for united prayer, the gift of the Holy Spirit was bestowed on all alike. They had equal power to preach the word, to found churches, to write canonical books, to exercise ministerial gifts, to govern Christian communities ; and there is no single instance adducible of pre-eminent authority in one, or of dependence in the rest. There is no record of any act ascribed to Peter, which the others did not equally perform.

This equality, which scripture places in so clear a light, is asserted again and again by the fathers. Cyprian, and Jerome, Chrysostome, Augustine, and Ambrose, are witnesses to it. In the apostolical constitutions, which, whatever date we may assign, certainly belong to a very early period, Peter is called "fellow apostle,"¹ a title which contrasts strongly with the terms afterwards employed in connection with his name. Then we have writers, in the very heart of the Roman communion, not isolated, but in alliance with the best and wisest men of their age, maintaining the same truth, in words which cannot be mistaken. Thus cardinal de Cusa in the fifteenth century wrote on the subject, in exact accordance with the views developed more fully by Dupin and his school at the end of the seventeenth. Somewhat later we have the testimony of the ablest of modern canonists, that all the apostles received a like charge and mission.² If they possessed equal and independent authority for the discharge of their great office in the church, it can never be admitted that in their private and personal character they were subject to one of their number. "This surely," says

¹ "Ananias quoque et Saphira ejus uxor furati res proprias, cum tentassent Spiritum Domini, sententiâ Petri coapostoli nostri statim sunt mortui." — Lib. vii. c. 3. p. 95.

² "Manifestum est Christum omnes apostolos misisse in mundum univer-

sum ad prædicandum Evangelium omni creaturæ, idque cum pari auctoritate, neque uni præ alio majorem dedisse auctoritatem in hac missione." — *Van Espen, Jus eccles. univ.* pars i. tit. xvi. c. 2. p. 126. See also Banck, c. iii. p. 22.

Dr. Field, "is one of the strangest paradoxes that ever was heard of. For who can imagine that God would trust the apostles with the managing of the weightiest affairs of his church, and the government of the whole world, without being any way accountant in respect thereof unto any one among them as superior, and that he would appoint a head and chief, and subject them to his censure in their personal actions? Nay, this is impossible and cannot be. For if, in their office of teaching and governing the rest of the church, they were equal, and could not therein be limited or restrained one by another, then was there none among them that could put any of the rest from his office, dignity, and employment." So Gieseler, speaking of the eminence afterwards obtained by the great sees of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, adds, "Still, however, much stress was laid on the perfect equality of all bishops, and each in his own diocese was answerable only to God and his conscience. Nor were they likely to allow any peculiar authority to the successor of Peter, inasmuch as they attributed to Peter no superiority over the other apostles."

Of the Church,
book v.
ch. 23.
p. 479.

Eccles.
History,
vol. i. p. 155.

The church of Rome has pronounced no decision on this important subject, and the opinions held within its communion take the widest range. Cardinal Turrecremata, for instance, who was sent by Eugenius IV. to the council of Basle, and who received from Pius II. the title of defender of the faith, maintained that Peter alone was constituted bishop by Christ, and that the other apostles, including James the bishop of Jerusalem, were appointed to their charge by him.¹ His view is extravagant enough, but it is consistent with itself, and he does not, like the later Romanists, attempt to reconcile the equality of all

Question
has never
been de-
cided by
the church
of Rome.

¹ Summa de ecclesiâ, lib. ii. c. 32. The arguments for the supremacy of Peter are strongly stated, c. 5—23. He claims unlimited power for the pope, which, as he contends, is derived immediately from God, and can neither

be limited nor enlarged by any earthly power, lib. ii. c. 43. He says: "R. pontifex superior ac major jurisdictionis auctoritate totâ ipsâ residuâ ecclesiâ." — c. 80.

Caietan's
view.

with the paramount authority of one. And his statements are the more important because he enjoyed the highest sanction of his church. In the earlier part of the following century, when scripture had been somewhat more carefully examined, we find cardinal Caietan forced to abandon this theory. The evidence of equality among the apostles was too clear to be resisted, and he endeavours to harmonise the admission with his argument for the supremacy, by maintaining that, as the ordinary and established method, all power was derived from Peter, but that in the case of the apostles there was the intervention of special grace for an extraordinary occasion.¹ This is an arbitrary and unproved supposition, and has no probability; but, such as it is, it leaves the equality of the apostles acknowledged, which is an important concession.

Bellarmino.

At the end of the century, Bellarmine, the most acute and accomplished champion which the church of Rome had hitherto produced, giving up the attempt to deny the equality of the apostles, admits fully that they all received the highest authority from Christ, while he holds that they were nevertheless dependent on Peter as their head.² But he mainly trusts to a distinction which he endeavours to support between the plenitude of ecclesiastical power possessed by Peter as ordinary pastor of the church, and that which was imparted to the other apostles by delegation and for the term of life³, which archbishop Bramhall very justly calls "a drowsy dream;" and of which a very learned writer in the Roman communion says that it is a fiction

¹ "In Petro enim, et a Petro inchoatur omnis ecclesiæ potestas, et derivatur in totam ecclesiam viâ ordinariâ; et rursus aliqui Petro subditi plures potestates acceperunt a Christo immediatè quas a Petro accepturi erant viâ præventionis gratuitæ." — *De auct. papæ et con.* c. 3.

² "Illi enim habuerunt summam atque amplissimam potestatem ut apostoli seu legati, Petrus autem ut pastor ordinarius. Deinde ita habuerunt plenitudinem potestatis, ut tamen Petrus

esset caput eorum, et ab illo penderent, non e contrario." — *De Rom. pont.* lib. i. c. 11. p. 141.

³ "Nam R. pontifex propriè succedit Petro, non ut apostolo, sed ut pastori ordinario totius ecclesiæ, et ideo ab illo habet R. P. jurisdictionem a quo habuit Petrus. At episcopi non succedunt propriè apostolis, quoniam apostoli non fuerunt ordinarii, sed extraordinarii, et quasi delegati pastores, qualibus non succeditur." — *De Rom. pont.* lib. iv. c. 25. p. 230.

supported by no testimony of scripture or tradition.¹ Bellarmine, admitting the possession of great spiritual powers by the apostles in common, which indeed he could not deny, makes the difference to consist in the transmission of them in the one case, and the cessation in the other, which is a mere assumption, and utterly without proof. When he shows that the apostles derived authority from Christ, his arguments are founded on the word of God, and are therefore unanswerable. But when in the next chapter he attempts to prove that all bishops receive theirs from the pope as Peter's successor, he has none but the feeblest and most inconclusive reasons to advance, such as the nature of monarchy, the relation of the head to the members, the stream to the fountain, and other fanciful analogies borrowed from Cyprian. There is no foundation at all for the proposed distinction. That Peter had heirs to his privileges, and the other apostles none to their powers; that the former were ordinary and perpetual, but the latter extraordinary and temporary, is an arbitrary distinction, obviously invented for a special purpose. Of the gifts bestowed by Christ, some were necessary for the time, and were not transmissible; some were needful for the continual administering and edifying of the church, and have descended partly to ecclesiastical governors, partly to all ministers of the word and sacraments.

Untenable
distinctions.

De R. Pont.
lib. iv. 23.
24.

There is another class of writers who insist on the distinction between the power of order and the power of jurisdiction, allowing that the former belonged to all the apostles alike, while the latter, at least in its external application, was derived to them only through Peter; and this is the prevalent opinion of Roman controversialists at this time. It is admitted that they were equal in

¹ "Fictitia quidem est, quia nullâ ratione, nullo testimonio Scripturæ aut traditionis docemur potestatem apostolatûs Petri ad ejus successores perma-

nasse, non autem potestatem cæterorum apostolorum."—*Dupin, Diss.* iv. s. 3. p. 318.

apostleship, and in all gifts and qualifications for their work, in mission and endowments, in the power of government and administration ; but we are required to believe that the entire exercise of their endowments depended upon their union with their chief ; that is, when their equality, in every respect, is proved beyond the possibility of denial, their subordination, which is an inconsistent and contradictory supposition, is arbitrarily assumed, and without even the pretence or show of evidence. Van Espen treats the proposed distinction with great contempt, proving clearly that the power of jurisdiction, as well as of order, belonged equally to all the colleagues of Peter.¹

Roman theories inconsistent with each other.

These several theories, which have prevailed in the Roman church at successive periods, contravene each other, and are mutually destructive ; they are alike unsupported by even the feeblest proof, and have no higher authority than the invention of shrewd men, who, being aware of a fatal difficulty, have done their best, in different ways, to get rid of it. Yet, unless one or other of them can be believed, there is an end to the supremacy.

French Romanists.

The whole body of writers who defended the Gallican liberties, and who possessed nearly all the learning which belonged to the Roman church in the seventeenth century, strenuously deny the derivation of authority by the apostles from Peter. Dupin, who fairly represents the opinion of the school, maintains their entire equality in the administration of the keys, in the government of churches, and, generally, in jurisdiction and power. He contends, at the same time, for the primacy of Peter ; but when so many concessions have been made, nothing is left but an empty name, which, whether it be granted or

¹ "Verùm quam ineptum sit hoc glossema, evincunt verba Christa, &c." Again, "Ex his consequens est, omnes episcopos ex suâ institutione, præveniendò omne jus positivum, esse in potestate et auctoritate gubernandi ecclesiam æquales ; non tantùm quoad ea, quæ ordinis sunt, sed et quæ jurisdictionis sunt, in quantum hæc ad

salutem populi, et rectum ecclesiæ regimen spectant."—*Jus eccles. univ.* pars i. tit. xvi. c. 2. p. 127.

"Ex his facile est videre quòd apostoli, in quantum apostoli, habuerint non solum potestatem ordinis, sed jurisdictionis."—*Caietan, de auct. papæ et concil.* c. iii.

not, leaves the question at issue untouched. It is not a matter of dignity and precedence which is in debate; not whether the pope is to stand first in the catalogue of bishops, which is not worth contesting, but whether, as the successor of St. Peter, he is in any sense the fountain of jurisdiction, and the supreme ecclesiastical ruler; and this the Gallican church of the seventeenth century no more admitted than the English church of this day.¹

But the supremacy claimed for St. Peter might, on grounds just as valid, be asserted for other apostles. St. Paul, for instance, was in many things pre-eminent. He was chosen from his very birth, and set apart by the grace of God. His conversion was by divine interposition, and without any human agency. He was instructed in the gospel by an express revelation. He received the widest possible commission, as God's witness to all men. His charge was universal, for he had the care of all the churches, and he provided regulations for them by his sole authority. He gave sentence of excommunication, in one class of cases; and in another, he pronounced pardon as the vicar of Christ. He laboured more abundantly than all others. "He was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter." Not only was his claim of equality amply vindicated by the record of his life, that in nothing was he "behind the very chiefest apostles," but his superiority was in many respects incontestable; and this the fathers, in numerous passages, maintained. Augustine assigns him the chief place of apostleship; and affirms that from a persecutor becoming a preacher, he obtained more grace than the other apostles.² Ambrose calls him comparable

Paul's pre-eminence.

Gal. i. 15.

Gal. i. 12.

Acts, xxii. 15.

2 Cor. xi. 28.

1 Cor. vii. 17.

1 Cor. v. 5.
2 Cor. ii. 10.

1 Cor. xv. 10.

2 Cor. xii. 4.

2 Cor. xii. 11.

¹ "De Dominis gives an able summary of the doctrines of the Gallican church, and he adds: "Hæc sane doctrina, verbo tantum tribuit papæ supremam jurisdictionis ecclesiasticæ potestatem, jure divino, re tamen illam eidem totam aufert."—*De rep. eccles.* iv. 7. 5. p. 620.

persecutore factus sit prædicator, abundantiore gratiam consecutus in omni labore apostolico, quàm cæteri apostoli."—*Enarrat. in Psal.* 130. tom. iv. col. 1465. Again, "Videtur, fratres, quia modo in ecclesiâ Pauli ap. Epistolæ vigent magis quàm coapostolorum ejus."—*Ibid.*

² "Paulus apostolus, quamvis, ex

to the first, and inferior to none.¹ But Chrysostome beyond the rest extols him, calling him the pillar of the church, firmer than rock, or iron, or adamant. He says that the whole world was put into his charge; that, as greater than the apostles, he shall receive a greater crown; and, in a passage of singular eloquence, he represents him governing the whole world as if it were his ship.²

St. John.

So again, in the case of St. John, there are some notable points of distinction to be observed. He was the near kinsman of Christ; he received a new name full of significance; and he was known as the disciple whom Jesus loved. The fathers enlarge often on the greatness of this affection, and dwell especially on the proof which Christ gave of it, at his death, in commending the blessed Virgin to the care of his disciple. St. John also abounded more than the others in love to his Master. He was more constant than the rest; he followed Christ to the judgment-hall, and to the cross. He outran Peter, and came first to the sepulchre. He remained on earth the longest, outliving all his fellow apostles, so that for many years he must have been the only church ruler who belonged to that order. He united in himself, as Jerome notes, the characters of apostle, evangelist, and prophet. And he received, from all antiquity, the illustrious title of the divine.

Mark, iii. 17.

John, xix. 27.

John, xviii. 15.

John, xx. 4.

St. James.

The case of James is, in some respects, even more re-

¹ "Nec Paulus indignus apostolorum collegio, cum primo quoque faciliè conferendus, et nulli secundus. Nam qui se imparem nescit, facit æqualem."—*De Spiritu S.* lib. ii. c. 12. fol. 109.

² "Cogita quidnam hic pertulerit, qui non unius domûs, sed urbium, et populorum, et nationum, atque adeo totius orbis curam gerebat."—*In Ep.* ii. ad Cor. hom. 25. tom. x. p. 614.

"Instar unius domûs aut navis, universum terrarum orbem gubernans, eos qui demergebantur retrahens, vertigine laborantes fulciens, nautas exhortans, ad puppim sedens, proram circumspectans, funes tendens, remum tractans, velum trahens, &c."—*Ibid.*

In his thirty-second homily on the Epistle to the Romans, speaking of the glories of heaven, he says: "Illic Paulum cum Petro videbimus, in sanctorum choro coryphæum et patronum, verâque illic dilectione fruemur." And again, speaking of Rome, its greatness, its antiquity, and its beauty, he adds: "Missis illis omnibus ideo illam beatam prædico, quia Paulus, et dum viveret illis scripsit, atque ipsos ita dilexit, ac præsens ipsos allocutus est, vitamque ibidem clausit. Ideoque hinc clarior est civitas, quàm ex aliis omnibus."—*Op.* tom. ix. p. 757.

markable. Among those who seemed to be pillars of the church, he was first mentioned. He presided in the council of Jerusalem, which has been generally received as the model for church synods. He was appointed to his bishopric by the choice of the apostles.¹ Jerusalem, over which he was placed in charge, was the mother church, as Jerome observes. The last message of Peter before he left the city on his escape from prison, was addressed to him; and so were the first words of Paul, when he returned to give an account of his ministry. His charge was very extensive, and his office was held in the highest reverence, as Eusebius relates. His name was placed first in the prayers of the church²; and if any primacy had existed at all, it must have been his.

Gal. ii. 9.

Acts, xii.
17.
Acts, xxi.
18.

Eusebius,
lib. vii.
c. 19. p. 265.

These instances do not, of course, tend to establish any counter-claim of paramount authority. We could no more prove the headship of Paul, or John, or James, than Romanists are able to maintain that of Peter. All that our argument requires is, to show that each, in a separate way, possessed pre-eminence and distinction which are utterly irreconcilable with the notion of a supreme power to which all were alike subject.

But while there is not a single passage in the word of God which even faintly indicates Peter to have been bishop of Rome, there are many which, taken together, prove irresistibly that he was not. When the disciples had been scattered abroad after the death of Stephen, Peter, with the other apostles, remained at Jerusalem, administering the affairs of the mother church, and Paul found him there on his first visit after his conversion. At this time, the churches had rest in Judæa, and Galilee,

Much that
is adverse.

No inherit-
ance from
St. Peter.

Acts, ix. 31.
33. 40. 43.

¹ "Ait enim post Servatoris ascensum, Petrum, Jacobum, et Joannem quamvis Dominus ipsos cæteris prætulisset, non idcirco de primo honoris gradu inter se contendisse, sed Jacobum cognomine justum Hierosolymorum episcopum eligisse."—*Euseb. Hist. eccl.* lib. ii. c. 1. p. 38. (He is referring

to a passage in the Institutes of Clement.)

² "Pro omni episcopatu, qui est sub cælo rectè tractantium verbum veritatis orate. Et pro episcopo nostro Jacobo, et parœciis ipsius orate. Pro episcopo nostro Clemente, &c."—*Constit. apost.* lib. viii. c. 13. fol. 119.

and Samaria, and were edified; and Peter passing through those regions healed Æneas at Lydda, and Dorcas at Joppa, where he remained a long time. Then followed the baptism of Cornelius at Cæsarea, with the important consequences which resulted in the full acknowledgment of gentile claims.

In the meanwhile the foundations of the church at Antioch were laid by men of Cyprus and Cyrene, of whom we are told, that "the hand of the Lord was with them; and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord." When the tidings reached Jerusalem, Barnabas was sent by the apostles to Antioch, where, with Paul, he laboured for a year; and by their joint ministry the disciples in this place, who were first called Christians, were brought into the order and discipline of a constituted church. And yet Baronius would have us believe that, some years before this time, Peter had by decree erected Antioch into a patriarchate, and had chosen it for his own see; although, when the first converts were made at this place, Peter had not yet learned the divine purpose towards the gentiles, and patriarchs were not known in the church for some centuries later.¹

About the time that Paul and Barnabas brought contributions from Antioch to Judæa, for the relief of the brethren in the time of the famine, Peter was cast into prison by Herod, that is, at the very period at which he is alleged to have been occupying the see of Rome. After his liberation, for the first time he quitted Palestine: "He departed, and went into another place." It is probable that he now visited Antioch, and that Paul, at this time, having traversed a wide tract of country, and having established many churches, found him in that city on his return. The council at Jerusalem seems not to have been held until after Paul had rebuked Peter for dissimulation; for otherwise the decree would in all probability have been

¹ Maimbourg and some others make the same assertion. See Prerogatives of the church of Rome, ch. 2.

cited as possessing a binding authority on the very subject which was in question.

It is impossible to reconcile the scripture statement with the alleged seven years' occupation of the bishopric of Antioch, and the twenty-five years at Rome, whatever computation of time we follow.¹ At the conversion of Paul, which we may assume to have occurred two years after the death of Christ, and by some it is placed much later, Peter was at Jerusalem. He was found there after Paul's three years spent in Arabia; and again, when fourteen years afterwards that apostle went to Jerusalem. And if this were only his second visit, which is doubtful, the council at Jerusalem was held at a yet later period; and Peter was still in Palestine. After this time, Luke affords no farther notice of his history; but from his own epistle to the scattered strangers, we learn that he took them for his especial charge; and we may well believe that the remainder of his life was occupied among those who were dispersed throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia.

Period of Peter's alleged bishopric at Antioch and Rome.

1 Peter, i. 2.

Through the whole scripture record of Peter's history, we find nothing which, even remotely, favours the Roman claims. His universal jurisdiction, his long connection with the church of Rome, his appointment of a successor, the time and place of his martyrdom, are passed over in profound silence; and yet the doctrine of a supreme spiritual monarchy, which is inseparably connected with these alleged facts, is said to concern the very foundation and existence of the church. To answer, with Maimbourg, that other things are omitted from the history of the Acts, is beside the question, unless it can be proved that the same importance belongs to such events as Paul's journey into Arabia, or his return to Damascus,

No countenance for Roman claim from Peter's history.

¹ Chronologists vary considerably about the dates of the leading events narrated in the Acts; whether, for instance, Paul's conversion occurred in the second year after the death of

Christ, or much later. So his visit to Rome is placed by some in A. D. 59, by others in 62; and his martyrdom, which Pagi and Cave suppose to have taken place in 65, Pearson assigns to 68.

or his travels in Galatia, which are the chief instances adduced.¹

Twenty-five years alleged for St. Peter's bishopric.

The period of twenty-five years' incumbency of the see of Rome, which is maintained by Baronius² and Bellarmine, besides a host of other theologians and commentators, is utterly rejected by Baluze, and most learned men since his time. It seems to have had its origin in Jerome's version of the chronicle of Eusebius. Clement knew nothing of it, nor Justin Martyr, nor Irenæus. It was affirmed, during the last century, by cardinal Orsi; and it is re-asserted, together with the seven years at Antioch, by Mr. Alban Butler, in his *Lives of the saints*³, which received the unqualified sanction of all the Roman catholic bishops in Ireland, and may therefore be assumed to express the present judgment of those persons. It is indeed the calamity of the Roman church, that the fear of compromising its claim to infallibility prevents it from abandoning a position once assumed, even when it has been proved, on the plainest grounds of reason and learning, to be untenable. That Peter was often present in Judæa during this period of his supposed bishopric is undeniable; and in order to reconcile the conflicting statements, those who still adhere to the fable of his long occupancy of that see, are obliged also to invent frequent journeys to the east.⁴ On the other hand, the biographer of the popes,

No agreement among Roman writers.

¹ Spanheim says truly: "Absurdum, narrare Lucam quandoque minima, et præterire maxima, qualia sunt quæ Romæ prætenduntur."—*Introd. ad Hist. N. T. sæc. i. s. 5. p. 154.*

² The annalist who narrates the martyrdom of Peter's wife ("ipsa quidem digna tanto viro uxor adepta est palmam martyrii."—*Ann. lxix. p. 636.*), and tells us about his daughter Petronilla, deserves but little trust when he professes to give the facts of early church history.

³ June 29. vol. i. p. 860. He quotes "Eusebius, Jerome, and the Old Roman Calendar," which are but one and the same. The chronicle of Eusebius exists only in the loose version of Je-

rome, from which the dates in the Roman calendar are borrowed. Cave says of this chronicle: "Latinitate donatum est ab Hieronymo, qui suam tamen versionem additamentis maximè in Romanâ historiâ hinc inde interpolavit."—*Hist. Lit. sæc. iv. p. 113.* The Greek original is entirely wanting, except so far as fragments have been collected by Joseph Scaliger; and Jerome's version, even by his own account, is full of inaccuracies and interpolations. For an account of the Roman calendar published by Boucher, see Pearson, *Op. post. diss. i. c. 13. p. 132.*; also Dodwell, *Diss. sing. c. vii. p. 92.*

⁴ "Illum sæpius adducunt Romam, sæpius Româ abducunt et denuò redu-

confessing it to be proved by scripture that Peter did not quit Judæa till the second year of Claudius, and finding no other way of maintaining the Roman statement about the seven years bishopric in the east, endeavours to prove that he took possession of the see of Rome at the alleged date; and that, when he was driven out by the decree of the emperor, he took occasion to found the see of Antioch.¹ Baronius blames this opinion; and Noel Alexander says that it is refuted by the authority of nearly all the fathers. So, again, Romanists dwell much on the glorious victory which Peter obtained over Simon Magus, a story which was probably taken at first from Suetonius. Bellarmine refers to the history of this event as a proof that the apostle must have been at Rome; and yet, whether it took place at the beginning of the reign of Claudius, or at the end of the reign of Nero, that is, just before the apostle's martyrdom, there is the utmost difference of opinion.² But the confusions and contradictions among Roman writers on the subject of Peter's residence and bishopric are endless.

Onuphrius
in Plat. vit.
R. Pont.,
p. 10.

Ann. 39.

Sæc. i. d.iss.
14. p. 153.

The connection which St. Paul maintained from the first with the Roman church was, on the other hand, undeniable, and far closer than that of any other person. In strictness of terms he was not their bishop, because the apostleship, which involved the highest and most extensive jurisdiction, was inconsistent with any local or limited office, and to have held the one would have been a derogation from the other; yet it is clear that his charge over this community was of such a character as to exclude the

St. Paul's
connection
with the
Roman
church.

cunt; neque inter eos satis constat quot annis Romæ sederit episcopus quot annis Antiochiæ, &c."—*De Dominis*, iv. l. 16. p. 535.

¹ Cornelius à Lapide makes the third year of Claudius the first year of Peter's pontificate, and the date of his letter to the dispersed strangers. *Chronotaxis Act. Ap.* p. 3.

H. de Valois in his notes on Eusebius, maintains, against Baronius and others, that Peter could not have gone

to Rome before the fourth year of Claudius. *Valesii Annot. in lib. ii. c. 16.* p. 34.

² The majority of writers place this supposed conflict in the reign of Claudius; but Petau, with some others, assigns it to the reign of Nero, and says that it was the occasion of the apostle's martyrdom: "Ob id Neronis jussu tam ille quam Paulus capitis damnati sunt."—*Petavii Rationarium temp.* i. 5. 3. p. 181.

notion of any authority over them superior to his own. When he was at Ephesus he planned to go to Jerusalem, and he added, "After I have been there, I must also see Rome." At Jerusalem, his intention was confirmed by a divine revelation: "The night following the Lord stood by him and said, Be of good cheer, Paul: for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome." In his letter to the Roman church, written, according to bishop Pearson, in the year 57, he expressed his frequently formed purpose of visiting them, which had been prevented hitherto; and, at the same time, his continued readiness to minister personally among them: "So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also." His appointment to this duty was in perfect harmony with the design of God, that he should be the apostle of the gentiles, which he expressly states as a revelation both in his defence at Jerusalem and at Cæsarea, as well as before the church of Galatia, when his co-ordinate mission was acknowledged by James, Peter, and John: "They gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision." He uses the designation of Christ's minister to the gentiles, as if it were conceded to him by the voice of the church. And, on the other hand, there is a correspondent limitation of Peter's charge, which is entirely inconsistent with the notion of his supreme administration: he is distinctly called the minister of the circumcision, as Paul of the uncircumcision; that is, they each received in their separate provinces, from the one Head of the church, an equal charge in his spiritual kingdom.

There was at this time a flourishing church at Rome, which had its beginning, probably, from the converts who returned to their own country after the day of Pentecost, or from those who were dispersed into all parts of the world, preaching the word, during the persecution which arose on the death of Stephen. That Peter was in any way instru-

Acts, xix.
21.

Acts, xxiii.
11.

Rom. i. 15.

Acts, ix.
15.; xxii.
21.; xxvi.
17.

Gal. ii. 9.

Rom. i. 8.;
xvi. 19.

Acts, ii. 10.;
viii. 4.

mental in the work, or that he was bishop of that see, scripture does not afford the faintest intimation. Bellarmine, referring to the fact that there were so many Christians at Rome, assumes that no one could have converted them to the faith but Peter, and he ranges this as one of his chief heads of proof.¹ Noel Alexander, again, asks who could have instructed so great a multitude in the principles of the Christian religion, except Peter, the prince of the apostles.² A feebler form of argument it would be impossible to imagine; and it will seem the more remarkable, if we remember for what an important purpose it is used, and how indispensable to the whole scheme of the Roman supremacy. It is nothing else but to make the absence of information on a particular subject the plea for enforcing a groundless hypothesis. Conclusion there is, of course, none to refute; but, on the other hand, there cannot fail to be created a strong prejudice against a case, among the evidences for which this has a prominent position. And there are some things quite irreconcilable with the supposition, for it is no more, such as the inquiry made of Paul at Rome: "We desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest: for, as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against." And thus, when they came to his lodging, he gave them the instruction which would be very needful for the members of a church gathered as this had been, but altogether superfluous if Peter had been for so long a time their bishop. In the same way, St. Paul's own words, addressed to the members of this community, tend to a similar conclusion: "Yea, so have I strived to preach the gospel, not where

The Roman church independent of Peter.

Acts, xxxviii. 22.

Acts, xxxviii. 23.

Rom. xv. 20.

¹ "Peto igitur quis hos Christianos fecerit, si Petrus non fuit Romæ."—*De Rom. Pont.* lib. ii. c. 2. p. 157. He uses a similar argument to prove that the remains of the apostles are at Rome: "Si fortè respondeant, apostolorum corpora Romæ non esse, ubinam, quæso, sunt? certè nusquam alibi esse dicuntur." lib. ii. c. 3. p. 157. And, again, to prove that Peter must have occupied

the see of Rome: "Si non fuit Petrus episcopus Romæ usque ad mortem, exponant adversarii, ubi Petrus sederit, ab eo tempore quo reliquit Antiochiam." lib. ii. c. 4. p. 158.

² "Quis porro tantam multitudinem Christianæ religionis præceptis imbuat, nisi Petrus apostolorum princeps?"—*Nat. Alex. Hist. Eccles. sæc. i. diss. 13.* p. 146.

St. Peter not
present at
Rome.

2 Tim. iv. 6.

Phil. ii. 21.

2 Tim. iv.
11. 16.

Answers of
Baronius
and others.

Christ was named, lest I should build on another man's foundation." They imply, according to their obvious meaning, that no apostle had been before him. It was a church yet imperfect both in doctrine, and in ecclesiastical discipline. For two years Paul preached the gospel among them, exercising an independent ministry. From Rome he wrote to the Galatians and Ephesians, to the Philippians and Colossians, to Timothy and Philemon. He sent salutations, to some, from all that were with him; to others, from the saints which were in Cæsar's household. In one of these letters, written, as it is believed, during his second imprisonment, and only a little while before his death, it is remarkable that he mentions various persons, but not the great apostle who, as they would have us believe, was, at this very time, his fellow captive. Even Linus, said to have been bishop of Rome, was mentioned; but not a word is to be found which would imply the presence of Peter, or any recognition of his authority. On the contrary, Paul complains that, "All seek their own, and not the things which are Jesus Christ's;" that, "Only Luke is with me;" that, "At my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me;" which could not have been said if Peter had been present, and had afforded countenance and help; or, being absent, had bespoken the good offices of the church on his behalf. Baronius suggests that the name of Peter was omitted because, having been driven from Rome by the decree of Claudius, he was now occupied in preaching the gospel among distant nations.¹ But the sentence of banishment was, at this time, revoked, and there was no excuse for prolonged absence from his alleged see. Bellarmine says that he had been in Rome, but was now gone to Syria²; while the Rhemist annotators, as

¹ "Eam potissimum hujus rei causam credi, quod Petrus edicto Claudii jam semel Româ cum Judæis pulsus, in Occidentem, ad extremas orbis oras prædicationem evangelii converterit;

ibique tunc occupatus fuerit."—*Ann.* lviii.

² "Deinde dico Paulum non jussisse Petrum salutari quia scripsit epistolam eo tempore, quo Petrus redierat ex

they seem to have felt the force of the objection more strongly, are bolder in their attempt to remove it. Referring to the absence of any salutation addressed to Peter in the Epistle to the Romans, they say, "How know they that this epistle was not sent enclosed to St. Peter, to be delivered by his means to the whole church of the Romans, in some of their assemblies? It was very likely recommended to some one principal man or other that is not here named: and twenty causes there may be, unknown to us, why he saluted him not." If it is allowable, in this way, to reason from a supposition as if it were an admitted fact, there is an end of all historical difficulties; we have only to invent a circumstance which shall account for them, and to assume this for a portion of the record until it is forgotten how much is authorised, and how much invented, which is exactly the method followed by Roman controversialists in countless instances. Casaubon has exposed many such cases in his annotations on the Annals of Baronius; but his work was left incomplete, and there is much remaining for an ecclesiastical Niebuhr to accomplish.

On Rom.
xvi. 16.

There is, however, one alleged proof from scripture in behalf of Peter's bishopric; but it is such as would certainly never have been adduced, unless through the want of any really applicable passage. The apostle dates his first epistle from Babylon, and it is said that by this name Rome is really meant, at which place he was residing and exercising the episcopal office. "These men," writes bishop Andrewes, "so eagerly desire to find Peter's residence at Rome somewhere in the scriptures, that they would rather give the name of Rome to Babylon, where he was, than that he should not have been at Rome."¹ Baronius adopts this view; and Bellarmine

Babylon
taken to
mean Rome.

Româ, et versabatur in Syriâ."—*De Rom. Pont.* lib. ii. c. 7. p. 162.

¹ "Ita avide avent homines hi Petrum Romæ alicubi in Scripturis reperire, potius ut Babylonem velint esse Romam, ubi Petrus fuit; quàm ut Pe-

trus Romæ non fuerit."—*Tortura Torti*, s. clxxxiii. p. 217. And, again, "Sit Roma Babylon, potius quàm locus in Scripturis nullus sit, qui dicat Romæ fuisse Petrum," &c.—*Ibid.* s. cexxxvii. p. 283.

De R. Pont.
lib. ii. c. 2.
p. 156.

places at the head of his proofs for Peter's residence in Rome, a passage in which he alleges the authority of Papias for understanding this city under the designation of Babylon. Eusebius tells us that Papias was a man of mean ability, and he was infected besides with heretical opinions, so that his influence, in deciding any question, ought not to be great; but Bellarmine is mistaken in ascribing the statement to him at all. The words alleged are not his, but those of Eusebius; who merely relates a rumour current in his time, that is, in the fourth century, without giving any authority for it.¹

Rejected
by some
Romish
writers.

The most learned Romanists have concluded that the passage means exactly what it expresses, and that the subscription of the letter shows that the apostle was residing at the literal Babylon. Archbishop de Marca, for instance, contends that Peter, having been appointed to the special charge of the Jews, went first to Antioch, and afterwards to Babylon, from which city he wrote his first epistle.² In the same way, bishop Pearson, among ourselves, and no one showed more anxiety to establish the fact of Peter's presence in Rome, yet rejects, as utterly untrue, the interpretation which would make Rome the place signified in his epistle.³ The only argument alleged for this improbable exposition, is derived from the similar use of the name in the book of Revelation, which is nothing to the purpose; for the question is not about what we find in the body of a symbolical discourse, but how we are to interpret the superscription of a letter the contents of which are as far as possible from any figurative meaning. There is no analogy between the cases; the rules which apply to the one have nothing to do with

¹ H. de Valois, whose edition of Eusebius was published in the middle of the seventeenth century, though very zealous for Peter's bishopric at Rome, has noted the mistake of those who with Bellarmine ascribe to Papias the words of the historian himself. Annot. in lib. ii. c. 15. p. 33.

² "Ea in urbe constitutus scripsit

epistolam primam canonicam, ut patet ex subscriptione, &c."—*De Concord.* vi. l. 4. col. 830.

³ "Sed Babylone tunc fuit Petrus, quando scripsit epistolam ad dispersionem Judæorum; tota enim argumenti vis tandem ad illam literalem expositionem resolvitur."—*Op. post.* diss. i. c. 8. s. 7. p. 54.

the other. Thus St. John speaks of Sodom, meaning Jerusalem; while St. Peter, in his second epistle, by the same word, means Sodom literally understood. But if it were allowed, in this arbitrary way, to introduce a mystical meaning so little in harmony with the context, we could not limit the law of interpretation to the particular case for which we require its help. Another person might equally contend that Mark, who is mentioned at the same time, must also be an allegorical person. The foundation of the argument is unsound; so far from getting any authority in the book of Revelation for calling Rome Babylon, we find that St. John, in the midst of a volume which abounds with symbolical writing, calls the angels of the churches by their proper and literal designations.¹ Again, that Peter, in writing to the dispersed Jewish converts, should have described the place of his abode by the name of a city which was hateful to their ears; or that he should have done this for the purpose of concealing his true residence, mentioning one place when another was meant, is so improbable that it could only be believed on the clearest evidence, that is, as unlike as possible any which has been produced. Paul did not hesitate to speak of Rome and the Romans by their proper designation, and Peter would doubtless have done the same if the occasion had occurred; but his duty called him elsewhere. Rome had few Jewish inhabitants, Babylon had many.² Rome was the head of the gentiles, whose apostle Paul was appointed; while the scattered tribes were the special subjects of Peter's charge, which he would not quit to intrude on the sphere of another. He had spent his life among the Jews; and it was reluctantly

Rev. xi. 8.

2 Peter, ii. 6.

No sanction from Revelations for the Roman exposition.

Reasons why Babylon does not mean Rome.

¹ "D. Joannes, cum librum scriberet, cujus singuli versus singula mysteria sunt; ubi tamen ad ecclesias scribendum fuit septem urbium propriis nominibus singulas quasque designavit, easque voluit esse non mysticas, in libro alioquin per totum mystico."—*Tortura Torti*, s. clxxxiii. p. 217.

² Josephus affirms that there were many myriads of Jews at Babylon, and that they maintained intercourse with their countrymen in Palestine by offering sacrifices at Jerusalem, and making contributions of money.—*Antiq.* xv. 3. 1. xvii. 2. 2. xviii. 9. 1.

Acts, ix.
32.; x. 28.;
xi. 4.

Conf.
James, i. 1.
Acts, ix. 29.

that he ministered to the gentiles. He practised dissimulation at Antioch in separating from the gentiles, and consorting with the Jews. His epistles were addressed, not to the former, but to the latter. To the Jews he was the first preacher of the gospel, but not to the gentiles; Philip the deacon, and Paul on his conversion, had preceded him. At the time in question, as Du Moulin¹ reminds us, his residence at Rome would have been incompatible with the instruction of the Jews, who were at this time banished by the emperor. Whether we believe, with Pearson, that he was living in Egypt; or, with Salmasius, that he was on the banks of the Euphrates, he certainly was not at Rome when he wrote his epistle.

The use of
scripture
dis-
couraged.

It was by necessity, not by choice, that the Roman church undertook the scripture argument at all. It never promised much advantage, but it could not be altogether evaded. If there had been any confidence of gaining a favourable testimony, they would have spared no pains to get for it a free and general hearing; they would have circulated this document of proof as widely as possible, and have put it into everybody's hand. In spite of the obscurity of some passages, if the texts which are said to convey supreme authority for teaching and ruling were as plain as they are alleged to be, it would have sufficed; and the study of the bible would have been effectually promoted. The contrary policy, which has been so steadfastly followed, furnishes a strong reason for believing that the evidence was thought unfavourable.

That, as a question of fact, the use of scripture has been discouraged and impeded, as far as Roman influence extends, would seem too clear to require any further proof, if it had not been sometimes boldly denied. And yet, among the various contradictions of ancient doctrine

¹ "Aussi certes sa demeure à Rome eût été incompatible avec l'instruction des Juifs, lesquels furent déçassés de Rome, &c."—*Défense*, art. xxiii. p. 617.

and example, this is as palpable as any. The reading of the scriptures was held, in primitive times, to be the duty of all, and not the privilege of a few. The fathers, constantly and without restriction, urge it upon every class of the people, laity as well as clergy, whole families, that is, women and children as well as men. One enjoins it on those entangled in worldly business as needing more guidance; another insists that the obligation reaches to all persons, the young in their early training, the servants in their low estate, the ploughman, the shepherd, the vine-dresser in their daily occupation; and a third would have it remembered at meal times, and the hours of rest. Chrysostome tells us that translations were made into the numerous languages of converts in different countries. And, as we learn from Epiphanius, the interpreter became a standing officer of the church. By the seventy-sixth apostolical canon, it was decreed that all persons, lay as well as ecclesiastical, should have by them the venerable and holy bible. The council of Trullus, ordaining the way in which the faithful were to spend the week following Easter day, enjoined them to give their minds to the reading of the divine scriptures.¹ Schools were founded in which the study of the bible formed an indispensable part of the training. Thus, the second council of Chalons, A. D. 813, decreed that, according to the command of the emperor Charles, bishops should establish schools for teaching both grammar and the knowledge of the scriptures.² We find Jerome charging one, over the formation of whose religious character he was watching, to read the sacred scriptures, and never to let them be out of his hand³; and Gregory

Primitive examples.

Can. lxvi.

¹ See Van Espen, *Scholia in Can. Trull. 66. op. iii. p. 395.* He draws this clear inference: "Ex hâc dies festos transigendi ratione, habemus, quòd patres hujus synodi nullatenus crediderint lectionem et meditationem divinarum scripturarum fore periculosam, eoque prætextu laicis idiotis earum lectionem inhibendam, &c."—*Van Espen, Scholia in can. Trull. 66. op. iii. p. 396.*

² "Oportet etiam ut, sicut Dominus Imperator Carolus præcepit, episcopi scholas constituent, in quibus et literaria solertia disciplinæ, et S. Scripturæ documenta discantur."—*Concil. Cabillon. ii. can. 3.*

³ "Sacras scripturas lege: imò de manibus tuis nunquam sacra lectio deponatur."—*Vid. Van Espen, De instit. can. c. i. s. 3. op. ii. p. 594.*

Scripture
honoured
by the
ancient
church.

Antiquities,
b. xiii.
ch. 4. s. 8.
p. 582.

Ibid. p. 584.

the great blamed a certain layman because he was so much occupied with secular business, that he neglected the daily reading of the scriptures, and he urged him by the consideration of his eternal interest not to neglect this duty.¹ In the same way, Athanasius, Augustine, and the other fathers of the early church, exhort their hearers to give themselves to it continually.² In the words of Bingham, “None ever denied them this privilege but those persecuting tyrants who intended to destroy the name and faith of Christians, together with their bibles, out of the world: for which reason they made the strictest search after them, and used all imaginable art and force to make them deliver them up to be burnt.” The same learned writer, having cited a passage from one of the homilies of Chrysostome on Lazarus, gives this as the summary: “One would think St. Chrysostome had foreseen all the little pleas and sophistry of the Romish church, and was here disputing and inveighing against them, so apposite is every word to refute their trifling pretences,—that ignorance is the mother of devotion; that the scriptures are obscure; that there is need of an infallible guide on earth, beside the Spirit, to understand them; that the promiscuous use of them is the cause of all errors and heresies; that laymen and secular men are not fit to be intrusted with them. Each of which positions is as plainly combated by St. Chrysostome as if he had been directly disputing against the insufferable tyranny and frivolous pleas of the present church of Rome. And his whole discourse, with some hundreds of the like passages that might be alleged out of him, and other writers, do irrefragably show that it was as much the care and concern of the primitive church to have the service of God and the scriptures to be understood by all, as now it is the concern of the Roman church to have them concealed

¹ “Van Espen, *ibid.* p. 595.

² “Has aliasque sacrorum codicum prerogativas præ oculis habentes S. Patres, summo studio et unanimi con-

sensu auditores suas ad lectionem illorum codicum adhortati sunt, &c.”—*Van Espen, ibid.*

from their knowledge, and locked up in a language which the unlearned do not understand.”

Cardinal de Cusa, among others, bears witness to the methods of procedure in ancient councils. Having described the forms adopted in handling questions of faith, he adds, that the synod framed its decree according to the testimony of scripture.¹ Theodoret reports the words of Constantine addressed to the council of Nice, in which he proposes, as their rule of conduct, that they should lay aside contention, and seek the resolution of controverted questions from the divinely inspired scriptures.²

Scripture
supreme in
early
councils.

A change came by degrees, keeping pace with the departure from primitive doctrine and discipline; and the use of the bible was first discouraged and then prohibited. What was a solemn duty in the fourth century became a crime in the fourteenth; and what Gregory had earnestly enjoined, his successors forbade under a heavy penalty. We find Bellarmine describing, as one of the points in which the heretics of his time differed from the catholics, the general use of the scriptures in the language of the people³; yet this, as we have seen, is exactly what the fathers so earnestly inculcated.

Change
through
progress
of error.

It was the ancient custom, that nothing should be read in churches except the canonical scriptures⁴; but in the middle ages they were set aside for the idle and extravagant stories with which the lives of the saints abound. And this profane substitution became one of the grievances about which men of thoughtful and religious minds were most earnest in their complaints. Thus, in the articles of proposed reformation drawn up by command of the emperor Ferdinand, in 1562, the eleventh requires that the

Legends
substituted
for the
bible.

¹ “Secundum testimonia scripturarum decrevit synodus.”—*Cusani de concord. cath.* lib. ii. c. 6. p. 717.

² “Quamobrem hostili contentione depositâ, ex scripturis divinitus inspiratis solutionem eorum quæ in controversiam veniunt requiramus.”—*Theod. Hist.* lib. i. c. 7. p. 25.

³ “Hæretici hujus temporis omnes in eo conveniunt, ut oporteat scripturas omnibus permittere, immò et tradere in suâ linguâ, &c.”—*De Verbo Dei*, lib. ii. c. 15. p. 31.

⁴ See Canon lix. of the council of Laodicea; also Jewel's Defence of the Apology, part 5. p. 519.

word of God should be publicly read instead of the legends which had usurped its place.¹ And again, in the summary of the petitions presented to the legates, the twelfth demands that the breviary and missal should be purified, and all portions omitted which were not taken from the bible.² And yet we find the complaint urged long afterwards, by one of the best and most learned of Romanist writers, that the fabulous tales of Metaphrastes, and such authors, were permitted still to retain their place in the breviary, though their falsehood had been made clearer than the light.³ Even in the universities, for some centuries before the reformation, the school philosophy had taken precedence of heavenlier studies. As Ranke tells us, the reader in the works of Peter Lombard had a higher place in the theological faculty than the lecturer on the sacred volume. There were eager and acute partisans of the rival systems of nominalism and realism; but students of the bible were few indeed.

Scripture reading was for ages discouraged, and sometimes absolutely interdicted. At the council of Tholouse, for instance, in 1229, the laity were forbidden to have in their possession any copy of the books of the old or new testament, or even the breviary, or the hours of the blessed Virgin, if translated into the vulgar tongue.⁴ This was the first synodical prohibition; there was no instance of a similar law since the days of the emperors who showed the same hostility to the books of the christians.

Scripture
prohibited
by the
council of
Tholouse.

¹ Vid. Le Plat, Monumenta concil. Trident. t. v. p. 243.

² "Breviaria et missales purgandos, reseccandaque omnia quæ non ex divinis sunt literis desumpta."—*Le Plat*, *ibid.* 265.

³ "Hoc dolendum quòd ex hoc auctore, aliisque ejusdem farinae scriptoribus plurima fabulosa in divina nostra officia irreperint: et adhuc hodie immixta remaneant, præsertim in Breviario Romano, &c."—*Van Espen*, *Scholia in Can. Trull.* 63. Opera, iii. p. 395.

⁴ "Prohibemus etiam ne libros Veteris Testamenti aut Novi laici permittantur habere, nisi fortè psalterium, vel breviarium pro divinis officiis, aut horas B. Mariæ aliquis ex devotione habere velit: sed ne præmissos libros habeant in vulgari translatos arctissimè inhihemus."—*Concil. Tolosanum*, can. xiv. A. D. 1229.

There is hardly anything to be compared with the cruelty and insolence of this council. Vid. Cabassutii Notitia cælesiastica, p. 448.

This decree is the more observable, because it was made in the midst of the persecution of the Albigenses, who denied the authority of the bishops of Rome. Nothing in the world could be more natural than that the age which had Innocent III. for its spiritual ruler, and Dominic for its foremost saint, should be opposed to the circulation of the bible. Simon de Montfort, who was very distinguished among the lay servants of the Roman church, and who seems, indeed, to have narrowly escaped canonisation¹, was one of the last persons whose character would bear to be judged by the standard which that book contains. The war in Languedoc had raged not long before. It was but a few years since Carcassone and Bezières were taken, and the inhabitants, young and old, women and children slaughtered with circumstances of unexampled cruelty.² A blacker page in human history it would be hard to find, and it was fresh in the minds of that generation. The saint and the great captain had been united in the work. They presided together over the massacres and burnings of that dismal time; while bishops and other ecclesiastics filled the camp, and mingled everywhere among the soldiers. In the words of Mr. Hallam, "A prodigious number of knights undertook this enterprise, led partly by ecclesiastics, and partly by some of the first barons in France. It was prosecuted with every atrocious barbarity which superstition, the mother of crimes, could inspire. Languedoc, a country for that age flourishing and civilised, was laid waste by these desolators; her cities burned; her inhabitants swept away by fire and the

Middle Ages, ch. i. part i. p. 37.

¹ The historian of the Albigensian war calls him, "Fortissimus miles Domini, imò gloriosissimus martyr Christi." And Innocent III. speaks of him as, "Verum et strenuum militem Christi, et invictum Catholicæ fidei propugnatores."—*Nat. Alex. Hist. sæc. xiii. c. 3. art. 1. s. 4. p. 71.*

² "Urbs capta, cædes promiscua facta, ipso die S. Mariæ Magd. sacra, in quam Albigenses blasphemias evome-

bant." Again: "Centum quadraginta hæretici et amplius, vivi comburi quàm hæresim ejurare maluerunt." Again: "Præfectus castri Aimericus, patibulo suspensus; octoginta milites gladio cæsi; Girarda castri domina in patentem puteum coniecta, et saxis obruta, hæretici in impietate pertinaces ingenti numero combusti."—*Nat. Alex. Hist. sæc. xiii. c. 3. art. 1. s. 4. p. 70.* See also Usserii de successione eccles. c. x.

sword." It was a strange fashion of promulgating the faith of the gracious and loving Saviour. Who can wonder that those who adopted it should have desired to suppress all reference to his words? The people, if they had been permitted to read the gospel, would never have believed that when he commanded Peter to feed his sheep, he was really authorising the successor of Peter to carry on the war of extermination which turned their smiling country into a sorrowful wilderness. And yet there is no other text in which any one even alleges the power to have been conveyed. If these terrible visitations could be defended at all on scripture grounds, it was only as a branch of the pastoral charge; and whether this interpretation would be admitted by the sufferers was, of course, extremely doubtful.

Impossibility of defence on scripture grounds.

By the middle of the sixteenth century things were essentially changed. Scholars had been busy in translating; and the printing-press had been at work, sending out copies of the precious word so abundantly that all persons, from princes and noblemen to artisans and day-labourers, might read, in their own tongue, the wonderful works of God. It was by scripture that Luther had struggled and conquered. Caietan, and Miltitz, and Eck had in vain tried their hands in the great controversy; the bible was too strong for the schools of philosophy. The sound of this appeal had rung through Europe, and everybody had heard it. Obedience to scripture was henceforth the known principle and the glory of the reformation. There was, indeed, a shout of gladness from its enemies when the news came that Luther was dead, because they did not yet understand that he left a work which will never die. The results on which that noble heart, and that capacious intellect, had been so earnestly intent were established for all time, since they rested on the foundation of divine truth. The adherents of the Roman church could not force the world to go back. They could not undo the work which the great minds of

Circulation of the scriptures.

the age had accomplished; and, therefore, they were compelled, in some measure, to accommodate themselves to what fell in so little with their inclination or their hopes. They cited the authority of scripture, indeed, because the state of the controversy made it indispensable; but their strength lay elsewhere, as they well knew. Nothing contrasts more strongly with the language of primitive days than the terms which writers of this period apply to the word of God. Irenæus calls it the immovable canon of the truth; Basil, the rule which cannot deceive; Chrysostome, the medicine of the soul; Athanasius, the anchor and support of our belief; Augustine, the rule of faith; and any one who is even moderately acquainted with the fathers could multiply such testimonies without end. When ten centuries had passed it received very different names, such as a sibyl's prophecy, riddles of the Sphynx, a leaden rule, a gospel of ink, a stone of stumbling, &c. One great writer tells us that, without the sanction of the church, scripture could no more claim to be received than Esop's fables; and another, that it has no more power of self-evidence than the Alcoran.¹ And those who used such language were theologians of chief name and influence; and they wrote in a tone which, whether they originated or whether they inherited it, was in exact harmony with the policy of their church. It was as if they desired, at all hazards, to destroy the credit of a witness upon whose testimony they could not safely reckon.

Reference to scripture not voluntary.

Disparagement of scripture.

But the chief authority on the use of scripture is to be found in the proceedings of the council of Trent. When

Council of Trent.

¹ Such expressions abound. "Sunt scripturæ ut non minus verè quàm festivè dixit quidam, velut nasus cereus, qui se horsum illorsum, et in quamecun- que volueris partem trahi, retrahi, fingi- que facilè permittit."—*Pighius, Hierarch. Eccles.* lib. iii. c. 3.

"Proinde hoc est instar vaginæ, quæ quemlibet gladium admittit, non modo chalybeum, sed etiam plumbeum, lig-

neum, æreum: patitur enim se quavis interpretatione trahi."—*Coster, Enchiridion*, c. i. p. 44.

"Sicut per membra sua Christus, ita per membra sua loquitur et diabolus, et sunt utrisque scripturæ communes, quæ non in legendo, sed in intelligendo consistunt."—*Hosius, Confutatio Brentii*, lib. iii. fol. 178.

Index of
prohibited
books.

it met in 1562, the first business taken in hand was to prepare an index of prohibited books. The first of the kind now proposed had been published by order of Philip II. of Spain ; and Paul IV., following his example, caused a similar catalogue to be furnished by the inquisition at Rome. The office was then intrusted to certain fathers specially chosen ; and in the closing session, though the work was completed, there was no opportunity for examination, and it was committed to the judgment of the pope. By his authority it was published after the close of the council, and certain rules prefixed, which were drawn up by synodical authority, and confirmed by the pope.¹ Of these, the three first relate to condemned and heretical writings ; the fourth refers to scripture. It states, as the result of experience that the translation of the bible into the vulgar tongues, and the indiscriminate use of it, will produce more evil than good ; and it forbids any persons to read, and booksellers to dispose of, versions of scripture without special permission from the bishop or inquisitor, under such penalties as the bishops may appoint. Andrada, writing after the close of the council, and no one would be likely to express its sentiment more exactly, delivers his judgment strongly against permitting the people to read the entire sacred volume.² He adduces the ordinary objections, with which we have nothing now to do. But his testimony to the mind of the Roman church on this subject is valuable.

Fourth
rule of the
index.

And here, at least, we find the most perfect agreement between pope and council. What was enacted by joint legislation has been faithfully carried out by the executive. "Let the registers of bishops be searched," writes Dr. Fulke, "where it will appear that many have been accused and condemned as heretics for having, reading, or

On the
Rhemish
Testament.
Preface.

¹ Van Espen gives a full account of the formation of the index, part i. tit. xxii. c. 4.

² "Quare in summum ii profecto mihi videntur perfidiæ discrimen ple-

bem injicere qui universæ multitudini passim sacra omnia volumina legenda proponunt."—*Defensio fid. Trid.* lib. iv. fol. 242.

hearing the holy scriptures in the English tongue." Among the propositions of Quesnel, condemned in 1713, we find several which assert, in different forms, the duty and blessing of reading the scriptures. At intervals subsequently, and not least in our own days, popes have very strenuously enforced the prohibition; and with what effect an inquiry in any bookseller's shop within the papal dominions will readily prove.

LXXXIX. to
LXXXVI.
inclusive.

And yet, in spite of the apparent success which has attended a certain line of policy, the unfailing Nemesis is close at hand. The danger of controversy on scripture ground seems, as far as Romanists themselves are concerned, to be avoided; but thoughtful men, even of that communion, will doubtless sometimes reflect that their church would have dealt with the bible in a very different way, if they had believed its decision to be favourable on such a question as that of the supremacy. Had they been as certain at Trent that it would have pronounced against the protestants, as the early christians were secure of its testimony against the arians at Nice, they would have enthroned it in the same visible dignity, and have shaped their conclusions in the same obedience to its voice. Authority cannot always hold the mastery over reason. Romanists, however submissive, cannot fail to perceive sometimes, and in some measure, that the zeal which has been employed in suppressing the scriptures is a practical confession of alarm at the results of an appeal.

Results of
the Roman
policy.

CHAP. II.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

Extent of
papal
claims.

Barrow on
Sup.
Introd.
s. 14. p. 30.

THERE is as little sanction to be found for the papal system in the records of primitive ages, as in scripture itself. In order to understand the completeness of the contradiction between the claims of the Romanist for his church, and the witness of antiquity, we have only to place them side by side. It is demanded of us to believe that the pope is supreme in authority over all christians, that he has the power to convene general councils, to preside in them, and to confirm or annul their decrees, that he has the right of deciding all controversies, defining all points of doctrine, and of making and relaxing ecclesiastical laws, that he is judge of all spiritual causes and persons in the last appeal, that he is the fountain of all episcopal dignity and jurisdiction, besides whatever else may be included in the royalties of St. Peter, which every bishop is pledged by his oath at consecration to defend. Turrecremata says, that the power of the keys committed to him reaches all places, persons, and cases, and that in the authority of his jurisdiction he is superior to all the remainder of the church¹; Becan that he has the same power of making ecclesiastical laws, to bind the whole church, as a secular prince for a kingdom or empire²; De Castro that the denial of the papal supremacy has been the great source of heresies³; Duval that the power of bishops and patriarchs

¹ "Extenditur potestas clavium in eo ad omnia loca, ad omnes personas, ad omnes casus."—*Summa de Eccles.* lib. ii. c. 52. And again, "R. pontifex superior ac major jurisdictionis auctoritate tota ipsa residua ecclesia." c. 80.

² "Quia pontifex habet curam et gubernationem totius ecclesie, sicut rex totius regni, aut imperator totius imperii, quisque in suo genere."—*Manuale Controv.* lib. i. c. 4. s. 70.

³ "Nulla est alia via apertior ad hæreses introducendas quam si pri-

in the church is derived from the supreme monarch, the vicar of Christ, just as the great offices in France are held of the king¹; while Bellarmine, who, as Du Moulin expresses it, wrote at the pope's feet, tells us that no man can have Christ for his master, who is not a subject of the pope.² A multitude of such assertions have been made, and some more extravagant still. The modern Romanists, of whom M. de Maistre may be taken as the representative, affirm that the sovereign pontiff is the necessary, single, and exclusive, foundation of christianity, that the promises belong to him, and that with him would disappear unity, that is to say, the church.³ Among ourselves the zeal of new converts has presented the notion of a spiritual monarchy in its most absolute and unmitigated form, culminating in the extravagance of Dr. Newman, who affirms "that in questions of right and wrong there is nothing really strong in the whole world, nothing decisive and operative but the voice of him to whom have been committed the keys of the kingdom and the oversight of Christ's flock." But unreasonable as this theory may be, it is bound upon the Roman controversialist by the necessity of his case. It may ruin him, but he cannot get rid of it. He has undertaken to furnish a doctrine on the subject of ecclesiastical government, wide enough to cover the present assumptions of the Roman church; and at the same time to convict our own, and other churches of rebellion, as well as to prove against us that we are beyond the pale of salvation. It is not too much to say that such momentous

Extrava-
gant asser-
tions.

Discourses
on Univ.
Ed. Introd.
p. 22.

Present
theory in-
dispensable.

matum Petri ab ecclesiâ subtraxeris.—
Adv. Hæreses, lib. xii. fol. 173.

¹ "Sicut in regno Galliæ quilibet optimates suam a rege et non ab alio potestatem accipiunt, hoc enim ad essentialem monarchiæ rationem requiritur, sic in ecclesia episcoporum et patriarcharum potestas a supremo monarcha Christi vicario dependet."—*De sup. R. P. potestate*, pars i. quæst. ii. p. 91.

² "Respondeo neminem posse, eti-

amsi velit, subesse Christo, et communicare cum ecclesia cælesti qui non subest pontifici, et non communicat cum ecclesia militante."—*De eccles. milit.* lib. iii. c. 5. p. 272.

³ "Le souverain pontife est la base nécessaire, unique et exclusive du christianisme. À lui appartiennent les promesses: avec lui disparaît l'unité, c'est-à-dire l'Eglise."—*Du pape*, liv. iv. c. 5. p. 487.

Roman
writers
against the
ultramontanes.

Important
issues in-
volved.

assertions ought to have the clear witness of scripture, as well as of primitive records. That they do not possess the former we have seen; we shall find that they have just as little claim to the latter; and it will come out incidentally, as we follow the enquiry, that we have on our side, as far as this question of monarchy in the church is concerned, the greatest bishops of France, like Bossuet and De Marca, the most eminent canonists, like Van Espen, with the doctors of the Sorbonne in its period of greatest reputation. It is the calamity of the ultramontane party that they have to make good their ground against all moderate writers of their own communion, as well as against ourselves, who of course go a great deal beyond them. The importance of the issue to which the question has been brought cannot be overrated. The authority of the bishop of Rome is either a divine ordinance, to which all christian people are bound to submit if they would not incur the guilt of rebellion; or it is a shameless usurpation and an intolerable tyranny, which it is our duty to resist. There is no neutral ground left for us to occupy. It is not a mere proposition on which we may safely decline to pronounce any judgment, nor an inferior question on which people may be allowed to entertain different opinions. If the claim could be proved, nothing would remain for us but submission under heavy penalties for disobedience. On the supposition that there is an earthly head to whom the decision of all matters of doctrine has been divinely committed, with plenary power to end controversies, we have no right to oppose any teaching which he has authorised. When the supreme doctor and ruler of the church has spoken, all debate is at an end. No appeal can lie from his decision; the scripture itself can only be received in the sense which he puts upon it. The Romanist of the present day is so far right in declining to argue the truth or falsehood of particular doctrines; because, if we admit the supremacy in the wide extent of its modern claims, they are all included. He affirms that the pope alone has

the prerogative of judging, and that we are bound to receive every dogma which he delivers. And, indeed, if we were to grant these monstrous premises, it is not clear how we could avoid the conclusion.

But before we examine what was said and done by the fathers in relation to this subject, we have to deal with the remarkable fact of their silence on the main question at issue. The case is well stated by Dr. Barrow. "It is matter of amazement, if the pope were such as they would have him to be, that in so many bulky volumes of ancient fathers, living through many ages after Christ, in those vast treasuries of learning and knowledge, wherein all sorts of truth are displayed, all sorts of duty are pressed, this momentous point of doctrine and practice should nowhere be expressed in clear and peremptory terms; (I speak so, for that by wresting words, by impertinent application, by straining consequences, the most ridiculous positions imaginable may be deduced from their writings.) It is strange, that somehow or other, at least incidentally, in their commentaries upon the scripture, wherein many places concerning the church and its hierarchy do invite to speak of the pope; in their treatises about the priesthood, about the unity and peace of the church, about heresy and schism; in their epistles concerning ecclesiastical affairs; in their historical narrations about occurrences in the church; in their concertations with heterodox adversaries, they should not frequently touch it, they should not sometimes largely dwell upon it." Eusebius gives us somewhat minute information about the early church, but he says not a single word on the subject of their alleged ecclesiastical monarchy. It is not so much as mentioned in catechetical lectures, as those of Cyril, nor in expositions of the creed like those of Augustine, nor in any system of theology; pagan historians never allude to it, nor do christian apologists explain it. It had no place in the ancient creeds, nor in any definition of the church in primitive times.¹

Silence of
the fathers.

Suprem.
Supp. V.
p. 174.

Eusebius
and others
do not men-
tion the su-
premacy.

¹ Launoy has cited a hundred and three definitions of the church from

Occasions
frequently
arising.

Heresies.

Schisms.

The Romanist will not allege that the subject was omitted as unimportant; for he tells us that it involves all ecclesiastical government, the faith of every christian, the grace of the sacraments, nay the very existence of the church. Again, no one will maintain that it was kept in the background because the times had no need of it. Occasions were continually occurring which called for the interposition of supreme power, if any such existed. Heresies of every form arose at a very early period. Epiphanius gives an account of eighty, and some were afterwards added to the number. Irenæus, Tertullian, Vincent of Lerins, and others, prescribe methods of dealing with them. They were met by the decisions of councils, by the consent of catholic bishops, by the judgment of the faithful variously expressed, and by the influence of individuals; among them the bishop of Rome had no prominent place. What pope ever spoke with the same influence as Augustine, the greatest doctor of the fifth century, or Athanasius, the champion of the faith against the world, or Gregory Nazianzen, called the theologian? And yet, if the papal theory were true, the voice of the Roman bishop should have prevailed far more. They might have possessed great endowments and saintly character, but they would have been thrown into the background by the one teacher and ruler to whom the church had been committed. Again, contentions arose very early in the christian community, sometimes dividing the east and west, sometimes separating one portion of the Latin church from another. It was the very time for the interposition of a chief and commanding authority; but whilst the writers of those ages dwell much on the evils of schism and lay down rules for dealing with it, they say nothing of that which we are told was its very essence, nor of the compendious remedy furnished by a centre of unity.

the earliest ages to the council of the pope does not enter. — lib. viii. ep. Trent, into which the supremacy of 13. p. 762.

If there were, indeed, the dependance on Rome which is alleged, certainly the church knew nothing of it. Among the numerous signatures which are extant, there is not an instance of even one who subscribed himself bishop "by the grace of the apostolic see." Will any body venture to affirm that the language of Bernard would have been used by any of the early fathers; or that there is any trace of such subjection from Constantinople, and Alexandria, and Antioch, as Rome now claims from every bishop?

During a period of three hundred years no cases are to be found but the following for the proof of supremacy. A letter written by Clement of Rome to the church at Corinth during the vacancy of the see, containing good advice, but such as any bishop might have given; the conference between Polycarp and Anicetus about Easter, at the end of which each retained his opinion; alms sent by Soter to various churches, a charitable act, but unconnected with authority; the complaint of the people of Alexandria against their bishop, and his vindication of himself; the decision about the see-house at Antioch left to the bishops of Italy and Rome; the interruption of communion between Stephen and Cyprian, which was a mutual act; the application to Rome by Marcion of Pontus, by certain Phrygians, by Praxeas, by Fortunatus and Felix in Africa, and by Basilides in Spain, who were all heretics or schismatics and all failed in their application.¹ It requires the keen eye of a controversialist to see how any one of these instances can be of use; but these are the only materials out of which the case is to be made. They were brought together long ago by Bellarmine and the rest, and there are no others to be found. This silence of the

Alleged cases occurring in three centuries.

¹ Essay on the development of Christian doctrine. Introd. p. 23. Having cited these instances, the writer adds, "Whatever objections may be made to this or that particular fact, and I do not think that any valid ones can be raised, still, on the whole, I consider

that a cumulative argument rises from them in favour of the active and the doctrinal authority of Rome, much stronger than any argument which can be drawn from the same era for the doctrine of the Real Presence."

first ages on the subject of the supremacy can neither be denied nor explained away. Dr. Newman gives up the former, and attempts the latter with very moderate success. “The regalia Petri,” he says, “might sleep, as the power of a chancellor has slept; not as an obsolete, for it had never been operative, but as a mysterious privilege, which was not understood; as an unfulfilled prophecy.” This dead sleep of the supreme legislative and administrative power, during the very period at which the discipline of the church was being shaped into permanent form, is as improbable a theory as the stress of controversial difficulty could drive any one to adopt. That a spiritual monarchy should have subsisted for ages, with the immense prerogatives now claimed for it, and that no one should have suspected its existence, is a proposition too hard for credulity itself to admit. And that the christian world knew nothing of that remarkable form of government under which for many generations they are alleged to have lived and died, is involved in the very theory of development.

Doctrine of Development, ch. iii. s. 4. p. 166.

Attempt to account for the silence.

Ch. iii. s. 4. p. 167.

Again, the same writer adds, that “it is not a greater difficulty that St. Ignatius does not write to the Asian Greeks about popes, than that St. Paul does not write to the Corinthians about bishops.” He forgets that it is not the silence of one person, but of everybody which has to be accounted for, and that, not on a single occasion, but during a period of 300 years, on his own hypothesis. If the scripture said no more about bishops, than writers in these three centuries about popes, it is certain that the friends of episcopacy must long since have given up this branch of their argument.

Mr. Wilberforce, who acknowledges that the successors of St. Peter “do not appear to have taken that part during some centuries which we should naturally expect from the church’s leaders,” presents us with a theory different only in form. He says that “the church was as yet like a human body in its infant state; it had received an or-

Principles of Church Authority, ch. x. p. 142. Ibid. p. 144.

organisation, in which powers lay dormant, which at a later period were to waken into life.”

If we were only to assert that the primitive fathers pass the doctrine of the supremacy in silence, it would be but to state half the case. They certainly do not debate the question; they never even allude to it, for it never occurred to any one. But on the other hand they held principles which were absolutely irreconcilable with its admission, such as the independence of bishops, and the sovereign power of councils. While there is during some centuries an entire absence of any writing in which the paramount authority of Rome is asserted, and of instances in which it is embodied, we find a multitude of passages in which the irresponsible jurisdiction of each separate see is taken for granted, as a matter which none but heretics or schismatics would deny. And there are cases without end, beginning at a very early period, which would be not only unintelligible on the supposition of a visible monarchy in the church, but absolutely incredible; cases which cannot, by any force of interpretation, be made to harmonise with the Roman theory. It is not resistance which they exhibit, but complete independence, or, to speak more accurately, an unconsciousness of any counter claim.¹

Principles
irreconcilable
with the
supremacy.

There never was a period at which Rome was, either in theory or practice, the source of unity to the church catholic. The most ancient writers describe in many places the government of the church; they never mention the

¹ The state of the case is forcibly expressed by Dr. Newman in a former work. “What there is not the shadow of a reason for saying, what has not the faintest pretensions of being a catholic truth, is this, that St. Peter or his successors were and are universal bishops; that they have the whole of Christendom for their one diocese, in a way in which other apostles and bishops had and have not; that they are bishops of bishops in such sense as belongs to no other bishop; in fact, that the difference between St. Peter

and the popes after him, and other bishops, is not one of mere superiority and degree, but of kind, not of rank, but of class. This the Romanists hold; and they do not hold it by catholic tradition; by what then? by private interpretation of Scripture.”—*Lectures on the prophetic office of the church*, lect. vii. p. 217. This statement is among those which the author has since recalled, (Essay on development, p. 10.) but it is not on that account less true or unanswerable.

pope as the fountain of spiritual power under Christ. Great changes in discipline were gradually effected; episcopacy took its graduated form of archbishop, primate, patriarch; but so far was the papacy from being the agent employed, that it was itself the result of causes which were not in operation at the earliest period. It grew in times of darkness, and while men slept. The system was constructed piecemeal as occasions arose, and shrewd unscrupulous men were found to take advantage of them. There was first the usurpation *de facto*, and then the invention of a theory by which to defend it. In the words of Dr. Barrow, "Power is always on its march forward and gaineth ground, for one encroachment doth countenance the next, and is alleged for a precedent to authorise or justify it."¹ Our case, on the showing of genuine church history, is a good deal stronger than either our friends or our enemies at this time appear to suspect.

Treatise of
the Supre-
macy. Supp.
v. p. 256.

In the middle of the fifth century we find the great patriarchates established as centres of self-government, and chief tribunals from which there lay no appeal, except to the church collected in council. Each patriarch in the east had the same titles of respect and the same place in the liturgy, as the bishop of Rome enjoyed in the west. It is well known that Justinian, in honour of the city in which he was born, advanced it to this rank, assigning to it privileges which are inconsistent with the notion of superior power lodged elsewhere; and he afterwards appointed the same rank to the see of Carthage. In neither case is there any reference to the jurisdiction of the pope, nor any reservation of his rights. The church of Rome signified at first only the church in that city, and in places in which its bishop had metropolitan or patriarchal authority. He was not permitted to discharge the functions of ordinary

¹ This is no more than such Roman writers as card. de Cusa admit: "Hinc videmus quantum Romanus pontifex ultra sacras antiquas observationes,

ex usu et consuetudine subjectionalis obedientiæ hodie acquisivit."—*De concord. cath.* lib. ii. c. 12. p. 725.

in the diocese of any other bishop. There is no subject on which controversialists need to be more wary than the use which is made of ancient church writers. A principle seems often to be established, but it is on the statement of half a case, which would be neutralized if the remaining half were produced. Facts, which are true as far as they go, are adduced in such a way that they are made to represent the very contrary of what really occurred. It is an offence against honesty of which the present champions of Rome are very far from guiltless. The best answer which can be given is to supply what has been suppressed. Faustinus of Lyons applied to Stephen against Marcion; he applied also to Cyprian. Chrysostome had recourse to Innocent; but he wrote in the very same words to the other primates of Italy. Theodosius, designing to restore the truth which was perilled in the east, made the faith of the pope the standard of orthodoxy; but he appointed the same reference to Peter of Alexandria. An alleged case is often effectually put aside by producing a parallel instance in which the proposed inference cannot be drawn. If Damasus calls the eastern bishops his sons, Athanasius gives the name to Rufinian, who was also a bishop. If popes are mentioned as interposing far beyond the limits of their apparent jurisdiction, it is no more than is said of almost every eminent bishop. At one time it is Athanasius who seems to rule the church; at another it is Basil who has all but universal authority; not indeed that there was any concession of right, but it was the admitted influence of an eminent and saintlike character.

Facts often half stated.

Inference destroyed by parallel instances.

It is sometimes said that general councils held in the east have no binding authority unless they are communicated to the bishop of Rome, and obtain his sanction. It is just as true that when held in the west they have no ecumenical claim unless they are authorized by the oriental bishops.

Then again it is indispensable to weigh carefully the meaning and force of what is said. We must not let the

Sense in which words are employed.

usages of the fourteenth or fifteenth century interpret the phrases of the third or fourth. There is a multitude of words, such as tradition, indulgence, confession, which are now applied in a sense as far as possible from the original signification, and this change, which is in a measure passing upon the language belonging to every subject, has been made to supply an availing argument with those who were too ignorant to detect the fraud. Such titles as apostolic see, chair of St. Peter, &c., monopolized now, belonged to Rome originally in common only with other bishoprics. Then again the name of catholic was so far from being yielded to those alone of the Roman communion, that the very suggestion would have been received as too absurd for serious refutation.¹ But it is an ordinary artifice to carry to the credit of a particular Italian church, what is said of the universal church of Christ. And expressions used at first loosely, are translated into the exact meaning suggested by subsequent encroachments, or shaped out in the course of controversy. "Words innocently or carelessly used," says Dr. Barrow, "are by interpretation extended to signify great matters or what you please." We must examine carefully what is really the amount of the testimony afforded, that is, whether it reaches the authority claimed; for all arguments from scripture, or councils, or acts of individuals, if they stop short of this point prove nothing to the purpose. It is time to have done with the worn out fallacy of taking instances of pre-

Precedence not supremacy.

¹ In the words of M. Dupin, "Il est vrai qu'à présent on donne le nom d'Eglise Romaine à l'Eglise catholique, et que ces deux termes passent pour synonymes. Mais dans l'antiquité on n'entendoit par le nom d'Eglise Romaine, que l'Eglise et la ville de Rome; et les papes dans les suscriptions ou souscriptions, prenoient simplement la qualité d'évêques de l'Eglise de Rome. Les Grecs schismatiques semblent être les premiers qui aient donné le nom d'Eglise Romaine à toutes les Eglises d'occident, ensuite les Latins s'en sont servis pour distinguer les Eglises qui

communiquoient avec l'Eglise de Rome, de celles des Grecs qui étoient séparées de sa communion."—*Traité de l'autorité ecclésiastique et de la puissance temporelle*, tom. ii. p. 234. Roman and catholic are now assumed to be controvertible terms. They were certainly not held to be identical in primitive times. "Ullusne unquam martyr coram aliquo tyranno, aut hæreticus quispiam ex errore viæ suæ reversus, tale aliquid in professione fidei dixit, ut, credo in Romanam vel fidem vel ecclesiam?"—*Barlaam de papæ princip.* c. xv. p. 122.

cedence in order, for evidence of supremacy in jurisdiction. Let it only be thoroughly understood that no superiority of power is implied, and that the contention is only for the first place in the college of bishops, and the question becomes so insignificant that it is not worth arguing. It has nothing to do with the controversy; and if it were granted it would not give a step in advance towards the claims upheld by ultramontane writers. Great pre-eminence was assigned to the see of Rome by general consent, and nothing is easier than to understand upon what grounds. Amidst the heresies and divisions which arose from time to time in the east, men looked to Rome as being in a measure united, and in the main free from heterodoxy. Sometimes the pope was consulted as the first of the western bishops; and distant churches were drawn into closer communication for countenance and help in time of trial. Many citations are made by cardinal du Perron and others, which testify great respect for a see so conspicuous, and so helpful to the christian cause, but which do not give the least sanction to modern claims. To say that the language of the fathers falls far short of present assertions, is a very inadequate expression; they do not even look that way.

Early influence of Rome.

Mere commendations of faith will not of course assist in proving the point at issue, though they are often alleged for this purpose. Other churches have been more highly commended and by a more unerring judgment. And papal writers persist in urging what was spoken of the Roman church at some particular period, as if it remained always applicable and true. There is no question that Rome furnished martyrs in days of persecution, and right confessions of faith in times when unsound doctrine was abroad. Jerome uses terms of strong commendation in his famous letter to Damasus, but, as Stillingfleet asks, would he have written in the same tone to Liberius?

Nothing to be inferred from mere commendation.

We have to inquire not only what is said, but by whom. Circumstances materially modify the weight of testimony.

Cases of inadmissible testimony.

Sometimes it is a suitor in a cause on trial who speaks, or an appellant who wants a decision reversed, or it may be a pope who delivers judgment on a question in which he has the chief interest at stake. This is a very ordinary case, but the testimony is inadmissible. Then again it is to be ascertained whether the words cited were really written by the person to whom they are ascribed; many passages on which the early controversialists relied would not now be used, at least not by writers of even moderate learning. And if the citations are genuine, still we must, in some cases, inquire to what period of the writer's life they belong; for instance, in the case of Tertullian, whether before he became a Montanist. They may have been subsequently retracted, as some of the opinions of Augustine, which is an important consideration.

Apostolical fathers.

Neither Barnabas, nor Clement, nor Hermas, nor Polycarp, who lived in the days of the apostles, contribute a word of proof. Justin Martyr, and Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, and Dionysius are equally silent.

Apostolical canons.

In the apostolical canons, which, according to bishop Beveridge, are the decrees of councils made in the first three centuries, there is no reference to any headship derived from St. Peter. They recognise no ecclesiastical authority higher than that of the primate of each province; they remit the judgment of controverted questions to episcopal synods, the trial of accused bishops to their colleagues, &c.; but they say nothing which can be made, even constructively, to countenance the papal claim.

Constitutions.

The apostolical constitutions bear this name because they contain the discipline of the primitive church. They were probably composed at different periods and collected in the third century.¹ In the words of Dr. Barrow, these "constitutions, which describe the state of the church, with its laws, customs, and practices current in the times of those who compiled them, (which times are not certain, but ancient, and

Treatise of the Supremacy, Supp. v. p. 161.

¹ Mansi places them between 309 and 325.

the less ancient the more it is to our purpose,) wherein especially the ranks, duties, and privileges of all ecclesiastical persons are declared or prescribed, do not yet touch the prerogatives of this universal head, or the special respects due to him, nor mention any laws or constitutions framed by him; which is no less strange, than that there should be a body of laws, or description of the state of any kingdom, wherein nothing should be said concerning the king, or the royal authority." The apostolical constitutions are ascribed to Clement of Rome; and it is therefore the more remarkable that, although the duties of a bishop are treated at some length, not a word is said about the primacy.

In the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, which, although spurious, are undoubtedly very ancient, and were probably written at the close of the fourth century, there is nothing to be found which favours the Roman claims. The subject of ecclesiastical authority is treated in various places, but there is not a word about the jurisdiction of one bishop over the rest.

Dionysius the Areopagite.

Clement of Rome addressed a letter to the church of Corinth in turbulent times. He inculcates peace in a tone very suitable to a christian pastor, but as little as possible like that which has been employed by his successors.

Clement of Rome.

Ignatius, on the other hand, wrote a letter to the Roman church, in which he speaks of his approaching martyrdom, and earnestly recommends himself to their prayers, but he does not so much as mention their bishop.

Ignatius.

Irenæus was a bishop of the Gallican church, and, as Eusebius tells us, had the oversight of all the provinces of France. He was so far from any purpose of admitting the jurisdiction of an Italian bishop, that he opposed his interference in the case of the Asiatics; and, on the occasion of writing the treatise from which a passage is cited as if it were favourable to the papal claim, there was nothing which could lead him to any such acknowledgment. It would have been altogether out of place, and beside his

Lib. v. c. 23. p. 191.

Irenæus.

Adv. hæreses, iii. c. 3.

purpose. In order to understand why he makes particular reference to Rome, we must remember that he wrote in defence of the doctrines maintained by that church, and against those by whom it was impugned. He came to the assistance of his fellow-bishop, at a time when his influence was very important. He urges against heretics, whom he had undertaken to confute, the tradition of apostolic churches; and since it would be tedious to trace the succession in each, he selects the most eminent at that time. He speaks of the church of Rome as very great, and ancient, and universally known, and he adds, "that to this church, on account of its more powerful principality, it is requisite that every church should resort, that is, the faithful on every side." The very citation of such a passage by Roman controversialists implies that authorities on behalf of their system are not to be found very abundantly among the earliest fathers. For it is to be noted that the alleged words of this great bishop and martyr do not come to us in the original Greek, but only in a translation which carries no authority, and of which we know nothing except that the author wrote barbarous Latin.¹ What the expressions may imply is very doubtful. Some able critics refer them to the civil greatness of Rome, by reason of which its bishop became the most influential of the western prelates, and the arbiter of certain controverted questions.²

Eusebius,
lib. v. c. 20.
p. 187.

Object for
which he
wrote.

The ori-
ginal not
extant.

¹ No one can tell with any certainty what were the original words rendered by *convenire* and *principalitas*, though it is probable that the one was *συνέλευσις*, and the other *ἀρχή*.—*See Autorité du pape*, liv. i. ch. v. s. 2.

² The passage is rendered thus by an acute but very unscrupulous Roman controversialist, "Il est nécessaire que toutes les églises et tous les fidèles qui sont par tout le monde s'accordent et s'unissent avec cette église, à cause de sa principale puissance."—*Remarques sur le traité de l'église de Rome*, c. viii. p. 137. Dr. Milner translates the passage thus: "to which every church is bound to conform, by reason of its superior authority."—

Letter 46. p. 333. Ballerini wanders still more wide of the truth, and gives this as the heading of a section. "Insignis locus S. Irenæi quo unitatem fidei cum Romanæ ecclesiæ, seu Romanorum pontificum fide ex primatûs jure cunctis Christianis necessariam expresse affirmat."—*De vi ac ratione primatus*, R. P. c. xiii. s. 1. p. 136. On the other side Salmasius says most truly, "Arbitrantur ea dicere, omnibus per orbem diffusis ecclesiis injungi, ut Romam veniant, ad leges accipiendas. Quod nemini in mentem venerit, ut ita accipiat, qui quidem morem illius sæculi noverit."—*De primatu pape*, c. v. p. 65. We may conclude with Abp. Laud that "very great reason

But let us assume that the phrase is to be interpreted ecclesiastically, it will be found equally useless for its intended purpose; for whether it implies resort, or agreement, it is no more than suits the case of all dependent sees, in relation to those which were afterwards called metropolitanical. We might reasonably expect that less considerable churches should resort to the great church of the west, on "all sides" (not "everywhere," which the Roman argument requires), and this is all which can be deduced from the words ascribed to Irenæus. "Principality," if that is the true rendering of the term which was used, would convey the same meaning as the phrase "principal church" employed by Cyprian¹; and it is called "more powerful," because, from its secular position, it was more considerable than the other principal sees of Italy and the west.

Convenire.

Undique,
not ubique

Principa-
lity.

Tertullian, in a work which he wrote against the heretics of his time, enjoins that reference should be made to the apostolic churches, such as Corinth, Philippi, and Ephesus; "But if thou art near to Italy," he adds, "thou hast Rome, where we also have an authority close at hand,"² thus making local situation determine the choice of a church for reference, and not the preeminence or greatness

Tertullian.

was there in Irenæus's time, that upon any difference arising in the faith, omnes undique fideles, 'all the faithful,' or if you will, all the churches, 'round about,' should have recourse, that is, resort, to Rome, being the imperial city, and so a church, 'of more powerful principality' than any other at that time in those parts of the world."—*Conf. with Fisher*, sect. xxv. p. 202. Or, with Dr. Barrow, that "what he did understand by more powerful principality the words themselves do signify, which exactly do agree to the power and grandeur of the imperial city, but do not well suit to the authority of a church; especially then when no church did appear to have either principality or puissance."—*Treatise of the supremacy*, suppos.

v. p. 231. Or with a learned Gallican writer, "S. Irenée veut dire, qu'on est obligé d'aller à Rome, à cause que cette ville est la plus considerable de l'empire."—*Aut. du pape*, liv. 1. ch. v. s. 2. This author gives very clear reasons why the passage cannot mean any thing else. Cyprian uses a similar argument.—*Ep. xlix.* And this view harmonizes with the reasons assigned by councils for the precedence allowed to Rome; e. g. Constant. canon 3., and Chalcedon canon 28.

¹ Ep. lv. Of which Rigault says that it is called the principal church, because constituted in the principal city.

² "Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam, unde nobis auctoritas quoque præsto est."—*Præscript. hæret.* c. 36.

of any one beyond the rest. He goes on to extol the church of Rome as having the doctrine of the apostles poured into it as well as their blood ; and he mentions the martyrdom of Paul and John together with that of Peter, making the distinction to consist in the deaths of these apostles, and not in any supremacy to be ascribed to one of their number.¹ He instances, among churches deriving their descent from the apostles, that of Smyrna, whose bishop was ordained by John, and Rome, whose bishop was appointed by Peter. So in a subsequent chapter, he places Rome in the enumeration, after the churches of Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Ephesus. It is probable that the order was accidental, but it is clear that he had no knowledge of any substantial difference in rank. And from the entire works of this father the Romanist has nothing besides to produce.

Paul and John joined with Peter.

Præscript. hæret. c. 36.

Cyprian.

Cyprian, as we might indeed expect, is in complete accordant with Tertullian, for whom he entertained the deepest reverence. His testimony is very important, because he wrote far more largely than any other of the fathers, upon questions purely ecclesiastical. This resulted both from his local position, and from the circumstances of the time in which he lived. He was head of the province of Africa, which then included Numidia and both Mauritanias. No church in the west was more illustrious than that of Carthage, or filled a more prominent place in the religious controversies of the age. Cyprian was exactly the person to give us the amplest information on matters of discipline ; and in his threefold character of doctor, bishop, and martyr, his judgment on questions at issue has always carried the highest weight in the church. He was not indeed a great dogmatic teacher, like Augustine ; nor a distinguished preacher like Gregory ; nor did he possess the subtle discrimination of the oriental fathers.

His position.

His character.

¹ "Ista quam felix ecclesia cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt ; ubi Petrus passioni dominicæ adæquatur, ubi Paulus Jo- hannis exitu coronatur, ubi Apostolus Johannes posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur."—*Præscript. hæret. c. 36.*

His line was altogether different. He was an energetic man, throwing himself heartily into the great ecclesiastical conflicts of his time ; and no one could better represent the practical mind of the western church. In various places he speaks of discipline, but he no where says anything which can be taken, even constructively, to imply that the bishop of Rome has any connexion with it different in kind from that of other bishops. His correspondence was ample and various. Subjects of all kinds are handled, and, among them, some which involved the very questions now in debate. It might perhaps have been expected that he should in some place, and incidentally at least, state what Romanist writers at present repeat in every page. Nothing of the kind occurs. To the bishop of Rome he speaks in terms of the fullest equality, not merely using the words in which it is expressed, but adopting a tone, sometimes of remonstrance or blame, sometimes of encouragement or praise, such as it could never have occurred to an inferior to employ. And when we come to the examination of his acts, we find them in perfect accordance with our interpretation of his words. In one well known case, he ruled a question of discipline without reference to the bishop of Rome ; in another, he controverted his decision on a point of doctrine ; and these were no more than instances of the independence which pervaded his whole administration. The occasions were very numerous, on which reference must have been made to an overruling jurisdiction in the church if any such existed. A question, for example, arose about the terms on which the lapsed were to be readmitted to communion. Many who had fallen from the faith in times of persecution obtained from martyrs in prison letters commendatory, by which they were received into the communion of the church without the ordinary process of public confession, penitence, and imposition of hands. It was an abuse which grew up through the privilege at first allowed to those who suffered for Christ, that they should

His correspondence.

His acts.

Occasions which arose.

Case of the
lapsed.

be permitted, by their intercession, to curtail the period of penance for those who had denied the faith ; which custom is mentioned by Tertullian, at the close of the second century. Cyprian resisted this injurious practice : while he upheld the reverence due to martyrs, he denied their power to deal with these cases except by the rule of the divine law. It was the time to speak of a supreme authority for granting indulgence, if any had been known to exist ; but no allusion to it can be found. The see of Rome happened, at this time, to be vacant ; but it is to be observed that there was no reference to any past decision of its bishop, nor to what judgment he might pronounce when the vacancy should be filled up. The presbyters and deacons of that church knew as little as Cyprian of any single authority for the determination of such questions. Instead of requiring that it should be left in abeyance till the see of Rome should be occupied, they proposed that the joint judgment of bishops, presbyters, confessors, deacons, and laity, should be obtained, without which they affirmed that a decree would not be binding.¹ The matter was at length set at rest by the moderate and wise counsels of the great African prelate. Cyprian was at one time engaged in resisting a formidable schism which arose in his own church. He invoked earnestly the assistance of his brother bishop at Rome. It was the very occasion for urging the greatness of his office, as ecumenical bishop. If Cyprian had been acquainted with the existence of such an overruling power he would have called for the interposition of its judgment, when it would have been held conclusive on this special ground. No one ventures to allege that he did anything of the kind. He allowed, indeed, precedence to Rome, but it was for such a reason as furnishes additional evidence against the claim. In his letter to Cornelius, the

Schism at
Carthage.

¹ "Quoniam nec firmum decretum potest esse, quod non plurimorum videbitur habuisse consensum."—*Ep.* xxxi. p. 36. "Cypriano papæ presbyteri et diaconi Romæ consistentes."

following passage occurs. He is speaking of Novatus, and his progress in guilt. "Since Rome, on account of its greatness, ought clearly to have precedence of Carthage, there he committed greater and more grievous crimes. He who in the one place had made a deacon against the church, in the other made a bishop."¹ To allege, and in a purely ecclesiastical matter, the secular greatness of Rome as its distinction, implied, incidentally but not the less conclusively, the denial of any higher reason. It is not only different from the ground taken by modern Romanists, but absolutely inconsistent with it. If he had believed in a divinely descended prerogative, it would have been as unsuitable in those times to use such language, as it would be now to speak of the supremacy of Rome by reason of its size in comparison with Lyons or Toulouse. He does not, as an inferior and dependent, deprecate the unfavourable sentence of the bishop of Rome, but, as an equal, he remonstrates with him upon his weakness and vacillation. He urges the necessity of maintaining the authority of the legitimate bishop, and of discountenancing the schisms by which it was threatened; and draws an argument from the past experience of the church. "This," he says, "has been the very source whence heresies and schisms have taken their rise, that obedience is not paid to the priest of God; nor do they reflect that there is, for the time, one high priest in the church, and one judge for the time in Christ's stead."² These words have no application at all to the person of Cornelius, but they are full of meaning and force when applied to himself.³ It was on this occasion that

Novatus.

Episcopal authority.

¹ "Plane quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora et graviora commisit. Qui istic adversus ecclesiam diaconum fecerat, illic episcopum fecit." — *Ep.* xlix. p. 54.

² "Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus iudex

vice Christi cogitatur." — *Ep.* lv. p. 68.

³ This passage some Roman writers have been bold enough or ignorant enough to cite, as if Cyprian were speaking of Cornelius, when, beyond all doubt, it is to himself that the words refer. There is a parallel passage in his letter to Florentius Pupianus: "Inde, schismata et hæreses obortæ sunt, et oriuntur, dum episco-

he used certain expressions which Roman writers have cited, as if they contained the assertion of the very principles which they are trying to maintain. He complains that a few desperate and abandoned men had ventured "to set sail and carry letters from schismatic and profane persons to the chair of Peter, and to the principal church, whence the unity of the priesthood took its rise, remembering not that they are the same Romans whose faith has been commended by the apostles, to whom faithlessness can have no access."¹ When it is affirmed that the church of Rome is the centre and source of catholic unity, this passage has to bear the chief burden of proof for so important a conclusion. And yet if we look to the meaning of Cyprian we shall find it to be as different as possible from what it has been assumed. He certainly called the see of Cornelius the chair of St. Peter, which he would have said in respect to the see of any legitimate bishop; a view which St. Augustine fully adopts: just as the council of Constantinople calls Antioch the see of St. Peter, and as pope Gregory gives the same title both to Antioch and Alexandria. He calls this a principal church, and ascribes to it the source of unity in the priesthood, because being the great influential see, it communi-

Chair of St. Peter.

pus qui unus est, et ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur."—*Ep.* lxi. p. 99. So again in his treatise on jealousy and envy. "Hinc dominicæ pacis vinculum rumpitur, hinc caritas fraterna violatur, hinc adulteratur veritas, unitas scinditur, ad hæreses atque ad schismata prosilitur, dum obrectatur sacerdotibus, dum episcopis invidetur."—*De zelo et livore*, p. 189.

¹ "Navigare audent, et ad Petri cathedram atque ad ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est, a schismaticis et profanis litteras ferre, nec cogitare eos esse Romanos, quorum fides apostolo prædicante laudata est, ad quos perfidia habere non possit accessum."—*Ep.* lv. p. 69. Pamelius, the Roman editor of Cyprian,

assumes, that in this passage the papal supremacy is asserted, and proceeds to confirm his view by citing the letters of Anacletus and the rest, which everybody knows to be a shameless forgery. —*Note on Ep.* lv. p. 73. Blondin on the other side says, "Il est évident qu'il parle de la chaise de Pierre en laquelle étoit assis Corneille, par opposition à la chaire de Novatian qui n' avait autre auteur que lui-même; et qu'il oppose sous le nom d'église principale le corps des catholiques de Rome, qui reconnoissent Corneille pour évêque à celui des sectateurs de ce même Novatian."—*De la primauté*, p. 47. And he presently adds, "Tout ainsi qu'à Carthage la chaise de Cyprien étoit l'ancien et vrai siège de Pierre." Salmasius says the same.

cated the succession to those surrounding churches, which afterwards composed the Roman patriarchate. He was contending for the metropolitan system, of which, called by whatever name, he was the strenuous defender, and not for the papal, of which he was profoundly ignorant. When he says that the church of Rome is that to which perfidy can have no access, he does no more than express the fact that these heretics could find no refuge at Rome.¹ We may understand by the phrase with Laud, either “perfidious dealing, which these men having practised at Carthage, thought now to obtrude upon the bishop of Rome also,” or, taking the word in a concrete sense, “such perfidious persons, excommunicated out of other churches, as were not likely to get access at Rome, or to find admittance into their communion.” Their perfidy consisted in this, that going to Rome while they were schismatics in relation to their own church of Carthage, they addressed themselves to Cornelius, and not to Novatian, with whom they were really connected. While the authority of the bishop in each church is upheld as the centre of the ecclesiastical system in every place, there is no mention of the jurisdiction of any particular bishop as greater than that of others. It was the very business he had in hand to give an account of church authorities; that he should omit the highest, the completion and bond of all the rest, would be very unaccountable. The terms which he applies to the bishop express indeed the greatness of his office, in a manner inconsistent with the notion of subordination to any higher authority. He calls him governor, ruler, captain, head, judge, and his office the lofty summit of the priesthood.² If any higher jurisdiction to which each bishop was amenable existed in Cyprian’s time, his statement would be alto-

Metropolitan system, not papal.

Conf. with Fisher, s. iii. p. 6. See also Stillingtonfleet, Grounds, part ii. c. i. pp. 315-320.

Office of bishop.

¹ This is well expressed by P. Du Moulin. “Par la Cyprian entend qu’elle ne peut être le refuge des perfides: et qu’ils n’y peuvent être reçeus pour y être à couvert. Ce qui est vrai

de toute église orthodoxe.”—*Défense de la foi cath.* p. 591.

² “Sacerdotii sublime fastigium.” *Ep.* lii. p. 57.

gether misleading. It would be imperfect and onesided, and therefore untrue. The argument will be still stronger and more conclusive, if we take into account that his controversies brought him into immediate relation with the bishop of that very see which is now affirmed to be supreme. He lived in times when discords prevailed in the church. His personal experience, as well as his knowledge of what transpired in other parts of the Latin communion, would lead him to estimate at the full value the blessing of unity, and the sin of visible separation. If the language which he uses seems sometimes exaggerated, we may at least account for it, by the circumstances of the time. He was emphatically the champion and expositor of the episcopal system. In asserting the prerogatives of his office, and in condemning those who derogated from it, he sometimes forgot the meekness of the christian character. In the treatise on unity, and elsewhere, he enlarges on the sin of schism, as cutting off the offender from all participation in divine blessing. No terms can be stronger than those which he employs. He calls schismatics impious, unbelieving, antichrists, blasphemers, enemies of God and his church, their baptism profane, and their society a synagogue of Satan. He was inclined to exceed, and not to fall short, in his statements; and it is therefore the more remarkable that he never, in a single producible passage, identifies the sin of schism, against which he was so earnestly contending, with separation from the Roman church, except in the same way as from the church of Carthage, or any other. Nor does he anywhere suggest that the evil would be prevented by adherence to this one bishop of the west, as the centre and source of spiritual unity. It was amidst the distractions of that troubled time, that this great bishop published his treatise, as a contribution to the peace of the church.¹ It is the enlargement and application of the

Schism
strongly
condemned.

Never identified with
separation
from Rome.

¹ In the treatise on unity, many of the interpolations occur, to which the writings of Cyprian have been subjected. He is made to say, "Primatus Petro

principles which he lays down in numerous epistles. Roman controversialists ascribe a meaning to the words of Cyprian, which they are as far as possible from conveying. When he speaks of St. Peter and his chair, and we have seen what notion he intended to convey, they insert the name of the bishop of Rome as his successor, and ascribe to the one what is said simply and distinctly of the other. If Cyprian meant to apply to the bishop of Rome what is said of Peter, nothing was more obvious than to say so. He not only does not, but over and over again he says what is utterly irreconcilable with such a view. Nothing would have been easier than to express, in terms which could not be mistaken, that the bishop of Rome was the divinely constituted head of the church on earth; that schism consisted in disobedience to his authority; and that the cure for the divisions by which the christian name was scandalised is to be sought in a dutiful return to his jurisdiction. He says nothing like it. He does not indeed question, nor refute, nor reject such a view.

What Cyprian says of St. Peter, applied to the bishop of Rome.

datur. Cathedra Petri super quam fundata est ecclesia, &c." That these passages are not genuine, there is the evidence of numerous MSS. of different dates, and found in places far apart. Of the editors of Cyprian, they are rejected by Rigault, who was the friend of Du Thou, and the successor of Isaac Casaubon, as librarian to the king of France. Morel omits them; and Baluze, whose edition was printed after his death, gives them up. His notes were altered by the Benedictines, as they acknowledge. Gieseler says, that the passages in question are wanting in the oldest MSS., and are an interpolation made by the Roman church. He adds, however, that they have quite a different sense in the mouth of Cyprian from that meant by those who inserted them.—*Eccles. hist.* i. p. 154. Dr. James, who is entitled beyond most others to be heard on such a subject, has proved abundantly that they are mere corruptions of the text, admitted because the Roman cause seemed to require it, but condemned by the evidence of numerous MSS.—

Corrupt. of fathers, part ii. p. 113. So again Salmasius speaks very clearly. "Sic legendum esse locum ex codicum omnium antiquorum auctoritate infra docebimus, ubi monstrabitur, verba illa quæ vulgo inseruntur in editis, 'primatus Petro datur' perperam intrusa esse, et de primatu Petri aut papæ non ibi agi."—*De prim. pap.* c. xix. p. 328. The question had really been set at rest as long ago as the time of Rainoldes, who, in his conference with Hart, proves that the passages alleged had been fraudulently inserted.—ch. v. div. 3. p. 167. And, even before him, bishop Bilson had shown that they had been transferred to the text, on the authority of a MS. full of blunders.—*Christian subject.* part i. p. 90. And yet Noel Alexander, writing in the eighteenth century, quotes these passages as if no question of their genuineness had ever arisen.—*Sæc. 1. diss. iv. s. 3.* Some unlearned controversialists among ourselves have been imprudent enough to follow his example.

Cyprian's
views of
church
unity.

It never occurred to him. He knew nothing of it, for it was not invented till long after his time. He contends for that unity which results from a combination of parts, coordinate and equal. He compares the universal church to the light, in which many rays are combined; to the trunk of a tree, which has many branches; to the fountain, from which many streams flow.¹ The parts coexist, and by their union form a whole; but no portion is to any other the cause of being what it is. According to his view the individual bishop is to the particular church, what the universal episcopate is to the church at large. He dwells again and again upon the necessity of union with the lawful bishop, which he makes essential to catholicity. Those who separate from him he ranks with heretics and schismatics; those who rebel against the episcopal authority he counts as enemies of the church. On these grounds he contended that to communicate with Cornelius, the legitimate bishop², was the same as to communicate with the catholic church; and since the statement has been alleged as if it asserted Rome to be the standard of catholicity³, it is necessary to examine the circumstances under which it was written. Novatus, a restless and enterprising man, who had opposed Cyprian, having been defeated at Carthage, betook himself to Rome, where he found Novatian, a man of severe and ascetic character, opposed to Cornelius. Throwing himself into the contest, he gave his support to the rival of the legitimate bishop, and pro-

Communion with
the lawful
bishop.

¹ "Quomodo solis multi radii, sed lumen unum: et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum: et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copiam largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine."—*De unitate eccles. cath. op.* p. 150.

² "Scripsisti etiam, ut exemplum earundem literarum, ad Cornelium collegam nostrum transmitterem, ut deposita omni sollicitudine jam sciret te secum, hoc est, cum catholicam ecclesiam communicare."—*Antoniano, Ep.* lii. p. 56.

³ "Dodwell exposes the extreme falsehood of this argument. "Inde colligunt Romanenses, eam ecclesiam esse catholicam quæ cum Romanâ hodie communicat; et vice versâ quæ cum eadem non communicat nec esse illam pro catholicâ hodie existimandam. Mirum sane viros alioquin eruditissimos ita posse argutari! Quasi vero ecclesiæ catholicæ nomen non esset ecclesiis etiam particularibus commune, &c."—*Diss. Cyp.* vii. s. 8. p. 140.

cured his ordination to the episcopal office.¹ Novatian, the usurper, wrote communicatory letters to various foreign bishops, among others to Antonian, in consequence of which Cyprian also addressed an epistle to him, from which the passage in question is cited. He enters fully into the case of Novatian, giving us more information about this celebrated schismatic than we obtain from any other source. It is obvious that, on the papal theory, he would bring it, as the one paramount accusation against him, that he had rebelled against the supreme bishop of the church universal. Instead of this he speaks of him, only as he speaks elsewhere of the pretender who endeavoured to get possession of the see of Carthage.² It was a question in which ecclesiastical principles were at issue. To side with one party or the other was an act which embodied a distinct view. It was under these circumstances that Cyprian declared communion with Cornelius to be the same as communion with the catholic church. It was no more than he would have been prepared to assert in the similar case of any bishop; no more indeed than he actually affirmed in his own. Any other meaning would have been irrelevant and beside the question. To communicate with the true bishop was the same thing as communicating with christian people, as distinguished from a congregation of schismatics and heretics. And when this saying was applied to Cornelius, it was no more to be inferred that he was the supreme representative of the catholic church, than when applied to Cyprian. It means only that each was in his see the legitimate head, and that whoever was in communion with him was in union with all catholics. Any one who claimed to be bishop of a see already filled was, according to the recognised principles

Case of Novatian.

Communion with Cornelius as the true bishop.

¹ Neander gives the history of the schism, s. iii. 3. p. 237—268.

² Eusebius has preserved (lib. vi. c. 43.) an epistle of the same period, written by Cornelius of Rome, to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, who had shown some inclination for the schis-

matical party. He dwells much on the character of Novatian, his irregular baptism, his want of confirmation, his denial of his orders during persecution. He says not a word about what would now be esteemed his great offence, rebellion against the supreme bishop.

of that age, guilty of schism; and those who adhered to him put themselves out of the pale of the true church. In this treatise Cyprian asserts equality of power and dignity derived from Christ to all the apostles; yet he holds some speciality in the commission granted to St. Peter, as if it were intended that he should represent the oneness of the church, and of the episcopal office. He represents St. Peter as the type and figure of union, telling us how the promise was addressed to him, as the exemplification of unity, not as possessing any gifts or jurisdiction beyond the rest, for he expressly adds, as if to guard against so false an inference, that the other apostles were what St. Peter was, endowed with an equal fellowship of dignity and power.¹ Whatever priority he may assign to St. Peter, he ascribes to him no greater authority than to his colleagues. Yet Dr. Newman absolutely identifies the apostle with his alleged successors. "What Augustus had in the material order," he says, "that and much more has Peter in the spiritual. Peter has spoken by Pius, and when was Peter ever unequal to the occasion? When has he not risen with the crisis? What dangers have ever daunted him? What sophistry foiled him? What uncertainties misled him? When did ever any power go to war with Peter, material or moral, and get the better? When did the whole world ever band together against him solitary, and not find him too many for them;" and he adds very unexpectedly, "These are not the words of rhetoric, but of history." The same writer says, in his work on development, "We have seen in an earlier chapter that St. Cyprian allows to the Roman see the name of the cathedra Petri, and even Firmilian is a witness that the see of Rome claimed it." The statement is thus repeated as if any one were inclined

St. Peter
the type of
union.

On Univer-
sity Educa-
tion, Introd.
p. 26.

Ch. iii. s. 4.
p. 172.

¹ "Ut unitatem manifestaret, unam cathedram constituit, et unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem suâ auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus,

pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur."—*De unit. Eccles. Op.* p. 150.

to controvert what is so clear. It would have been much more to the purpose, if we had been told to what see these eminent bishops would have refused this title. Cyprian unquestionably says that Fabian occupied the place of St. Peter, and his chair. It would have sounded strangely in his ears if any one had denied the same distinction to himself at Carthage.¹ He shows that the promise of the keys, made first to one, was afterwards communicated to all; and if he were the foundation, just in the same way, so were the rest. Thus he makes St. Peter a type of unity; the representative of it, not the instrument, which is a very different thing; and to the bishop of Rome he makes no reference at all.² He does not even allude to any special descent of power. He nowhere says directly, or by implication, what the arguments of papalists would require, that Peter was the fountain as well as the type of unity; that all jurisdiction is derived from him; that having exercised supreme authority as bishop of Rome, he trans-

All bishops called successors of Peter.

¹ The case is well stated by Blondel, who cites both Leo I. and Gregory the Great, as giving the title of Peter's successors to other bishops. "D'où s'ensuit que la communauté d'une chose entre plusieurs excluant nécessairement chacun de ceux qui la possèdent de la propriété d'icelle, ni le titre, ni le droit de chaise de Pierre, attribué par Rome même à plusieurs, ne peuvent, par sa confession propre, la mettre en possession de la puissance qu'elle s'attribue aujourd'hui de droit divin, privativement à toutes les autres églises."—*De la primauté*, p. 209. Thus, also, Dodwell explains it. "Non alios quam episcopos, et quidem omnes illos, qui quidem sedem episcopalem legitime adepti essent, esse S. Petri in hoc munere successores, ut et unitatis essent, in sua quisque ecclesiâ, principia, et ejusdem ecclesiæ fundamenta."—*Diss. Cyp.* vii. s. 26. p. 160. He gives a summary of what is meant by succession to St. Peter. The mind of Cyprian, as it is expressed in many places, is well stated by Salmasius. "Vult Cyprianus unum gregem esse Christi, unam ecclesiam, et unum epi-

scopatam. Unitatis illius formam a Petro exordium cepisse. Omnes ergo episcopi et pastores, episcopatus illius unius, qui a Petro unitatis suæ exemplar sumpsit, participes, Petri sunt successores." And again: "In episcopatu illo uno tenendo, cujus unitati formam dedit Petrus, omnes episcopi qui partem ejus tenent, ac portionem gregis sibi adscriptam pascuntur, ex æquo successores Petri habendi sunt. Nec minus Cyprianus quam Stephanus."—*De primatu papæ*, c. xix. p. 328.

² Dr. Barrow, referring to the alleged precedence of St. Peter, says that "St. Cyprian hath a reason for it somewhat more subtle and mystical, supposing our Lord did confer on him a preference of this kind to his brethren, (who otherwise in power and authority were equal to him,) that he might intimate and recommend unity to us; and the other African doctors (Optatus and St. Austin) do commonly harp on the same notion: I can discern little solidity in this conceit, and as little harm."—*Treatise of the supremacy*, Supposition, i. p. 46.

mitted the same to the future occupants of the see; and that, on such grounds as these, the opponents of the Roman bishop were to be held guilty of rebellion. But, on the contrary, he everywhere upholds the episcopate itself as the instrument and centre of unity, the highest known authority for the ordinary government of the diocese and the administration of sacraments, for the punishment of delinquents and the restoration of penitents, for regulating public worship, and in general for making and executing church laws. It was, indeed, no question of authority for which he was contending, or supreme jurisdiction, but unity, which had been put in peril both at Rome and Carthage. In the words of Neander, “the apostle Peter is here the representative of the one church, remaining steadfast in her unity, which proceeded from a divine foundation, and of the one episcopal power, a power which, although it be diffused among many organs, still is and remains only one in its origin and nature.” Cyprian held the entire independence of every bishop canonically ordained supreme in his church, that is, within his appointed limits, and acknowledging no right of interference *ab extra*, immediately subject to Christ, and not accountable to any superior on earth. These principles he maintained whenever the occasion occurred, especially in opening the great council of Carthage, summoned to decide on the baptism of heretics.¹ It was not of the universal bishop that he spoke, but of the universal bishopric, extended through the church of which every

Vol. i. s. 2.
p. 222.

Every
bishop su-
preme in
his own
limits.

¹ “Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit, quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentiâ libertatis et potestatis suæ, arbitrium proprium, tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare.”—*Sententiæ Epis. lxxxvii. de hæret. bapt., Cypriani Op.* p. 229.

He expresses the same views in a letter to Antonian. “Manente concordie vinculo, et perseverante ca-

tholicæ ecclesiæ individuo sacramento, suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus.”—*Ep. lii. p. 59.* And again, writing to Cornelius he says, “Cum statutum sit omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actûs Domino redditurus, &c.”—*Ep. lv. p. 70.*

bishop had his undivided share.¹ "There is one church," he says, "from Christ throughout the whole world, divided into many members; and one episcopate diffused through an harmonious multitude of many bishops."² The true church he describes as a people united to their priest, a flock adhering to their pastor; he declares that "the church is in the bishop, and the bishop in the church, and that whoever is not with the bishop is not in the church."³ He describes the unity of the church as bound up with the authority of the bishop. "Another altar," he says, "cannot be reared, nor another priesthood, besides the one altar, and the one priesthood."⁴ In the words of bishop Sage, "By the principles of those times, the bishop was so much the principle of unity to the church which he governed, the whole society had such a dependence on him, was so virtually in him and represented by him, that what he did as bishop was reputed the deed of the whole church which he ruled. If he was orthodox and catholic, so was the body united to him reckoned to be; if heretical or schismatical, it went under the same denomination. If he denied the faith, whoso adhered to him after that, were reputed to have denied it. If he confessed the faith, the whole church was reckoned to have confessed it in him." As the one bishop was the principle of unity to the particular church, so the bishops, collectively considered, formed the bond of union to the church uni-

The church represented by the bishop.

Principles of the Cyprianic Age, Works, ii. p. 30.

¹ "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.—*De unit. Eccles. Op.* p. 150. Bishop Stillington refers the phrase employed by Cyprian in this place to the civil law, in which it expressed the full right which each freeholder has to his share of an estate held in common.—*Grounds of prot. relig.* part ii. c. 1. p. 302. See also *Sulmasius de primatu*, c. v. p. 80. The passage is well explained by Mr. Wilberforce, apparently without perceiving how fatally it tells against the main argument of his book. "He does not mean that it is divided into many parts, each of which has been assigned

to a separate individual; but that it remains undivided as a common trust, for which many individuals are respectively accountable."—*Principles of church authority*, c. iv. p. 72.

² "Episcopatus unus, episcoporum multorum concordia numerositate diffusus."—*Ep.* lii. p. 59.

³ "Unde scire debes episcopum in ecclesiâ esse, et ecclesiam in episcopo; et si qui cum episcopo non sit, in ecclesiâ non esse."—*Ep.* lxix. p. 99.

⁴ "Aliud altare constitui, aut sacerdotium novum fieri, præter unum altare et unum sacerdotium, non potest."—*Ep.* xl. p. 46.

versal. "For though we are many shepherds, yet we feed one flock, and ought to gather together and cherish all the sheep which Christ has sought by his own blood and passion."¹ In the times of Cyprian the oneness of the episcopate was held practically as well as theoretically. If a bishop excommunicated a presbyter, no other bishop might receive him; whoever was reconciled to his own bishop, was restored to communion with other churches. Letters of attestation granted in one part of the christian communion were to be received and respected in all others. And, in short, whatever was done for the government or discipline of the church was the common act of all bishops. The circumstances of the time did not allow general councils, but provincial synods were held periodically, the decisions of which were received as the conclusive voice of the governing body. And when these assemblies were, from any cause, prevented, or when, in the intervals between the periods of meeting, any important question occurred, it was decided on the result of communication made by letter among the bishops of the country in which it arose. So closely was this union established, and so entire was the community of interest assumed to be, that if a bishop became heretic or schismatic, any other who adhered to him was excluded from communion by the common act of all the orthodox bishops in the same province. This was no new doctrine. It had been maintained by Ignatius² previously, as it was held by Augustine afterwards.

Community
of action.

Jerome.

From the works of Jerome it might well be expected that papal writers would be able to extract some favourable testimony. He was eminently a Latin father, the great promoter of monasteries, by which the power of the pope was diffused and consolidated, and the compiler, at

¹ "Etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas, quas Christus sanguine suo et passione quæsit, colligere et fovere debemus."—*Ep.* lxxvii. p. 94.

² "Non est ovum (quod aiunt) ovo similius, quam Ignatianæ tota ratiocinatio Cypriani."—*Dodwell*, diss. vii. s. 13. p. 149.

least, of the vulgate, to which the Roman church owes so much. One passage is commonly cited; it occurs in a letter to Damasus. "I, following none as my chief but Christ, am joined in communion with thy blessedness, that is, with the chair of Peter. On that rock I know that the church is built. Whoever shall eat the lamb outside that house is profane. If any one is not in the ark of Noah, he shall perish when the flood prevails."¹ And again, "I know not Vitalis, I reject Meletius, I am ignorant of Paulinus. Whosoever gathers not with thee scattereth; that is, he who is not of Christ is of antichrist." To be in communion with Damasus, whom he knew to be a true, and legitimate bishop, was to be in communion with the chair of Peter, or, in other words, with the church of Christ, of which Peter was the representative. Nothing can be gained from the statement, unless by an obvious perversion, in applying that to a particular communion which Jerome speaks of the church at large. The meaning is plain enough. In the words of bishop Bilson, "Out of this house (meaning thereby not the particular church of Rome, but the catholic church of Christ) whosoever eateth the passover, is indeed, as Hierom saith, a profane person. This is far wide from the mark which you shoot at." Or as it is expressed by Field, "By the name of the church immediately going before, is meant the universal church; therefore by this house we must understand that great house, within the walls whereof the whole

True meaning of a passage cited.

On Christian Subjection, part i. p. 88.

Of the Church, book v. c. 36. p. 547.

¹ "Quicumque extra hanc domum agnum comederit, profanus est. Si quis in Noe arca non fuerit peribit."—*Hieron. Ep. 57. ad Dam.* Cyprian uses a similar expression in his treatise on unity: "Si potuit evadere quisquam qui extra arcam Noe fuit; et qui extra ecclesiam foris fuerit evadit."—*Op.* p. 151.

"Non novi Vitalem, Meletium respuo. Ignoro Paulinum. Quicumque tecum non colligit, spargit; hoc est, qui Christi non est, Antichristi est."—*Ibid.* Dr. Wiseman, with his usual infelicity, says that these three claimants

were "men of suspected faith."—*Lecture viii.* p. 284. He was apparently ignorant that, while the faith of Vitalis was much more than suspected, Paulinus was supported, throughout the struggle, by the see of Rome; and that the name of Meletius stands for worship in the Latin martyrology. He is thus mentioned: "Pro fide catholicâ sæpe exilium passus, demum Constantinopoli migravit ad Dominum: cujus virtutes S. Joannes Chrysostomus, et Gregorius Nyssenus summis laudibus celebrarunt."—*Feb. xii.* p. 27.

household of faith is contained." The see of Antioch at this time was claimed by several competitors, and Jerome, who belonged to the Latin communion, desired to escape difficulty in choosing between them. He puts aside the pretensions of the rivals, as a question which he is not called upon to determine, and professes to adhere to the communion of Damasus as a bishop of known orthodoxy. It was a private and not a public question about which Jerome was writing. He had fallen into suspicion at Antioch, where he was residing; and being urged to use the word hypostasis, about which he was doubtful, he consulted Damasus, as a bishop to whose judgment he paid great deference, and with whose church he had a close connexion, not however, believing it to be infallible, for, in another epistle on this subject, he joins the name of Peter of Alexandria with that of the Roman bishop. Jerome is, in fact, so far from any tendency to overrate the power of the pope, that there are passages in his writings which it is very difficult to reconcile with sound views of the episcopal office in general. He was for the time settled in the east, but he had been baptized and had grown up at Rome, and he looked to Damasus as in some sense his own bishop; at a subsequent period he acted as his secretary, and had reasonable expectation of being his successor. He naturally used terms of great respect in addressing him; it does not follow that he esteemed him supreme monarch of the church on earth. He ascribes great honour to Rome; but he nowhere calls it mother, and mistress of all churches. When the occasion arose, he did not scruple to maintain his independent judgment, as in the case of the epistle to the Hebrews, the canonical authority of which he maintained, with the rest of the church, against the judgment of Rome. Of the titles which he ascribes to the pope, and on which stress has been laid, there are none which belong to him exclusively, and some which are common to all christians. We hardly be surprised at the determination which Jerome ex-

Jerome no
witness for
the papacy.

pressed of following the judgment of Rome, though it turned out in this as well as many other cases to be very far from infallible. Marcellus of Ancyra was not orthodox, nor Meletius a heretic, though the former was in communion with Rome, and the latter was not. But if the passage cited from this father by Romanists proves to be not very favourable to their cause, there are others presenting a formidable difficulty, which they have not yet succeeded in explaining away. Thus he exalts the church catholic above the particular church of Rome; the very supposition of such a contrast would not occur to papal writers. "If authority," he says, "is sought, that of the world is greater than that of a city."¹ So again he affirms the absolute equality of all bishops, as far as divine institution is concerned. These are his words: "Wherever a bishop may be, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanaïs, he is of the same worthiness and of the same priesthood."² The superior secular importance and influence of some sees were an undeniable fact. Jerome takes pains to prevent any inference which might be injurious to their spiritual standing and authority, which are distinct, and unaffected by any such consideration. He selects the smallest, to place side by side with the most important. It is an *a fortiori* argument. If these are equal, there are none which can pretend to superiority over the rest. If there were one great exception, it is an inexplicable omission that he did not state it.

Unfavourable testimony.

Ambrose, who filled an important see, and exercised much influence over the church of his time, both by his writings and by his personal character, might have been expected to throw light upon the Roman claims. But he renders no help in maintaining them. Reference is some-

Ambrose.

¹ "Si quæritur autoritas, orbis major est quam urbis."—*Ep. ad Evag.*

² "Ubicunque fuerit episcopus sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constanti-

nopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanaïs, ejusdem meriti est, et ejusdem sacerdotii."—*Ibid.*

times made to his work on penitence, in which he asserts that "they have not the inheritance of Peter who have not also his faith."¹ It is only the keen eye of a controversialist which can discern any advantage to be derived from such a citation. And the precedents furnished by the writer, in his own administration, are altogether unfavourable. Ambrose at Milan, as Augustine afterwards in Africa, anxiously maintained the independence of his church. Many evidences might be adduced, such as the Saturday fast, the refusing to allow foreign appeals, the admission of the epistle to the Hebrews into the canon of scripture, in which he disregarded the judgment of the Roman church. It is, indeed, alleged that in another case, the washing of the saints' feet, he made its custom the type of practice in his own church. But this is no more than to admit the high character which Rome had borne, and which made it a model to other churches. It is a matter of influence, and not authority. But, after all, it is extremely doubtful whether the work in which the passage occurs were written by Ambrose or not.

Independent acts.

Augustine.

The testimony of Augustine follows naturally on that of Ambrose. He was the great doctor of the west, or, as we may rather say, of the whole christian world. His judgment on this, or any question, whether of doctrine or discipline, has always carried the utmost weight. He speaks like Cyprian of St. Peter as the type of unity; he calls every bishop's see St. Peter's chair; and he contends earnestly for the oneness of the episcopate. A century and a half had passed since Cyprian strenuously resisted the interference of the western bishop. The vehemence of passions had subsided, the question then at issue had been settled by synodal authority, and yet we find Augustine referring to this very matter, and, so

¹ "Non habent enim Petri hæreditatem, qui Petri fidem non habent." — *De penit.* lib. i. c. 6. fol. 48. The Benedictine editors have *sedem Petri*.

The older editions have *fidem*; *Ballerini*, among other Roman writers, cites the passage in this form. — *De primatûs vi ac rat.* c. xiii. v. 5.

far from condemning the great bishop of Carthage, that he speaks of him with the deepest respect, and praises his language for gentleness, humility, and truth. In arguing against the Donatists, he directs them to the catholic church, as "the rock against which the proud gates of hell shall not prevail."¹ He contends that "the church is called one in respect to its unity; and there are said to be many churches in respect to the kindred societies spread abroad."² He argues again and again that these schismatics cut themselves off from the whole body of the faithful, and thus excluded themselves from the promises. In answer to their plea of numbers, he called upon them to prove their succession by legitimate descent. And because this was impossible he charged them to submit to the authority which resided, not in any individual bishop, but in the collective body of which every bishop formed a part. He insists continually on the necessity of appealing to the church, that is to the catholic community, but not to Rome or its bishop in particular. It was unavoidable to say, if only he had believed it true, that this catholic church was to be found in its supreme development at Rome; and that its voice must be heard from the bishop of that see. It is needless to add that he says nothing which can be even perverted to such a meaning. He willingly acknowledged the important position in the Latin church filled by the bishop of Rome. It was no wonder that he should desire his assistance in suppressing heresies, such as the Pelagian, by which Africa was especially infected, and by which the peace of the whole church was troubled. But what is this to the purpose? How can it advance the claim of universal monarchy? Again, when the Donatist strife was dividing the christian community of Africa, and these separatists were

Case of the Donatists.

No reference to Rome as supreme.

¹ "Ipsa est petra quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portæ."—*Aug. in Ps.* 100.

² "Propter unitatem ecclesiæ, una ecclesia; propter congregationes fra-

ternas per loca, multæ sunt ecclesiæ.—*Aug. in Ps.* 141. For the interpretation of these passages see *Stillingfleet's Grounds of prot. relig.* part ii. c. i. p. 307.

pouring out curses upon the rest of the church, nothing would have been more obvious than to appeal to the jurisdiction of the pope, and plead his decision against these turbulent men. If he had believed in what is the papal system, he would have ended the discussion by referring to a supreme authority. He did nothing of the kind; neither what would be done now by a Romanist bishop, nor anything like it. The sovereign power which he maintained was that of a council; he looked upon this as the ultimate tribunal to which all questions must be referred; and what he held as a principle he carried out fearlessly in practice. Thus we find him taking part in those important synods by which, early in the fifth century, the restraint of transmarine appeals was established; and also subscribing the letter to pope Celestine, in which, among other things, the Nicene canon was urged as fixing the limit of episcopal authority. His silence is hardly less emphatic than his words. He wrote a book on the unity of the church, and no treatise could be more suitable to the time; he says nothing about communion with the church of Rome, or of obedience to its bishop, as being requisite. He delivered five sermons on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, but they do not contain a word about any special commission or privileges descending by inheritance to the pope. There is a passage frequently cited, as if it contained some acknowledgment of supremacy. Augustine says in one of his epistles that "in the church of Rome the principality of an apostolic chair has always flourished."¹ It is, however, no more than he would have freely said about any church of apostolic origin, and in the enjoyment of metropolitan power.

Power of
councils.

Silence of
Augustine.

¹ "In Romanâ ecclesiâ semper apostolicæ cathedræ viguit principatus."—*Aug. ep.* 43. But, to use the words of Archbishop Laud, "the word principatus is not so great, nor were the bishops of those times so little, as that principes and principatus are not commonly given them, both by the Greek and Latin fathers of this great and

learnedest age of the church, made up of the fourth and fifth hundred years; always understanding principatus of their spiritual power, and within the limits of their several jurisdictions, which, perhaps, they did now and then occasionally exceed."—*Conference with Fisher*, section xxv. p. 187.

Optatus of Milevis, who was contemporary with Ambrose, in his controversy with the Donatists, maintains the unlawfulness of setting up a rival against the bishop legitimately appointed. His argument is similar to that of Cyprian in the case of Cornelius. The subject of contention was that which was so long agitated, the claim to the title of catholic; and he proved, against his opponents, that it could not belong to those who subsisted, as a distinct communion, in the midst of the African church, and who had established a bishop of their own faction at Rome, in opposition to the bishop in lawful possession of that see. He refers to the succession of Siricius as descended from Peter, the first bishop of Rome, and since the Donatists could plead no such succession by descent, he fastens upon them the name of schismatics.¹ But he gave no more countenance than Cyprian before him to the notion of any superiority of jurisdiction, or source of unity, to be found in that see.

Optatus.

Title of catholic.

Vincent, the monk of Lerins, who wrote his commonitory against heretics somewhat later than the time of Augustine, and shortly after the great council of Ephesus, delivered a fundamental principle for distinguishing between heresy and catholic truth.² It tells fatally against the doctrine of a divinely instituted supremacy, which, so far from fulfilling the required conditions, presents the

Vincent.

¹ "Igitur negare non potes scire te in urbe Româ Petro primo cathedram episcopalem esse collatam; in quâ sederit omnium apostolorum caput Petrus, inde et Cephas appellatus est; in quâ unâ cathedrâ unitas ab omnibus servaretur."—*Optat. Milev.* lib. ii. cont. Parmen. Unless this writer's knowledge of ecclesiastical things was more accurate than his derivation of names, we ought not to attribute much value to his opinion.

² "Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. Hoc est vere proprièque catholicum."—*Common.* c. 3. It is remarkable that the application of this famous rule did not

preserve Vincent himself from the infection of heresy. Cave says that there are the strongest reasons for believing him to have been a Semi-pelagian.—*Hist. lit.* p. 274. Noel Alexander proves, by very clear arguments, that he was.—*Sec.* v. c. 3. art. 7. s. 7. Vossius, in his history of Pelagianism, professes to have found marks of unsoundness even in the Commonitory. Baronius defends him, feebly enough; but he is a saint according to the Roman martyrology, and, therefore, some vindication was indispensable. What slight claims he has to the title Blondel has shown.—*Primaute*, p. 51.

A witness
against
Roman su-
premacy.

contradictory of each. During some centuries it was believed in no place, at no period, and by no person. But Vincent is himself a witness against papacy, for he not only omits the Roman way of dealing with heretics, but he proposes a method of detecting them, which is inconsistent with the supposition of a supreme tribunal, whose office it is to pronounce.

If the Latin fathers, especially the four who are esteemed the chief, give so little countenance to the Roman supremacy, we may be sure that it will find no sanction in the east. The perfect independence of the oriental church was an unbroken tradition, embodied in a distinct line of action whenever the occasion arose. Its bishops, in seasons of difficulty, as Basil in arian times, sought assistance from their brethren in the Latin church; but it was such as they were called upon in turn to render. Sometimes they incurred great obligation, as Athanasius and Chrysostome, for seasonable protection, but they never repaid it by acknowledging any foreign authority. They would have rejected the claim with as little hesitation as Gregory Nazianzen, or Cyril of Alexandria.

Terms of
equality.

Nothing is more difficult for Romanists to explain than the terms of perfect equality in which the pope is addressed. Colleague, and brother, and co-bishop, were the titles mutually employed; and, in the words of bishop Sage, "what is more notorious than that those and those only could be colleagues who enjoyed the same power and the same prerogatives?" Councils used the same form of address; the fathers of Constantinople inscribed their epistle to their brethren and colleagues, Damasus of Rome, Ambrose of Milan, and others. The council of Antioch addressed a synodical letter, about Paul of Samosata, to Dionysius bishop of Rome, and Maximus bishop of Alexandria, and to all their fellow-servants, bishops, presbyters, deacons, and to the whole church. Another council at Constantinople wrote to Damasus, Britto, Valerian, and others, uniting their names without any mark of distinc-

Eusebius,
lib. vii. c.
30. p. 279.

Theodori-
tus, lib. v. c.
9. p. 208.

tion, but calling them alike brothers and fellow-servants.¹ But in order to understand what was really the mind of the primitive church, and what application it made of ecclesiastical principles; we must examine the cases which are alleged in their controversies.

The earliest which occurs is that of Marcion; and this is produced by Bellarmine and others, as an instance of appeal to Rome, though it is hard to understand what advantage they can derive from it.² Epiphanius tells us that he was a man of wicked character, who, for an act of the greatest criminality, was expelled from the church of Pontus, by the bishop, who was his own father. He had recourse to the clergy of the Roman church, desiring admission into their communion. He was rejected on the express ground that they could do nothing in the matter without the consent of his bishop. He left them, having utterly failed in his design, expressing purposes of revenge. In the words of Dr. Barrow, "this was the case and issue: and is it not strange that this should be produced for an appeal, which was only a supplication for a fugitive criminal to be admitted to communion; and wherein is utterly disclaimed any power to thwart the judgment of a particular bishop, or judge, upon account of unity in common faith and peace? Should the pope return the same answer to every appellant, what would become of his privilege? so that they must give us leave

A. D. 142.

The case of Marcion.

Treatise of the Supremacy. Supp. v. p. 371.

¹ Isaac Casaubon says of Cyprian, "Semper cum Romanis pontificibus suis æqualibus, ex æquo egit, collegas illos et fratres appellans, et vicissim ab illis appellatus."—*De rebus sacris exercit.* xv. p. 298. Launoy cites instances of forty popes, who in their epistles apply the term coepiscopus to other bishops.—*Epp.* part. v. ep. 8. p. 433—446.

² "Pio I. pontifice, Marcion excommunicatus ab episcopo suo in Ponto venit Romam, ut ab ecclesiâ Romanâ absolveretur."—*De Rom. pont.* lib. ii. c. 21. p. 174. "Ante concilium Sar-

dicense, variæ episcoporum et presbyterorum appellationes ad Apostolicam sedem in usu fuerunt: ut Martionis appellatio ad Pium I."—*Duval de R. P.* pot. quæst. vii. p. 165. "Nemo Marcionis historiam nescit, ab excommunicatione sibi à proprio patre Ponticepiscopo infictâ, ad Pium papam recurrentis."—*Cabassutius, Notitia eccles.* p. 139. Dr. Newman, in the failure of better instances, thinks it worth while to refer to this. "The heretic Marcion, excommunicated in Pontus, betakes himself to Rome."—*Development*, introd. p. 22.

to retort this as a pregnant instance against their pre-
tence.”¹

A. D. 196.

Dispute
about
Easter.

Decided at
Nice.

In the pontificate of Victor, the dispute with the churches of Asia, about the time of keeping Easter, was renewed. It arose first in the time of Polycarp and Anicetus, by whom, after conference, it was left undecided; and the bond of union was so far from being broken by their difference of opinion on this and some other points, that Anicetus allowed Polycarp to celebrate the communion in his church instead of himself. The churches of Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia, differed from the rest of Christendom, keeping Easter, as the Jews had held their passover, on the fourteenth day of the month of March, pleading the sanction of Polycarp, the deacon Philip, and St. John; while the rest of the churches kept it on the day of our Lord's resurrection. It remained an unsettled question until the council of Nice, which decided in favour of the Roman tradition, on the ground that St. John intended the observance to be temporary, and only in countries bordering on the Jews. And this renders the case so much the stronger, as an instance in which authority was denied.² Polycrates, at this time bishop of Ephesus, was, as Eusebius tells us, learned in the scriptures, and, as Jerome describes him, a man held in the highest esteem. He summoned a council, by which it was unanimously resolved, that their practice should be maintained. It was a very solemn act, in which their adherence to a custom condemned by the Roman church was recorded. It cannot with any propriety be called resistance, which implies an actually existing authority; but it was a refusal to acknowledge an utterly unfounded claim. Victor, in return,

¹ “As a runaway,” says Dean Field, “he sought to other places, and among others went to Rome, hoping there to be received into the church. But the guides of that church, knowing the canon which forbiddeth one church to admit whom another church hath rejected and cast out, utterly refused to

permit and suffer him to communicate with them.”—*Of the Church*, book v. c. 39. p. 569.

² The case is fully stated by Neander, vol. i. s. iii. p. 339—343. Also by Noel Alexander, sæc. ii. diss. v. and by Maimbourg, *Prerogatives of the Church of Rome*, ch. viii.

endeavoured to cut off the Asiatics from communion with his church, but was restrained from so rash and presumptuous an act by Irenæus, who remonstrated with him according to his accustomed mildness, and by the bishops of Asia Minor, who rebuked him more sharply.¹ The intemperate behaviour of this pope is no more a proof of any prerogative attached to his see, than the anathemas so plentifully used by his successors on various occasions.

περὶ αὐτοῦ,
Euseb. Hist.
v. c. 24.
p. 192.

At a somewhat later period a schism arose at Carthage, in the progress of which a rival was set up against Cyprian. Fortunatus the opposing bishop, and Felicissimus by whose influence he had been chosen, obtaining no encouragement in Africa, appealed to Cornelius at Rome, who, being either deceived or intimidated, was at first inclined to afford them encouragement. Cyprian addressed the strongest remonstrance to Cornelius, expressing his indignation that a cause should be re-opened elsewhere which had already been decided by the Africans in their independent jurisdiction. The bishop of Rome, so far from denying the independence which Cyprian claimed, or attempting to escape the conclusion of his argument, dismissed the malcontents without hearing their cause.²

A. D. 251.

Fortunatus
and Felicis-
simus.

Ep. lv. p. 66.

The case of Marcian, bishop of Arles, occurred during the pontificate of Stephen. He had embraced the views of Novatian, who, for refusing the renewal of church communion to the penitent, and making this the foundation

A. D. 253.

¹ These are the words of Eusebius, and he is the only author from whom we derive our knowledge of the case: *φέρονται δὲ καὶ αἱ τοῦτων φωναί, πληκτικώτερον καθαρπομένων τοῦ Βίκτορος.*—*Hist.* v. 24. p. 293. Mr. Wilberforce writes thus: "It is observable that S. Irenæus, and those who concurred with him, did not blame Victor for interfering, but merely the harshness with which he interfered."—*Prin. of church auth.* ch. x. p. 151. Casaubon says, far more truly, "Victoris usurpatio, temeritas notata est a sanctis episcopis Orientis, neque obtinuit."—*Exercit.* xvi. p. 544. F. Coster gives this statement:

"S. Victor papa secutus transmissam a S. Petro in ecclesiâ Romanâ traditionem, resolvit non cum Judæis, sed Dominicâ post decimam quartam lunam, illud observandum esse."—*Conciones*, pars i. p. 97. He does not add that the judgment was totally disregarded by the Asiatics.

² "Cornelius Romanus episcopus, nec de causâ istorum Romæ judicavit, nec ejus retractationem decrevit, imò illos, utpote damnatos ab episcopis suis, audire voluit."—*Dupin, De ant. eccles. discip.* diss. ii. c. 2. s. 1. See also Field, *Of the church*, book v. c. 39. p. 569.

Marcian of
Arles.

Ep. lxvii.
p. 94.

of a schism, had been condemned by the voice of the church. Faustinus of Lyons, as the bishop next in position to the metropolitan, not only employed the assistance of the Gallicans, but appealed to the other bishops of the west according to the custom of that age in similar cases.¹ It appears that Stephen having been negligent in the matter, his brother bishop at Carthage wrote to excite him to the performance of his duty. The neighbouring bishops required support in deposing their metropolitan. The bishop of Rome, as the most powerful bishop of the west, was especially bound to render assistance; and it was on his failure that Cyprian addressed to him an earnest ex-postulation. That there was no authority in the see of Rome for interference in such a case, beyond that which other bishops possessed, is evident from the language of Cyprian as well as from the facts. He exhorted Stephen the more earnestly, both to prevent the schismatic Marcian from pleading the sanction of the great Latin see; and because what happened in Gaul especially concerned Rome, as being at no great distance. But, as Dupin justly observes, there is no more reason for ascribing supremacy to Stephen because the bishops of Gaul solicited his help, than to Cyprian because they sent him a similar request.²

About the same time Basilides and Martial, two Spanish bishops, who, for apostasy besides other offences, had been deposed by lawful authority in their own church, appealed to Rome. They represented their case so artfully to

¹ "De hæresi agebatur. Quo casu, ex usu veteris disciplinæ subvenire poterant cæteri episcopi, nullâ habitâ ratione discriminis provinciarum." — *De Marca, Concordia sacerdot. et imp.* lib. 1. c. 10. s. 8. And again, "Agebatur de hæresi jam damnatâ. Ideoque Cyprianus ait, communem causam esse omnium episcoporum, neque opponi posse discretionem provinciarum." — lib. vii. c. 1. s. 5.

² "Sicut ergo ex eo quod Galli auxilium Cypriani imploravere, non licet concludere Marciani causam ad Cypriani tribunal delatam fuisse; ita ex eo quod ad Stephanum scripserint,

non sequitur delatam esse Marciani causam ad Stephani tribunal, ut ab eo tanquam à supremo causarum episcopali arbitro judicaretur." — *Dupin*, diss. ii. c. 2. s. 1. Salsenius examines the case at considerable length, and thus expresses his conclusion: "Legatur tota epistola. Nihil in eâ habetur quod causæ pontificiæ faveat, aut ejus auctoritatem vel potestatem in ecclesias Gallicanas, vel alias, majorem adstruat, quam cujuslibet episcopi, quam denique ipsius qui scribit, Cypriani." — *De primatu*, c. xix. p. 327.

Stephen that they obtained communicatory letters. The Spanish church, disturbed by Roman interference, asked assistance and advice from Cyprian. He summoned a council and sent a synodical reply, in which he and his colleagues blamed the act of Stephen, and advised the Spanish bishops to abide by their sentence against those who had been justly deposed. If the application of Basilides and Martial to Stephen is pleaded as a precedent favourable to Rome, with much greater reason that of the Spanish church to Cyprian may be alleged on the other side. In the one case the application proceeded from individuals of worthless character; in the other, the dignity of a national church was involved. And it is besides to be noted that the advice of Cyprian was followed, while the Roman interference was unsuccessful. The Spanish church was in no way influenced by the judgment of Stephen, and would not rescind the appointment which they had made to the sees formerly filled by the offenders. Cyprian, who was constituted censor of an act performed by Stephen, made all the excuse in his behalf which the case allowed; but counted his decree absolutely invalid, and of no avail. So far from admitting that the delinquents had derived any advantage by their appeal, he declared that they had only added crime to crime.¹ And yet Dr. Newman permits himself to refer to these cases in such terms as the following: "Fortunatus and Felix, deposed by St. Cyprian, have recourse to Rome; Basilides, deposed in Spain, betakes himself to Rome, and gains the ear of St. Stephen."

Basilides
and Martial.

Ep. lxviii.
p. 95.

Develop-
ment.
Intro.
p. 23.

¹ "Hoc eo pertinet ut Basilidis non tam abolita sint, quam cumulata delicta, ut ad superiora peccata ejus etiam fallaciæ et circumventionis crimen accesserit."—*Cyp. Ep. lxviii. p. 96.* De Dominis gives this as a summary of the whole case: "Cyprianus, factus in hoc casu Hispanicarum ecclesiarum judex, doctor, et instructor, et Romani etiam papæ censor; curam hanc ad se pertinere nil dubitans;

sicut ad eum etiam recursum faciendum esse Hispani censuerant, ob egregiam doctrinæ et sanctitatis famam, quæ ipsum Cyprianum per omnes ecclesias efferebat; statuit absolute et definit, Basilidem omnino rejiciendum, et successorem quem jam ei substituerant, in sede illius esse confirmandum."—*De repub. eccles. lib. iv. c. 9. s. 12.*

During the same pontificate, a contest arose between the chief divisions of the Latin church, on the allowance of baptism administered by heretics, which led to more important results. By the one party it was held legitimate, and therefore not to be renewed; by the other it was declared absolutely invalid. The question had arisen as early as the time of Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, but had not excited much attention until the council of Africa held in 217 under Agrippinus. The churches of Asia and Egypt had long differed from those of Italy and Gaul, without injury to mutual peace and charity; but the discussion which now arose on the subject was maintained with great violence, and furnishes, incidentally, the strongest possible evidence against the claim of Roman supremacy. The custom of baptizing those who joined the catholic church, from whatever form of heresy, had prevailed in the church of Carthage, and it was confirmed by Cyprian in a council of seventy-one bishops. Stephen, on the contrary, decreed that they should be received with imposition of hands only. Both were in error, as it was afterwards proved by the decision of the church; Cyprian, because he disallowed all baptism among heretics, even though administered in the prescribed form; Stephen, because, admitting all, he made no exception in the case of those who rejected the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.¹ The council of Arles, A. D. 314, taking a middle course, ruled that none should be rebaptized who had received baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; which was confirmed at Nice in 325, and at Constantinople in 381. Most true are the words of bishop Bilson, "If Cyprian and the bishops of Africa, when their cause was not good, resisting the bishops of Rome both in words

The ques-
tion of
heretical
baptism.

¹ "Si quis ergo a quacunq[ue] hæresi venerit ad nos, nihil innovatur nisi quod traditum est, ut manus illi imponatur in pœnitentiam: cum ipsi hæretici proprie alterutrum ad se venientes non baptizent, sed communicent tantum." These are the words of Stephen, cited by Cyprian. — Ep. lxxiv. p. 111. And he adds, "A quacunq[ue] hæresi venientem baptizari in ecclesia vetuit, id est, omnium hæreticorum baptismata justa esse et legitima judicavit."

and deeds, were taken and accounted in the church of God for christian and catholic bishops, yea, Cyprian the chief leader of them and most earnest against him, for a worthy father and glorious martyr; how much more then, in a right and just cause, might the bishops of Rome be lawfully resisted in those days." Dionysius of Alexandria, a learned and pious man, undertook the office of mediating between the bishops of Carthage and Rome, as Irenæus had interposed between Polycrates and Victor; but no good result was produced. Stephen published a formal decree, which he transmitted to various churches; but it was so far from being received as a final judgment on the case, that a third council was held at Carthage, at which eighty-five bishops were present besides presbyters and laity, and they declared their adherence to the previous decision.¹ Stephen pronounced the African bishops, and those who held the same conclusions, to be cut off from communion; but his sentence was as entirely disregarded as that of Victor had been on a former occasion.² The opinion of Cyprian was strongly supported by Firmilian, bishop of Cappadocia, who applied language of unusual harshness to Stephen. He compares him to Judas; he accuses him of defaming the apostles; he calls him blind, ignorant, rash, presump-

Christian Subjection, part i. p. 98.

Stephen's decree disregarded.

¹ Bossuet tells us that Stephen published his decree with as much authority as he could give, "pro cathedræ autoritate præcepit, et decretum condidit, et ad omnes misit ecclesias," and that it was notwithstanding, disregarded.—*Def. declarat. Cleri Gall.* pars iii. lib. ix. c. 4.

² Mr. Wilberforce says very inconsiderately that "it is remarkable that neither Dionysius, Cyprian, nor Firmilian, assert that S. Stephen had no right to interfere; though by Firmilian especially he is spoken of with great harshness. Their complaint is, that he had interfered improperly, and on a wrong occasion."—*Prin. of church auth.* ch. x. p. 153. There is the same statement about Victor, p. 151. It is so far from accurate that we find Cyprian, in the very letter which he addressed to Stephen on the subject,

using these words: "Quâ in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus aut legem damus; cum habeat in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus." And Firmilian, as might be expected, speaks more strongly still. "Quod nunc Stephanus ausus est facere, rumpens adversus vos pacem, quam semper antecessores ejus vobiscum, amore et honore mutuo, custodierunt."—*Firmil. ad Cyp. inter epp. Cyp.* lxxv. p. 115. And again, with bitter irony, he says, "Quid, enim, humilium aut lenium, quam cum tot episcopis per totum mundum dissensisse, pacem cum singulis vario discordiæ genere rumpentem, modo cum orientalibus (quod nec vos latere confidimus) modo vobiscum, qui in meridie estis."—*Ibid.* p. 117.

tuous, a partaker with heretics; as Stephen had called Cyprian, antichrist, false apostle, and deceitful worker. Nothing, indeed, could well be more grievous than the spirit in which the conflict was carried on. Christian meekness and charity were sacrificed by both parties; there was certainly no restraint in the use of reproachful terms through any conscious inferiority to the Roman bishop. Cyprian maintained his conclusion as strongly against Stephen as he would against any other bishop; he rebuked him as freely, and condemned him as severely. The anger of Stephen, on the other hand, is a proof how he understood the conduct of his opponent; yet he does not venture to charge him with rebellion against the see, which is now said to be the centre and source of unity.¹ Harsh words he gave abundantly in reply, but he stopped short of the point which is indispensable to the papal argument. That Cyprian never changed his opinion we may conclude, because there is no record of so important a circumstance², and the custom of rebaptizing heretics remained in the eastern church long after the time of this dispute.³ When a century and a half had elapsed, Augustine rose in the church of North Africa, a doctor and bishop of still higher influence. In his controversy with the Donatists on the subject of baptism, he was led to speak of the sentiments of Cyprian, which he concludes to have been wrong, not because they were condemned by Stephen, but because a general council had pronounced

Mutual re-
proaches.

Cyprian re-
tains his
opinion.

¹ This is forcibly stated by Dodwell: "Id certum, cum dissensio esset reliquorum episcoporum à Romano in causâ rebaptizandorum hæreticorum, ita nunquam eâ argumentatione usum esse Cyprianum, quâ quis unus episcopus cæteris pro unitatis esset principio agnoscendus, ut ne illi quidem responderit tanquam à Stephano objectæ." — *Diss. Cyp.* vii. s. 41. p. 175.

² Augustine says, "Fortasse factum est, sed nescimus." — *De bapt. cont. Don.* ii. 4. Noel Alexander proves that Jerome was wrong in supposing

a decree to have been passed by an African council, rescinding the former judgment, — sæc. iii. diss. 12. art. 3. Launoy does the same, *Epp. pars viii.* ep. xv. p. 814.

³ The statement of the subject is to be found in Cyprian's letter to Jubaiian, *Ep. lxxiii.* p. 105. See also Launoy, *pars viii.* ep. 15. p. 806.; Bossuet, *Def. cleri Gall. præv. diss. s. 67—76.*; Maimbourg, *On the prerogatives of the Church of Rome, c. ix.*, for which treatise he was expelled the order of Jesuits by command of Innocent XI.

them erroneous ; and he nowhere suggests that the controversy had been closed by Stephen's judgment, or that the Africans were to blame for disobeying it ; that is, he recognizes a council and not a pope as the constituted authority for the settlement of questions in dispute. With the full knowledge of his conduct on this occasion, he praises Cyprian's holiness and humility, and speaks of him as a catholic bishop and martyr.¹ It is a very notable circumstance, and very difficult for Romanists to explain, that, not Stephen, but his opponent, has a place in the canon of the mass, in the ancient litanies and missals, and in the sacramentary of Gregory the great. The eastern church in the same way honours the memory of Firmilian among its saints. The second council of Antioch called both these bishops men of blessed memory.

Eusebius,
vii. c. 30.
p. 279.

During the pontificate of Dionysius, his namesake, the great bishop of Alexandria, having written a work against Sabellius, was believed by certain persons to have fallen into the opposite error. They carried their complaint to Rome, when the pope, having summoned a council, received the accusation, and called upon the bishop of Alexandria for his reply. Dionysius vindicated his opinion, in a work addressed to the bishop of Rome ; and it is on this ground that Baronius, and some others, have concluded, somewhat hastily, that he acknowledged the jurisdiction of a tribunal supreme for examining questions of orthodoxy. But, as Dupin has abundantly proved, what took place, on both sides, in this instance, was no more than occurred continually, in the relation maintained by the great sees to

A. D. 258.

Dionysius of
Alexandria.

¹ "Si Romanum pontificem Cyprianus papatu universali fulgere scivisset, nunquam abjectâ reverentiâ in eum adeo exarsisset ; sed zelum suum quantumcunque, ut videbatur, justum omnino temperasset. Augustinus quoque si eundem papatum admisisset, in hâc censurâ aliquid de reverentiâ papæ debitâ innuisset : atqui in ipsâ iracundiâ Cypriani plus laudat pietatem ipsius à schismate abhorrentis ;

quam zelum Stephani ad schisma propendentis."—*De Dominis*, lib. iv. c. 8. s. 65.

Bossuet says truly : "Certum est, hactenus extitisse neminem, nedum schismatis aut schismatici spiritûs Cyprianum tantum virum, tantum episcopum, tantum martyrum, ac per illa quoque tempora et pietate et doctrinâ totius ecclesiæ lumen arguere sit ausus."—*Def. præv. diss.* s. 68.

wards each other. Complaints, for instance, were laid by the church of Antioch, before the bishop of Alexandria; but no one ventured to suggest that this was an acknowledgment of superiority. So again, the bishop of Constantinople exhorted the occupant of another great see, without even a suspicion that he arrogated any supreme jurisdiction.¹ The general supervision which was exercised by all the chief bishops, as well as the interchange of communicatory letters, made it indispensable that mutual satisfaction should be rendered in every case in which soundness in the faith was concerned. But, after all, the bishop of Rome gave no judgment about Dionysius of Alexandria.

A. D. 342.

It was near the middle of the fourth century, when Athanasius, the champion of orthodoxy in the east, being persecuted by the Arians, applied for assistance to Julius bishop of Rome, by whom his cause was earnestly defended. This has been represented by papal writers, from Bellarmine downwards, as an instance of appeal to a pope by an oriental bishop, and of restoration by his interference. And yet when we look into the circumstances, we shall see that there is no foundation at all for such a conclusion. They are clearly stated by bishop Bilson: "The petition of Athanasius doth not prove the western bishops to be controllers and overseers of such things as were done in the east, much less the bishop of Rome to be supreme judge over all: but rather sheweth that the church of Christ was guided by the common consent and mutual agreement of both parts, as well east as west, indifferently balanced; and the western bishops might call for a sentence given against Athanasius, before they allowed the same, or received his successor to the fellowship of their communion." In the words of a very learned Gallican writer, "Athanasius took refuge at Rome, not in the character of

The case of Athanasius.

Christian Subjection, part i. p. 61.

¹ Dupin having furnished several instances, adds, "Extant innumera hujusmodi exempla episcoporum accusatorum apud alios episcopos, qui nihil juris in illos habebant. Et tamen his in casibus episcopi isti, ne quid

detrimenti caperet respublica ecclesiastica, sedulo curaverunt, et eos qui apud se accusabantur, conati sunt ab errore revocare, aut si in eo perseverarent, eos excommunicare non dubitarunt."—Diss. ii. c. 2. s. 1.

an appellant, but to escape the violence of his enemies.”¹ The council which deposed the bishop of Alexandria had not, according to the established custom, made communication on the subject to the churches of the west. Julius, the bishop of the great see, required that a statement should be made to him of the grounds of accusation ; but he did not assume to himself the judgment of the cause. This interpretation of his words is clearly established by archbishop de Marca, an unimpeachable witness, who does not scruple to blame cardinal du Perron for his perversion of their meaning.² Dr. Barrow says, speaking of Athanasius and the other bishops who were in the same circumstances, “the pope did not restore them judicially, but declaratively ; that is, declaring his approbation of their right and innocence, did admit them to communion. Julius, in his own defence, did allege, that Athanasius was not legally rejected ; so that, without any prejudice to the canons, he might receive him ; and the doing it upon this account plainly did not require any act of judgment.”

Opinions of Roman writers.

Supremacy, Supp. v. p. 360.

The council of Antioch which deposed Athanasius was no general council, and had no sort of claim to the obedience of the west. Julius, therefore, signified his non-assent to the act of deposition. In his letter to the eastern bishops, he did not plead any right inherent in his see, but alleged the irregularity of their proceedings. For which, and for other causes, he judged it fit to countenance and assist the

Sozomen, lib. iii. c. 10. p. 510.

¹ “Athanasius Romam confugit non quasi appellans, sed vim hostium metuens.”—*Dupin*, diss. ii. c. 2. s. 2.

² “Unde concludit Julius monendum se fuisse, si quid suspicionis exortum esset Alexandriae adversus Athanasium. Huc enim tendit oratio Julii ; jus vero suum accessit à facto Dionysii. Ceterum causam judicari debere scribit ab omnibus, non autem a se solo. Quare merito reprehendendus est illustrissimus Card. Peronius, &c.”—*De concord.* lib. vii. c. 4. s. 8.

Dupin also denies any restoration in the case, “Tantum auditâ ejusdem Athanasii apologiâ suam cum eo com-

munionem confirmavit, et pro episcopo eum habuit.”—*Diss.* ii. c. 2. s. 2. In a different treatise, the same great Roman writer says, “Quand S. Athanase eut recours au pape Jule, ce pape ne s’attribua point la connoissance de sa cause. Au contraire il manda aux Orientaux qu’il étoit nécessaire d’assembler un synode, et en effet il en assembla un.”—*Autorité ecclésiastique*, tome ii. p. 43.

Launoy says, “Non à Julio tantum, sed etiam à Romano synodo dignus restitutione judicatus est. Sic verè dicendum est quia reipsa restitutus non fuit.”—*Pars* ii. ep. 3. p. 113.

bishop of Alexandria, and the others. An arbitration of the case was agreed on by both parties, and a council held for that purpose at Rome. The Arians failing to attend, Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra were pronounced innocent; they were received into communion not only by Julius but by the other bishops of Italy and the neighbouring regions. But whatever was the pretence, or the mode of the pope's interference, it was indignantly rejected by the eastern bishops; and they excommunicated those of the west, who held communion with Athanasius. To allege that they were Arians is nothing to the purpose; it was a question of discipline, and not of doctrine. Whatever complaints were made about the irregular proceedings of the council of Antioch, arose from all the western bishops, and not from any one in particular, as Sozomen expressly mentions; and the hearing of the case was undertaken by all. And at last Athanasius was only replaced in his see by the decision of the council of Sardica, and the authority of the emperor; and not a word was said about the pretended definitive sentence of the bishop of Rome.¹ Theodoret narrates a remarkable dialogue which was held, a few years later, between Constantius and Liberius, in which the emperor reproaches the bishop of Rome with maintaining the cause of Athanasius, and asks him what great part of the world he represents that he should take that side. The most obvious answer would have been the plea of an universal charge; instead of which Liberius speaks only, as any other person might, about the injustice of condemning one who was absent and unheard.

A. D. 360.

In the fourth century, the church of Antioch was divided

¹ "Denique quòd Sardicensis synodus Romanâ synodo longè numerosior et celebrior, quicquid a Romanâ synodo gestum fuerat confirmat, Athanasium civitati suâ restituendum esse judicat, et apud Constantium imperatorem efficit, ut Athanasius restitueretur; restitutus est."—*Launoii epp.* pars ii. 3. p. 113. Cabassutius, an Oratorian, and there-

fore very favourable to papal prerogative, mentions the steps taken at Sardica in revising the proceedings, and adds, "Cunctis accuratissimè circumspectis pro Athanasio dicta sententia;" without any reference to a restoration by Julius.—*Notitia eccles.* p. 138.

Socrates,
lib. ii. c. 15.
p. 91.
Sozomen,
lib. iii.
c. 8—11.
p. 508—511.

Lib. ii. c. 7.
p. 505.

Lib. ii. c. 16.
p. 92.

by an obstinate schism, between the followers of Meletius and those of Paulinus, the latter having been appointed bishop, by the Eustathian party, soon after the return of the former from banishment. It lasted, as Theodoret informs us, during a period of eighty-five years¹, and was not confined to the church in which it arose, but involved in a measure the whole body of the faithful, who adhered to the one or the other of the rivals. Basil of Cæsarea, having in vain attempted to reconcile the two parties, applied to pope Damasus, who interposing as a judge, and not as a mediator, espoused the cause of Paulinus. The decision of Rome was however received with so little respect in the east, that, with the exception of Athanasius and a few others, all the orthodox bishops sided with Meletius. Chrysostome was ordained reader by him while out of communion with Rome. His cause was supported by Basil; he ordained Gregory Nazianzen to the see of Constantinople; he presided at the second œcumenical council; and his name stands in the Roman martyrology. On his death, which took place during the session of the council, the fathers would not accept Paulinus for his successor, but appointed Flavian; that is, they rejected the judgment of Rome, even at the expense of perpetuating the schism.²

Lib. iii. c. 5.
p. 128.

Schism in
the church
at Antioch.

Flavian, a great and good bishop, highly commended by Chrysostome, and called blessed by the council of Chalcedon, was opposed by pope Damasus, and his two successors, though his appointment to the see of Antioch

A. D. 381.

¹ During this period, no one ventures to deny that the eastern church was rich in saints; or to affirm that they were the less saints because out of communion with Rome.

² "Orientales Meletium licet ab Occidentalium et Romani episcopi communione alienum in sua communione habuere, et è contra Paulinum à Romanis et Italis approbatum episcopum nihili fecerunt. Post mortem Meletii Flavianum in ejus locum ordinarunt episcopum, invitis Occidentalibus."—*Dupin*, diss. ii. c. 2. s. 2. The history of Flavian's appointment is given by

Theodoret, lib. v. c. 23. p. 230. Balzerini, seeing the difficulty of the case, tries to escape from it by denying that Meletius was excommunicated by Damasus. These are his words: "Factum Meletii Antiocheni facile componitur, si consideres cum excommunicatione propriè dictâ nunquam fuisse præcisum ab unitate et communione catholicâ, et sedis apostolicæ, sed ipsi tantum negatas fuisse a summo pontifice Damaso literas communionis episcopalis."—*De primatu R. P. c. xi. s. 1. p. 77.*

was according to canonical order; and they supported Evagrius his rival, whose ordination, as Theodoret expressly tells us, was irregular. The judgment of the Latin bishop was utterly disregarded in the east; and the schism was finally healed by the interposition of Chrysostome. Paulinus was succeeded by Evagrius, with whom the line favoured by Rome became extinct; while the line of Flavian, which Rome opposed, handed on the succession. When Flavian had been deposed, with other orthodox bishops, in the second council of Ephesus, he applied for assistance to Leo and others in the west. The pope was so far from believing himself competent to the settlement of this great question by his personal authority, that, having proposed the subject in a council of the western bishops, he urged the emperor to summon a general council; which was held at Chalcedon.¹

Lib. v. c. 23.
p. 230.

Council of
Chalcedon
summoned.

A. D. 392.

Bonosus.

The case of Bonosus occurred about the same time. He was a bishop in Dacia; and having been accused of holding heretical opinions, the judgment of his cause was committed by the council of Capua to the neighbouring bishops, and chiefly to those of Macedonia. They pronounced sentence of suspension against him; and finding that he had taken counsel with Ambrose, they carried the case to Siricius, at that time bishop of Rome. In his reply to their application, he declared himself unable lawfully to pronounce a decision, because that office had been committed to them by the council of Capua.² It was a distinct dis-

¹ "Haud aliter sensit ipse Leo ac Romana synodus. Constat quippe eos causam fidei aut Flaviani, quæ cohærebat quæstioni fidei in concilio Ephesino pessumdatæ, non alibi judicandam censuisse quàm in concilio œcumenico ex episcopis orientis et occidentis conflato, quod tamen intra Italiam convocari à Theodosio cupiebant."—*De Marca, de concord.* lib. vii. c. 7. s. 4. Launoy says, "Non ideo provocavit, ut Flaviani causam Leo solus judicaret, sed ut generalis synodus cum Leone judicaret."—*Pars i. ep. 3. p. 114.* So Dupin also speaks, "Cet appel n'étoit pas interjetté au pape

seul; c'étoit plutôt au concile, comme il paroît dans la suite."—*Autorité ecclési.* tom. ii. p. 189.

² "Cum hujusmodi fuerit concilii Capuensis judicium, ut finitimi Bonoso atque ejus accusatoribus judices tribuerentur, et præcipuè Macedones qui cum episcopo Thessalonicensi de ejus factis cognoscerent, advertimus, quod nobis judicandi forma competere non posset."—*Inter epp. Ambrosii*, lxxix. fol. 180. He cites also the words of Ambrose, "Neque contra sententiam vestram tentandum aliquid, ut quod videretur vobis justitiæ convenire statueretis, quibus hanc synodus dederat

avowal of any authority inherent in his see superior to that of a provincial council. And this opinion, pronounced by the pope himself, coincides exactly with that which Ambrose had previously expressed to Bonosus.

St. Chrysostome, having been driven from his see by Theophilus of Alexandria and a council, on a false accusation, addressed a letter to Innocent, in which he complained to him, not as a judge, but as a friend and fellow-bishop; he did not ask him to give sentence in his cause, but to assist in convening a general council for hearing the appeal. Roman controversialists usually suppress the fact that the same epistle was sent to Venerius bishop of Milan, and to Chromatius of Aquileia.¹ The bishops of Italy maintained the right of appeal to a council; and, in the mean time, refused to recognise the sentence against Chrysostome. And after his death, which had taken place in exile, they withdrew from the communion of the eastern church, until his name was replaced in the diptichs, which were the records of deceased bishops in the liturgy. Innocent addressed a letter to Chrysostome, which is full of wise and pious counsel; it expresses great respect and sympathy, but says not a word of any power of restoration possessed by the pope himself. It contains, in short, all which is consistent with the brotherly interest of a great western bishop, but does not even imply the possession of any jurisdiction. He wrote also to the clergy and people of Constantinople, strongly vindicating the cause of Chrysostome, urging the necessity of observing the canons, but referring to the decision of a council as the only remedy.²

A. D. 402.

Sozomen,
lib. viii.
c. 17. p. 781.The case of
Chrysos-
tome.

auctoritatem." fol. 181. Dupin gives this as the summary of the case, "Igitur ex Siricii et Ambrosii sententiâ judicatis semel episcopis in synodo provinciæ, nihil est adversus judicium tentandum, nec licet ulli antistiti, ne quidem Romano, causam ad se evocare, seu, ut verbis Siricii utar, nullis aliis quam vicinis episcopis forma judicandi competit."—Diss. ii. c. 2. s. 2. See also Launoy, pars i. ep. vii. p. 38.

¹ Launoy censured this unfairness in Bellarmine: "Oblivio hæc ecclesiasticæ historiæ non parum importat detrimenti."—Pars i. ep. 3. p. 15. He goes on to supply the portion of the case which Bellarmine had suppressed. Yet papal writers are, to this day, equally guilty.

² The two letters are given by Sozomen, lib. viii. c. 26. p. 793. De Marca writes thus upon the case, "Ex hæc narratione colligitur, non

A. D. 412. At the beginning of the fifth century, the heretic Cœlestius, having been condemned in a council at Carthage, appealed to the bishop of Rome, by whom he was at first countenanced. The African bishops, however, regarded the judgment of the pope so lightly, that, without waiting for his decision, they held a second council, in which the sentence of excommunication against Cœlestius was confirmed.¹

Cœlestius.

A. D. 418. In the pontificate of Zosimus another instance of appeal occurred, which was followed by more important consequences. Apiarius, a presbyter of Sicca, having been convicted of grave offences, was deposed by his bishop. He appealed to the pope, by whom he was favourably received, and Faustinus sent to procure his restoration by the African church. Zosimus did not claim any supreme authority by divine right, but only the privilege of interposing on account of the Sardican canons, which he presented as the Nicene. The Africans, taken by surprise, and knowing nothing of any such canons framed at Nice, suspended their judgment until they had ascertained the genuineness of these documents. They would have submitted to this authority as being supreme in the church; but having received information from Alexandria and Constantinople of the fraud which had been practised, they persisted in the condemnation of Apiarius, whose sentence was confirmed in a council of 217 bishops, among whom Augustine himself was present. In the words of De Marca, "Faustinus used much exertion, but had little success. The council having assumed the cognizance of the cause, con-

Apiarius.

quidem Chrysostomum provocasse ad summum pontificem, aut appellationem ejus à papa judicatam fuisse, sed appellationem ab eo interpositam ad concilium œcumenicum susceptam esse ab imperatore pro more illius sæculi, &c." — Lib. vii. c. 9. s. 3. Dupin says, "Ex his constat nec Chrysostomum, nec Innocentium, nec Palladium, nec ullum omnino alicujus fidei scriptorem prodidisse memoriæ aliquid decretum ab Innocentio emissum, ad irritandum ju-

dicium à Theophilo in Chrysostomum latum."—Diss. ii. c. 2. s. 2.

¹ "Itaque Cœlestium ad Innocentium appellasse certum est. Sed incertum utrùm Innocentius Cœlestii appellationem gratam habuerit: certo certius Africanos appellationem ejus flocci fecisse, nec expectato ejus ad quem appellatum judicio Cœlestium iterum damnasse, et Innocentium ipsum illorum damnationem approbasse." — Dupin, diss. ii. c. 2. s. 3.

demned Apiarius in the presence of Faustinus.”¹ In conclusion, they addressed a synodical letter to Celestine (Zosimus and Boniface had died in the interval): they urged with great force the observance of the canons, by which appeals beyond sea were forbidden. The case is, in all respects, very perplexing to Roman controversialists. Apiarius, under the influence of remorse, made a full confession of his crimes, and thus not only was the claim to interpose rejected, but the infallibility in the exercise of the alleged right disproved.²

When Leo I. was bishop of Rome Hilary occupied the see of Arles, and exercised metropolitan rights in Gaul. The power had been acquired by a predecessor, partly through a decision of the council of Turin, and partly through the assistance of Zosimus, who alleged that the first metropolitan of Arles had been appointed by St. Peter.³ Celidonus, bishop of Besançon, having been deposed by Hilary in a provincial synod for a certain alleged violation of the canons, appealed to Leo, by whom he was admitted to communion. Hilary followed him on foot, and in the depth of winter, not to plead as before a judge, but for conference.⁴ He was treated with great violence and indignity, but he absolutely rejected the claim of jurisdiction; and having escaped, he returned to Arles. Leo reversed the sentence against Celidonus, and transferred the metropolitan privileges from Arles to Vienne; but distrusting, as he well might, his power to enforce a decision which was contrary to all ecclesiastical law, he obtained from the emperor a rescript, by which new and

A. D. 443.

Hilary of Arles.

¹ Faustinus, tametsi multum moverit, nihil promovit. Contra cum concilium cognitionem accusationis in se suscepisset, convictus est Apiarius, presente Faustino.”—*De concord.* lib. vii. c. 15. s. 3.

² Dupin examines the case at great length, *Diss.* ii. c. 2. s. 3. p. 176—202.

³ Of which assertion Salmasius says very justly, “Nihil mendacius aut vanius ab illo fingi potuit.”—*De primatu*, c. xvi. p. 270.

⁴ “Venisse se non tanquam accusatorem, nec ut causam diceret, sed ut iudicium sub presentia sua factum familiari apud Leonem suggestionem sive sermone doceret legitimum fuisse, &c.”—*De Marca*, lib. v. c. 32. s. 5. And again, “Addidit verba quæ haud dubiè Leoni visa sunt plena contumaciæ, nimirum non toleraturum se ut sententia adversus Celidonium lata retractaretur.”—*Ibid.*

unprecedented powers were granted to his see.¹ This remarkable document bears traces of the hand of Leo; some expressions are similar to what he addressed in his own name to the bishops of Gaul; there is the same extravagant exaltation of Rome, and the same bitter invective against Hilary. This famous law of Valentinian III., which has been so often adduced, was obtained by an ambitious and energetic bishop from a weak and unworthy prince²; and what was gained by the intervention of the civil power has been carried to the credit of ecclesiastical right. Through this law Leo prevailed against the bishop of Arles; but it was an ill-gotten victory, for it was due to the interposition of the secular arm. Hence an attempt was successful in this case which failed in the time of Cyprian. Hilary was, however, very far from acquiescing in so great a violation of church law. To use the words of Dupin, "he persisted in his decision, and, though anxious to appease the pope, he never revoked his sentence against Celidonius, nor consented to the judgment of Leo."³ He died four years later, out of communion with the Roman church. A more learned, pious, and lowly prelate that age did not produce. The bishops of his province, as well as Leo himself, called him Hilary of blessed memory; and the Roman church gives him a place in the martyrology. Our knowledge of this great and good man is derived partly from the writings of Leo, and partly from his life written from Honoratus, bishop of Marseilles, through whom he was first converted to God.⁴

Leo prevailed through the aid of the secular power.

A. D. 448.

Eutyches, having been condemned by the council of

¹ This is affirmed even by Roman writers. Thus, De Marca says, "Rescriptum illud non solum ratum esse decernit decretum in causâ Cheledonii factum, sed etiam novum jus introducit adversus canones Sardicenses." — *De concord.* lib. vii. c. 17. s. 6.

² "Placidius Valentinianus Honorio successerat, vœcordi principi, inertissimus ipse ac imbellis, desidîaque ac luxurie perditissimus. Nec igitur à tali principe operosum Leoni fuit re-

scriptum elicere quale voluit." — *Salmasius, de primatu*, c. xvii. p. 288.

³ "Perstitit tamen Hilarius in sententiâ suâ, et quanquam studuerit pontificem delinire, nunquam tamen sententiam in Celidonium revocavit, aut Leonis iudicio acquievit." — *Diss.* ii. c. 2. s. 3.

⁴ The case of Hilary is fully stated by Salmasius, *De primatu*, c. c. xvi. xvii. xviii. See also *De Marca*, lib. v. c. 32. col. 671., and lib. vi. c. 17. col. 945.

Constantinople held under Flavian, appealed, not to the pope alone, but also to the bishops of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Thessalonica. This is expressly stated by archbishop de Marca, Dupin, and other learned writers in the Roman church.¹ Leo himself, having received information of what had taken place, did not claim that the revision of the sentence should be reserved for the see of Rome, but sent legates to the council summoned by the emperor for the decision of the question in 449, and which ended in such disgraceful violence. Eutyches.

Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, having been condemned in his absence by this council of Ephesus, had recourse to the assistance and advice of Leo, from whom he received the assurance of communion, and support. There was no formal trial appointed, and no citation of evidence, beyond the declaration of faith by Theodoret, of which Leo expressed his approval. A similar appeal was made to Flavian. But the decision of the cause was reserved to the council of Chalcedon, by whom, and by the emperor, he was at length fully restored.² A. D. 449.
Theodoret
of Cyrus.

In the middle of the fifth century, Timothy, surnamed Ælurus, who adhered to Dioscorus after his condemnation at Chalcedon, and had been himself deposed and banished, returned to Alexandria, and by violence obtained possession of that see. He persecuted all the bishops who adhered to the orthodox faith. Leo took part against him, and in 460 he was expelled from Alexandria, but it was by A. D. 457.
Timothy
Ælurus.

¹ "Nolim tamen negare quin pontificem Romanum appellaverit; sed tamen contendo non ad solum Romanum pontificem provocasse."—*De Marca*, lib. vii. c. 6. s. 5. This is confirmed by Noël Alexander, sæc. v. c. 3. art. 13. s. 7. He cites the words of Constantine the monk, by whom Eutyches was defended. "Eutyches, dum legeretur damnatio, appellavit sanctum concilium sanctissimi episcopi Romani, Alexandrini, et Ierosolymitani, et Thessalonicensis." Dupin says, "Eutiche étant condamné par le concile de Constantinople au-

quel présidoit Flavien, n'appella point au pape seul, mais au concile des évêques de Rome, d'Alexandrie, de Jérusalem, et de Thessalonique."—*Autorité ecclés.* tome ii. p. 187.

² "Sessione demum octavâ causa ejus pleniùs cognita est; et post anathema Nestorio incussum, solemnium acclamatione ipse pleno tandem jure restituitur; et Eutychetem suffragio suo synodali damnavit."—*Cave, Hist. lit.* p. 261. See also Launoy, pars ii. ep. 3. p. 115.; and Dupin, *Autorité ecclés.* tome ii. p. 190.

the act of the emperor, at the instance of the bishop of Constantinople.

A. D. 482.

Somewhat later, we find John Talaia duly elected bishop of Alexandria, where he was opposed by Peter Mongus. Acacius, an able and ambitious prelate at this time occupied the see of Constantinople, and, through displeasure at some circumstance connected with the election, supported the cause of Peter Mongus at Alexandria, as he had also supported Peter Fullo at Antioch. Pope Felix the Second, after many remonstrances with Acacius, pronounced his deposition in a council; and at the same time condemned the Eutychian bishops of Alexandria and Antioch. His sentence was received by the eastern church with the utmost contempt. The cause for which they were contending against Rome was in itself bad, and therefore the resolution with which they maintained it brings out more strongly their rejection of the pope's interference. After the death of Acacius, the pope insisted that his name should be expunged from the diptichs. The eastern church was so far from complying, that they pronounced sentence of excommunication against Gelasius himself; and a schism arose between the east and west which lasted nearly forty years, during which time Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, continued in communion with Constantinople, notwithstanding the anathema of Rome. Peace was restored early in the sixth century, and the name of Acacius expunged. But this result was not produced by the authority of the pope, which had been exerted in vain, but by the command of the emperor, whose sentiments were different from those of his predecessor.

Acacius of
Constanti-
nople.

A. D. 536.

The case of Anthimus, which occurred in the sixth century, is urged by Baronius and others, as an instance of the pope's plenary power; but with how little reason, the circumstances will prove. He was an Eutychian, and had been bishop of Trebizond. He was properly speaking not deposed, for his election to the see of Constantinople

was irregular, and every patriarch had power to refuse him communion on this ground. Agapetus, bishop of Rome, who happened to be present through another cause, pronounced sentence against Anthimus, according to the canons, by authority of the council and the emperor Justinian. Mennas was chosen for his successor, by the suffrages of the emperor, the clergy, and the people.¹

Anthimus.

In the middle of the ninth century, Hincmar was appointed to the see of Rheims, which he occupied for thirty-seven years. He was the foremost ecclesiastic of his age, and the chief champion of the Gallican church.² In 862 he had suspended the bishop of Soissons, who, instead of submitting to his metropolitan, appealed to the pope. Nicholas required that the hearing of the case should be transferred to Rome, and blamed the proceedings which had taken place. Hincmar, in his reply, alleged that the council of Soissons had not violated the canons, but the bishop of Rome himself; and that the council of Sardica, from which he derived his authority, gave him no such power as he asserted. The archbishop, however, submitted, after considerable delay, to the papal judgment on the case, and allowed Rothade to be replaced in his see, which was then vacant through the death of the successor who had been appointed. There was error on both sides. The pope had, beyond question, far exceeded the powers conveyed by the canon³, while Hincmar, in judging the bishop, seems to have been influenced by private feelings. The Gallican bishops were for a time overborne, but they were far from admitting any such

A. D. 845.

Hincmar of Rheims.

¹ Spanheim says truly, "Certè auctoritate et consensu Justiniani factum, ac sententiâ concilii Constantinopolit." sæc. vi. s. v. p. 534. See also Evagrius. Hist. lib. iv. c. 11. p. 388.

² "A tout prendre, et en ayant égard à la prodigieuse différence des esprits et des temps, il y a, dans la situation et la conduite d'Hincmar, soit envers le pouvoir civil, soit envers la papauté, quelque analogie avec la situa-

tion et la conduite de Bossuet, dans des questions à peu près semblables, au xvii^e siècle."—*Guizot, Civilisation en France*, xxviii^e leçon, p. 106.

³ M. Guizot says, in reference to the pope's discourse addressed to the council, "C'était méconnaître et braver toutes les règles canoniques, tous les exemples du passé, tous les usages de l'église." — *Civilisation en France*, xxvii^e leçon, p. 84.

right as Nicholas had claimed. The pope had been successful in the contest; but in the time of his successor, Adrian II., a case somewhat similar occurred, but with very different results. The bishop of Laon, the nephew of Hincmar, having been deposed by a council in 871 for offences against the canons, appealed to Rome. Adrian II. commanded the archbishop of Rheims as metropolitan, and the king also, to send him for judgment to Rome. Both the king and the council of bishops refused compliance, and denied the authority of the pope to act as he proposed. Nor was the bishop of Laon ever restored to his see.

The cause of Hincmar's apparent inconsistency.

Whoever studies the public acts of Hincmar, cannot fail to be struck with a certain inconsistency which they display. The hesitation observable at one time, contrasts strangely with the boldness which he showed at another. We shall understand the difficulty of his position, if we remember that in the time of Nicholas I., his great antagonist, the decretal epistles were presented to the world, which gave all the powers which were claimed by the pope. Hincmar was too acute to be altogether deceived, and therefore, in part, he refused compliance; but because he had not fully detected the fraud he was, in part, submissive.¹

A. D. 859.

At the commencement of the pontificate of Nicholas the First, Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, was driven from his see, and Photius, a person of great learning and influence, substituted. The deposition of the one, and the election of the other, were irregular. Each had a faction, and there were mutual excommunications. Reference having been made to Rome, Nicholas condemned Photius, and decreed the restoration of Ignatius, adding the heaviest threats against those who should interpose any hinderance. To this sentence no regard was paid in the east; but a council was called, in which Photius pronounced the depo-

¹ De Marca says in reference to the time of Hincmar, "Epistolas contentas in collectione Isidori, non repudiatas quidem ab episcopis, quia de falsitate

illarum nondum constabat, sed in auctoritatem canonum non fuisse receptas" — *De concord.* lib. iii. c. 5. s. 5.

sition and excommunication of the pope. A revolution in the empire soon afterwards placed an enemy of Photius on the throne, and he was sent into banishment. He had been anathematized by Adrian, as well as Nicholas, yet it was held needful to call a council for the purpose of doing, canonically, what had been done by unauthorized assumption in the west. The assembled bishops, who formed, what the Latins call, the eighth general council, were enemies of Photius, and in the bitterness of their hatred were guilty of a strange profanation.¹ On the death of Ignatius, in 878, Photius recovered the favour of Basil, and was restored to his see, in a synod of 380 bishops, which the Greeks count for the eighth general council. On the death of Basil, he was again deprived, and soon afterwards died in exile. It is a miserable history of court intrigue and ecclesiastical violence, but it furnishes undeniable proof that the pretensions of the Roman bishop were utterly rejected by the eastern church. This contest was the proximate cause of the long schism by which it has been divided from the west.²

Photius.

These are the chief examples which controversialists have cited from the earlier periods of church history; if any others are alleged, they are comparatively irrelevant, and of little importance.

But it is in the decrees of councils, more than in any other records, that we possess the formal and authoritative expression of ecclesiastical principles in successive ages. The highest veneration was felt for the great ecumenical synods, as possessing the supremacy which the early church acknowledged. No individual bishop thought of setting his authority in opposition to theirs. Leo and Gregory

Decrees of councils.

¹ "Damnationi Photii subscriptum ab œcumenicæ istius synodi patribus calamis non solum atramento, sed etiam tremendo Christi sanguine delibutis in sacramentum infuso."—*Cabassutius, Notit. eccles.* p. 350. Pope Theodore had, in the same way, signed the deposition of a bishop.

² Spanheim has fully reviewed the subject. *Introd. ad hist. sacram. sæc.* ix. c. 11. p. 859—869. See, on the other side, Maimbourg, *De schismate Græcorum*; and Noel Alexander, *Hist. eccles. sæc. ix. diss. iv. de schismate Photii.*

were of one mind, in this respect, with Athanasius and Chrysostome.¹ A pope might be ambitious, but he professed no higher object than to maintain the canons; and if he attempted to infringe the rights of other churches, it was upon the plea of an authority bestowed upon him by a council. When the conclusions, formed after deliberation, had been adopted by the church at large, they were subsequently received with deep respect, because they implied the general consent of christians at the time of their establishment. In the words of Dr. Barrow, "If any new law were then introduced, or rule determined for common practice, it was done by the general agreement of bishops, or of a preponderant multitude among them, to whom the rest, out of modesty and peaceableness, did yield compliance; according to that saying of the Roman clergy to St. Cyprian, (upon occasion of the debate concerning the admission of lapsed persons to communion,) That decree cannot be valid that hath not the agreement of the major part. The whole validity of such laws or rules did indeed stand upon presumption of such consent; whereby the common liberty and interest was secured." The acceptance of a council did not depend upon the number of its members; for at the council of Rimini 600 bishops were present, and yet it is admitted to have been grievously in error. And still less upon the consent of the bishop of Rome; for the council of Sirmium was confirmed by Liberius, and yet its decisions are universally rejected as heterodox. The English church, in accordance with antiquity, pays the highest reverence to councils, short of ascribing infallibility to their decisions, which it can never be proved that they possessed; for even if it could be shown that the promise of so great an endowment were made to the church, there is no producible evidence that

Treatise of
the Supre-
macy, Supp.
v. p. 311.

¹ "Nullus est pontifex qui de conciliorum necessitate et autoritate plura scripserit quam beatus Leo." — *Dupin*, diss. vi. præloquium, s. 2. Pighius, who admits the human origin of coun-

cils, maintains that it is the better way to apply at once to the pope. He has few followers in theory, but in practice this is the result.

it could be transferred to a representative body. In the words of Stillingfleet, "If the church be promised infallibility she cannot pass away the gift of it to her assigns in a general council, unless that power of devolution be contained in the original grant." No scripture precedent is furnished; for the council of Jerusalem was an assembly of one church, not of representatives from many; it was composed of inspired men, and therefore its decisions were binding.

Grounds of the Prot. Relig. part iii. c. 1. p. 515.

The very existence of a council is a witness against the claim of the bishop of Rome to rule all questions of faith and discipline. Their necessity has been all but universally admitted. They exercised the supreme ultimate jurisdiction to which the east and west were alike obedient. It is needless to cite authorities from our own communion; they are of course unanimous on this point; but the greatest and most learned writers also of the Roman church are just as earnest in maintaining the same conclusion. It is ably defended by Bossuet and Launoy, Dupin and Richer, and a host of illustrious scholars.¹

Supreme authority of councils.

The superiority of councils was not only stated again and again by the fathers from a very early period², but it was set forth in acts which cannot easily be mistaken or misinterpreted. By the interposition of this supreme power false doctrines were solemnly anathematized and cast out. Sabellianism and Arianism, the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, besides many others, in the various forms in which they appeared from time to time, were condemned in great councils. Questions, again, which had been previously unsettled, became adjudicated in the same way. Thus the time for holding Easter was

¹ These are the words even of John Eck, "Tollatur conciliorum autoritas, et omnia in ecclesiâ erunt ambigua, dubia, pendentia, incerta, nam omnes mox redibunt hæreses, conciliorum autoritate damnatæ." — *Euchiridion, De conciliis*, ii.

² Crakanthorpe has shown how the doctrine of papal supremacy was condemned by general and provincial councils from A. D. 258 to 1549. *Def. eccles. Ang. c. xxii. p. 117—125.*

Questions
settled by
councils.

fixed at Nice: the controversy had been maintained with great violence between the east and west; the pope had pronounced upon it very plainly, and had embodied his judgment in some proceedings which were energetic enough; and yet the council dealt with it as an open question. No one imputes rebellion or heterodoxy to Polycarp, or Irenæus, or Polycrates, because they differed from Anicetus and Victor. But when the council had pronounced, the practice of the church became united; and no one held himself at liberty to dissent. In the same way the baptism of persons recovered from heresy, the dealing with the lapsed, and other similar subjects, were ruled. Not, indeed, that councils dispensed with the individual exertion of great doctors and bishops. Arianism received its death-blow from Athanasius, Augustine subdued the Pelagians, and Cyril the Nestorians; only it was by others, and not by popes, that the work was done.

Authority
over
persons.

Councils possessed authority just as decisive in the case of persons as of doctrines. They made canons of faith and discipline, and then used the executive power for carrying them into effect. Thus Paul of Samosata was condemned at Antioch; the patriarch John at Ephesus; Dioscorus at Chalcedon, &c. The same authority was needful for restoring, as for deposing. It was thus that the definitive sentence was pronounced in favour of Athanasius, Chrysostome, Flavian, Theodoret of Cyrus, and others. Information of what had been done was sent to the pope with the respect due to the bishop of a great see; but the same announcement was made to the rest of the chief bishops. He had no separate authority, and if a council decided wrongly, as the second of Ephesus, the pope did not suppose himself possessed of power to rectify its decision; there was no remedy but to call another.¹

¹ "Cum synodus illa Dioscori nefariis artibus compulsa perperam judicasset, si S. Leo suam auctoritatem Concilii potestate superiorem credidisset, quis dubitet quin ille, prout affectus erat, statim ejus decreta, in

irritum misisset; verum nihil hujusmodi fecit, aut facere se posse arbitratus est, imò nullum alium huic malo remedium esse ratus est, quam concilii alterius generalis celebrationem."—*Dupin*, diss. vi. præloq. s. 2.

Councils frequently asserted an entire independence, as when Zosimus, Boniface, and Celestine, in succession, urged the Africans to admit transmarine appeals, which was steadfastly refused. They sometimes condemned those whom the pope had not called in question; and sometimes judged those afresh whom the pope had already condemned. The council of Arles examined the case of Cecilian, which the pope had previously decided. Nestorius had been condemned by Celestine; yet the council treated him as a bishop till they had heard his cause, that is, they put aside the sentence of the bishop of Rome as the ground of decision.¹ At Chalcedon Eutyches was condemned, but it was after the investigation of his case, though Leo had already pronounced against him; and even before the epistle of the pope could be received as consonant with the faith, it was subjected to examination.² Six, indeed, of the eight first councils called ecumenical, as Bossuet notes, examined cases on which popes had already pronounced. Sometimes a council was held against the will of the pope, as the second of Constantinople³; sometimes a pope was called to plead in his own person, as Symmachus before the council at Rome.

Councils
superior to
popes.

In the four great councils, which Gregory the First esteemed as the four gospels, among the subjects determined, certain decrees of discipline were framed which are utterly irreconcilable with papal supremacy.

¹ "Quis vel fando audiit, post ultimum et irreformabile ecclesiæ de fide iudicium, ita unquam quæsitum interrogatumque esse? Nunquam factum: id enim esset de ipsâ fide declarata et explorata dubitare. At id post papæ Celestini iudicium factum est: neque Cyrillus, aut quisquam aliud cogitabant: non ergo illud erat ultimum atque irreformabile iudicium."—*Bossuet, Def. cleri Gall.* pars iii. lib. 7. c. 11.

² "Placuit ergo Leonis epistolam ad legitimum concilii examen revocari, et ab ipsâ synodo de fide conscribi definitionem."—*Bossuet, Def.*

pars iii. lib. 7. c. 17. Card. de Cusa, also, alleges the hearing of the case of Dioscorus, whom Leo had condemned, as an instance of the superiority of a council to a pope. *De concord.* lib. ii. c. 17. p. 736.

³ Bossuet says, in reference to this case, "Hæc docent in re maximâ, quæ totam conturbet ecclesiam, atque ad causam fidei pertinere videatur; pontificiis decretis sacrorum conciliorum decreta prævalere, Romanique pontificis iudicio defensam Ibæ epistolam, haud minus pro hæreticâ proscribi potuisse."—*Def.* pars iii. lib. 7. c. 20.

A. D. 325.
Council of
Nice.
Canon iv.

The fourth canon of Nice confines the right of episcopal ordination to the bishops of the province, and appoints that at least three of them shall meet for this purpose; and it reserves the ratification of the act to the metropolitan. The expression which is now employed, "by the grace of the apostolic see," would have been simply unintelligible if it had been proposed at that time, and would have conveyed no meaning at all.

Canon v.

By the fifth canon it is provided that persons excommunicated by a bishop of the province should not be received into communion by others. And, to prevent the abuse of episcopal power, causes of excommunication, about which any question should arise, are to be examined twice a year in synod. The authority of provincial councils to pronounce definitive sentence in ecclesiastical cases, whether relating to laity or clergy, including bishops, is thus confirmed, and no appeal allowed to any other jurisdiction. The bishop of Rome is not even mentioned.¹

Canon vi.

In the sixth canon, it is enacted that "ancient customs are to be preserved; and that Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis are to be subject to the bishop of Alexandria, because this has been the custom with the bishop of Rome." This canon makes it clear that the patriarchates (though the name was not yet in use) had each its limit; that they were in no subordination to one another; that the Roman jurisdiction was well known; and that it was to be taken for the pattern in the case of Alexandria. The meaning will be yet more clear, if we examine the circumstances of the case. The rights of the bishop of Alexandria required to be stated and enforced, because, a few years previously, Meletius bishop of Lycopolis, having been deposed in a provincial synod, continued to ordain in Egypt, contrary

¹ "Canon ille confirmat auctoritatem cujusque provinciæ in judicandis definitivo decreto causis ecclesiasticis quæ ad clericos aut laicos spectant; et per consequentiam idem jus statuitur quoad correctionem et depositionem episcoporum, tametsi casus ille disertis verbis

non extet in canone." — *De Marca*, lib. vii. c. 2. s. 1. "Uno verbo supponit concilii Nicæni definitio judicium episcoporum provinciæ a nullo alio giudice infirmari posse, quam ab ipsis episcopis provinciæ, qui illud tulerant." — *Dupin*, diss. ii. c. 1. s. 1.

to the sentence and authority of his metropolitan. The council decreed that the bishop of Alexandria, according to ancient custom, should possess the same power over the churches of Egypt as the bishop of Rome over those in Italy which were subject to him. The authority which had been called in question was to be maintained, and the bishopric of Rome was chosen for the pattern. Dr. Cave says truly, "the sun itself is not clearer at noonday, than that hereby the council designed that the bishop of Alexandria should have the same power within his province that the bishop of Rome had in his."¹ The rights of the Egyptian bishop had been invaded by one of his suffragans, those of the Roman bishop had not. The council did not state the limits prescribed to the latter, because they were well known, and therefore, without mentioning what they were, makes them the pattern by which those of the former are henceforth to be preserved. In the words of Cave, "the council does not assign the proper limits of the Roman metropolitanship, as it does that of Alexandria, there being a reason why it should specify the latter, that being the subject under debate, and the main, if not the only, occasion of the canon." If Nice had recognized the distinct limits of each patriarchate, and spoken of Rome as having the supremacy, without any limitation, then, as far as the authority of the council went, all bishops would have been under his jurisdiction. But the case is as different as possible. The same assignment of boundaries is made for Rome as for Alexandria and Antioch; and these bishops are no more subject to the bishop of Rome than he is subject to them.² It was of metropolitan rights that the council was speaking. These had been cou-

Ancient Church Gov. ch. ii. s. 3.

Meaning of the canon.

Ch. iii. s. 1.

¹ "Quia nimirum episcopus Romanus in eâ provinciâ quam jure metropolitani gubernat, potestatem habet ordinandi episcopos, eadem quoque sit potestas et Alexandrino per eas provincias, in quibus jus ei metropolitanicum competit circa episcoporum ordinationem. Quid clarius,

quid apertius, hâc explicatione."—*Salmasius de prim.* c. vii. p. 101.

The subject of the sixth canon is treated in c. vii. with consummate learning and ability.

² Vid. Nili de primatu papæ Romani, lib. ii. p. 29.

travened through the ordinations held by Meletius. The council repressed the usurpation, restored its proper jurisdiction to the principal see, and enacted a law for the future. Patriarchates had not, indeed, been yet constituted; it was the equality of metropolitans which they were establishing. This was the very occasion to make an exception for the great bishop whose supreme authority over all bishops is indispensable. The council, however, ascribed nothing to the pope but what was afterwards called his patriarchate. Restriction, rather than enlargement of power, was implied; and no higher reason was assumed than ancient use. There is not a word of any divine right; and in the next canon, precedence is given to the bishop of Ælia on the very same ground. This interpretation is of course maintained by learned protestants like Salmasius; but no less by great writers in the Roman church. Thus, cardinal de Cusa, speaking of prescriptive right, adduces the equal authority of the bishops of Rome and Alexandria as an instance.¹ Richer is entirely agreed with him; and adds that the Nicene fathers infer, as it were, the unknown from the known, and that which was controverted from that which was generally admitted.² Dupin gives a paraphrase of the canon exactly in the same sense³; while De Marca shows that the bishop of Rome had no jurisdiction in respect to the ordination of metropolitans, beyond the limits of his own patriarchate, whether in Italy or elsewhere.⁴ The

Restriction
of power,
rather than
enlarge-
ment.

¹ "Scilicet, sicut Romanus habet omnium suorum episcoporum potestatem, ita et Alexandrinus ex more habet per Ægyptum, &c."—*Concord. cath.* lib. ii. c. 12. p. 725.

² "Sensus ergo est, quo jure episcopus Romanus ecclesias sibi subjectas gubernabat, eodem et Alexandrinum ecclesiis sibi subjectis moderari, et similiter Antiochenum. Hic enim patres Nicæni quasi ex noto ignotum et ex minime controverso controversum inferunt."—*Hist. concil. gen.* lib. i. c. 2. s. 12.

³ "Antiqua consuetudo observetur,

ut Alexandrinus episcopus in ecclesias quæ sunt in Ægypto, Libyâ et Pentapoli, potestatem habeat, et curam illarum gerat, procuretque ut cuncta in illis secundum leges ecclesiæ fiant; quemadmodum episcopus Romanus facit in provinciis suburbicariis."—*De ant. dis. præloq.* s. 14. He had previously described the limit of the Roman patriarchate. "Patriarchatus Romani limites non videntur excessisse provincias eas, quæ vicario urbis parebant, dicunturque a Ruffino suburbicariæ."—*Ibid.* s. 11.

⁴ Evincit nihil juris per illas tempes-

ultramontane exposition, however needful to the modern Romanist, is obviously untenable. To suppose with Bellarmine, that the council intended to confirm the rights of the bishop of Alexandria, because the bishop of Rome had been accustomed to entrust them to him as his agent¹; or, with Andrada, that, so far from the sees being esteemed equal, the one had its privileges only by grant of the other²; or, with Morin, that all the churches of the west were included in the Roman jurisdiction³; or with others that, because no limits were mentioned, it extended to the whole world; would only prove that the difficulty of meeting the plain words of this important canon must be very great, since learned men are reduced to such extravagant conclusions.⁴

Roman
interpretations.

Ruffin, who wrote his ecclesiastical history a few years after the termination of the council, gives as his meaning of the canon, that the bishop of Alexandria was decreed to have the care of the churches of Egypt, as the bishop of Rome of the suburbicary churches. By these could only have been meant such as were situated in the regions and provinces called suburbicary in the civil arrangement⁵; as the term is often used in the code of Theodosius. It is

Hist. Eccles.
lib. i. c. 6.

tates Romano pontifici competitivisse in ordinatione metropolitani Mediolanensis; a quâ manus abstinuit per multum ævi, serò usurpatâ ejus ordinatione."—*De concord.* lib. vi. c. 4. s. 7. And again, "Provinciæ quæ extra Italiam erant metropolitanos haud dubiè suos ordinabant absque auctoritate episcopi Romani, et absque consensu ejus."—*Ibid.* s. 8.

¹ "Quarta igitur, et vera expositio est, Alexandrinum debere gubernare illas provincias quia Romanus episcopus ita consuevit, id est, quia R. episcopus, ante omnem conciliorum definitionem consuevit permittere episcopo Alexandrino regimen Ægypti, Lybiæ, et Pentapolis; sive consuevit per Alexandrinum episcopum illas provincias gubernare."—*De R. P.* lib. ii. c. 13.

² "Non quidem Alexandrinam Romanæ æquat, sed Alexandrinæ prærogativum Romanæ sedis judicio con-

firmat, morisque inquit esse Romanæ ecclesiæ ut Alexandria pro primatæ Ægypti habeatur.—*Def. Trident. fidei*, lib. ii. fol. 98.

³ "Suburbicariæ itaque ecclesiæ in amplissimâ suâ significatione nihil aliud sunt quàm Occidentales ecclesiæ, quæ universæ patriarchatum Romanum componunt."—*Lib. i. exercitatio* 30. p. 254.

⁴ Richer says of Bellarmine, in reference to his interpretation of the canon in question, "Magis certe ridendus quàm confutandus," lib. i. c. 2. s. 13.; and the same may be said of the rest.

⁵ "Non aliæ itaque Ruffini suburbicariæ ecclesiæ præter eas quæ essent in regionibus suburbicariis, quæ provinciam metropolitanam episcopi Romani determinabant."—*Salmasius, De prim.* c. vii. p. 114.

well known that the Roman patriarchate did not extend over the churches of Milan and Aquileia, which were independent for centuries; and the bishop of the former was primate of north Italy. The case is clearly stated by Mr. Hallam. "The bishop of Rome presided in the capacity of primate over the Roman vicariate, comprehending southern Italy, and the three chief Mediterranean islands. But as it happened none of the ten provinces forming this division had any metropolitan; so that the popes exercised all metropolitanical functions within them, such as the consecration of bishops, the convocation of synods, the ultimate decision of appeals, and many other sorts of authority. These provinces are sometimes called the Roman patriarchate; the bishop of Rome having been reckoned one, generally, indeed, the first of the patriarchs; each of whom was at the head of all the metropolitans within his limits, but without exercising those privileges which by the ecclesiastical constitution appertained to the latter. Though the Roman patriarchate, properly so called, was comparatively very small in extent, it gave its chief, for the reason mentioned, advantages in point of authority which the others did not possess."¹

But it is said, that the heading of the canon expresses that Rome has always had the primacy. If the words had even been there, they would have meant no more than that, as the bishop of Rome was primate of south Italy, he furnished the pattern for the primacy of the bishop of Alexandria in Egypt. But their genuineness has been long abandoned. Even Dr. Eck, though unscrupulous enough, gave them up as long ago as Luther's time; and Dupin,

¹ For the meaning of the term sub-urbicary, see Blondel, *De la primauté*, p. 909—936.; Cave, *Ancient church gov.* c. iii. p. 101—136.; Bingham, *Antiq.* book ix. ch. i. s. 9. Salmassius, *De primatu*, c. vii. p. 112. The evidence of Ruffin is important, as that of a competent witness who represented the sentiments of the age in which he lived. Roman writers are,

of course, angry at so adverse a testimony. Morin, for instance, says, "*Ne igitur umbra asini, de qua viri doctissimi nuper operosissimè rixati sunt, nobis negotium facessat, si quid in eâ sani et solidi paucissimis verbis retegamus.*"—*Lib. i. exercit. 30. p. 239.* Augustine spoke of him very differently, and so did Pope Gelasius, and so did even Jerome before their quarrel.

writing a century and a half later, says that all learned men are agreed that the words are interpolated.¹

Provision is made in the conclusion of the canon that, in case of dispute, the decision shall follow the majority of suffrages. It was another occasion for mentioning the final appeal to the pope, if any such right had been known, or allowed.

The council of Constantinople, which was mainly occupied in the suppression of heresy, bore unquestionable testimony also to the maintenance of individual jurisdiction among bishops. The second canon forbids, in the plainest terms, that any bishop should go beyond his proper diocese (by which is meant, what was afterwards called a patriarchate), either for ordinations, or for any other episcopal act, unless by invitation. It confirms the constitution established at Nice, that the bishop of Alexandria should administer the church in Egypt, and the bishop of Antioch the church in the east, and directs that the ecclesiastical affairs of the province shall be managed in synod. There is not the remotest reference to any supreme authority in the west.

A. D. 381.
Council of
Constanti-
nople.

Canon ii.

The third canon assigns precedence to the bishop of Constantinople, next to the bishop of Rome; and on the express ground that Constantinople is "new Rome." It is only a promotion of honour which is decreed, as authority was given by a subsequent council; but the fact that a distinction, the same in kind though different in degree, was given to Constantinople as well as to Rome, is inconsistent with the notion of the supposed sovereignty. If one is supreme, no other can be rated as second, or third. There is also an express statement that the honour paid to Constantinople has relation to its civil rank: none

Canon iii.

¹ "Secretarius concilii ex codice ab Ætio sibi tradito recitat eundem canonem sine additione."—*Præloquium*, s. xi. And again, "Consentiunt omnes eruditi verba hæc (sc. Roma semper habuit primatum) non esse genuina, sed assuta esse."—Diss. iv. c. 2. s. 1.

Yet the words are cited by a scholar of a very different sort among ourselves, as if they had never been called in question. "It is stated, that the Roman church always had the primacy." See of S. Peter, by J. W. Allies, M. A. p. 75.

knew better than the popes themselves how much danger there was of being superseded on this very ground by the eastern metropolitan. Baronius says that the third canon is to be suspected of forgery; but its genuineness has been abundantly proved¹; while Bellarmine alleges that the pope did not confirm it, and that it is therefore invalid; which is, of course, to assume the very point in debate. It is enough to say, that the objections urged prove how strongly the canon is seen to tell against the principle of a spiritual monarchy.

A.D. 431.
Council of
Ephesus.

The council of Ephesus, which was convened for the purpose of condemning the opinions of Nestorius, received a complaint from the bishops of Cyprus, that an attempt had been made by the bishop of Antioch to exercise jurisdiction over them, from which they had been free since the days of the apostles. The council not only declared them independent, and condemned the attempt of the bishop of Antioch, as an innovation against ecclesiastical law; but they framed a decree, the eighth, which was to have general application in preserving the privileges of all sees under similar circumstances. It forbade the intrusion of a bishop into any province which was not from the beginning subject to him or his predecessors. This canon, the object of which was to repress usurpation, tells conclusively against the pretended claim of Rome over the British church, as well as others, since it was advanced long subsequent to the council of Ephesus. In the words of Hammond, "how directly it is applicable to and prejudgeth the pretensions of Rome, as well as of Antioch, is so manifest that it cannot need further demonstrating."²

Canon viii.

Of Schism,
ch. v. s. 6.

A.D. 451.

The council of Chalcedon was in all respects very important. Having condemned the subtle heresy of Eutyches,

¹ Vid. Dupin, De eccles. ant. discip. præloq. s. xi. p. 47.

² De Marca, having cited the words of the canon, adds, "Unde patet non adversus solum Antiochenum patriarcham, sed adversus cæteros patri-

archas constitutum, ne plus sibi licere præsumant in suis diæcesibus quàm sit illis, et canone, et veteri consuetudine concessum." — *De concord.* lib. iii. c. 1. s. 6.

it proceeded to pass canons which stand in a very close relation to the subject of the papal supremacy. Council of Chalcedon.

By the ninth it was decreed that, when a dispute arose between the clergy and the metropolitan, it should be carried for judgment to the patriarch of Constantinople, or the exarch of the diocese, as he was then called. This was, in some respects, a jurisdiction greater than was granted to Rome or to any other see. It included the right of hearing such causes in the first instance, as well as of deciding without appeal. Canon ix.

The twenty-eighth canon, professing to follow the example of the second general council, assigned the second place of honour to Constantinople, and the same privileges which were enjoyed by Rome, as being equally the seat of the empire. It gave authority also to the bishop of Constantinople, for ordaining metropolitans in the dioceses of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, as well as bishops in the dioceses which lie among the barbarians. Canon xxviii.

The powers thus conferred were immense, but it appears that they had already been assumed by the bishop of the imperial city. During the interval which had elapsed since the council of Nice patriarchates had been formed¹; and Constantinople had emerged from the condition of suffragan to the bishop of Heraclea, and had attained great importance. Rank had been assigned seventy years before; it was now confirmed, and whatever jurisdiction had been gained was now recognized and extended. The relation in which the two great bishoprics are placed to each other by this decree as effectually destroys the claim of the Roman monarchy, as if the order of precedence were reversed. To assign the second place to the one, in exactly the same sense as the first place is appointed for the other, is absolutely inconsistent with the notion of authority and subjection. And each is declared to have its rank from the secular greatness of the city in which it was located. Powers conferred.

C. Const. can. iii.

¹ "Quod nomen patriarchatus et quod sciam usurpatum in synodo patriarchæ, aliquanto post synodum Chalcedonensi."—*Richer, Hist. concil. Nicenam est inventum, et primum* *gen. lib. i. c. 2. s. 11.*

Roman
opposition
to the
canon.

Roman writers use their utmost efforts to invalidate the authority of this canon.¹ Among other objections, they urge that it was tumultuously carried, in the absence of the legates, and after the business of the council had properly closed. But the history of the decree furnishes no ground at all for these allegations. The legates having been absent by their own fault when the decree was framed, it was afterwards read in their presence; and in order that there might be no imputation of fraud or violence, in a matter which was certain to excite so much opposition, the bishops made an unanimous declaration that they had subscribed their names with perfect freeness, and not one by compulsion.² The legates, having in vain objected on the ground of irregularity, were urgent that the canon should be annulled, because the dignity of Rome was compromised by it; but with no success, for the fathers were unanimous in maintaining it. Again, it has been said that the canon has no force, because it was not confirmed by Leo. If we granted the validity of the objection, it would be to admit that a pope is superior to a council, contrary not only to the voice of our own church, but of the most respectable authorities of the Roman church as well. The judgment of a single bishop, and in a case which concerned his own dignity, is of very little weight compared with that of the numerous episcopal votes in the council. But the very ground on which the pope refused his acceptance of the decree is fatal to the claim of divine right. He did not allege that it was an offence against his authority as supreme head, but that it was a contravention of the Nicene canons, and injurious to the bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, and other metropolitans. Leo was himself a man

Its autho-
rity not in-
validated.

¹ In the words of Banck, himself a very learned canonist, "Cum canonistæ videant hunc canonem adeo sibi esse inimicum, et primatum sedi Romanæ detrahere, eundem omnibus modis e jure canonico extirpare laborant."—*De tyrannide papæ*, c. iv. p. 47. The Romanist objections to the canon are enumerated, and amply refuted by Blondel, *Primauté*, p. 1023—1048.

See also Dupin, *Eccles. ant. discip. præloquium*, s. xi. p. 54—58. Dionysius Exiguus omits this canon from his collection, which proves no more than that it was unacceptable at Rome. Richer says of him, "Exiguo fidem haberemus exiguam, nisi eam fulciret aliquo probato et antiquo teste."—*Lib. i. c. 2. s. 6.*

² See Dupin, *Præloquium*, s. xi. p. 56.

of great energy and ambition. He wrote to the bishop of Constantinople, and others, expressing his dissatisfaction. He complained, especially, that Alexandria had been removed from the second place of honour; he had no reason to be jealous of this see, which could not be a dangerous rival, but his utmost anxiety was roused by the growing greatness of Constantinople.¹ Marcian wrote to him, entreating his acquiescence, as well as the empress Pulcheria, Anatolius, and Julian bishop of Cos, in whom he reposed great confidence. It was a plain christian duty to avoid, if possible, the evils of schism; but it was no acknowledgment of a power in Leo to annul the decrees of a council. Their language was courteous, according to the respect due to the great bishop of the west; it is not to be denied that their words are very deferential; but the real key to their meaning is to be found in the acts which were done, and resolutely maintained. Nothing could be more respectful than the terms employed by the fathers of this great council, but no menaces could turn them from their decision; the efforts of legates and popes were utterly in vain. After receiving the answer of Leo, Anatolius wrote, probably by the emperor's command, in terms of deep humility, excusing what had been done, which he attributed to the council rather than to himself. But the canon was registered meanwhile without waiting for the pope's confirmation, and remained part of their code in spite of his refusal. The bishops of Constantinople, so far from receding from any of the rights created by the canon, continued to exercise jurisdiction by the authority derived from it in Asia, Pontus, and Thrace.

The objections of Leo unavailing.

The opposition did not die with Leo; it was maintained by his successors, especially Gelasius, who called the

¹ Salmasius says, "Præsagum fuisse Leonem, nec vanis pro suâ sede inquietatum timoribus, eventus tandem docuit. Nam secundi post Romanum veterem loci prærogativâ non contentus ille novus Romanus, primum quoque

aliquando ambire cœpit, et aliquamdiu habuit plausibili sanè ratione, et regulâ consentaneâ, quia non amplius urbs illa vetus dominaretur, quæ causa illi principatum asseruerat." — *De primatu*, c. iv. p. 49.

Result of
the contest.

bishop of Constantinople still a dependant on Heraclea, and gave the second place to Alexandria. And yet even popes, from the time of Felix III., have acknowledged the jurisdiction established by the canons of Chalcedon, that is, they have admitted practically the existence of a power greater than their own. This was the result of the contest, that the eastern church has been governed for ages by a system to which Rome gave no consent, but offered the most determined resistance.¹

There are other councils, not universally acknowledged, and therefore having less authority, which yet afford important evidence on the subject of the supremacy.

Council of
Antioch,
A.D. 341.
Canon xv.

At the council of Antioch, held in 341, it was expressly enjoined (Canon 15) that a bishop condemned by a provincial synod should have no right of appeal elsewhere; and the decrees of this council are inserted in the code of the universal church.

Of the council of Sardica we shall have occasion to speak under another head.

Council of
Carthage,
A.D. 418.

In 418 a council was held at Carthage, in which the Pelagian doctrines were condemned by more than 200 bishops, among whom was Augustine. This had been especially needful, on account of the favour which Pelagius and his disciple Celestius had received at Rome. Appeals to any transmarine authority, which had been the ordinary resource of schismatics, were forbidden under pain of excommunication; and the decrees were confirmed which were formerly made at Milevis and elsewhere, and which were afterwards embodied in the twenty-third and twenty-eighth of the African code.

Trullan
council,
A.D. 683.

At the close of the seventh century a council was held called the Trullan, from the hall at Constantinople, in which it was assembled, and also Quinisext, as forming a

¹ Mr. Wilberforce mentions, among four things which he says appear distinctly, that "the council applies to the pope to confirm its decisions, and that which is not confirmed by him falls to the ground."—*Principles of ch. auth.* ch. xi. p. 188., which will

appear a very surprising statement, if we consider that the canon in question, though rejected by Leo, has been in force throughout the eastern church up to the present time; and that popes have been compelled to accept it.

supplement to the fifth and sixth, which framed no canons. Some of its decrees were in the strongest opposition to the practice of the Roman church.¹ The thirty-sixth confirms the second and third of Constantinople, and the twenty-eighth of Chalcedon, by which the rank and privileges of the bishop of Constantinople were secured.

Canon xxxvi.

But we may gather information on the question in hand, not only from the formal decrees passed by councils, but also from the circumstances connected with their history. Those which had an ecumenical character were, in primitive times, convened by princes; the summons by popes was a later usurpation. The four great councils were called respectively by Constantine, by Theodosius the elder, by Theodosius the younger, and by Marcian. The emperors used an authority which was admitted without remonstrance or hesitation. Even popes, like Damasus, and Innocent, and Leo, ventured only to petition, and that in very humble terms. Sometimes their request was favourably received, and sometimes their wishes, both with regard to time and place, and the holding of the council at all, were entirely disregarded. Yet Bellarmine lays it down as a rule, that unless a council is called by the pope, or with his consent, it is no better than a conventicle; and this he proves among other arguments by a letter of pope Marcellus which is undeniably spurious.² Andrada goes still further, and says that a council in which the authority of the pope is not paramount is like the lifeless trunk of an animal from which the head has been severed; and

Circumstances belonging to the history of councils.

¹ See Noel Alexander, *Hist. sæc. vii. diss. 3.*; Spanheim, *Introduct. sæc. vii. c. 8. s. 9.*; Richer, *Hist. con. gen. lib. i. c. xi. s. 12.* This council was rejected by Sergius, yet received by Adrian I., by Nicholas I., and by John VII. Its canons are cited by the second council of Nice, as well as the council of Florence. Some Roman writers deny its authority altogether. Some take exception to certain canons. Some receive the whole. Melchior Cano says with great truth, "Non parva quæstio est, num canones Trul-

lani ecclesiasticam habeant auctoritatem."—*Loci theolog. lib. v. c. 6. p. 129.* The learned bishop of the Canaries says, "Nec sexta, nec quinta, nec septima est, sed monstrum quoddam, quinisexta."—*Ibid. p. 130.* On the whole he inclines to reject it.

² "Si nec ipse indicat concilium, nec aliquis alius de ejus mandato, vel consensu, nec ipse saltem approbat indictionem, illud non concilium, sed conciliabulum fore."—*De conciliis et eccles. lib. i. c. 12. p. 246.*

this extravagant assertion he establishes very consistently, by citing the epistles of "two most holy popes," which they certainly did not write.¹ Some unwary writers among ourselves have adopted the same views. One of the latest converts to Rome, while admitting the interposition of princes in the convocation of councils, assigns them a very humble office. "Their consent was of necessity to be had, just as a scientific assembly in the present day may be said to meet with the sanction of the police." Now, in a case so clear, it is not needful to cite many witnesses. Let two suffice. John Gerson, preaching on ascension day before Alexander V. at his election, discoursed at large on this very topic; and showed how the great councils have been summoned independently of popes. He referred especially to the council of Pisa, and treated with scorn the notion, which some had ventured to suggest, that the want of a papal summons was injurious to its authority.² Archbishop de Marca, writing long afterwards, speaks in terms not less express. He says that until the time of Pelagius II. no bishop of Rome arrogated to himself the right of convening a general council.³

The right of presiding in councils belonged to the pope as little as the right of summoning. Personal considerations had much weight in determining the choice of bishops, not otherwise the most eminent, to occupy the foremost position. And sometimes the circumstances of the case

¹ "Quemadmodum animal capite abscisso truncus est, atque stipes, ita episcoporum quantumvis frequentissimo conventui concilii nomen convenire minimè potest, ni Romani pontificis, qui universalis ecclesiæ caput est et moderator, imperio convocetur, auctoritate foveatur, motu atque ditione gubernetur: quod non humanâ quidem ratione excogitatum, sed ab Apostolis acceptum, a Christoque ipso fuisse institutum non obscurè docent Julius et Marcellus, sanctissimi pontifices."—*Def. Trident. fidei*, lib. i. fol. 23.

² The substance of this sermon is given by L'Enfant in his history of the council of Constance. He adds, "Il se moque fort aigrement de cette objection." See also Von der Hardt. *Concil. Const.* tom. i. pars iii. col. 97., where Gerson, in a treatise on the reformation of the church, asserts the authority of the council of Pisa in the strongest terms.

³ "Nullus pontificum Romanorum ante Pelagium sibi arrogaverat auctoritatem convocandi concilia."—*De concord.* lib. vi. c. 29. s. 14.

Wilberforce in ch. auth. ch. xi. p. 183.

Councils not summoned by popes.

to be ruled excluded those who would naturally have taken precedence, because they were parties interested.

It is not quite certain who presided at Nice. Some have supposed the bishop of Alexandria; some Eustathius of Antioch; and others Eusebius of Cesarea; while the historian himself speaks of several presidents. But no one ever suggested that the chief place was occupied by the presbyters who represented Sylvester. Hosius is generally believed to have presided; he was bishop of an inconsiderable place, but honoured by the chief authorities, civil as well as ecclesiastical, for his steadfastness in defending the faith.¹ Roman writers, who cannot deny the fact of his prominent position, have endeavoured to neutralize its force by representing him to have been a legate, and to have occupied his place in that character.² The suggestion was not made till long after the council, and is expressly denied by learned men, even of the papal communion; and it is indeed sufficiently refuted by the very signatures of those who assisted. Hosius signed, like the rest, as bishop of Cordova; while Vitus and Vincentius signed as representatives of the pope. And again, Eusebius, who was himself present, mentions the two legates, but does not join Hosius with them. No one in the council itself ventured to apply such a title to this great and eminent bishop.

Popes did not preside.

It has never been alleged that legates presided at the first council of Constantinople, which was called without the authority of Damasus, and managed without his interference. His representatives certainly possessed very little influence in directing its decisions.

Previously to the council of Ephesus, Cyril, who seems to have been influenced in part by strong personal animosity against the bishop of Constantinople, applied to

¹ See Launoy, lib. viii. ep. 1. p. 693. De Dominis, *Repub. eccles.* lib. vii. c. 3. ss. 44, 45.

de Jules, c'est avancer témérairement ce qui ne peut être confirmé par l'histoire du concile."—*De l'autorité du pape*, liv. iii. p. ii. ch. 13.

the bishop of Rome as one who enjoyed great authority in the western church, to procure his help in suppressing a heresy by which the east was infected. Celestine delegated to him whatever power he possessed, appointing him to act in the degradation of Nestorius in his name, and with the weight of his see. That a bishop of Alexandria should accept such a commission was without precedent, and must be attributed to the apparent necessity for obtaining as much assistance as possible in supporting the sound doctrine which was in peril. The trust conveyed by Celestine had no reference to the presidency of the council, but to the condemnation of Nestorius. When sentence was given, the authority of Rome was added to that of Alexandria; that is, it was pronounced in the names of the two chief bishops in Christendom. The legates of the pope were present in the council, but no one supposes that they presided. When Cyril was absent, his place was filled by Juvenal, the bishop of Jerusalem. To maintain that Cyril held his position and authority from the delegation of Celestine, would be as unreasonable a conclusion as that a peer of the English parliament who gives, not only his personal vote, but a proxy entrusted to him, has no higher character than that of a representative. The power for deposing Nestorius resided in the council, and not in the bishop of Rome. Celestine had condemned him already, and yet he was summoned, as a bishop, to appear and take his seat with the rest. The charge against him was then examined, and he received his condemnation by the council, and it was very different in character and consequence from the sentence of the pope.¹

At Chalcedon it appears that the legates of Leo presided, but, as it was expressly stated by the pope himself, this occurred because the eastern bishops had failed in the repression of the heresy which was in question. Anatolius, the bishop of Constantinople, had been ordained by Dios-

¹ See Launoy, who examines the subject at great length, part viii. ep. 4. p. 711.; also De Dominis, lib. vii. c. 3. ss. 48, 49.

corus, and lived in friendship with him. It was against this heretical party that the chief bishops of the east were deeply incensed. On this account they more readily accepted the presidency of the legates. But the chief influence was exercised by the imperial commissioners throughout; and the power of the legates was proved to be but inconsiderable, for they were unable to prevent the passing of canons which were in the highest degree inconsistent with the policy of the Roman church.¹

The legates at Chalcedon.

But it is said by Bellarmine², and the argument has been repeated very often as if it carried some considerable weight, that councils depend on the papal confirmation of their decrees. It is no more than the misuse of a term upon which the reasoning is founded.³ Confirmation, in its ancient use, did not mean the making that valid which would otherwise have been without force, for in this sense no council needed confirmation; but the assurance of adherence to what the council defined, the additional strength given by the suffrage of each bishop, and the greater in proportion as his see was influential. This is the confirmation which Athanasius mentions as having been given to the decrees of Nice by all the bishops of Christendom. Princes also in this way confirmed councils, as Eusebius relates of Constantine; and the same is stated of all general councils. Not only were councils confirmed by popes, but papal decrees by councils⁴, as well as the decrees of one pope by another; and Romanist writers will not allow

Confirmation of councils.

Vita Const. lib. iii. c. 23. p. 496.

¹ See Launoy, part viii. ep. 6. p. 723.

² "Omnia revocantur tandem ad ex amen Romani pontificis, et quæ ille probat, recipiuntur, quæ improbat rejiciuntur."—*De concil. auct.* lib. ii. c. 17. p. 267.

³ "C'étoit faute d'avoir connu ce que les anciens entendoient par confirmation, et qui n'était autre chose que d'accepter et de souscrire à ce qui avoit été décidé, ce qui étoit plutôt une marque de soumission au concile que de supériorité."—*Concile de Trente*, liv. viii. c. 70. p. 712. note by Courayer.

De Dominis says with great accuracy, "Confirmatio papalis, nihil aliud fuit quam definitionis factæ admissio, et confessio, additioneque sui suffragii corroboratio, et plenius firmamentum: imo sæpe etiam confirmare fuit, definitioni factæ se subjicere, &c." lib. vii. c. 3. s. 67.

⁴ Bossuet having cited many cases, adds, "Alia innumerabilia legenti passim occurrent; nihil ut sit vulgatius, quam confirmationem pontificiorum etiam decretorum, ipsâ episcoporum et ecclesiarum consensione constare."—*Defensio*, pars iii. lib. 8. c. 2.

The pope's
consent not
needful.

that this could confer any authority in which they were deficient. Councils themselves certainly did not think papal consent necessary to the efficiency of their decrees, for they did not wait for any such preliminary before pronouncing anathema against those who should violate them. And rightly; for if they were convened according to the will of Christ, if he were present by his Spirit, and if their conclusions were in harmony with his word, no more is needed; if these conditions are wanting, nothing can supply the defect.

The power of establishing implies the power also to reject. But so far was the pope from any authority to annul the decree of a general council, that he could not even plead exemption for himself. Decisions were carried, not only independently of his judgment, but sometimes against his will, and in the end his resistance proved unavailing.

To represent, as Roman controversialists have ventured, that the binding force of decrees passed by a general council depends on papal sanction, is a bold and obvious fallacy. We need not go beyond the pale of that communion for its refutation. Bossuet proves by the clearest arguments that the four great councils were not confirmed by popes in any such sense as Bellarmine alleges.¹ Lاونoy has devoted a learned and masterly treatise to refute the ultramontane assertions on this subject.² Richer tells us, that the canons of Nice, and of the other councils, were sent to the pope that he might execute them.³ De Marca, handling the same question, refers to the epistle addressed by the council of Sardica to Julius, which

Roman tes-
timonies.

¹ Defensio, pars iii. lib. 8. cc. 3, 4, 5. After stating the case of the council of Chalcedon, he adds, "En quid sit confirmatio; nempe consensus ipse. En ut, non modò Leo, sed etiam cæteri Occidentales episcopi condecernentes Chalcedonensem synodum confirmârunt."

² Lib. ii. ep. 4. pp. 119—135.

³ "Hecle nemo potest ambigere

canones Nicænos, sicut ut aliorum omnium conciliorum missos Romam: sed hoc tantum fine, ut episcopus Romanus more aliorum sese illorum observationi, atque executioni dederet: quandoquidem robur et auctoritas canonum atque omnium actorum ab universali consensu proficiscitur."—*Hist. concil. gen.* lib. i. c. 2. s. 5.

he says did not ask for confirmation, but only that the decree should be made known to the bishops of Italy and the islands.¹ And it is no more than John Gerson, and cardinal Peter d'Ailli, had maintained long before in the council of Constance. The Roman church has no greater names than these.

It is said that popes have the right of confirming the election of every bishop. The claim follows logically from the assertion that they are the source of all ecclesiastical authority; but since antiquity knew nothing of the one, we may be sure that its records will afford no countenance to the other. The facts of the case cannot be made in any way to defend such an invasion of liberty. Deal with them as we will, they refuse to witness any greater amount of privilege for Rome than belongs to all eminent sees. Primitive christians regarded the episcopate as one, and all bishops, therefore, as standing in the closest relation to each other. When a bishop had been chosen for a particular see, his election was notified to those whose colleague he became; it would not have been known, otherwise, whom they were bound to recognize. These letters of notification were sent to the bishop of Rome, as one who occupied a distinguished place, and by whom it was important to be acknowledged. It was for the sake of preserving church unity, and not as the token of any inferiority. When Domnus was chosen in the place of Paul of Samosata, the council of Antioch gave notice both to the bishop of Rome and to the bishop of Alexandria. The council of Constantinople announced the appointment of Nectarius to the western bishops; not to Damasus alone, but to Ambrose and others as well. The confirmation of patriarchs by the pope implied no more than the establishment of mutual communication for the furtherance of the common interest. The pope might refuse, but the

Confirma-
tion of
bishops.

What it is.

Instances.

¹ "Ita tamen ut ab eo non petant confirmationem rerum a se constitutarum, sed tantum ut certiores de his faciat episcopos Italiae, Siciliae, et Sardiniae."—*De concord.* lib. vii. c. 14. s. 1.

patriarchal dignity did not, in any wise, wait upon his will. Flavian, and others, were no less received by the eastern church because popes refused to recognize them. It was no more than the testimony of a great bishop which was in question; it might be given, or withheld, but there was no exercise of jurisdiction. The principles which governed the intercourse of the great sees had the same application to the pope as to others. On his election, he communicated the intelligence to those into whose brotherhood he had been admitted; and sent also the confession of faith, which it was usual to transmit. This is particularly mentioned of Gregory I. in respect to the four patriarchs.¹ The bishop of Rome, in short, acted as other bishops, making no pretence of isolation, or independence. Thus, Cyprian says expressly of Cornelius, that his election was confirmed by the common consent of all bishops; and the anxiety which he showed for recognition by the African church was as great as could have been exhibited in the converse case.² So, again, in regard to what Roman writers call the restoring of bishops by the pope, when reduced to ordinary language, it means no more than the acknowledgment of a bishop for a true member of the episcopal body, when he had been for some reason partially cut off from communion. Thus Maximus of Jerusalem is said to have restored Athanasius; and Cyril and John of Antioch to have restored each other. These are the cases which made Stillingfleet complain so earnestly,

Mutual
communi-
cation.

Ep. lii. p.
57.

Socrates,
lib. ii. p.
114.
Lib. vii. c.
34. p. 375.

¹ This is very clearly stated by archbishop de Marca, "Usu receptum erat per illas tempestates, ut patriarchæ, et ipse etiam Romanus pontifex recens electus, literas de sua ordinatione mitterent; quibus addebatur professio fidei in synodicis eorum epistolis conscripta."—*De concord.* lib. vi. c. 5. s. 2.

Francis Mason expresses the same thing, with equal clearness, "Ut Romanus patriarcha reliquos pro legitimis non agnovit, donec eos in fide sanos per literas synodicas comperisset, ita reliqui Romanum patriarcham pro

legitimo non habebant, priusquam de ejus quoque fide eodem planè modo facti essent certiores."—*De ministerio Aug.* lib. iv. c. 15. p. 529.

So again, M. Lévêque de Burigny, "On en faisoit autant à l'égard des autres patriarches; et les papes eux-mêmes faisoient cette soumission aux patriarches."—*Autorité du pape*, liv. i. ch. 5. s. 19.

² De Marca refers to the confirmation of Cornelius by Cyprian and other bishops.—*De concord.* lib. vi. c. 5. s. 2.

that words and acts are made to carry a certain signification only when the claims of the pope are to be promoted. The primitive practice did not tend in any degree to exalt one patriarch above the rest, but to unite all in the sameness of faith and discipline. The pope did no more than others; as being a great and powerful bishop, he naturally took the lead. When, by degrees, he advanced his pretensions to discharge alone, what had been the common office of all, it was an usurpation for which no countenance can be pleaded from primitive ages. Alexander II. required bishops to obtain confirmation at Rome; Gregory VII. compelled metropolitans to receive the pall; and Innocent III. proceeded considerably further in his invasion of their independence. But De Marca, and with him all moderate writers in the same communion, while admitting fully the authority of the pope over the metropolitans in his own patriarchate, maintained that others were anciently neither consecrated nor confirmed by him, but that they enjoyed the freedom secured by the canon of Nice.¹

Papal usurpations.

The case is much the same in respect to excommunications and depositions. An individual bishop possessed no power to cut off any of his brethren from the body of the faithful; he could do no more than withhold intercourse from them, as persons whose doctrine or practice he condemned; and this refusal of communion, which was the more important because the people would be included in the sentence of separation, is among the things claimed for the pope, which we may fully admit; but it is no more than belonged to others, and it carried no more weight than such as might be derived from the prominence of the particular see, or the influence of the individual bishop. Thus, Damasus is said to have deposed Flavian. This

Excommunication and deposition.

¹ "Cæteri nec ab eo confirmabantur, neque consecrabantur; fruebanturque privilegiis quæ Nicæna synodus decrevit metropolitanis esse servanda, et

eâ libertate quam eis Ephesinum concilium præcipit conservari."—*De concord. lib. vi. c. 5. s. 1.*

separation lasted for seventeen years: were the eastern bishops, who maintained their former relations with him, out of the pale of salvation? Or the emperor Theodosius? Yet this conclusion is inevitable on Roman principles. Zosimus, again, who was unscrupulous enough, is alleged to have deposed Proculus of Marseilles; but that bishop remained regardless of the sentence, and continued to discharge his functions. What these popes really did, when considered apart from the ambitious terms in which it is expressed, was no more than separation from certain bishops, and refusal to acknowledge their legitimacy.¹ In this sense every bishop had power to excommunicate, that is, he might renounce the communion of any other bishop, only it was at his own peril if he rejected one whom the catholic churches continued to acknowledge; and the weight of his judgment was, generally, in proportion to the secular assistance which he could command. No conclusion in respect to church principles can be safely gathered from the mutual anathemas which were so frequent; such for instance, as passed between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria, the African bishops and Vigilius, Felix and Acacius, Vitalian and the bishop of Ravenna, and a multitude besides. Nothing is so little to be trusted for evidence of authority, or right judgment, as this utterance of mutual curses. The hard words which popes have spoken of those whom they disliked or feared, is the very feeblest proof of any spiritual prerogative. Really to depose, or to restore was a very different matter. This was the function of a synod², whose sentence was definitive,

All bishops possessed the same power to renounce communion.

¹ Blondel says very truly, "Que c'est un extrême abus de vouloir fonder des démonstrations de théologie sur des façons de parler équivoques."—*Primauté*, p. 55.

² "Judicia ecclesiastica fiebant a synodo cujusque provinciæ, cum auctoritate metropolitani, adeo ut non liceret provocare a judicio lato in synodo provinciæ."—*De Marca, De concord*, lib. vii. c. 1. s. 1. Van Espen

writes to the same effect. Referring to the forged decretals, he adds, "Patrum disciplinam, quæ synodis provincialibus plenam auctoritatem judicandi episcopos attribuebat, planè enervat, dum synodis finiendi causas episcoporum auctoritatem a sedis apostolicæ judicio pendentem planè reddit."—*Brevis comment. in secund. partem Grat. causa iii. quæst. 8. p. 565.* These opinions, which are entirely

and could not be reversed by the pope, any more than by another ; and the execution of the judgment was delegated to bishops, and to him especially as one of the most eminent. The power of absolute deprivation has been long ascribed to the pope by the extreme party in the Latin church ; but there is no trace of any such right recognized, or in exercise, during many hundred years.

consonant with primitive practice, contrast strangely with the decree of the council of Trent on the same subject. "Causæ criminales graviore contra episcopos, etiam hæresis (quod absit)

quæ depositione aut privatione dignæ sunt, ab ipso tantum summo Romano pontifice cognoscantur et terminentur." —Sess. xxiv. Decreta de ref. gen. c. 5.

CHAP. III.

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE USURPATION.

THE possession of great power by a single western bishop is the prominent and undeniable fact with which we have to deal. How was it at first acquired, and subsequently increased? What are the foundations on which it rests? If it gets no sanction from scripture, as we have seen, and if the early fathers were so ignorant of the claim that among the numerous subjects on which they wrote this has no place at all, in what way are we to account for the change which has passed on the ecclesiastical system? In the first centuries we find an admitted equality of bishops, but now, and for many hundred years, the whole Latin communion under the absolute dominion of one.

Causes of
the early
influence
of Rome.

Rome was the only see in the west to which tradition assigned an apostolic foundation; and for a long period the influence arising from this circumstance was increased by its freedom from the heresies by which the east was pervaded. Many martyrs had suffered in this city with wonderful constancy and courage. Bishops had been put to death almost as soon as they were installed in their office. And when the period of prosperity arrived, there were some who employed their wealth and influence very beneficially, charitable in distributing alms, and active in meeting the particular demands of the age; at one time mitigating the ferocity of the northern invaders, at another sending out missionaries into the unreclaimed parts of Europe. The bishops of the early church willingly yielded a foremost place to those who could thus promote the common benefit, whether by their prominent position,

or the influence of personal character ; but there was always a reservation of freedom, both by word and act ; there was no authority claimed on the one side, nor obedience rendered on the other. The very foundations of a spiritual monarchy were not yet laid.¹ Whoever considers the greatness of Rome, its vast population, its important position, its intellectual distinction, its commanding political influence, will find ample reason for the rank assigned to its bishop. The civil divisions of the empire were, for the most part, followed in the ecclesiastical² ; not absolutely, because sometimes the will of the prince, and sometimes intrigue, or convenience, introduced a different arrangement ; but it was the ordinary rule, and the greatness of cities made the dignity of the bishops. The very order of the patriarchates is an evidence of the source in which their distinction originated. Rome stands at the head, as the see of the imperial city, in which there was the great confluence of persons and causes from all parts, brought together at the centre of civil administration. In the words of M. Bunsen, "The gradually growing moral supremacy in the west originated in the political position of Rome, as the centre of the world, and in the instinctive talent of government, which has never ceased to distinguish the Romans." Alexandria occupied the second place, as being next in secular importance, until this established order was changed, because Constantinople, when it became the metropolis of the east, secured the corresponding rank for its bishop. There was no other reason why Alexandria should be placed above Antioch, or Constantinople above them both. It was not on account of antiquity that one see was preferred to another, for Antioch is more ancient than Rome ; nor through

Ecclesiastical divisions followed the civil.

Hippolytus, vol. ii. p. 122.

¹ "Hæc nova jura, ita erant primitivæ ecclesiæ incognita, ut ne appellationum quidem illarum umbra, vel aliquod levissimum vestigium, in totâ vetustate plurimarum ætatum possit deprehendi."—*Casaubon, Exercit.* xv. p. 260.

² "Est vero demonstratu facillimum ecclesiarum distributiones et colligationes jam inde ab exordiis nascentis ecclesiæ cum partitione civili conformatas esse."—*Cabassutius, Notit. eccles.* p. 197.

regard to apostolic foundation, or Alexandria would not have been preferred to Ephesus, Philippi, and other places.¹ The pre-eminence of Rome, which had no other than a temporal origin, lasted, without rivalry, as long as the western metropolis remained the seat of the empire; but when a new Rome sprang up in the east, the prerogative was put in peril, and was preserved only through political causes. Leo was clear-sighted enough to perceive, how likely it became that the chief bishopric would follow the seat of the government, and therefore he complained so vehemently against the degradation of Alexandria from its place as the second patriarchate, because he had nothing to fear from that city, which was in its decline. Jerusalem, which Cyril calls the mother church, and which had James the apostle for its first bishop, was subject to the jurisdiction of Cæsarea, because it was low in temporal power. As long as the exarch, who was the emperor's representative, resided at Ravenna, the archbishop of that city refused obedience to Rome²; and while Milan retained its civil greatness, its bishop was the rival of the pope; but with their temporal prosperity both lost their ecclesiastical independence. It was just the same in the church of north Africa, in which for a time the bishop of Carthage exercised the rights of patriarch, even before the name came into use. "If the relative importance of each provincial see," says Professor Ranke, "secured to its bishop a corresponding weight and dignity, how much more certainly would this result take place as regarded the ancient capital of the empire, that city whence the whole had derived its name." This secu-

C. Nice,
canon vii.

Ravenna
and Milan.

History of
the popes,
book i. ch. i.
s. i.

¹ "In Oriente, non secus quam Occidente, Alexandria et Antiochia, maximæ urbes maximam inde suis episcopis et præminentem ante aliarum urbium minorum episcopos dignitatem creaverant. Nec meritum spectabatur eorum a quibus primitus constitutæ essent in illis urbibus ecclesiæ, sive apostoli fuissent, sive apostolici, sed sola urbium

magnitudo ac splendor."—*Salmasius, De prim. c. vii. p. 98.*

² "Anzi i vescovi Constantinopolitano e Ravennate, perchè communemente la sedia della religione seguita la potenza dell' Imperio e dell' armi, disputavano spesso della superiorità con il vescovo Romano."—*Guicciardini, Ist. d'Italia, lib. iv. tom. ii. p. 215.*

lar origin of the Roman supremacy is asserted on many occasions, and in various forms. It appears on the face of imperial rescripts; it is mentioned incidentally by great doctors of the church; and assumed continually, as a point about which there was no dispute. The second general council decreed that the bishop of Constantinople should have the prerogative of honour next after the bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is new Rome. "And the reason of this alteration," to use the words of Bramhall, "was the same for which Cæsarea of old was a long time preferred before Jerusalem, and Alexandria before Antioch, and Rome before all others; to conform the ecclesiastical regiment to the political; because Constantinople was made of a mean city the seat of the eastern empire, and had as many dioceses and provinces subject unto it as old Rome itself." The fourth great council referring to this decree recognized and confirmed it, reciting that "the fathers have with good reason granted these privileges to the throne of old Rome, on account of her being the imperial city; and the 150 bishops most beloved of God, acting with the same view, have given the like privileges to the most holy throne of new Rome, rightly judging that the city which is the seat of empire, and of a senate, and is equal to the old imperial Rome in other privileges, should be also honoured, as she is, in ecclesiastical concerns, as being the second and next after her." No reasons can be more clearly stated, no language more express. It is also to be noted that the precedence which was acknowledged in the close of the fourth century had grown into an established jurisdiction seventy years later. The prerogatives of Constantinople were confirmed at the council of Trullus, and on the same express ground. The system by which ecclesiastical rank was assigned to churches, according to the greatness of the cities, was acknowledged by provincial as well as general councils.¹ It is equally

Canon iii.

Secular origin of Roman pre-eminence.

Just. vindicat. discourse ii. ch. vi. s. 3.

C. Chalcedon, canon xxviii.

Canons xxxvi. xxxviii.

¹ Thus at Antioch, in 341, it was decreed, "Episcopos qui sunt in una- quaque provincia scire oportet, episcopum qui præest metropoli etiam curam

stated by some of the chief writers in the Roman communion, as Dupin and De Marca.¹ During the middle ages the papal power grew men knew not how, and was gradually consolidated, till its commencement was almost forgotten. Yet when the reformation began to dawn, the statement with which the primitive ages were so familiar was revived, and we find that, among the articles of accusation against John Huss, he was charged with asserting, that the papal dignity had its rise from the Cæsars.² Later opponents of Rome are unanimous in ascribing the jurisdiction of that church to other causes than its succession from St. Peter. As Dr. Barrow expresses it, "it was for a more substantial reason; the very same on which the dignity and pre-eminency of other churches was founded; that is, the dignity, magnitude, opulency, opportunity of that city in which the bishop of Rome did preside; together with the consequent numerousness, quality, and wealth of his flock." There was a concurrence of

Treatise of
the supremacy, supp.
v. p. 230.

suscipere totius provinciæ: eo quod in metropolim concurrunt omnes undequaque qui habent negotia; unde visum est eum quoque honore præcedere."—Canon ix. So again, when a dispute arose between Arles and Vienne, it was decreed at the council of Turin in 402, "Ut qui ex eis approbaverit civitatem suam esse metropolim, is totius provinciæ honorem primatus obtineat, et ipse juxta canonum præceptum ordinationum habeat potestatem."—Canon ii.

¹ "Opportunitas itaque et commoditas populorum effecit ut in ecclesia ratio haberetur dignitatis quam civitas illa obtinebat in imperio."—*De concord.* lib. vi. c. 1. s. 8.

² "Dignitas papalis a Cæsaribus Romanis ortum habet."—Art. xviii. "Papæ institutio a Cæsaris potestate emanavit."—Art. xxv. *Hist. Hussitarum*, lib. iii. p. 119.

Dailly, referring to the decrees of the second and fourth general councils, says, "Patres existimant veteres sedem Romanam supra omnes

alias evenisse, quod urbs Roma rerum in seculo potiretur, ac dignitate regia supra omnes alias emeretur."—*De vero usu pat.* lib. ii. cap. 6. p. 328. Salmasius held the same view, "Roma omnium facile princeps, cui par in orbem nihil fuit, ac nihil secundum, principatum quoque, nullo negotio, ob hanc eandem rationem episcopo suo acquisivit."—*De primatu*, c. vii. p. 98. So also abp. Nilus, *De primatu papæ* (lib. ii. p. 20.), De Dominis, with great truth, writes thus: "Romana ecclesia patriarchalis, quia erat in prima totius imperii Romani civitate, primam etiam inter alias patriarchales obtinuit dignitatem."—*De rep. eccles.* lib. iv. c. 3. s. 11. Such citations from writers of competent bearing might be indefinitely multiplied. Mr. Wilberforce calls it "a more plausible notion, that the temporal greatness of the metropolis gradually gave an ascendancy to its spiritual ruler; and that the bishops of Rome are not the successors of Peter, but the heirs of the Cæsars."—*Church auth.* ch. x. p. 160.

favourable circumstances through which the power of the Roman bishop gained great accession, until at length what remained of the ancient dominion fell into his hands. Priests became the heirs of princes, and obtained the place and dignity of the Cæsars. The authority of the emperors had been weakened by absence; then difficulties arose in the east, which occupied their attention; and their dominions in the west grew more circumscribed, and more uncertain in their allegiance, until the dependence of the popes upon their distant masters became little more than nominal. The translation of the seat of empire to Byzantium was a circumstance very favourable to the growth of the spiritual sovereignty¹; the very confusion in Italy which followed the removal of the temporal princes, the succession of invaders, and the feebleness of the exarchs, made the pope more considerable, as the representative of established authority. His influence increased during the miserable ages in which the government of Italy was perpetually changing hands; while the depression of the eastern church under its Mohammedan enemies removed all fear of the old rivalry. On the one hand, the four patriarchates were brought very low; and on the other the Italian bishop finally renounced his allegiance to the Greek emperor, whom he had continued to call lord and master, and by whose reign he dated his apostolical letters.² The African church at this time was reduced to a condition of great helplessness, and could offer no resistance to any usurpation. In the meantime the popes, whose original greatness was derived from secular patronage, by degrees gained possession of territories which the sovereign was unable to retain. The see had been

Concurrence of circumstances favourable to Rome.

¹ “Ma niuno nega che la traslazione della sedia dell’ imperio a Constantinopoli fu la prima origine della potenza de’ pontefici.” — *Guicciardini*, lib. iv. tom. ii. p. 213.

² There is a very remarkable passage in the fourth book of *Guicciardini*, in which he traces the gradual increase in the temporal power of the popes. — Lib. iv. tom. ii. p. 211—224.

enriched by gifts since a very early period. "From the time of the emperor Constantine," says Mr. Roscoe, "various grants, endowments, and donations of extensive territories, were conferred by different princes on the bishops of Rome; insomuch, that there is scarcely any part of Italy to which they have not at some period asserted a claim. That many of these grants are supposititious is generally acknowledged; whilst the validity of others which are admitted to have existed frequently rests merely on the temporary right of some intruder, whose only title was his sword, and who, in many instances, gave to the pontiff what he could no longer retain for himself. Under the colour, however, of these donations, the popes possessed themselves of different parts of Italy, and, among the rest, of the whole exarchate of Ravenna, extending along a considerable part of the Adriatic coast, to which they gave the name of Romania or Romagna." Ever since the empire became christian, the sovereigns found it for their advantage to maintain the influence of the Roman bishop. Theodosius, Valentinian, Justinian, and others, derived great help in governing their distant provinces, and they repaid it by the grant of great privileges; and in this way an universal primacy might have been established, if there had not existed in the east a counterpoise to the claims of the west. In the time of Charles Martel we find the Roman empire falling to ruins, and the Lombards in possession of Italy, which they had held nearly two hundred years. When the memorable revolution took place which transferred the French crown to a new race of kings, the support rendered by the pope in the convention of Soissons tended greatly to confirm the choice of the people. When Rome was soon after in the utmost peril, Pepin repaid the obligation by defending his spiritual ally against the Lombards. Having recovered the exarchate of Ravenna out of their hands, as well as what is now the march of Ancona, and

Leo the tenth, ch. i. vol. i. p. 4.

Connection of popes with sovereigns in the west.

other places, he gave them to the bishop of Rome.¹ There was a great injustice committed on both sides; the pope gave his countenance to a rebellion against the legitimate line of kings; and Pepin bestowed, in requital, what belonged to the eastern emperors, against their earnest and repeated remonstrances.² Charlemagne, who finally put down the kingdom of the Lombards, restored the places which his father had conferred, and increased the donation.³ When, some years later, the crown was placed on the head of the great emperor of the west, it was the sanction of the bishop of Rome to the transfer of sovereignty, and at the same time the seal of a close alliance. To represent the act as an evidence of supremacy implies great ignorance of the circumstances. The empire was seized by one who possessed a greater dominion than any monarch since the time of the Cæsars. The terror of his own name, and not the consent of the pope, secured the possession of the title; it was yielded by the people of Rome, and the coronation was performed by the pope, who neither gave the empire, nor was counted by Charles, in the division of it, among his successors. There was a compact for mutual advantage. Charles bestowed magnificent gifts on the see of Rome, and then made it partly a defence of his throne, and partly an instrument of his vigorous administration. The popes, who had gradually relaxed their communion with Constantinople, formed a

Pepin.

Charlemagne.

The emperor's policy.

¹ "He caused the keys of the conquered towns to be laid on the altar of St. Peter, and in this act he laid the foundation of the whole temporal power of the popes."—*Ranke, Lives of the popes*, book i. ch. 1. s. 2.

² "Has provincias Romanæ ecclesiæ Pippinus donavit, ctsi à legato imperatoris Constantinopolitani rogaretur impensissimè ut eas imperio restitueret."—*De Marca*, lib. iii. c. 10. s. 5.

³ The amount of the gift is variously stated, and there is great uncertainty in the accounts. *De Marca* says, "Novo regno auctus Carolus non so-

lùm primam Pippini beneficiam confirmavit, sed immensis quoque largitionibus eam variis temporibus ampliavit, &c."—*De con.* lib. iii. c. 10. s. 5. But he cites, as his authority, Anastasius, who is not much to be trusted. Some of the alleged donations are inconsistent with each other: "Si Constantinus tanto ante occidentis imperium papatui donarat, equod jus novum adipisci papa ex hac novâ Ludovici donatione potuit, cum, ut vulgo traditur, rei suæ acquisitio nulla sit."—*Brutum fulmen*, p. 105.

new and close relation with the Frankish kings. This illustrious line of usurpers were glad to gain countenance; and then in turn they repaid the benefit by the gift of territories which were not theirs to bestow. But whatever may be said of the worldly policy, the ecclesiastical rights of the Roman see remained such only as they had ever been; all beyond belonged to the usurpation which these temporal acquisitions helped, but could not justify. Beside the gift of territories, emperors in the east and west, from time to time, bestowed great privileges on the Roman church. Their purpose seems to have been the indirect advancement of their own authority; and they succeeded in gradually drawing to themselves a large amount of influence in church affairs; but all instances of this kind are worthless in regard to the question of right. Even if the grants of privilege were unlimited, and never subsequently revoked, they are no way binding upon us. The emperors had no power to change ecclesiastical constitutions, even for their own time, and for the countries which they governed. They were no more than guardians and administrators. Let us call them even, what some called themselves, lay bishops; still we are as far as ever from admitting their claim to break up the entire foundation and framework of a divine institution. That they could, by virtue of their secular authority, legislate for distant times and independent countries seems hardly to require disproof; yet when cardinal du Perron, and others, refer to what was done by sovereigns, they are laying no better foundation for their system. If the acts of princes are to be cited as confirming ecclesiastical jurisdiction, then it is evident that arguments against their subsequent interferences must be untenable. If they exercised a legitimate power when they enlarged the bounds of a particular bishopric, it could not be impugned when they used it, as they sometimes did, for limiting and restoring. If state interference is good on the one hand, there is no justice in

Interference
of princes.

They could
not convey
ecclesiasti-
cal rights.

denouncing it on the other. But whatever conclusion may be formed about the value of the rights which were thus acquired, it is clear that the popes not only received, without scruple, whatever any hand might bestow, but that they availed themselves of any opportunity which occurred to enlarge their acquisitions, and especially by giving their assistance in every contest to the party which had the best prospect of success. It was not the exercise of an admitted and paramount authority, but the interposition of a great influence at a critical time, which resulted sometimes in giving the needful preponderance to one of the competitors, but, not unfrequently, produced devastating wars, for which, indeed, none have been more deeply responsible than the popes of the middle ages. It is a miserable line which they have followed in European politics, and which has descended as an heir-loom; getting aggrandisement, at all cost; countenancing the invasion of sovereign rights, whenever the papal interests were at stake; and sometimes even making common cause, for some temporal advantage, with those whom it is the fashion of the Roman church to denounce as heretics. If there were a rebellion which threatened to grow to a civil war, the so-called father of Christendom was sure to be at his post, busy in pouring oil on the flame of evil passions, and scheming to get some benefit in the end.¹ Whoever opens the history of the Italian republics must see that there have been no such enemies to national union, and progress, as the bishops of Rome; and this will not be forgotten by Italians themselves when the reckoning day arrives.

Papal influence used for secular advantage.

The popes obviously had no power, either *de jure* or

¹ The course so frequently followed is well described by a learned and acute writer: "Ut primum aliquid inter vicinos reges aut principes discordiæ subortum esse cognoverant, eam per emissarios quosdam cardinales augere atque alere incipiebant: simul pactiones cum alterutro facere, ut si sua opera regno adversarii potiri possent, tum se-

dem Romanam tanti beneficii auctorem agnoscerent; eique de novo adepto regno, fidem, hominum, ac proinde tributum annuum præstarent."—*Brutum fulmen*, p. 88. This treatise was written by Francis Hottoman, on occasion of the bull published by Sixtus V. against the king of Navarre, and his brother the prince of Condé.

de facto, for bestowing kingdoms. They could only furnish a pretext; and there was no difficulty in finding one, among the ambitious princes of the time, to avail himself of it. It might be an election closely balanced, or doubtful on some other grounds, or a disputed title, or a charge of heresy. Sometimes a reason for interference was alleged, the honesty of which it is hard to believe. Thus Nicholas I. compelled Lothaire to receive back his divorced wife; he was only siding with the powerful party, and gaining the reputation of an admitted authority. But the occasion was skilfully chosen, because the king was clearly in the wrong, and, what was more to the purpose, there was a rival ready to take advantage of any occasion against him. Leo III. had borne patiently the countless immoralities of the great emperor, and so had other popes endured without remonstrance the evil lives of other kings. Gregory IV. took part with the rebellious sons of Louis le Débonnaire; that is, he gave his sanction to a party which was strong, but indefensible on any other ground. Innocent III. professed to depose the emperor Otho, whose election he had assisted only a year before; but then the German princes sided with Frederic, whose title was indeed superior. Gregory VII. pronounced the deposition of Henry IV.; but his rebellious subjects were eager for an excuse. So again, Clement VI. confirmed the sentence against the emperor Louis, and promoted the succession of his opponent, whose faction was the more powerful. Similar cases are very numerous. The jealousies and divisions which sprang up among the heirs of Charlemagne afforded opportunities for advancement to the popes of that age, which they never enjoyed under the founder of the empire, in spite of the magnificence of his benefactions. Sometimes they profited by powerful alliances, as that of the Guelfs, which began in the twelfth century; sometimes by the disputes of the clergy with secular princes, or among themselves, in which Rome was the umpire.

Occasions
skilfully
chosen by
popes.

It was the same throughout the crusades. In those extravagant enterprises, a madness pervaded Europe; and there were losses in all that was most precious, more than could be described, but the popes were undeniably gainers. They constituted themselves trustees for the absent; and they administered the property of those who died in the war. Some obtained dispensations from joining the expedition, on payment of large sums; and orders of knighthood were instituted, half military, half religious, but altogether devoted to Rome. The tokens, in short, of activity, and clear-sighted worldly shrewdness, meet us at every turn. These are not the qualities on which an advocate of the papacy likes to dwell, but they are exactly those to which its development is really due. And in the words of Dr. Barrow, "power once rooted doth find seasons and favourable junctures for its growth, the which it will be intent to embrace."

The
crusades.

Treatise of
the suprem.
Supp. v.
p. 266.

The character of individual popes had likewise an essential influence on the advancement of the papacy. Innocent I., at the beginning of the fifth century, seems to have been the earliest to conceive the notion of a spiritual monarchy. The dignity of his see was the continually recurring topic of his discourse, the constant burden of his letters. He was a man of learning and ability, and often consulted by bishops in various places on matters of faith and discipline. The distinction which he enjoyed was really due to his personal influence; he claimed it for a special privilege which he possessed as the successor of St. Peter. Zosimus and Boniface, by whom he was immediately followed, were equally ambitious, but far less able.¹ They dropped the plea of succession from the chief of the apostles, and, in their great contest with the African church, urged the authority of the Sardican canons, which they fraudulently alleged as the Nicene. Augustine, and his fellow bishops, resolutely asserted their independence,

Influence of
individual
popes.

¹ Casaubon says of them, "Duc præcoces Hildebranduli, reges agere incipiunt."—*Exercit.* xv. p. 302.

and passed the famous decrees by which appeals beyond sea were forbidden. Near the middle of the century the bishopric of Rome was filled by Leo I., who was in every way distinguished; ruler and statesman, as well as bishop, a great preacher, as well as a man of learning, severe, and practical, and yet having a certain eloquence, he was the foremost person of the age. From the first, he entertained lofty views of building up an universal dominion for his church. Every thing favoured his purpose. The tradition of ancient glory still clung to the Roman name, though the temporal power of the empire was fast sinking. There were no rivals to be dreaded. The African church, broken in its strength by the Donatist schism, could no longer maintain the freedom of which Cyprian was the witness and the champion; while the eastern patriarchs, in their vehement conflicts, gave important sanction to the Roman pretensions, by courting the help of the great western bishop. He was an earnest energetic man, making his influence felt far and wide, and going much beyond the limit of any former precedents. It is truly said by Gieseler that "by exalting the authority of the apostle Peter, and tracing all his rights to this source, as well as by his personal qualities, and good fortune, he did more than any of his predecessors in extending and confirming the power of the Roman see." He obtained great reputation by the strenuous opposition which he offered to various forms of heresy, and especially by the letter addressed to Flavian of Constantinople, which was afterwards so often cited, and extolled. In the second council of Ephesus, when the party of Dioscorus was for a time triumphant, and the orthodox bishops were compelled, by the terror of an armed multitude, to sign an unjust sentence, the pope's legates alone had boldness to protest against the proceedings which made this synod known as the den of robbers. But in advancing his pretensions, Leo did not scruple to use the help of the secular power. He was far more indebted to the favour of Valentinian than

Leo I.

Vol. i. p.
269.

even to his own remarkable qualities ; and, after all, the chief office which he claimed for himself was that of maintaining the canons. The development of the monarchical principle was still only at its commencement. Near the close of the next century we find Gregory I. occupying the Roman see. He was a monk of high birth and large possessions, self denying, devout, and charitable, blameless in his own life, but very severe and exacting. When the invasion of the Lombards occurred, he was the only person capable of meeting the crisis. It was he who put heart into the timid soldiery, and succeeded in saving the city. At this period there was great reason for expecting that the precedence granted to the popes would be set aside. The imperial power was gone from Italy ; and there was every prospect that the ecclesiastical dignity, which had belonged to old Rome, would follow the fortunes of the empire to Byzantium. To the fear of this result we must ascribe the passionate remonstrances which Gregory addressed to the emperor Maurice, and John of Constantinople. Though it cannot be said that he added greatly to the power of his see, he was zealous in maintaining what his predecessors had gradually acquired. And the Mahommedan triumphs, which arose soon afterwards, removed out of the way many of those who might have struggled for the recovery of their rights. M. Guizot places the commencement of the spiritual sovereignty a century and a half later, that is in the time of Nicholas I.¹ This pope, beyond all question, made a great advance on the claims of his predecessors, and assumed the right of very general interference. The council of Chalcedon had directed that causes which might arise between the clergy and the metropolitan

Gregory I.

Nicholas I.

Canon ix.

¹ “ Les successeurs de Nicolas I., entre autres Adrien II., ne furent pas tous aussi habiles ou aussi heureux que lui dans leurs entreprises. Cependant, à tout prendre, leur pouvoir et les maximes qui le fondaient furent en progrès

dans les faits comme dans les esprits ; et c'est du règne de Nicolas I. que date vraiment la souveraineté de la papauté.” — *Guizot, Civilisation en France, Vingtseptième Leçon, p. 85.*

should be carried to the exarch of the diocese, that is, to the patriarch. Nicholas turned to the advancement of his see what had been decreed for the benefit of the rival bishopric of Constantinople; as if dioceses had been mentioned, the plural instead of the singular, and that the pope was exarch of them all, and in this character could claim the devolution of all cases to his tribunal.¹ So extravagant an interpretation would hardly have been proposed, unless some countenance had been obtained from the false decretals, of which we shall have to speak more particularly under a separate head. Soon after the time of Nicholas began the period of a hundred and fifty years, during which the papacy sunk to the lowest possible degradation, under a succession of bishops whose baseness and wickedness it is impossible either to deny or to extenuate. The loss of influence and authority which resulted was in a great measure compensated by the pontificate of Gregory VII., which commenced in 1073. There were many things which favoured the ambitious purposes which he formed. The German empire had fallen into a feeble condition; a young king was on the throne of France; Spain was overrun by the Moors; and the Norman had just conquered England; while the personal qualities of the pope enabled him to take the fullest advantage of the circumstances in which he was placed. He was vigorous, and full of ambition, but of a lofty kind; extremely religious, and, for the age in which he lived, a man of learning. His plans were maturely formed, and steadfastly followed; through many discouragements and disasters he was always advancing. The great countess Matilda remained faithful to him in all changes of fortune; but he had few other allies or helpers; and yet he succeeded in attaining a loftier reach of power than any of

Gregory
VII.

¹ "Difficile factu foret absurdiorum illius loci ac canonis interpretationem omni arte et ingenio adhibito excogitare. In qua refellenda stultius laboratur, quam laboratum sit in reperienda."—*Salmasius, de primatu*, c. xii. p. 190.

his predecessors. But he deserves no higher praise than that of a shrewd politician. The measure of success which he gained must be ascribed to means which it is forbidden to a christian bishop to employ ; and the result was to be seen in the devastating wars for which he furnished the occasion.¹ The words of Gieseler are most true : “ When we consider him, not as a statesman, but in the light in which he placed himself, as the head of the church, and an apostle of christian truth, we cannot but revolt at his cold, mere diplomatic character. Instead of the truth and all-embracing love demanded by the position in which he stood, we find in him an iron will, and an unscrupulous use of any means which would suit his ends. His conduct is everywhere accommodated to circumstances, not governed by principle ; sometimes prudently yielding and overlooking, and again in the same matters inflexibly obstinate ; sometimes temporising, and then rashly and violently interfering ; his own spiritual power always made to subserve his political purposes ; overturning and destroying whatever opposes itself to his will. In order to clear this potentate, by whose influence the church now assumed the character of a political institution, from wilful blindness to his true duty, we must attribute such an influence to prevailing notions, even over the strongest minds, as almost to make us doubt whether man has a moral nature. In order to call him great, we must judge him by a standard which he himself must have disowned, that of political ability.” There are inserted in his letters twenty-seven propositions or maxims, which contain the most extravagant assertion of power in appointing and deposing bishops, in making laws, and exercising judgment in all causes without appeal, as well as of superiority to all secular princes, with the right of absolving

His worldly and unscrupulous character.

Eccles. hist. vol. ii. p. 159.

¹ “ Quanta mala, quot bella, bellorumque discrimina inde subsecuta sint, quoties misera Roma obsessa, capta, vastata, quum papa super papam sicut

rex super regem, positus fuerit, tædet memorare.”— *Otonis Frising. Hist.* lib. vi. c. 36. fol. 74.

subjects from their allegiance, &c. Whether they are genuine or not has been vehemently debated in the Roman church. Modern writers generally believe that they express the principles on which he acted, but that they were written by some one else. The bishop of Meaux supposes them to have been collected from his epistles¹; and it is certain that they contain nothing which is not according to the spirit of writings which are known to be his.²

The thirteenth century was the period during which the papacy reached its highest temporal developement. At the commencement Innocent III. made an advance even on the maxims of Gregory; he claimed authority over all secular princes, affirming that, like the sun and moon in the firmament, there are two powers in the church, the pontifical, which is the greater, and the royal, which is the less. He asserted his right to interpose in all disputes between sovereigns. He compelled the observance of peace between the kings of Castile and Portugal. He excommunicated the usurper of the crown of Norway. At one time he commanded the king of Arragon, under pain of excommunication, to restore the coin which had been debased; at another he subjected the kingdom of Leon to interdict, because the king had married his cousin. He triumphed over John; and, what was far more remarkable, he compelled the submission of Philippe Auguste.³ In the former case, he had indeed to defend a gross infringement of the liberty of the English church, in the appointment of a primate, but the king was extremely unpopular: in the latter, a powerful monarch was his

Innocent
III.

¹ "Cum eorum dictatum in ipsâ synodo, aut in Gregorii VII. epistolis, aut in historicis qui de synodo scripsere, nulla mentio habeatur, probabilius est, hos papæ dictatus ex epistolis Gregorii a studioso quodam fuisse collectos." — *Bossuet, Defensio*, pars i. lib. iii. c. 5.

² "Il n'est pas très-certain qu'il ait réellement rédigé ou dicté ces articles; mais on en retrouverait la substance ou le développement dans ses lettres

authentiques: ils pourraient être intitulés *Esprit d'Hildebrand*; ils étaient la règle de sa conduite, le symbole qu'il professait et qu'il eût voulu imposer à la chrétienté." — *Essai historique sur la puissance temporelle des papes*, ch. iv. tom. i. p. 129. See also *De Marca*, lib. vii. c. 26. s. 4.

³ See Hallam's *Middle ages*, vol. ii. c. 7. pp. 277—284.

opponent, but he had been guilty of a great crime. Innocent not only encouraged the crusades against the Saracens, but directed the same agency against the enemies of the papacy in Europe.¹ By his great ability, and by his energetic unscrupulous policy, he enlarged the authority of his see; but it was the establishment of temporal power, and by the very means which sovereigns are accustomed to employ. Ecclesiastical precedents he had none. His whole administration was made up of innovations, boldly or craftily carried out as the occasion served. At the end of the century, Boniface VIII. was pope. He united daring and subtlety with boundless ambition. Having obtained possession of the Roman see, he endeavoured to advance its power to an absolute and universal supremacy. He was as violent as Gregory or Innocent, but he had far less ability; and his boldness was not justified by the results. In the contest which he maintained with Philippe le Bel, he advanced extravagant pretensions which he was unable to defend²; and he found the clergy, as well as the laity, of France, resolute in resisting his interference. His bulls were rejected, and his excommunications were despised. He was equally unsuccessful in his struggle with Edward I., against whom he claimed the kingdom of Scotland, as lord paramount; and his remonstrances and threats were unavailing. We learn from this turbulent and unhappy pontificate that the advancement of popes was due to the favour of princes, and to great personal qualifications. In the case of Boniface both were wanting, and the Roman power began to decline.³

Boniface
VIII.

¹ Usher says, "Jam cruciatus expeditiones, adversus Saracenos institutas, in sedis suæ adversarios papa converterat. Ad quam flammam suscitandam prædicatorum suorum usus ille est operâ."—*De successione ecclesiarum*, c. ix. p. 316.

² These are the words of the bull, *Unam sanctam*. "Porro subesse Romano pontifici omnem humanam crea-

turam, declaramus, dicimus, diffinimus et pronuntiamus omninò esse de necessitate salutis."

³ The papal historian concludes his account of Boniface in these remarkable words: "Moritur hoc modo Bonifacius ille, qui imperatoribus, regibus, principibus, nationibus, populis, terrorem potius quam religionem injicere conabatur: quique dare regna et au-

Ecclesiastical power bound up with temporal.

The influence which had been obtained by various popes, through the secular sovereignty which they built up, formed the real foundation of their extensive jurisdiction in spiritual matters. The temporal character was not separable from the ecclesiastical; they were bound up together, and they were mutually helpful, especially during the dark ages, when the limits of each were ill defined. The enlargement of the one was invariably followed by the increase of the other. If the bishops of Rome had not obtained a great worldly position, they would never have even attempted to interfere with the independence of other churches. Temporal success and spiritual claims made parallel progress. They grew considerable by the favour of kings, by fortunate alliances, by wars, by clever worldly policy; yielding if the time were not ripe for resistance, and asserting their pretensions, if their adversary were weak or unpopular, or if there were national divisions, or some other circumstance, which gave them an advantage. And the power which came in this way was easily turned to account in promoting an ecclesiastical system for which neither scripture, nor the fathers afforded the least countenance. Who could hope for any success in resisting the conclusions held by a theologian who was also a prince? For three centuries the Roman church had no temporal distinction; and during that period its ecclesiastical influence was proportionately low. In the well-known words of Æneas Sylvius, it was very little considered before the council of Nice. And as its authority came by the enlargement of temporal power, we find a correspondent effect in the season of diminution and decay.

During the middle ages there was a continual struggle between emperor and pope. Sometimes the former prevailed, as in the reign of Henry III.; and sometimes the

ferre, pellere homines ac reducere pro arbitrio animi conabatur, aurum undique conquisitum plus quam dici potest

sitiens." — *Platina de vit. Bonifacii*, p. 248.

latter, as in the reign of Henry IV. The pope might seem to be no match for his powerful adversary, and yet he had weapons which often proved very irresistible. An interdict was laid upon the kingdom ; or a rival was found whose claims only wanted a little encouragement ; or subjects were discontented, and seeking an excuse for breaking out into rebellion ; an ambitious pope never scrupled to use such an advantage. The most remarkable form which this contest assumed was the long-continued strife about investitures. The clergy frequently proceeded to elect so quickly after the vacancy of a see, that the privilege of the lay patron was defeated, because, when consecration had taken place, the election could not be called in question. To prevent this invasion of right, it became the custom, that on the death of a bishop an officer of the crown took possession of his ring and crozier, which were restored to his successor, as the emblems of investment by the representative of the emperor. The popes offered strenuous opposition to this arrangement. Gregory VII., in a council at Rome, pronounced sentence of anathema on every ecclesiastic who should receive investiture from the hands of a layman. And at the beginning of the next century, under Paschal II., the bodies of the bishops who had complied with the rule of the empire were taken from their graves and cast into the river. It was a strife about the independence and secular possessions of the clergy, unrelieved by any lofty or disinterested line of policy.¹ During half a century it produced numerous battles, the devastation of provinces, the ruin of cities, endless slaughters, and at last a compromise. The contest sometimes assumed another form. Whether the pope might be lawfully ordained without the consent of the emperor, and whether the emperor might receive his crown from any other hand than that of the pope, were questions vehemently contested, and settled, as the occasion arose, accord-

Struggle
about investitures.

¹ See Father Paul on beneficiary matters, ch. xxiii. pp. 86—97.

Spiritual
interests
sacrificed to
temporal.

ing to the comparative strength of the opposing parties.¹ And sometimes the secular and spiritual interests of Rome were found to be on opposite sides; in which case the former were usually secured at whatever cost to the latter. Thus, Leo X. made a concordat with Francis I., by which the appointment to bishoprics was yielded to the king, while the pope reserved to himself the annates; of which Mézerai says, very truly, that it was an absurd exchange; the pope being a spiritual potentate took the temporalities for himself, and gave the spiritualities to a temporal prince. Some of the alliances which were formed, during the same century, can only be explained by the preference given to worldly interests over religious considerations. But whatever might be the fortunes of the papacy in its contention with sovereigns, it gained gradually and steadfastly upon the liberties of the church.² The ecclesiastical government of primitive times was administered by bishops; then the chief bishops became metropolitans; and the first of the metropolitans obtained the power, and then the name, of patriarch. Exaggerated notions of the importance of the chief sees seem to have arisen, in part, from an inadequate conception of the wide extent to which the diffusion of the gospel was to be carried. The patriarchates were planted in great cities, to which, as the chief centres of affairs, there was a concourse of persons, and a constant reference on questions which arose from time to time. There was nothing of divine right in the distribution of dioceses and the limits of jurisdiction. The council of Nice speaks of no higher origin than the ancient custom. And the bishop of Rome was not at first a patriarch, for his authority extended only to the suburban provinces; but within these limits he exer-

Origin of
ecclesiasti-
cal power.

¹ The seventh chapter of Mr. Hallam's history of the middle ages contains a clear and impartial view of the progress made by the papacy. See also the forty-ninth chapter of Gibbon's Decline and fall of the Roman empire.

² De Dominis, after the citation of

numerous authorities, reaching through many centuries, gives this as the conclusion: "Vidimus per omnes fere ætates duellum papalis insolentiæ et ecclesiasticæ libertatis." — *De rep. eccl.* lib. iv. c. 8. s. 75.

cised unusual power, for he ordained all bishops, because there was no metropolitan to whom this office would otherwise have belonged. But while the eastern patriarchates remained separate and independent, the bishop of Rome by degrees absorbed all power in the west. His rights were at first confined to the south of Italy; but he advanced progressively, until the usurpation was developed in the broad assertion of universal dominion at the council of Lateran¹; and, three centuries and a half later, embodied in an addition to the creed.² The popes changed the equality of bishops, which existed in the earliest ages, to a monarchy, of which they themselves promulgated the laws, and regulated the succession. The canons granted nothing originally to the pope but precedence, the privilege of sitting in the first seat, of being called the first bishop, and being first named in the prayers and liturgies. Cardinal de Cusa observes that the bishops of Rome had extended their authority far beyond the rules of the ancient church. The same assertion is made in the Wittemberg confession of faith presented to the council of Trent; and it had indeed formed the great charge repeated, again and again, by members of the Roman communion, as well as by its opponents, from the very revival of ecclesiastical learning. And what the pope held at first *jure ecclesiastico*, came at length to be claimed *jure divino*. The authority of scripture was alleged by false interpretation, and then a historical foundation was provided by spurious documents. As it is well expressed by Gieseler, "After the rights of the Roman bishops had become more fixed in the west, and their influence very considerable even in the east, they began to take a different view of their dignity as the successors of Peter, and to rest all their claims

Extension of papal claims.

Barlaam de papæ principatu. c. ix.

The authority of scripture and of history falsely alleged.

Eccles. hist. vol. ii. p. 263.

¹ The fifth canon confirms the second place to Constantinople. "Post Romanam ecclesiam, quæ disponente Domino, super omnes alias ordinariæ potestatis obtinet principatum, utpote

mater universorum Christi fidelium et magistra."

² S. catholicam, et apostolicam Romanam ecclesiam, omnium ecclesiarum matrem, et magistram agnosco, &c."—*Art. 11.*

on this ground, a view which we first find fully developed by Leo the Great." But the human and divine origin of the papal supremacy are not merely different, but altogether inconsistent; they cannot stand together; the one must not be taken as a supplement or make-weight to the other. If the pope is supreme bishop by divine appointment, as successor of St. Peter, it would be not only needless for councils and kings to assign the chief place to his see, but profane. To give the history of the supremacy is, in fact, to refute its highest claim.

Alleged
grant of
universal
jurisdiction.

Considerable importance has been ascribed to a supposed grant of universal jurisdiction made to the bishop of Rome at the beginning of the seventh century. The story rests upon very slender evidence, and there are strong reasons for rejecting it altogether. It is not mentioned by any contemporary writer, nor indeed by any one before the time of Bede. Popes themselves had vehemently protested against the title of universal bishop, when it was assumed by others, and that on the ground of its unsuitableness to any one, and not because it implied an invasion of their own rights. Gregory I., referring to the bishop of Constantinople, called it a name of blasphemy, a token of antichrist, an imitation of the devil, &c. And this is what Cyprian maintained, though in milder language, at the council of Carthage, and Augustine in his writings against the Donatists. If the pope used these strong expressions with justice in the case of a rival bishop, it is hard to understand how the application can be turned aside from himself and his successors, for he made no exception in his own favour, or theirs. Roman writers are greatly perplexed by the difficulty of maintaining the claim of subsequent popes to a title which Gregory so broadly denounced. Andrada ascribes it to his modesty that he gave it up; and Bellarmine to his caution¹, which, it must be confessed, are but feeble an-

Reasons for
doubting
that it was
made.

¹ " Tacere non possum quàm vafre Joannes Calvinus sanctiss. illius Gregorii pontificis modestia, qua universalis episcopi nomen repudiavit, ad Romanæ sedis dignitatem minuendam, fuerit abusus." — *Andrada, Defensio*

swers to a formidable objection. It is also obvious that the grant, if it had been really made, would not furnish the necessary foundation of right. Phocas had no power to bestow jurisdiction beyond the limits of his own empire; and there were many important populations belonging to the Latin communion, over which he had no control. Besides, at his death, which took place three years later, all that he had done for injuring the see of Constantinople was reversed.¹

The title of universal bishop was no novelty, but had been familiar since the time of the Nicene council. Independently of his special charge, every bishop had a general oversight of the church, and in this sense was an universal bishop. Such superintendence is excellently expressed by Gieseler, "As all bishops were supposed to be of like dignity and power, so also they considered themselves as having like duties towards the church in general, apart from those to their own particular dioceses. Thus they maintained their common right to interfere in any case where a bishop had transgressed the established rules of the church, with their admonitions, reprimands, and even ecclesiastical punishment; though this common right was, of course, most frequently exercised by the most respected and powerful amongst them." In its true and allowable sense, the title of universal bishop was given to the pope, but it was common to him with others.² What Paul says of himself, Basil applies to Athanasius, that he had "the care of all the churches." If the council of Chalcedon allowed Leo to be called bishop, or pope, of the universal church, it is no more than the council of Sardica said of all bishops; or than another great council said of the bishop of Constantinople, or

What the title of universal bishop meant.

Eccles. hist. vol. i. p. 155.

Trid. fidei, lib. ii. fol. 98. See, also, *Bellarmino, de R. pont.* lib. ii. c. 31. p. 183.

¹ See Hallam's middle ages, ch. vii. vol. ii. p. 231. note.

² On the title of universal bishop, see Stillingfleet, *Grounds of prot. relig.*

part ii. c. 6. p. 424—430.; Thomassin, *pars i. lib. i. c. 11.*; Bingham, *Antiq. book ii. c. 5.*; De Dominis, *rep. eccles. lib. iv. c. 7. p. 618—643.*; Mason, *de min. Ang. lib. iv. c. 15. p. 532.*; Bramhall, *Vind. of church of England*, diss. ii. chap. 8. s. 4.

Adrian I. of Tharadius, or Justinian of Mennas, and others. The title is given, again and again, to eastern bishops by emperors, and that not incidentally, but in grave documents, such as their codes of law. The bishops of Constantinople enjoyed it, both before and after the alleged decree of Phocas.¹

According to a well known distinction, every bishop was called bishop of the universal church, but to be called universal bishop of the church was a different thing, and what no one could claim. The one title belonged to all bishops²; the other, which implied universal pastorship, that is, the right to act as ordinary in all dioceses, was not even thought of in primitive ages. "What there is not the shadow of a reason for saying that the fathers held, what has not the faintest pretensions of being a catholic truth, is this, that St. Peter or his successors were and are universal bishops, that they have the whole of Christendom for their one diocese, in a way which other apostles and bishops had, and have not, that they are bishop of bishops, in such sense as belongs to no other bishops; in fact, that the difference between St. Peter and the popes after him, and other bishops, is not one of mere superiority and degree, but of kind, not of rank, but of class. This the Romanists hold, and they do not hold it by catholic tradition; by what then? by private interpretation of Scripture." The first who ventured to assume the name was John of Constantinople, at the end of the sixth century; though it is not quite certain what extent of jurisdiction he intended to express.³ It is likely enough

Bishop of
the univer-
sal church.

Newman on
Romanism
and prot.
Lect. vii.
p. 217.

¹ Adversus hanc Constantinopolitani antistitis dignitatem decretum emisisse dicatur, statim tamen Heraclius rem in integrum restituit, posterioresque antistites Constantinopolitani hunc semper titulum usurparunt." — *Dupin, Diss.* iv. c. ii. s. 2.

² Omnes episcopi unius et ejusdem ecclesiæ universalis in solidum operarii sumus et pastores, sed commoditatis gratiâ, quisque suæ certæ ecclesiæ par-

ticulari est alligatus." — *De Dominis*, lib. iv. c. 8. s. 2.

³ Lesley says that, "After the seat of the empire had been translated to Constantinople, the bishop of that see took the primacy to himself, pretending to be the universal bishop over the whole catholic church." — *Letter to the bishop of Meaux*. But Dr. Bull says, on the other hand, that "It may be questioned whether John of Con-

that he really proposed to use the title in its large and inadmissible sense. The opportunity was favourable; Constantinople was at this time flourishing, and Rome depressed.¹ Gregory, at least, seems to have understood that the attempt had this meaning, because he expressly says, in his letter to the emperor, that the bishop of Constantinople had taken more upon himself than the apostle Peter. It is extremely improbable that Boniface would have used his interest to obtain the very designation which his immediate predecessor so strongly opposed. Many centuries later we find Bellarmine, indeed, reckoning this among fifteen titles peculiar to the pope, from which he deduces an argument for his supremacy. It is, of course, only a restriction, like the rest, to a particular see of what originally belonged to all; and the reasoning founded upon it is as worthless as could be imagined. The usurpation was generally made covertly, but sometimes by positive enactment; thus we have one bishop of Rome refusing to be called brother by his fellow-bishops, and another restraining the name of pope to himself and his successors.² This gradual application to one bishop alone, of the titles which at first belonged to all, has both marked the progress of the usurpation, and assisted to promote it.

But though the genuineness of the grant has been too hastily assumed, and weightier consequences ascribed than would have followed if it were true, yet the circumstances

De Rom.
pont. lib. ii.
c. 31. p. 182.

stantinople, by assuming the title of oecumenical bishop, meant that he had an universal jurisdiction over all other bishops and churches; but this is certain, that Gregory opposed the title under this notion,—this appearing abundantly from his epistle to John the patriarch; and it is as certain that, under the same notion, the bishops of Rome afterwards assumed that title, and do claim it to this day.”—*Answer to the bishop of Meaux*, s. ii. p. 243.

¹ “Les évêques de Constantinople considerans que la dignité du siège

Romain venoit de ce que Rome avoit été long tems le siège de l’empire, et voyans que l’empire étoit transféré à Constantinople, ont voulu s’en faire a croire, et se sont voulu préférer à l’évêque de Rome.”—*Du Moulin, Defense de la foi*, art. xxiii. p. 577.

² In the sixteenth century we find the usurpation so far established, that when Baius ventured to say of the pope, “Non est appellandus universalis,” certain doctors pronounced of the proposition, “Hæresim sapit.”

of the transaction with which it is connected seem to illustrate, in a remarkable degree, both the policy of an ambitious pope, and the means by which it was carried out. The emperor Maurice had been favourably disposed to Gregory, and had received in return assurances of the highest respect. But when he regarded with indifference the dispute about the title of universal bishop, he lost the friendship of the pope. He was soon afterwards dethroned by the soldiers of the empire, and murdered with circumstances of unusual atrocity. Phocas, who had been the leader of the rebellion, became his successor. Gregory, to his indelible disgrace, expressed the highest satisfaction. No language of adulation could be stronger than that which he employed towards the miscreant who had usurped the throne of his master. It was mingled with profane triumph, and groundless predictions of blessing to come, by means of one who had violated all moral sanctions.¹

Phocas.

Decline and
Fall,
ch. xlvii.
p. 467.†

Gibbon has described him in terms of which there is no reason to doubt the accuracy: "Ignorant of letters, of laws, and even of arms, he indulged in the supreme rank a more ample privilege of lust and drunkenness, and his brutal pleasures were either injurious to his subjects, or disgraceful to himself. Without assuming the office of a prince, he renounced the profession of a soldier; and the reign of Phocas afflicted Europe with ignominious peace, and Asia with desolating war. His savage temper was inflamed by passion, hardened by fear, exasperated by resistance or reproach." The permission granted by one emperor to the bishop of Constantinople to bear the title of universal, and the hope of its withdrawal by the next, may account for what is so hateful in itself, and so inconsistent with the otherwise respectable character of Gregory. He obtained his end in the suppression of a great rivalry for a

¹ Cave says, with great justice, "Si verum fateri fassit adeo turpiter in hac re lapsus est Gregorius, ut scelestissimo parricidæ excogitatissimis adulandi ar-

tibus blandiri, et in piissimi principis Mauricii manes acerrimè debacchari non erubesceret." — *Hist. lit.* p. 354.

short time at least. Phocas was willing to punish the bishop of his own city for the protection which he afforded to the children of Maurice. But the very means employed bear witness to the profound fear entertained by this far seeing pope, that the supremacy would be transferred to another see, in the same way by which it came to his own. And it was not without reason. Byzantium had once been a poor suffragan bishopric, under the jurisdiction of Heraclea : when the city grew to its greatness, as the eastern metropolis, the bishopric took rank next to Rome, displacing all the ancient patriarchates ; there was nothing apparently to prevent it from assuming the highest rank. In the same way Alexandria had formerly preceded Antioch ; and on what ground it would be difficult to say, unless because it was the second chief city of the world. ¹

Fears of Gregory.

Though the title of universal bishop was probably not bestowed by Phocas, nor accepted by Boniface, yet it is undeniable that the authority of all bishops has been gradually invaded and subverted. The episcopate has never had so fatal an enemy as the papacy. Romanists themselves have complained of the injury, and no where more earnestly than in the council of Trent. The encroachments which were made, from time to time, were greatly promoted by the power which the popes acquired of presenting to benefices and the higher ecclesiastical dignities. At first they appointed bishops only in the suburbicary provinces ; then in places dependent on the see of Rome, though less immediately. Afterwards they advanced far wider claims, but, as in every other instance, cautiously, and as occasion served. Sometimes there was a disputed election, and one of the parties sought the patronage of the pope, who had weight enough to decide the contest ; sometimes there was the pretence of uncanonical procedure, or

Presentation to benefices.

¹ "Rectius illi meo quidem iudicio loquuntur, qui secundum locum Alexandrino præsuli concessum esse scribunt, eo quod Alexandria foret se-

cunda orbis civitas, quanquam id non ita liquidò demonstrari potest."—*Du-pin, Eccles. discip. præloquium*, s. 11.

that the see was vacant by the deposition of a bishop.¹ In the election of bishops by cathedral bodies, the influence of the pope was often successfully used, especially when, as in the case of Canterbury, the chapter was composed of monks. What in one period came in the form of a request, or recommendation, assumed at another the force of a command.² Under a vigorous pope, or when the secular power was feeble, great advances were made. The invasion of the rights of patrons seems to have reached its height under the popes of Avignon. In the words of Mr. Hume, "By the invention of reserves, provisions, commendams, and other devices, the pope gradually assumed the right of filling vacant benefices; and the plenitude of his apostolic power, which was not subject to any limitations, supplied all defects of title in the person on whom he bestowed preferment. The canons which regulated elections were purposely rendered intricate and involved; frequent disputes arose among candidates; appeals were every day carried to Rome; the apostolic see, besides reaping pecuniary advantage from these contests, often exercised the power of setting aside both the litigants, and, on pretence of appeasing faction, nominated a third person who might be more acceptable to the contending parties." The privilege of erecting fresh sees, and of raising to a higher rank those which were already in existence, was gained by the same violation of ancient usages.³ The confirmation of metropolitans was also a privilege which the bishops of Rome laboured earnestly to obtain, because in a certain sense it included all inferior jurisdictions.⁴ The pall,

Hist. of
England,
A.D. 1207.

¹ "La cupidité, si ingénieuse en pre-
textes, en a fourni aux papes plusieurs,
dont ils n'ont pas manqué de se servir,
et avec lesquels ils ont réussi à se rendre
maîtres, pendant un temps, de tous
les bénéfices." — *Autorité du pape*, liv.
iii. p. i. ch. 5. s. 5.

² See *Autorité du pape*, liv. iii. part
i. ch. 5. p. 137—230.

³ *Autorité du pape*, liv. iii. part i.
ch. 6. p. 204—230.

⁴ "Succedente tempore pontifices
Romani ordinandorum per universum
occidentem episcoporum potestatem,
non sine multâ contradictione, sibi vin-
dicavère, et omnium metropolitanorum
jura paulatim pessum dederunt. Pri-
mùm quidem metropolitana ordinatio-
num jura ad se trahere conati sunt per
concessionem pallii, &c." — *Dupin*,
Præloquium, s. xii. p. 68.

which had long been the distinguishing mark of a metropolitan, was at first bestowed by emperors and other princes, and subsequently by popes. It was originally no more than a token of favour, but was afterwards held to imply the concession of certain privileges, such as holding synods, and ordaining bishops, which were not to be exercised till it had been granted.¹ It became both a token of submission to the see of Rome, and, at the same time, an instrument by which the dependence was made more complete; the occasion being used for enacting a very stringent oath of obedience.² So obvious an infraction of ecclesiastical liberty could not be established without exciting the strongest opposition; and it was only by compulsion in some cases, and by persuasion when force was unavailing, that compliance was obtained. Hincmar, of Rheims, in the ninth century, told Nicholas I. that the pall conveyed to him no rights which he did not already possess. In England, from the conquest to the reformation, this claim gave occasion to the bitterest contentions. Even in the seventeenth century, we find the great doctors of the Sorbonne protesting against the tyranny which it implied. Van Espen ascribes in a great measure to the forged decretals the admission of plenary power in the pope, of which this was the token.³

The pall
an instru-
ment of
subjection.

But no claim advanced by the bishop of Rome is so important as that of receiving appeals from all parts of the world, because it is tantamount to the assertion of universal and supreme authority; and none more thoroughly contradicts the tradition and the practice of the early

Claim to
receive ap-
peals.

¹ "Ex quo perspicimus quod primitus in honoris atque dignitatis indicium et notam tribuebatur, tum demum in onus gravissimum transiisse. Ita ut Curia Romana prohibeat archiepiscopis ea obire munia ad quæ jure divino tenentur, antequam pallium acquisierint; quod tamen est res pure ceremonialis, nihil ad potestatem episcopalem conferens."—*Richer, Hist. concil. gen. lib. i. c. 12. s. 13.*

² In the words of De Marca, "Eo res devenit, ut coacti sint scripto polliceri subjectionem et obedientiam apostolicæ sedi et per omnia præcepta ejus canonicè sequi, &c."—*De concord. lib. vi. c. 7. s. 6.*

³ *Jus ecclæs. univ. part i. tit. xix. c. 7.*, where the subject is amply treated.

church.¹ We find that eminent fathers, like Cyprian and Augustine, were so far from allowing this right to any particular bishop, that they advance the weightiest reasons against it. For three centuries and a half ecclesiastical discipline was administered according to a system which confined the trial of offences and the settlement of disputes within the limits of the province. The deposition of bishops took place in synod, with no allowance of appeal, except in certain cases, to a larger assembly, and notice was sent to the bishop of Rome, in common with others, that he might withhold communicatory letters from those who had been deprived.² In the middle of the fourth century the council of Sardica laid the first foundation for the appellate jurisdiction of Rome.³ It supplied the pretence for interfering with the legitimate authority of individual bishops, and of provincial councils, as often as the power was furnished from secular sources. It was called on occasion of the proceedings against Athanasius, in the councils of Tyre and Antioch, and by the third, fourth, and fifth canons, it provided, that if any bishop thought his cause wrongly judged, he might call on the bishop of Rome to order, if he saw fit, a revision of the sentence by the bishops who pronounced it, or by others joined with them in commission.⁴ It was not a power of hearing appeals which was

Council of
Sardica.

¹ Papal writers are accustomed to place this assumption first among the privileges of Rome. Thus Becan writes, "Primum est (sc. privilegium) quod omnes episcopi totius orbis, qui in judiciis ecclesiasticis sentiunt se gravari ab episcopis, aut synodis provincialibus, possunt fugere ad R. pontificem, tanquam ad iudicem superiorem, cui reliqui etiam episcopi subjecti esse debeant, et a cujus sententiâ non liceat ulterius provocare."—*Manuale controv.* lib. i. c. 4. s. 63.

² "Dans les premiers temps, les jugements du métropolitain, et du concile de la province, rendus tant contre les évêques que contre les autres clercs, étaient souverains, et il n'y en avait point d'appel."—*Autorité ecclésiast-*

tique, tom. ii. p. 177. The subject is ably handled, tom. ii. p. 176—196.

³ De Marca says, very distinctly, "Huic concilio debetur prima origo juris summi pontificis quoad judicia canonica episcoporum."—*De concord.* lib. vii. cap. 3. s. 6. So again, M. Lévêque de Burigny, "Ce fut le concile de Sardique, qui le premier donna atteinte à l'autorité souveraine des conciles provinciaux. Ce furent les malheureuses circonstances de ces temps, qui engagèrent les pères de ce concile à s'éloigner de l'ancienne discipline."—*Aut. du pape*, liv. iii. part 2.

⁴ These are the words of the fifth canon of Sardica: "Si appellaverit qui dejectus videtur, et confugerit ad beatissimum Romanæ ecclesiæ episcopum,

granted to the pope, but of directing the review of a decision. The judges were not to be Roman, nor the cause transferred to Rome; but neighbouring bishops were to be charged with the investigation, besides those who had been already employed. The council did not direct that cases should be carried, in the final resort, to the Roman courts, but that a definitive judgment should be given in the courts in which the pleadings had been already heard, after the addition of certain new members.¹ To increase, or confirm, or in any way promote the power of the bishop of Rome, was as far as possible from the proposition in hand. The council was providing security for the orthodox bishops of the east, who were persecuted by the Eusebians. Others might be condemned, as well as Athanasius and his friends; and it was of urgent necessity to provide some refuge. The power to appoint a rehearing was ordinarily vested in the emperor, but the throne was at this time filled by Constantius, who openly favoured the Arians. The council transferred it from the emperor, whose opinions they opposed, to the pope in whom they confided. It was entirely the result of personal considerations. They would not have taken it from such an emperor as Constantine, nor have given it to such a pope as Vigilius. This origin of the particular power to which the canons of Sardica refer, helps us to fix its extent. The council conveyed to the pope neither

Rehearing
appointed
by the
canon, and
not appeal.

et voluerit se audiri: si justum putaverit ut renovetur examen, scribere his episcopis dignetur episcopus R. qui in finitima et propinqua altera provincia sunt, ut ipsi diligenter omnia requirant, et juxta fidem veritatis definiant." Of which Van Espen says, with great truth, "Patres Sardicensis summo Pontifici concesserunt tantum jus decernendi revisionem sententiæ a concilio provinciali in episcopum latæ, non autem jus recipiendi appellationem episcopi condemnati, et rescindendi sententiam quam tulerat synodus provincialis." — *Jus eccles. univ.* pars iii. tit. 3. c. 6. s. 1.

and appeal is clearly expressed by Van Espen: "Discrimen quippe est inter appellationem et revisionem: illa integram causæ cognitionem transfert ad judicem superiorem, qui post quæstionem discussam, eam in suo tribunali definit: at revisio definitivum judicium relinquit priori jurisdictioni eâ ratione, ut prioribus judicibus novi etiam adjungantur." — *Ibid.* s. 2. De Marca says, "Jus in eâ synodo quæsitum episcopo R. diversum prorsus est à judicio appellationis, cum nihil aliud ei concessum sit quam ut decernere possit causæ retractationem." — *De concord.* lib. vii. c. 3. s. 7.

¹ The difference between revision

more nor less than had been exercised by the secular prince. As the latter could only order the investigation of a case, under certain forms of procedure, the former could do no more. Again, the deliberate appointment of a bishop to a certain office, under the pressure of existing circumstances, proves, clearly enough, that he had no previous authority for executing it. If the right of hearing appeals had been already a recognized privilege of his see, that the canons should have made no reference to what must have been so well known, is of all things the most incredible. But as if to make the case still clearer, the council used words which are irreconcilable with the admission of a divine right, or of any right indeed, previously existing. "Let us, if it seem good to you, honour the memory of the apostle Peter, that application may be made to the bishop of Rome for the renewal of proceedings."¹ That the council should thus have passed provisory canons, conveying the power of limited and temporary interference, and that they should have spoken of granting or withholding it, at their own pleasure, while there was yet in the Roman see an universal and divinely constituted authority, is as unreasonable a supposition as any which a controversial difficulty has compelled learned men to maintain.

No divine
right.

If the canons of Sardica furnish clear evidence, as they undeniably do, that Rome had no previous authority for determining all ecclesiastical causes, this council had no power to convey it; for although it was general in its summons, it became, through the secession of the eastern bishops, a mere council of the west; and its canons were

¹ These are the words of the canon: "Si vestræ dilectioni videtur, Petri Apostoli memoriam honoremus, ut ab iis qui judicaverunt scribatur Julio Romanorum episcopo, et per propinquos provinciæ episcopos si opus sit judicium renovetur, et cognitores ipse præbeat." Of which Dupin says:

"Quibus satis ille (sc. Osius) indicat se novum quippiam et antehac inusitatum proponere, quodque ex patrum Sardicensium pendebat arbitrio."—*Diss. ii. c. 1. s. 3.* And Richer, "Certè quod à mero hominum arbitrio et placitis pendet, juris divini esse non potest."—*Hist. con. gen. lib. i. c. 3. s. 4.*

never received into the code of the universal church.¹ They were not even noticed by the great councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon, which passed decrees irreconcilably at variance with them; and even in the Latin church nothing was heard of them for seventy years. Thus we find Siricius, at the end of the fourth century, refusing to take cognisance of a case which had been decided by the council of Capua, on the express ground that it did not fall within his jurisdiction.² Early in the fifth century these canons were pleaded by Zosimus, in his contest with the Africans; and afterwards they were urged by various popes in their disputes with national churches. It was but a poor and slender foundation which they afforded for a great claim, but no better could be discovered.³ Powerful popes like Leo I., making use of the alleged privilege, such as it was, obtained from secular princes what further sanction they required.⁴ In this way there was a great advance beyond the mode of procedure authorised by the Sardican council. Appeals were received at Rome, first from dependent sees, then from those over which it had influence, though not canonical rights, and at last from all parts of the Latin church. The jurisdiction was gradually extended to the original hearing of what were called the greater causes, especially those which concerned metropolitans.⁵ It was the Roman

Sardican
canons
pleaded by
popes.

¹ The chief Roman writers deny that Sardica was a general council. Dupin says expressly, "Canones isti Sardicensis nunquam in oriente, et serò in occidente recepti sunt."—*Diss.* ii. c. i. s. 3.

² "Quid ad hæc Siricius? Respondet sibi judicandi formam non competere; sed illorum esse sententiam ferre, nec ullam refugiendi aut elabendi accusatoribus vel accusato copiam esse."—*Dupin, Diss.* ii. c. ii. s. 2.

³ On the whole subject of the Sardican canons, see De Marca, *De concord.* lib. vii. cc. 3, 4; Richer. *Hist. concil. gen.* lib. i. c. 3; Van Espen, part iii. tit. iii. c. 6; Dupin, *Diss.* ii. ss. 3, 4;

Blondel, *De la primauté*, pp. 126—150.; Banck, *De tyran. papæ*, c. iv.

⁴ De Marca, speaking of the edict of Valentinian, says, "Rescriptum autem illum non solum ratum esse decernit decretum in causâ Cheledonii factum, sed etiam novum jus introducit adversus canones Sardicensis."—*De concord.* lib. vii. c. xvii. s. 6.

⁵ *Causæ majores* were never reserved for hearing at Rome before the time of Leo I. See Van Espen, part i. tit. xxi. c. iii. J. Cabassutius also treats the subject of reserved cases in the fifteenth chapter of his fifth book on canon law. The distinction between *causæ majores* and *causæ minores* was invented to evade the canons of Nice, Constan-

Occasions on which appeals were received.

custom to receive all applicants, if only there was the prospect of enlarging or establishing the usurpation upon episcopal rights. Sometimes they were criminals who endeavoured to obtain the reversal of a just sentence; sometimes persons under persecution, who asked no more from the pope than they had sought elsewhere. Or there were disputes between neighbouring churches, and the bishop of Rome, called upon as mediator, proceeded to act as judge. By such means the claim to receive appeals was by degrees established through a considerable portion of the west. But a violation of primitive discipline so obvious and undeniable could hardly escape resistance. The great councils of Africa, in the fifth century, with Augustine at their head, forbade appeals beyond sea under pain of excommunication.¹

Forbidden in the English church.

Wilfred of York, being deposed by Theodore of Canterbury, in the seventh century, applied to Rome; but the favourable sentence which he obtained was utterly disregarded, and, after a long imprisonment, he was only partially restored by the king, at the instance of Theodore, who became reconciled to him.² Laws were subsequently passed in the English parliament, under Edward III., Richard II., Henry VI., and Edward IV., by which appeals to Rome were forbidden. And in this, as well as in many other particulars, the statutes passed at the reformation were no more than the completion of what had been long in progress. The French church, at various

An argument for the royal supremacy, ch. I. s. 16. p. 117.

tinople, Antioch, and other councils, which were affirmed to apply to the latter, and not to the former. The council of Trent finally decreed, that suits against bishops, which involve deposition, are to be reserved to the pope. — *Sess. xxiv. c. v.* But this article was opposed by the French ambassador, and the ancient discipline has been maintained in the Gallican church. De Marca says, that the cases anciently reserved to the bishop of Rome were only doubtful questions of faith or discipline. — *De concord. lib. vii. c. xiii. s. 8.* The infraction of

primitive usage is to be ascribed chiefly to the influence of the forged decretals. — *Van Espen, part iii. tit. iii. c. v. s. 20.*

¹ Gratian gets rid of the difficulty which this canon presents by inserting the words “Nisi fortè Romanam sedem appellaverit;” an interpolation of which probably all Roman writers are now ashamed.

² For this remarkable case, see Collier, *Eccles. hist. book ii. cent. vii. vol. i. p. 110.*; also Sir R. Twysden, *Hist. vind. c. iii. s. 29. p. 34.*

times, denied the right of summoning ecclesiastics to Rome for the rehearing of causes. Thus, in the days of Hincmar, the bishop of Laon was deposed, in spite of the pope's sentence, and not restored. At the council of Rheims, in 991, the primitive discipline was boldly vindicated, and for many centuries the Gallican liberties were steadfastly defended. The great council of Basle restrained the usurpation in some degree, but did not restore the ancient privileges of bishops; it went as far as the temper of the age permitted, and brought the abuse within certain limits¹; but the bondage was renewed in all its extent by the council of Trent, at least in those countries of the Roman obedience which received its rules of discipline. In order to provide for the exercise of whatever increased authority they might from time to time obtain, the popes invented the office of vicar. The very name, which was unknown for some centuries², implied that certain privileges were enjoyed by delegation from Rome. The first appointment of a vicar seems to have been made in the case of the bishop of Thessalonica, by Damasus; and his jurisdiction was held to extend over the eastern part of Illyria. Soon afterwards the bishop of Arles was constituted in the same office for Gaul, by Zosimus.³ Some vicars seem to have been personally chosen; but the dignity was generally attached to the most considerable see, so that the prelates who from their position would have been foremost among the bishops of the province, might seem to derive a portion of their authority from Rome.⁴ They obtained a kind of primacy, by representing the bishop who presided over the metropolitans of the empire; and on this plea gradually assumed the judgment of causes, the convening of councils, the giving

Appeals
restrained
at Basle;
renewed at
Trent.

Vicars
apostolic.

¹ See Dupin, Diss. ii. c. i. s. 4.

² "De vicibus mandandis, aut vicariis suis constituendis metropolitanis in aliquâ provinciâ nullum usquam verbum, nulla mentio."—*Salmasius, De primatu*, c. xix. p. 324.

³ See De Marca, or rather the con-

tinuation by S. Baluze, De concord. lib. v. cc. 22—41.; and Blondel, De la primauté, pp. 731—767.

⁴ "Non alios temerè vicarios suos instituisse reperientur quam quibus aliunde, et aliâ de causâ id competeret."—*Salmasius, De prim.* c. xvi. p. 281.

of communicatory letters, &c. A bishop who was desirous of exercising a larger authority than legitimately belonged to him, or who wished to make head against a powerful rival, would accept the office from considerations of private advantage, though fatal to the independence of his church. But it was only when corruption of discipline began to prevail that the proposal could have been made. Nobody pretends that one of the great fathers of the early church would have held such an office; and it is equally certain that the exercise of an independent authority by another in the diocese of which he was in charge, would have seemed a suggestion too extravagant to be entertained.

Legates.

The institution of legates was grafted on that of vicars, but with the communication of far greater powers. They were at first sent to places where the faith was endangered, and their presence was often desired by orthodox bishops, as representing the co-operation of a powerful see. Alexander II. made them part of his ordinary administration, alleging that their appointment followed as a legitimate deduction from the universal charge appended to the see of Rome. Gregory VII. greatly increased their number, and gave them precedence above the archbishops and bishops of the province.¹ Innocent III. still farther enlarged their dignity and authority. They exercised their functions not only in appeals, but in the original hearing of causes which regarded elections, ordinations, the morals of the clergy, benefices, excommunications, the deposition of metropolitans, and suffragans, &c. They obtained by degrees the supreme power in each diocese, and in their presence that of the bishop, and even of the patriarch, was suspended. The progress of their encroachments would indeed furnish a measure of the usurpations made by the popes, whose representatives they were.² They were often resisted, and always unwillingly

¹ It was he who added to the oath taken by metropolitans the clause, "Legatos Romanos eundo et redeundo

honorificè tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo."

² Canonists distinguish between "le-

received in England and France, on account of their insolence and avarice, which often became intolerable. Instances must be familiar to every one who is acquainted with the history of the 13th and 14th centuries. In the time of Bernard their eagerness for gain was so notorious, that he speaks of a disinterested legate as a prodigy. The great personal advantages which they derived from their office was repaid by an unscrupulous devotion to Roman interests. No part of the great system of aggression on ecclesiastical rights was more skilfully contrived, or more successful in its issue. The legatine authority which had thus done its work in consolidating the papal power, during the middle ages, was in a measure restricted by the council of Trent; and could not be again restored, on account of the jealousy entertained by secular governments.¹

The dominion acquired by successive popes rendered a new form of jurisprudence indispensable; it could no more be administered by primitive church law than it could be defended by ancient precedents. Every departure from the practice of the early ages had to be followed by a fresh decree. The canon law was little else than the legislation of popes, consisting almost entirely of decretal epistles written to prepare, or to defend their usurpations. Collections of these scattered materials were made from a very early period. The work which passed under the name of Adrian I., and which was published near the end of the eighth century, was made up of papal letters and the decisions of Roman synods, as well as extracts from the code of Theodosius. Additions were made to the terms of ancient canons, and sometimes words of great importance were omitted, with the design of exalting the

The canon
law.

gati a latere," or those who have the rank of cardinal; "legati missi," or those who, without being cardinals, are sent on a special charge; and "legati nati," or those whose office of repre-

senting the pope is annexed to their sees, as the archbishops of Canterbury before the reformation.

¹ See Van Espen, part i. tit. xxi.; De Dominis, lib. iv. c. 12.

Gratian's
compilation.

powers of the Roman bishop.¹ Burchard, bishop of Worms, published a collection in 1020, and Ivo, bishop of Chartres in 1100.² In the twelfth century, Gratian, a monk of Bologna, made a compilation of canons, in which he professed to reconcile their apparent inconsistencies.³ His collection contains decrees of councils, letters of popes, royal capitularies, and extracts from the fathers, arranged under various heads. It treats of ecclesiastical rights, the sacraments, and ministers of the church, besides a variety of theological questions. It exalts the power of the pope in extravagant terms, ascribing to him absolute and irresponsible authority. His work is acknowledged to have been most unscrupulously compiled; there are endless interpolations, omissions, and changes. The forged decretals, and many spurious writings ascribed to various fathers, furnish a large portion of his materials. The work was denounced by Gerson in the council of Constance. It is strongly condemned by Fleury, Bossuet, and all moderate Romanists. Even Bellarmine, Melchior Cano, and others of the same school, give it up as erroneous and of no authority. And yet this worthless compilation formed, for some centuries, the great storehouse of authorities for defending papal usurpations.⁴ It was followed, early in the thirteenth century, by the collection

¹ "In his capitulis interdum non-nihil additur antiquis canonibus, interdum verò detrahuntur verba magni momenti, prout conducere visum est ad extollendam R. pontificis auctoritatem."—*De Marca*, lib. vii. c. 20. s. 4.

² "Jus illud novum adversatur canonibus Nicenis, Antiochenis, Africanis, Sardicensibus, et epistolis Innocentii, Leonis, Gregorii, et reliquorum pontificum Romanorum."—*Ibid.* s. 6.

³ His work is called "Decretum, seu concordantia discordantium canonum." Bossuet says of him, "Qui quidem quàm imperitè, nulloque delectu multa congesserit, nihil necesse est commonere doctos."—*Defensio*, pars i. lib. iii. c. 15. His collection is thus described by a recent writer: "Les redites, les inutilités, le désordre, les er-

reurs dans les noms propres, les méprises dans les citations, sont les moindres torts du rédacteur; passages tronqués, canons chimériques, fausses décrétales, tous les genres de mensonges abondent en ce monstrueux ouvrage. Son succès n'en fut que plus rapide; on se mit à l'expliquer dans les écoles, à le citer dans les tribunaux, à l'invoquer dans les traités; et il était presque devenu le droit public de l'Europe, quand le retour des lumières dissipa lentement de si grossiers prestiges."—*Essai Historique*, ch. v. p. 164.

⁴ There is an ample account of the work of Gratian in a treatise of Van Espen, entitled "Commentarius in decretum Gratiani."—*Op.* tom. iii. pp. 493—637.

of Gregory IX., which contains his own epistles and those which were written by three of his predecessors. The Clementine constitutions were added by Clement V., a book of decretals by Boniface VIII., and the extravagants by John XXII.¹ A new form of ecclesiastical law had thus been established, as different as possible from that by which the church was governed in the earliest ages. It sanctioned all the encroachments which had been accomplished by the policy of some popes, and by the violence of others. And in many cases the same person who committed acts of aggression gave them the force of law by his formal decrees. Thus Innocent III. was at once the boldest invader of church rights and the greatest contributor to the new code.² The canon law became a favourite subject of study; a new faculty was created; professorships were established; commentaries provided; and every form of encouragement afforded by the popes, whose interest was so greatly involved.

New form of church law.

Then, again, the institution of monasticism, which attracted many earnest-minded persons by the very sternness and severity of its discipline, furnished, in the course of time, the most devoted adherents of the papacy. The spirit of religious seclusion spread from Thebais, and Palestine, and Syria, into the west. It was, perhaps, first brought to Rome by Athanasius, during his exile; and it soon extended far and wide. At the close of the fifth century Benedict began to cover Italy with his communities. On the Alps, on the banks of the Loire, and in many a fertile valley of England and Scotland, houses were soon established which followed his rule. Martin of Tours became the great founder of the system in the northern provinces of France. The religious orders began to be in the ascendant under Gregory the great,

Monasticism.

¹ "Quæ ideo extravagantes dicuntur quia extra Gratiani decretum vagantur."

² "Præcipuus auctor decretalium quæ in quinque libris decretalium Gregorii IX. continentur, meritò reputatur

Innocentius III. sub cujus nomine plures inscribuntur decretales, quàm omnium aliorum pontificum."—*Van Espen, Diss. pro faciliiori intell. decret. Innocentii III. Op. iv. p. 67.*

who was himself a monk. Early in the thirteenth century Francis of Assisi gathered a society, which at his death, in twenty years, numbered many thousands. The Dominicans date from the same period. Innocent III., and the popes who succeeded him, gave the fullest sanction to these new institutions. More useful allies it was indeed impossible to find; the one providing preachers for all Christendom, the other, by their poverty, drawing to themselves the sympathy of the poor and outcast. The mendicant orders contrasted favourably, at least in their earlier period, with the secular clergy. They were more earnest and laborious; they obtained from different popes, beginning with Gregory IX., the privilege of hearing confessions, and of granting absolution; and in their various contests with parish priests they were supported by papal influence, which they amply repaid.

Celibacy of
the clergy.

The celibacy of the clergy was closely connected with the monastic institution. It was the separation of a class, the most learned, and in many other ways the most influential, from family interests. The ties of kindred and the natural home having been abandoned, a wider household was substituted, and a spiritual relation to an ecclesiastical head, who arrogated to himself all possible reverence and obedience. The law contradicted scripture plainly enough, and was condemned by the primitive church everywhere, and by the continued practice of the east. It was retained, because it was a source of immense power. How highly it was prized we may understand by the eagerness with which a keen-sighted pope, like Hildebrand, enforced the rule, when it had fallen into a measure of disuse; and the resolution with which, two or three centuries later, his successors resisted the urgent demands of German princes for a married clergy. It could hardly have been so steadfastly maintained without the influence of the monastic orders.

The exemption of religious houses followed in the course of time, that is, their removal from the jurisdic-

tion of their proper bishop to that of the pope, who, in the language of canonists, is called the ordinary of exempt places and persons. Monks were originally laymen, and were even forbidden to receive ordination; they attended the church of the city in which they were established; and were in all respects reckoned among the laity. The bishops were anxious to maintain authority over them, and used all occasions for visitation. Sometimes disorders arose, which required special interference; and when they began to construct churches for themselves, it was important that some of their members should be ordained priests, by favour of the bishop. It is not to be denied that there were many instances of episcopal oppression, from which the appeals to the pope for protection took their rise.¹

Exemption
of religious
houses.

Sometimes the revenues were seized; sometimes the quietness of the monastery was disturbed by frequent visitations, and the influx of strangers, who came in the bishop's train. The privileges obtained at first amounted to no more than protection from such invasions of liberty, and were often confirmed by bishops, and by royal authority. They did not contemplate the removal of the community from the jurisdiction of the ordinary. In the eleventh century, the privilege began to be changed to exemption; and that which was intended only for securing the purposes of monastic life, was turned to a gross infraction of church order, and a principal method of promoting papal power. The monks paid for their escape from episcopal control by increased devotion to the see of Rome. When there was mutual interest thus at stake, we cannot wonder that the observance extended far and wide. Exemptions were lavishly allowed, especially while the popes were at Avignon, and during the great schism. Sometimes a monastery, like Clugny, was put by its founder under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome:

Origin
of the
privilege.

¹ See Van Espen, pars iii. tit. xii. c. 2. s. 2.

sometimes whole orders were included, and their members being placed under such a distant authority, gave occasion to great scandals.¹ The canons of cathedrals, who at first lived in common on the revenues of the chapter, having obtained a similar privilege, became in turn the earnest supporters of the papal authority; and hence capitular elections, which have no sanction of ancient custom, were but the means by which a foreign influence was brought to bear on the appointment of bishops. Other communities followed in the same line. Thus Boniface VIII. withdrew the university of Oxford from the visitation of the archbishop of Canterbury. Nothing could be more advantageous to Rome, or more contradictory to the whole ecclesiastical discipline. Exemptions were unknown in primitive ages.² The fourth canon of the council of Chalcedon, which was confirmed in the capitularies of Charlemagne, and in many provincial synods, expressly declared religious houses to be under episcopal control.³ Popes themselves, like Clement IV., had confessed the illegality of exemptions; great doctors, like Bernard, had protested against them. Later still, cardinal Zabarella wrote a treatise on this, as one of the great abuses which required correction. In the time of Paul III., the commission of cardinals renewed these complaints in their counsels for reformation. The Spanish and German bishops at Trent enlarged on the evil, and obtained a partial redress. But, in the meanwhile, the abuse remained; it was a source of revenue to Rome, and still more of influence.⁴

By these and similar methods, a spiritual tyranny was

See An argument for the royal supremacy, ch. iii. s. 6.

Exemptions condemned by great Roman authorities.

¹ "Mirum quanta ex his privelegiis scandala et contentiones exorta sint, quantæque adversus hoc privelegiatos fratres hinc excitatæ prælatorum querelæ." — *Van Espen*, pars iii. tit. xii. c. 4. s. 45.

² Primis sæculis, quibus incognita erat monasteriorum vel monachorum à jurisdictione episcoporum exemptio, episcopis visitandi monasteria suæ di-

cesis, tam virorum quàm mulierum cura incumbabat." — *Van Espen*, pars i. tit. xxxii. c. 4. s. 2.

³ *Van Espen*, Diss. in concil. Chalced. can. iv. opera, tom. iii. p. 221.

⁴ The whole subject is examined by *Van Espen*, pars iii. tit. xii. See also *Autorité du pape*, liv. iii. p. 1. ch. 4., and *Guizot*, *Civilisation en France*, leçon xv.

established, which at every step had to encounter condemnation by scripture, and the voice of the ancient church. And during the long progress of the usurpation, living witnesses were never wanting, who bore testimony against it in the most solemn form, and with the highest national authority. If any one doubts, for instance, the anti-Roman spirit of English legislation, let him read the letter which Martin V. addressed to archbishop Chicheley, and in which he overwhelms him with reproaches, as the betrayer of the church, because he had not opposed the statute of provisors. Whoever indeed is moderately read in the history of England knows what vehement protests against the power usurped by a foreign bishop were furnished by the weightiest authorities. Sometimes it was a king, like Edward III., sometimes the parliament, or a great prelate like Grostête. The pope's dispensing power was denied, bulls of excommunication disallowed, appeals prohibited, legates refused, councils were called by the king, and canons were confirmed by him, and became of force by being his ecclesiastical laws. That the acts framed under Henry VIII., which finally destroyed the usurpation of the pope, were but the completion of a long course of legislation directed to the same purpose, was well known to such writers as archbishop Bramhall and Sir Roger Twysden; though the fact has been overlooked, or denied, by some less learned writers of the present age.

It was the same in the kingdom of France. No resistance could be more resolutely offered to papal encroachments than that of Charles le Chauve, or Philippe le Bel, or Philippe Auguste; and the parliaments were always on the side of ecclesiastical liberty. When Louis XI., for example, tried to abolish the pragmatic sanction, he met with opposition on all sides. The university appealed to a general council, and the parliament of Paris refused to register the decree. When the pope threatened with excommunication the bishops who sided with Lothaire, they replied in the phrase which became so famous, "If he

Protests
made by the
English
church.

Argument
for the royal
supremacy,
pp. 111.—
154.

comes to excommunicate, he shall depart excommunicated."¹ And the privileges of the Gallican church, which were once common to all churches, have been maintained for ages, interrupted only during the old age of Louis XIV., under the advice of the Jesuits and the king's mistresses, and again, when Fleury was at the head of the administration. Even the diocese of Italy, of which Milan was the chief city, long remained independent of Rome. Under Nicholas II., Guido asserted his freedom. So a little later, when Gregory VII. decreed against the marriage of the clergy, Milan was on the brink of separation.

Papal
claims not
abandoned.

Long after the days of Innocent and Boniface, we find the claims which they asserted still maintained as the governing principles of their successors; suppressed because the times were unfavourable, but not abandoned. There is a letter preserved which was written by Pius IV., while the council of Trent was sitting, in which he claims for the bishop of Rome an absolute, irresponsible power as the sole sovereign of the church. It was addressed to the emperor, who demanded reformation; and the pope spoke imprudently, as angry men are wont.² But the witness which he bore is not to be mistaken. A little later there arose a contest with the king of France. Sixtus V. was the pope, and in his hands the quarrel was maintained, as it might have been by any of his predecessors, though the progress of knowledge had made their amount of success impossible. The terms of his bull asserted the very claim to universal sovereignty with which Europe was so familiar four hundred years before.³ It was an anachronism, and therefore served only as an exposition of his views. Even the resignation of the

¹ "Si excommunicatus veniret, excommunicatus abibit."

² The letter is given by Sarpi, *Hist. du concile de Trente*, liv. vii. c. 72., and by Pallavicini, lib. xx. c. 8.

³ The extravagant terms of this bull do not, however, exceed those which were employed by Pius V., in the bull

which he published against Queen Elizabeth, in 1572: "Hunc unum (sc. Petri successorem) super omnes gentes, et omnia regna principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet, et ædificet, &c."—*Magnum bullarium*, tom. ii. p. 324.

empire by Charles V. was held, by many Roman writers, to be invalid, because it was made without the pope's concurrence. Bellarmine, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in his answer to the book written by James I., maintains the extremest assertion of power, and in a tone of insolence almost without parallel.¹ At the close of the century, the Dominican Rocaberti, under the sanction of the Roman court, published the treatise which Bossuet so utterly condemned, and which asserted, in the broadest and most unqualified terms, the absolute power of the pope in things temporal as well as spiritual. It cannot be said that even the maxims of Hildebrand have become obsolete. So late as 1729 we find Benedict XIII. appointing a service and legend in honour of Gregory VII., in which he is extolled for the deposition of Henry IV., and for absolving his subjects from their allegiance.² This significant act of the modern pope was utterly rejected by many members of his own communion, and especially by the French parliaments, but it is evident that the old claim was not then given up. These instances might be multiplied without end; for however circumstances may have modified the Roman practice, the theory is just what it has ever been. It was embodied in very intelligible acts as long as the temporal power helped out the spiritual usurpation; and so for a long time all investigation was suppressed. But in the broad light of the sixteenth century men began to inspect and handle what their fathers had never ventured to call in question; and the consequence was the secession of all the freest and most thinking nations of Europe. Meanwhile the system remains unchanged. Time and experience have brought no profit, because the fatal claim of infallibility makes improvement impossible. The monarchy of Rome

No change
in the Ro-
man theory.

¹ Vid. *Apologia R. Bellarmini pro responsione sua, &c. c. vi.*

² In the Roman martyrology, where

his day stands for May 25., he is called
"Ecclesiasticæ libertatis propugnator,
ac defensor acerrimus."

is a tower, stately and imposing, but it rests on a rotten foundation. Outward ornament may hide the rents by which it is broken from the summit to the base, and buttresses, on this side or that, may postpone the ruin. But it must come at last, because there is nothing to remedy the defect which underlies the whole.

CHAP. IV.

FORGERIES AND CORRUPTION OF DOCUMENTS.

THE frauds which the Roman church has practised in the use of documents require a separate consideration, both because they contributed, more than all else, to establish the usurpation, and because since their detection they have furnished a very powerful argument against it.

In the ninth century there appeared a collection of decretal letters ascribed to successive bishops of Rome, during the earliest ages. They begin with Anacletus, to whom three letters are assigned, though it is doubtful whether such a person ever existed. Pope after pope, about whom nothing is really known but their names, are introduced as legislators of the church, each in turn contributing to a code which was to supersede the whole system of ecclesiastical law.¹ Not only were fictitious documents inserted, but entire chapters were interpolated in those which were genuine; and, what was hardly less injurious, canons were falsely interpreted and unscrupulously perverted to a meaning the opposite of what had been always received. It was an imposture on a gigantic scale, and it stands at the head of its class. No previous or subsequent instance is to be compared with it, either

Forged
decretals.

¹ "Antiquo juri universalis ecclesiæ consensu roborato successit jus novum, quod ab anno 836 publicari cœpit, et adnitente Nicolao I. et cæteris R. pontificibus paulatim usu invaluit per occidentis provincias. Jus illud comprehensum est collectione Isidori; quæ

ex Clementis, Anacleti, Evaristi, et antiquorum pontificum epistolis qui tempora Siricii præcesserunt, et e canonibus tam antiquis quàm Gallicanis et Hispanicis compacta est." — *De Marca*, lib. iii. c. 5. s. 1.

for the boldness of the attempt, or for the success with which, during a long period, it was followed. The collection was made by some unknown forger; it passed under the name of Isidore Mercator, a title probably assumed in order that there might seem to be the sanction of Isidore of Seville, whose learning and sanctity were universally acknowledged. That he was not the author, his character is warrant enough; and besides this, there is reference to councils which were not held till long after his time. The letters may be said to have originated, partly in the desire to give an historical foundation to encroachments already made, and partly in the purpose of laying the ground for farther progress. They must have been written after 829, because they quote the acts of a synod held in that year, and before 845, because they were cited in a code bearing the latter date. They had a place in the collection made by Burchard of Worms, at the commencement of the eleventh century, and in that of Ivo of Chartres, a hundred years later; while Gratian, whose work formed the chief treasure of canon law in the middle ages, gave them an authority equal to the decision of councils, and even of the scriptures. For four hundred years after the publication of his decretum, it furnished the chief reference on all matters of discipline; and thus a permanent reception was secured for the forgeries which formed so considerable a part of his materials. The Gallican church, though it seems for a time to have hesitated, received them into its code. They were cited in the council of Rheims, and in many subsequent synods, both national and provincial. Their uniform tendency is to promote papal power; and exactly in those points for which no sanction can be alleged from scripture, or from the early periods of any genuine church history, such as supreme authority over councils, the right of erecting fresh sees, an universal appellate jurisdiction, &c. They not only give the pope power to reverse a judgment already pronounced, but also to remove an un-

Inserted in
collections
of canons.

Principles
inculcated.

finished process into his courts. They speak much of the episcopal dignity and the privileges which belong to the clergy, as a separate class, while they limit the power of metropolitans, by enlarging, at their expense, the supreme authority of the pope; and they reduce all bishops to the rank of his dependents and vicars. Dr. James most justly calls them the chief foundation of the supremacy.¹ In the words of Fleury, "They inflicted an irreparable wound on the discipline of the church, by the new maxims which they introduced in regard to the judgment of bishops and the authority of the pope."² Dr. Barrow mentions them among the chief causes by which the power of the bishop of Rome had been advanced: "The forgery of the decretal epistles (wherein the ancient popes are made expressly to speak and act according to some of his highest pretences, devised long after their times, and which they never thought of, good men) did hugely conduce to his purpose; authorising his encroachments by the suffrage of ancient doctrine and practice." "Upon the spurious decretals," writes the historian of the middle ages "was built the great fabric of papal supremacy over the different national churches; a fabric which has stood after its foundation crumbled beneath it; for no one has pretended to deny, during the last two centuries, that the imposture is too palpable for any but the most ignorant ages to credit." The arguments are indeed so obvious and incontrovertible against the genuineness of these epistles, that the long period during which they held their ground may be taken for a conclusive

Chief foundation of the supremacy.

Treatise of the supremacy, supp. v. p. 270.

Hallam, c. vii. vol. ii. p. 236.

¹ "Accedebat, quòd decretales hanc collectione contentæ, et quæ præcipuam ejus partem conficiebant, ad asserendam sedis apostolicæ auctoritatem, ipsamque ecclesiasticam jurisdictionem extollendam et fulciendam, essent totæ compositæ."—*Van Espen*, in *Jus nov. can.* pars ii. diss. i. s. 3. So Daillé says, "Illæ epistolæ, fateor, non paucas controversias, maximè verò eam quæ de monarchiâ papali est, decidunt quidem se-

cundùm Romanos; sed hoc ipsum argumento est, quæ mens, et quòd consilium fuerit Mercatoris illius qui primus eas venales habuit."—*De usu patrum*, lib. i. c. iii. p. 29.

² "Elles ont fait une plaie irréparable à la discipline de l'église, par les maximes nouvelles, qu'elles ont introduites touchant le jugement des évêques, et de l'autorité du pape."—*Discours sur l'histoire eccles.* p. 223.

proof of the intellectual darkness which prevailed. Jerome knew nothing of them, though he composed a catalogue of ecclesiastical writers; nor Dionysius Exiguus, the first collector of canons, though he was willing enough to serve the cause of Roman supremacy. In the words of bishop Cosin, "he retrenched divers of the ancient canons which seemed to be the most disadvantageous to the popes, and added divers others that the universal church did not acknowledge; yet in all his collection was there never any decretal epistle added." Neither Eusebius, nor any other historian of the early ages, mentions these letters. Popes in the fifth century did not cite them in the contest with the African church, though they would have furnished exactly the evidence which was wanted, and have saved the temptation to a miserable fraud, which was practised by Zosimus and his successors. They are written in barbarous Latin, which was used neither by learned, nor ignorant, in the early centuries; it belonged to the age of the forger, and not to that of the supposed writers. And the style, such as it is, runs the same throughout; the very phrases are identical in all the epistles, and betray their common author.¹ Their subjects are all of the same sort, and are chiefly related to the usurpations which had grown up with the secular power of Rome, while they say nothing of the affairs which belonged to the supposed period, such as its persecutions and its prevailing heresies, to which the genuine writings of the time make continual reference.² They speak of the ancient fathers, meaning those who wrote in the first centuries; which of course persons living themselves

Schol. hist.
of the
canon,
c. vii. s. 83.

Obvious
proofs of the
fraud.

¹ "Ovum ovo non est similis quàm quaelibet harum epistolarum alteri; quasi verò uno ore exputas esse omnes statim agnoscit, qui perlegerit."—*Coci, Censura quorundam patrum*, p. 40. "Alia præterea multa et infinita penè in singulis epistolis in veritatem apertè impingunt."—*Magd. cent.* ii. c. vii. col. 113.

² These disgraceful forgeries were em-

ployed for maintaining other uncatholic doctrines, though it is with the supremacy alone that we have now to deal. And it is very notable that there are many parts of Roman theology to which they make no reference; and thus incidentally furnish evidence that the modern system of doctrines was, to a considerable extent, unknown in the ninth century.

close upon the time of the apostles could not have done. They use the vulgate, which was not in existence till the days of Jerome, instead of the translation which the fathers are known to have employed; pope Cornelius, for instance, is made to quote the former, while in a genuine epistle, which has been preserved by Eusebius, he employs the latter. And scripture, in their hands, is so misquoted and misapplied, that, if the epistles were genuine, they would furnish very strong arguments against the infallibility of the Roman church. There are endless anachronisms. They tell us, for instance, that St. Peter commanded Clement to give information of his death to St. James of Jerusalem, though that apostle had been martyred at least seven years before. The names of the Roman consuls, which are mentioned for fixing the dates, are generally wrong. Letters are assigned to some popes before they were born, and to others after they were dead. One pope cites an epistle of Jerome, which was not written till nearly three hundred years later; another, by a similar anticipation, refers to a law in the code of Theodosius. The letters allude familiarly to offices which did not exist, as well as customs and ceremonies which were utterly unknown, such as the use of consecrated oil, holy water, the clerical tonsure, &c. The corruptions of the eighth or ninth century were antedated by several hundred years. They mention splendid altars and vessels of divine service during ages of persecution and poverty. Bishops are charged to visit St. Peter's church, which was not built. Princes are recommended to obey their bishops, under pain of excommunication, at a time when the church was suffering in silence; with much besides which the circumstances of the time made impossible.¹ The documents which thus carried the

Mistakes of all kinds in the decretals.

¹ On the subject of the forged decretals, see Van Espen, part ii. diss. i. tom. iii. pp. 451—475.; De Marca, De concord. lib. iii. c. v.; Magd. centuriat. cent. ii. c. vii. p. 110.; Nat. Alexander.

Hist. eccles. s. i. diss. 13.; Field, Of the church, book v. c. xxxiv.; Dallæus De usu patrum. lib. i. c. iii. p. 29.; Comber on Roman forgeries, part i. c. i. ss. 9—18. Coci Censura quorumdam

stamp of fraud visibly on their face furnished for ages the staple arguments to all Roman controversialists. Eck, in his contest with Luther, as well as in his treatise on the primacy of St. Peter, made abundant use of them. John Cöchlæus, another of the great reformer's chief opponents, did the same.¹ Nicholas Harpsfield, whose work was published about the middle of the sixteenth century, under the name of Alanus Copus, refers to them, though with very diminished confidence, as having been impeached.² Near the end of the century they were cited by Gregory de Valentia³; by Coster, who calls them the letters of most holy bishops and martyrs⁴; by Stapleton, in his extravagant book on the papal monarchy, who has nothing to produce from genuine fathers which bears on the subject, but makes copious reference to these forgeries.⁵ These are but a few from an immense list of Roman writers, who incurred the same guilt. They were not obscure men who might be disowned, but the chief doctors and champions of their church. The list includes collectors of councils like Binius⁶; historians like the Benedictine Générard⁷; commentators like the Rhemists; annalists like Baronius; controversialists like Bellarmine.

The forged letters employed by the chief Roman writers.

scriptorum. James, on the corruption of scripture, councils, and fathers, part i.

¹ Vid. *Adversus Lutheri articulos catholica consideratio*. De papatu, fol. 52.

² "Sed quoniam novi isti censores has et hujusmodi decretales R. pontificum epistolas, subornatas et supposititias clamitant, &c." — *Dialogus primus*, p. 126.

³ *Analysis fid. cath.* lib. viii. c. v. p. 94. et alibi.

⁴ "Id perspicuè est ex iis literis videre est, quas ad varias orbis partes, etiam primis illis temporibus, multo ante Constantinum scripserunt Anacletus, &c., sanctissimi episcopi et martyres." — *Enchiridion*, c. iii. p. 133. His book has been often reprinted, and widely circulated.

⁵ "Quorum omnium testimonia ne suspecta habeas, cum nostris hodie hæreticis, et ut authentica esse non

dubites lege F. Turrianum, lib. ii. 3. pro epistolis decretalibus R. pontificum, contra Magdeburgenses." — *Controv.* ii. lib. vi. c. xv. p. 229. He had not even the poor excuse of ignorance; yet card. du Perron prefers his defence of the Roman supremacy to all others, and Clement VIII. would have made him a cardinal.

⁶ Of whom we cannot wonder that his successor should speak in terms like these: "Mirum est viris doctissimis Turriano, Binio, et quibusdam aliis, in tantâ eruditionis ecclesiasticæ luce, probari potuisse decretales illas epistolas a quocumque seu Mercatore seu Peccatore fabricatas, &c." — *Observat. in epist. decret. R. pont. P. Labbei*.

⁷ "Quorum epistolæ suum habent locum tom. i. concil. et a Turriano doctissimè contra Centuriatores authenticæ demonstrantur." — *Chronog.* lib. iii., sub finem s. ii. p. 517.

Albert Pighius, whom Jewel calls the most learned of Roman writers, and who was certainly the least scrupulous, in his work on the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which he dedicated to Paul III., makes the largest claim for the spiritual jurisdiction of popes over all the churches in the world ; which he maintains on no better ground than these forgeries. Even in the council of Trent these documents were cited, though everybody knew then at least that they were fictitious. And in the catechism for the use of parish priests, published by the authority of the council, they were still put to the old dishonest use. Even editors like Pamelius, from whom some measure of critical exactness might have been expected, and as late as the seventeenth century, used these fraudulent letters to confirm the perversion fixed on the meaning of such a writer as Cyprian.¹ The poor excuse of ignorance had long since passed away. Some suspicion about the collection of Isidore was expressed even at its first publication. Hincmar, the great archbishop of Rheims, though he did not reject its authority, speaks of it with great doubt. It had been employed against him on more occasions than one, and especially in his dispute with his nephew, the bishop of Laon ; but he is far from allowing the importance claimed for it by his opponents, and some of the epistles he rejected. He urged the omission of the decretals from the church canons as derogating from their authority ; it was really conclusive against their genuineness, for, if they had existed at all, they could not have been left unnoticed.² In the fourteenth century our great English reformer spoke in plain terms about their spurious character, and their ill tendency in leading men from the faith of Christ, and in occupying the time of the clergy unprofitably. These opinions of Wicliffe had become widely spread in the

The plea of
ignorance
untenable.

¹ " Testantur utrumque etiam sanctissimi pontifices martyres, Anacletus, Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, &c." — *Cypriani opera, adnot. Jacobi Pamelii interject.* p. 73. n. 90.

² Dionysius Exiguus, who died in

the middle of the sixth century, was a careful collector of decrees. He begins with those of Siricius, A.D. 384 ; that is, he inserts none of those which are in question.

next century; and we find them among the articles extracted from his writings which John Huss was charged by the council of Constance with maintaining.¹ About this time cardinal De Cusa declared that the epistles were spurious, and that it is proved by the silence which all early writers maintain in respect to them, and by their disagreement with the circumstances of the supposed period.² At the end of that century Erasmus, the great critic of the age, with some others, pronounced against their genuineness³; and in the beginning of the next the fraud was generally known. The discovery tended, more than most causes, to discredit the pretences of Rome; for the reformers did not fail to urge that the use of such evidence was tantamount to a confession that the scriptures were known to be unfavourable. The argument was not easy to answer. Who could be persuaded that a man possessed genuine title-deeds and kept them in the background while he persisted in resting his claim on fictitious documents, the character of which had been detected and exposed? We should reject such a story as utterly incredible; and yet it is the very case which the Roman church expects us to believe. A treatise which exposed one of these forgeries fell into Luther's hands in 1520, and produced an important influence in destroying his last hold on the communion in which he had grown up. "His German honesty," writes Ranke, "was shocked and exasperated at finding that, as he says, such shameful lies had been incorporated into the decretals, and almost made articles of faith."

In the middle of the sixteenth century we find cardinal

¹ Art. xxx. "Decretales apostolicorum epistolæ sunt apocryphæ, et seducunt à fide Christi." xxxi. "Clerici sunt stulti, qui eas student."—*Theod. Vrie. hist. C. Const.* lib. iv. dist. 12. col. 125. Ap. Von der Hardt.

² "Quia nec in illis omnibus scripturis, de illis præfatis epistolis mentio habetur, et etiam ipsæ epistolæ appli-

catæ ad tempus eorum sanctorum seipsas produunt."—*De concord. cath.* lib. iii. c. ii. p. 782.

³ "Erasmi iudicium de epistolis notum est. Extant et aliorum iudicia, qui et ex phrasi et circumstantiis temporum, et ex rebus ipsis adulterationem demonstrant."—*Chemnitii, Examen concil. Trid.* part. i. p. 85.

Effect produced by the detection.

Reformation, book ii. c. iii. p. 457.

Hosius professing indeed that he could have proved the decretals to be genuine; but, as he avoided making the attempt, his words only show that he was not ignorant of the imputation of fraud.¹ Matthias Francowitz, who is better known as Flacius Illyricus, in his catalogue of witnesses published in 1556, speaks plainly about the spuriousness of the decretals. His integrity has been reasonably questioned, but his learning is beyond dispute; and he is a good witness for proving that the forgery was no secret in his time.² Three years later the Magdeburg centuriators denied the genuineness of these epistles in the most forcible terms; and advanced reasons so irresistible that the question ought to have been at an end.³ About the same time Calvin speaks of any farther exposure as a needless expense of labour.⁴ A few years later, however, the work of Francis Torres, or Turrian, appeared, which was written in defence of the decretals. He says that they are consecrated by their antiquity, and by the reverence of the whole world. He promises to adduce ample arguments to convince all men that they are most genuine and worthy of the wise and holy writers to whom they are ascribed; and he charges the centuriators with ignorance and with conscious falsehood.⁵ The book is as full of blunders as of

Defence by
Turrian.

¹ "Quibus contumeliis non afficit et Clementem, et Dionysium, et sanctos alios pontifices, quos omnes fictitios esse vult? Cujus rei nos contrarium docere possemus, nisi pigeret in iis rebus diutius immorari quæ præsentis instituti non sunt."—*Contra Brentium*, lib. iii. fol. 144.

² Having referred to the letter foolishly ascribed to Clement, he adds, "Deprehensâ porro hujus epistolæ vanitate, facillè et aliæ non paucae primorum paparum fictitiæ esse deprehenduntur; ut Anacleti et aliorum, quæ subinde illam Clementis citant. Hinc apparet, quàm sceleratè Antichristus ecclesiam Dei tum adulterinis scriptis, tum aliis infinitis fraudibus circumvenerit."—*Testes veritatis temp. sup. contra papam*, p. 6.

³ "Quia de multis magnis rebus ex

iis testimonia proferuntur; non imprudenter faciunt ii qui non prius fidem testibus adhibent, quàm ad normam veritatis ac fidei singula examinant. Id autem si quis fecerit, evidentissima argumenta, eaque quam plurima, inveniunt, quæ cum manifeste doceant hasce epistolas, ut vulgo habentur, nullo modo ab iis hoc sæculo scribi potuisse, sed ab uno eodemque indocto et insulso quodam fabricatore, qui longè inferiori vixit sæculo, aut de integro confectas, aut fedissimè corruptas esse."—*Cent. ii. c. vii. col. 110.*

⁴ "Sed ego multum operæ ponere in iis refellendis nolo, quæ scipsa propter nimiam insulsiatam palam refellunt."—*Instit. lib. iv. c. vii. s. 11.*

⁵ Torres was present at Trent as a theologian of the pope. Ribadeneira says of him, in the account of Jesuit

presumption ; yet Baronius says that it is a most successful defence ; Stapleton, that all learned men may rest upon it ; Gretser, that it remains unshaken, &c. If Romanists really believed that it deserves such approbation, instead of suffering it to become extremely rare, they would have reprinted it often, as the vindication of their church from a grievous charge. There is probably, however, not a single controversialist of the party at present who would not be ashamed of their champion. Certainly no one questions that his arguments are all untrue.

The credit of the decretals was in no degree restored. They were spoken of in terms of the utmost reprobation and contempt. Thus Dr. Fulke, writing in answer to the Rhemist commentators, a few years after the publication of Turrian, asks, "Who would think that Clemens would write of such babbles to so high an apostle, of whom he was more meet to learn and be admonished?" So Dr. Rainoldes, in 1584, speaks of these epistles as having "the names of them who lived three hundred years and upwards after Christ, but the names only ;—for the writings savour as much of those bishops as scarecrows do resemble valiant men." And again, "I told you of epistles which seemed to be written by some of the pope's horsekeepers or cooks. This is one of them, &c." Bishop Bilson about the same time says of the letters of Marcus and Julius, that "they were framed in corners, and found at Rome, light of credit and full of lies." It would indeed be hard to imagine a stronger reason why the letter of Marcus to Athanasius could not be genuine, than that he died the month before it was written. "If they could indeed bring us," writes Dr. Field, "the judgment and resolution of these ancient bishops, they

On 2 Peter,
i. 15. p. 814.

Conf. with
Hart. c. viii.
div. iii.
p. 437.

Div. vi.
p. 559.

Christian
subjection,
p. 104.

writers, "Reconditarum literarum cognitione cum paucis conferendus, curiosus antiquitatis indagator, diligentissimus in bibliothecis latentium, et cum tinea blattisque luctantium voluminum S. patrum, atque acerrimus investigator."

His work is entitled "Pro canonibus apostolorum, et epistolis decretalibus apostolicorum, adv. Magdeburgenses centuriatores defensio. F. R. Turriano auct. Lutetiæ, 1573." It is dedicated to card. Hosius.

would doubtless greatly prevail with us. But seeing, under these names, they bring unto us the authors of shameless forgeries, we are thereby induced more to dislike their conceits than before." In the same way, all the great and learned writers whom the times of the reformation produced, condemn these epistles in terms of unsparing reprobation. They certainly made the plea of ignorance on the subject impossible for the future. Yet Duval, who was professor of theology in the university of Paris, contends vehemently for these epistles in the work which he published against Richer in 1614. Early in the seventeenth century, David Blondel wrote his treatise, in which, besides the arguments drawn from the topics and style of the decretals, he pointed out endless mistakes of history and chronology. Above all, he cited, with great care and diligence, the very places in the writings of later fathers and councils, from which portions of the compilation had been derived.¹ It was reasonable to expect that now, at least, these documents would never again be used in controversy; that no one would be bold enough to present, or ignorant enough to receive them, as genuine. Yet Scipio Henricus, in his book against Sarpi, published in 1654, refers to them as authority.² And at the end of the same century, Augustine Reding, professor of theology in the university of Salzburg, and a foremost champion of the Roman church, cites them with as much confidence as if they had never been detected; and the faculty for the publication of his book states that it had been examined by three professors in theology, whose approbation is expressed in very strong terms.³

Of the church, book v. c. 42. p. 587.

Treatise of David Blondel.

¹ Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes, &c. (the title is a very long one), Genevæ, 1628.

² On a most important question, for instance, he cites a letter of Marcellus, for the authority of which he refers to an epistle of Julius the first to the orientals; that is, he supports one notorious forgery by another. His book is

written in a tone of singular violence and arrogance. It is published, cum auctoritate superiorum, and is dedicated to a cardinal.

³ Dissertationes Controversiaticæ. Auctore Aug. Reding. Typis monasterii Einsidlensis. The first edition was published in 1670, the second in 1684.

François de Sales, in a controversial work, used the old fallacy of arranging among his proofs the titles given at different times to popes, and as authority for some of them, he makes reference to the decretals. He died a little before the publication of Blondel's work ; but so much had been proved on the subject, that he can only be acquitted of dishonesty on the ground of very disgraceful ignorance. Even in the present century, M. de Maistre has ventured to use these forgeries on the authority of the bishop of Geneva. Having, in a subsequent edition, corrected his mistake, he adds, with presumptuous levity, that we must not believe, by a great deal, all that has been said against them.¹

Responsibility incurred by the church of Rome.

Whoever may have been the author, and whatever the origin, of these letters, there is no doubt that the church of Rome is deeply involved in the responsibility. At their first appearance Nicholas I. pledged the whole weight of his authority for their genuineness, and used them in his contest with the bishops of France. Gregory VII., two hundred years later, employed them against the bishops of Germany. And so, from century to century, they furnished the chief foundation for the papal claims. As long as the last remnant of their reputation remained, that is, till the darkness of the middle ages was thoroughly dispelled, they provided weapons which an ambitious pope found always ready to hand. The case was alleged to be closed, and all debate superfluous. A series of popes, in succession from St. Peter, had borne witness in express terms to every point of the supreme jurisdiction lodged in their see. It is not that the Roman authorities were deceived, like the rest of the world, by an unscrupulous forger, though this would suit very ill with the pretensions of an infallible church ; but that, long after the detection, they still made use of his forgery, thus consciously, and deliberately, becoming partakers in his guilt. The case is

¹ "Il ne faut pas croire à beaucoup près tout le mal qu'on en a dit." — *Du pape*, liv. i. ch. 6. p. 52.

not like that of questionable miracles, or relics. If anybody persists in affirming his belief that the one are true, and the other genuine, we may wonder at his statement, yet we cannot disprove it. But no one even professes to believe in the letters which bear the names of Anacletus, Fabian, Lucius, and the rest. That learned men could ever have been deceived by this clumsy fraud, is hard to understand; but that they could have still thought the writings genuine, after their attention had been directed to the facts of the case, is impossible. Yet the Roman church, which so long gave them its highest sanction, has never formally withdrawn it. There is no act of the infallible head by which the Roman communion is guarded against what his predecessors unhappily endorsed. So far from the fulfilment of this plain duty, he has suffered books to be reprinted, century after century, with these known and admitted falsehoods on every page. Our learned countryman Robert Cook published, in 1614, a work containing the citation of numberless passages in which the spurious character of these decretals is fully admitted by Roman controversialists, and of others in which they are cited for authority by their contemporaries; and, what is still more conclusive, he furnishes instances without end of the same writer exposing the forgery in one place, and making use of it in another.¹ The well-known treatise of Dr. James also supplies a long list of manifest and undeniable delinquencies in the chief champions of the papacy. Bellarmine is very guilty in this respect. He receives, or rejects, as seems to suit the expediency of the case; condemning at one time, what, on a different occasion, he employs without hesitation, or scruple. After acknowledging the character of these decretal letters, he cites Lucius and Felix as witnesses to the Roman prerogative; Anacletus, for proof that the apostles were ordained by St. Peter; and so on

Frauds of
Roman
controversialists.

¹ This is the title of his book : *Censura quorundam scriptorum, quæ sub nominibus sanctorum et veterum auc-*

torum, à pontificiis passim in eorum scriptis sed potissimum in quæstionibus hodie controversis citari solent.

without end. One of the most learned Romanists expressly charges him with this want of integrity, and on ample evidence.¹ Chemnitz, writing in 1565, imputes to Roman writers the guilt of consciously employing false documents. Having cited the words of a cardinal who had exposed their true character more than a century before, he adds, that the papal party, notwithstanding, strove to maintain, by these fictitious decretals, the traditions for which no scripture testimony could be found.² A remarkable case is recorded which places the connivance of the Roman church in a strong point of view. Antony Le Conte (Contius) regius professor of law in the university of Bourges, a learned man who had De Thou for his pupil, published, in 1577, a volume of annotations on the canon law. In the preface he exposed the spurious character of these papal letters. The censors of the press not only expunged this part of his work, but inserted a passage in which they made the author express a judgment the very reverse of that which he had really given. By inadvertence, however, a sentence was left in which reference was made to the arguments used in the preface; and some notes also escaped, in which the fictitious character of the epistles is assumed to have been proved. These also were omitted by the

Case of
Le Conte.

¹ "Cum Bellarminus testimonio tam evidenter supposito utitur, pontificiæ dignitati non mediocrem facit injuriam. Significat enim illam hominum mendacio egere ad sui probationem."—*Launoy*, pars v. ep. 7. p. 421.

But it is his fashion on other subjects besides the supremacy. He cites, for instance, a certain homily attributed to Athanasius, without a word which implies doubt of its authenticity. *Apolo-gia pro responsione suâ ad librum Jacobi Regis*, c. viii. p. 125. And yet he says elsewhere of this very writing, "Sermo de sanctissimâ Deiparâ non videtur esse S. Athanasii, sed alicujus posterioris, qui post concilium tertium et quartum, imò etiam sextum, floruerit."—*De script. ecclesiast.* p. 112. Dr. Wiseman has adopted in ignorance what the more learned cardinal had

written with conscious fraud. See *Lectures on the principal doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church*, xiii. vol. ii. p. 108.

The conduct of Baronius is exactly the same. He gives up the constitutions of Clement in one place, and defends them in another; he calls the decretal letters spurious, and yet maintains them; he rejects and praises the fables of Metaphrastes; he abandons the pretended acts of the Nicene council, and cites them again and again in his annals.

² "Et tamen ex illis commentitiis epistolis, præcipuas traditiones, quas nullo Scripturæ testimonio probare possunt, defendere et stabilire conantur pontificii."—*Examen concil. Trid.* pars i. p. 85.

same authority in a subsequent edition. Le Conte complained of the wrong, and maintained, by fresh reasons, the opinion which he had already delivered.¹ It is much easier to explain, than to vindicate, the desperate earnestness with which the Roman church has clung to these spurious writings. They are bound up in the very substance and texture of the canon law. Gratian inserted them in the code to which popes gave their sanction, and which was taught in every part of Europe. Gregory IX., Clement V., and John XXII., published additions, in which the forged decretals furnished the chief part. They were incorporated in capitularies, in papal rescripts, and in acts of councils. That which is now the law of the Roman church is interwoven with them throughout; and the principles which had this illegitimate origin are still applied to the whole compass of spiritual discipline. The usurpation still exists, though the means by which it was accomplished have fallen into discredit. No one ventures to defend the fraudulent writer, but the effect of his writing remains. As Dr. Comber speaks, "they execute the traitor, but enjoy the fruit of his treason."

Rome cannot abandon the forgeries.

So, again, the histories of many popes, in the earliest ages, have no better foundation.² Anastasius in the ninth century, Luitprand of Cremona who lived somewhat later, Platina whose work was printed in 1479, Duchesne who wrote early in the seventeenth century, as well as all other papal biographers, have been compelled to use the same source of information, that is to say, in the case of many bishops of Rome, no materials are to be found but such as are utterly fictitious.³ There is, indeed, a work

¹ This case is stated by Van Espen, in a note, pars ii. Diss. i. s. 3. tom. iii. p. 455. See also Rainoldes' conference with Hart, ch. viii. div. 3. p. 451.

² "Prodidit hic pontificem non modò nomina et tempora, sed et parentes etiam atque patrias et loca ipsa quibus fuerint sepulti; quin et ordinationes et decreta, ipsa quoque c. Pseudo-Isidori

mereibus ut plurimum desumpta, eorundem nempe temporum imposturis; denique et dies quibus sedes vacaverit." — *Dodwell, Diss. sing. de R. P. success.* c. vii. p. 89. See also Pearson, *Diss. i.* c. 11, 12., op. post. pp. 115—131.

³ Even in the present century, Mr. Alban Butler, whose volumes received the highest sanction from all the Ro-

Mistakes in
the Pontifi-
cale.

called the Pontificale or lives of the popes, which was said to have been written by Damasus, in the fourth century, but that it was composed at a much later period there can be no doubt.¹ It abounds with blunders of the grossest kind. For instance, it makes Linus St. Peter's successor, though, as Pearson has proved, he died before the apostle. It places Clement between Cletus and Anacletus, though they were one and the same person. It fixes the martyrdom of Cornelius under Decius, who was not living at the time. So again, in the life of Sixtus II., it makes Decius active against the christians, eight years after he was dead. It makes Alexander Severus a persecutor, which he was not. The periods which it assigns to different popes were apparently set down at hazard; they are contradicted by all Roman writers. And the martyrdoms which it records, are generally unsupported, and sometimes impossible. This worthless compilation, as far as the earlier periods are concerned, is but a reproduction of the forged decretals; and doubtless proceeded, in part at least, from the same author. Dr. Comber says: "It is a manifest legend, and contained at first nothing but the bare names and continuance of the several popes; and was filled up by Isidore Mercator, who forged the decretal epistles, with many improbable fictions unsuitable both to the men, and times, for which they were invented, and designed to be a ground for those decretal epistles; and to make the world believe, that all the popes were considerable for their actions in all ages." It is given up by Baronius, Bellarmine, Binius, and other papal writers. These kindred forgeries are blindly followed by the Roman martyrology², and they are to be traced throughout the breviary, which enjoys the highest autho-

Forgeries
in the
councils,
part i. c. i.
p. 6.

man bishops in Ireland, ventures to refer to the "pontificals" for authority. Life of S. Pius I., Pope M. vol. ii. p. 50.

¹ Bellarmine says: "Liber ille est Anastasii Bibliothecarii, non Damasi, ut notum est." — *De script. eccles.* p.

136. Yet he cites it elsewhere for the work of Damasus, *e. g.*, "Damasus in pontificali, in Petro, dicit, &c." — *De Rom. pont.* lib. ii. c. 4. p. 159.

² The very first page of the preface to the Roman martyrology cites an epistle of Fabian.

rity that the church has to bestow, and the use of which is enforced under the heaviest censures. So again, the Roman catechism, the authority of which is admitted by universal consent, refers for the sanction of some of its most uncatholic doctrines to the letters of Anacletus, Fabian, &c.¹

In the same dark ages, another forged writing appeared, the general reception of which it is now difficult to believe. It professes to be a deed of gift, by which Constantine, on his baptism by pope Sylvester, conveyed to him, and his successors, the city of Rome, and all the provinces of Italy, besides the Lateran palace, his purple robes, and the crown from his head. It recites also a multitude of incredible fictions, such as the emperor's leprosy, the proposed bath of infant's blood, his conversion by a vision of two apostles, &c. The internal evidence is sufficiently conclusive against such a document. The style is barbarous, as unlike as possible that which was employed by the emperor in his genuine acts; the terms which he is made to apply to himself, and others, are such as he never used; the Nicene creed is quoted, though at the supposed period it was not composed; Constantinople is spoken of, which did not then exist, &c.² At the time of the alleged conversion, Constantine had been eighteen years a christian; but he was not baptised till his old age, and in Nicomedia, by Eusebius.³ This donation is mentioned by no church historian, nor pleaded by any pope of early times. When Pepin, and Charlemagne, bestowed gifts on the see of Rome, no notice was taken of the alleged grant; though, if it had been true, their bounty would have been no better than an imperfect

The donation of Constantine.

¹ Van Espen says: "Quis hodie est, qui non agnoscat falsò adscribi primis Romanis pontificibus, qui ante Siricium floruerunt, quæ ex epistolis decretalibus eorum nominibus inscriptis sunt desumpta, et in ipsorum respective festis ex præscripto R. Breviarii recitantur?" — *Diss. de horis can.* pars i. c. 4. s. 2., op. ii. p. 671.

² The document itself, bearing the

title, "Donationis instrumentum Constantini Magni, Primi Imperatoris Christiani," is given by Banck, *De tyrannide papæ*, c. v. pp. 62—75.

³ Spanheim says: "Quàm aliena hæc sint ab ætate, ab historiâ Constantini, à fide testium, à veri specie, omnes intelligunt, præter Baronium, Binium, Gnathones." — *Introd. sæc. iv.* s. 12. p. 442.

restitution. But, as every body knows, the empire was divided among the sons of Constantine, and Rome governed by a prefect; and the popes, some of whom were ambitious enough, never put in a claim to the supposed sovereignty. A learned canonist says, not without reason, that it is doubtful whether the shameless conduct of those who used so foolish a legend, or the stupidity of the people who believed it, were the more remarkable.¹ Otho of Frisingen, writing in 1514, mentions among the current arguments against its genuineness, that the empire was divided by Constantine among his sons, and inherited by their successors, without reference to any claims of the Roman church. Laurentius Valla, in the middle of the century, exposed the fraud in a work, the power and boldness of which procured very cruel treatment for its author.² Platina, a few years later, speaks with contempt of the alleged donation. Cardinal de Cusa, Æneas Sylvius, and others, in the same century, urged strong and convincing arguments on the same side.³ From this period the Roman church began to be ashamed of the fraud. Yet for six hundred years it had been cited for authority; popes had used it, without scruple, in defence of their power; and as late as 1478, persons were consigned to the flames who refused to believe it genuine; and later still, a Roman historian ventured to refer to it

Annalium,
lib. iv. c. ii.
fol. 42.

In vit.
Joannis viii.

¹ "Non facilè dijudicari posse videatur, utrum major pars paparum impudentia fuerit, conantium nobis istas aniles fabulas tradere, an eorum hominum stupiditas, si qui unquam adeò stolidæ atque anili fabulæ fidem habuerunt."—*Brutum fulmen*, p. 112.

² The treatise of Valla is entitled: "De falso creditâ et eumentâ Constantini donatione, Declamatio."

³ Dante, who died in 1321, speaks of the donation, not as himself believing it, but as if it were commonly received:—

"Ahi, Constantin, di quanto mal tu matre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco Patre."
Inferno, canto x. 11.

And again:—

"L'altro che segue, con le leggi e meco,
Sotto buona 'ntenzion che fe' mal frutto,
Per cedere al Pastor si fece Greco."
Paradiso, canto xx. 55.

Ariosto, who lived two hundred years later, treats the gift with derision and places it in very undignified company:—

"Di vari fiori ad un gran monte passa,
Ch'ebbe già buono odore, or putia forte.
Questo era il dono (se però dir lece)
Che Constantino al buon Sylvestro fece."
Orlando Furioso, canto xxxiv. 80.

In the first edition of the *Orlando*, the words are somewhat different.

as true.¹ Even when the document was undeniably proved to be spurious, papal writers, like Baronius and Gretser, asserted that the donation itself had been really made.² The obstinacy with which the fictitious grant has been supported, can only be explained by the consciousness that the extravagant claims of power had no better foundation. The decretal letters, and the donation of Constantine, are indeed, what Gibbon truly calls them, the pillars of the spiritual and temporal monarchy of the popes.

Certain concessions of territory and privilege were made by Pepin and Charlemagne; but very limited in amount, and the records are not said to exist. But the alleged gift of Louis le Débonnaire, which includes Sicily and Sardinia, is embodied in a deed which Muratori and others have abundantly proved to be spurious, but which was maintained as authentic so late as the beginning of the last century. There is a long list of other writings employed by the church of Rome which belong to the same category of imposture. Among these are the so-called works of Dionysius the Areopagite, which Dupin supposes to have been forged near the end of the fifth century, and which by universal consent have been long acknowledged to be spurious. Yet the champions of the Roman supremacy have used them without scruple, after their true character had been proved. They were cited in

Other
forged
writings.

¹ "Huic et ejus successoribus Constantinus Imp. dono dedit Romam, et omnia imperatoria indumenta, ac ornamenta."—*Génébrard, Chronog.* lib. iii. sæc. 4. p. 551.

² The origin of the forgery is a subject on which Roman writers are singularly disagreed. Van Espen says, with great reason, that it was fabricated by the author of the decretals. Baronius maintains that it was framed by Greeks, that the Roman church might seem to have got its supremacy from Constantine, and not by inheritance from S. Peter. De Marca supposes that it was prepared by command of Paul I. and with the connivance of Pepin, in

order to defeat the claims of the eastern emperor. While some canonists have gone so far in their extravagance as to affirm that Constantine did not really bestow anything on the see of Rome, but only restored what belonged to it by divine right. See, on the subject of the pretended donation, Raimondes, Conference with Hart, ch. vi. div. 7. p. 340—354.; De Marca, De concord., lib. iii. c. 12.; Natalis Alexander, Hist. eccles., sæc. iv. diss. 25.; De Dominis, Repub. eccles., lib. vi. c. 8. s. 52—55.; Banck, de tyrannide papæ, c. v. p. 62—83.; Guicciardini, Istorie d' Italia, lib. iv. tom. ii. p. 213.

Conscious
use of
forgeries.

the council of Trent; and in the Roman catechism they are made to provide, in a great many places, the authority which was to be found nowhere else.¹ The legend which goes by the name of the passion of St. Andrew furnished the lessons for November 30. in the reformed breviary. The apostolical constitutions, which are full of statements foolish and false in the highest degree, are used by Roman writers on almost every subject in controversy, as if they were the genuine work of Clement.² And, in the same way, they refer to the books of Hegesippus, said to have been a contemporary of Polycarp, though it had been proved that they could not be genuine, among other reasons because they mention the privileges of Constantinople, which were not assigned till the fourth century. These are but specimens from a long catalogue of similar cases.

It has fared no better with the councils. A very learned Roman writer confesses indeed that there are no records which have been treated with more dishonesty.³ Some have been cited as genuine, the fictitious character of which could hardly have been, at any time, doubtful.

¹ Bellarmine says, "De cæteris operibus viri docti et catholici nihil dubitant. Soli hæretici Lutherani, et quidam Scioli, Erasmus, Valla, et pauci alii opera supra numerata negant esse S. Dionysii Areopagitæ."—*De Script. ecclesiast.* p. 65. He cites, for his favourable judgment, Gregory I., who, if his dialogues are genuine, was the most credulous of men; and Nicholas I., who was the great patron of the forged decretals. Heidegger says, in his work on the council of Trent, "Dionysium Areopagitam ex primo in quartum vel quintum seculum rejiciendum, eruditi invictis argumentis docuerunt."—*Ad sess. xiv. Quæst. vii. Obj. 7.* p. 1003. Dr. Cave reports that he saw, in the handwriting of Casaubon, the following words: "Hunc fuisse apostolorum æqualem stupor est credere; furor est velle aliis persuadere. Asinos esse oportet, qui hoc sibi sinent persuaderi."—*Hist. Lit., sæc. iv.* p. 142. The case is

fully examined in the treatise of Daillé, *De libris suppositis Dionysio Areop. et Ignatio Antioch.*

² Of these constitutions Bellarmine tells us, "In ecclesiâ Latinâ nullum ferè nomen habent: et ipsi etiam posteriores Græci in concilio Trullano, can. ii., improbant has constitutiones, ut ab hæreticis depravatas."—*De script. eccles.*, p. 58. Yet he cites these fictitious writings, over and over again, as if they were genuine.

³ "Equidem cum maximo animi mœnore dicere cogor, nullos extare libros in quibus tot tantaque fictitia et adulterina scripta, quam in tomis conciliorum legantur, et illos qui ejusmodi ambiguis atque suspectis scriptionibus et epistolis auctoritatem sedis apostolicæ tueri nituntur, eidem non mediciter incommodare: nam qui semel deprehensus est in mendacio, postea ei non facile habetur fides."—*Richer, Hist. concil. gen.*, lib. i. c. 2. s. 6.

Thus we have a pretended council held at Antioch in the time of the apostles. It was obviously invented to support a false doctrine of the Roman church; yet it is used in controversy by Gretser and others, and is even admitted into modern collections. Then, again, there is the council of Sinuessa, said to have been attended by three hundred bishops who met in a cave during the reign of Diocletian, for the purpose of pronouncing that the bishop of Rome can be judged by no man. Few things can be more certain than that no such council was ever held. The legend was fabricated by some one who, as Dr. Comber says, wrote neither good sense nor true Latin, but was inspired only by a blind zeal for the Roman Church; yet it is used by papal controversialists to prove that there is a supreme irresponsible ecclesiastical government.¹ And, what is yet more difficult to explain, Nicholas I. referred to it for authority; and the reformed breviary retains the foolish story. Under Sixtus III., a council is alleged to have been held, at which a decree was passed in confirmation of the supreme power of the pope. It is cited by Bellarmine and others, yet it certainly never took place. The evidence is so clear that even Baronius gives it up.

Pretended councils.

Forgeries in the councils, part i. c. 3. s. 7.

Besides the acts and decrees of such councils as these, which are altogether supposititious, there are instances in which authority is fraudulently claimed, as when Zosimus and his successors presented the decrees of the provincial council of Sardica, under the pretence that they were framed by the general council of Nice.² And sometimes the meaning is perverted by the note of a commentator, when the text cannot safely be changed; as, when the African canon forbids transmarine appeals under pain of excommunication, Gratian adds "unless it happen that the appeal has been made to the Roman see;" though it

¹ Duvall, De supremâ R. P. in eccles. potest. pars. i. Quæst. 6. p. 133. Sanders, De visibili monarch. lib. vii. p. 280. So Bellarmine cites this, and another council under Sylvester, which is just as fictitious.—De concil. auct. lib. ii. c. 17. p. 267. ² Vid. De Marca, de concord. lib. vi. c. 14. s. 3.

Detection of
frauds.

Corruption
of the
fathers,
part i.

Part ii,
p. 269.

was the great object of this law to prevent cases being carried to Rome. The Benedictines of the congregation of St. Maur, while they have brought great honour to their church by learning which threw the Jesuits into the shade, detected many frauds which had been practised, and so deprived future controversialists of weapons which had long been familiarly employed. A multitude of authorities had been derived from writings, the genuineness of which is now universally denied; and instead of the ample array of proofs which the papal advocate could once produce, there are but a few scattered passages to be adduced from writers living far apart, and often inadmissible as witnesses. They afford but a poor foundation for the vast conclusions which require support. Dr. James gives a list of 187 treatises cited by Roman writers, about the spurious character of which no doubt remains; and modern criticism would easily add to the number. He gives also a list of fifty passages corrupted in the genuine writings of the fathers, and he adds, "I have set down only five decades whereby you may conjecture of the rest, which for brevity's sake are omitted."

The same dishonest dealing has been applied to the scriptures themselves, sometimes by representing their meaning to be different from what it really is; and sometimes by alteration of the sacred text. Thus the collectors of councils referred to the book of Acts, as stating that St. Peter was the supreme head, that he gave permission for the choice of deacons, &c. In the seventeenth century a translation of the new testament into French was published at Bourdeaux, in which passages are interpolated in the text, on the subject of the mass, pilgrimages, purgatory, &c., besides the inculcation of papal doctrine in the heading of chapters.¹

¹ These are instances—"Et ses père et mère allaient tous les ans en pèlerinage en Jérusalem."—Luc, ii. 41.
"Ce qu'ils firent aussi, l'envoyant

aux prêtres par les mains de Barnabé et de Saul."—Actes, xiii. 2.

"Or comme ils offroient au Seigneur

The chief instrument employed by the Roman church in reducing the works of various authors to its own standard is the index. This is either prohibitory, and forbids the use of certain writings, and sometimes even books which proceed from a particular person, or expurgatory, that is, it prescribes what passages shall be expunged. A Jesuit writer, of great authority in the Roman church, has published a treatise on the subject¹; and another member of the same society ventures to advise that all manuscripts should be purged of objectionable passages; and he adds that if everybody would do his part in the work, literature would be purified, as the street is cleansed when every one sweeps before his own door.² The treatment which this writer recommends has been unsparingly applied. Erasmus, in his commentary on Acts xvii. 34., proved beyond question that the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite are not genuine; the whole passage was expunged, and the Roman church continues to use the forgery, as if this great scholar had never exposed it. Early in the seventeenth century a treatise was published by William Crasshaw, entitled, "Roman forgeries and falsifications," in which he produces fifty passages altered or omitted in the commentary on St. John's Gospel, written by J. Wild, who was a preacher in the cathedral of Mayence.³ But the number of similar cases is endless. Rome, Naples,

le sacrifice de la messe et qu'ils jeûnoient, &c."—Actes, xi. 30.

"Si l'œuvre de quelqu'un brûle il en portera la perte, mais il sera sauvé quant à lui, aussi toutefois comme par le feu du purgatoire."—1 Cor. iii. 15.

"Or l'Esprit dit clairement qu'en derniers temps quelques-uns se separeront de la foy Romaine, &c."—1 Tim. iv. 1.

"A l'entour du trône il y avait vingt quatre trônes et sur les trônes vingt quatre prêtres assis, tous vêtus d'aubes, et ils avaient sur leurs têtes des couronnes d'or."—Rev. iv. 4.

Le nouveau testament de nôtre

Seigneur Jesus Christ traduit du Latin en Français par les théologiens de Lowain. A Bordeaux, 1686.

¹ Gretser, De jure et more prohibendi, expurgandi, et abolendi libros hæreticos, &c. Ingolstadt, 1603.

² "Hæc omnia si uno et eodem tempore proeurentur, id fiet quod sæpe vel ingentibus civitatibus accidere vidimus, quæ unicâ die mundantur, cum quisque spatium viæ quod ad se pertinet, everri jubet."—*Possevino, cited by Dr. James*, part ii. p. 128.

³ The work of John Wild, better known by his Latinized name of Ferus, was published at Paris, in 1556.

Madrid, Lisbon, Antwerp, had each its index ; and there were few works which escaped without some change. Even the fathers were made to speak a language favourable to Rome, though it absolutely contradicted what they really held.¹ Henry Boxhorn, who had been theological professor at Louvain, in his book on the eucharist, speaks of having been employed to strike out from ancient authors six hundred passages ; and he assigns this as the primary cause of his secession from the Roman church.

The index has the highest authority. It was composed by a special commission from Pius IV., to whom the charge was committed by the council of Trent. Sixtus IV. and Clement VIII. made considerable enlargement, and added fresh stringency to the rules.

Similar
conduct of
early here-
tics.

The corruption of documents has been for ages the sin of the Roman church. It is but the renewal of what was justly charged, in the earliest ages, against Arians, Eutychians, Macedonians, and others, who produced writings in their favour bearing venerable names falsely assumed. Our opponents can neither defend the forgeries which were once so useful, because all the world knows their history ; nor abandon them, because they are bound up with the whole papal system, and the claim of infallibility is involved. It was a desperate policy, from which the retreat is cut off by the very pretensions of the church ; and it would certainly have never had a commencement, unless there had been a strongly felt necessity. If there had been scripture arguments, or indeed availing arguments of any kind to produce, the use of forged writings would have inflicted a wrong on the Roman party, of

¹ " Neque difficile erit probare, consarcinatores indicum expurgatoriorum bellum cum auctore Scripturarum, cum patribus, cum omnibus bonis, cum ipsa Veritate, nefarium quotidie gerere."—*Casaubon, Exercit. proleg.* Dr. James, who was the first librarian of the Bodleian, has shown, in his *Mystery of the indices expurgatorii*, how Cyprian,

Ambrose, Gregory, and other fathers, have been altered in various places. These are the words of John Gerson : " Perpende, mi frater, quantâ fraude, quantâ astutiâ, temporibus antiquis fuerint facta et scripta quam plurima ad tenendam hanc dignitatem papatus."—*De ref. eccles. c. v. Ap. Von der Hardt*, tom. i. pars iv. col. 76.

which they would not have been slow to complain, by bringing their true credentials into suspicion. Instead of clinging to the deception, long after exposure had made the plea of ignorance impossible, they would have flung it away, as not only unlawful, but injurious. They followed an opposite course, and, as the consequence, they have fallen under the retribution by which dishonesty makes its own punishment at last. Whenever they venture to claim any sanction from better evidence, there is a preliminary objection which cannot be overcome, that the appeal to forged documents was preferred, as long as it was possible, through the ignorance or submission of the age. That they should in this way have shipwrecked their character for integrity, nay, have put the faith itself in peril, by clinging so obstinately to a detected fraud, if they were conscious of possessing other proofs adequate to their pretensions, no one will believe.

Ruinous
conse-
quence.

In the words of a canonist singularly learned on the question of the supremacy, "Since the whole of the succession depends on fictitious titles and traditions, we reject it as false, spurious, and fraudulent."¹ If for the last century and a half this, among other strong points of the case, has been forgotten, there is reason enough at present why we should not overlook an argument which our thoughtful and earnest-minded forefathers found so availing.

¹ "Cum igitur ex traditionibus et fictis hominum autoritatibus tota pendeat, nos successionem illam, tanquam spuriam, subdolam, fraudulentam, et commentitiam planè rejicimus."—*Banch, De tyran. papæ*, c. iv. p. 58.

CHAP. V.

FAILURE OF THE SUCCESSION IN THE ROMAN CHURCH.

IF the scripture argument were the reverse of what we have found it, that is, if the supremacy of St. Peter were proved as plainly as it is contradicted, no advantage would necessarily follow towards establishing the Roman claim. For if we were compelled to admit that the apostle possessed all the prerogatives which have been asserted, this would be of no avail unless it could be shown that they descended in some authorised manner, and became legitimately annexed to a particular see. There is required not only proof that he had a spiritual monarchy conferred upon him, but also that this has been lawfully inherited by the bishop of Rome. The latter is, however, as hopelessly deficient as the former; and the failure is not less fatal, for unless the original title is established, no subsequent right will accrue¹; neither lapse of time, nor continued possession, can cure the defect. The chain may be long, and elaborately wrought; but if the first link is wanting, it will never bind the claims of the pope to the chair of St. Peter. Was St. Peter bishop of Rome, in any such sense as the term is applied in other cases? Did any particular bishop succeed him, in any way different from that in which all bishops are said to succeed all apostles? Was there a clear conveyance of his prerogative, as universal

Succession
to St. Peter
must be
clearly
proved.

¹ "Quod ab initio fuit invalidum, tractu temporis non convalescit."

pastor to his alleged successors? On these points it is no more than reasonable to look for direct and unequivocal evidence, for they involve the subject matter of the whole controversy; and yet we shall find little besides bold and unauthorised assumptions. What we ask is some proof from scripture, and some acknowledgment from the early church, that the powers claimed for this western bishop belong to him by divine right. If he has them by law of descent, this ought to be explained; or if by special deed of gift, this must be exhibited. But every well-instructed Romanist knows that here is the especial weakness of his case; and he tries to hide it by all sorts of expedients. He would rather touch on any part of the argument, than on this. To evade our reasonable demand, by enlarging on the dignity of St. Peter, when we deny that he has any particular connection with the see of Rome, is a common artifice; but thoughtful persons will hardly fail to detect it. They will refuse to hear even the citations of scripture which are said to give him precedence, until it is proved, which it has never been, that the pope stands in the relation of his heir. Yet Roman writers quote again and again what the fathers have said of this great apostle, often with much rhetorical exaggeration, as if it might be carried without question to the credit of the existing bishop of Rome.¹ Thus we find Leo the great, in his epistles, dwelling much and often on the prerogatives of St. Peter, as a prominent part of the argument for the dignity of his own see. So again the terms Peter's patrimony, his royalties, his pence, his ring, his seal, &c. are in common use, as if it were beyond debate that these things belong by inheritance to the bishop of Rome. And yet, as Bellarmine admits, there is no scripture argument for the succession;

Evasion by dwelling on the dignity of St. Peter.

¹ "Nostri monarchici, non ex ullá eccles. lib. i. c. x. s. 33. So also Casaubon says, "Non propter Petrum de Petri nomine R. pontificem Deum in terris faciant, adeo sunt de Petri exaltatione solliciti, &c."—*De Dominis rep.*

causabon says, "Non propter Petrum de Petri honore disputatur hodie, sed propter papam."—*Exercit. xiii. s. 16. p. 194.*

and we shall find that the fathers, for the space of some hundred years, are equally silent.¹ It is indispensable to the papal cause, that St. Peter should be proved to have been supreme in jurisdiction over the church, and all popes to have received the same authority by right of inheritance. If he were not himself bishop of Rome, no prerogatives could be conveyed in his name to any occupants of the see. Yet the testimony of the fathers is on this point very meagre and unavailing.

Clement, for instance, who is the earliest producible witness, and is said to have been appointed to his office by the apostle himself, wrote of his death as if he were informed about it very imperfectly. He mentions neither the place nor the manner of his martyrdom; while of Paul he speaks more at large, and with greater exactness.² His words are consistent with the death of St. Peter at Babylon, but cannot easily be reconciled with the notion of the joint martyrdom of the apostles at Rome. From Ignatius a passage is quoted, in which only the keen eye of a controversialist could detect anything which bears upon the subject at all. He says in his Epistle to the Romans, "I do not, as Peter and Paul, command you. They were apostles, I a condemned man; they were free, but I am even to this day a servant."³ Irenæus speaks

Roman
view not
sanctioned
by the
fathers.

¹ "De monarchiâ hodiernâ, ad futuram ecclesiæ necessariâ, altum in scripturis altum apud patres silentium." — *Casaubon, Exercit. xvi. p. 538.* And again, "Est igitur merum posteriorum, et sequiorum seculorum figmentum quod ait Baronius, de summâ omnium potestate a Petro in successores papas translata." — *Ibid. p. 539.*

"Nego et pernego, aut ex scripturis, aut ex traditione apostolicâ, aut ex conciliis, aut ex patribus haberi, etiam indefinitè aliquam in singulari succedere Petro." — *De Dominis, rep. eccles. lib. i. c. vi. s. 19.*

² "Ad occidentis terminos veniens, et sub imperatoribus martyrium subiens, sic è mundo migravit, &c." — *Ad Corinth. ep. prim. p. 8.*

Salmasius says: "De Petro nihil late, sed simpliciter, cum tamen de eo prius narrationem instituerit, martyrium esse passum perhibet. Nec dicit quo in loco hoc illi contigerit, quia scilicet hoc tunc ignorabatur." — *Apparat. ad lib. de primatu, p. 15.* The silence of Clement on this point is also noted by Spanheim, *Introd. ad chron. sæc. i. s. 5. p. 154.*

³ Archbishop Wake's translation, s. iv. p. 187. ed. 1840. Bellarmine says no more of this passage than the following: "Quibus verbis videtur alludere ad passionem Petri et Pauli quæ paulo ante Romæ contigerat." — *De Rom. pont. lib. ii. c. iii. p. 158.*

more expressly, but his words can hardly be used for the service required. They are these: "The blessed apostles having founded and builded the church, delivered the episcopal office to Linus. Of this Linus St. Paul makes mention in his epistles to Timothy. To him succeeded Anacletus; after him Clement obtained the bishopric, in the third place from the apostles."¹ He thus ascribes the foundation of the Roman church to Paul as well as Peter. Both Epiphanius and Eusebius do the same. It was a joint work, and does not even imply that they were present, which is very different indeed from assigning the bishopric to Peter alone, the meaning which cardinal Wiseman and some other unscrupulous writers endeavour to extract from the passage. He is said to have founded the church of Alexandria, but it is as generally admitted that he did not for this purpose visit that city personally. We may speak with Dionysius of Corinth about planting the church, or with Clement of Alexandria about proclaiming the gospel, and yet imply, as they did, no more than that these things were done by the ministry of others. We must be on our guard against being deceived by the application of words, in their present signification, to primitive times when they carried a different meaning. Cyprian calls the Roman church the chair of St. Peter; but the same title was given to Carthage and Alexandria, to Antioch and Milevis. It means the doctrine or authority of this eminent apostle, whose successors, as cardinal de Cusa tells us, all bishops are, beyond denial, to be esteemed.² Rome is frequently called the apostolic see, and the expression is sometimes quoted as if it implied a special connection with St. Peter;

Fallacy in the use of terms.

¹ The Latin version follows the original Greek very accurately: "Fundantes igitur, et instruentes beati apostoli ecclesiam Lino episcopatum administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt, &c."—Lib. iii. c. iii. Cardinal Wiseman translates the passage thus: "To Peter succeeded Linus, to Linus Anacletus,

then in the third place Clement."—*Lectures on the doctrines of the cath. ch.* lect. viii. p. 278.

² "Licet R. pontifex, principaliter successor sit S. Petri, tamen non possumus negare omnes episcopos esse ejusdem successores."—*Cusani de concord. cath.* lib. ii. c. xiii. p. 728.

but, as all except very unlearned persons are aware, it is equally applied to Ephesus and Smyrna, to Alexandria, Corinth, Philippi, and other places.¹ Dupin says truly, that all bishops of apostolical churches are called successors of the particular apostles by whom those churches were founded; and, in general, that all bishops are successors of all apostles.² Alexandria, Corinth, and Carthage are called sees of St. Peter.

St. Peter
bishop of
Rome only
in a general
sense.

That Peter was bishop of Rome in a wide and general sense, as he was bishop of many other churches, which is no more than to say that he had the oversight of them, need not be denied. He remained at Jerusalem directing, in common with the rest of the apostles, the great initiatory work of setting up the kingdom of Christ in various places. And over the christian communities thus established they continued to exercise supervision. But in the exact and restricted sense of the term, as it is applied to his alleged successors, that is, in the only sense in which it can serve the papal argument, he was neither bishop of Rome nor of any other place. It is a very discreditable artifice of controversialists to cite the authority of those who have used the word in the former signification, as if they had employed it in the latter; and so to quote the witness of those who steadfastly opposed the Roman usurpation, as if they conceded what is a very important point in the case. Thus cardinal Wiseman ventures to say, "I presume it will not be necessary to enter into any argument to show that St. Peter was the first bishop of Rome. The monuments which yet exist in every part of it, and the testimony of ecclesiastical writers from the oldest times, put the fact above all doubt; and it is only sufficient to say, that authors of the highest literary emi-

Lecture viii.
p. 278.

¹ "Hic per transennam notet lector non tantum sedem Romanam dici apostolicam, sed etiam alias sedes patriarchales, &c." — *Van Espen, Diss. in synod. Nic. ii. p. 418.*

² "Ex æquo ecclesiarum apostoli-

carum episcopi, dicuntur eorum apostolorum à quibus ecclesiæ sunt fundatæ successores: imò omnes episcopi apostolorum omnium successores esse perhibentur." — *Diss. iv. c. i. s. 3. p. 318.*

nence, and remarkable for their opposition to the supremacy of the Roman see, such as Cave, Pearson, Usher, Young, and Blondel, have both acknowledged and supported it." What these writers really assert is as different as possible from this statement. Cave, having alluded to the looser sense in which the term is applied to Peter, says that "The nature of the apostolic office hardly allows that he should have been attached to the see of Rome as its peculiar bishop, and no records of primitive antiquity tell us that he was."¹ Pearson, on the authority of Irenæus, states that Peter and Paul founded this church, and that during the lifetime of the apostles Linus was constituted its bishop.² In Usher there is nothing to be found capable of being perverted to the proposed meaning. Young, who is better known by his Latinised name of Patricius Junius, and who was librarian to Charles I., edited the first epistle of Clement; and in one of his notes he says, "That Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome under Nero, is too well known to be brought into question³:" and he adds a few words about the period of their deaths, but what is this to the purpose? Blondel, the leader of the French protestants in the seventeenth century, who succeeded Vossius in his professorship, and who confuted cardinal du Perron, was as little likely as any one to say what he is represented to have said. His words are these: "The assignment of the bishopric of Rome to St. Peter in particular is contradicted by St. Irenæus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and others, who commence their reckoning of the bishops of Rome from the apostles Peter and Paul, whom they formally except from their catalogue; showing that, properly speaking, neither Peter nor Paul were bishops of Rome; and that if the episcopal office is taken in a wider signifi-

Misstatement of the testimony of protestant writers.

Blondel and others.

¹ "Romanæ vero cathedræ tanquam peculiarem episcopum affixum esse, ægre patitur muneris apostolici ratio; nec ulla nos docent primæ vetustatis monumenta." — *Hist. lit. sæc. apost.* p. 8.

² "Cum Petrus and Paulus fundarent ecclesiam, hoc est apostolis illis

adhuc superstitibus, Linus Romæ episcopus constitutus est, ut docet Irenæus." — *Op. post. diss. ii. c. v. s. 2. p. 168.*

³ "Petrum et Paulum Romæ sub Nerone martyrio vitam finiisse, notius est quàm ut in dubium vocetur. De tempore autem opinio duplex est, &c." — *Clementis, epist. annot. in p. 8.*

cation, they both of them equally exercised it there.”¹ These are the writers who are said to bear testimony to the alleged fact, that St. Peter was the first of the Roman bishops. To have cited them for such a purpose tends very little to the honour of the cause which their names were intended to support. It never would have been suggested, unless to serve a party purpose, that the bishop’s office in a particular city could be performed by an apostle whose great charge involved frequent and lengthened absence. That he might be the overseer of many churches is altogether a different matter, and has nothing to do with the present subject. Primitive church writers have made the distinction very clearly; and when they formally enumerate the bishops of Rome, they exclude Peter himself from the number. Thus Eusebius calls Clement the third, and Alexander the fifth, from Peter and Paul; that is, he includes neither of the apostles in the number. If at other times, speaking more vaguely, they call Peter bishop of Rome, it is very observable that the same title is bestowed also on Paul. And precedence is sometimes given to the latter, as in the apostolical constitution, where he is said to have appointed the first bishop. In papal bulls the names and figures of both apostles are to be found as early as the eleventh century. So their ancient commemoration was appointed for the same day in the Roman church.²

The martyrdom of Peter may have taken place at Rome; but there is some antecedent improbability to be overcome, as well as the unfavourable testimony of Clement, who must have had at least as good information as any other

Lib. iii.
c. xxi. p. 91.;
iv. c. 1.
p. 115.

vii. c. xlv.
fol. 110.

The martyrdom of
St. Peter.

¹ “L’assignation de l’épiscopat de Rome à St. Pierre particulièrement est impugnée par St. Irénée, Eusèbe, Epiphane, &c., qui commencent à compter les évêques de Rome depuis les apôtres Pierre et Paul, qu’ils exceptent formellement de leur catalogue, montrant, qu’à proprement parler, ni Pierre ni Paul n’ont été évêques de Rome, et qu’en prenant l’épiscopat en une signification plus large ils y ont

tous deux également exercé l’épiscopat.” — *De la primauté*, p. 588.

² It is true that Innocent X., in 1647, condemned as heretical a publication by Arnould, which asserted the coordinate authority of the two apostles; yet, notwithstanding the papal sentence, this had been the doctrine of the Roman church itself for centuries. See *Recueil des bulles*, &c. p. 50.

person. The evidence on the other side is mainly drawn from the narrative of Hegesippus, who was said to have lived near the apostles' time, and who relates that Peter, being about to quit Rome, was met by Christ, and admonished to return and suffer crucifixion. The story obtained currency at first through the influence of Ambrose, who cites it as authentic; but the weight even of his name has long ceased to protect what Bramhall justly calls "a blind and ill-grounded legend." It is, however, related by Platina in his life of St. Peter; and he mentions the very words spoken at the interview, and the spot where it took place.¹ Bellarmine refers to it, among his proofs that the apostle died at Rome. Coster does the same; and, later still, Noel Alexander uses it for a credible and availing testimony. Yet the writer whom the two former of those controversialists describe as having been near the times of the apostles, had many years before been proved by internal evidence to have lived after the emperors Gratian and Theodosius.² If we contrast this idle story with the clear intimation recorded in scripture, in obedience to which Paul went to die at Rome, we shall see still more plainly how unworthy of notice it is. And yet for ages it formed the mainstay of the Roman tradition.³ Eusebius mentions, as a current report, that the apostles Peter and Paul were put to death at Rome, and he refers to the existence of their tombs in that city as evidence of its truth. The argument is repeated by others⁴, as if it carried some weight; and yet we know that the

De Rom.
pont. lib. ii.
c. iii. p. 158.
Enchir.
c. iii. p. 131.

Hist. eccles.
lib. iii. c.
xxv. p. 67.

¹ "Domine, quo vadis? Jesus Christus: Romam iterum crucifigi. Extat sacellum eo in loco, ubi hæc verba sunt habita."—P. 8.

² The work of Laurence de la Barre, which shows this beyond denial, was published in 1583. See Coci censura patrum, p. 62.; Cave, Hist. lit. sæc. iv. p. 169; Bellarmine, De script. eccles. p. 75.

³ "Petrus Apostolus martyrio certissimè coronatus, prædicente Christo Joh. xxi. 18. Dubium verò an sufflux

cruci, an decollatus; an Romæ ut constanter volunt, an Babylone; an eodem die et anno cum Paulo, an diversis. Nec enim fabulis aut incertis narrationibus est modus."—*F. Spanhemii Introd. sæc. i. p. 172.*

⁴ Coster says: "Testantur hoc quoque eorum sacri cineres, qui non alibi quàm Romæ asservantur; et loca passionum, B. Pauli ad tres fontes, B. Petri in Vaticano."—*Enchirid. c. iii. p. 160.*

Martyrs' tombs furnish no evidence.

site of a martyr's memorial does not imply that he died in the place where it is erected. Tombs were raised in various and distant parts in honour of the same person, and often in such as he was known to have never visited. But if the evidence were unimpeachable, and the death of the apostle at Rome as clearly ascertained as any historical fact, it would prove nothing for the present argument. His martyrdom at Rome would by no means imply that he was bishop of the see.

Vindication of Church of England, p. 139.

Not only, however, has the martyrdom of Peter at Rome been denied, but also his presence in that city at all. "Some very learned men," says bishop Bull, "have observed that the whole tradition of St. Peter's voyage to Rome was first derived from Papias, an author indeed very ancient, but also very credulous, and of a mean judgment." Bishop Pearson is the chief authority among ourselves for the residence and death of the apostle in Rome. His name is never to be mentioned without respect; yet we must remember that persons whose adequate learning cannot be questioned have formed a contrary conclusion. Thus, Spanheim maintains that Peter never was in Rome.¹ Salmasius asserts that there is no better evidence for Peter having gone thither than for the preaching of James in Spain, or of Joseph of Arimathea in Britain; and that by calculation of dates it is proved with the utmost certainty that the apostle was never at Rome.² Scaliger says that no one moderately learned can believe Peter's journey to Rome, his session for twenty-five years, or his capital punishment there.³ Ranke

¹ In his treatise *De fictâ profectioe Petri Apostoli in urbem Romam*.

² "Qui Petrum Romæ fuisse potest credere sane credat et Jacobum in Hispaniâ prædicasse evangelium, et Josephum Arimatheæ in Britannîâ. Nec verior est relatio quæ Andream dat Constantinopoli, sive antiquo Byzantiõ, quàm ea quæ Romæ Petrum. Et temporum etiam ratione certo certius comprobari potest, Petrum Romæ

nunquam fuisse."—*Apparat. ad lib. de prim.* p. 15.

³ Speaking of the manner of Peter's death, he says: "Sed neque Romæ potuit, quum Romæ nunquam fuerit." And again: "De ejus Romam adventu et supremo capitis supplicio ibidem, nemo qui paulo humanior fuerit, credere possit."—Page 7. of the notes which Scaliger appended to an edition of the new testament.

speaks cautiously and truly: "Historical criticism has shown that it is a matter of doubt whether the apostle ever was at Rome at all."

Ref. b. ii.
ch. 3. p. 472.

It may be true that Peter went to Rome between the two visits of Paul, that is, about A. D. 63, though this is only a conjecture, and is utterly denied by many, whose capacity for judging such questions is unimpeachable; and it certainly rests on no such evidence as that by which we are bound to believe his presence at Jerusalem and Antioch, or that Paul visited Rome and administered the affairs of the church in that city. Yet the statement thus reasonably controverted, is indispensable to the Roman case. Bellarmine confesses that the whole right of the popes has its foundation in the assumed fact that Peter established his seat at Rome by divine command, and that he occupied it till his death.¹ There could hardly be a more important assertion, or one supported by more doubtful testimony.

It is an indispensable inquiry whether the privileges alleged to descend from Peter, were personal or local. If the former, they belonged to the apostle alone and could not reach his successors, except by a separate grant, according to a well-known rule of law.² If they were local, it needs to be explained how they became attached to the see of Rome; for supposing that original dignity and pre-eminence are to be considered, then the claim of Jerusalem is far better, which Jerome calls the parent church, and of which Epiphanius says that our Lord appointed James its first bishop. It cannot depend on priority of institution, for the churches of Judæa, and Galilee, and Samaria, of Antioch and Cæsarea, were previously founded. Nor will the occupation of the see by Peter avail, because he is equally said to have been bishop of Antioch, which was the first-born of the gentile churches, and always held in

Privileges
either
personal or
local.

¹ "Jus successionis pontificum Romanorum in eo fundatur quòd Petrus Romæ sedem suam jubente Domino collocaverit, atque ibidem usque ad

mortem sederit."—*De R. Pont.* lib. ii. c. 1. p. 156.

² Privilegium personale personam sequitur, et cum personâ extinguitur.

the highest respect. The distinction between Rome as the permanent and final see of Peter, and Antioch as the temporary, is frivolous, as Blondel says ¹, and is evidently a rule invented to provide for a case previously existing. If all privileges brought by a bishop remain the property of his see, as they assert, the claim of Antioch, supposing the Roman statement true, would be indefeasible. Again, it is said that the bishop of Rome succeeds to the spiritual monarchy because Peter died in possession of that see. But, without insisting on the extreme doubtfulness of the assumed facts, we may ask where the law is to be found which makes a bishop heir to his predecessor, in anything beyond the see to which he succeeds. "For matter of right," says archbishop Bramhall, "I do absolutely deny, that St. Peter's death at Rome doth entitle the bishop of Rome as his successor to all or any of those privileges and prerogatives which he held in another capacity, and not as he was bishop of Rome." And again, "If they could show out of scripture that Christ appointed the bishops of Rome to succeed St. Peter in a spiritual monarchy, it would strike the question dead; or that St. Peter did design the bishop of Rome to be his successor in his apostolical power; or, lastly, that the catholic church did ever elect the Roman bishops to be their ecclesiastical sovereigns, it were something; but they do not so much as pretend to any such thing." To use the words of Dr. Barrow, "The ground of this preference was, say they, St. Peter's will: and they have reason to say so; for otherwise if St. Peter had died intestate, the elder son of Antioch would have had the best right to all his goods and dignities. But how doth that will appear? In what tables was it written? In what registers is it extant? In whose presence did he nuncupate it? It is no where to be seen or heard of." The mere fact of Peter's death at Rome, if it could be established beyond dispute,

Rep. to bp.
of Chalce-
don, iii.
p. 165.

Ibid.

Treatise of
the Sup.
p. 143.

St. Peter's
death at
Rome no

¹ "La distinction est aussi frivole du transitoire et relatif, &c." — *De la* siège final et absolu de S. Pierre, et du *primauté*, p. 601.

would carry no such consequence as the transmission of monarchical power to future bishops. Christ died at Jerusalem ; therefore, if the reason were valid, the claim of this city would be far greater.¹

proof of his bishopric.

Bellarmino holds that the pontifical dignity was personal in its original institution, but that it became local by the act of Peter.² There is, of course, no evidence at all for this statement, and it can only be received by that pious belief to which so much that is incredible is referred³, and which in the mouth of a Roman controversialist means no more than the receiving something indispensable to his case, but for which he has no evidence to produce. It has never been explained how piety is concerned in admitting a doubtful allegation. In the words of Mason, "Let us suppose that Christ instituted a monarchy in the person of Peter : how did it become local instead of personal? This certainly was not by the institution of Christ, for he did not select any place at all."⁴ Augustine Reding, a considerable writer, says, that Peter brought with him to the see which he had chosen the unlimited and universal power of the pastoral charge, which, being by its institution transferable, descended to his successors ; and this, he says, was the universal opinion of the Greeks and Latins. For this statement he quotes as authority, among other documents, some which, at the time that he wrote, were known to be spurious.⁵ The biographer of the popes

¹ "Ut Christus præferri debet Petro, ita sane locus ubi mortuus est Christus præferendus est loco in quo mortem obiit Petrus, siquidem ex morte privilegium loci, ubi mors contigit, accedit."—*Salmasius, De Prim.* xxi. p. 373.

Archbishop Nilus uses the same argument : "Profecto Hierosolymorum sedes major digniorque erit, cum ibi Servator noster Jesus Christus vivificam mortem obierit."—*De primatu papæ*, p. 53.

² "Respondeo, ex primâ Christi institutione dignitatem pontificalem fuisse personalem, tamen ex facto Petri fac-

tam esse postea localem, &c."—*De R. Pont.* lib. ii. c. 12. p. 165.

³ Bishop Andrewes says shrewdly : "Pietate magnâ opus puto, quâ credat quis, ut factum Petri, id est, humanum, sit rei ratio, quæ ab instituto Christi est, id est, divina, &c."—*Tortura Torti*, s. cexxxv. p. 280.

⁴ "Fingamus Christum in personâ Petri instituisse monarchiam ; sed quomodo ex personali facta est localis ? Hoc certè non est ex instituto Christi, quia Christus nullum omnino locum designavit."—*De min. Ang.* iv. c. 4. p. 451.

⁵ *Diss. Controv.* iv. s. 1. c. 3. p. 203,

egend. goes somewhat farther, and tells us that Peter, having returned to Rome for martyrdom, immediately consecrated Clement to be his successor, saying to him, "I deliver to thee the same power of binding and absolving which Christ left to me."¹ It is probable that there is no educated member of the Romish church who would not now disown this foolish legend; but it is never to be forgotten, that upon such foundations as these the edifice of the great spiritual monarchy was built. We find later controversialists using arguments so manifestly insufficient for the weighty conclusions laid upon them, as to prove that the reasons which served a credulous and uncritical age could ill be spared. Scripture evidence there is, by universal acknowledgment, none to produce; and in the considerations which are urged there is an entire want of force and harmony. Thus Becan insists that, because the form of government was not changed on the death of Peter, there must be a visible head, and it can be no one but the pope²; Melchior Cano, that if there were no descent of Peter's authority, God would have shown more regard to the synagogue than to the church³; Baronius, that if Peter had no successor the sheep would be left without a shepherd, the body without a head, the foundation without a structure⁴; Coster, that in such a condition of the church there would be no one to provide for converting the heathen, or dealing with heretics, or preserving uniformity; Bellarmine, that the pontificate must remain after the death of Peter, because it was instituted, not for his advantage,

Incon-
clusive and
inadequate
reasons for
spiritual
headship.

Enchir. iii.
p. 120, 121.

204. He cites Dionysius de div. nom.; Hippolytus de consum. mundi; and Hegesippus de excidio Hieros.

¹ "Statim Clementem episcopum consecrat, eique cathedram et ecclesiam Dei commendat his verbis: Eandem ego tibi potestatem ligandi, et absolvendi trado, quam mihi Christus reliquit."—*Platina, Vit. Petri*, p. 8.

² "Cum ergo post mortem Petri, non sit facta mutatio in regimine ecclesie, necesse est Petro successisse aliquem, qui eodem modo qui Petrus ecclesiam

gubernaret. Nec alius assignari potest quam pontifex."—*Man. cont.* i. 4. 61. p. 74.

³ "Non ergo Petro solum ea potestas collata est a Domino, sed ad posteros quoque transiit. Nisi Deus majorem synagogæ curam habuerit, quam ecclesie."—*De locis theolog.* lib. vi. c. 3. p. 374.

⁴ "Gregem sine pastore, corpus sine capite, fundamentum sine structurâ."—*Ann.* 34. p. 205.

but for the benefit of the church¹; while Stapleton contends that the perpetual succession of supreme governors in the place of Peter is implied in the terms of Christ's promise.² What the case requires, on the supposition of Peter's supremacy, is the production of some clear evidence that provision was actually made for a succession to his prerogatives, and that it was limited to the see of Rome. Instead of which, we have only the attempt to maintain the descent of supreme authority by the supposed necessity of the case.³

These, and such as these, were the best arguments discoverable by acute and learned men when the great system of spiritual usurpation was put upon its defence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The existing system of ecclesiastical power had to be explained by some plausible hypothesis. It really originated in secular causes alone, and every step by which it rose to its condition of strength is marked as clearly as any historical fact. It had grown by little and little to its greatness, until the successive generations which had lived under its influence had forgotten to inquire about its beginnings. The crisis took the Roman church by surprise, and found it unprepared with any availing defence. Scripture was found to be silent on the subject of an ecclesiastical monarchy, and not a word was to be produced from the fathers which even looked favourable to it. There was a necessity for producing some reasons, in answer to the clear and specific statements of the reformers; but, as it occurs in such emergencies, there was not only a manifest want of concert among the champions of the Roman cause, some

Real origin
of the power
claimed.

¹ "Pontificatus, qui non in Petri commodum, sed in ecclesiæ utilitatem institutus erat."—*De R. Pont.* lib. ii. c. 12. p. 163.

² "Illud enim Christi, ædificabo, perpetuitatem notat, &c. Debet ergo semper esse aliquis Petrus super quem illa ædificatur."—*Promptuarium Cath.* pars ii. p. 194.

³ "Non potrebbe al certo avvenir altrimenti," are the words of an anonymous treatise published early in the present century (*Il R. P. vero vescovo di tutta la Chiesa di G. C., Roma, 1803*). And the main part of the arguments adduced amounts to no more than this.

desiring to vindicate the whole, and some to concede a portion, but the same persons found themselves reduced to self-contradiction in their attempt to maintain theories imposed on them by the compulsion of the time. It was the case of men who, on a sudden attack, caught up weapons which they had no time to prove. Bellarmine, for instance, expresses opinions, even in the same chapter, which are inconsistent with each other. He first says that the succession of the pope to the pontificate of Peter is by divine institution; and then he states it as not improbable that Peter placed his seat at Rome by divine command; that is, he reduces a distinct affirmation in one place to the lowest degree of probability in another; and then the question is dismissed as if it might be indifferently ruled either way. In one page he says that the apostle might have remained without any fixed see, and have left the choice of a primate to the church; in the next, he states that Peter fixed his bishopric at Rome not without divine intimation; and afterwards he asserts that he did so by command of Christ, and he cites as his authority a letter of Marcellus which that pope certainly did not write.¹ And yet upon the point stated with so much hesitation and inconsistency the whole system depends. His entire argument resolves itself into a question of fact. If Peter were not bishop of Rome by direct appointment of Christ, it is hopeless to claim divine right for his successors.

It is the same with the great body of Roman writers.

Bellarmino
self-contradictory.

¹ "Successio Romani pontificis in pontificatum Petri ex instituto Christi est."—*De R. P.* lib. ii. c. 12. p. 164.

"Non est improbable Dominum etiam apertè jussisse ut sedem suam Petrus ita figeret Romæ, ut Romanus episcopus absolutè ei succederet, sed quicquid de hoc sit, saltem ista ratio successionis non est ex primâ institutione pontificatûs, quæ in evangelio legitur."—*Ibid.*

"Potuisset Petrus nullam sedem particularem sibi unquam eligere, sicut

fecit primis quinque annis, et tunc moriente Petro, non episcopus Romanus, neque Antiochus successisset, sed is quem ecclesia sibi elegisset."—*Ibid.*

"Neque id sine divino nutu."—*Ibid.* p. 165.

"Id autem Deum jussisse testatur B. Marcellus papa et martyr in epistolâ ad Antiochenos."—*Lib. iv. c. 4. p. 211.*

"Neque Scriptura, neque traditio habet, sedem apostolicam ita fixam esse Romæ, ut inde auferri non possit."—*Ib.*

If we ask by whom the supreme authority was bestowed, or by what title it is held, we shall receive the most discordant statements in reply ; for it is a point which has never been ruled in the Roman church, whether the pope succeeds to his power *jure divino* or *jure ecclesiastico*; and yet the difference is as wide as we can well imagine. No decision has ever been pronounced, though everything is at stake on the question.¹ On the one side it is said that the bishop of Rome was constituted by Christ himself successor of Peter in the charge of the church universal, with the privilege of indefectibility attached to his see. On the other side, there are cardinals and great doctors who maintain that the pope has his prerogatives only by the choice of the church, and that, if there were general consent, the archbishop of Treves, or any other, might be substituted in his place. While a third class ascribe the supremacy partly to the institution of Christ, and partly to the act of Peter. Yet nothing can be more reasonable, where such vast consequences are involved, than to demand a clear account of the conveyance by which the great powers in question have descended to their present possessor. If they were bestowed by Christ, where is the scripture record? If they were limited to a particular see by Peter, where is the evidence that he either had the requisite authority, or that he ever used it? If the bishop of Rome was chosen by the church to the supreme pastoral charge, we ought to be told who established this elective monarchy, and in what great synod this most important franchise was exercised. We might grant all the alleged facts in the history of Peter, that he lived at Rome and performed episcopal functions there, that he was put to death by Nero, and that he had a successor in the see ; but the establishment of the Roman case would be as far off

No clear statement of the origin of the supremacy.

¹ Gregory de Valentia, among other great theologians, speaks much about the importance of the question : “ Re-fert non parum hoc scire, &c.” “ Ego vero hęc de re varias reperio sententias

doctorum.” And he proceeds to enumerate many irreconcilable opinions held by eminent Roman writers. *Analysis Fid. Cath.* vii. c. 12. p. 80.

as ever, unless it could be proved (as of course it never can) that there was a succession to his gifts and qualifications. The apostolical office was incommunicable. To have seen Christ in the flesh, to be witnesses of the resurrection, to be joint founders of the christian church, to provide for its government and discipline so as to furnish binding precedents, were privileges in which neither Peter nor his colleagues could have heirs. The Rhemist annotators do, indeed, affirm that the office of the pope is an apostleship¹; but Bellarmine allows that it is not.²

On Eph.
iv. 11.

The Roman church is certainly not deficient in the number of its dogmatic statements. It is, indeed, pervaded by the spirit of defining; and yet, on a matter which forms the keystone of its whole complicated system, there is no authoritative judgment to be found. We ask for a doctrine, and we are put off with an opinion. There is a choice of theories, but that is all. No one has anything to offer beyond a conjecture: it may be ingenious, or even probable, but it is only a conjecture still; and if we think it untrue, there is another, and yet another, presented for our acceptance. But no person ventures to say of any one of them, that this is sanctioned by the Roman church, and that the rest are condemned. And let us remember that the schemes so shrewdly invented involve, not only a considerable difference, but an absolute contradiction. They cannot co-exist; and to accept the one is to condemn the others. If Christ himself bestowed the supreme power, and limited its line of descent, then to attribute its origin to any one besides is mere profaneness. If

Various
theories, but
nothing
more.

¹ Dr. Moehler uses the expression "perpetuated apostleship," whatever it may imply, in the enumeration of means provided for a right reception of the written word. Symbolism, part i. c. 5. s. 38.

² Bellarmine, as usual, not only contradicts his fellow Romanists, but himself also, on this question. In answer to the objection that the pope is not an apostle, and therefore cannot succeed Peter in the apostolical power, which

extended to the whole church, he supposes three things in the apostleship, — of which the first, implying inspiration, he does not claim for the pope, but he affirms that the other two belong to him. De Rom. Pont. ii. c. 12. p. 164. Subsequently he abandons this ground, and affirms, simply, that the pope succeeds Peter, not as an apostle, but as ordinary pastor of the church. Ibid. iv. c. 25. p. 230.

Peter bequeathed it by divine direction, then the alleged subsequent act of the church is an affront to his authority, as if it were insufficient. This broad irreconcilable difference does not exist merely upon a speculative matter, about which some diversity might be harmlessly allowed, but its consequences are as practical as possible, and are bound up with the whole action of the church. Of the two theories which are the widest apart each is the index of a separate school, the divergence of which is conclusive against the claim of unity. With the one class, the pope derives his title solely from the institution of Christ, and therefore they have not scrupled to ascribe to him divine prerogatives, and to set him above all human judgment. With the other, he holds his primacy by the appointment of the church, to which, as an inferior, he is held to be in all things responsible. One canonist calls him our Lord God the pope; another compares him to the president of a French parliament. The Roman communion is compelled to endure both these parties. A mere act of authority will not enable the ultramontanes to get rid of the moderates, because it is upon the allowance of the authority that the whole question turns.

Roman controversialists are accustomed to allege the uninterrupted line of pontiffs, from the days of the apostles to the present time.¹ There is indeed no church to which the succession is so important. The council of Florence, which calls the pope vicar of Christ, head of the whole church, father and teacher of all Christendom, derives his

¹ Cardinal Wiseman, after citing from Irenæus what this father never wrote, adds, "from that moment the series of popes is certain and uninterrupted to the present day."—*Lecture* viii. p. 278.

Dr. Milner tells us that "this attribute of perpetual succession is peculiar to the see of Rome; for in all the other churches founded by the apostles, as those of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Corinth, Ephesus, Smyrna, &c., owing to internal dissensions and ex-

ternal violence, the succession of their bishops has, at different times, been broken and confounded."—*End of contro.* letter xxviii. p. 214.

Gother says that the church of Rome "alone has an uninterrupted succession of her pastors from the apostles of Christ."—*Papist misrepresented and represented*, p. 85.

Bellarmino alleges the succession of Roman bishops to the present time as the fifth note of the true church. *De notis ecclesiæ*, c. v. p. 288.

prerogatives solely by inheritance from the apostle Peter. Yet they are no more able to tell us who succeeded to the bishopric, and in what order, than to establish the law of succession itself, by proof of any kind. The question of fact is just as unsettled as the question of right. We have seen plainly enough that St. Peter himself never exercised any supremacy. But if the force of the evidence had been all the other way, and it had been proved that he had derived from his master an authority similar in kind to that which is now asserted; and if we were to go farther still, and assume, which is an extravagant supposition, that he had received direction to bequeath his privilege to the pope, it would still be impossible to prove that the present bishop of Rome has succeeded to it by inheritance, for there is no church whose records have descended to us, in which the succession has been more completely and hopelessly destroyed.

Confusion
in the early
history of
the popes.

The inextricable confusion begins at the close of the first century, and with the alleged immediate successors of the apostle. The name of Linus, which is foremost on the list commonly received, suggests insurmountable difficulties. It is not agreed whether he preceded or followed Clement; whether he was assistant to Peter, supplying his place during his absences, and dying before the apostle, or whether he survived him and occupied the see by his appointment for twelve years; while it is denied by the highest authority in the Roman church that he was a bishop at all.¹ The conclusion which archbishop Bramhall alleges seems to be inevitable. "If St. Peter had not only a primacy of order, but also of power and jurisdiction over the rest of the apostles, then his successors Linus, and Cletus, and Clement were superior to St. John, and he was their subject, and lived under their jurisdiction, which no reasonable christian will easily believe." Then,

Rep. to the
bp. of
Chalcedon,
part i.
discourse 3.

¹ "Je sçai bien que Jean III. du nom, pape, l'ôte de l'ordre et du rang des pontifes, et dit qu'il n'exerça jamais la charge ny la puissance épiscopale." — *Du Chesne, Histoire des papes*, tom. i. p. 5.

again, it is an unsettled question where we are to place Clement. Tertullian, with Ruffin and most of the Latins, says that he was the first after the apostles; Optatus and Augustine, that he was the second; Irenæus and Jerome, that he was the third; while the apostolical constitutions, to complete the hopeless confusion, say that Paul ordained Linus in the first place, and Peter, Clement, in the second. There is the same want of agreement among more modern writers. Anastasius, called the librarian, who may be considered the earliest biographer of the popes, follows the order of Irenæus; Platina and Du Chesne have done the same; yet Onuphrius, the continuator of Platina, and writing a century later, reverses the order. His arrangement is followed by Coster, and rejected by Bellarmine; and of later catalogues, equally sanctioned by authority, some adopt the one order, some, the other.¹

The very attempts which have been made to reconcile these differences prove that they are held to be not unimportant. Bellarmine, for instance, says that before his martyrdom Peter appointed Clement to the bishopric of Rome; and that, after the death of the apostle, he was unwilling to occupy it during the lives of Linus and Cletus, who had been coadjutors of Peter.² He calls this a holy contest, having its origin in humility; and yet, according to other Roman writers, it could not possibly have occurred, since Linus had been some time dead. And, in a letter of pope John III. to the bishops of Germany and Gaul, Linus and Cletus are declared to have been coadjutors of Peter, exercising no distinct episcopal charge, and Clement to have been his successor.³ Noel Alexander,

Attempts to
reconcile
different
lists of
popes.

¹ The Roman breviary says of Linus, "Primus post Petrum gubernavit ecclesiam."—*In Festo S. Lini*, Sept. 23.

Baronius assumes Linus to have been the successor of Peter, but upon the poorest evidence. He states the opposite opinion of those who place Cletus first; and establishes nothing, except the utter uncertainty and darkness in which the question is involved.

² "Post Petri obitum sancta contentio ex humilitate nata est, et unus fuit, et alter esse debuit primus successor Petri, inde nonnulla obscuritas in hanc successionem invecta est."—*De Rom. Pont.* lib. ii. c. 5. p. 160.

³ This letter is cited in the *Lives of the popes*, ascribed to Luitprand, bishop of Cremona: "Linum namque et Cletum nihil legitur unquam egisse ex

who also adopts the notion of assistant bishops, supposes that Clement did not at once assume the office committed to him by Peter, but remained bishop-designate, or, as we should say in modern phrase, he had the reversion of the see, and did not assume the actual administration, but lived in retirement until after the death of Linus and Cletus, and that he did this with the consent of the clergy and people of Rome to prevent the establishment of an injurious precedent.¹ Now it is obvious that these and some similar statements are mere fictions, without even the pretence of any authority, and that they only appeal to the wilful credulity of very determined partisans. Among the rules of the early church there was hardly one more stringent than that which forbade two bishops to be placed in the same city. The council of Nice gave it the authority of a formal canon, which was again and again recognised and enforced. Thus, Innocent I., writing to the clergy and people of Constantinople, condemned the appointment of another bishop during the incumbency of John, as an act which had no precedent.² So, when the emperor desired that Liberius should occupy the see of Rome jointly with Felix, the proposition was unanimously rejected as a thing unheard of.³ Again, in the days of Cornelius and Novatian, no person certainly believed that there might be more than one bishop in one place. If it could have been proved lawful by so great an example as that of Peter, an argument of such weight would not have been omitted. Even coadjutor bishops, properly so called, were not known till long afterwards. The commentator

Roman view contradicted by the laws of the primitive church.

pontificali ministerio potestativè ; sed quantum eis à B. Petro præcipiebatur, tantum solùm agebant.”—*Lib. de pont. R. vitis, op. Luitprandi*, p. 169.

¹ “Non sequitur quòd Romanam sedem immediatè post illum conscenderit. Designatus quidem fuerat à S. Petro Romanæ et universalis ecclesiæ episcopus.” And again : “Hæc mala ecclesiæ impendentia auguratus S. Clemens, pontificatum gerere renuit post S. Petrum, nec suscepit nisi post Cle-

tum, à Cleto proclamatus et coactus.”—*Nat. Alexandri Hist. eccles. sæc. 1. diss. 14. p. 155.*

² “Neque enim talia unquam a patribus nostris gesta esse comperimus.”—*Sozom. Hist. eccles. lib. viii. c. 26. p. 795.*

³ “Omnes unâ voce acclamarunt : Unus Deus, Unus Christus, Unus Episcopus.”—*Theod. Hist. eccles. lib. ii. c. 17. p. 96.*

on Eusebius mentions that the case of Alexander was the first which occurred.¹ And, besides this, the coadjutor was not ordained bishop until after the death of the incumbent of the see, lest there should be two bishops in the same place, and then not without election by the clergy and people.² It is remarkable, also, that the example of Moses was urged for the custom of appointing an assistant to the bishop, and not that of Peter, as it doubtless would have been, if there were any truth in the story of his appointing assistants to himself. To suppose, with some, that Clement was bishop of the Jewish converts, and Linus and Cletus of the gentile, would not only imply that the subsequent rule was contrary to the earliest precedents, but also that the very purpose of the gospel to abolish such distinctions was overlooked. Bishop Pearson argues conclusively against the notion of two bishops at Rome in the days of Peter.³ The Roman church was mainly if not entirely composed of gentile Christians, and, as Salmasius has observed, the first bishops bore gentile names.⁴

But the history of the pretended bishopric of Peter is, throughout, antagonistic to the spirit of discipline which was afterwards embodied in the laws of the church. Thus, translations from one see to another, though not absolutely forbidden, were as much as possible discouraged.⁵

Translation
of bishops
forbidden.

¹ "Superstiti episcopo adjutor et coepiscopus est adjunctus. Atque hoc primum exemplum occurrit coadjutorum episcoporum."—*Valesii Annot. in lib. vi. c. 2. p. 115.*

² See Thomassini *Vet. et nov. dis. part ii. lib. 2. cc. 55, 56. p. 342.*

³ "Novum igitur erat hoc commentum de duobus aut tribus episcopis simul Romæ presidentibus, nec veterum cuiquam cognitum."—*Op. Post. diss. ii. c. 3. p. 161.*

⁴ "Ex gentibus fuisse nomina ipsorum indicant, Clemens, Linus, Cletus vel Anacletus, &c."—*Apparat. ad lib. de primatu, p. 45.*

⁵ Translations were discountenanced by the eleventh apostolical canon; forbidden by the fifteenth canon of Nice, and the act declared invalid; and by the first canon of Sardica, the denial of communion was made the penalty. In the words of Van Espen, "Innumeri sunt ecclesiæ canones, et pontificum decreta, hanc disciplinam stabilientes, canonesque Nicænos et Sardicensis innovantes."—*Jus eccles. i. tit. xv. c. 5. p. 120.*

See also Thomassini *Vet. et Nov. Dis. part ii. lib. 2. c. 60. p. 353.*

Some rare case might occur in which, for the benefit of the church, and by consent of a provincial synod, a bishop was allowed to change one see for another, but the rule was ordinarily enforced against such removals; and the bond which attached a bishop to his see was represented by the closeness of the marriage union. We find Eusebius commended by the emperor for refusing to quit the see of Cæsarea for that of Antioch, on the ground that he was acting according to the divine commands and the ecclesiastical rule.¹ It is very remarkable too, that in the church of Rome no instance occurred of translation to that see from any other, until near the end of the ninth century, when Formosus was promoted from the bishopric of Porto; and even in this case it was urged that he was no true pope, because he had been transferred from another place. In the same manner the absence of bishops from their churches was strictly prohibited; and the very caution with which exceptional cases were allowed expresses the importance attached to the rule.² The duty of personal and constant residence was assumed to belong to the very nature of the episcopal charge, and it was enforced with the more strictness, in proportion as the office itself was held in reverence. The greatest of the fathers, and the most considerable of the councils, dwell much on the weight of obligation which lies on the chief pastors to be continually present with their flocks. Again, it was strictly forbidden that a bishop should appoint his successor. The council of Antioch, of which Dupin and others speak in the highest praise, passed a canon to en-

Residence
enjoined.

Can. xxiii.

¹ "Rectissimè fecit prudentia tua, quæ et mandata Dei, et apostolicam atque ecclesiasticam regulam custodire statuit, episcopatum Antiochensis ecclesiæ repudiâns, et in eo potius permanere desiderans, quem Dei mandatu ab initio suscepisset."—*Euseb. de vit. Const.* lib. iii. c. 61. p. 518.

² The eleventh canon of Sardica for-

bids a bishop to be absent from his see for more than three weeks, unless by necessity. Van Espen, referring to the great duties laid upon a bishop, adds: "Quæ omnia cum sint personalia ipsis personis alligata, residentiæ personalis obligationem secum trahunt."—*Jus eccles.* part i. tit. xvi. c. 8. p. 133.

force this regulation ; and it was observed, in the church of Rome especially, with great exactness and uniformity.

These rules are obviously in strong contrast with the supposed acts of St. Peter. The case stands thus, according to the Roman tradition : he sat as bishop for seven years at Antioch among the Jewish Christians, of whom he had the especial charge ; and then removed his seat to Rome, where he presided for twenty-five years, over the gentile converts, whose apostle he was not. He divided the bishopric with Paul, and ordained two other persons besides as bishops in the same city. During this period he was very frequently absent, in places as distant from Rome as Jerusalem, and Babylon, and Cappadocia. Nay, it is said, on authority much regarded in the Roman church¹, that the seven years at Antioch formed part of the episcopate at Rome ; and, finally, that during his life the apostle ordained a third person to the Roman bishopric, though which of the three was his successor no one is able to tell. The difficulty of maintaining such a statement is great and obvious ; and it would not be at all removed by admitting the plenary power of St. Peter. He was, as they affirm, the great doctor of the church, whose office it became to rule all questions of faith, and to establish permanently the system of ecclesiastical order and discipline. His life, with all its circumstances, is, on this theory, bound up in the history of all future ages. His acts formed a most important part of his instruction ; yet we are required to believe that in all these particulars he followed a course in which, by the plain letter of canons and decrees without number, those who come after him are forbidden to imitate his example ; and, what is still more incredible, that, in the many cases of those who were compelled to obey, or were punished for disobedience,

The alleged example of St. Peter.

¹ Barclay, among others, speaks in the highest terms of Platina's History of the popes. De potest. papæ, c. xl. p. 160.

there were none who pleaded a precedent which would have carried the utmost weight in their favour.¹

Cletus and
Anacletus.

There is another very perplexing circumstance in connection with the line of descent which is said to be so clear and unquestionable. Among the names of the first supposed successors of St. Peter are those of two popes, Cletus, said to have been a Roman, and Anacletus, an Athenian. They are commemorated in the martyrologies, the one on the 26th of April, the other on the 13th of July. Their names are inserted in the breviary. Their parentage and acts, their characters, and deaths are described. Writers of some eminence have given the period to which the pontificate of each extended, calculated even to the exact number of days. Some modern pontificals even state that one of these popes divided Rome into twenty-five parishes, and built the church of St. Peter; and the body of the other is said to be preserved in that city.² And yet it is beyond all reasonable denial, as bishop Pearson has amply proved, that these two popes, of whose separate histories we have such exact memorials, were one and the same.³ Eusebius makes them one; and his learned editor supposes that the name of Cletus was formed by mutilation from Anacletus, or Anencletus, as it was written by the Greeks.⁴ He cites Optatus and Augustine for their identity, and he might have added Irenæus and Cyprian, Jerome and Epiphanius, as well as the canon of the mass, for which Bossuet and others claim the weight of primitive antiquity. Noel Alexander assumes that they

Diss. ii.
c. 1. p. 146.

¹ Dr. Barrow does, indeed, refer to an epistle of Pelagius II., in which the example of Peter's removal from Antioch to Rome is alleged, but it is certainly not genuine. Cave says truly of this and some other epistles ascribed to the same pope: "Supposititias esse agnoscunt ipsi conciliorum editores."—*Hist. lit. sæc. vi.* p. 348.

² See Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, April 26. vol. i. p. 520. This writer maintains that Cletus and Ana-

cletus were distinct persons. His chief dependence is on the Liberian calendar, which, however, Dodwell had long before shown to be destitute of authority. *Diss. singularis*, c. vii. p. 90.

³ Spanheim says of Anacletus: "Qui doctissimis viris idem est cum Cleto."—*Introduct. ad hist. V. et N. Test.* sæc. ii. s. 9. p. 234.

⁴ "Ex quo patet unum eundemque Cletum et Anenclatum."—*Valesii Annot. in lib. iii. c. 13.* p. 49.

are one, as a matter beyond dispute, and defends his opinion at considerable length against the censors by whom it was called in question, and he ventures to suggest that the martyrology and breviary are capable of amendment.¹ Bellarmine maintains that they were two persons, on the ground that the church, which assigned separate days in the calendar, could not be deceived.² Baronius endeavours to support the same opinion; but he has no better testimony to produce than that of martyrologies which were not written till centuries later, and are all derived from the pontifical ascribed to Damasus, but which was really a forgery of the eighth or ninth century. Bolland grants that they were one and the same; but, in order to account for the accredited position of the two names, he supposes that Cletus resigned the see to Clement, and then received it again from him. Cardinal Orsi in the last century, and Dr. Milner in the present, held that they were two; but the catalogues of popes published by authority generally make them one.

We cannot wonder that bishop Stillingfleet should say, of such a succession as this, that "it is as muddy as the Tiber itself." Scaliger states truly, that there is no certainty in the records of the church from the close of the Acts of the Apostles to the time of Pliny the Younger.³ Even Roman writers make similar admissions. Thus Petau says that there is little else but fables and uncertain stories⁴; Du Chesne, that it is not easy to say who were the first and immediate successors of Peter⁵; Noel Alexander, that there is disagreement among chronologists in

Irenicum,
part ii. c. 6.
p. 322.

¹ "Martyrologia verò et brevaria emendari poterunt, cum summis pontificibus videbitur." — *Hist. eccles.* sæc. i. diss. 14. p. 156.

² "Nec enim credibile est in re tantâ ecclesiam universam falli." — *De Rom. pont.* lib. ii. c. 5. p. 160.

³ "A fine actorum apostolicorum ad tempora Plinii junioris, nihil certi haberi in historia ecclesiæ." — (*Quoted by Spanheim*, sæc. i. s. 5. p. 155.)

⁴ "Pleraque fabulis et incertis narrationibus aspersa sunt." — *Petavii ration.* temp. pars. i. lib. 5. c. 5. p. 185.

⁵ "Il est bien mal-aisé de dire quels ont été les premiers et plus proches successeurs de S. Pierre, attendu que les grands, et plus anciens écrivains de l'église en parlent et brièvement et diversement." — *Histoire des papes*, tom. i. p. 4.

assigning the dates of the earliest pontiffs, and no certainty in the narrative of their acts, except what is related of St. Peter in the scriptures.¹

Bishop Andrewes suggests that this uncertainty about the early succession of Roman bishops, and the first successor of Peter, may have been divinely appointed to prevent us from trusting to such a dependence.² Yet it is on the evidence of records so obscure and self-contradictory, and about which there is so little agreement among Romanists themselves, that the line is maintained by which the bishops of Rome are connected with St. Peter.

Different catalogues of popes.

The uncertainties and contradictions, which begin with the history of the primitive ages, were perpetuated through many centuries. The lists of Roman bishops produced at different times and in different places do not correspond. The genuine pope in one, is the antipope in another; and sometimes rivals are inserted, whose claims were antagonistic. Du Chesne gives us a catalogue of no fewer than forty-two persons whom he calls antipopes, and yet some of them were believed to have been legitimate popes; their pretensions were maintained by a multitude of persons who professed dutiful allegiance to the Roman church. They had the judgment of able canonists, and many of the best and wisest men of the age on their side. Some cases are so full of perplexity, that no one pretends to decide them with any authority. Consent among Roman writers on this important subject there is none. Even councils, which are called œcumenical, and which were summoned in the midst of the schism, were unable to pronounce upon the competing claims. And yet, on the Roman theory, every thing was at stake. In the words of bishop Stillingfleet,

¹ "In assignandis horum pontificum annis, nonnulla est apud chronologos varietas; in eorum gestis narrandis vix aliquid certi, si gesta S. Petri excipias in scripturis sacris consignata." — *Hist. eccles. sæc. i. c. 9. p. 19.*

² "Quasi enim niti nos nollet successione vestrà Deus, ita, de primâ omnium successione, de primo omnium Petri successore, rem voluit esse incertam." — *Tortura torti, s. cccxxxviii. p. 284.*

“What signify the boasts of unity in the Roman church, if they cannot prevent the falling of their members into such dangerous schisms? To what purpose is it to tell us of one head of the church, to whom all must submit, if there have been several pretenders to the headship, and the church hath been a long time divided, which of them was the true?” It is the miserable distinction of the Roman communion to have been rent asunder by no less than thirty schisms.¹ Some of them turned on questions of church law, which have never been decided; and some on matters of fact, which must always remain subjects of dispute.

Idolatry of the Roman church, c. v. p. 351.

In A.D. 352 Liberius succeeded as bishop of Rome. He was banished by Constantius for adhering to Athanasius and the council of Nice; and Felix was placed in the see by the emperor. Liberius, having at length signed the Arian confession of faith, returned to Rome. Sozomen says that Felix died soon afterwards; Theodoret, that he went elsewhere. It is clear enough that he was an intruder and a schismatic. Optatus and Augustine exclude him from the list of popes, Athanasius calls him a monster; yet Anastasius gives his life among the bishops of Rome. Platina does the same.² Du Chesne and others acknowledge him for a true pope. His name stands in the Roman martyrology for the worship of the church on the twenty-ninth of July; and the pope who was chosen in 483 is called Felix III. No recognition can be more complete, or more contrary to all ecclesiastical law.

Liberius and Felix.

Lib. ii. c. 15. p. 558.
Lib. ii. c. 17. p. 96.

On the next vacancy of the see, a miserable conflict arose, in which, as Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, 137 persons were slain.³ The schism lasted many years,

Damasus and Ursinus or Ursicinus.

¹ Platina and his continuator reckon thirty; De Dominis, the same; Du Chesne, thirty-one; Bellarmine, twenty-six; while Stapleton allows only twenty-four, or at most twenty-five; and he says that they lasted altogether only a hundred and twenty-four years.—*Defensio success. eccles. c. xv. op. tom. i. p. 495.*

² To make the confusion more complete, Onuphrius, in his notes on Platina, denies that he was a true pope. “Felix, cum schismaticus fuerit, nullâ ratione inter legitimos R. pontifices enumerandus esset.”—P. 52.

³ Lib. xxvii. p. 709. He goes on to speak of the wealth of the see, and the luxury of its bishops.

and it was indeed but a continuation of that which arose during the time of Liberius. Damasus, who is reckoned among the legitimate popes, had a worse claim than his rival; but he was supported in his place by the power of the emperor.

Silverius
and Vigil-
ius.

In the middle of the sixth century a case occurred which is full of difficulty to Roman writers. Silverius, who had been appointed pope by the king of the Goths, was superseded, on their defeat, by Vigilius, whom Belisarius put into his place. The former anathematised his rival, and after a year's imprisonment died by a cruel death. Vigilius remained in possession of the see, and is numbered among the legitimate popes, though he obtained his preferment by the worst means, and during the lifetime of his predecessor.¹ He was ordained to a see the incumbent of which was still living; and therefore, by a well-known rule of ancient discipline, he was not only not legitimate pope, but he was no bishop at all.² The story of his subsequent re-election has not the least foundation; and if it were true, would furnish little help in removing the difficulty. He was a rebel, and a leader of schism; he was lying under excommunication, and was believed to have instigated the murder of his predecessor, which is affirmed by Peter Damian, among others, who calls him a wicked and impious man.

Leo VIII.
and Bene-
dict V.

In the year 963 John XII. was deposed by the emperor Otho in a council of bishops, and Leo VIII. substituted. On the death of John, his adherents, who denied the lawfulness of his deposition, chose Benedict V. in his place during the lifetime of Leo.³ There were now two popes; and there is no agreement among Roman writers to the

¹ Onuphrius, in his note on the life of this pope by Platina, says:—"Hujus Vigilius ingressus parum legitimus fuit, cum præter ecclesiasticas regulas, prædecessore suo Silverio vivente, et pontificatus administratione submoto, per vim pontificatum Romanum occupavit."—P. 77.

² "Cum post primum, secundus esse non possit, quisquis post unum, qui solus esse debeat, factus est, jam secundus ille, sed nullus est."—*Cyprian, Ep. lii. ad Antonianum*, p. 57.

³ F. Spanheim has examined the case. Vid. *Introductio ad historiam N. T. sæc. x. c. 5.*

present day, which was the legitimate possessor of the see. Platina could not determine, and gives a place to each; Onuphrius says that Leo was the true pope, and Benedict the schismatic; Baronius maintains the reverse; Générard affirms, with undeniable truth, that historians are not agreed on the point.¹ They were rivals, and their claims were of course incompatible. Benedict himself confessed that he had grievously sinned in assuming the bishopric, humbly submitted to degradation by a council, and acknowledged the justice of his sentence²; yet his name stands in the catalogue of popes, and the next Benedict is called the sixth.

In the year 1046 there were four popes claiming possession of the see at the same time; three of whom, Benedict IX., Sylvester III., and Gregory VI., are inserted in the list of Roman bishops; although two of their number at least must have been antipopes and pretenders.³

Benedict IX., Sylvester III., and Gregory VI.

In 1058 we find Benedict X. occupying the papal seat. He obtained it by purchase, and was by his own confession an usurper. He was expelled, and his place filled by Nicholas II.; yet he is reckoned among the legitimate popes; and the next of his name, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, was called Benedict XI.

Benedict X. and Nicholas II.

In 1159 the bishopric was claimed by Victor and Alexander. Both were consecrated; and a schism arose which lasted nineteen years.⁴ France, Spain, and England adhered to the one, Germany, Bohemia, and part of Italy supported the other. Alexander was at last established, and has been generally received as the lawful pope; and yet there are sufficient reasons for questioning the

Victor and Alexander.

¹ "Hic et sequentes pontifices variè ab historicis collocantur."—*Chronog.* lib. iv. sæc. x. p. 827.

² Vid. Luitprand, *Hist.* lib. vi. c. 2.

³ Noel Alexander says of Benedict IX., "Monstrum illud, et alia quædam, passa ecclesia est gemens et oppressa, et pontificem solo nomine Benedictum

coluit, ut majus malum, sc. schisma, vitaret."—*Hist. eccles. sæc. xi. c. 1. art. 4.*

⁴ "Maximum schisma ecclesiæ oriri cœpit, quod xix. annis miserabiliter duravit."—*Otto Frising. Annal.* lib. c. ult. pl. 90.

rightness of the decision. A council had been called at Pavia, which was numerously attended by bishops and other clergy, as well as by ambassadors from various princes, who pledged their sovereigns to abide by the result. The emperor withdrew from the deliberation, leaving the case entirely to the judgment of the ecclesiastics who were present. After a long and careful consideration of the question, and the examination of many witnesses, Victor was declared to have been canonically chosen¹, and was solemnly received by the clergy and people as the duly elected pope.² And yet his rival at length prevailed, through reasons of state policy, after years of strife and the sacrifice of many thousand lives. The emperor having been weakened by the defection of the duke of Saxony and by the loss of a battle, made terms with Alexander, and in 1175 Calixtus, who was the third of the rival line, resigned the contest.

The great schism.

That which by a bad pre-eminence is called the great schism of the Roman church, had its beginning in the year 1378. Gregory VI., a little while before his death, returned to Rome. On the vacancy of the see, the people fearing that the court might go back to Avignon, compelled the conclave to choose an Italian pope. After having elected Urban VI., the French cardinals retired to a place of safety, where they protested against the compulsion to which they had been subject, and elected Clement XI. The legitimacy of Urban's election was the hinge of the dispute. On the one hand violence appears to have been used towards the cardinals, though this is by no means certain³; but they subsequently ratified the election, and

¹ "Cum hæc dixisset, ipse se concilio subtraxit, examen totum ecclesiæ, et ecclesiasticis quæ ibi innumerabiles crant committens personis. Erant autem circiter quinquaginta archiepiscopi et episcopi: abbatum, præpositorum non erat præ multitudine æstimatio. Legati quoque diversarum terrarum adcerant, spondentes quicquid a synodo decretum foret, indubitanter

a suis recipiendum."—*Radevici Frising. De Frederici imp. gestis.* lib. iv. c. 68. fol. 77.

² The acts of the council, and the evidence which was adduced, are given by the historian.—*Ibid.* fol. 77—79.

³ Leonard Aretin, who was secretary to Innocent VII., and who died about the middle of the fifteenth century, says, that the conclave was under inti-

for three months acknowledged Urban. It was his ill conduct which afterwards alienated them.¹ He was a treacherous and cruel man; and his personal character tended greatly to prolong and embitter the strife. It lasted more than fifty years, closing with the abdication of Clement VIII. in 1429. On the side of Urban were England, Germany, Sweden, and other countries of the north, with Rome and some part of Italy; on that of Clement France, Scotland, Spain, and Sicily. The intellectual forces of the age were divided in the same way. The universities of Oxford and Prague supported the former, while Paris maintained the cause of the latter. Each party had its saints and its pretended revelations; theologians and canonists were as much at variance as politicians. During this period there were two distinct lines of popes, the one at Rome, the other at Avignon. The contest was maintained with all the lowest forms of worldly policy. The rivals applied to each other terms of the bitterest reproach; robber, heretic, tyrant, schismatic, antichrist, son of Belial, were among the epithets employed, mingled with mutual curses and excommunications. They appealed to arms for the support of a spiritual claim; and each sent bands of armed men, to inflict the miseries of war on the countries which adhered to his opponent. Churches and monasteries were pillaged, and some of the fairest provinces of Europe laid waste. The kingdom of Naples suffered greatly; the queen was excommunicated, and murdered. There were broken oaths without number, with endless frauds, in which the contending popes were guilty beyond all others.² The effect on discipline was

midation, but that when this was removed, they adhered to their choice.

¹ "Tous les historiens conviennent assez que les cardinaux auroient pu continuer à reconnaître Urbain, s'il eût eu plus de complaisance pour eux, et plus de modération dans toute sa conduite au commencement de son

pontificat."—*L'Enfant, Hist. du concile de Pise*. liv. i. s. 14. tom. i. p. 25.

² "On voit ici tout ce que les passions peuvent causer de désolation, et de ravage quand ceux qui, par leur caractère, sont appelés à les réprimer, leur ont lâché la bride, et les ont autorisés par leur propre exemple."—*Ibid.* prof. p. 6.

ruinous, and morals were brought down to the lowest point. Efforts were made from time to time by persons of influence to bring this disgraceful contest to a close, but they were defeated by the parties whose interests were chiefly at stake.¹ In the conference at Rheims, and in the diet of the empire afterwards held at Frankfort, it was determined that they should be charged to fulfil their promise of resignation. They were bound by fresh oaths to compliance, yet they escaped by fresh evasions. The university of Paris laboured earnestly for the extinction of the schism, and at last renounced allegiance to Benedict XIII. Their example was followed by the cardinals, who sided with Gregory XII., and in 1409 the council of Pisa met for the purpose of ending the contest. After six months' session it had done little else than add another element to the strife, and another source of future perplexity. Alexander V., whom they appointed, had to plead a different title from the other competitors, in which was involved the whole question between the rival jurisdictions of pope and council. On a survey of the whole case, we find the legitimacy of both lines of descent encumbered with insurmountable difficulties, as the chief Roman authorities are compelled to admit.² Even the council which deposed the rivals did not pronounce between their respective claims. No one is able indeed to

¹ Among others, Henry IV. of England addressed a letter of remonstrance to Gregory, in which this passage occurs: "Were your holiness influenced by serviceable motives, you would be governed by the tenderness of the true mother who pleaded before king Solomon, and rather resign the child, than suffer it to be cut to pieces."—*Collier, Eccles. hist. cent. xv. book vii. vol. i. p. 628.*

² Noel Alexander says: "Cum ita obscura sunt duorum de pontificatu contententium jura, ut post multas virorum doctissimorum cum in theologia tum in jure disceptationes, post plurimos tractatus ad electionis utrius-

que discutienda merita editos, certò ac evidenter ab omnibus sapientibus et erga catholicam unitatem bene affectis cognosci non possit quis sit verus ac legitimus pontifex, tunc alterutri qui bonâ fide adhærent, parentque, a schismatis crimine immunes censendi sunt."—*Hist. eccles. sæc. xv. diss. 1. s. 2.* And again: "Ex his omnibus conficitur quæstionem illam, Quis legitimus pontifex esset, Urbanus VI. aut Clemens VII.? nunquam ita eliquatam fuisse, quin dubia apud plurimos non remanserit; et utramque partem iis momentis fultam fuisse quæ viros sapientes, pios, ac eruditos afficere possent ac movere."—*Ibid. s. 9.*

offer even a probable conjecture about the true pope. It is impossible to draw a clear thread from this tangled and knotted skein. The succession derived from Urban is generally admitted in the catalogue of Roman bishops; but their rivals have never been condemned as antipopes, nor the adherents of these as schismatics. Gerson, the greatest and most influential theologian of that age, expressly says, in the treatise which he wrote on the subject, that it is rash and scandalous to give this name to persons who adhered to either, or who remained neuter. Some lists insert the popes in both lines. The schism was terminated at last in a way which cannot but perplex a Roman controversialist; for Felix resigned, in favour of Eugenius, on condition of being made dean of the college of cardinals, and perpetual legate of the apostolic see in Germany. Yet, according to all canonists, if he were not lawful pope, he was guilty of an enormous sin. But it is difficult to prove that the title which he derived from the council of Basle, was not as good as that of Martin V. from Constance, or of Alexander V. from Pisa.¹

De modo se
habendi
tempore
schisma-
tis.

These are but a few of the schisms by which the Roman church was torn and divided from the middle of the third century to the beginning of the fifteenth. It is a case of hopeless confusion. Stapleton indeed tells us, how truly any one may judge, that "it is not difficult for learned persons, from whom the multitude take their information, to distinguish an intruder from the legitimate occupant of the see."² Other Roman writers speak more honestly. Thus, De Castro confesses that "though we are obliged

Inextrica-
ble confu-
sion.

¹ On the subject of this great schism see L. Maimbourg, *L'histoire du grande schisme d'occident*; Baluze, *Vies des papes d'Avignon*; Noel Alexander, *Hist. eccles. sæc. xiv. c. 2. art. 8. and sæc. xv. thiss. i.*; Mariana *De rebus Hisp. xvii. 1.*; Theod. Vrie, *Hist. C. Const. dist. vi.* There are many important documents preserved in the Spicilegium of D'Achery, who was a Benedictine of the congregation of S. Maur. But we are chiefly indebted to

Von der Hardt, from whom *L'Enfant* has derived the materials for his account of the council of Constance. He was professor in the university of Helmstadt, and made his invaluable collection by the assistance of the duke of Wolfenbittel. It was published at Frankfort in 1697.

² "Dixeram non difficile fuisse doctoribus, à quibus multitudo pendeat, intrusum à legitimo dignoscere." — *Def. c. xv. p. 495.*

to acknowledge the true successor of Peter to be the ruler of the church, we are not bound in the same way to believe any particular pope to have been legitimately and canonically elected."¹ So again Duval allows that in case of schism, when the titles of all the competitors are uncertain, and probable arguments are advanced on both sides, the faithful are not bound to adhere to any one of them.² And this is the acknowledgment of an ultramontane writer. The uncertainty in the Roman succession is increased by the changes which have taken place in the mode of election. It was at first in the hands of the people and clergy.³ After the time of Damasus, the emperor interposed, on account of the tumults which caused so much scandal. The claim of interference was retained when the secular power was superior, and relinquished when the popes were strong enough to resist; but for some centuries no independence was asserted. We find Pelagius II. pleading the siege of Rome by the Lombards as the reason for having ventured to receive consecration without the imperial consent; then Paschal I. alleging the compulsion to which he was subject, and Louis allowing the plea, with an injunction that it should not be drawn into a precedent⁴;

Changes in
the mode of
election.

¹ "Quamvis credere teneamur ex fide, verum Petri successorem esse supremum totius ecclesiæ pastorem, non tamen tenemur eadem fide credere Leonem aut Clementem esse verum Petri successorem, quoniam non tenemur ex fide catholicâ credere eorum quemlibet recte et canonice fuisse electum."—*Adv. hæreses*, lib. i. fol. 17.

² "Quod si omnes sint dubii et incerti, ita ut pro electione singulorum probabiles suppetant rationes, nulli tunc est adhærendum, nempe quia re vera nullus eorum jus habet veri et legitimi pontificis, unde cum incertus pro nullo in jure habeatur, perinde est ac si nullus in ecclesiâ pontifex esset"—*De sup. R. P. potest.* pars iii. quæst. xi. p. 450.

³ Cyprian says of Cornelius: "Factus est episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum pene omnium

testimonio, de plebis quæ tunc affuit suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio."—*Ep. 411. ad Antonianum*, p. 57.

⁴ "Acceptâ hac satisfactione Ludovicus respondit populo et clero, majorum instituta et pacta servanda esse, caverent ne deinceps majestatem læderent."—*Platina in vit. Pasch. I.*, p. 125. He adds in the next page, on the authority of Anastasius, that liberty of choice was subsequently granted. This passage has been expunged, and is not now to be found in Anastasius. If Louis renounced the right, Lothaire unquestionably resumed it. Onuphrius, in his note on Platina's life of Pelagius II., says that the claim to interfere was denied to the Emperor by Adrian III., and allowed by Leo VIII. See also Andrewes, *Responsio ad Bellarm.* s. 143.

and a third pope excusing himself on the ground of the emperor's extreme youth. When there was a schism between Symmachus and Laurentius, it was Theodotus who decided between the rivals. Five centuries and a half later, when a council at Rome was summoned to appoint a successor to Gregory VI., they referred the choice to Henry III., who selected Clement. Many popes were placed in the see by the emperor, or the exarch of Ravenna, or the marquis of Tuscany. In the history of the succession, we have a woman of immoral life who nominated her own son; and a little later, we have her grandson Octavian appointing himself under the name of John XII. Sergius III., John X.¹, and others; had been raised to the bishopric, by an influence which marked the utter degradation to which the Roman church had fallen.² Yet every one of these is an indispensable link in the chain. The election was often determined by intrigue, or accident, or the violence of a mob, or the interference of foreign soldiers. Energetic and unprincipled men strove for the glittering prize, and often obtained it in quick succession. At the beginning of the tenth century, Leo V. was chosen; in less than two months, he was supplanted by Christopher, who in turn was thrust out before the year expired. Describing a period somewhat later, the historian of the popes informs us that the see was open to any one who chose to employ violence or bribery. Some popes were chosen in their childhood, as Benedict IX. and John XIII. If illegitimate birth is a disqualification, as canonists affirm, what can be said for John XI. who was the son of pope Lando, or John XII. who was the son of Sergius III.?

Bad influence in the choice of popes.

Duaren, De sacris eccles. min. lib. iv. c. 5.

¹ "Theodoræ autem Glycerii mens perversa, ne amasii ducentorum milliarorum interpositione, quibus Ravenna sequestratur a Româ, rarissimo concubitu potiretur, Ravennatis hunc sedis archiepiscopatum coegit deserere, Romanumque (proh nefas!) summum pontificium usurpare."—*Luitprand, Hist.* lib. ii. c. 13. p. 41.

² Baronius says of these popes: "Qui non sint nisi ad consignanda tantum tempora in catalogo Romanorum pontificum scripti. Quis enim a scortis hujusmodi intrusos sine lege legitimos dicere posset Romanos fuisse pontifices."—*Ad ann.* 912.

Election by
cardinals.

In 1059, Nicholas II. passed a decree in a synod at Rome, by which the right of election was transferred from the clergy and people to the cardinals. It was, as Van Espen describes it, a great departure from the practice which had prevailed for eight centuries.¹ Onuphrius, in his note on Platina's life of Innocent II., says that his successor Celestine was the first pope appointed without the intervention of the people; and in the life of Alexander III. we are told that he was the first elected by the cardinals alone. There seems to be some uncertainty about the date at which the change was made, but none about its importance. In 1179 a regulation was passed that any election made by two thirds of the cardinals, should be held valid.² Cardinals were originally the neighbouring bishops by whom the bishop of Rome was consecrated; and when that see grew to great power and dignity, they were raised above all other bishops as counsellors of the pope, and the presbyters and deacons of the city were added to the number. The very name was unknown before the time of Gregory I.³; while in the fifteenth century Eugenius IV. describes them as the chief supports of the apostolic see.⁴ As the popes, from being ordinary bishops, became spiritual monarchs, so the cardinals, from being servants of the altar and ministers of the poor, became ecclesiastical princes. If we take into account the appointment of popes by councils, there have been five different methods in use. The changes have been sufficiently important, and it is reasonable to inquire where

Their
origin.

¹ "Nequaquam proinde negari potest, in hoc decreto non parum à formâ veteri electionis R. pontificis prioribus octo ut minus sæculis constanter servatâ recedi."—*Comment. in primam partem Grat.* dist. xxiii. op. tom. iii. p. 522. Elsewhere he places the change later: "Quo tempore forma electionis pontificis mutata fuerit, non perinde constat; videturque id sæculo xii. ceptum fuisse."—*Observ. in canones c. Lat. III.* op. tom. iv. p. 15.

² These are the words of the canon: "Ille R. pontifex habeatur qui à duabus

partibus fuerit electus et receptus."—*C. Lat. III.* can. 1.

³ "Certe non alius reperitur auctor Gregorio primo antiquior qui meminerit cardinalium presbyterorum et sacerdotum."—*Salmasius, Appar. ad lib. de primatu*, p. 144.

⁴ In the words of Eugenius IV., cited in the notes of Sarpi's treatise on beneficiary matters: "Sicut per cardinem volvitur ostium domus; ita super hos sedes apostolica totius ecclesie ostium quiescit et sustentatur."—*Ch. xii.* p. 41.

there is any record to be found of consent given by the church to the present law restricting the franchise to a body which had no existence in primitive times.¹ But if the alteration in the mode of election were legitimate, and sanctioned by competent authority, it would make the constitution of the electoral college, by which the succession is carried forward, the more important. The pope, by appointing cardinals, exercises an influence which does not terminate with his own incumbency of the see. If his appointment is on any ground illegitimate, his acts must be invalid, and all future elections vitiated by the fault of his own. It is clear that he cannot convey power to others, in right of an office which does not properly belong to him. There were three rival popes at the close of the council of Pisa; when the cardinals afterwards coalesced, some must have been schismatics, and no true cardinals at all, because they were appointed by those who were no legitimate popes. All their acts were consequently unauthorised, and the whole future line of succession, in which they interposed, was corrupted. And this is a case which occurred again and again. Popes themselves have at times done their utmost to destroy all certainty by annulling the acts of their predecessors. Thus in the ninth century, Stephen abrogated all the acts of Formosus, reordaining those whom he had admitted to orders; Romanus, his successor, reversed this judgment; Theodore established the acts of Formosus; John IX. did the same; Sergius reversed the sentence of John; and, as Platina tells us, it grew into a custom for one pope to undo what his predecessor had done.²

Difficulty involved in the appointment of cardinals.

In vit. Steph. VI. p. 145.

But let us put aside, for the time, whatever objections

¹ On the institution of cardinals, see Thomassin, *Vetus et nova ecclesiæ discip.*, pars i. lib. ii. c. 115.; N. Alexand. *Hist. eccles.*, sæc. xi. c. 7. art. 2.; Van Espen, pars i. tit. 22.; Duaren, *De sacris minist.* lib. i. c. 13.; Polydore Vergil, *De inventoribus rerum*, lib. iv. c. 19. Salmasius says, that at one time

there were cardinals at Milan, Ravenna, Naples, and other places. *Apparat.* ad lib. de primatu, p. 146.

² "Plena sunt illa tempora ordinationibus paparum, exordinationibus, et superordinationibus." — *De Dominis, rep. eccles.* lib. iv. c. 7. s. 35.

may lie against the different catalogues, and take the first which comes to hand; we shall find that it contains the names of a multitude of persons who were so wicked that their lives formed the chief reproach and hindrance of the church of which they were called the sovereigns. At the close of the ninth century, Boniface VI. was in possession of the see. He had been degraded from orders both as priest and deacon. He usurped the bishopric by violence, and he was so depraved a man that Baronius refuses to recognise him. Yet the papal biographer says that he was legitimate pope¹; and the next of the name is called the seventh. He was followed by another, of whom the great annalist tells us that he would not have dared to reckon so bad and sacrilegious a man among the popes, if he had not found it done by his predecessors.² Only a year or two afterwards, there is a third, of whom it is recorded that he lost the see by the same bad arts through which he acquired it.³ His successor, again, is said by a great Roman writer to have been a wolf, rather than a shepherd.⁴ In the middle of the tenth century, the case of John XII. occurs. He was pope at a very early age, and was received by the Roman church, to avoid a schism. His vices were notorious, and in the council held for his removal, the whole city bore witness to his enormous wickedness.⁵ The bishops who sat in council gave their

Wickedness
of many
popes.

¹ "Ponere itaque hunc hominem in catalogo summorum pontificum institui, non propter res gestas, quæ nullæ sunt (Quid enim geri in tantâ brevitate temporis potuit?) sed quia legitime et rectè pontifex creatus est." — *Platina in vit. Bonifacii VI.*, p. 145.

² "Sed redeamus ad Stephanum, quem non auderem inter R. pontifices numerare, nisi id factum a majoribus invenissem, utpote tanto indignum nomine, &c." — *Ad ann.* 897.

For an account of this most wicked pope see Platina, *Vitæ pont. Rom.* p. 145., and Luitprand, *De rebus imp. et reg.* lib. i. c. 8. p. 18.

³ "Pontificatum malis artibus adeptum, malè amisit." — *Platina, in vit. Christoph. I.*, p. 148.

Christoph. I., p. 148.

Génébrard says: "Eum malè quæsitum pejus amisit." — *Chronog.* lib. iv. sæc. x. p. 811.

⁴ "Cæterum sedem apostolicam nihilominus reveriti sunt fideles omnes, quamvis ei pontifex turpissimus, et lupus, potius quàm pastor incubaret." — *N. Alex. Hist.* sæc. ix. c. 1. art. 17. The former part of his statement is far less true than the latter.

⁵ "Testis omnium gentium, præterquam Romanorum, absentia mulierum quæ sanctorum apostolorum limina orandi gratiâ timent visere, cum nonnullas ante dies paucos hunc audierint

testimony in terms of awful significancy, and consented to his deposition, as that of a monster unredeemed by a single virtue.¹ A little later, we find Boniface VII. causing one pope to be strangled, and another to be starved to death. Baronius speaks of him in terms of just indignation², but he cannot be disowned. Platina gives his life among the rest. He was followed, after a short interval, by Gregory V., of whom it is recorded that he put out the eyes of his rival, and otherwise mutilated him. The abbot Nilus remonstrated with the pope vehemently, but in vain, on the horrible cruelty which he had practised. These were not isolated or exceptional cases. The biographer of the popes confesses that, at this period, they thought of nothing else, but to destroy the name and dignity of their predecessors.³ Baronius calls them monsters⁴, apostates, false popes; Générard uses almost the same words⁵; and he includes fifty consecutive popes, during a period of a hundred and fifty years. Stapleton speaks of their enormous and hideous crimes and affirms that, with the exception of heresy, there was no sin with which the see of St. Peter was not defiled.⁶ Let us remember, too,

Testimony
of Roman
writers.

conjugatas, viduas, virgines, vi oppres-
sisse."—*Luitprand, de rebus imp. et*
reg. lib. vi. c. 6. p. 113.

His miserable end is related by the
same historian, lib. vi. c. 7., as well
as by Turcremata, *Summa de eccles.*
lib. ii. c. 103.

¹ "Tunc episcopi, diaconi, clerus, et
cunctus Romanorum populus, quasi
vir unus, dixerunt, si non et quæ per
Benedictum diaconum lecta sunt, his-
que turpiora et ampliora, Johannes papa
indigna commisit facinora, non nos a
peccatorum vinculis absolvat apostolo-
rum princeps, B. Petrus, qui verbo
cælum indignis claudit, justis aperit.
Simus anathematis vinculo inmodati,
&c."—*Luitprand, lib. vi. c. 7.* p. 116.

And yet the legality of his deposition
has been denied by Baronius, De Marca,
and others. Noël Alexander, who has
examined the question at length, de-
cides that he was deposed in violation
of the canons, and that John VIII.,

substituted in his place, was really an
antipope. *Hist. eccles. sæc. x. diss. 16.*
Otho of Frisingen says: "Quæ omnia
utrum licitè aut secus acta sint, dicere
præsens non est operis. Res enim
gestas scribere, non gestarum rerum
rationem reddere, proposuimus."—
Annal. lib. vi. c. 23. fol. 69.

² Having compared him with Sylla
and others, he adds: "Quos omnes su-
peravit sacrilegus iste turpissimâ nece
duorum pontificum."—*Ad ann. 985,*
tom. x. p. 855.

³ "Nihil aliud hi pontifices cogita-
bant, quàm et nomen et dignitatem
majorum suorum extinguere."—*Pla-
tina in vit. Romani I., p. 146.*

⁴ "Homines monstrosi, vitâ turpis-
simi, moribus perditissimi, &c."—*Ad*
ann. 897.

⁵ "Apotactici, apostaticive potius
quàm apostolici."—*Sæc. x. lib. iv.*
p. 807.

⁶ "Ad reliquas omnes vexationes

John
XXIII.

Sixtus IV.

that Rome has no adherents more devoted or unscrupulous than these witnesses. Of Boniface VIII. it was commonly said that he entered like a fox, lived like a lion, and died like a dog.¹ In the time of the council of Constance, cardinal Peter D'Ailli, and his illustrious pupil John Gerson, speak of the evil lives of the popes of their time. No language could be stronger than what they used.² John XXIII. was persuaded to abdicate, because the detail of his unexampled wickedness, if an investigation had taken place, would have put the papacy itself in peril. He was confined in the same prison at Gotleben with John Huss; and when this learned and good man left his dungeon to die, the greatest criminal of the age was received with honour among the cardinals, and appointed to a bishopric.³ At the end of the century, we find no great change in papal morals. Sixtus IV., as warlike as any of his predecessors, was guilty of conspiring against the lives of two excellent persons who had incurred his displeasure. In 1478 he became confederate with men of desperate character at Florence to destroy Julian and Lorenzo de' Medici, of whom the former was killed at the altar, and the latter escaped severely wounded. The archbishop of Pisa, with some others, were capitally punished, as accomplices; the legate escaped only by the intercession of Lorenzo; while the connivance of the pope was universally known.⁴ The great historian of Florence speaks of the death of Sixtus as probably caused by cha-

accesserunt enormia et horrenda R. pontificum peccata atque flagitia. Vix ullum peccatum, solâ hæresi exceptâ, nominari potest, quo illa sedes turpiter maculata non fuerit.—*Relectio controv.* i. q. 5. art. 3. p. 597.

¹ "Intravit ut vulpes, vixit ut leo, mortuus est ut canis."

² Vid. P. Alliati, De necess. ref. ap. Von der Hardt, tom. i. pars vi. col. 276.; Gerson, De ref. eccles. tom. i. pars v. col. 68.

³ "Martinus vicissitudine rerum humanarum motus, post aliquot dies,

hominem in numerum cardinalium adsciscens, episcopum Tusculanum creat, atque deinceps eo habuit in honore quo reliquos cardinales tam publicè quàm privatim."—*Platina, vit. Mart. V.*, p. 291. The incidents in the life of John are fully stated by Theoderic de Niem, ap. Von der Hardt, tom. i. pars 7.

⁴ The case is fully stated by Noel Alexander, Hist. sæc. xv. c. 1. art. 9.; Onuphrius, Vit. Xysti iv. p. 346.; Machiavelli, Hist. Florent. lib. viii. p. 443.

grin at the establishment of peace with Venice.¹ He was soon followed by Alexander VI., whose wickedness has no parallel, unless among popes or the worst Roman emperors. "He once purposed," writes Professor Ranke, "as is but too well authenticated, to destroy one of the richest cardinals by poison; but the latter contrived to win over the pope's chief cook by means of promises, entreaties, and gifts. The confection prepared for the cardinal was set before the pontiff himself, and Alexander expired from the effects of that poison which he had destined for another." The statement is fully borne out by Guicciardini, who, having given an account of his death, adds, that the whole city flocked with incredible joy to gaze on his lifeless body.² Julius II. succeeded after one intervening pope. Ranke represents him as worn out by intemperance and licentious excesses, not less than by age and the fatigues of war. Roscoe describes him as marching, at the head of his troops, to the attack of Mirandula, directing in person the planting of the artillery, and at length entering the city by a scaling ladder, sword in hand. It is a strange picture of the father of Christendom, his feeble hands grasping a weapon, his aged lips urging men to slaughter.³ His successor was Leo X., under whose influence all forms of thought and expression were brought, as nearly as possible, into harmony with a heathen type.

Lives of the popes, book i. ch. ii. s. 1.

Alexander VI.

Lives of the popes, c. ii. s. 1.

Life of Leo X. c. 8.

Julius II.

Leo X.

The popes of these later times have left us no better

¹ Machiavelli, Hist. Flor. lib. viii. p. 485. He adds, "Moriens pontifex eam Italiam pacatam reliquit, quam vivus continuis bellis agitaverat." This is one of the many epigrams to which his death gave occasion:—

"Non potuit sævum vis ulla extinguere Sixtum; Audit tandem nomine pacis, obit."

² "Concorse al corpo morto d'Alessandro in S. Piero, con incredibile allegrezza, tutta Roma, non potendo saziarsi gli occhi di alcuno di vedere spento un serpente, che con la sua im-

moderata ambizione e pestifera perfidia, e con tutti gli esempj di orribile crudeltà, di monstruosa libidine, e d' inaudita avarizia, vendendo senza distinzione le cose sacre e profane, aveva attossicato tutto il mondo."—*Istorie d'Italia*, lib. vi. tom. iii. p. 24.

³ See Guicciardini, lib. ix. tom. iv. p. 85. He says of this pope, "Non riteneva di pontefice altro, che l' abito e il nome." De Maistre says, with his usual levity, "Son entrée par la brèche ne fut pas extrêmement pontificale."—*Du pape*, liv. ii. c. 6. p. 213.

record than their predecessors in the earlier ages. The campaigns of the duke of Alva in the low countries, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the wars of the league, or whatever might be the form in which persecution for the time presented itself, had a sincere well-wisher and helper in the great Latin bishop. It was the tradition of his see. He was ready to take part with the disaffected in every state, and even to side with the enemies of what he professed to hold as the only true faith; for in these papal wars there was no more spiritual principle involved than in the ambitious movements of secular princes. There is no sadder portion of human history than the lives of the popes. It makes little difference by whom they are written; there is the same recurring record of guilt.¹ It is the testimony not of enemies or aliens, but of those who lived and died in the Roman communion; and not of one or two, but of all those who have written either the biography of the popes, or the general record of the times; and even those who, like Guicciardini or Machiavelli, were in the service of popes, have left a testimony as unfavourable as others. Their memory fares no better with the poets than with the historians. The greatest whom Italy ever produced presents to us, in his awful page, pope after pope in the place of torment; Nicholas III. waiting till Boniface VIII. should succeed him, to be followed in turn by Clement V.²

There is perhaps no worse consequence of the Roman theory than the low moral standard to which its champions are forced to commit themselves. A very popular manual gives as the adequate reply to the allegation of

¹ "Who were those," writes Professor Ranke in his *Life of Paul IV.*, "who defended the pope against such good catholics? The most effective among them were Germans and protestants to a man. They amused themselves with the saintly images on the highways, they laughed at the mass in the churches, were utterly re-

gardless of the fast days, and did things innumerable for which, at any other time, the pope would have punished them with death."—*Lives of the popes*, book iii. s. 3. p. 222.

² "Chè dopo lui verrà di più laid' opra
 Di ver ponente un pastor senza legge,
 Tal che convien, che lui e me ricuopra."
Dante, Inferno, canto xix. 82.

papal crimes, that "all bishops and cardinals are not so edifying as becomes them, and that popes also may have their failings."¹ Dr. Milner, describing the worst and darkest period of the papacy, tells us that "in this list of names there are ten or twelve which do honour to the papal calendar, and even those who disgraced it by their lives, performed their public duty in preserving the faith and unity of the church irreproachably." And this is the century which, as Générard says, produced hardly one good pope.² Dr. Newman is even bolder, and in a review of the whole series gives this as the result: "What triumph is it that, in a long line of between two and three hundred popes, amid martyrs, confessors, doctors, sage rulers, and loving fathers of their people, one, or two, or three, are found who fulfil the Lord's description of the wicked servant, who began 'to strike the manservants and maidservants, and to eat and drink and be drunk?'" It would be well for the world that the histories of these bad men should have been left in obscurity. The responsibility of dragging them into the light of day rests with those who insist on the line of succession, in which they form an essential part. They were persons of impure life, fraudulent, perjured; some stained with murder, and some atheists and scoffers at every form of religion, the scandal not only of the christian priesthood, but of human nature itself. And yet Romanists cannot dispense with one of them; each is a link in the chain which cannot be spared. He may have been the worst man in a bad and unbelieving age, and yet, on the ultramontane theory, that is, according to the scheme which is now urged on our acceptance, we are

End of controversy, letter 28. p. 210.

Sermon at S. Chad's, p. 22.

The worst popes essential as links in the succession.

¹ Gother, Papist misrepresented and represented, s. 29. p. 74. And he adds, "It is a sufficient vindication of their chief pastors and popes, to use the words of Lord Castlemaine in his apology, that among two hundred and fifty, that have now successively borne

the charge, there are not above ten or twelve against whom their most malicious adversaries can find occasion of spitting their venom."

² "Sine ullo bono ferè pontifice."—*Chronog. sæc. x. lib. iv. p. 805.*

bound to believe that, for the time, he united in himself all the authority for doctrine and discipline left by our gracious Master to his church.¹ If, indeed, it were clearly revealed that each bishop of Rome, in his turn, became the divinely constituted head of christendom, the claim would not be invalidated by the unworthiness of any person who occupied the see. It would be a dreadful trial of faith, and one to which it is hard to believe that a merciful God would expose his feeble creatures; but when the assumption is disproved by ample evidence, the evil lives of so many among the popes may tend to set in a broader light the profaneness which it involves. If the popes in question were proved to be true and legitimate, the conclusion would be of very doubtful advantage to the church in which they presided.²

Heretical
popes.

There are other cases, however, about the effect of which, in cutting off the supposed succession, no question can reasonably be entertained. If a pope is a proved

¹ "Quis credat æternam Christi sapientiam voluisse gregem suum universum quem sanguine suo acquisivit, contra quem inferorum portæ non prævalebunt, tantæ confusioni, tamque apertis subdere periculis, ut ab unico homine, imò etiam puero, et tot iniquitatibus obnoxio, plenissimè gubernetur, imò fœdissimè dissipetur?" — *De Dominis, rep. eccles. lib. iv. c. 7. s. 34.* The writer was a professed convert to protestantism. He received considerable preferment in the English church, but returned at last to the Roman communion. His retractation is very abject and very feeble (see Second manifesto of M. A. de D., Liège, 1623), while his great work on the christian republic remains a storehouse of erudition. His case is not altogether unlike that of some among ourselves, who are, however, as superior to the archbishop of Spalatro in character, as they are inferior in learning.

² It is from recognised and considerable writers in the Roman communion that we derive our knowledge of the bishops of Rome. Anastasius, who may

be called the earliest of the papal biographers, and who was librarian and secretary to several popes, lived in the ninth century. Bartolomeo Sacchi, called Platina from his birthplace, was protected by Pius II., persecuted by Paul II., and made librarian of the Vatican by Sixtus IV. He died in 1481. His history was continued to the time of Pius V. by Onuphrius Panvinius, who lived in the sixteenth century. André du Chesne published his work in 1616. Stephen Baluze wrote the lives of the popes at Avignon. Besides those who professed to give biographies of the bishops of Rome, much information about their acts may be gathered from the historians; such as Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, who lived in the tenth century; Glaber Rodulphus, the monk whose history extends from 900 to 1045, and to whose fidelity Baronius and Bellarmine bear testimony; Sigebert, who wrote a little later, being contemporary with Gregory VII.; Otho of Frisingen, whose chronicle reaches to the middle of the twelfth century; as well as others who lived later.

heretic, he ceases *ipso facto* to hold his office, because he ceases to be a christian and a member of the church.¹

At the end of the third century Marcellinus, during the persecution under Diocletian, sacrificed to idols. The evidence of the fact can hardly be questioned, because it has been sufficient to satisfy the chief Roman authorities. It is affirmed by Nicholas I., in his letter to the emperor Michael; by Æneas Sylvius in his commentaries; by Platina, in his lives of the popes²; and, above all, by the reformed Roman breviary.³ Even Bellarmine allows the allegation to be well-founded, though he pleads that it was only an outward act and done through fear of death.

Marcellinus.

Fifty years later, Liberius was banished by Constantius for adherence to the orthodox faith. After two years spent in exile, his constancy yielded; and, as the price of regaining his see, he subscribed the Arian creed; and whatever might be the force of the terms which it embodied, it was, as Bossuet remarks, the token of agreement with heretics.⁴ He condemned Athanasius, suppressed the term "consubstantial," which was the orthodox formula, received Arians into communion, expressed full consent to their opinions, and asked their intercession for his recall. The case seems too clear for questioning. Liberius himself acknowledged that he had condemned the great champion of the faith. Athanasius says that he signed the Arian confession, and excuses him on the ground of compulsion. Hilary anathematised him; Jerome, in more places than one, calls him heretic; and he could hardly have been deceived, for he lived at Rome

Liberius.

¹ "Est ergo quinta opinio vera, papam hæreticum manifestum, per se desinere esse papam, sicut per se desinit esse Christianus, et membrum corporis ecclesiæ." — *Bellarmino, De R. pont.* lib. ii. c. 30. p. 182. He denies, as a matter of fact, that any pope has been a heretic.

² "Marcellinus pontifex ad sacrificia gentium ductus, cum minis instarent carnifices, ut thura diis exhiberet, metu

perterritus, deos alienos adoravit." — *Platina in vit. Marcellini*, p. 39.

³ "Marcellinus Romanus in immani illa Diocletiani imperatoris persecutione terrore perterritus, thus adhibuit deorum simulachris." — *April* xxvi. fol. 403.

⁴ "Illud erat initæ cum hæreticis consensionis indicium et tessera." — *Defensio*, pars iii. lib. ix. c. 33.

under Damasus, the next pope. Anastasius, in his life, says that he agreed with the heretic Constantius. Cardinal de Cusa admits his heresy; cardinal Turrecremata does the same. De Castro assumes the case to be admitted, and refers to it for illustration.¹ Baronius and Bellarmine allow the fact, while they deny the inference. And Stapleton excuses Liberius on the ground that he did not fall away from the faith, but only from the confession of it.²

Vigilius.

In 537 Vigilius was appointed bishop of Rome; the worst man who had yet filled the see. He was raised by the intrigues of the empress Theodora, and was excommunicated by Silverius the legitimate pope. At this time the Nestorian opinions were embodied in certain writings of Theodoret of Mopsuesta, of Theodore, and of Ibas, commonly known as the three chapters. They were anathematised by the fifth so-called general council, as containing heretical and impious doctrines. The Roman church receives the decree as authoritative; Pelagius II. and Gregory I. expressly maintained it. Vigilius incurred the anathema beyond denial. He first condemned the writings, and afterwards recalled the condemnation; then asserted his first judgment, which he finally retracted.

N. Alex.
hist. sæc. vi.
c. iii. s. 1.

Honorius.

Honorius, who was pope in the next century, adhered to the heresy of the monothelites, and denied the existence of two wills in Christ. He addressed a letter to Sergius of Constantinople, who was a leader of the sect, and acknowledged entire agreement with his opinion. When the heretics alleged, in their defence, that Honorius had taught as they did, the council examined his writings, and pronounced anathema upon him as one holding impious doctrines; and this decision was confirmed in other coun-

¹ "Omnis enim homo errare potest in fide, etiam si papa sit. Nam de Liberio papa constat fuisse Arianum." — *Adv. hæres.* fol. vi.

² "Non a fide sed a confessione fidei excidit et defecit, ut Petrus ipse et Marcellinus." — *Relectio controv.* iii. q.

4. See also, on the case of Liberius, Sozomen, *Hist. eccles. lib. iv. c. 15.* p. 557.; N. Alexand. *hist. sæc. iv. c. 11. s. 7.*; Dupin, *Diss. v. c. i. s. 3.*; Launoy, *pars v. ep. 5.*; Maimbourg, *Prerog. of Roman church, c. x.*; Blondel, *De la primauté*, pp. 116—123.

cils. Leo II., writing to the Spanish bishops, reckons Honorius among those who are punished with everlasting condemnation. Adrian II. bore similar testimony in a Roman synod.¹ The case is too clear for any reasonable dispute. Pighius, finding no other escape from the conclusion, affirms that the acts of the sixth council were corrupted; for which he is rebuked by wiser men of his own communion. Andrada, who is unscrupulous enough, admits that the council condemned the pope, but affirms that they were wrong in what they did.²

Hierarch.
eccles.
lib. iv. c. 8.

John XXII. made a formal definition on the state of departed souls, which was rejected by the university of Paris, and which he was compelled to retract. It was condemned by his successor Benedict. Adrian VI. in his commentaries, written while he was professor at Louvain, declares the opinion to have been heretical. Maimbourg has proved the heresy of this pope beyond question.³

John XXII.

John XXIII. denied even the immortality of the soul, which may be called the extremest limit to which heresy can be carried. This is among the charges proved against him in the council of Constance; but not published, on account of the injury which would have been rendered to the cause of religion.⁴

John
XXIII.

¹ The passages in question are cited from both these epistles by Cabassutius in his *Notitia ecclesiastica*, p. 294.

² "Etsi sexta synodus errare in condemnandâ sententiâ, quam Honorii esse putabat, non potuerit, in pontifice certè jam vita functo damnando falli potuit."—*Def. fid. Trident.* lib. ii. fol. 105.

Richer has examined the case of Honorius with great learning, and at considerable length, *Hist. con. gen.* lib. i. c. x. ss. 14, 15, 16. He concludes, "Honorium fuisse Monothelitam tam certum est, quam quod certissimum." The heresy of this pope is abundantly proved by the bishop of Meaux, *pars iii.* lib. vii. cc. 21—28. In reply to the pretence of corruption in the documents, he says: "Quid ergo,

tot R. pontifices, tot synodi, adulteratis codicibus in errorem abrepti sunt? Adeone pronum fuit tantâ in re, toti ecclesiæ ipsisque adeo R. pontificibus illudere?"—*Def.* pars iii. lib. vii. c. 26. See also Dupin, *Diss.* v. s. 3.

³ Prerogatives of the church of Rome, c. xiv. Launoy and most of the Gallicans agree in his conclusion.

⁴ They are entitled "Articuli, ut honori papæ parceretur, dissimulati."—*Von der Hardt, C. Const.* tom. iv. col. 252. These are the very words employed by the council: "Item quod dictus Johannes papa XXIII. sæpe et sæpius coram diversis prælatis, et aliis honestis et probis viris, pertinaciter, diabolo suadente, dixit, asseruit, dogmatizavit, et astruxit, vitam æternam non esse, neque aliam post hanc."

Other instances might be added, but these may suffice. Roman writers are greatly perplexed, and at variance among themselves, in dealing with the question. Those who admit that popes have fallen into the sin are the more numerous and the more learned. But their opinion is denied by others of their church, who shrink from the consequence which is involved. Bellarmine says that no heretic has ever sat in the see of Rome ; Pighius, that no pope can fall into heresy ; while Générard is, if possible, still more extravagant, for he affirms that, by virtue of his office, the pope is constrained to speak what is good and true, though he neither thinks nor acts rightly.¹ M. de Maistre, in reply to the difficult question what is to be done if the pope should be a heretic, says, with his usual modesty and wisdom, “ People are either very foolish or very blameworthy who amuse themselves now-a-days with suppositions of this sort, although for 1817 years they have never been realised.”² These assertions, in the face of the plainest evidence, are only important because they prove how clearly the conclusion is foreseen. When a case of undeniable heresy is presented, the answers are various, but not very satisfactory. The pope speaks not in his public character, but as a private man ; or he was not defining, but arguing ; or he did not mean to furnish a decision, but only a probable opinion ; or he held heresy indeed, but did not teach it ; or it was a question of fact, and not of faith ; or he spoke *ex tribunali*, and not *ex cathedrâ* ; or he erred by outward act, not by inward persuasion ; or he was under compulsion in what he did ; or the councils which affirmed his heresy were deceived ; or cardinals and doctors of the church, and the entire series

Various attempts to meet the difficulty.

¹ “Ea est vis cathedræ, ut cogat bona et vera dicere, non bona facientes neque vera sentientes : nec sua docere sed aliena permittat.” — *Chronog. sæc.* vii. lib. iii. p. 675.

² “Je répond en premier lieu, que les hommes qui s’amusent à faire de

nos jours ces sortes de suppositions, quoique pendant dix-huit cent dix-sept ans elles ne se soient jamais réalisées, sont bien ridicules ou bien coupables.” — *Du Pape*, liv. i. chap. iii. p. 23.

of theological teachers and historians were mistaken ; or all the records were corrupted.

The sin of simony is, according to all canonists, similar to that of heresy in its effects in rendering every episcopal act invalid.¹ This was the penalty especially provided, as well as deposition from the office simoniacally acquired by the councils of Chalcedon, Trullus, and Constantinople. Justinian ordained that if any one procured the episcopal office for money he should not only be removed from the rank of bishop, but also degraded from his orders as presbyter and deacon.² The constitutions of popes, from time to time, express as fully as possible the judgment of the Roman church on the enormity of the offence and its consequence. Nicholas II. framed a very severe decree, by which it was enacted that if any one obtained the pope-dome by purchase he should be counted an apostate, and the help of the civil power called in for his removal.³ No

Simony.

Condemned under heavy penalties by popes.

¹ Simony was condemned by the council of Chalcedon, in 451, canon ii. ; by Braga, in 560, canon iii. ; by Toledo, in 653, canon iii. ; by the second Lateran, in 1139, canons i. ii. ; by the fourth Lateran, in 1215, canon lxiii. ; by Mayence, in 1549, canon xci. ; by Trent, in 1562, sess. 21. canon i.

² There is a very full examination of the subject in Van Espen, pars ii. s. iii. tit. xiii. De sim. circa benef. ; also in a treatise, Op. tom. ii. p. 693—737 ; also in J. Cabassutii Juris canon. theoria et praxis, lib. v. c. 3—9. ; and in Thomass. Vet. et nov. eccles. dis. part. iii. lib. i. c. 49—71. Thomassin has again expounded the Roman doctrine on this subject in the Tractatus beneficiarius, appended to his work on church discipline. He says : “ Certum est, quod beneficium simoniace acquisitum, dimitti, et fructus inde percepti in integrum restitui debeant, etiam ante sententiam judicis.” — Quæst. viii. s. 2. Aquinas had maintained the same doctrine, “ Dicendum quod nullus potest licite retinere id quod contra voluntatem Domini acquisivit.” — *Secundæ secundæ*, quæst. 100. art. 6. Gentileti says truly : “ Simonia non minus grave quàm læsæ majestatis crimen censetur, tum jure ca-

nonico tum civili : adèo ut hujusce criminis rei suo munere cadere, suisque beneficiis et dignitatibus, cum perpetuâ infamiae notâ, abdicari debeant. Quod, de iis, qui pecunias accipiunt, quàm qui numerant, intelligendum est.” — *Examen Conc. Trid.* lib. iv. sess. 25. p. 298.

³ These words are to be found in the decree of Nicholas, which was published in a synod A. D. 1059. “ Erga simoniacos nullam misericordiam in dignitate servandâ habendam esse discernimus, sed juxta canonum sanctiones, et decreta sanctorum patrum, eos omnino damnamus, ac deponendos esse apostolicâ auctoritate sancimus.” — *Ap. Van Espen*, pars ii. s. iii. tit. xiii. c. 7.

“ Si quis pecuniâ, vel gratiâ humanâ, aut populari militarive tumultu sine concordî et canonicâ electione cardinalium, in throno Petri collocatur, is non apostolicus, sed apostaticus, id est, a ratione deficiens meritò vocetur ; liceatque cardinalibus, clericis, et laicis Deum colentibus, illum ut prædonem anathematizare, et quovis humano auxilio à sede apostolicâ propellere.” — *Platina, in vit. Nicolai II.* p. 174.

arguments could be more cogent, nor invectives more vehement than those of Gregory VII. against the prevailing sin, which he pronounced to be the hindrance of all sacramental grace. Julius II., though himself notoriously guilty, called simony true and unquestionable heresy, and decreed that a person simoniacally elected pope, though by all the cardinals, should be counted as a heathen man and a publican; and that no subsequent act could make his election valid.

The law is clear enough; and there is no more uncertainty about the criminals who have filled the see of Rome. The record begins very early. Silverius was elevated to the bishopric by Theodatus the Goth, who was bribed.¹ His rival Vigilius, a weak, bad man, gained his elevation partly by simony, partly by favour of the empress. In the corruption of the middle ages simony flourished at Rome as in a congenial soil. John XIX. purchased the popedom and was a layman besides. In the year 1033 he was succeeded by Benedict IX., who was appointed at a very early age. Glaber Rodolphus, a monk and contemporary, to whose accuracy Bellarmine bears testimony, tells us that he came to the see by bribery. Victor III. called him a successor of Simon the sorcerer, not of Simon the apostle. He sold his office to several purchasers in succession. As another historian writes, there was at this time a shameful confusion in the church of Rome, three popes claiming the obedience of the people; the one seated at St. Peter's, another at the church of S. Maria Maggiore, the third at the Lateran.² He goes on to tell us that a pious presbyter, pitying the condition of the church, persuaded the three competitors

Silverius
and other
popes.

Hist. lib. iv.
c. 5.

¹ Anastasius says of this pope, "Hic levatus est a tyranno Theodato sine deliberatione decreti: qui Theodatus corruptus pecuniâ datâ talem timorem induxit clero, ut qui non consentiret in ejus ordinationem, gladio puniretur." — *In vit. S. Silv.* p. 53.

² "Circa idem tempus pudenda confusio ecclesiæ Dei in urbe Româ fuit.

Tribus ibi inuasoribus, quorum unus Benedictus dicebatur, sedem illam simul occupantibus, &c." — *Otto Frising. Annal.* lib. vi. c. 32. fol. 72.

Baronius calls them "pseudo-papas, tricripitem bestiam portis inferi emergentem." — *Ad ann.* 1044. tom. xi. p. 144.

to cede their claims for a price.¹ He took the name of Gregory VI. He afterwards resigned the see with the most abject confession of simony.² Sylvester III. had been previously convicted in the council held at Sutri under the emperor, and Benedict had retired. Yet these three popes appear in the accredited lists. Hildebrand was the friend of Gregory, accompanied him into exile, and by way of vindicating his claim to be reckoned as a legitimate pope, he called himself the seventh of the same name, when he afterwards succeeded to the bishopric.³

These were not exceptional cases ; but for many generations there was not a single pope of whom it could be concluded, with any probability, that he obtained his promotion except by violence or fraud. During the great schism, which began on the death of Gregory XI., simony reached its height. Urban VI. at Rome, and his rival at Avignon, hardly affected any concealment. Theodoric Vrie, whose history of the council is dedicated to the emperor Sigismund, says expressly that the prevalence of the sin was universal, and that the whole body of the clergy, including popes, was infected by it.⁴ Nicholas de Clemangis, who had been secretary to Benedict XIII., complained that no one was admitted to orders, or to any ecclesiastical dignity, except by simoniacal payment, and

Testimonies
of Roman
writers.

¹ "Præfatos viros adiit, eisque a sede sanctâ cedere pecuniâ persuasit ; Benedicto redditibus Angliæ, quia majoris videbatur auctoritatis esse, relictis." — *Ibid.* Duval says the same thing, and makes the same excuse. De R. pontif. potest. pars ii. quæst. iv. p. 255.

² "Concilio habito, synodicis canonicus atque sententiis Gregorius simoniacus probatus, sponte suâ desiliens, pontificalibus se infulus exiit : et humi prostratus, temeratæ dignitatis veniam sibi humiliter petiit." — *Leo Ostiensis*, cited by *N. Alex. hist. sæc. xi. c. i. art. 4.* Otho of Frisingen says, "Rex primo, ut decuit, honorificè suscepit, postmodum autem, collecto episco-

porum conventu, a pontificatu pro notâ simoniæ cedere persuasit." — *Lib. vi. c. 32. fol. 72.*

³ "Hunc Gratianum Alpes transcendentem secutum fuisse tradunt Hildebrandum qui postmodum summus pontifex factus, ob ejus amorem, quia de catalogo pontificum semotus fuerat, se Gregorium VII. vocari voluit ; et sic in Luciano habes, Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni." — *Otto Fris. ibid.*

⁴ "Quis est clericus, quis in ordine sacro, qui non sit simoniacus ? Papa, cardinales, archiepiscopi, episcopi, omnes hâc impiâ sunt infecti pravitate." — *Hist. C. Constant. lib. iii. dist. 2. col. 60. ap. Von der Hardt, tom. i. pars 1.*

he includes the popes in the accusation.¹ Gerson bears the same testimony. And Richard Ullerstone, who was professor of theology at Oxford, and present in the council, states it, as a common opinion, that the schism itself originated in simony. John XXIII. was deposed for this, among other crimes. Boniface IX. is declared by Gerson, in the preface to his treatise on the subject, to have been not less guilty. In the following centuries the evil custom remained unchanged. Alexander VI. was a notorious simoniac.² Of Julius II. Guicciardini says the same. He gives us a very exact account of the price at which Clement VII. obtained the see. In the words of M. de Placette, "If the known instances be so many, what may we think of the secret acts of simony? for this is a crime whose chief art consists in keeping it secret and hiding it from the eyes of men."

Lib. vi.
tom. iii.
p. 37.
Lib. xv.
tom. vi.
p. 57.
Scepticism
of the ch.
of Rome,
c. ix. p. 54.

There are, of course, endless evasions. Sometimes a distinction was taken between the prohibition of simony *jure divino* and *jure ecclesiastico*, invented to excuse the sale of benefices by the pope and others.³ So, again, certain payments are said to escape a simoniacal character by being charged on the revenues of the benefice, and not on the person in possession. It is enough, in reply, to urge, with the old canonists, the divine injunction for the free communication of spiritual gifts.⁴

¹ "Illud vero quomodo ferendum, quod nullus ad clericatum, vel ad sacrum ordinem, vel ad quemcunque gradum ecclesiasticum, nisi mercede accedit?" — *De ruinâ ecclesiæ*, c. xxiii. ap. *Von der Hardt*, tom. i. pars iii. See also cc. iv. v. vi.

² The cardinals were bribed. Onuphrius says, "Horum princeps fuit Ascanius Sfortia, emptus proculdubio profusissimâ largitione." — *In vit. Alex. VI.* p. 355.

This was one of many contemporary epigrams:—

"Vendit Alexander cruces, altaria, Christum,
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest."

³ Van Espen, having shown that the distinction is utterly untenable, cites the words of a writer in the fifteenth

century: "Oh quantam animarum multitudinem catervatim transmisit, et transmittit ad infernum hæc superstitialis et damnanda distinctio! quæ multis est occasio, et viam aperit ad ruinam damnationis æternæ: solus novit, qui nihil ignorat." — *Jus eccles.* pars. ii. s. iii. tit. xiii. c. vii. s. 3.

⁴ "Quoquo se vertant pontifices, quibuscunque decretis, constitutionibus pactisque hanc exactionem tueantur, divinum oraculum semper eis opponemus: Gratis accepistis, gratis date." — *Duaren, de sacr. minist.* lib. vi. c. 3. fol. 132.

"Quæcunque Deus sive summi pontificis, sive aliorum prælatorum, dispensationi credidit, sub hæc conditione credidit, gratis accepistis, &c." — *Cabassutius, Jus canon.* lib. v. c. 3. s. 18.

This, then, is the summary of the matter. There have been in the Roman communion, besides other causes of uncertainty, no fewer than thirty schisms, some involving questions on which jurists have been always divided, and difficulties for which no one pretends to have found a clue. Among various authenticated catalogues, we may adopt which we will, and we shall find some popes who were certainly not legitimately appointed, and a great many others who beyond question were not only men of extreme and unusual wickedness, but were canonically disqualified for their office by heresy and simony.

CHAP. VI.

WANT OF UNITY IN DOCTRINE.

NOTHING is more attractive or more fallacious than the promise which Rome affords of unity in doctrine. The hope of reaching a quiet refuge from the strife of tongues, and of leaving behind all diversities of religious opinion, has induced many earnest persons to accept conclusions on very scanty proof. Their wishes have beguiled their judgment; and they have formed expectations which cannot be fulfilled. Most true are the eloquent words of M. Guizot, in which he states the dissensions of the clergy; the conflicts of national churches with the Roman court; councils against popes; numberless heresies continually reproduced; schisms always impending; infinite diversities of opinion; violence of contention; and this interior life of the church, with its divisions and revolutions, putting the chief obstacle in the way of its external progress.¹ Invariableness of doctrine is indeed the great test which Bossuet proposes for establishing the claim of unity. He gives an account of the variations in protes-

¹ "Ne nous laissons imposer ni par l'éclat des mots, ni par celui de faits partiels. Quelle société a offert plus de dissensions civiles, a subi plus de démembrements que le clergé? Quelle nation a été plus divisée, plus travaillée, plus mobile que la nation ecclésiastique? Les églises nationales de la plupart des pays de l'Europe luttent presque incessamment contre la cour de Rome; les conciles luttent contre les papes; les hérésies sont innombrables et toujours

renaissantes; le schisme toujours à la porte; nulle part tant de diversité dans les opinions, tant d'acharnement dans le combat, tant de morcellement dans le pouvoir. La vie intérieure de l'Eglise, les divisions qui y ont éclaté, les revolutions qui l'ont agitée, ont été peut-être le plus grand obstacle au triomphe de cette organisation théocratique qu'elle tenait d'imposer à la société."—*Civilization en Europe*, p. 243.

tant churches. How far he has established his case we need not inquire ; but it is remarkable that the very history of his book proves how little advantage can be gained for the Roman church by the arguments which it contains. It was disapproved by one pope and approved by another ; applauded by the archbishop of Rheims, and condemned by the university of Louvain ; censured by the Sorbonne in 1671, and in the next century declared by the same learned body to be a true exposition of catholic faith. And whatever may have been the success of this great controversialist against those who rejected the papal communion, it is beyond denial, that on another occasion he proved at least as formidable against the Italian section of his own church.

Bossuet.

“No one can pretend,” says Dr. Newman, “that the quarrels in the catholic church are questions of faith, or have tended in any way to obscure or impair what she declares to be such, and what is acknowledged to be such by the very parties in those quarrels.” It is an unusual advantage which this writer enjoys, that the arguments over which he triumphs so easily are frequently cited from a previous work of his own. It is somewhat unreasonable to expect that we should leave the attack and the defence of a great theological position in the same hands. We are naturally suspicious about an argument which is advanced and refuted by the same person. We must endeavour to state the case somewhat more strongly and circumstantially. The matters at issue within the pale of the Roman church are as far as possible from being few or insignificant. They do not concern questions of middle-age philosophy, nor the disputes of religious orders, nor the eating of fish or herbs, nor the wearing of linen or woollen, or shoes or sandals, or white or black, as we are asked to believe ; but the field of unsettled dispute among Romanists includes the supreme government of the church, and not only the principles of faith on which, by common consent, the salvation of all christians is allowed to be at

Lectures on
Anglican
difficulties,
x. p. 255.Lecture x.
p. 257.Lecture x.
p. 245.

stake, but those also which are peculiar to the Roman communion, and which, properly speaking, do not concern those who are external to it. Let us take a case in each kind.

Question of
supreme au-
thority in
the church.

There is an utter and hopeless disagreement on the question of paramount ecclesiastical authority; and it is one which, as Dupin reminds us, includes the whole subject of discipline.¹ It not only regards the power of making, and changing, and administering laws, but it reaches the very foundations of the faith, by authorising interpretations of scripture, and deciding all controversies in the last appeal. And yet, whether the pope is superior to a council, or the reverse, and whether he enjoys his prerogative by divine right or ecclesiastical, has never been defined, though the decision is above all things required. The ultramontane doctrine is clearly expressed by Bellarmine, who says that "the supreme pontiff is simply and absolutely above the universal church, and above a general council, so that he acknowledges no judgment on earth superior to his own."² The statement is distinct enough, though, as usual, the proofs hardly reach the breadth of his assertion. He cites for scripture evidence Luke, xii. 42., assuming that the pope is the steward; and John, x. 11., alleging that the title of good shepherd was communicated to Peter, and that the pastor cannot be judged by the sheep. He somewhat profanely calls the pope the head of the body, and the bridegroom of the church; and then he goes on to cite the fabulous council of Sinuessa, with its three hundred bishops meeting in a cave. But if cardinal Bellarmine maintains these extreme views of papal supremacy, cardinal de Cusa as distinctly lays down the contrary³; while the cardinal de Lorraine

Ephes. iv.
15.; Ephes.
v. 25.

Opposite
statements.

¹ He says, "Eam controversiam moveri, è cujus determinatione ecclesiastica disciplina tota pendeat."—*Diss. vi. præloquium*, p. 378.

² "Tertia propositio, summus pontifex simpliciter et absolutè est supra ecclesiam universam, et supra concilium generale, ita ut nullum in terris supra se judicium agnoscat. Hæc etiam

est fere de fide."—*De concil. auct.* lib. ii. c. 17. p. 266.

³ "Universale concilium, quod universam catholicam ecclesiam representat esse supra patriarchas, et Romanum pontificem credo dubium esse non debere."—*De concord. cath.* c. ii. c. 17.

went so far as to affirm that the superiority of a council over the pope is as much a truth as the incarnation of the eternal Word.¹ Archbishop Roccaberti, who wrote strongly on the papal side against the French church in the seventeenth century, has collected in twenty-one folio volumes, the treatises of the writers who side with him. It would be very easy to produce a far more considerable amount of writing, in which the exact contradictory is maintained. It is not even settled whether the one view, or the other, may involve the peril of heresy. Bossuet has a chapter on this subject. He says that those of his school have pronounced the opinion which contradicts the definition of the general council of Constance, to be heretical. He gives his own judgment without hesitation, that it is a question of divine right, and therefore of faith, and revealed doctrine.² The historian of the council of Basle, who was afterwards pope, says, with sufficient plainness, that since the great and holy council of Constance has pronounced on the superiority of a general council, it is to be received as a catholic truth.³ The cardinal of Arles, who had the chief influence at Basle, by character even more than by station⁴, pronounced the

Defensio
declar. pars
ii. lib. vi.
c. 19.

Council of
Constance.

¹ "Le Cardinal de Lorraine parla avec une fermeté, qui étourdit les légats. Il dit hautement, qu'il étoit aussi vrai que le concile étoit au-dessus du pape, qu'il est vrai que le Verbe a été fait chair; et il écrivit ces termes à Breton son agent à Rome."—*De l'autorité du pape*, liv. iii. partie ii. ch. xi. p. 138.

² "Ergo clarè agitur de interpretatione divini juris, adeoque de fide, de doctrinâ catholicâ a Deo revelatâ."—*Defensio*, pars ii. lib. vi. c. 19. p. 508.

³ "Cum sancta et magna Constantiensis synodus veritatem illam prædicaverit, de superioritate concilii generalis; quid obstat quominus hanc esse veritatem catholicâ fidei fateamur."—*Æneæ Sylvii comment. de gestis Basil. con.* lib. i. fol. 10.

This shrewd, unprincipled man acted as secretary to the council of Basle. He entered the service of the

emperor Frederic with whom he went over to the side of Eugenius. As Pius II., he not only condemned the acts which he had performed as Æneas Sylvius, but he reversed the whole of his policy. As Mézerai observes, no private person had laboured more to reduce the power of the pope within the limit of the canons than Æneas Sylvius; and no pope strove more earnestly to extend them beyond the bounds of reason and right than Pius II. Duaren says, "Hinc facilè apparet, simul cum nomine mutatum hominem, et velut quodam circeo poculo in aliam naturam repentè conversum fuisse."—*De sacris minist.* lib. v. c. ii. fol. 118.

⁴ "Vir omnium constantissimus, et ad gubernationem generalium conciliorum natus."—*De gestis Basil. con.* lib. i. fol. ii.

same opinion ; and, what is yet more, the council itself, referring to what had been decreed at Constance, declared it to be a verity of the catholic faith that a sacred general council has authority over a pope, as well as over every other person ; and added, that if any one obstinately oppose these verities, he is to be called a heretic.¹ Duval, on the other hand, says that learned men are much divided, and that neither opinion is to be esteemed a matter of faith.² Even Bellarmine, having stated the doctrine of his school, adds, in a very subdued tone, that this is almost a matter of faith, whatever such a phrase may mean. The truth is, that the Roman church has authorised two opposite conclusions, which have been enforced as the one party or the other prevailed. It is not the mere contention of private doctors, whose judgment might on either side be disavowed, but it is the church itself which speaks inconsistently by its synodical decisions. The difficulty arises from those which flatly contradict each other, and which yet, from indispensable considerations, the Roman church is obliged to acknowledge. On the one hand, the superiority of a council has been distinctly and absolutely affirmed, and obedience required from all persons of whatever dignity.³ The council of Pisa, in 1409, asserted its own competency for the reformation of the church, and having deposed the two

De concil.
auct. lib. ii.
c. 11.

Inconsis-
tent conclu-
sions au-
thorised.

Pisa.

¹ See Dissertation historique, appended to L'Enfant's Histoire du concile de Constance, tome ii. p. 499.

² "In hac tantâ doctorum dissensione, dicam ingenuè neutram harum opinionum esse de fide."—*De R. P. potest.* lib. iv. quæst. 7. p. 542.

³ "Concilium generale ecclesiam catholicam repræsentans, potestatem à Christo immediatè habet, cui quilibet cujuscunque status vel dignitatis etiamsi papalis existat, obedire tenetur in his quæ pertinent ad fidem, et extirpationem dicti schismatis, et reformationem dictæ ecclesiæ in capite et membris."—*Concil. Constant.* sess. v.

This decree, together with that of

the preceding session, is defended in the second of the Gallican articles, which thus concludes, "Nec probari à Gallicanâ ecclesiâ qui eorum decretorum, quasi dubiæ sint autoritatis, ac minus approbata, robur infringant ; aut ad solum schismatis tempus concilii dicta detorqueant." Yet the very decrees about which these great theologians speak in such strong terms, are those which Roman writers on the other side have done their utmost to invalidate and bring into contempt. The whole subject is fully examined by Bossuet, *Defensio Declarat. Cleri Gall.* pars. ii. lib. v. p. 381—462.

rival popes, it substituted a third.¹ In the same century we find the council of Constance claiming to derive its power immediately from Christ. And they lost no time in putting this supreme authority into a practical and visible form, by removing the pope. This council also, however unacceptable to a party in the Roman church, has the fullest title to be received, for it had the confirmation of John XXIII. and Gregory XII. during its sessions, and of Martin V. at its close. The council of Basle maintained the same doctrine; and its decrees were confirmed by Eugenius up to a period beyond that at which they had renewed the canons of Constance. Eugenius resolved on the dissolution of the council; but when they threatened him with deposition, he yielded.² The Lateran council, under Leo X., decreed that the pope has full authority over all councils, to summon, transfer, and dissolve them.³ It is to be observed that these conflicting decisions of great Roman synods are no more than the embodying in decrees the opposite interpretations of that text which forms the main scripture authority for all papal assumptions. No Latin council is to be compared with that of Constance for importance or dignity; and by its acts, accepted and confirmed through the whole western church, it rejected the exposition which Romanists are now trying to enforce. M. de Maistre, the chief papal champion in the present century, disposes of the difficulty in a very characteristic way. When pressed with the decrees of Constance, he says that the answer is easy; the council talked nonsense,

Council of Basle.

¹ Baronius, and those of his school condemn this council, but Gerson speaks of it in these terms, "Cum notorium sit toti mundo generale concilium Pisanum, sanctum et justum fuisse, &c."—*De ref. eccles. c. vi. col. 82. Ap. Von der Hardt.*

² There is a remarkable letter written by cardinal Julian, who presided at Basle, to Eugenius IV., to persuade him from dissolving the council, in which he urges this consideration:—"Si quis dixerit, decreta concilii (sc.

Constant.) non esse valida, fateri necesse habet privationem olim Joannis factam vigore illorum decretorum non valuisse. Si Martinus non fuit papa, nec sanctitas vestra est, quæ per cardinales ab ipso factos electa est."—*Ep. ii. Juliani ad Eugen. Fasciculus rerum expet. fol. 32.*

³ "Conciliorum indicendorum, transferendorum, et dissolvendorum plenum jus et potestatem habere."—*Duval, pars iv. quæst. vii. p. 542.*

like the English long parliament, or the constituent assembly, or the national convention, &c.¹

The party whose professed object it was to reduce the papal power within narrower limits, included the persons who were the most eminent for learning and piety; such as cardinal Zabarella, cardinal d'Ailli, and, above all, John Gerson, who was called doctor christianissimus by universal consent, and who was, beyond question, the most influential theologian of that age, and the main-spring of its important synodical movement.² Every act which these men performed, and the whole line of their policy, was an emphatic denial of the scripture interpretation which modern Romanists are so anxious to maintain. Their opinions cannot be mistaken, for they are embodied in the decrees of the great council of Constance, and elsewhere. When the fathers of that venerable synod assumed the exercise of supreme authority, and put the pope on his trial for heresy, among other crimes, and then placed another in his room, it was made as clear as possible that they at least did not believe St. Peter's so-called successor to have received the sole pastoral charge, and to be the supreme ecclesiastical governor, responsible to Christ alone. Their authority was unimpeachable; they were assembled by concert of pope and emperor, and among them were representatives from all christendom.

The case of John XXIII., which so greatly occupied the attention of the fathers at Constance, is full of embarrassment to the Roman controversialist; not only on account of the scandal which it involves, but on account also of its bearing on the question of the supreme authority. The difficulty is insurmountable. Those whom we

Declaration
of the con-
stitutional
party.

¹ "La réponse est aisée. Il faut dire que l'assemblée déraisonna, comme ont déraisonné depuis le long parlement d'Angleterre, et l'assemblée législative, et la convention nationale, et les cinquante, et les deux-cents, et les derniers cortés d'Espagne; en un mot, comme toutes les assemblées imaginables nom-

breuses et non présidées." — *Du pape*, liv. i. c. 12. p. 93.

² His words are very strong: "Sed numquid tale concilium, ubi papa non præsidet, est supra papam? Certe sic. Superius in autoritate, superius in dignitate, superius in officio." — *De ref. eccles.* c. ix. col. 87.

may call the constitutionalists affirm, plainly enough, that, in case of heresy, a pope is subject to the judgment of a council. The monarchists, on the other side, while they confess that a heretic ought not to be pope, are perplexed beyond measure in determining how his deposition is to be accomplished. If, as some say, he cease *ipso facto* to be pope, there must still be some process, unless all ecclesiastical security and discipline are to be perilled. The distinction made between a judicial and a declaratory sentence is only an evasion. If the judgment of the case is simply committed to a council, then its superiority is, in so far, admitted, according to a well-known maxim of law¹; and this is to give up the very question at issue, and to abandon the claim of supreme headship.

Case of
John
XXIII.

Roman writers would gladly be rid, not only of the case of this pope, but also of the council which dealt with it, among other things. But it cannot be disowned, because it is bound up with the line of papal succession. The three councils in which the supreme authority of the pope was so solemnly denied have furnished a fertile topic of contention. By one party in the Roman church they are despised; by another they are placed on the same level as the first eight councils. Leo X. called the council of Basle a conventicle; so again, Duval compares it to the infamous second council of Ephesus; while the great theologians of the French school maintain its authority in the highest terms. And, as if to bring out the disagreement in its most palpable form, the council of Florence commenced its sessions, before those of Basle were ended; and Europe was scandalised by the mutual anathemas of the bishops and others assembled in the two synods. And the question remains at issue still. If, as it is alleged, the opinions of the ultra-montane party have lately gained ground in the church of Rome, it is certain that their opponents have on their side the prescription of the

Opposite
judgments
about the
three coun-
cils.

¹ "Judex, in quantum judex, est superior eo qui judicatur."

Prerogatives, c. xvi.

Pars ii.
ep. iv.
p. 135—151.
also pars i.
ep. x.
p. 58—71.

Aut. Eccles.
tome ii.
p. 60.

Different schools in the Roman church at the same period.

earliest ages. Maimbourg says, that the reason why the discussion was not raised till the beginning of the fourteenth century is, that in the ancient church no one doubted that councils are supreme. Launoy gives a multitude of authorities, including fathers, popes, synods, and great doctors, who assert the power of the church over all persons within its communion. Dupin also alleges the witness of antiquity to the supremacy of councils.

Our opponents boast that their church is the same everywhere; but the very term, ultramontane, which is universally recognised as the distinction of a school, bears witness that diversities have not only subsisted at different periods, but exist at the same time in different places. There is no satisfaction to be had. Let the earnest inquirer go to Rome, and he will receive the most unhesitating assurance that the bishop of that see is the supreme earthly head of the church, and that it is defined in two great œcumenical councils. Perhaps some treatise of Bellarmine in the seventeenth century, or of cardinal Orsi in the eighteenth, will be put into his hand. It will be but short-lived comfort, for when he has crossed the Alps, and come within the Gallican territory, he will be told that the alleged councils have never been admitted there; that the supreme authority of the pope has been denied for ages; and that the theological school, which from the fifteenth century has produced the most learned teachers in the papal communion, has been absolutely committed to an opposite theory. The Gallican church, as every body knows, was long out of favour at Rome, and is still thought to render but divided allegiance. And, even if it were persuaded to give up all the great names and memories which have so long formed its glorious possession, an insurmountable difficulty would still remain; for the superiority of council to pope, which has been its doctrine so long, is bound up with the papal succession. It is as certain that all popes since 1409 derive their office from the authority of a council, as that William III. obtained

his crown by a parliamentary title. To admit the validity of the act by recognising the person elected, and, at the same time, to deny the authority by which it was done, is an inconsistency which refutes itself. The Gallican church has, doubtless, been the stronghold of those who deny the absolute power of the pope; but they have had their advocates among distinguished members of the Roman communion in all countries. Cardinal Zabarella and Panormitan represented them in Italy; cardinal de Cusa in Germany; and in Spain Alphonso Tostato, of whom Bellarmine says, that he was the wonder of the world for his learning.¹

Those who defended ecclesiastical liberties in the time of the council of Constance, were followed in a line of unbroken descent, two centuries and a half later, by a body of writers the most learned which the Roman communion had ever produced, and who certainly did not yield any part of the advantage which had been gained in the days of the great schism. In the seventeenth century they came into direct collision with the papal see. A work had been written by one of their number which was condemned by Innocent XI. as injurious to his authority. It was defended by the Sorbonne, as it had been composed by their direction. The debates which had this origin prepared the way for the great assembly of 1682, and its four famous articles, the publication of which

Tradition of Gallican opinions.

De causis majoribus by M. Gerbais.

¹ The very titles of books sufficiently indicate the width of the separation. Gerson, for instance, wrote a treatise "De auferibilitate papæ;" and Torres, or Turrian, "De summi pontificis super concil. auctoritate." Dupin gives as the subject of his fifth dissertation, "In quâ probatur R. pont. judicium non esse irreformabile." Card. Orsi, somewhat later, published a treatise "De irreformabili judicio R. pont." Who will attempt to reconcile such contradictions? and they are endless.

The continuity on both sides was remarkably preserved. Thus in the sixteenth century, we find the opinions of Gerson attacked by card. Caictan,

and defended by J. Almain, who died young, and of whom Launoy says beautifully, "Facultatis sacræ flos ille in ipso ætatis flore perit, non sine magno scholæ nostræ, et Gallicanæ ecclesiæ detrimento." (Pars i. ep. vi. p. 34.) In the seventeenth century Richer was about to republish the works of the great chancellor, when he was prevented by the interposition of authority; but the purpose was accomplished by Dupin, in 1703, and thus another evidence was afforded of the succession of doctrine on the anti-monarchical side in the bosom of the Roman church.

seemed to render a separation from Rome inevitable. The liberty which they assert is broadly and distinctly expressed. They refuse to acknowledge any temporal power in the pope. They give the strongest adhesion to the decrees of Constance, and denounce those who would restrict their application to a time of schism. They lay it down as a rule that the papal power is to be moderated by the canons, as well as by the institutions of the kingdom and church of France. And they deny that the judgment of the pope is irreformable.¹ Among the most remarkable members of the French church at that time, were Richer, and, somewhat later, Launoy², Dupin, who corresponded with archbishop Wake on the possibility of union with the English church, and Bossuet³, whose name is perhaps the most familiarly known. As soon as his great work in defence of the Gallican clergy appeared, it was attacked on all sides; prelates, and professors of Louvain, as well as of other universities, doctors of the church, and private theologians, were among his assailants. He was charged with destroying the primacy, and the authority of the apostolic see, and even of favouring the opinions of Wicliffe. Some accused him of schism, and some of heresy. In Italy, and Germany, and Spain, many an-

Gallican
articles.

¹ The friends of the spiritual monarchy were of course unanimous in condemning these articles. We have the jesuit Gonzalez affirming that they contradict the tradition of all ages; and the primate of Hungary declaring them to be pestiferous and schismatical. Archbishop Roccaberti, much stronger in curses than in argument, called on the bishop of Rome to put down this impious and detestable doctrine. While another opponent expressed his wish that the bishops who originated the declaration, and those who favoured it, might be burned. The pope himself used another method, and tried to buy off the eloquent and learned Antoine Arnauld by the rank of cardinal; and actually paid this price to Daguire for his lengthy treatise. These are all witnesses that the subjects in

dispute were of no secondary importance.

² Launoy enjoyed a pre-eminent reputation among his contemporaries. He was consulted by Mézerai the historian, and by Colbert the minister.

³ In many respects his conduct, in its two-fold aspect, bore strong resemblance to that of Hincmar, in the ninth century.

M. Guizot says: "A tout prendre, et en ayant égard à la prodigieuse différence des esprits et des temps, il y a, dans la situation et la conduite d'Hincmar, soit envers le pouvoir civil, soit envers la papauté, quelque analogie avec la situation et la conduite de Bossuet, dans des questions à peu près semblables, au dix-septième siècle."—*Civilisation en France*, leçon xxviii, p. 106.

swers were produced. The old arguments of Turrecremata, and Caietan, and Bellarmine, were employed; but the world had grown too wise to give them much weight; and criticism had deprived them of their chief authorities. The position of the bishop of Meaux was impregnable on the one side; but when he tried to reconcile his denial of the pope's supreme government with dutiful adherence to the see of Rome, and to make the antagonistic councils speak in harmony, his answers are more subtle than convincing. When he says, for instance, that the pope is supreme over all parts of the church, separately considered, but not over the church in its collective character; or that he is supreme in the church but not over the church; or that the pope and the church are both supreme, the one in ordinary administration, the other in extraordinary emergencies, it is plain that he is labouring to make a case with very unfavourable materials. His principles, carried out to their strict logical conclusion, must have resulted in renouncing the Roman obedience. How far he is to be excused for avoiding the legitimate consequence of his own reasoning, is not the present question. We know that the French church was often on the verge of separation; and we know by what influences the schism was prevented. We are not concerned, however, to defend the consistency of this great writer, or of others who thought with him, but to make use of their arguments. When we are urged to receive our Lord's charge to his penitent disciple, in proof that the bishop of Rome is universal pastor, we are glad to have ready to our hand the reasons furnished by so many wise and earnest-minded men, whose very existence as a school of doctrine for centuries bears witness against the interpretation of the text as the formula of spiritual monarchy. While modern Romanists are labouring to spread wider, and to bind closer, the ecclesiastical tyranny which has afflicted the nations so long, they cannot be excused from the preliminary duty of explaining the resolute and long resistance

Bossuet.

which has been offered by theologians of their own church, and these neither the fewest in number, nor the least worthy in character.

The doctrine of justification.

If we turn from the doctrines which involve the whole administration of church discipline, to those which concern the foundations of peace and hope to every christian, we shall find the same discordance. There is no agreement in the Roman church about the way of justification, that is, the appointed means for attaining pardon of sin, and the restoration of divine favour ; and it will be admitted that this at least is a topic of no secondary importance.”¹ If the jesuit doctrines had been universally inculcated, which is what hardly any person will venture to affirm, one might have denied that they are tenable, or true, but the charge of disunion would not lie in this particular case. It is maintained on the ground that a system of teaching as different as possible has been authorized ; and that it has the sanction of many great bishops and doctors, as well as eminent saints in the Roman calendar. It is no part of our present purpose to enquire on which side truth is to be found ; whether Augustine is a sound interpreter of scripture or not ; whether the Jansenist school or their opponents are in the right ; nor whether the system of Molina is to be preferred to those which had previous possession of the church ; but whether there are not before us two diverging lines, which the farther we follow them will be found to lie wider apart. We may indeed assume that they are so far from identical, as to be irreconcilable by any ingenuity of explanation. They differ so radically and essentially, that while the one is now established for catholic truth, the other is cast out as heresy. This at least is what Romanist writers affirm.²

¹ Pallavicini says very truly, “Justificationis dogma, tessera quodammodo erat, quâ catholici ab hæreticis discernebantur, et radix, unde veluti quidam rami reliqua seu vera seu falsa dogmata pullulabant.”—*Hist. con. Trid.* lib. viii. c. 11. s. 3.

² “As fire among the stubble threatens great things, but suddenly is quenched in the very fulness of its blaze, so has it been with the heresy in question ;” and again, “The heresy almost arose with protestantism, and kept pace with it ; it extended and

But if the same communion is proved to have held both, it is fatal to the claim of unity; and that on a subject of supreme importance. There are before us two distinct views of justification, held on different grounds, and vindicated by different lines of argument. Each is incidentally connected with other doctrines, which are only to be ranged under separate schools of theology. The controversy had its various phases; sometimes the question at issue turned chiefly on justification by faith; sometimes on gratuitous election, and effectual grace. It was the same subject, under different aspects. The opponents were not backward to impute to each other the denial of gospel truth; but each could appeal to the decrees of councils, and the judgment of popes. No one is able to construct a scheme which shall reconcile these contradictory decisions, because no one can recognise a supreme voice in the confusions of mutual curses and anathemas. Dr. Moehler is certainly in error when he states, in reference to the decree of the council of Trent, that "in opposition to Luther's teaching, the church, exalted now to the highest degree of certainty, what, from her origin, had been taught perpetually and universally, established this in the form of a dogma, and separated it from mere individual opinions." This is what the Roman argument requires, but what is directly at variance with the facts of the case. We may trace the subject very far back, and we shall find that there always existed in the heart of the Latin church those who held the very doctrines which were afterwards condemned. They were taught by Augustine, whom Dr. Field calls "the greatest of all the fathers, and the worthiest the church of God ever had since the apostles' time." The views which he inculcated were wide-spread among his contemporaries, and re-produced again and again. The theory of divine grace had never

Two distinct views held in the Roman church.

Symbolism, part i. sect. xv. p. 167.

flourished in those catholic countries on which protestantism had made its greatest inroads, and it grew and grew by the side of protestantism."—*Newman on Anglican difficulties*, lect. x. p. 263.

Augustine. before been so clearly and scientifically stated. It was by heretical teaching that the occasion was furnished. Pelagius, by his denial of gospel truth, drew out the distinct statements of his great opponent. When his heresy arose to contradict the doctrines of St. Paul, the refutation came from the church of Africa, and was confirmed by Rome and the other churches of the west, among whom the authority of Augustine was very great. The Dominicans claimed him as their great teacher. Jerome of Prague professed to follow Wicliffe, as the interpreter of Augustine, and Augustine rather than Wicliffe, when they seemed to differ. It was by the study of the same father that Luther grew into fitness for his undertaking; but he was only following the course in which others had preceded him for ages. It is clear enough that the doctrines which were afterwards denounced under the designation of protestant, or jansenist, were taught by the great African bishop. Dr. Fulke, in his refutation of the Rhemist commentary, has shown how falsely and inconsistently his authority is claimed by certain papal writers. Maldonat, who is perhaps the most esteemed of their annotators, gives up the attempt. In one place he speaks of an opinion on the character of works done without faith as condemned by the council of Trent, though supported by Augustine; in another he says that Augustine would have thought very differently if he had lived in these times, and knew how calvinists adopted the same interpretation; and again, that he adheres to his own sense of a passage because it is more opposed to calvinists. Dr. Moehler, perceiving the irreconcilable difference, tells us that "never did any father, not even the most revered, succeed in imposing his own peculiar opinions on the church; as of this fact St. Augustine furnishes a remarkable proof. What writer ever acquired greater authority than he? Yet, his theory respecting original sin and grace never became the doctrine of the church; and herein precisely he showed himself a good catholic, that he gave us the permission to

On Romans,
ii.

Matt. vii.
18. col. 169.

John, vi. 50.
p. 311.
John, vi. 62.
p. 323.

Part i. ch.
5. s. 42.

examine his private opinions, and to retain only what was sound." And yet, on the very subject in controversy, the Roman church is fully committed to his views. He is cited as a standard authority by councils and popes again and again. Clement VIII., in opening the congregation which was engaged for several years on the question of divine grace and its mode of operation, declared the doctrine of Augustine to be that of the church. The universities of Salamanca, Douay, and Louvain proclaimed adhesion to it. When, therefore, the Sorbonne condemned Arnauld, though he published the very words of this father side by side with his own, and no one could detect any difference of statement, they did but bring out more strongly the want of harmonious teaching.

In 431 pope Celestine addressed a letter to the bishops of Gaul, in which he exhorted them to follow the teaching of Augustine; and he appended the authorities of the Roman see on this subject.¹ Ten years later John Cassian, at Marseilles, represented the semi-pelagian party²; while Prosper of Aquitaine, a saint in the Roman church, and who enjoyed great favour with Leo I., was vehement on the other side. They were the Molina and Jansen of the fifth century. Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspen, lived nearly at the same time, and earnestly maintained the views of Prosper. His name stands on the first page of the Roman martyrology, where he is said to have suffered much for the excellence of his doctrine.³ Cassiodorus wrote his exposition of the book of psalms early in the sixth century. It is chiefly taken

Celestine.

John
Cassian.

Prosper.

Fulgentius.

Cassio-
dorus.

¹ There seems no reason to doubt that this remarkable document was written by Celestine. See Cave, *Hist. lit.* p. 264.

² The works of Cassian were reprinted by the jesuits at Rome, near the end of the sixteenth century. Vincent of Lerins belonged to the same school. Noel Alexander states his opinion that the semi-pelagian Vincent is the author of the *commonitorium*;

and says that he was convinced by the arguments of cardinal H. Noris.—*Hist. eccles. sæc. v. c. iii. art. 7. s. 7.*

³ "Ob catholicam fidem eximiamque doctrinam ab Arianis multa perper- susus."—*Martyrol. Rom. Jan. I.* His epistle, *Ad. D. Augustinum de reliquis Pelagianæ hæreseos*, is commonly prefixed to the treatise of Augustine on predestination.

from the writings of Augustine, and often expressed in his very words.¹

Councils,
popes, &c.

The doctrines of free grace were asserted by the councils of Africa, in 417 and 418; as well as by the second council of Orange, held a century later, and confirmed by Boniface II. The tradition was preserved by such popes as Leo I., Gelasius, and Gregory the great; and by such influential writers in succession as Isidore of Seville, the venerable Bede, Alcuin the preceptor of Charlemagne, and Bertram of Corby, whose treatise on predestination was addressed to Charles the bald. In the ninth century we find the controversy as keenly maintained as in the sixteenth; on the one side Hincmar archbishop of Rheims, on the other Remigius archbishop of Lyons; in 853, the council of Quiercy passing decrees of doctrine which were reversed in the council of Valence, held two years later; and a metropolitan presiding in each. The one party was opposed to the other as much as the arminians and calvinists long afterwards; and the Roman church bore with both. The occasion was found in certain opinions advanced by Gottschalk, who, after much cruel treatment, was condemned in the former council, and the decision on his case reversed in the latter. He had for his supporters some of the wisest and best men of the age.² He died at the end of a long imprisonment, but his memory has been vindicated by numerous Roman writers, among the Benedictines and Augustinians, as well as Jansenists, especially the very learned cardinal Henry Noris.³ This controversy drew forth the strongest denunciations of Prudentius bishop of Troyes against John Scot, whom

Case of
Gottschalk.

¹ "Expositio, seu commentarius in psalmos Davidis. Basil, 1491."

² "Ils ne prirent pas positivement part pour Gottschalk, mais ils s'élevèrent contre le traitement qu'il avait subi, protestèrent contre le sens qu'on voulait donner à ses paroles, et soutinrent la doctrine de la prédestination,

en essayant d'en retrancher ce qui semblerait contraire à la justice divine." — Guizot, *Civ. en France*, 28ième leçon, p. 119.

³ See Mosheim, *Hist. eccles. cent. ix. part 2. ch. iii. s. 22.* Also Gieseler, vol. ii. p. 50.

he accused of assailing the doctrines of divine grace.¹ Nicholas I. took the side of what would now be called the jansenist party.² In the tenth century Anselm wrote on the very subjects in question.³ In an office for the visitation of the sick, he sets forth the atonement as the sole foundation of hope to the dying person; and puts words into his lips expressive of an entire self-renunciation and distrust.⁴ Bernard was an eminent witness on the same side. The grace of the gospel is nowhere more fully expressed than in the beautiful words which he uttered on his deathbed, and in which, renouncing all dependance on his own worthiness, he pleaded the death of Christ as his only confidence.⁵ Thomas Aquinas was an illustrious defender of these truths in his sum of theology. It was commonly said that the soul of Augustine had migrated into him. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1242, adhered to the doctrinal views of Augustine. He was canonized by Innocent V.⁶ Brad-

Anselm.

Bernard.

Aquinas.

Edmund of
Canterbury.

¹ See N. Alex. Hist. eccl. sæc. ix. diss. 5. s. 6. Prudentius is worshipped as a saint in the Roman church.

² "Il est difficile d'affirmer que Nicolas I. ait pris un parti positif, ni qu'il ait déclaré que l'une ou l'autre des deux opinions était la doctrine de l'église. Cependant on voit clairement qu'il penchait pour les idées de Gottschalk, et pour les canons du concile de Valence, confirmés, en 859, par le concile de Langres."—*Guizot, Civ. en France*, 28ième leçon, p. 121.

³ "Dialogus de libero arbitrio." Also "Concordia præscientiæ, prædestinationis, et gratiæ, cum libertate."

⁴ "Age ergo, dum in te est anima tua, ei semper gratias, et in hâc solâ morte totam fiduciam tuam constitue. Huic morti te totum committe: hâc morte te totum contege, eique te totum involve. Et si Dominus te voluerit judicare, dic, Domine, mortem Domini nostri Jesu Christi objicio inter me et judicium tuum: aliter tecum non contendo."—*Chemnitz, Examen con. Trid.* pars i. p. 143. Having cited some passages from the meditations of Anselm, which Luther might have written, he adds, "Sed infinitum esset,

singula talia, quæ in patrum scriptis extant recensere."—*Ibid.* p. 144.

There is no sadder contrast to the words of the great archbishop than what a modern Roman writer suggests as the suitable condition of mind for a dying sinner: "He addresses himself to his crucifix; he interests the blessed Virgin in his behalf; he betakes himself to his patron saints; he calls his good angel to his side; he professes his desire of that sacramental absolution which for circumstances he cannot obtain; he exercises himself in acts of faith, hope, charity, contrition, resignation, and other virtues suitable to his extremity."—*Dr. Newman, Lectures on Anglican difficulties*, ix. p. 242.

⁵ "Nihil territum aut turbatus ait: Fateor non sum dignus ego, nec propriis possum meritis regnum obtinere cœlorum. Cæterùm duplici jure illud obtinens Dominus meus, hæreditatè scilicet patris, et merito passionis: altero ipse contentus, alterum mihi donat: ex cujus dono, jure illud mihi vendicans, non confundor."—*Chemnitz*, pars i. p. 143.

⁶ His treatise, entitled "Speculum ecclesiæ," is to be found in the Biblio-

Bradwardine.

wardine, called the profound doctor, who occupied the same see, wrote against the heresy of Pelagius. His work, which was addressed to the members of Merton college, maintained in the most forcible terms the depravity of human nature, and the sole hope of recovery by the atonement of Christ.¹ The most eminent theologians of the middle ages belonged to the same school. At one time it was Peter Lombard, the master of the sentences, who was delivering the summary of primitive teaching; at another, it was Bonaventura, the seraphic doctor; or Thomas à Kempis, whose name is dear to the whole church; and they all bore testimony to the truths which were afterwards called heresy. Early in the sixteenth century Adrian VI., who had formerly been professor at Louvain, writing on the holy eucharist, used the strongest terms in reprobating any notion of dependance on human merit, however explained, or any preparation of heart in the communicant.² Twenty years later, a remarkable document was published by the clergy of Cologne, in opposition to archbishop Hermann, who desired the reformation of that church.³ In the article on justification they express a view which Bucer claimed as identical with his own, and of which Bellarmine says that it is erroneous.⁴ Yet these persons lived in the bosom of the Roman

Peter Lombard.

Bonaventura, &c.

thea patrum.—See Cave, *Sæc. scholast.* p. 628.

¹ De causâ Dei, &c. contra Pelagium, lib. iii. Ed. Saville, 1618.

² “Non sine magnâ temeritate et damabili elatione animi quis innititur propriis meritis, aut præparationi per confessionem oris, cordis compunctionem, aut alias tanquam ex iis dignus sit, venerabile sacramentum eucharistiæ sumere; sunt enim merita nostra, et præparatio, velut baculus arundineus cui dum quis innixus fuerit confringitur, et perforat manum innitentis, &c.”—*In 4 sent. de sac. eucharist.*, cited by *Field, Append. to book iii.* p. 308.

³ Sleidan says: “In ejus libri præfatione, post magnam vim conviciorum in Lutheranos, claris verbis affirmant,

sub imperio Turcarum malle sese vivere, quàm sub magistratu, qui reformationem illam sequatur, atque defendat.”—*Comment.* lib. xv. tom. ii. p. 311.

He adds, that Gropper was supposed to have drawn up the antididagma.

⁴ Vid. De justificat. lib. ii. c. i. p. 225. Field gives the words used by the clergy of Cologne: “Justificamur à Deo justitiâ duplici, tanquam per causas formales et essentielles. Quarum una et prior est consummata Christi justitia.” And again: “Aliter verò justificamur formaliter per justitiam inhærentem. Cui tamen inhærenti justitiæ (quod sit imperfecta) non innititur principaliter.”—*Appendix to book iii.*

church, and were bitterly opposed to the protestant movement.

In the sixth session of the council of Trent, held when 1547. forty-seven bishops and ten archbishops only were present, a decree on justification was drawn up, under sixteen heads, to which thirty canons were appended. The historians of the council are perhaps less agreed in the account of this part of its proceedings than any other.¹ Yet even if we take the more Romanist of the two for our guide, we shall find that some of the most distinguished members of the assembly held opinions utterly at variance with the rest.² The majority were eager to get rid of the question, and to frame decisions which might put an end to the chance of accommodation with the protestants. The occasion seemed favourable for the purpose. The emperor and the pope were united against them in the field; and if only the synod could have used their spiritual weapons as effectually, there was the promise of a great triumph. But there was no unanimity, and indeed none could be reasonably expected, when the dominant party, in their blind zeal, were willing to condemn as heresy what the great teachers of the church had held from the beginning. The question at issue respected both the nature and the cause of justification; whether it consists in pardon of sin, and reconciliation with God; or whether it includes also inherent holiness. Then again, while there was agreement on both sides that the atonement of Christ is the meritorious cause of acceptance, it was argued on the one part, that the best works of a christian man are imperfect, and stained with sin, and therefore cannot endure the strictness of the divine judgment, or form, under any modification, the ground of acceptance; it was maintained, on the other side, that it is by a habit of the soul, whether of grace, or

Debates on
the subject
of justifi-
cation.

¹ Pallavicini says: "Tantum intererit inter me ac Suavem, ut de eodem concilio, iisdemque temporibus nos ambos scribere, vix credibile futurum sit."—*Hist. con. Trid.* lib. viii. c. ii. s. 3.

² "Among the members of this council there were many who held opinions on this point entirely similar to those of the protestants."—*Ranke, Hist. of the popes,* book ii. s. 5.

of love, if they are to be distinguished, that justification is attained. The dispute turned upon the immediate, or, as it is logically termed, the formal cause. Cardinal Contarini, before the meeting of the council, while legate at the diet of Ratisbon, composed a treatise in which the former view was supported. It influenced some who were present at Trent, though the author was now dead.

Field, B. iii.
ch. 8. p. 85.

He complained that if any one should magnify the grace of God and urge the necessity of it, he was judged a Lutheran and condemned for heresy.¹ Dr. M'Crie says,

Ref. in
Italy, ch. iv.
p. 205.

with great truth, "It is impossible to read the treatise on justification drawn up by him, when he acted as legate in the diet and conference held at Ratisbon in 1541, together with the letters which passed between him and Pole at that time, without being convinced that both these prelates agreed with the reformers on this article, and differed widely from Sadolet and others, whose sentiments were afterwards sanctioned by the council of Trent."

Contarini
and Pole in
agreement
with pro-
testants.

The doctrine which Contarini and his friends maintained was preached, in the council itself, by Marinari the Carmelite, in terms which would have suited the lips of a Lutheran.² And in another discourse delivered before the same audience, the date of which is uncertain, though it was subsequent to the sixth session, the same preacher speaks of the deep corruption of human nature and of its restoration in Christ. In the debates which attended the preparation of the decree, we have the bishop of Cava ascribing justification altogether to faith³; and the bishop of Belluno exalting faith, and Christ's atonement, and denying the merit of works. Cardinal Pole, and the archbishop of Sienna, held the same views, and both left the council. Seripando supported an opinion, as nearly as pos-

Le Plat,
tom. i.
p. 134.

¹ The passages in the tractatus de justificatione which assert the true doctrine are to be found in the edition of 1571, but were expunged by the inquisition from the edition published at Venice in 1589. Ranke, b. ii. s. 5.

² His sermon, preached on the fourth

Sunday in Advent, A. D. 1545, is given by Le Plat, Monumenta ad C. Trid. illust. tom. i. p. 23.

³ "Ex adverso minus rectè disseruit Cavensis, qui profusâ oratione omnia ipsi fidei arrogabat."—*Pallav.* lib. viii. c. 4. s. 11.

sible, identical with what Bellarmine condemned as heretical; while, on the other side, were the larger portion of bishops, besides the theologians who attended the council, among whom Salmeron and Lainez were the most conspicuous. It is remarkable that some of those who were strongest in supporting the papal supremacy, agreed rather with protestants about justification. Thus Pighius, whose book on the hierarchy defends the extreme ultramontane view, is accused by Bellarmine of error on this point.¹ So again the bishop of Bitonto, whose foolish and profane discourse at Trent outran all other flatteries of the papacy, delivered a statement on the subject which harmonises with that of the reformers.² Amidst such discordance of opinion, a decree was passed which contains very obscure and inconsistent statements. The formal cause of justification, as distinguished from the final, the efficient, and the meritorious, is defined to be infused righteousness alone.³ The decree which, though contradicting protestant doctrine, falls very far short of the Jesuit statements, gave occasion for endless dispute in the Roman church. In the words of bishop Forbes, "It is wonderful how much contention has arisen (even among those whose whole efforts are directed to preserve the authority of the council of Trent) from this precise and peremptory determination of one only formal cause of justification, arising out of and taken from, not the scriptures or the teaching of the early church, but the altercations and contentions of the schools, as is evident from the very terms employed, and indeed not altogether consistent with itself."

De justif.
lib. ii. c. 1.

Discordant
opinions at
Trent.

Of justifica-
tion, book
ii. ch. 4.

As soon as the session was ended, Dominic a Soto, a

¹ Sarpi says, "Ce qui occasiona cette dispute fut l'opinion d'Albert Pighius qui, confessant la justice inhérente, ajoutoit, qu'on ne devoit pas s'y confier, mais seulement dans celle de Jésus Christ, qui nous est imputée comme si c'étoit la nôtre."—*Hist. du con. de Trente*, liv. ii. s. 76.

² For an account of his sermon see Sarpi, liv. ii. c. 28. and for his opinions

on justification, Pallav. lib. viii. c. 4. s. 14.

³ "Demum unica formalis causa est, justitia Dei, non quâ ipse justus est, sed quâ nos justos facit, quâ videlicet ab eo donati, renovamur spiritu mentis nostræ, et non modò reputamur, sed verè justî nominamur et sumus."—*Sess. vi. Decret. de justif. c. vii.*

De naturâ
et gratiâ.

leader in the controversy, published a book which was answered by Andreas Vega, who had been his chief opponent; and they each claimed the authority of the council for opinions as wide asunder as could be imagined. Ambrose Catharin composed a work, to show that the council was of his mind; the master of the sacred palace wrote to prove the contrary; while Pallavicini, the historian of Trent, affirms that the opinion of Catharin is false, but not condemned.

Other questions were raised. Some contended that forgiveness of sin is nothing else but the infusion of righteousness; others strenuously deny this opinion; and the dispute ranges through a circle of similar topics. What is not less remarkable, the jansenists claim both the decrees and canons to be on their side.¹

Justification
by faith
only, held
in the
Roman
church.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, that is, between the first and the last session of the council of Trent, John Wild, or Ferus, a great preacher, and a learned expositor of scripture, proclaimed the doctrine of justification by faith only, both from the pulpit in the cathedral of Mayence and from the press. They did not venture to call him heretic, but, after a Roman fashion, they tampered with his commentary, and made it express opinions very unlike what its author held.² Even cardinal Hosius, writing in 1557, expressed the same views.³ The case of Grimani, patriarch of Aquileia, occurred while the council was yet sitting, and was committed by the pope to their judgment. After an examination which lasted twenty-four days, they pronounced that his writings were not he-

¹ Vid. Tradition de l'Eglise Romaine sur la prédestination des saints, et sur la grace efficace. Par M. Germain. Partie iv., de la doctrine du concile de Trente, tome ii. pp. 1—133. The book was really written by Quesnel.

² These are the words of the Index lib. prohib. "Johannis Feri opera omnia prohibentur donec expurgentur."

³ Contra Brentium, lib. v. fol. 251.

He concludes the last book with a prayer, of which this is a portion. "Non gloriamur de meritis nostris, non habemus in illis fiduciam nostram collocatam: de hoc solo gloriamur, in hoc solo confidimus, quod membra sumus illius corporis tui, quod pro nobis passum, crucifixum et mortuum, abundè pro peccatis totius mundi satisfecit."

retical, but that they ought not to have been published. The Venetians had made his cause their own; and their interposition, as well as the friendship of the emperor, probably formed his protection. The legates, in their letter to cardinal Borromeo, affirmed that he had written nothing which might not be found in Augustine, Prosper, Bernard, or Thomas Aquinas; that is, the council adduced, as the ground of acquittal, the very authorities which the jansenists afterwards pleaded in vain.

Case of Grimani.

The "consultations" of George Cassander were written, by command of the emperor Ferdinand, in 1564. This good and wise man, who enjoyed a high reputation, and died in the communion of the Roman church, did not think himself precluded from putting a favourable sense even on the words of Melancthon and Luther.¹ The very suggestion proves how widely his own views differed from those of the jesuit party, who dealt so hardly with the members of their own church. He uses, as we might expect, the authority of Augustine and Bernard. Louis of Grenada, who died in 1588, was less remarkable for having refused an archbishopric and the rank of cardinal, than for his learning and piety. No one was more earnest in exalting divine grace, or in denying any suggestion of human merit.

George Cassander.

Louis of Grenada.

It was not long after the close of the council of Trent that the differences which existed in the Roman church on the subject of justification became very apparent. Michael de Bay (Baius) and John Hessels, who had been sent by Philip II. as theologians to the council, published certain opinions which were denounced as unsound on the very subjects treated in the sixth session. Their opinions were previously well-known; they had many followers among

¹ "Quod autem protestantes passim urgent, solâ nos fide justificari, tolerabilius est cum interpretantur, se in fidei nomine gratiam quæ ei ex adverso respondet intelligere, ut idem sit solâ fide justificari, quod solâ gratiâ, non ex operibus justificari." — Art. iv. op.

p. 913. The whole of this article bears testimony to the existence of a doctrine on the subject of justification held by the wisest and best men in the Roman church, as far removed as possible from that of the later jesuits.

Case of
Baius.

the students in theology. The case is the more remarkable because Louvain had been foremost in condemning Luther, and was held in the highest respect throughout Germany and France.¹ De Bay, who is the better known, was dean of St. Peter's church at Louvain, and chancellor of the university. His opponents selected seventy-nine propositions from his writings, which Pius V. condemned in a bull dated 1567. They were clearly inconsistent with the doctrine which was now becoming established in the Roman church; but there were so many recent precedents in his favour, and Molinism was yet so far from being in possession of the theological schools, that it would not have been safe to condemn his tenets with any precision or in other than general terms. The propositions are declared to be heretical, erroneous, suspected, rash, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears; but there is no help in determining which of them incurred the highest degree of censure and which the lowest. No one could tell which were condemned as heretical, and which declared capable of an innocent interpretation; yet the difference is as great as can be well imagined. In adopting this form the pope followed the example of the council of Constance, which dealt in the same way with the articles attributed to Wicliffe; and the precedent was afterwards adopted by Clement XI., when he anathematized the doctrines of Quesnel. It was a method obviously convenient to the Roman see, but most unjust to the persons condemned, and to the church, which wanted an exact direction. Whether a certain statement were heretical, that is, bringing salvation into peril, or only imprudent and ill expressed, no one could learn from the sentence of the infallible teacher.² The very obscurity which pervades these presumptuous

¹ "Summo habebatur in honore Lovaniensis academia, non solum a Belgicis regionibus, sed universâ Germania, Galliâque, Belgio finitimis, &c."—*Pallav.* lib. xv. c. 7. s. 6.

² It is a remarkable instance of the ingenuity with which the Roman church

leaves room for uncertainty, that in the bull which condemned the propositions of de Bay, the mere place of a comma gave occasion to endless dispute. See N. Alex. Hist. sæc. xvi. c. ii. art. 14. p. 167.

documents bears witness to the want of any exact or consistent teaching in the Roman church. There are some of the propositions, for instance, which the pope did not venture specifically to condemn, because he knew that they were held by the whole order of Dominicans. A few years later Gregory XIII., at the solicitation of the jesuit Tolet, confirmed and published the bull of Pius, which had been communicated privately to the university of Louvain, and without the insertion of the name of Baius.¹ And yet it is proved plainly enough that the papal sentences were ineffectual for producing harmony of doctrine. Some persons in the Roman communion denied their authority altogether; and some complained, not without reason, that they could not understand what had been condemned.² It was the great dispute between Dominicans and jesuits which was now broached. The former held opinions so far removed from those of their opponents that, as cardinal du Perron said, a protestant might subscribe their creed. The jesuits, on the other hand, had changed their doctrine. At their first institution Aquinas had been their text book. They gradually receded from their devotion to this great teacher, and at last adopted views utterly at variance with his, partly through jealousy of the Dominicans, partly through the desire of more complete opposition to the protestants. Yet Francis Borgia, who was the third general of the order and a saint of the Roman church, held opinions which were cited by several protestants who were burned at Valladolid, as identical with their own. But in 1586 Lessius and another published a new system

Dominicans
and Jesuits.

¹ "Michaelis Baii nomini pepercit mansuetissimus pontifex," are the words of Noel Alexander, *Hist.* sæc. xvi. c. ii. art. 14. p. 167. The epithet is strangely applied to one who proved himself cruel and pitiless, almost beyond example. His whole history refutes the supposition that he spared de Bay through any compassion.

"Majoris lenitatis gratiâ privatim Lovaniensi academiæ ab archiepiscopo

Mechliniensi jussu apostolico denunciatum est."—*Ibid.* p. 168.

² The propositions of de Bay denied the possibility of human merit. This is, for example, the eighth. "In redemptis per gratiam Christi, nullum inveniri potest bonum meritum, quod non sit gratis indigno collatum." They are generally such as would be called calvinist.

of theology, out of which thirty-one propositions were censured by Louvain. The pope enjoined silence, but Louis Molina, professor of theology at Evora, undertook their defence. His book on the agreement of free-will with the gifts of grace was published in 1588. It speaks disrespectfully of Augustine and others whom the church holds in reverence. Men of piety in his own community were offended; even Mariana censured his doctrine; and Baronius advised to give him up; but Acquaviva defended him. The chief opposition came from the Dominicans, to whom the memory of the great saint and doctor was very precious. Molina maintained that "free-will, even without the help of grace, can produce morally good works; that it can resist temptation; and can elevate itself to various acts of hope, faith, love and repentance." A great dispute was held at Valladolid, after which there was a complete estrangement between the Dominicans, who opposed, and the jesuits who supported Molina. The controversy involved the topics which had been so often debated; free-will and divine predestination, the merit of works, and the efficacy of grace. There was the utmost divergence of opinion. Clement VIII. committed the judgment of the question to a congregation of theologians, including cardinals and bishops, and there was reason to expect that it would now be brought to an issue.¹ The pope, who took great interest in the matter, would probably have pronounced in favour of the Dominicans; but the decision was prevented by his death, which occurred in 1605. Paul V. renewed the investigation, which he pursued until his attention was turned from theology to politics by the Venetian disputes. This pope was equally disinclined to establish the doctrine of the jesuits; and was yet unwilling to condemn them, on account of the service which they had recently rendered to the Roman see. He decreed that each of the parties should retain

Liberi
arbitrii cum
donis gratiæ
concordia.

Molina.

Ranke, lives
of the popes,
Book vi. s. 9.

The dispute
left un-
settled.

¹ It was called, "Congregatio de auxiliis divinæ gratiæ."

liberty of opinion until a decision should be pronounced. The congregation had lasted from January 1598 to August 1607, and had held more than a hundred sessions, yet the question remained still unsettled: France supported the jesuits; the Dominicans had their friends chiefly in Spain.

In 1640 the controversy which was left undecided by Clement and Paul, was renewed by the Augustinus of Cornelius Jansen published in that year.¹ The author had devoted twenty years to the study of the great Latin father; and he expressly declared that he was delivering no new doctrine, but that which had been long received in the church. The jesuits called for the condemnation of the book, on the ground that it contained what had been already proscribed in the case of de Bay. Urban VIII. expressed his disapprobation. Innocent X., his successor, was averse from pronouncing judgment; the subject was out of his line, but, at the instance of cardinal Chigi, he condemned as heretical and blasphemous five propositions presented by the jesuits and said to be extracted from the book. The jansenists acquiesced in their condemnation; they affirmed, on the one hand, that they believed, with Augustine and Aquinas, on the subject of effectual grace; and that they did not hold the five propositions which were condemned; at the same time they denied that they were to be found in the Augustinus, or that they understood them in the condemned sense. The question of *droit et fait* was now started, and a new branch of the discussion opened, in which the limit of the pope's authority was involved. In the meantime Chigi, who was committed to the extreme view, became pope, under the name of Alexander VII.; and published a formal declaration, that the propositions were in the book of Jansen, and, what seemed most wonderful of all, were condemned

Jansen and
his book.

¹ Jansen died of the plague before the publication of his book. He had been chancellor of Louvain, and bishop of Yprès. His friend du Verger, who had been the companion of his studies, had obtained the abbey of S. Cyran, by which title he became chiefly known.

Jansenism.

in the sense which he intended, though he was no longer living to declare what that was.¹ The jansenists replied by a declaration, that the papal infallibility did not extend to a question of fact. In 1667, nineteen bishops addressed an earnest remonstrance to Clement IX., the next pope, against the claim; and in the following year, he consented to accept a general condemnation of the propositions. These moderate councils prevailed for a time; but on the death of Madame de Longueville, and at the instigation of the jesuits, Louis XIV. renewed the persecution. Hatred of the jansenists became, for the rest of his life, the ruling passion, rivalled only by the bitterness with which he regarded the church of the reformation. The eighteenth century opened darkly for the former. The mild and tolerant La Chaise, who was the king's confessor, died, and was replaced by Le Tellier, a man of harsh and gloomy temper, who had a personal quarrel with the jansenists, and with the archbishop of Paris their protector. His first act was to obtain a fresh bull against them. The old dispute was renewed, and Clement XI. condemned the doctrine of the Sorbonne, in which they had declared that persons were admissible to the eucharist, even though they did not acknowledge that Jansen had really taught the condemned propositions. When the nuns of Port Royal had refused to sign the formulary, the archbishop of Paris was persuaded to refuse them the sacrament, and the king resolved to destroy the place of their retreat. Cardinal de Noailles was brought, by his connexions, under the influence of the court. He was moderate, and a lover of peace, but feeble, and irresolute, and the enemies of the jansenists prevailed with him to condemn a doctrine which no one doubted that he secretly preferred; and to consent to the destruction of Port Royal. It was in the night time, at the end of October, 1709, that Argenson, the lieutenant of police, with a troop

¹ "In sensu ab eodem Jansenio intento damnatus fuisse declaramus et definimus."

of soldiers, invested this peaceful religious home. Six leagues from Paris, in a wooded valley near Chevreuse, stood the old Cistercian house, which for a hundred years had been the abode of learning and sanctity. Bands of armed men had come to disperse the poor nuns, who were its present inhabitants; meek and pious women, some very aged and helpless, yet all earnest, and inflexible in holding God's truth. The convent was dismantled and laid waste; two years later what remained of it was destroyed. The victory did not seem secure, as long as a remnant stood, for the affection of the people clung to its very stones. The church was pulled down, and the cemetery violated, with such horrible profaneness as the revolution which closed the century hardly equalled. The ruffians who plied their work of emptying the graves were kept in a state of continual drunkenness. The recluses themselves, saints of whom the world was not worthy, had some of them died through the hardships of the journey, and some who were dispersed in distant places had, by their holy temper, compelled even their enemies to recognise the power of a great principle.¹

Destruction
of Port
Royal.

After a year or two, there was another triumph for the jesuits. Pasquier Quesnel, priest of the oratory, and the friend of Arnauld, published reflections on the new testament. This book had long formed the favourite reading of pious Romanists; Père La Chaise had it always on his table; M. de Noailles, when bishop of Chalons, had given it his formal approbation; and Clement XI. had spoken of it with the highest praise. On the death of Arnauld, the author having become the head of the jansenists, incurred the enmity of the jesuit party. Le Tellier extracted a hundred and three propositions from

Quesnel.

¹ "On les distribua dans des monastères situés à de grandes distances; bientôt après, la maison, l'église, et tous les bâtiments furent rasés; les pieux solitaires qui avaient été enterrés dans le cimetière furent exhumés et leurs

cendres jetées aux vent. Une exécution si brutale contre des religieuses dont la moitié de la France admirait la piété et les vertus, étonna et consterna le public." — *Sismondi, France sous les Bourbons*, ch. 40. p. 460.

The bull
Unigenitus.

the work, of which Clement, under the influence of the king of France, condemned all but two, in the bull *Unigenitus* published in 1713.¹ The see of Rome, by this act, became committed to Molinist opinions. It was a necessity under which the pope had fallen, for the jesuits were his champions against the protestants everywhere. The system of doctrine established at Trent would never have been carried without the assistance of Salmeron and Lainez. There was a reciprocal bond; the jesuits came to the rescue of the papacy, when it was hard pressed; and now, that in blind hatred to Arnauld and the rest, they maintained an opposite doctrine, the old alliance bound the pope to their cause. The French church was divided. The majority of the bishops received the bull, but the universities, the parliament, and the nation at large, sided with the minority who rejected it. The influence of Louis with the ecclesiastical portion of his subjects was very great; so that the prince of Condé declared it to be his opinion, that if it pleased the king to go over to the protestant church, the clergy would be the first to follow him.

Although the doctrinal opposition was very broad, the

Ranke,
Lives of the
popes, book
viii. s. 16.
p. 420.

¹ These are some of the propositions condemned:—

“The grace of Jesus Christ, a principle efficacious for all manner of good, is necessary for all good works; without it, nothing is done, or can be done.”—II.

“Faith is the principal grace, and the fountain of the rest.”—XXVII.

“Pardon of sins is the first grace which God granteth to sinners.”—XXVIII.

“The grace of Jesus Christ alone renders a man fit for the sacrifice of faith; without him, there is nothing but impurity and indignity.”—XLII.

Some contain the very truth which none but Pelagians could deny, and some which in spite of the bad influence by which the pope was surrounded, it seems almost incredible that he should have been induced to condemn, such as these. “In vain do men call unto

God, and call him father, if they do not call upon him with the spirit of charity.”—L.

“Faith justifies when it operates, but operates only by charity.”—LI.

There were others doubtful in their meaning, or ill expressed, and some undeniably true though anti-Romanist and therefore rejected.

“The reading of the holy scriptures is for all men.”—LXXX.

“To forbid Christians the reading of the holy scriptures, and especially the gospel, is to forbid the use of the light to the children of light, and to punish them with a kind of excommunication.”—LXXXV.

“To forbid the ignorant people the comfort of joining their voice to that of all the church, is a custom opposite to the ancient practice of the apostles, and even the intention of God.”—LXXXVI.

controversy was very far from being altogether theological. The jesuits indeed did not like a system which inculcated the necessity of divine grace at every step, and which represented God's will as the only rule of life, his favour and conformity to his likeness, as the eternal blessing of redeemed creatures ; but they hated still more the severe and self-renouncing lives which bore witness against the loose morals and the worldly system of their own party ; and they had, besides, a special ground of offence, in the successful pleading of the elder Arnauld in the suit between their society and the university of Paris in 1594.

At the renewal of the controversy the position of the Dominicans was very perplexing. They had maintained, at a former period, exactly what the jansenists held now. They were unwilling to share the reproach of those with whom they really agreed, and the jesuits were too politic to incur the opposition of a powerful body whom it was impossible that the Roman church could cast off. The case was very critical. The jansenists might be condemned, but it was not easy to avoid censuring the Dominicans, who appealed to Augustine and Aquinas, and were utterly at variance with the Molinist party. A formula was at last invented which jesuits and Dominicans agreed in adopting, but which each understood in a different sense. Both parties spoke of sufficient grace, but it was an equivocal term, the very object of which was to conceal their disagreement; and it had a different meaning, according to the side on which it was employed. Pascal proved irresistibly that while the Dominicans professed to hold with the jesuits that all men have sufficient grace, they really maintained, with the jansenists, that it will not be operative unless effectual grace be added.¹ There was an apparent harmony, but it was only in

Difficult position of the Dominicans.

¹ "Ainsi, s'ils sont conformes aux formes aux Jansénistes, dans la substance."—*Pascal*, Seconde lettre, p. 43.

words. The jesuit side had, however, this great advantage, that when the Dominicans came to explain their system, it was found to involve obvious contradiction; they were obliged to affirm that all men have sufficient grace, but not effectual, and that the one without the other is unavailing.¹ They were really at one with Augustine and the jansenists, and they had from the first opposed the tenets of Molina; but they consented to a discreditable evasion, because they were unwilling to incur the suspicion of calvinism. Pascal affirms that the doctrine of effectual grace had been maintained by the greatest teachers; that popes and councils had preserved the tradition; and that to call it heretical was an impiety.² Church synods separated by many centuries, as the second council of Orange and the council of Mayence, are found to agree in supporting the doctrine which the bishop of Rome and his advisers so peremptorily condemned. And still there was no agreement. Clement XIII. held the doctrine of Molina, and defended the jesuits; their misfortunes are said to have broken his heart. Clement XIV. entertained opposite opinions, and abolished the order. "He was attached," says Ranke, "to the doctrinal system of the Augustinians and Thomists, which was altogether

A.D. 629.
A.D. 1549.

Ranke,
B. viii. s. 19.

"Le monde se paie de paroles : peu approfondissent les choses ; et ainsi, le nom de grace suffisante étant reçu des deux côtés, quoique avec divers sens, il n'y a personne, hors les plus fins théologiens, qui ne pense que la chose que ce mot signifie soit tenue aussi bien par les jacobins que par les jésuites, et la suite fera voir que ces derniers ne sont pas les plus dupes." — Seconde lettre, p. 45.

¹ "C'est-à-dire, lui dis-je, que tous ont assez de grace, et que tous n'en ont pas assez ; c'est-à-dire, que cette grace suffit, quoiqu'elle ne suffise pas ; c'est-à-dire, qu'elle est suffisante de nom, et insuffisante en effet. En bonne foi, mon père, cette doctrine est bien-subtile." — Seconde lettre, p. 46.

² "Il est donc sûr, que la grace efficace n'a point été condamné. Ainsi est-elle si puissamment soutenue par

saint Augustin, par saint Thomas et toute son école, par tant de papes et de conciles, et par toute la tradition, que ce serait une impiété de la taxer d'hérésie." — dix-septième lettre, p. 378.

Dr. Newman, in a former work, alleges what is most true on the point of inconsistency. Having stated the protestant view of justification, he adds: "There are many difficulties attending this theory, but its strength in argument with Romanists lies in the authorities which can be brought against them from among their own friends." (Lectures on justification, appendix, p. 400.) And he goes on to cite Augustine and Jerome, Ambrose, pope Gregory and Bernard, as witnesses to the doctrine which Rome now rejects. This catalogue of authorities, however, as we have seen, represents very imperfectly the amount of the evidence.

opposed to that of the company of Jesus, and was, indeed, not entirely free from jansenist opinions."

It is hard to understand how the doctrines which had been held by a long, unbroken line of catholic teachers, could become heresy in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. By whom were they condemned? Did the church universal consent? What great council was summoned? Were the orientals consulted before judgment was given? Was even the west of one mind? Nothing could be less like the recorded way of dealing with ancient errors, than this strange history of jansenism. But it was, in reality, not the alleged heresy of which they wanted to be rid, but of the persons who were said to hold it, which is as different as possible. Their enemies made a new form of heresy to reach their case; and they were condemned, not for what they maintained, but because they would not affirm that Jansen held something which they did not believe him to hold. We should search in vain the accounts of the rise, progress, and suppression of the Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, &c., for any thing which affords the faintest analogy to such a procedure. And if the methods bear no resemblance to those which were in primitive use, the instruments employed were at least as unlike. At one time it is cardinal Mazarin who is busy in making the clergy receive the pope's decree. At another, the king, and the partners of his vicious life, are foremost in opposing the men whose earnest piety was an unpardonable reproach. Then we have Clement eagerly seizing the opportunity to mortify de Noailles, against whom he had a private grudge. And a little later, the duke of Orleans, and the infamous Dubois, as the defenders of the faith, compel the parliaments to withdraw their opposition to the papal constitution. And if we ask, what sort of men were the theologians whom we are required to accept, as teachers of the truth, standing in the place of Cyril, and Athanasius, and Augustine, to purge the church of heresy, the answer is furnished in the pages of the jan-

New form
of heresy
alleged.

senist Pascal. Those immortal letters so charm the reader by their pointed wit, and their irony unmatched since Socrates, that they make him almost forget what exact logic, what profound theology, and what wonderful acquaintance with the word of God, they display. No picture of a religious order can be more true, or more repulsive, than that which they present. We safely trust his conclusions, for unanswerable proofs are furnished at every step. He places before us the members of the society of Jesus, busy in making religion palatable to the worldly and unchanged in heart; not teaching the morals of the gospel, but providing endless evasions of duty; suggesting how the gambler, the duellist, the revengeful, and sensual, the fraudulent bankrupt, and the servant, either an accomplice in his master's vice, or dishonest on his own account, might be provided with pleas in abatement of guilt. If a man wanted to practise simony or usury with a quiet conscience, or to indulge in gluttony or pride of dress, or to refuse alms to the needy, or in a thousand other ways, to escape the strictness of the divine law, there were teachers such as Sanchez, and Emanuel Sa, and Bauny, and Escobar, ready to help him with excuses, and to suggest the easy terms on which absolution might be obtained and penance mitigated, and the love of God practically dispensed with.² They discouraged scruples of conscience, they recommended the most indulgent teachers, they defined sin after a new fashion, so that it was not easy to bring any one under the charge of guilt. And by the doctrine of probability they maintained that, in doubtful cases a man might follow an opinion, the soundness of which he did not himself believe, provided that it was defended by some author of repute.² The names of

Jesuit
morals.

Vid. vii.
viii, ix^{ième}
Lettres.

Ranke, Hist.
of the popes,
ch. viii.
s. 11.

¹ "On attaque la piété dans le cœur; on en ôte l'esprit qui donne la vie: on dit que l'amour de Dieu n'est pas nécessaire au salut; et on va même jusqu'à prétendre que cette dispense d'aimer Dieu est l'avantage que Jésus-

Christ a apporté au monde."—*Pascal*, lettre x. p. 205.

² Pascal in his eleventh letter expressly declares that he has not made the worst case that he was able against the jesuits, and that he might have

persons which occur, on the other side, present a strange contrast, such as Mère Angélique, full of wise and self-denying love, the reformer and restorer of the Cistercian houses; and S. Cyran, the friend of Richelieu, then his theological opponent, and at last his victim. The jansenists had among them the most learned jurist of the age, and the most eloquent pleader, Arnauld d'Andilly the statesman, Racine the poet, Tillemont the historian. Those who had the greatest distinction for learning, and genius, and piety, in that age were found in their ranks; and whatever helped to redeem those profligate and unbelieving days. And these persons, consecrating all their endowments, and labours, to a heavenly purpose, attained a great success. If their enemies had an apparent triumph, it was but such as God permits from time to time, that the faith and patience of his saints may grow to purity and strength. The righteous cause is persecuted, and prevails. De Saci was in the Bastille; but he employed himself in completing the translation of the bible, which is still the treasure of the reformed church. The nuns of Port Royal were scattered; but they carried their principles with them; the whole kingdom was filled with admiration of their constancy, and every religious house to which they went felt their influence. It is the history of oppression, wrought by some of the worst men whom the age produced, against others whose learning and goodness were its chief glory. To call this the assertion of catholic truth, is a singular perversion of language. It looks rather like a bitter irony, than a sincere statement.¹

Members of the jansenist body.

The triumph, such as it was, had no permanence; time the avenger vindicated the cause of jansenism. The reign

cited yet more vicious maxims, but that he spared them. Their morals have been, perhaps, more thoroughly exposed by Nicholas Perrault. His work, published anonymously, is entitled, "Morale des Jésuites, extraite fidèlement de leurs livres imprimés

avec l'approbation et la permission de leurs supérieurs, 1607."

¹ The best account of the jansenists is to be found in *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire du Port Royal* par M. Fontain, and in Gerberon's *Histoire du jansénisme*.

of Louis closed in darkness and dismay ; the protestants were banished, and had carried with them the arts by which other countries were to grow prosperous ; Fénelon ended his life in disgrace ; and cardinal de Noailles, a broken-hearted penitent, went to the grave full of bitter and unavailing remorse. After a time the Jesuits fell under universal reprobation. Many countries demanded their suppression. In France they were condemned as fraudulent merchants ; in Portugal as confederate with those who attempted the life of the king ; and everywhere as bad moralists and the corrupters of youth. Spain, and Naples, and Parma, as well as Venice and other states of Italy, joined in condemning them. Heavier calamities were at hand, on a wider scale. Before the century was ended, the philosophers finished what the jesuits had begun. The encyclopedists and the rest were irresistible against a church from which all spiritual life had been trampled out. Instead of the jansenist preacher, there was the abbé with whom the memoirs of the time make us so familiar, infidel and immoral, but well-bred and witty. The work of Molina's disciples was coming to an issue. They had done more than they foresaw ; for when they pulled down Port Royal they loosened the foundations of the stateliest church and the most ancient monarchy in Europe. It was the story of blind Samson renewed.

Jansenism
not ex-
pelled.

At the end of all the injustice which had been done there was still no sign of unity. The so-called heresy was not really expelled, but the discordance of opinion within the Roman church was made still more apparent. During the very period when the persecution was at its height there was an entire want of agreement upon the disputed doctrine among the chief ecclesiastics. Who will undertake to reconcile cardinal Sfondratè with cardinal Henry Noris? ¹ They were as wide apart as Pelagius and Augustine. In 1717 a project of union between the

¹ The work of Sfondrate is entitled, "Nodus predestinationis dissolutus."

He died in 1696. Cardinal Noris died in 1704.

French and English churches was countenanced by archbishop Wake ; Dupin, who discussed the propositions on the side of the Sorbonne, in debating the question of doctrine expressed in the English articles, consented to the tenth, eleventh, thirteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth, which are as strongly opposed to Molinism as if they had been written with this design. The jansenist tenets, long after their supposed expulsion, extended beyond the university of Paris ; they spread over Spain, Germany, and Italy ; they were heard even in the pulpits of Rome. The church of Utrecht, though anathematized by many popes, has continued to receive communicatory letters from Roman bishops, and the fullest acknowledgment from ecclesiastics and others. They form a party which has never ceased to exist.

But it is said that, in spite of these undeniable differences, there has been oneness substantially, and on a broad view. If we look, however, a little more closely, we shall detect a certain confusion of thought by which our opponents have not failed to profit. Unity in doctrine is something positive ; the suppression of dissent is a bare profitless negation. They are assumed to be identical, when, in point of fact, it is to the latter only that Rome has, in any place, or at any time, been able to attain. Persecution is itself an incidental evidence that unity does not exist.

In Italy doctrines were on all sides promulgated, utterly at variance with the new theological system which Rome was trying to enforce. Early in the sixteenth century Clement VII. acknowledged, with grief of heart, that the whole country was pervaded by them ; Sadolet complained of an almost total defection from the church ; while Caraffa declared that the poison of the Lutheran heresy was every where. Melancthon's learning brought Wittemburg into close relation with the great Italian scholars. Merchants imported the books of the reformers. The very troops which Charles V. led from Germany contained many who were zealous for protestant truth. It had

Unity does not consist in the suppression of dissent.

Italy per-
vaded by
protestant
opinions.

taken root at Ferrara, and Modena, and Florence. It extended through the Venetian territory and the Milanese. It reached from Locarno in the north, to Naples, and even as far as Sicily, in the south. It gained access to the towns through the papal states¹; to universities like Padua and Bologna; and great Italian houses, like the family of Colonna; and was received even by distinguished prelates, like the bishop of Salerno. The Italian church was rich in illustrious names. There was Gaspar Contarini, of whom Pole speaks with such encomium, and Carnesecchi, the distinguished scholar and most blameless christian, who was treacherously given up when he was the guest of duke Cosmo, at Florence; and Pallario, the friend of Sadolet and Bembo, in some respects the greatest scholar of the age. His treatise on the benefits of Christ's death had an immense circulation. He was cast into the flames at the age of seventy. There was Flaminio, whose exposition a protestant would read as expressing his own views; and Ochino the eloquent preacher, of whom Charles V. said that he would make the very stones weep. These were all fearless and faithful witnesses for the truth of the gospel. In the words of Ranke, "there was thus a line within catholicism which the opinions analogous to Lutheranism did not overpass." It was suppressed by unrelenting cruelty, and not by any change in the convictions of the people. "At Rome some were every day burnt, hanged, or beheaded: all the prisons and places of confinement were filled, and they were obliged to build new ones. That large city could not furnish gaols for the numbers of pious persons who were continually apprehended." At Venice they were drowned in the Adriatic. At Naples whole streets were deserted by their inhabitants. Of the strictness of the inquisition at Cremona Roman historians speak with pe-

Hist. of the
popes,
Book ii. s. 1.

M'Crie, Ref.
in Italy,
ch. v. p. 313.

Suppressed
by persecu-
tion.

¹ "L'on prêchoit contre l'église Romaine dans les maisons particulières de plusieurs villes, et surtout à Faenza, ville du domaine du pape, en

sorte que l'on voyoit augmenter tous les jours le nombre des Luthériens, qui avoient pris le nom d'Évangéliques." — *Sarpi*, liv. i. s. 37. tom. i. p. 87.

cular satisfaction. At Faenza a nobleman of distinguished merit expired on the rack ; the report of the cruelty excited the people of the city, and they pulled down the house of the inquisition. At Lucca, some of the chief families retired to Switzerland and France, with the view of enjoying the free exercise of their religion. In the words of M'Crie, "Irritated by their departure, the government offered three hundred crowns to the person who should kill one of them in Italy, France, or Flanders." The inquisition was the chief instrument for suppressing the freedom of religious thought in those dismal times ; and the accession of Paul IV. was the signal for great extension in its operations. He was always present at its meetings ; he brought new classes of crimes under its cognizance, and gave the power of applying torture for the discovery of accomplices. Excommunications, imprisonments, and burnings formed the business of his last years. The love of the inquisition was the last feeling which lingered in his aged heart ; and he commended this institution to the cardinals who surrounded his death-bed.¹ Pius V., who is a saint to whom the prayers of devout Romanists are offered on the fifth of May², kindled fresh vigour in the inquisition when he became pope. He caused it to visit not only recent offences but those also which had been committed ten or twenty years before.³ He had himself been an active inquisitor in the neighbourhood of Como, when that district was infected with pro-

Ref. in Italy, ch. v. p. 287.

Activity of the inquisition.

¹ "Æternâ laude dignum Paulum reddit S. inquisitionis tribunal, quod illius studio et antea per consiliarii auctoritatem, et postea per principis potestatem exercenti acceptam refert Italia servatam in se fidei integritatem."—*Pallav. Hist. con. Trid.*, lib. xiv. c. 9. s. 5.

² His cruelties seem to have led to his canonisation. The Roman martyrology says of him, "Qui ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ restituendæ, hæresibus extirpandis, et Christiani nominis hostibus conterendis strenuè ac feliciter

incumbens, &c."—*May V.* p. 75. Mr. Alban Butler tells us that "his precious remains are preserved in the church of S. Maria Maggiore."

³ "Never would he mitigate a penal sentence ; this was constantly remarked of him ; rather would he express the wish that the punishment had been more severe ; he was not satisfied to see the Inquisition visiting offences of recent date, but caused it to inquire into such as were of ten or twenty years' standing."—*Ranke, Hist. of the popes*, book iii. s. 7. p. 273.

testant opinions. When he became pope he sent such forces as he could raise to assist the Romanists in France; and charged their leader to take no Huguenot prisoner, but to slay every one that should fall into his hands. He urged Philip of Spain to proceed by force of arms against the Netherlands; and gave the duke of Alva especial marks of favour. He exhorted the king of France to an unsparing extirpation of heretics; and when that country was wearied and worn out with civil war, and an accommodation seemed probable, his only anxiety was to defeat the proposal. This is the burden of his letters, whether to the queen mother, or the duke of Anjou; and when peace was established, he wrote in despair to the cardinal of Lorraine, as if religion had received a blow from which it would hardly recover.¹

Ranke,
book iii.
s. 7.

Pius V. a
great perse-
cutor.

Reformed
doctrines in
Spain.

In Spain the doctrines of the reformation spread among the higher classes, made their way into monasteries, and had many adherents in towns and villages. From Burgos to Grenada, from the Mediterranean to the borders of Portugal, the country was pervaded by them. "Spanish writers," says Dr. M'Crie, "impute the extensive spread of the protestant opinions in the Peninsula, in a great degree to the circumstance that their learned countrymen being sent into foreign parts to confute the Lutherans, returned with their minds infected with heresy; an acknowledgment not very honourable to the cause which they maintain, as it implies that their national creed owes its support chiefly to ignorance, and that, when brought to the light of scripture and argument, its ablest defenders were convinced of its weakness and falsehood." It was to no purpose that the Spanish bible was placed on the list of prohibited books drawn up by the university of Louvain; or that the inquisition was watchful to prevent its diffusion. The scriptures in the native tongue, to-

Ref. in
Spain, c. vi.
p. 227.

¹ Mendham's Life of Pius V. c. iii. testants is well described by Ranke, p. 78. The progress of opinions in Italy analogous to those of the pro- Lives of the popes, book ii. s. i. See also M'Crie, Rep. in Italy, ch. iii.

gether with commentaries and various religious books, found their way from Geneva across the mountains, and were dispersed among the people. Juan Valdez, by his writings, and Juan Gil, by his personal instruction, contributed greatly to awaken an interest in the primitive doctrines. The fears of those who opposed them were thoroughly aroused. Charles V. from his convent wrote at one time to his son, at another to the inquisitor general, urging more vigorous measures. The suppression of heresy was the subject which interested him most during the life, half superstitious, half sensual, in which he spent his last years. If any thing could have drawn him from his retreat, it would have been to assist in the good work. He added to his will a very needless injunction to Philip, that he should not spare the heretics. Rome had but one method of restoring unity. It was not by appeals to reason enlightened by grace, nor to the inward consciousness of the spiritual nature, nor to the witness of the bible, that the belief about justification could be changed. The only hope was the inquisition. Its proceedings were made more severe, and were applied not merely to the relapsed, or the obstinate. There were frauds of every kind to entrap the unwary, and spies in the prisons as well as in society. The victims became of course very numerous. Among the earliest were Cazalla, who had been preacher to the emperor; and Ponce de la Fuente, who had been his almoner. These were followed by Caranza, archbishop of Toledo, who had spent his life in suppressing Lutheranism, but became at last its disciple, as they alleged. And it is remarkable that a considerable number of others who had sat with him in the council of Trent, were denounced for similar views, and compelled to retract.¹ The inquisition reduced its rules to a written code, according to which the papal church applied to its erring children the torments which

Suppression of protestantism.

¹ Much information is given in Dr. in Spain. See also de Castro's Hist. McCrie's History of the Reformation de los Protestantas Españoles.

Objects of
persecution.

the old Romans reserved for slaves. Many died, no one knew how. There were some from whom pleas of guilt were wrung by anguish more than nature could endure, and some whom no torture could force to violate their consciences. There were feeble women, and aged persons, whose very helplessness might have pleaded for them; and poor peasants, whose invincible ignorance should have saved them; and learned doctors, whose arguments could be silenced in no other way. The auto-da-fé generally took place on a Sunday or holiday, in the most spacious square, and with the attendance of all the authorities, civil and military, as well as ecclesiastical. The multitude were attracted by the promise of forty days' indulgence, and flocked to the spectacle of death in its most terrible form; for the whole nation had become demoralised by those lessons of cruelty which are of all others the most corrupting and debasing.¹ The lesser punishments were generally deferred, while persons condemned to die were delivered to the secular judge, who was charged to treat them with clemency, because the canons forbade injury to life or limb. Yet preparation was made for their death by communicating the number of the intended victims, and the amount of stakes and wood required. The first public act of faith took place at Valladolid, in May 1559, when Don Carlos, the heir apparent, received an impressive lesson on the method of governing his future kingdom. High in the procession, they carried the silver crucifix, as if to bring the visible representation of the Saviour in the consummate act of his love, for sanctioning a scene of merciless ferocity. It was a frightful antithesis. Seville and Valencia, Sarragossa and Barcelona, witnessed many similar scenes. The Spanish mar-

¹ We have a theologian of Valentia, in a sermon preached before the council of Trent, Dec. 13. 1562, boasting of the cruelties practised by Philip. "Ita factum est, ut brevi qui apud inquisitionis tribunal rectissimum, admissæ

ullius hæresis facti sunt rei, ii quidem, aut morte damnati ignique traditi, aut publicatis eorum bonis et aliis etiam pœnis affecti, propriæ darent improbitatis et impietatis meritas pœnas."—*Le Plat. Monument.* tom. p. 547.

tyrology is rich in the records of christian courage and patience. It is full of affecting details. We have one victim asking for the poor gift of a little more wood, that he might burn the quicker, and receiving a refusal. Then we have a young mother deprived of her infant, and so tortured that she died in a few days ; and afterwards, as if it were an expiation, her innocence was declared by the inquisitors themselves. There is the account of De Roxas, on his way to the stake, imploring mercy from Philip and receiving a ferocious answer ; the count de Baylen visiting, from time to time, the place of execution that he might grow familiar with its terrors ; a gentleman denouncing his own daughters ; and Antonio Herezuelo going courageously to the flames, and troubled by the sight of his wife in the garb of a penitent, yet soon herself to be recovered to the true faith, and to die the same death. But such cases are without number. These records are not likely to be forgotten. It is no more possible to enter Valladolid, without thinking of the occasion on which the king and his court assisted, or Seville, without remembering the sixteen thousand whom it burned, than to pass the church of S. Germain l'Auxerrois in Paris, without recalling the signal of St. Bartholomew.

Instances.

The Spanish monarchy had long been intensely Roman, and there was no countervailing influence. Church authority had enjoyed undisputed sway ; the Moors were banished ; the Jews well nigh exterminated ; the protestants burned, or driven away ; and from the close of the sixteenth century all expression of opinion contrary to the papal standard was suppressed ; if there were any victims, they were chiefly strangers. But in the meanwhile no conversions to the tenets of Molina are recorded. When the generation of those who believed the true doctrine of justification had passed away, religion itself died out. The only permitted form was so contrary to reason and human affection, that the nation at last became infidel. And now the church of Spain, stripped of its property,

Effects which followed the expulsion of protestantism.

its religious orders suppressed, is left bare and friendless, with nothing to oppose to the mocking world, which it can no longer chastise, and which it never won by holiness and love. Pope, and king, and inquisitor have done their work, and gone their way. These were the preachers of unity, the missionaries by whose labours harmony of religious opinion was to be restored. The result corresponded exactly with the character of the means employed. Spain is what the inquisition has made it. If it is the lowest and least respectable of European nations, it is because the Roman church has broken the spirit and corrupted the heart of the people.

Persecu-
tions in
England.

In England, during that unhappy reign which intervened at the dawn of the reformation, the same methods of reducing the people to the Roman faith were put in exercise. The persecutors were moved neither by the stout heart of Rowland Taylor, nor Ridley's learning, nor Latimer's white hairs, nor Cranmer's gentle and loving nature. Men and women, clergy and laity, the cripple and the blind, poor artisans and day labourers, as well as persons of condition, were thrust into the fire. On November the fifteenth, 1558, five were burned at Canterbury, and on the seventeenth Mary died. There were in those days two bishops of London, the one canonically appointed, the other violently intruded. They were representatives of the contending churches. The one had the same prominent position among the martyrs which the other filled among the persecutors.

In France.

In France the dissentients fared not very differently. If they did not stand at mass, or salute the host, they were beaten. If they refused the sacraments of the Romish church, there were the galleys for the men, and solitary confinement for the women. At Toulon, and Marseilles, and Toulouse, gentlemen and scholars, whose lives had been a lesson of christian goodness, were to be seen working in chains, with felons for their companions, and enduring yet severer punishment than those who had

been convicted of crime.¹ The pastors were banished, some tortured, some hanged. If they were detected in returning from exile, they were broken on the wheel. We read of one who suffered this punishment at the age of seventy-two. They were put to death at intervals, from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes till past the middle of the eighteenth century.²

Nothing could be more simple than the form of unity prescribed. "It is his Majesty's will," said Louvois to the troops sent against the Huguenots in 1635, "that the extreme of rigour should be employed against those who refuse to become of his religion." And ecclesiastics were foremost in executing the statutes of persecution.³ Le Tellier, the keeper of the king's conscience, was the chief instigator of the movement. In 1752, the bishops in Languedoc were urgent for the rigorous execution of the laws against heretics. The utmost multiplication of individual punishments was yet too slow for those who were labouring to establish unity; and the system was invented which has given an unhappy notoriety to its authors. In 1681 the dragonnades began, in which for several years the fairest provinces were abandoned to a profligate army. The cruelties which they practised were such as could not be exceeded in war. No outrage which soldiers, on the first day of conquest, have committed in captured towns, was spared to the miserable inhabitants of the district by their fellow christians, who alleged no other offence than a diversity in the worship

Activity of
Roman ec-
clesiastics.

¹ "Quelque cruel que fût par lui-même le service des galères on l'agrait lorsqu'il s'agissait des Protestants." — *France sous les Bourbons*, ch. xxxix. p. 352.

² "Les prisons regorgaient de ces malheureux, les galères en étaient remplies; leurs pasteurs avaient été déportés, et ceux qui rentraient, s'ils étaient pris, périssaient sur la roue dans une longue et affreuse agonie." — *Ibid.* p. 352.

³ "Mais la cruauté de l'intendant des commandants militaires des comités des galères n'égalait point encore celle des ecclésiastiques des curés surtout nommés dans les paroisses uniquement peuplée de nouveaux convertis; c'étaient eux qui se chargeaient de l'espionnage au milieu d'un troupeau qui leur échappait sans cesse, &c." — *Ibid.* p. 353.

of God. It was the repetition, in the seventeenth century, of what had marked the beginning of the thirteenth. The fields of Languedoc and Provence were again laid waste by professed members of the Roman church, and under the same pretence of establishing unity. Immunities were granted to those who forsook the reformed faith, and conversions were allowed, even at the age of seven years. The ministers of the established religion took up the work which the army had prepared. It was a miserable degradation, when Bortaloue went, at the king's command, to finish the work at Montpellier which the dragoons had begun.¹ Meanwhile conversions multiplied. There were sixty thousand in the district of Bordeaux; twenty thousand in that of Montauban. In a space of time incredibly short, La Rochelle, Montpellier, and Nismes, were reported as having abjured their heresy. Béarn was in 1684 almost entirely protestant. The inhabitants of this remote province were exposed to all the oppression of men who were now practised in cruelty; and in a very short time Béarn was reported as altogether catholic²; and on the 22nd of October, 1685, the revocation of the edict was signed. The same methods were employed in the Netherlands. Philip II. was in close alliance with the pope; the duke of Alva, and the cardinal grand inquisitor, were their chief agents, and, as Schiller tells us, "the clergy of Spain, and especially the inquisition, contributed richly towards the expenses of this expedition, as to a holy war." He describes in these terms the army employed in vindicating the christian faith. "Their fanatical and sanguinary spirit, their thirst for glory and innate courage, was aided by a rude sen-

Degrading office assigned to Bortaloue and others.

Revolt of the Netherlands, book iv. p. 65.

Ibid. p. 67.

¹ "Les dragons ont été de très bons missionnaires jusqu'ici : les prédicateurs qu'on envoie présentement rendront l'ouvrage parfait."—*Cited from Mad. de Sévigné, France sous les Bourbons, par Simonde de Sismondi*, c. xxxiv. p. 82.

² "Les conversions ne se firent plus

individuellement, mais par villes entières, et l'intendant put enfin annoncer à la cour que le Béarn entier s'était fait catholique : des réjouissances furent ordonnées pour célébrer ce glorieux événement."—*France sous les Bourbons, Simonde de Sismondi*, c. xxxiv. p. 73.

suality, the instrument by which the Spanish general firmly and surely ruled his otherwise intractable troops. With a prudent indulgence, he allowed riot and voluptuousness to reign throughout the camp." The inquisition was restored, and fresh articles framed, so as to bring all persons of so-called heterodox opinions within reach of punishment. Executions rapidly followed, and the pledge afforded by the deaths of Egmont and Horn, was amply redeemed. The result was a great practical lesson on Roman modes of conversion ; but a warning at the same time which is not likely to be ever forgotten. The history of these persecutions is the tragedy of primitive times renewed. It is like an anachronism, and we seem to be reading the records of the early church, out of their proper place. There is the same cruelty on the one side, and the same endurance on the other. We have but to substitute emperor for pope, and prefect for the most christian or catholic king, and we are carried back fourteen or fifteen centuries. And in the meanwhile there was no change of the religious opinions which were assailed, for any others. Their outward expression indeed was subdued in Spain, but they grew into stronger life in Germany. In the one the inquisition was every where, in the other it was unknown. But persecution has no power to substitute different views ; it teaches nothing, removes no convictions, but only adds fear, and hatred, and falsehood. The death of Socrates made Plato profess what he did not believe. When all faith is rooted out of the heart of a people, they will not think differently because they cease to think at all. Persecutors can accomplish no more. *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.* The unity is only apparent, and superficial, and temporary. The frost binds many incongruous things together ; let warmth return, and they fall apart ; its absence was the condition of their cohering. And it is no injustice to the Roman church if we recur to the means which it has employed, from time to time, for the suppression of dissent, because

The cruelties of primitive times re-produced.

No repeal
of persecut-
ing statutes
in the
Roman
church.

they are embodied in its laws, and form part of its administration, whenever there is no restraint from a weightier authority, or the influence of public opinion. It is the easiest thing in the world to point out statutes of persecution, from the time of Innocent III. and his council of Lateran; and no one is able to tell us, where and when, they have been repealed, by an authority equal to that by which they were enacted. Their principles are not extinct, or obsolete; they are only slumbering, and waiting. An ignorant controversialist on the Roman side is loud and indignant in denying the imputation; another, who has read history, and comprehends the theory of his church, is silent. There is no better type of the papacy, than that which is furnished by the old palace of the popes at Avignon, where the pontiff was lodged under the roof which covered the dungeons of the inquisition.

Immaculate
conception.

There is the same disagreement within the circle which is exclusively Roman. The doctrine of the immaculate conception, for instance, has been the subject of endless disputation, and entirely among members of the same church.¹ And the contrariety of opinion is the more remarkable, because the subject itself is as trifling and unimportant as ever occupied the time, or kindled the bad passions of theological disputants. For the question at issue is not whether the blessed Virgin fell into actual sin, but whether she was under the taint of natural corruption before her birth, and for an infinitesimal space of time, which Aquinas represents as that which intervenes between two moments. Bishop Patrick refers to two hundred and sixty doctors of the church who pronounce for the affirmative distinctly, or by necessary consequence. When Leo X. was urged to rule the question, Caietan wrote his treatise on the subject, for the purpose of dis-

Insignifi-
cance
of the
question.

The Virgin
Mary mis-
represented
by the
Roman
church.

¹ "I will venture to say, that if you wish to get a good view of the unity, consistency, solidity, and reality of catholic teaching, your best way is to get up the controversy on grace, or on the immaculate conception."—*Newman, Anglican difficulties*, lecture x. p. 225.

suading him; in which he urged the judgment of fifteen canonised saints on the same side. Pallavicini, on the other hand, says that a library might be formed of the books written by those who maintain the opposite view.¹ The doctrine of the immaculate conception has no countenance from the ancient church. Chrysostom and Hilary, Ambrose and Augustine, were ignorant of it. Leo, Gelasius, Gregory I., and Innocent III. among the early popes, never heard of it. Some of the fathers have not scrupled to impute actual as well as original sin to the blessed Virgin.² In 1136 certain canons of the church at Lyons set apart a day in honour of the immaculate conception, for which they were rebuked by Bernard. He remonstrated against the institution of the festival, and denied the authority of the alleged revelation on which it was founded. At first the schoolmen on all sides were agreed that the blessed Virgin was sanctified after, and not before, her conception. Bonaventura and Aquinas, Peter Lombard and Alexander Hales, were of the same mind. The question would have been set at rest, by an almost universal consent, when Duns Scotus, the subtle doctor, undertook to defend what became from that time the view of the Franciscans. At the beginning of the fourteenth century he stated hypothetically what was afterwards more broadly asserted. There was at first no more than the modest suggestion, that God might exempt any one from the inheritance of a corrupt nature. There was then a rapid advance from the possible to the actual; from what was probable to what was certain. The maintenance of the tenet by one of the great rival orders ensured its energetic denial by the other. They both contained men of the highest reputation and learning. Neither can be disowned without a ruinous sacrifice; and to this circum-

No sanction from the ancient church.

Rise and progress of the doctrine.

¹ "Ea librorum copia pro hac sententiâ edita est, quæ ad instruendam bibliothecam abundè foret." — *Hist. con. Trid.* lib. vii. c. 7. s. 11.

² Yet among the articles produced

against de Bay, this is included, "Nemo, præter Christum, est absque peccato originali. Hinc B. Virgo mortua est propter peccatum ex Adam contractum." — lxxiii.

stance we must attribute the long continuance of the controversy. It was not confined to the schools of middle-age philosophy, where it might have kept its place among the multitude of similar topics; but it pervaded the whole church, and disturbed the peace of kingdoms. It was transferred from the sphere of learning to that of popular contention. The more ignorant the people, the more vehement they became. And there was no decisive judgment pronounced by the supreme authority. It is not that Rome never legislated on the subject, but that its legislation is full of evasions. The council of Basle, after long dispute, forbade any persons to preach or teach against the assertion that the blessed Virgin was never actually subject to the taint of original sin. But they did not make it an article of faith; and this decree was passed in the thirty-sixth session, when it is said that they were in schism. The decisions of popes are full of contradictions and compromises. One who had quarrelled with the Franciscans opposed their favourite doctrine; another who belonged to their order promoted it. Sixtus IV., in 1476, granted certain indulgence to those who assisted at the mass on the feast of the immaculate conception, for which he appointed a special office. The Dominicans declaimed against the decree with the utmost violence. A second constitution was published in 1483, in which the pope forbade under anathema, that any one should condemn the doctrine as contrary to the faith, yet he permitted the contradictory proposition to be held¹; that is, he allowed two opposite parties to believe and to teach what they pleased on the subject, so that they would but abstain from calling each other heretics. He left it an open question. Among the contentions which occurred in the council of Trent, this was of course renewed. In one of

Uncertain and inconsistent teaching of the Roman church.

¹ "Sub anathemate cavet, ne quis eam opinionem veluti fidei contrariam incuset: tametsi et contrariam quoque sententiam, nempe B. Virginem obstrictam peccato originis fuisse liberam permittat." — *Greg. de Valentia, De peccato orig. c. iii. p. 138.*

the earlier sessions, the Dominicans affirmed, very truly, that neither scripture nor the fathers made any exception to the universal corruption of human nature through Adam's sin.¹ In the debates which preceded the decree on original sin there was a conflict between the two rival orders, which brought out the extent of their mutual opposition. The case needed decision; but the council was so far from any purpose of this kind that they proposed nothing but compromise. When the legates reported the contention which had occurred they received direction to avoid handling a subject that might cause a schism among catholics.² The decree which was passed did not except or include the blessed Virgin.³ To have done the one or the other would have been to decide the matter at issue, of which they had no intention. They wished to leave it unsettled⁴; and how entirely they succeeded we may learn from Gregory de Valentia, who tells us that the fathers of the council, though they did not define the exemption of the blessed Virgin from original sin, allowed the liberty of believing it according to the decree of Sixtus.⁵ Pius V., in 1570, forbade any one to censure the affirmative or the negative opinion. Paul V., by apostolic letters in 1616, reiterated this prohibition; he renewed the constitution of Sixtus IV., of Pius V., and of the council of Trent. In 1617 he decreed that no one should affirm in any public act or sermon that the,

A.D. 1546.

The council of Trent avoided a decision.

¹ "Les Dominicains disoient que S. Paul et tous les S. S. pères avoient parlé d'une manière aussi générale, et sans faire aucune exception, et que par conséquent il n'en falloit faire aucune." — *Sarpi*, liv. ii. s. 66.

² "La réponse qu'ils reçurent de Rome sur ce dernier article fut un ordre de ne point toucher à cette matière, qui pouvoit causer un schisme entre les catholiques, de tâcher de maintenir la paix entre les deux partis, de chercher moyen de les satisfaire également, et sur-tout de conserver le bref de Sixte IV. dans toute sa vigueur." — *Ibid.* s. 68.

³ *Primum decretum quintæ sess. Trid. concil. fol. 40.* But the clause in which reference is made to the B. Virgin is omitted in some editions.

⁴ "Synodus, contrariis Franciscanorum et Dominicanorum machinationibus exercita, videri voluit rem indicisam relinquere." — *Heidegger, Tumulus con. Trid.* ad sess. v. qu. 3. tom. 1. p. 210.

⁵ "Quamvis non definiant ipsam à peccato originali immunem fuisse, liberam tamen facultatem permittant hoc opinandi sicut permisit Sixtus quartus." — *De peccato orig.* c. iii. p. 129.

blessed Virgin was conceived in sin. But he ordered that in the mass for her festival no other title should be employed than that of the conception. And he gave liberty to the Dominicans to deny the doctrine of the Franciscans, if they did it privately. In the following year ambassadors were sent by Philip II., who represented the discords in the church, the contentions which pervaded the cities of Spain, and the ruin which threatened men's souls. They took with them letters not only from the king, but from the bishops and universities, in which the pope was earnestly entreated to pronounce between the rival factions. Four years were spent in fruitless negotiations. Philip's successor sent a similar embassy to Gregory XV.; but he obtained no other decision than that the Franciscans had high probability on their side, while they were prohibited from treating the doctrine of their opponents as erroneous. Gregory XV., in 1622, forbade any one to allege, in private disputation or in writing, that the blessed Virgin was conceived in sin; but he made an exception in favour of the Dominicans. Alexander VII., in 1671, declared it pious to honour the immaculate conception, but prohibited the censure of those who do not believe it. Clement XI., in 1708, appointed a festival in celebration of it; but the Dominicans denied the obligation of the law, and did not observe it. The pope granted to the subjects of Austria a weekly office of the immaculate conception; the term is, however, not used in any of the prayers, but only in the title. Gregory XVI. added the word immaculate in the service book. While popes, one after another evaded the settlement of the question, and left the people to choose which side they pleased, the contest was vehemently maintained by the most influential communities. Thus, in the fourteenth century, we have the university of Paris, at that time the most illustrious in christendom, binding its members, by oath, to preach and defend a doctrine which the whole Dominican order as resolutely denied, even imputing heresy to those who

Evasion
practised
by popes.

maintained it.¹ Many fraternities were instituted in honour of the immaculate conception in Spain and Portugal, with the fullest sanction of successive popes; and indulgences on the largest scale afforded to those who defended the very tenet which others were left at the fullest liberty to reject. It was the same in respect to forms of prayer; that is to say, in one place the doctrine was asserted in a solemn act of worship, in another part of the same community it was passionately renounced. Then there is an infinite collection of miracles and visions relating to this subject, and some of them exceedingly profane.² The institution of the feast of the conception by Anselm is ascribed to a revelation which a certain abbot received in a tempest off Britany. And sometimes the so-called divine communications are utterly inconsistent with each other. Thus, the Franciscans produce a revelation made to St. Bridget in support of their favourite dogma; the Dominicans another of an opposite character, made to St. Catherine of Sienna.³ The one affirms what the other denies; and yet the church of Rome is fully committed to both. Bridget was canonised by Boniface IX. in 1391, and the canonisation was confirmed by Martin V. in the council of Constance. Catherine was canonised by Pius II. in 1461, and her festival transferred to a different day by Urban VIII.

Contradictory revelations alleged.

The confusion of contradictory judgments pronounced

¹ The appeal of the university against Leo X. refers in these words to the decree of the council of Basle: "In quo inter cætera judicatum est, gloriosam Virginem Mariam sine peccato originali fuisse conceptam."—*Appellatio univ. Parrhis. Fasciculus rerum expet.* fol. xxxv.

² They may be found abundantly in such writers as Bernardine de Bustis, whose *Mariale*, seu sermones de B. Virgine Mariâ, was published at Milan, near the end of the fifteenth century.

³ "Veritas est quod ego concepta fui sine peccato originali, et non in peccato."—*Brig. rev. lib. vi. c. 49.* cited by *Gieseler*, vol. iii. p. 115.

"Sicut consumit guttam aquæ in modo dico tempore, sic facit Spiritus S. de maculâ peccati originalis: nam post conceptionem ejus statim fuit ab illo peccato mundata, et gratia magna data. Tu scis Domine quia ista est veritas."—*Orat. xv. Gieseler*, iii. p. 116. The question of this instant of time, about which the two saints are so irreconcilably at variance, kindled all the furious disputes. The Roman martyrology says of Bridget: "Divino afflata spiritu Romæ quievit."—*Oct. viii. p. 180.* And it calls Catherine "Vitâ et miraculis clara."—*April xxx. p. 71.*

The uncertainty of the question must continue.

in so many ways, with such high authority on both sides, can never be removed. Bellarmine could only plead for the view which he upheld that it is a pious probability, and to be preferred to the contrary.¹ The uncertainty of the question must remain, unless a general council could be summoned for its final settlement. A papal decree ruling a long-contested point of faith will be taken for conclusive only by the ultramontanes, whose very designation as a party within the Roman church is itself an evidence to the fact of a broad division on a collateral issue. And if the advocates of the disputed doctrine allege the papal decision in their favour, its opponents may plead the tradition of more than a thousand years, in which it had no support from any one. That it cannot be proved by scripture is acknowledged by Gerson in his sermon before the council of Constance; and he was a powerful advocate in its favour.² In the meanwhile the dogma, with its remarkable history, remains to witness against one of the claims on which our opponents place their chief dependence.

Sept. viii.
A.D. 1416.

The primitive fathers would have been condemned by the system of the middle ages.

By demanding assent to doctrines of which the primitive church knew nothing, Rome has really done its utmost to destroy unity. The saints of the first centuries would have been in the utmost peril if they had been brought under the system of the middle ages; Cyprian, for the terms in which he addressed Stephen; Epiphanius, for destroying the picture; Augustine, for what was afterwards called Jansenism; not one of them would have been safe; not even Jerome, the most Roman of them all. They would certainly not be at home in any part of

¹ De amiss. gratiæ et statu pecc. lib. iv. c. 15. p. 71. He is very angry with some who called it an article of faith. "Neque desunt, qui impudenter affirmant, ab ecclesiâ Romanâ defendi conceptionem immaculatam Virginis Mariæ, tanquam articulum fidei." — *Ibidem*.

² "Il convient, que cette doctrine n'est point établie formellement dans l'Écriture sainte, et que même on ne

sauroit l'en tirer pas des conséquences bien claires." — *L'Enfant. Hist. du con. de Const.* liv. iv. s. 101. Andrada makes the same admission: "Mirari sanè nemo debet, si in re, quæ nullis est vel Scripturæ sacræ apertis testimoniis, vel patrum traditione, vel ecclesiæ definitione constituta, variæ sint piorum atque doctorum hominum sententiæ" — *Defensio Trid. fid.* lib. v. fol. 349.

the Latin communion. Everything would tend to deepen the feeling of strangeness ; litanies crowded with supplications to the dead ; God's word locked up in an unknown tongue ; the holy communion mutilated ; churches filled with images, and the streets with religious mendicants. The very terms which are now so familiar would be unintelligible to them ; purgatory, plenary indulgence, transubstantiation, &c. would be unmeaning sounds. The apostle himself would never recognise his so-called successor amidst the anomalies of his condition ; calling himself the servant of servants, and borne on men's shoulders to a throne above the high altar ; using the fisherman's seal, and wearing a triple crown ; and of such inconsistencies there is no end.

To be cut off from the church of the past, and to renounce fellowship with all existing churches, would be a heavy price to pay for internal unity, if that might have been attained ; but it has not. There is, as we have seen, the utmost diversity of judgment about the supreme authority, as well as in respect to one doctrine which concerns us all, and another in which Romanists themselves profess to find transcendent importance. These are but specimens which represent great classes of subjects. There is the same diversity in all that lies between and beyond. Every sect has its representatives in the church which boasts of unity. The Dominicans are their Calvinists, the Franciscans their Arminians, Molinos is their George Fox¹, while the Jesuit writers furnish Socinianism.² It is very hard to believe that they all belong to one household ; there is no family likeness, and very little family love.

¹ Michael de Molinos published his spiritual guide in 1675. He was condemned, through the influence of the Jesuits, to perpetual imprisonment.

² In the volume entitled *Roma Racoviana et Racovia Romana*, there is ample proof of the Socinianism of many Jesuit writers.

CHAP. VII.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

THE council which has given its existing form to the body of Roman doctrine and discipline, and which claims our obedience on the ground of its œcumenical character, was the result of events which had been in progress since the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹ Nearly thirty

¹ The first edition of Sarpi's history of the council of Trent was published in 1629. He possessed high qualifications as statesman, historian, and divine; and he enjoyed great opportunities through access to the archives of Venice, and his friendship with many from he derived important information. For half a century, as bishop Burnet notes, no charge of unfaithfulness was made against him. Courayer has ably translated this great work, and his notes are extremely valuable. The treatise of Scipio Henricus followed in 1654, entitled, *Censura theolog. et hist. adv. P. S. Polani pseudo-historiam*. And two years later appeared the history of the council by Pallavicini, who was confessor to Alexander VII., and in many ways bound to Roman interests. He used, to a great extent, the *Acta concilii* of Paleotto. His history is tedious, and full of irrelevant matter. He was influenced throughout by blind hatred of Sarpi, against whom he exhausts the vocabulary of invective. But whether we take our opinion of the council from Sarpi the Venetian and anti-papalist, or from Pallavicini the apologist of Rome, the conclusion will not greatly differ. If the former shows how much can be said against it, the latter proves how little can be urged in its defence. Cæsar Aquilinius, himself a Romanist, published in 1562 a review of these three works, *De tribus historicis con.*

Trid. Peter Jurieu's history of the council is a concise summary of its proceedings. The work of Stoz, compiled chiefly from Pallavicini, and entitled *Succincta relatio historica de gestis concil. Trid. gen.*, was published in 1695. In 1850 there appeared at Paris, *Histoire du concile de Trente*, the author of which follows Pallavicini implicitly; and M. Bungener has lately given a history, on the other hand, which adopts all the statements of Sarpi. Neither affords any addition to our knowledge of the council. Far more valuable to the student than the writing even of the best historians of Trent, is the ample and interesting collection of Le Plat, *Monumentorum ad hist. C. T. illust. collectio*. In the middle of 1562 the pope sent Visconti, bishop of Ventimiglia, on a secret mission to Trent. He was a most able and experienced statesman. His letters to cardinal Borromeo, from this time form an important part of our information about the proceedings of the council. Soon after the close, it was attacked on doctrinal grounds by Chemnitz, in his *Examen con. Trid.*, and defended by D. P. d'Andrada, a Portuguese theologian, who had been present in the council under Pius IV., and whose work is entitled *Defensio Tridentinæ fidei cath.* Calvin's *Acta synodi Trident. cum antidoto*, was published in 1547, and applies therefore only to the earlier sessions. Charles du Moulin wrote *Con-*

years had passed since Luther nailed his propositions to the church door at Wittemberg on All Saints' day. Four years later he had pleaded his cause before the most illustrious assembly which that age produced. He had defeated Eck, the great controversialist of the time; and proved against him that the doctrine of papal supremacy is untenable on the ground of scripture or antiquity. And then as deeper views opened continually before him, he had gone stedfastly on his way, turned neither by the threats of Caietan, nor the flatteries of Miltitz. If the pope condemned his forty-one articles, he was not slow in reclaiming against indulgences, and the pope's infallibility. If his books were burned at Louvain by order of Charles V., he burned the decretals at Wittemberg. What did it signify that he had fallen under the ban of the empire, or that his doctrine had been condemned by the universities of Paris, and Louvain, and Cologne, as well as by the royal theologian who filled the English throne?

1517.

Pall. i. 21.
Sarp. ii. 14.

cilium super actis concilii Trident., for which he suffered much persecution. The age in which he lived did not produce an abler jurist, or a more accomplished scholar. Near the close of the seventeenth century, Augustine Reding, abbot of Einsidlen, wrote in favour of the council, and was ably answered by Heidegger, who named his book *Tumulus concil. Trid.* Among jurists, Gentileti, who wrote in 1678, has shown how the decrees of this synod contradict not only scripture and the fathers, but the decisions of ancient councils also. And the author of *Révision du concile de Trente* (supposed to be M. du Ranchin) has collected reasons for rejecting its authority. Much information is to be found in general ecclesiastical histories, such as those of Fleury and Noel Alexander, the latter of whom has a lengthened treatise on the subject, *sæc. xvi. diss. xii. p. 615—665*. And there are many incidental but important notices to be found in the historians of the reformation, Sleidan,

Seckendorf, and others, as well as in controversial writers, such as Ussher, Bramhall, De Dominis, Laud, Crackenthorp, &c. Stillingfleet in his *Grounds of the prot. relig.* has a valuable dissertation, part ii. c. 8. p. 475—503. See also Richer, *Hist. con. gen. lib. iv. c. 5. s. 7. p. 89—133*. Ranke, in his *Lives of the popes*, gives a brief account both of the earlier and later sittings, and in his appendix furnishes critical remarks on Sarpi and Pallavicini, pp. 103—139. Mr. Mendham's *History of the council of Trent, 1826*, contains important documents previously unpublished. In Schelhorn's *Amœnitates* there is a treatise entitled, *Notitia librorum in quibus acta quædam concilii Trid. collecta exhibentur*, tom. ii. p. 380—477. In the primitive councils the acta concilii included conferences and disputations, as well as decisions, and when the canons and decrees of Trent were printed, the publication of the acts was promised, but they still remain at the Vatican in MS.

A pope's bull or an imperial decree availed nothing now. The cause had been moved into a higher court.

1526. Events followed in rapid succession. At Spires it was decreed that all diligence should be employed for convening a council, either national or general, within a year. The reformers had become a great recognised party, and had formed their league. The second diet of Spires was held, famous for having incidentally originated a name which will never be forgotten while the world lasts. The confession of Augsburg, and the league of Smalcald, followed. At the conference of Ratisbon, in which the chief theologians on both sides took part, and Contarini, the most moderate of his communion, presided, the last hope of accommodation died out; unless, indeed, it might be attained by the intervention of a council, to which the minds of all men who desired peace were turned. The protestant cause was too strong to be put down. It was defended by many princes and imperial cities. Scholars had contributed to the great result; Hutten with his acuteness and wit, Reuchlin with his deep learning, and Melancthon, his kinsman and pupil, precocious and of wonderful attainments. Erasmus, who was a good representative of the literary character in its strength and weakness, filled an important part. Bold reformer he was not; yet he had done more than perhaps any other in preparing the way. And the German press meanwhile had produced the scriptures in the language of the people. The good cause had been hindered for a season by the peasant war, which began in the Black Forest through the preaching of Storch and others, and raged through Franconia and Suabia, Wirtemberg and Bavaria, and afforded so remarkable an opportunity for calumniating the leaders of the reformation; though Luther had been resolutely opposed to the movement. And the spirit of resistance was not easily subdued. The open rebellion was indeed put down, but the consequences were felt long afterwards in the relation of the religious parties to each
- 1529.
- 1541.

Events which led to the summons of the council.

other. The sacramental controversy was hardly less dangerous. And yet the reformation made its way in Sweden, and Denmark, and Switzerland; it gained ground in Prussia and Scotland; it was adopted at Leipsic, and through Saxony, and in many places besides. Religious freedom began to be firmly established. The edict of Worms, indeed, presented great difficulty; though it was repealed when Charles was unprosperous, for a time it could neither be withdrawn from Roman catholic states, nor enforced in protestant. Each was left at liberty in respect to religion, for the present, but the necessity of convening a council became the more urgent; it was the only escape from very perplexing circumstances. This had long been a familiar resource. During the present century the university of Paris appealed to a general council against the abolition of the pragmatic sanction¹; the princes and others who met in two successive diets at Nuremberg, did the same; and the protestants also at Augsburg, and elsewhere. In 1526 we find the emperor, by letter, charging the cardinals to summon a council if the pope should refuse or defer; and when Charles and Francis made peace in 1544, it was mutually agreed to urge a similar demand. Earnest minded and sincere persons on both sides desired the subjects in debate to be settled by authority, either in a national synod for their own people, or in a general council for all christendom. Differences had been so vehemently maintained, that there was every prospect of civil war; and at one time the great sultan threatened Germany on the side of Hungary. There had never been such need of union, or so much to prevent it. All pious men, whether clergy or laity, desired reformation of manners in the court and church of Rome, in the head and members, according to the phrase which had become familiar. Bishops were desirous to recover the primitive

Appeals to
a general
council.

¹ "Appellatio universitatis inclytissimæ Parrhisiensis contra Leonem decimum."—*Fasciculus rerum expet.*, &c. fol. xxxiv.

authority which had been reduced by papal usurpations. But those who had made the meeting of a council indispensable, were certain to be its opponents. Alexander VI. had lived and died an atheist. Julius II. was a soldier.¹ Leo X. was a man of the world, whose days were divided between business and pleasure. He had been trained at Florence, where religion and morals were at the lowest ebb; and among his own courtiers it seemed the great object of life to express heathen sentiments in blameless Latin. There was often a style classical enough for Cicero, joined to such ignorance of religion as would have disgraced a child in the humblest christian school. Even Adrian VI., though he acknowledged the disorders of his church with a very unpalatable frankness, entertained the deepest hatred of the protestants; and he was besides very unpopular at Rome. These were not the persons to sanction the meeting of a great synod, from which so much peril might result to themselves. The situation of the protestants was at this time very peculiar. Political circumstances often favoured their cause. Sometimes it was a French war, sometimes the fear of a Turkish invasion, which procured their toleration. They were frequently saved by the mutual ill-will of their chief enemies. When north Germany, for instance, was in the power of the imperialists, the pope recalled his troops, because his jealousy of the emperor was a stronger principle than his hatred of the Lutherans. And after the battle of Mühlberg, Charles might have placed them at the mercy of Paul, but he was restrained by the desire to preserve a check against the power of Rome. In 1523 Clement VII. became pope, and Ranke most justly calls his policy crooked and ambiguous. In his opposition to the emperor he was promoting the designs of the protestant party; because in his view the ecclesiastical and

Unfavour-
able influ-
ences.

¹ "Indulsit ille quidem militiæ studiis supra quàm opus fuit, ad recuperandam et conservandam ecclesiasticam ditionem, et supra quàm tanti capitis sanctitatem deceret." — *Pallavicini*, lib. i. c. 1. s. 6.

secular interests of the papacy were on opposite sides. He had at once to conceal the terms of his alliance with Francis, and to evade the urgent demands for a council, which it was commonly said that the church of Rome hated as much as the court of Rome hated reformation. Clement had additional reasons for his aversion. He was of illegitimate birth, and therefore canonically disqualified; and it was notorious that he had gained his see by purchase; but he could not altogether refuse the requisition. The emperor had, since 1527, been very powerful throughout Italy; in Naples, Tuscany, and among the Milanese, his authority was at the highest. The pope proposed successively as places at which the council should be held, Placentia, Bologna, and Mantua, which were all certain to be rejected. And when no other way of escape seemed possible he made an alliance with the king of France, whose unwillingness he then pleaded as the reason for breaking his promise to the emperor. Clement and Charles were both faithless and unprincipled politicians, having commonly some secret purpose, very different from that which they were ostensibly pursuing. There was as little as possible of what is true or respectable to be found on either side.¹ Paul III., who succeeded to the see of Rome in 1534, following the traditional policy, proposed Mantua as the place of meeting, which was not in his control, and to which the protestants would not come.²

Unsuitable
places pro-
posed.

But at length time removed all impediments; and, in spite of pope and princes, the first session of this so-called œcumenical and general council was held on the thirteenth of December, 1545, at which there were present, besides the legates, the cardinal of Trent, and five generals of religious orders, no more than four archbishops, and

¹ The reasons which were urged by Clement against the meeting of a council are given by Gentileti, *Examen con. Trid.* lib. i. s. 21. p. 22. See also Guicciardini, lib. xx. tom. vii. p. 251.

² In the words of Henry VIII., "Cur ad locum incertum, et quem in sua potestate non habuit, homines venire jussit?"—*Heidegger, Tumulus con. Trid. ad bullam indict.* tom. i. p. 13.

twenty-two bishops.¹ The pope at this time was Paul III., whose way of life fell in with the prevailing laxity of morals. The chief legate was Del Monte, who afterwards, as Julius III., brought so much scandal on the church. The place of meeting had been warmly contested. Italy was rejected by the imperialists; Germany was too free; and the remembrance of Constance and Basle too recent. As a compromise, they chose Trent, a city in the Tyrol, on the confines of the two countries, near the river Adige, and surrounded by the Alps, 67 miles from Venice, and 250 from Rome. It is now in the Venetian territory under the government of Austria.²

Number of
bishops in
attendance.

In the council thus assembled, the chief part were Italians; there were a few Spaniards, and hardly any Germans. During the first ten sessions there were only two French bishops in attendance; and in the next six there were none. Near the end of the council, when the cardinal of Lorraine was anxious that they should disperse without waiting for the pope's confirmation, he alleged that the departure of the Gallican bishops was inevitable, and that after their secession the council would lose its œcumenical character; and this consideration had much weight in producing the result which he desired; the very same argument applies to those earlier sessions in which no French bishop was present. The preponderance of Italians in the interest of the pope was so manifestly fatal to the hope of impartiality, that it became the subject of remonstrance to various secular princes, as well as to the bishops of France and Germany, and to some even from

¹ "Interfuere hisce solenniis, præter tres legatos, cardinalis Tridentinus, quatuor archiepiscopi, viginti episcopi, quinque religiosorum ordinum summi præsides, &c."—*Pallav.* lib. v. c. 17. s. 8.

The difficulties which had arisen in the way of holding the council are noticed in the bull of indiction. It would be hard to find even a state paper in which so many assertions occur beyond all question untrue.

Seckendorf suggests that the chief cause of delay arose from the desire to beguile the protestants while war was preparing. "Præcipua erat, ut interim protestantes spe aliquâ lactarentur, et belli apparatus tanto occultius fieri posset."—*Comment. de Lutheran.* p. 573.

² For the objections against Trent as the place of meeting, see Révision du concile de Trente, liv. i. c. 7.

Italy itself. In the fourth session, when the council was occupied with questions of unspeakable importance, they numbered, of all nations, only nine archbishops, and forty-two bishops; of whom two were titulars, such as the ancient church would not have counted for bishops at all.¹ The attendance during the whole period under Paul III. and Julius III. did not reach more than sixty bishops, and often fell considerably below this number. Yet they ventured to define the great subjects which were dividing the world, and which for ages had occupied the deepest intellects, and the most earnest hearts. They pronounced on such a wide field of doctrine, that little in comparison remained to be determined in the later sessions. When the council reassembled in 1562 we find an increase of numbers, but a similar preponderance of Italians. The decrees of the early sessions could not, as some have suggested, derive weight from the more numerous attendance in the later, unless the debate had been reopened. But, in point of fact, no confirmation can be alleged; the authorised words are very express; the former decrees were read without confirmation;² and if it had been proposed, it would certainly not have been carried, because it involved a question which had been agitated very often and never decided. The Greeks were not summoned; and when this was mentioned near the close of the council as an injustice, no better answer could be found than that they were included in the citation of all christians.³ To say that

Great questions decided in a scanty convention.

¹ "À Rome dans ces derniers temps on donnait des évêchés à certaines personnes, uniquement pour leur donner un rang; et que ces mêmes personnes résignaient peu après leurs évêchés et restoient évêques titulaires, afin d'en avoir l'honneur; invention que l'antiquité eût détestée comme abominable." — *Sarpi*, liv. vi. s. 37. Sleidan says: "In quatuor illis archiepiscopis erant duo, velut personati, Olaus Magnus, Upsalensis, Robertus Venantius, Scotus." — *De statu reliq. comment.* lib. xvii. tom. ii. p. 506.

² "Decretum super legendis decretis sub Paulo III. et Julio III. Vult s. synodus ut illa nunc recitentur et legantur. Et successivè decreta ipsa lecta fuerunt." — *Con. Trid.* fol. 272.

³ "Dans la congrégation suivante, quelques uns répétèrent encore, qu'il n'était pas juste de condamner les Grecs sans les avoir ni ouïs ni cités. Mais l'archevêque de Prague se levant, dit: Qu'on ne devait pas parler ainsi, puisqu'ils étaient censés compris dans la citation générale de tous les Chrétiens." — *Sarpi*, liv. viii. s. 39.

they are in schism, or that the protestants are in heresy, is nothing to the purpose; because they have never been judged schismatics or heretics by any competent authority; and to affirm that they are, is to assume the question at issue.¹ It seems obvious that a council thus constituted cannot possess any œcumenical character, or any claim to obedience, except from the national church of whose members it was principally composed.² If the decrees framed by the bishops at Trent are binding on the whole church, it must be in virtue of the representative character which they sustained; but who made them representatives of the church catholic? What commission did these few persons receive to represent all christendom? There was no general summons. The great national churches of France, Germany, and Spain did not, by any synodical act, deliver authority for speaking and deciding on their behalf. It is often argued, that if there were no formal act of delegation, it is yet implied in the silence and acquiescence of those who did not attend. But even this ground is untenable, because many bishops were hindered by just causes from being present, and they entered their protest against decisions framed in their absence. If it should be alleged that the power of representing the church universal was derived from the summons of the pope, we ask how he came to possess so important a faculty. Bishops of Rome were anciently summoned, like other bishops, by the emperor.³ Lainez, in the remarkable speech which he made in the

The bishops at Trent could not represent the church.

¹ It is in vain to urge that there were as few bishops from the west at Nice as from the east at Trent, because the orientals had no private and separate interests at stake, and their conclusions were adopted in a numerous council at Rome under Sylvester. The case of Ephesus and Chalcedon, which is adduced by Bossuet, is just as irrelevant. They have no analogy with Trent, because there was no preponderating power like that of the pope.

² In Sept. 1751 we find Henry II. of France addressing the assembly as

a convention. There is a long account given by James Amyot of the presentation of the letter, and the displeasure with which it was received by the thirty-four prelates, who claimed to be a general council of christendom. *Le Plat*, iv. p. 249—258. See also *Sarpi*, liv. iv. s. 7.; *Gentileti*, *Examen*, p. 97.

³ This is proved in *Révision du concile de Trente*, liv. iii. c. 4. See also *Vit. Constant.* lib. iii. c. 6.; *Eusebius*, tom. i. p. 486.

congregation before the twenty-third session, admits fully the small numbers who had been present, less, that is, than fifty, when the most important articles were framed. But he affirms that the pope gives a general council its character, and a binding force to its decrees, by his confirmation; and that the question of numbers is unimportant. Another extreme Romanist gives a simple rule, which, if it were only true, would of course put an end to the difficulty. He says that a council is general if called by the pope, and that it is indifferent whether the bishops present are many or few. In that case it would be hard to understand why a council should be assembled at all. The pope asserted his right of summons in the bull by which the council was convened, as well as in those which he published from time to time during its continuance; although Constantine convoked the council of Nice, as Eusebius, Theodoret, Socrates, Zonaras, Ruffin, and many more affirm; and the precedent was followed through the early centuries.¹ But the violation of ancient rules at Trent was systematic and consistent throughout.² The pope by his summons called on bishops and others to attend on a certain day and at a certain place. He appointed legates to preside, and to determine the subjects and order of disputation. Nothing was proposed in council until it had been previously canvassed in a separate assembly. There were two kinds of private congregations; the one of theologians and canonists, with such bishops as pleased to attend, the other of bishops alone, to prepare heads of doctrine and reformation. There was subse-

Sarpi, liv.
vii. s. 20.

Scipio
Henricus,
p. 154.

Ancient
rules and
precedents
violated.

¹ Scipio Henricus says: "Catholica veritas est, munus hoc generalia concilia convocandi, eisque præsidendi simpliciter ad Romanum pontificem spectare."—*Censura*. p. 150. And for proof of this extravagant assertion he very consistently cites one of the decretals, which, at the time that he wrote, every scholar knew to be spurious. A multitude of cases are produced by the author of *Révision du*

concile de Trente, liv. iii. cc. 1, 2. pp. 298—326, in proof that princes summoned to the early councils, and that the consent of the pope was not required.

² Gentileti says: "Hic modus atque ordo recentior est, qui in habendis conciliis, veteri ritu neglecto servatur" and then he goes on to describe it.—*Examen*, lib. i. s. 6. p. 6.

Regulations
and forms of
procedure.

quently a general congregation, in which all the subjects in debate were finally determined; and as matters transacted in congregation were not officially published among the acts of the council, there was an appearance of unanimity which did not really exist. In the fourth session we have assessors appointed to each congregation, one for theology, and one for canon law; it was an expedient for supplying the want of learning in the prelates. Among the forms of procedure there was none which more obviously contradicted ancient example, or more deeply infringed the liberty of the council than that which gave the initiative on all subjects to the legates. The liberty which belonged to the bishops was taken away on pretence of avoiding confusion; it was really to prevent the reforms which were unacceptable to the court of Rome.¹ That it was far more than an instrument of order, is proved by cases which were of continual occurrence. Thus the articles of reformation prepared by command of Ferdinand were not presented at all in the council; and after some time we find a letter written by the papal nuncio, in which various excuses are offered. Not a single instance of such interference occurred in the four great councils; no one pretends that the assembled fathers made their deliberations wait on communication with Rome, as they did at Trent.² The archbishop of Grenada, with his usual penetration, saw the tendency of the regulation, and opposed it from the first. The emperor, and the king of Spain, protested against it. In 1546, a bishop ventured to claim for his order the privilege of proposing subjects, which, as he urged, in certain cases, would not otherwise

Le Plat,
tom. v.
p. 329.

¹ Richer says, "Id magno artificio excogitatum est, confusionis et turbarum vitandarum specie, sed revera ut impediretur efficax ecclesiæ et curiæ Romanæ emendatio."—*Hist. con. gen.* lib. iv. c. 5. s. 7.

² "Les legats donnèrent avis de tout à Rome, et mandèrent que les prétextes

qu'ils avaient apportés pour remettre à une autre congrégation la décision de ce qui avait été proposé, n'étaient que pour avoir le temps de recevoir les ordres du pape et savoir comment ils devaient se conduire, &c."—*Sarpi*, liv. ii. s. 37.

be brought before the council. He received a very rough answer from the legate Del Monte.¹ At the opening of the session in 1562, we have other bishops protesting against the rule. In June, 1563, the Spanish ambassador still continued to reclaim against it.² Near the close of the council an explanation was afforded, that, by giving the legates the privilege in question, no innovation was intended; but it came too late for any satisfaction, even if it had a definite meaning.³ What the legates proposed for acceptance in the council had been previously examined and debated at Rome in a congregation specially appointed for that purpose. In March 1563, we find Ferdinand complaining that the liberty of the council was infringed by this practice, as though there were two councils; and especially that questions of reformation should be submitted to those who were chiefly to be brought under its operation.

Sess. 24.
De ref. c. 21.

Complaint
of the em-
peror.

It is a favourite saying with Roman controversialists that nothing is objected by protestants against the council of Trent, which the Arians might not have urged against the council of Nice. It is only needful to compare the two, in some obvious circumstances, in order to see how little the allegation is worth. The emperor, who convened the council, sat in it himself; the Arian bishops were fully admitted to state their case; all members of the council were unfettered in deliberation; and they were

Stilling-
fleet,
Grounds,
part ii. c. 8.
p. 496.

¹ "Non (inquit cardinalis de Monte) vobis licere arbitror, neque licebit unquam contra legatos sedis apostolicæ, neque contra cardinales aliquid proponere, nec enim me presente talia alicui permittam impune facere, et miror vos audere talia dicere."—*Contentio inter card. de Monte, et episc. Asturicensem, &c.*, *Le Plat*, tom. iii. p. 414.

² "Le comte de Lune était chargé positivement par ses instructions de demander la révocation du decret, qui donnait aux seuls légats le droit de proposer."—*Sarpi*, liv. viii. s. 14.

³ "Enfin à l'égard du dernier chapitre, qui regardait l'explication du de-

cret Proponentibus legatis, que l'on attendait depuis si long temps, et qui intéressait si fort la liberté du concile; lorsque l'on eut vu la déclaration que faisaient les pères, que ce n'avait point été l'intention du concile de changer en aucune façon la manière de traiter dans les anciens conciles, ni de donner ou ôter rien a personne contre les anciennes règles, les plus sages dirent, qu'outre que la déclaration des pères était contraire à la vérité du fait, on ne la donnait d'ailleurs que lorsqu'elle ne pouvait plus servir à rien, et qu'elle était comme une médecine donnée après la mort."—*Sarpi*, liv. viii. s. 66.

heard without interruption; all subjects were discussed in the council itself, and by the persons who were empowered to vote. It is at Trent that we first hear of theologians who have no voice when decrees are to be framed, and bishops who possess votes, but who do not take the chief part in the discussion. This may have been a necessary expedient in the crisis which found the Roman church so unprepared, but it bears as little resemblance as possible to the fashion of primitive times. Above all, the gospels were enthroned in visible and paramount authority at Nice.¹ The fathers of that council would have made short work with the alleged necessity of the scholastic philosophy for understanding the word of God, if indeed such learning had come into use in their days.² Among the sources prescribed at Trent from which conclusions on the subjects in debate were to be drawn, the constitutions of popes are enumerated, of which the council of Nice certainly made no such account.³ In the sixteenth century, it was the philosophy of Aristotle which was presented by the schoolmen on the one hand, and the knowledge of the bible by the reformers on the other. The council of Trent, with the exception of a few bold and truth-loving men, adhered of course to the former.

No resemblance between the councils of Nice and Trent.

The right of voting in the council.

Nothing could be more important than to determine who possessed the right of voting. This question was decided previously to the second session, when four archbishops and twenty-eight bishops only were present. The Roman church was hardly prepared to deny the right of

¹ "In medio patrum concessu sedem cum evangelio collocarunt, cujus intuitu omnes admonerentur Christum omnium inspectorem et judicem adesse synodique præsidem agere."—*Baronius, Annal. ad ann.*, 325.

² On the question of enjoining monks to study scripture, an abbot declared: "Videri sibi hæc verba decreto addenda, omissis scholasticorum cavillationibus." To which Soto replied, in a very angry speech: "Postea acriter et copiosè peroravit ne sacrarum

scripturarum exedris supremus locus destinaretur: divina oracula non posse penitiùs sine acumine scholastico penetrari, &c."—*Pallav.* lib. vii. c. 5. s. 3.

³ Vid. "Modus præfixus theologis in sententiis dicendis."—*Le Plat*, tom. iv. p. 260. It contains these directions, which were singularly disregarded: "Utantur brevitate, et absteineant a superfluis et inutilibus quæstionibus, ac etiam protervis contentionibus."

presbyters, for in the words of Dr. Field, "If we shall come to later councils holden in the west, and esteemed (by the papists) to be general, we shall find that presbyters did give voices decisive in them, as well as bishops."¹

An arbitrary rule was adopted, by which no principle was maintained. Generals of religious orders were admitted to vote, and the Cistercian abbots to give one vote in common; but if they had the right of suffrage, so had other presbyters.² The admission of proxies for absent bishops, again, was an important question, on which no consistent or defensible course was followed. In the time of Paul III. representatives of the German bishops were admitted to vote. The proxies of the bishops of Ratisbon and Basle were received under Pius IV., and so was that of the archbishop of Salzburg. In May 1563 we have the bishops of Germany applying, by the intervention of that prelate, for the allowance of their proxies. Whether this request ought to have been granted is a question to be decided by church law and ancient precedents, but it was made to depend on the will of the pope.³

The ceremonial of the council was not easily settled, and the success of the arrangement was very incomplete. There was the case of the prince bishops, full of difficulty, because antiquity furnished no precedents to assist in deciding it. And the jealousies among ambassa-

No consistent rule followed.

Jurien.
Hist. C. T.
book ii.
p. 373.

Quarrels
about pre-
cedence.

¹ Of the church, book v. ch. 49. p. 647. See also Pallav. lib. vi. c. 2. s. 4. The distinction between "suffragium decisivum," and "suffragium consultativum," has no foundation. "Ego definiens subscripsi," and "consentiens subscripsi," are used indifferently, as Jewel has proved. See also the speech of the cardinal of Arles at the council of Basle: "De gestis Basil. con. fasciculus rerum expet."—fol. xii. Æneas Sylvius says of this great cardinal: "Vir omnium constantissimus, et ad gubernationem generalium conciliorum natus."—lib. i. fol. xi.

² This right of presbyters had been maintained at the council of Basle a hundred years before, by the cardinal

of Arles: "Ex hinc, si soli episcopi vocem habeant, id demum fiet quod nationi placebit Italicæ, quæ sola nationes alias in numero episcoporum aut superat aut æquat."—*Card. Arelat. ap. Sylv. de gestis, con. Bas.* lib. i. fol. xiii. And again: "Si abbatis (ut in omnibus conciliis observatum videmus) vocem habent decisivam, qui tamen non fuerunt a Christo instituti, cur non presbyteri, quorum ordinem Christus per discipulos instituit."—*Ibid.*

³ "Res delata est ad pontificem."—*Scip. Hen.* p. 98. Le Plat gives the pope's reply, in which the inconsistent practice is admitted.—tom. vi. p. 64. See also Pallav. lib. xx. c. 17. s. 7.

dors were, from time to time, breaking out into discreditable strife. In 1562 we have the representatives of Bavaria refusing to present themselves, unless they had precedence of the Venetian envoys; and the next year the count de Luna remaining six weeks at Trent without an audience, until a similar question had been arranged. Near the end of the council we find the bishop of Aliffa giving deep offence to the Gallicans, by naming the king of Spain, in his sermon, before the king of France. And the rivalry, at another time, broke out on a yet more solemn occasion. These quarrels, however insignificant the occasion, and however unworthy of the great affairs in hand, tended to advance the interest of the pope, by dividing those whose opposition would have been formidable if they had been united.

Bondage in which the council was held.

Through the whole period of the council, complaints were heard of the bondage in which it was held. During the earlier sessions, this invasion of liberty was less regarded, because the protestants were to be met and mastered; this was the all-absorbing purpose; but during the last period, remonstrances were presented by persons whose testimony is weighty and distinct. The Spanish bishops affirmed that the servitude was insupportable, and that everything was really transacted at Rome.¹ The kings of France and Spain made the same accusation again and again. We have a letter from M. de Lanssac, the French ambassador, to the queen-mother, in which he states that the promise given by the pope to respect the independence of the council had been entirely violated.² The emperor wrote, with equal plainness, on this subject, remonstrating earnestly with the pope on what had be-

June 1562.

March 1563.

¹ "Que l'on vouloit imposer au concile une servitude insupportable, en donnant, non seulement avis de tout à Rome, mais en voulant que tout y fût délibéré."—*Sarpi*, liv. vi. s. 15.

² "Le peu des nôtres qu'il y a, qui ont à mon jugement bon savoir, grand

zèle et affection à une entière réformation de l'église, en veulent parler plus avant qu'il ne leur plait, ils sont interrompus, et leurs opinions ne peuvent être suivies."—*Extrait d'une lettre de M. de Lanssac à la reine mère du roi*, *Le Plat*, tom. v. p. 212.

Sarpi, lib. vi. s. 18. tom. ii. p. 199.

Liv. viii. s. 2. tome ii. p. 551.

Liv. vii. s. 25. tome ii. p. 599.

come a notorious grievance.¹ His interference had occurred in various ways; at one time we find him complaining in consistory of the insolence of the French bishops, and bidding the cardinals write to their friends in the council, while he charged the legates to employ authority and menaces, since persuasion would not suffice.² There is a remarkable reply made to the remonstrances of the French ambassador at Rome, in which Pius did not deny that the liberty of the council was invaded, but affirmed that it would otherwise have been dangerous to secular princes as well as to the see of Rome.³ In 1562 Charles Visconti was sent with special charge from the pope to deal with those who were prominent in the debate on the divine right of residence. And again, when the council seemed likely to decide against his will, a point on which the bishops were deeply interested, he sent a reinforcement of his dependants from Rome, and the same when the arrival of the cardinal of Lorraine was expected. Among them were titulars, coadjutor bishops, some very aged, some office bearers in the papal court⁴; and, as a last resource if all else should fail, bulls of suspension were placed in the hands of the legates, to be used in case of extreme necessity.

Sarpi, liv. vi. s. 20.
Pallav. lib. xix. c. 2.
s. 3.

Sarpi, liv. vi. s. 59.

Among the bishops, very little independence could exist.

¹ "Ecce jam cæpto concilio rumor tam a catholicis quam ab aliis hinc inde spargitur, concilium in omnibus ad nutum dirigi et moderari, Roma cursores sus-deque volitare, nil proponi aut tractari, quod a Romanâ curiâ speciatim haud imponatur, promissis donis et minis cuncta agitari in concilio, ita ut aperta quoque factiones exinde inter patres exortæ sunt."—*Le Plat*, tom. v. p. 715.

² "Il se plaint dans le consistoire de l'impertinence des évêques du concile, qui allongeaient les matières par pure vanité. Il exhorta les cardinaux à écrire à leurs amis, et écrivit lui-même aux légats d'employer l'autorité et les menaces, puisque les persuasions ne servaient de rien."—*Sarpi*, lib. vii. s. 46.

³ "Comme l'ambassadeur insistait sur la liberté du concile, le pape répondit: Que si on lui accordait toute sorte de liberté, il s'en servirait non-seulement pour réformer le pape, mais aussi tous les princes séculiers."—*Sarpi*, liv. vi. s. 20.

⁴ "Il lui donna aussi une liste des noms de ceux qui avaient tenu le parti de Rome dans cette affaire, avec charge de les en remercier, et de les encourager à continuer, en leur promettant qu'il en serait reconnaissant. Et à l'égard de ceux du parti opposé il s'en remit à lui, et lui laissa la liberté d'user de quelques sortes de menaces un peu fortes, mais sans rien de choquant, et de leur promettre d'oublier le passé s'ils voulaient se désister du parti qu'ils avaient pris."—*Sarpi*, liv. vi. s. 29.

Few bishops independent.

The chief part were Italians, of whom some had grown grey in corruption ; some were looking for preferment¹ ; and some were so poor that their daily bread was derived from the pope's bounty ; their allowance of twenty-five crowns a month was their sole support. This payment of bishops began very early, so that soon after the opening of the council we have the legates writing to Rome for larger funds, those which they had received being exhausted. The biographer of the popes also tells us that Pius IV. expended large sums in this way.

Sarpi, liv. ii. s. 20. 29.

Onuph. in vit. P. iv. p. 383.

The oath of allegiance by which bishops in the Latin church are bound to the pope made it impossible that they could freely deliberate on subjects which involved any limitation of his power. In the words of Æneas Sylvius, addressed to the chapter of Mayence, even to speak the truth is to contravene the episcopal oath. And the profession of faith required by Pius IV. gave such prerogatives to the pope, and pronounced such an extreme judgment on the controverted doctrines, that it was impossible for those who had subscribed it to exercise an unfettered opinion. Badehorn, ambassador from Maurice duke of Saxony, had strongly urged the necessity of absolving bishops from their oath ; and the same demand was made by the representatives of the German people. Instances were of continual occurrence which proved that the complaints of coercion were extremely well founded ; they began with the earliest sessions, and lasted till the latest. We have one instance in 1546 ; the bishop of Fiesole reasonably objected to the production of extracts from the opinions delivered by theologians in congregation, instead of their entire arguments ; the legates reproved him severely, and reported his conduct to the pope as seditious. If a bishop ventured to express sentiments

Banck. de tyran. pap. c. ix. p. 222.

Rév. du con. de Trente, liv. i. c. 9. p. 115.

Prof. fid. Le Plat, tom. iv. p. 647.

Sarpi, liv. iv. s. 40.

Sarpi, liv. ii. s. 61.

¹ " Il y a beaucoup plus grand nombre d'évêques Italiens, la plupart desquels sont pensionnaires du pape, ou intéressés d'offices à la cour de Rome, qui sont toujours contredisans à ce que les autres délibèrent de bon."—*Extrait d'une lettre de M. de Lanssac à la reine mère du roi. Le Plat, tom. v. p. 212.*

which had any freedom, he was likely enough to be overwhelmed by the clamour of the pope's partisans.¹ Certain bishops having ventured to speak with boldness about the divine right of episcopal residence, saw no better way to secure their safety than to retire from the council.² So, again, the bishop of Veglia a little later, for the same cause, withdrew on the plea of indisposition. In another debate on the same subject, which more than any other excited violent contention, some prelates who held the doctrine of divine institution, were represented as ill affected to the see of Rome. Their excuses were conveyed by a joint letter, in which they professed the most abject submission, and denied that they entertained the least intention of diminishing the papal authority.³ At one time we read of a legate commanding a bishop to be silent, when he was pleading for what we should call the constitutional doctrine; at another we have a troublesome monk, of whom Sarpi tells us that he was about to be dismissed from the council, but that this measure proved needless, for he died of chagrin.⁴

Sarpi, liv.
vii. s. 45.

The first three sessions were occupied in necessary preparation, and in the fourth, forty-eight bishops being assembled, they entered on the business before them; and two decrees were passed, each containing two articles.

Sess. i. ii.
iii. iv.

¹ "Interea alii prælati ingeminabant, clamantes, exeat, et alii, anathema sit, ad quos Granatensis conversus respondit, anathema vos estis. Gadicensis vero sermonem nunquam intermisit, persequens inter clamores quod inceperat." — *Controv. de jurisd. epis., Le Plat*, tom. v. p. 577. Yet this is the rule laid down by a learned cardinal: "Libertas talis in eo esse debet ut quisque liberalem loquendi habeat facultatem." — *Cusanus, De concord.* lib. ii. c. iii. p. 713.

² "Quelques évêques prirent vers ce temps-là le dessein de se retirer de Trente, parcequ'ils se trouvaient odieux à cause de la chaleur avec laquelle ils avaient soutenu l'affaire de la résidence, et qu'ils craignaient qu'en de-

meurant au concile il ne leur arrivât quelque plus grand mal." — *Sarpi*, liv. vi. s. 35.

³ "Hujus generis crimen, cum a nobis adeo remotum sit, ut non longius distet cælum a terrâ, faciendum existimavimus, ut sanctitati vestræ, ad ejus sanctissimos pedes humiliter jacentes, consilii nostri rationem nude et aperte probaremus, ne dum catholicæ et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ fidem et observantiam profiteamur, pro ejus auctoritate vitam ipsam profundere parati sumus, tanquam iniquitatis filii merito damnemur." — *Le Plat*, tom. v. p. 200.

⁴ "Mais cela ne fut pas nécessaire. Car peu de jours après étant tombé malade de chagrin, il mourut le 26 de Novembre suivant." — liv. vi. s. 53.

By the first they fixed the canon of scripture, and assigned equal honour to tradition. By the second they sanctioned the vulgate as the standard text, and restrained the interpretation to the sense authorised by the church. It is obvious that consequences immeasurably important were involved in these decisions, in some respects far greater than resulted from any future acts of the council. And no occasion had ever arisen, or could arise, on which deliberation seemed more indispensable. Yet two months only elapsed from the meeting of the first general congregation to the close of the session.

Sarpi, liv. ii.
s. 58.

The boldness of these proceedings seems to have taken everybody by surprise.¹ And the pope, reflecting on the importance of the matters which had been handled, augmented the number of bishops, and charged his legates to publish no decrees in future until they had been communicated to him. But, in the mean time, the ground had been laid for evading the force of protestant arguments by disparaging the authority of the written word.² We shall find that this is the uniform tendency of the decrees which were passed in so much haste; and to accomplish this object the prescription of the church was sacrificed, and the testimony of centuries set at naught. The canon of scripture, for instance, had been long settled. The council of Laodicea, in the fourth century, enumerated the sacred books very nearly as we now receive them. The canons of this council were confirmed by the six hundred and eighteen bishops of Chalcedon; while the local council of Carthage, which was held a few years later, and whose decision is pleaded on the other

Can. lix.

Canon of
scripture.

¹ "Quelques-uns trouvoient extrêmement étrange que cinq cardinaux et quarante-huit évêques eussent défini si aisément les principaux et les plus importants chefs de la religion qu'on avoit laissés jusqu'alors indécis, en donnant pour canoniques des livres jusques-là regardés comme incertains, et comme apocryphes, en déclarant authentique

une traduction quelquefois différente du texte original, et en restreignant la manière d'entendre la parole de Dieu." — *Courayer*, liv. ii. s. 57.

² "Quibus fundamentis jactis, facile fuit patribus Tridentinis eam doctrinam superstruere, in qua nos ab illis dissentimus." — *Gentileti*, lib. ii. s. 5. p. 51.

side, was never received into the code of the universal church, and, therefore, had no authority beyond its own limit. The seventy-sixth apostolical canon, again, omits all the apocryphal books, except Ecclesiasticus for the use of novices; and Jerome, in his well-known preface, maintains the distinction between the two classes of writing which the council of Trent abandoned in its blind eagerness to find support for doctrines which have no countenance in the canonical scriptures. The anathema which was appended to the decree would condemn this most Roman of all the fathers, as well as Origen and Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Hilary of Poitiers, and Gregory the great.¹ Nay, it would reach some, like Caietan, in a later age whom the Roman church held in the highest respect, and some of the fathers present in the council itself. Even in that convention there were those, like Bertan bishop of Fano, and Seripando general of the Augustinians, who desired that the old division should be maintained; while two of the legates wished for an examination into the evidence. When we remember the contents of the apocryphal books, some things absolutely false, some frivolous, and some inconsistent with any pretence of inspiration, such as the acknowledgment of imperfection by a writer himself, we shall perceive how greatly the scriptures were degraded by being placed on the same level of sacredness and authority.

Similar consequences were involved in the declaration of the council, that it received unwritten traditions with the same piety and reverence as the written word.² They

¹ This pope, as it is well known, rejected the books of Maccabees from the canon, and yet Eck is bold enough to say: "Omnes canones ecclesiæ de canonicis scripturis enumerant Machabæos: quare ostendant hæretici, ubi indicatum sit libros canonicos esse, et inveniet eos." — *Enchirid.* xiv.

² "Pari pietatis affectu, ac reverentiâ." They require us to believe, as Chemnitz

expresses it, "Ea quæ in ecclesiâ Romanâ traduntur et observantur, quæ nullo Scripturæ testimonio probari possunt esse illa ipsa quæ ab Apostolis vivâ voce sunt tradita, et scriptis non comprehensa." — *Examen*, tom. i. p. 61. And again: "Ubiunque inveniunt vocabulum traditionis, illud mox detorquent ad suas traditiones quæ ex Scripturâ probari non possunt." — *Ibid.*

Johnson, Vade mecum, ii. p. 139.

Pallavicini, lib. vi. c. 11. s. 4.

2. Maccab. xv. 38.

Tradition made equal to scripture.

not only disparaged scripture, but, for the sake of invalidating the foundation of the protestant cause, they exposed the rule of faith itself to hopeless uncertainty. On the supposition that there are necessary traditions, regarding both belief and discipline, which were orally delivered by Christ and his apostles, it is clear that some provision is indispensable for their authentication; we should require a list of genuine traditions, just as much as a catalogue of canonical books. We possess the latter, but where is the former? On each side there is produced an enumeration of scriptures, and each consents to try the issue of its correctness by certain evidences; but no one pretends to tell us in detail, and with authority, which are true and which are false traditions; or to distinguish the apostolical from the ecclesiastical; or to say by what proofs the question in each case is to be concluded. Sometimes the church has been divided on the subject of traditions; as the east and west about the Saturday fast. And sometimes each has appealed to the highest authority; as in the contest about the time of keeping Easter, Rome pleaded the tradition of Peter, and the Asiatics that of John. Then, again, traditions which were once observed have become obsolete; such as giving the eucharist to infants, which, Maldonat tells us, was observed for six hundred years; and the prohibition of fasting between Easter and Whitsuntide, which Augustine reports; and the rule of praying on Sundays standing, and not kneeling, which is enjoined by the council of Nice, and again by the council of Trullus; besides a multitude of other instances, such as the administration of baptism at two seasons only, the institution of deaconesses, the way of appointing bishops, in all which, and in many more, the custom has been changed. Who is to determine the cases in which there is disagreement between different parts of the church, or between different periods of its history? Even at Trent there was an utter want of agreement upon the question

Uncertainty
about the
character of
traditions.

Contra-
dictory
traditions.

Some obso-
lete.

Want of
agreement
about
traditions.

which had been so rashly introduced.¹ The bishops of Fano and Chiozza contended against placing scripture and tradition on a level of equality; the latter called it impious, for which he was roughly rebuked; the majority followed the alleged decree of the council of Florence. Through the very uncertainty of the traditions thus made equal to the written word, provision was made for every Roman corruption.² It is only needful to allege the apostolic origin of any observance, to make it as much to be regarded as if it were authorised by the text of scripture; and the cases are numberless in which the assertion is admitted, not only without the shadow of proof, but contrary to all probability. Thus, in the Roman catechism, there is an enumeration of the ceremonies in baptism, such as exorcism, the use of salt, saliva, chrism, &c.; and it is said that they ought to be held in great honour, both in consideration of their object and the authority of the apostles by whom they were instituted.³

The second decree has the same tendency. The vulgate was declared to be the standard text⁴, although it was known to be very incorrect, and provision was made for producing a more accurate edition. Yet this version, the origin of which is so obscure that no one can tell whether it had one author or many, whether it was the work of Jerome or not, written in a barbarous style, and full of mistakes⁵, was bound on the acceptance of the church

The vulgate.

Its imperfections.

¹ "Et sanè tot sententias, quot linguas tunc fuisse comperio, &c." Again, "Ea omnia in generalem conventum relata; ubi haud modicè dissensum est." — *Pallav. Hist. con. Trid.* vi. 2. 8.

² "Quid enim non libebit fingere, admissio semel hoc postulato, non opus esse documentis et probationibus ex scripturâ? Quem errorem refutabimus, si vetustas erroris et errantium multitudo potest errori patrocinium parere?" — *Chennius, Examen con. Trid.* p. 60.

³ "Id verò tum instituentium auctoritas, qui sine controversiâ sancti apostoli fuerunt, tum finis, cuius causâ

cærimonias adhiberi voluerunt, satis docet." — *Catechismus Rom.* part ii. s. 59. p. 167. This extravagant assertion is appropriately proved, in part, by spurious writings. We must not forget that this is one of three standards of doctrine acknowledged in the infallible church.

⁴ "Pro authenticâ habeatur, et quòd eam nemo rejicere quovis prætextu audeat, vel præsumat."

⁵ It was not the version which Tertullian used, nor Cyprian, nor Hilary, nor Ambrose, nor Augustine, as is proved by the collation of many passages. Gregory I. followed it exactly, copying even its errors and misprints.

in terms which nothing could justify short of the inspiration of the translator. And the imperfection of the translation was soon made plain by unexceptionable proof, and the rashness of the council placed in the clearest point of view. Sixtus V. published an improved edition of the vulgate, which his successor Clement VIII. superseded by another differing from it in a great number of places; and a multitude of errors remain uncorrected, by the acknowledgment of a learned writer of their own.¹ Even at Trent there was a warm dispute on the subject between those who understood Latin and Greek, and those who had no knowledge of languages.² Isidore Clarius, the Benedictine abbot, who was one of the former, contended against placing any version on a level with the original. And Louis of Catania, who pleaded the authority of cardinal Caietan, argued on the same side.³ He urged that it would be contrary to the judgment of Jerome; and he proposed that the subject should be left without any fresh decision. Even Andrada confesses that the question is full of difficulty. On the other side, the majority were anxious that the decree should pass, because the vulgate had been used in churches and read in schools; to call its authority in question would give great advantage to the protestants; in that case grammarians and pedants would get more influence than theologians and canonists; and because inquisitors, who knew nothing of Greek or

Bellum papale. Epist. dedicat.

Contests in the council about the vulgate.

These mistakes are very lightly excused by Roman writers; thus Gregory de Valentia speaks of the well-known mistranslation, Gen. iii. 15. : "Eodem res redit. Nam si Filius Virginis Christus contrivit caput serpentis, ipsa Virgo quoque sua modo contrivit, quatenus genuit nimirum Jesum Salvatorem."—*Anal. Fid.* lib. viii. c. 5. p. 97.

¹ See Taylor's *Liberty of Prophecy*, sec. iv. p. 109.

² "Il y eut sur le troisième (article) qui regardoit la traduction Latine de l'écriture, une vive contestation entre les docteurs parfaitement versés dans la connoissance du Latin et du Grec, et

ceux qui n'avoient aucune connoissance des langues."—*Sarpi*, liv. ii. s. 51.

³ "Ce savant homme (Caietan) avoit coutume de dire, Qu'entendre le texte Latin, ce n'étoit pas entendre la parole de Dieu qui est infaillible, mais cette du traducteur qui pouvoit se tromper, &c."—*Ibid.*

For the defence of the vulgate vid. Pallav. *hist. C. T.* lib. vi. c. 17.; Andrada *def. fid. Trident.* lib. iv.; N. Alex. *hist. sæc. xvi. diss. xii. art. 2.* On the other side vid. Heidegger *Tumulus C. T. ad sess. iv. quæst. 3. tom. i. p. 149—160.*

Hebrew, would not be able to proceed against the Lutherans. As it might have been expected, ignorance carried the day; and for the future, Roman theologians had the authority of the council to plead, when they refused any consultation of the scriptures in the original languages. Thus Melchior Cano, citing this decree, contends that reference is not to be made to the Greek and Hebrew originals; and, though himself a learned man, pleads the cause of the unlearned with a strange earnestness.¹ Some Romanists have tried to interpret the decree in such a sense as not to exclude recurrence to the originals; and on this subject contests arose after the council, especially in Spain.² Practically, the question has been ruled clearly enough. We find, for instance, Clement XI., in 1713, condemning Quesnel because, among other things, he used a translation differing from the vulgate. The Roman church became thus committed to a course thoroughly opposed to the mind of earlier ages, and especially to the express sentiments of the greatest Latin doctor.³ Above all, it was another offence committed against the majesty and the supreme authority of scripture.

In the latter portion of the same decree, it is forbidden to interpret scripture contrary to the sense which the church has held, or to the unanimous consent of the fathers. Neither early councils nor the creeds of the primitive church sanction any such restriction, because the

Restraint
unknown
in primitive
times.

¹ "Hæreticæ pravitate inquisitores in refutandis hæreticis atque puniendis, rogo, an hanc editionem Latinam sedulo tenere debeant, an potius necesse est illis, ad Græcam et Hebraicam, quam minimè noverunt, recurrere veritatem?" And again: "Nempe, inquisitores despicient qui scripturam Latinam tanquam certam regulam teneant. Scholasticos auctores despicient, qui vulgari Latino interpreti fidem suam alligant, cujus tamen (ut aiunt) intelligentiam sequi non cogimur. Despicient sanctos etiam priscos, qui Hebraicæ linguæ peritiâ caruere." — *De locis theolog.* lib. ii. c. 13. p. 41.

² "In Hispaniâ olim circa interpretationem hujus decreti, adeò turbatum, et implacabilibus odiis certatum est, ut a contumeliis ventum sit ad ipsa tribumalia, &c." — *Heideggeri Tumulus con. Trid. Ad sess. iv. quæst. 5. arg. 8.*

³ "Latinæ linguæ homines duabus alis ad scripturarum divinarum cognitionem habent opus, Hebræâ scilicet et Græcâ, ut ad exemplaria præcedentia recurratur, si quam dubitationem attulerit Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas." — *August. de doct. Christ.* ii. c. 11. tom. iii. col. 24.

Rel. of prot.
ch. ii. part i.
p. 85.

fathers, who desired that the scripture should be in the hands of all, believed it to be clear enough for their guidance. "If there be any traditive interpretation of scripture," said Chillingworth to his opponent, "produce it and proves it to be so, and we embrace it. But the tradition of all ages is one thing, and the authority of the present church, much more of the Roman church, which is but a part, and a corrupted part, of the catholic church, is another." If some places are hard to understand, all things, as Augustine expresses it, which belong to faith and holiness of life are among the portions clearly expressed.¹ But if an interpretation by unanimous consent is needful, as the decree asserts by implication, we ask in vain where it is to be found. The doctors of the fourth and fifth centuries differ very widely from those of the fourteenth and fifteenth.² The theory of development presupposes that their expositions could not have been the same. Cardinal de Cusa acknowledges that the practice of the church expounds scripture at one time in one way, and at another time in another way. And, even up to the present date, no complete and authorised interpretation has been afforded.

Ep. ad.
Bohem. Op.
p. 858.

Sess. v.

Originalsin.

In the next session, the council, following an arranged order of subjects, handled the doctrine of original sin. They did not, however, publish any chapters containing a dogmatic statement, but only canons to which anathemas are appended; that is, while the council agreed negatively in rejecting certain opinions ascribed to the Lutherans, they could not agree in any affirmative view. They did not pass by such questions as the nature of original sin, whether it is the imputation of Adam's guilt, or the loss of supernatural grace, and, again, the mode of its transmission, its effects, &c., as being needless, for

¹ "In his quæ apertè in Scripturis posita sunt inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem, moresque vivendi, spem scilicet, et charitatem." — *De doct. Christ.* ii. c. 9.

² "Magnum discrimen esse asserimus inter eas interpretationes, quæ olim ab ecclesiâ admittebantur, et eas quæ nunc ab eâdem recipiuntur." — *Gentileti*, lib. ii. s. 4. p. 49.

they debated them with infinite length and tediousness ; but on these, and many kindred topics, there was not only no unanimity, but such a broad and absolute divergence of opinion, that they were obliged to leave the doctrine, whatever that might be, unstated.¹

Justification by faith was the next subject to be debated. This œcumenical council, which now numbered fifty-five bishops, proceeded to examine that which was the great controversy of the age. They did not shrink from so great an undertaking, as beyond their numbers or ability² ; but in the result, they left the question so inexactly defined, that the next year, Soto, leader of the Dominicans, published a treatise, which was contradicted by the work of Vega, the leader of the Franciscans ; and both claimed the sanction of the council for their opinions.³ During the main discussion, a question was incidentally started about the certainty of grace. It occupied many congregations, divided prelates and theologians, leaving the matter at last only in greater obscurity. The legate S. Croce tried in vain to induce the fathers to leave the subject, as doubtful, tedious, and embarrassing ; but the excitement was so great, that they returned to it again and again. At length thirty-three canons were published, in which the alleged heresies of the Lutherans were condemned. The council prepared its curses ; but if, as seemed likely enough, they should be disregarded by the

Sess. vi.

Justifica-
tion.Sarpi, liv. ii.
s. 80.Sarpi, liv. ii.
s. 80.

¹ Andrada, the great apologist of the council, fully admits the wide diversity of opinion on the subject."—*Defensio*, lib. iv. pp. 297—348. See also Greg. de Valentia, lib. De peccat. orig., for a specimen of the extent to which uncertainty may be carried in the church of Rome. The controversy about the immaculate conception incidentally occurred ; which, of course, the council did not venture to decide : "Synodus contrariis Franciscanorum et Dominicanorum machinationibus exercita, videri voluit rem indecisam relinquere."—*Heidegger*, *Ad sess. v. quæst.* 3. p. 210.

² "Ingens omnes incesserat cura

explicandi effatum apostoli, hominem justificari per fidem : quod erat unicum erroris Lutherani perfugium."—*Pall.* lib. viii. c. 4. s. 18.

³ "Dominique Soto, qui tenoit le principal rang parmi les Dominicains, écrivit trois livres sous le titre *De la nature et de la grace*, pour servir de commentaire à la doctrine du concile, où il prétendit qu'étoient établies toutes ses idées ; et qu'en même temps André Véga, qui étoit le plus accrédité des Franciscains, publia quinze grands livres de commentaires sur les seize chapitres de ce decret, et les interpréta tous en faveur de son opinion."—*Sarpi*, liv. ii. s. 80.

persons chiefly concerned, other weapons were in readiness. A league was formed for reducing the German protestants, and the pope bound himself to supply twelve thousand infantry, and five hundred cavalry, consenting also that half the ecclesiastical revenues of Spain should, for a year, be diverted to the uses of the war.¹ He wrote letters to the kings of France and Poland, to the doge of Venice, to the Swiss republic, &c., calling upon them for assistance, and, by his bull dated July 1546, he claimed the prayers and alms of christian people for this enterprise.² When the subject of reformation was opened, the question about episcopal residence arose, which lasted till the close of the council.³

Sess. vii.

The sacra-
ments.

The means of grace came next under consideration, and the council defined the sacraments to be seven in number; although this had never been stated before the time of Peter Lombard, and had no authority from a church synod before the council of Florence. The term was sometimes used in a wide and general sense, which admitted many ordinances besides those which were in question; and sometimes in a limited application of the term, which allowed no more than two.⁴ Of the five sacraments now added to the number acknowledged by the primitive church, confirmation has no trace of divine institution; order has the same visible sign as confirmation, which is common to other ordinances as well; neither penance nor matrimony

¹ The terms of the treaty are given by Le Plat, tom. iii. p. 434. They had been really arranged the year before at Worms. See Maimbourg, Hist. du Luthéranisme, liv. iii. tom. i. p. 283. The fraudulent conduct of the emperor is clearly stated, liv. iv. tom. ii. pp. 4, 5.

² The letters are given by Le Plat, tom. iii. pp. 437—446.

³ Gentileti has shown how many canons, &c. are contravened by the decisions of this session. — *Examen*, lib. iii. pp. 63—73.

⁴ Chemnitz gives the conditions of a sacrament in its restricted sense. — *Examen*, tom. ii. p. 8. He shows how

the decisions of the council contradicted the great doctors of the church, p. 7. This, again, is the testimony of a distinguished divine who lived and died in the Roman communion: “Nec temere quemquam reperias ante Petrum Lombardum, qui certum aliquem et definitum sacramentorum numerum statuerit, ad quem numerum statuentium posteris mysterium hujus etiam in divinis litteris celebratissimi numeri induxisse videntur.” — Consult art. xiii. *Cassandri*, *Op.* p. 951. And again, “De his quoque septem sacramentes certum est, ne ipsos quidem scholasticos existimasse, omnia ea æque proprie sacramenta vocari.” — *Ibid.*

have any visible sign ; extreme unction has an external part indeed, but it is employed only when the blessing originally joined with it is beyond hope. On the other side, such notable arguments as these were urged: there are seven capital sins, and seven cardinal virtues; six days of creation, which, with the day of rest, make seven; seven regions of Egypt; seven planets, &c.¹ This handful of presumptuous bishops asserted at the same time a divine origin for these ordinances, by which they condemned some of the chief doctors of the Latin church. Peter Lombard makes St. James the author of extreme unction; Alexander Hales assigns an apostolic origin to confirmation; Bonaventura to the institution of penance; and many others refer the ordinance of marriage to paradise.²

The eleventh canon expresses the necessity of the minister's intention to the validity of the sacraments, though Catherin had made a very impressive discourse, in which he showed the impossibility, in that case, of being assured that it is a true sacrament which the faithful receive, and the dangerous uncertainty which would in many ways be inevitable.³ The doctrine of the sacraments is, after all, only stated negatively; the positive belief of the Roman church is not declared. There had been an utter want of agreement. Some required that the doctrine in hand should be expressed as that of justification in the previous session; but there was no hope of unanimity. A bishop having urged the danger of schism, and exposed the false and hollow pretence of submitting to the judgment of the

¹ Sarpi, liv. ii. s. 85. See also Chemnitz, Examen, tom. ii. p. 3., for some scriptural reasons of equal cogency.

² Sarpi, liv. ii. s. 85. The Roman catechism claims apostolic origin for the ceremonies of baptism, and affirms that the use of the chrism, salt, &c., has always been maintained in the church.— Pars ii. *De sac. bapt.* s. 59. It asserts the same of confirmation, and cites Melchisedech, Dionysius Areop.,

and Fabian for proof. On the same spurious authority, it declares chrism to be the matter of confirmation, and the method of making it to have been derived from the apostles.— Pars ii. *De conf. sac.* s. 7.

³ This canon is taken from the decree of the council of Florence. Heidegger exposes the inconsistencies and contradictions which it involves.— *Ad sess.* vii. quæst. 5. pp. 611—621.

church, persuaded the council to omit any direct statement of what is to be believed on this great subject.

Removal of
the council
to Bologna.

At the close of the session, the council was removed to Bologna by command of the pope. The emperor had gained a great victory, and it seemed probable that he would take more active measures against the court of Rome. Paul had already given direction to his legate, when the occurrence of disease at Trent furnished a plausible excuse for the translation. It was urged as the reason by Del Monte, while cardinal Paceco denied the reality of the danger; the imperial ambassadors did the same; the priests of Trent affirmed that their parishes were not unhealthy; the physicians of the place refused to sign the report made by the physicians attached to the legate and to the council. The result justified the course of the German bishops, who remained at Trent; they received no injury; and when the sickness failed to promote the purpose of the Roman court, it was heard of no more.¹

Sess. viii.
ix. x.

Three sessions were held at Bologna. The number of bishops had fallen to thirty-five, yet they still called themselves an œcumenical and general council. They did not venture, however, to perform any acts, and on September 14. 1547 the session, which was to have been held on the following day, was postponed during the pleasure of the council. In 1549 Paul III. died, and was succeeded by Julius III., who had been chief legate at the council. He was a man of pleasure, and not likely to benefit the church at such a crisis.²

¹ The depositions taken in this case are given by Le Plat, tom. iii. pp. 590—608., as well as the protest presented by the emperor's command, pp. 685—710. The fear expressed is declared to be absolutely without foundation, and the place chosen is alleged as a reason for suspicion.—*Acta in con. Bonon. Le Plat*, tom. iii. pp. 692, 693. Onuphrius, the papal biographer, says expressly that the pope had become hostile to the emperor for various reasons, which he assigns; and he adds, "Itaque ejusdem anni quo Cæsar de

Germanis victoriam retulit initio, legati pontifici æris intemperiem excusantes, monente pontifice relicto Tridento Bononiam se contulerunt."—*In vit. Pauli III.* p. 343. De Thou denies the reality of the danger, and so does Sleidan, who was a contemporary.

² Onuphrius says of him: "Qui occupationibus totus intentus cardinalis, veluti furtim voluptates sequebatur, pontifex factus votorum jam omnium compos, abdicatâ rerum curâ, hilaritati et genio suo nimium indulisit."—P. 354.

In 1551 the council entered on its second period. After two preliminary sessions, the subject of the holy eucharist was brought under consideration. The first clause of the decree affirms the doctrine of our Lord's true, real, and substantial presence in the bread and wine after consecration. But the manner of his presence had given occasion to a long and vehement dispute between the rival orders; the elector of Cologne said, not without reason, that they did not know their own meaning.¹ The second and third canons are not easily reconciled; the one affirms the conversion of the bread into our Lord's body, and the wine into his blood; the other declares that he is equally present in each. But the council did not venture to say that as much grace is received under one kind as under both. Yet the refusal of the cup is indefensible, except by the doctrine of concomitancy, which, if it means anything, must, by inevitable consequence, imply what the council shrunk from affirming.²

Sess. xi. xii.
xiii.

The Lord's
supper.

In its next sitting the council proceeded to explain the so-called sacrament of penance. It required some boldness to pronounce anathema against those who reject it, since no scripture authority is adduced, unless an inference from the power of binding and loosing; and the divines of Trent were not able to tell what is the matter or the

Sess. xiv.
Penance.

¹ "Auditâ hâc disputatione Elector Coloniensis negavit, utrosque quid sibi velint, satis intelligere." — *Heidegger, Hist. sess. xiii. p. 754.*

"Les Franciscaïns soutenoient de leur côté : Qu'un corps par la puissance de Dieu peut exister véritablement et substantiellement en plusieurs lieux ; et que quand il occupe un nouveau lieu, il y est parcequ'il y va, non pas par un mouvement successif, comme s'il laissoit le premier pour aller dans un autre, mais par un changement d'un instant, qui lui fait occuper un second lieu sans sortir du premier." And again, "Que dans le ciel la quantité retient la nature et les propriétés de la quantité, au lieu que dans le sacrement elle a la nature d'une substance." — *Sarpi, liv. iv. s. 13.* The opinion of

their opponents is just as unintelligible. Sarpi adds : "Ces deux écoles, également prévenues en faveur de leur opinion, soutenoient que leur sentiment étoit clair, aisé et intelligible, et trouvoient dans l'opinion contraire une infinité d'absurdités à combattre."

² "Ab illâ questione quòd theologi temperavit synodus æqualisme an major gratia impertiretur sumenti eucharistiam sub utrâque specie, quàm sub unâ solum, propterea quòd theologi complures inæqualitatem propugnabant." — *N. Alex. sæc. xvi. diss. xii. art. 8. s. 2.* Dr. Challoner, apparently unacquainted with the doctrine of his church, says : "Under one kind they receive the same (grace) as they would do under both." — *Grounds of cath. doct. p. 34.*

sacramental form.¹ Contrition, confession, and satisfaction are stated to be, as it were, the matter of this sacrament. The phrase is without meaning; and the visible sign is really wanting, as the council well knew. The obligation of auricular confession is not older than the fourth council of Lateran, by which it was enjoined in terms of inhuman severity; and the present council was not able to allege any higher or earlier authority.² Absolution is declared by canon ix. to be a judicial act, though the Franciscans had affirmed that this was to condemn Jerome, Peter Lombard, Bonaventura, and almost all the schoolmen. On the other hand, many important points were omitted. There were no rules given for distinguishing venial and mortal sin. It was not decided whether the attrition which proceeds from fear must be accompanied by love towards God in order to obtain grace in penance. The affirmative is among the propositions of Quesnel condemned by Clement XI.; the Jesuits hold the negative. The question had been vehemently debated in the university of Louvain, and the pope, by a bull dated March 5. 1667, ordained that no one should presume to condemn either proposition, till the holy see should decide.

Quasi materia.

Canon xxi.

Sarpi, liv. iv. s. 24.

Recueil des bulles, &c. p. 254.

Extreme unction.

In the same session, the fathers undertook to explain and enforce the doctrine of extreme unction. They did not venture to affirm that it was instituted Mark, vi. 13. because the apostles, according to the Roman doctrine,

¹ "Materia sacramenti est quiddam, quod à ministro applicatur recipienti. At actus illi poenitenti non applicatur."—*Heidegger ad sess. xiv. quæst. 2. arg. 3. p. 954.* This is what the Franciscans urged in the council: "Ils disoient d'ailleurs, qu'il étoit clair que la matière d'un sacrement est une chose qui doit être appliquée par le ministre à celui qui le reçoit; et non l'action même du recevant, comme cela paroît dans tous les autres sacrements."—*Sarpi, liv. iv. s. 24.*

"Forma id est per quod res est quod

est, et constituit rei essentiam. At absolutio a peccatis non constituit essentiam doloris, confessionis, ut sit verus dolor, vera confessio."—*Heid. ad sess. xiv. quæst. 1. arg. 3. p. 940.*

² Sarpi tells us what sort of arguments prevailed with the council: "On racontoit une infinité de miracles anciens et modernes faits en faveur de ceux qui se confessoient souvent, et en punition de ceux qui négligeoient ou méprisoient cette pratique."—*Liv. iv. s. 23.*

were not made priests till the last supper. They used therefore a singular expression, stating that it was “insinuated” in Mark, but promulgated by the apostle James, from whom the church learned the matter, form, and proper minister. Some theologians denied, with Caietan, that either of these passages had any application to extreme unction; while others, with De Castro, held the reverse. It is remarkable that no mention of extreme unction occurs in the account of the deaths of any early christians whose biographies have reached us. Bellarmine tries to meet the difficulty by suggesting that it was one of those common and daily things which men do not note.

Doctrina de
ext. unct.
c. i.

In the two following sessions no business was transacted, and on April 28. 1552 the council was suspended.

De ext. unct.
c. 6.

Sess. xv.
xvi.

After an interval unexpectedly prolonged, it was again convened by a bull dated November 29. 1560. Great changes had taken place in the meanwhile. The protestant faith had spread far and wide; there were multitudes, especially among the Germans, who had deeply investigated the questions at issue, and were resolutely holding the conclusions which they had reached. From the religious peace of Augsburg their independence was recognised. Persecution had failed in its purpose; toleration had been wrung from the emperor Charles by his reverses, and he had retired from the world of politics to his convent in Estremadura. Charles IX. was now king of France; Julius III. and his two successors were dead, and Pius IV. was pope. The conference at Poissy, attended by Beza from Geneva, and Martyr from Zurich, by d’Espence and Lainez, and the cardinal of Lorraine, had ended without any good result. The reunion of the great religious parties had become hopeless; and the pope had a very diminished circle of spiritual subjects over whom to exercise his authority. Paul IV., by a strange concurrence of circumstances, had done more than most other persons to promote the principles which he abhorred. He was the author of the war in which the protestants

Changes
which had
occurred
since the
last meeting
of the coun-
cil.

finally accomplished their religious freedom; and he kept in check, on account of his secular interests, the enemies who would have crushed them. The council, which had been urgently demanded in his latter days, could no longer be delayed under Pius, who was the son of a Milanese tax-gatherer, and had no alliance with the great Italian houses. He was a lawyer and a man of the world, cheerful and fond of pleasure, but not well adapted to the exigencies of the church under its present circumstances.

The nuncio carried his message to the protestants in vain. Frankfort and Augsburg, Ulm and Lubeck, were of one mind in rejecting it. The king of Denmark, following his father's example, refused to hold intercourse with the pope. The queen of England expressed willingness to send representatives to a free council, but not to such an assembly as Trent. To use a singular expression of the papal historian, there was much seed and little fruit.¹

On the eighteenth of January, 1562, the fathers re-assembled. They were speedily met by a difficult question, and they were called on to decide whether this should be considered a new council, or a continuation of the preceding. If the latter were declared, it was tantamount to giving full sanction to the early decrees; if the former, they might be open to revision. The elector Maurice, in the diet of Augsburg in 1551, had pronounced, among the conditions on which he would consent to the council, that the subjects already decided should be re-opened, and in the presence of protestant divines. There were many persons besides who urged, as a reason for revising the acts of the past sessions, that they had been attended by so few.² Some bishops, who desired that no re-examination

Sess. xvii.
xviii. xix.
xx.

¹ "Ita multum seminis jactum est, sed modicâ segete : quin tamen hoc ingenti fructu collecto, quòd homines intelligerent, ubi fructus deficiebat, vitium non satoris esse sed soli."—*Pall.* lib. xv. c. 9. s. 8. Le Plat gives an important document entitled "Cause

cur electores, principes, alique Aug. confessioni conjuncti status, recusent adire concilium, &c."—Tom. v. pp. 48—76.

² Pallavicini mentions this as one of the difficulties suggested: "Minimè defuturum qui affirmaret, haud licuisse

should take place, complained that the continuation was not expressed ; while others took the contrary side. The legates, following their usual policy, avoided the use of the word¹ ; but did not succeed in putting an end to the contention, for it became one of the many lasting struggles which occurred between the opposing parties. The Spaniards were urgent that a continuation should be pronounced ; the emperor threatened to withdraw his ambassador if that course were adopted ; while the French envoys very reasonably objected to the ambiguous phrase employed as unworthy of a christian assembly.²

The business of the council having commenced, a decree was passed establishing communion in one kind for laymen, and for clergy when not consecrating. There was no scripture authority to be adduced for this law ; there was no sanction of the ancient church, nor any synodical decision earlier than that of Constance. The case of our Lord at Emmaus, and that of the disciples breaking bread from house to house, have indeed sometimes been alleged ; but they would prove consecration also in one kind, which is not what the Roman church maintains. A very distinguished theologian in the council advanced as an argument that Christ administered bread to the apostles as representatives of the laity ; but having constituted them priests by the words “ this do in remembrance of me,” he administered the cup to them as representatives of the clergy. The practice of the church both east and west for more than twelve hundred years bears witness against the decision of Trent. The testimonies of the fathers on this subject are

Sess. xxi.

Communion
in one kind.Sarpi, liv.
vi. p. 30.

paucorum conventui cunctorum universitatem obligare.” — *Hist. C. T.* lib. xiv. c. 13. s. 16.

¹ “ Les légats répondirent à ces demandes : Que comme il étoit nécessaire de satisfaire tout le monde, on ne parleroit point de continuation, afin de les contenter ; mais aussi pour ne pas irriter les Espagnols, on s’abstiendrait du mot contraire.” — *Sarpi*, liv. vi. s. 6.

Onuphrius says : “ Ortâ controver-

siâ continuatio ne fieret concil. Trident. an nova indictio, pontifex salubre temperamentum, quo animas omnium componeret, in enit, dum in promulgationis diplomate eâ verborum formulâ usus est, quâ et utriusque parti fieret satis, et Trident. con. sua salva maneret auctoritas.” — *In vit. Pii IV.* p. 380.

² Indicendo continuamus, et continuando indicimus.

endless on the same side.¹ Pope Gelasius had written against the division of the sacrament², and so had Peter Lombard and other distinguished schoolmen. The rule established at Constance had kindled cruel wars in Bohemia, and wide and flourishing countries had been alienated from the Roman obedience. The ambassadors of the duke of Bavaria affirmed that the subtraction of the cup had driven multitudes from communion with the church. Some districts were without priests, and were fast falling into paganism. The university of Prague had given formal expression to the popular feeling.³ From Hungary and Moravia, from Bavaria and Austria, the most earnest remonstrances were addressed to the bishops at Trent⁴; they were strongly supported by the emperor of Germany and the king of France. After the close of the council, secular princes continued to urge the duty and expediency of returning to the primitive practice. Many excellent persons in the papal communion have expressed their desire that the rule should be relaxed.⁵ The reasons which induced the church of Rome to persist in a course found to be so perilous are stated by John Gerson to have been, among others, the fear that the dignity of laymen, in regard to the eucharist, should be considered equal to that of the clergy; that the Roman church should be thought to have decided

¹ Von der Hardt gives in his collection a very learned treatise written in the time of the council of Constance, on the necessity of lay communion under both kinds. The testimonies of the fathers are collected, beginning with Augustine.—Tom. iii. part 23. col. 806.

² The words of Gelasius are not weakened by the reference to manicheism, on occasion of which they were spoken.

³ "L'université de Prague s'expliqua elle-même, en faveur de cette manière d'administrer le sacrement de l'eucharistie, par une déclaration publique datée du dix-septième Mars de cette année."—*L'enfant, concile de Constance*, liv. v. s. 22.

⁴ Baumgartner, the Bavarian ambassador, produced forcible reasons before the council: "Que plusieurs avaient abandonné l'église à cause du retranchement de la calice, et disoient qu'ils se croyoient obligés de le reprendre, tant pour obéir à la parole de Dieu, que pour imiter l'exemple de l'église primitive, suivi encore à présent dans l'église orientale, et autrefois dans la Romaine."—*Sarpi*, liv. vi. s. 34. The envoy of the emperor held the same argument.—*Liv.* vi. s. 50.

⁵ This was the wish of George Casander, who wrote in the sixteenth century: Vid. De sacrâ communione Christiani populi in utràque panis et vini specie, op. 1019. See also Moehler, Symbolism, Part i. ch. 4. s. 35.

wrongly, and the general council of Constance to have erred.¹

In the following session, the council was engaged on the sacrifice of the mass. A disagreement occurred on the question whether Christ offered himself at the last supper. There was a difficulty in deciding it either way. The affirmative would make another sacrifice precede that of the cross; the negative would interfere with the sacrificial character of the mass. After much dispute, the statement of the decree was framed with a convenient vagueness. The second chapter affirms the mass to be propitiatory for the dead, though scripture speaks only of the living; and the third recognises masses in honour of the saints, though there is no authority for any commemoration except of our Lord himself.² The fourth declares the canon of the mass to be free from all error, though it corrupts the words of scripture, both by omission and addition. Besides embodying errors of which the early church knew nothing, it contains expressions which contradict both the custom of private masses and the doctrine of purgatory.³ The ceremonies used in the celebration of the mass are vindicated by an anathema.⁴ It is forbidden to call solitary masses unlawful, though they have no sanction nor a single precedent from the ancient church⁵;

Sess. xxii.

The sacrifice
of the mass.Luke, xxii.
19.;
1 Cor. xi. 26.

¹ "Quod tanta esset dignitas laicorum circa sumtionem corporis Christi, sicut est sacerdotum. Quod ecclesia R. non ritè sentiret de sacramentis, nec in hoc esset imitanda. Quod concilia generalia et specialiter Constantiense, errassent in fide et bonis moribus"—*Gerson, de commun. in utrâque, ap. Von der Hardt*, tom. iii. col. 778.

² "Ut in cruce morientis nemo socius fuit: ita nec in commemoratione socius esse debet."—*Heidegger, Ad sess. xxii. quæst. iii. arg. 2. p. 204.*

³ Vid. Heidegger, *ibid.* quæst. iv. arg. 4. p. 213.; arg. 5. p. 217. The canon of the mass is ascribed by Durand to the apostle Peter. *Rationale*, lib. iv. c. 1. fol. 88., which is a fable belonging to the seventh century.

⁴ Durand enlarges on their use and

significancy, lib. iv. c. 4. fol. 95. His dissertation is full of profane trifling, and on the subject of those ceremonies which the council forbids, under a curse, to call "irritabula impietatis."—*Sess. xxii. can. 7.*

⁵ Most true is the statement of Heidegger, "Est perversio Testamenti Christi, loco sacramentalis sumptionis proponere spectaculum; et spectaculo huic tribuere quod Filius Dei sacramentali manducationi et bibitioni tribuit."—*Ad Sess. xxii. quæst. vi. p. 248.* The very words employed in the canon of the mass, "Deus vobiscum, sursum corda, &c.," imply that persons are present beside the celebrant. Innocent III. endeavours to meet the difficulty by referring to the presence of angels. Bellarmine admits that

or to affirm that mass ought to be said in the vulgar tongue¹, though we have the example of Christ and his apostles, and though in the ancient church the westerns used the Latin language, and the easterns the Greek or Chaldee, but always the language of the country. In this session there is a decree about the granting of the cup, altogether out of place. It is appended to the chapters on reformation instead of being placed under the head of doctrine, because in conclusions on doctrine unanimity was required, or that the dissentients should be few, which in the present instance was hopeless. The demand of the cup was first presented to the pope; he remitted it to the council, and, after many months' deliberation, they referred the whole subject again to the pope.

Sess. xxiii.

The sacrament of order.

The question of order was next treated. It is declared to be a true and proper sacrament, although there is no agreement about its external sign, whether it be the imposition of hands, or unction, or the delivery of the chalice and paten. The council ventures to affirm that there have been seven orders in use from the very beginning of the church, with the names and ministrations proper to each.²

Sess. xxiv.

Matrimony.

Matrimony came next under consideration. It was first ruled to be a sacrament at Florence; and now the

there is no direct sanction from the fathers: "Etiam si nusquam expressè legamus à veteribus oblatum sacrificium, sine communione alicujus, vel aliquorum, præter ipsum sacerdotem; tamen id possumus ex conjecturis facile colligere."—*De missâ*, lib. ii. c. 9. p. 226.

¹ "Christus et apostoli ut sacra omnia, sic eucharistiæ etiam sacramentum vulgari et vernaculâ sibi linguâ administrârunt."—*Heid.* quæst. vii. p. 268.

² The Roman catechism, which provides a supplement to the teaching of the council, affirms that the maintenance of these orders is an unbroken tradition of the church catholic, and

for this assertion cites authorities which are unquestionably spurious.—Pars ii. *De ordinis sac.* s. 24. In explaining the clerical tonsure, it states: "Non desunt qui vel perfectioris vitæ professionem à clericis susceptam circuli figurâ, quæ omnium perfectissima est, significari existiment, vel externarum rerum contemptionem, animique ab omnibus humanis curis vacuitatem declarari putent: quod capilli, supervacaneum quiddam in corpore, tondeantur."—*Ibid.* s. 28. Reference is probably intended to the bishop of Mende, whose chapter on this subject is a masterpiece of foolish writing.—*Ration. div. off.* lib. ii. c. 1. fol. 49.

council of Trent defined it to be one of the seven sacraments, and instituted by our Lord; although, as bishop Stillingfleet observes, "Having its origin in paradise, one would wonder how it came into men's heads to call it a sacrament of the new law instituted by Christ;" and although there is the utmost difference of opinion among Roman writers of the highest authority both about the matter and the form.¹ When the council declared matrimony to have been always held as a sacrament by the tradition of the universal church, it became committed to a statement which even the moderately learned could disprove. It asserts with anathema, that marriage may be dissolved on account of religious vows for which scripture gives no authority; and not for adultery, which scripture allows as a sufficient cause.

In the closing session some decrees of the highest importance were passed. It was affirmed that purgatory exists; that the souls detained there are helped by the suffrages of the faithful and by the sacrifice of the altar; and for this statement authority is claimed from the word of God, from tradition of the fathers, and from councils.² Some Roman writers say that the doctrine is capable of scripture-proof, which others deny. But as to what may be the medium of punishment, or the place, or the duration, no one is able to advance even a probable opinion. There is a multitude of conjectures, but no authorised statement, while the contradictions of scripture are broad and numerous. The council enjoins that the sound doctrine of purgatory be taught; but gives no word of direction as to where it may be found, or how ascertained.

By the second decree the invocation of saints and the honour paid to relics and images, were established. The statement of the council goes far beyond what Romanists

Sess. xxv.

Purgatory.

Saints. Relics. Images.

¹ Melchior Cano says: "In materiâ et formâ hujus sacramenti statuendâ adeo sunt inconstantes et varii, adeo incerti et ambigui, ut ineptus futurus sit, qui in tantâ illorum varietate ac

discrepantiâ rem aliquam certam, constantem, exploratam conetur efficere." — *De locis theolog.* lib. viii. c. 5. p. 175.

² "Ex sacris literis ex antiquâ patrum traditione, &c." — *Decret. de purg.*

generally admit to be taught in their church. It is declared to be good and useful, not only to have recourse to their prayers, but to their aid and help.¹ On the subject of relics and images the language of the decree seems to have been left intentionally vague. And yet it was beyond measure important that the people should be told plainly what is the legitimate use, and the due honour and veneration of which the council speaks, and upon what authority they are enjoined.²

Indulgen-
ces.

The subject of indulgences, which had given so great an impulse to the religious movement of which the council itself was the result, was the last to be handled. The legate desired that it should be altogether omitted; but the cardinal of Lorraine urged that another council could, in that case, be hardly avoided. On the third of December the lateness of the hour was assigned as the reason for proroguing the session.³ Before the council met on the following day a decree on this important subject had been prepared, which was read in a general congregation, and then adopted by the bishops in their session.⁴ "Touching indulgences or pardons," writes Dr. Field, "they were originally nothing else but the releasing of some part of that penance that had been enjoined, as appeareth by the whole course of antiquity." The Roman system has nothing in common with that of the primitive church except the name. It is believed in the papal communion

Of the
church,
append. to
book iii. ch.
25.

¹ "Ad eorum orationes, opem, auxiliumque confugere."—*Decret. de invoc.* s. 5.

² It was the more needful, because some among the theologians at Trent gave countenance to extreme superstition: "Lainez qui étoit un des commissaires, prétendoit qu'outre l'honneur qui leur étoit rendu à cause des saints qu'elles représentent, il leur en étoit dû en autre qui leur étoit propre, lorsqu'elles étoient bénites et placées dans un lieu saint; et que le premier étoit relatif, et le second objectif."—*Sarpi*, liv. viii. s. 72. And the people in countries under Roman teaching, both

before and since the council, have proved how they believe on the subject, by ascribing greater efficacy to one image or picture than to another of the same person, and by attributing to the representation the conditions, as speech and motion, which belong to the person represented.—*Vid. Cassandri contr.* art. xxi. *Op.* p. 978.

³ "Quia hora tarda est."—*Con. Trid. decret. et can.* fol. 268.

⁴ "Eadem nocte digestum fuit, formulâ contradictionibus haud obnoxia. Et primo manè in cœtu ferè generali perlectum."—*Pallav.* lib. xxiv. c. 8. s. i.

that, besides the eternal punishment of sin remitted through the sacrament of penance, there is a temporal penalty to be endured, if not in this life, then in the interval between death and judgment; and that this may be curtailed in amount by carrying to the credit of particular persons some portion of the superabounding merit left by the saints, and especially by the blessed Virgin, as the treasure of the church committed to the dispensation of the pope. This application of merits in mitigation of punishment is called an indulgence. It has no shadow of scripture proof, nor foundation in the writings of the fathers, nor even a prescription of respectable antiquity¹; yet it is asserted in the plainest terms by Leo X. in his bull.² The council was bound by all considerations of duty and christian charity, either to maintain or to abandon the doctrine which had been advanced on such high authority. Yet it gave no definition of an indulgence, nor described its source, nor its conditions, nor its effects. The difficulties, and they were acknowledged to be very numerous, remained unanswered, and the subject unexplained, a fertile source of superstitious abuse; for it was as far as possible from being harmless in its results. There was not only great ignorance, but such scandals had arisen as made men atheists by thousands. Conditions had been by degrees annexed to indulgences; certain places were to be visited, or relics, or images; money, or personal service, was to be rendered; the power of dispensing these privileges was sold to particular churches, or colleges, or hospitals; they were farmed under high sanction, spiritual and secular; jubilees were

Sarpi, liv.
viii, s. 73.

¹ Van Espen proves to demonstration that the supposed treasure and the application of it were unknown to the primitive church, pars ii. s. 1. tit. vii. pp. 469—486. See also Chemnitz, Examen, tom. iv. pp. 46—86. Indulgences were denounced long before Luther's time. Among the articles extracted from the writings of Wicliffe for condemnation, this is one: "Fa-

tuum est credere indulgentiis papæ et episcoporum."—Art. xxxvi. *Ap. Von der Hardt*, tom. i. pars i. col. 125.

² The bull, which is dated November, 1518, states very clearly the claim of the pope to confer the benefit of an indulgence on all members of Christ: "Sive in hac vitâ sint, sive in purgatorio."—Vid. *Le Plat*, tom. ii. p. 23.

invented, which were nothing else but a larger market for the sale ; and the interval at which they were held was shortened from one hundred and fifty years under Boniface VIII., to twenty-five under Sixtus IV. This traffic was the chief resource of the Roman treasury, whatever burden it might have to bear ; whether the wars of Julius, or the princely tastes of Leo. If papal families were to be portioned, or courtiers enriched, still this was the refuge. It was the great evil of the age, against which all Europe reclaimed. In the *Centum gravamina*, that remarkable document which emanated from the German princes, the third article complains of the intolerable burden of indulgences by which, under pretence of piety, vast sums were raised, to the discredit of religion and the increase of horrible crimes. The council enjoined that abuses which had crept in should be reported by the bishop of each diocese to a provincial synod, and finally referred to the bishop of Rome¹ ; as if all the world did not know that it was from the pope, and the practice of his court, that the scandal had its rise.

Questions
left unde-
cided.

When the council had closed its sessions, and its business was at an end, many important questions were found altogether undecided.² The authority of the pope, and the relation in which it stands to that of a council, is among them. No one alleged that a determination was needless or beside the purpose ; and indeed a canon had been prepared in which the doctrine laid down at Florence was expressed ; but it was abandoned, because the disagreement in the present council was too broad and irreconcilable to leave any hope that it would pass. The case was so full of peril, that the legates were always on the watch to prevent its discussion, so far as might be

Nat. Alex.
hist. sæc.
xvi. diss.
xii. art. 13.

¹ " Statim ad summum R. pontificem deferantur, cujus auctoritate et prudentiâ quod universali ecclesiæ expediet statuatur."—*Decretum de indulg.*

² They were intentionally omitted, as Sarpi states, in the words of the legate: " Que d'ailleurs, dans les choses

contestées entre les Catholiques, il ne convenoit pas de décider au préjudice de l'une des parties, de peur de faire naître un schisme, ou d'exciter des disputes qui les empêchassent d'agir de concert contre les Luthériens."—*Sarpi*, liv. ii. s. 81.

possible. There was opposition to be dreaded from secular princes and from some prelates in the council, as well as from the protestants.¹ But it could not always be avoided. Thus, we find the bishop of Imola touching on the subject, as it were by accident, and then trying to neutralise his own words.² Again, a little later, we have the cardinal of Lorraine asserting the Gallican doctrine, and the archbishop of Otranto speaking with the utmost vehemence on the other side; and when the council was near its close the strife was still increasing.³ Then, again, the claim of the pope to temporal power is an unsettled question. It is maintained by the third canon of Lateran⁴, and absolutely denied by the first of the Gallican articles. Boniface VIII. published a bull, in which he asserted the fullest power over princes; it was recalled by Clement V.; is this revocation tantamount to a denial of the doctrine? Salmeron, who was present at Trent as one of the pope's theologians, maintains in his writings the absolute superiority of the spiritual power over the secular⁵; is this opinion sanctioned by the Roman church, or has it been censured? Bellarmine, who delivered his lectures at Rome not long after the close of the council, held the extremest views; is he to be taken for a true exponent of the doctrine held by his communion?⁶ The council

Sarpi, liv.
viii. s. 13.

¹ "La dernière difficulté et la plus importante de toutes regardoit l'autorité du saint siège, tant dedans que hors et sur le concile; autorité non-seulement attaquée par les protestans qui cherchoient à la détruire mais aussi par plusieurs princes qui vouloient la restreindre et par quantité d'évêques qui songeoint à la modérer."—*Sarpi*, liv. iii. s. 30.

² "Dans la chaleur du discours il lui échapa de dire, que le concile général n'avoit aucun supérieur. Mais s'étant aperçu que les partisans du pape, du nombre des quels il étoit, s'en trouvaient offensés, il tâcha d'adoucir ce qu'il avoit dit en répétant les mêmes paroles, et ajoutant une exception en faveur de l'autorité du pape."—*Sarpi*, liv. vi. s. 53.

³ "Cependant, les différends au sujet de l'institution des évêques et de l'autorité du pape auroient toujours et alloient même en augmentant."—*Sarpi*, liv. viii. s. 18.

⁴ Of which Bellarmine says: "Hæc si non est vox ecclesiæ ubi eam inveniemus?"

⁵ "Potestas secularis et regia subest episcopali et pontificiæ tum quia scriptura id porrigit, nam Esaias, cap. 60., ait, 'Gens et regnum quod non servierit tibi, peribit.'"—*Comment. in Rom.* xiii. diss. 4. p. 677.

⁶ Bishop Andrewes has collected some of his statements, the extravagance of which cannot be exceeded.—*Resp. ad Bell.* s. lxii. p. 80.

decreed that saints are to be invocated, but provided that all superstition should be taken away; is the language of such writers as Bonaventura, and Gabriel Biel, and Bernardine de Bustis, or what we find in such books as the Glories of Mary, or the Office of the sacred heart, within the limit of authorised teaching? Do the terms of the decree sanction direct supplication for the assistance of the saints, beyond petition for their prayers; or is the *ora pro nobis* alone allowed, as we hear it commonly alleged? Bishops and others are commanded to instruct the people in the legitimate use of images, which are to receive no more than due honour and veneration, but the lawful limits are not described; does the worship offered terminate in the image itself, or is it referred to the person represented? Bellarmine expressly asserts the former¹; every Romanist now, when put on his defence, affirms the latter²; Aquinas, with some of the schoolmen, are on the one side, Cassander, and most of the moderns, are on the other; while the ignorant people everywhere are plunged in the depths of undeniable idolatry. It is a point of controversy, again, whether the cross is to be honoured with the highest, or with inferior worship; France and Germany have ruled it in one way, Spain and Italy in another. Are the devotions appointed in the Roman church for September 14. beyond the limit which the council intended to sanction? And if they are not, where is the superstition to be found against which their warning is directed? These are but a few out of a multitude of questions, for which no solution was provided. It is the token and the result of the discordance which prevailed from the commencement to the close of

¹ "Imagines Christi et sanctorum venerandæ sunt, non solum per accidens, vel improprie, sed etiam per se, et proprie, ita ut ipsæ terminent venerationem, ut in se considerantur, et non solum ut vicem gerunt exemplaris."—*De imag.* lib. ii. c. 21. p. 455.

² Lactantius tells us that the heathen of his time made exactly the same plea for their worship of images: "Non ipsa, inquit, timemus, sed eos, ad quorum imaginem ficta, et quorum nominibus consecrata sunt."—*Div. instit.* lib. ii. c. 2. p. 81.

the council.¹ At the very outset a contest arose, which was never really set at rest. They could not agree whether the title of the council should express that it represented the universal church; and when only twenty-seven bishops were present, three out of that scanty number entered their protest against the omission of the clause. The insertion of it was opposed by the legates, who urged one reason in public, and assigned another in private to the pope. And, as the sessions advanced, every subject brought out vehement and irreconcilable dissensions. In the debate on original sin we have two great theologians dividing the congregation²; and when the question of the immaculate conception arose incidentally, a dispute was of course inevitable between the Franciscans who excepted the case of the blessed Virgin, and the Dominicans who did not.³ In the following sessions we have Catherin and Soto on opposite sides; the one called the other heretic, and each represented a line of thought held by a great school of Roman theologians. When the mode of operation in the sacraments was debated, the Dominican and Franciscan orders, which included the chief divines, were utterly at variance. The former imputed to their opponents that they held sentiments approaching to Lutheranism; the latter retorted that an advantage was given to heretics by advancing an impossible opinion.⁴ But the residence of bishops on their sees was the

Subjects of dispute.

Pallav. lib. vi. c. ii. s. 9.

¹ The danger of dissension was foreseen by the pope, who gave direction very early for avoiding topics of dispute: "Pontifex monuit legatos ut in concilio nihil statuerent, quod est controversum inter catholicos."—*Scipio Henricus, Hist. sess. iv. p. 36.* And, as Courayer observes, the council endeavoured to choose expressions which might equally satisfy both parties: "Comme on avoit beaucoup de différens sentimens à ménager, l'attention du concile fut toujours de choisir tellement ses expressions qu'elles pussent également satisfaire les personnes de sentimens opposés. C'est ce qui rend quelquefois le sens du concile si équivoque, que chaque parti trouvoit que

la décision lui étoit favorable, comme on le vit dans les disputes de la justification et de l'intention."—*Sarpi, liv. vi. s. 58. note.*

² "Ces deux opinions furent soutenues avec une chaleur égale de part et d'autre, chacun voulant faire adopter la sienne par le synode."—*Sarpi, liv. ii. s. 65.*

³ "La contestation alla si loin, que l'ambassadeur de l'empereur conçut quelque espérance d'obtenir, comme il le souhaitoit que la matière ne pût pas être en état d'être proposée dans la session suivante."—*Sarpi, liv. ii. s. 66.*

⁴ "De part et d'autre chacun exposa ses raisons fort au long et d'une ma-

Pallav. lib.
vii. c. 4. s. 10.

Episcopal
residence by
divine right.

Pallav. lib.
xviii. c. 15.
ss. 2—18.

Sarpi, liv.
vii. s. 20.

subject which, beyond all others, divided the council. Some stricter discipline was indispensable; in so great a city as Pampeluna no bishop had been seen for eighty years. But it was soon discovered that higher questions were involved, such as the origin of episcopacy, and the supreme power of the pope. If it were established that bishops were bound by a divine ordinance to reside in their dioceses, it would be a great step towards proving that episcopal power comes directly from Christ, and not by delegation from the bishop of Rome. And, again, a declaration of residence by divine right would put an end to many abuses which had been very gainful to the Roman court and its adherents.¹ The extreme papal view was stated by Lainez, who ascribed the whole jurisdiction of bishops without limitation to the pope², as a prerogative without which he could not be head of the church. The Spaniards generally were urgent for the *jus divinum* of episcopacy, while the bishop of Segovia maintained that the expression would be the ruin of the papacy, and the Italians for the most part sided with him. The legates were disagreed on the question; which was debated, as Paleotto tells us, with so much violence and acrimony by the prelates, that he judged it needful to conceal all but the outline. A division took place; but the votes were so nearly balanced, and were given in such a form, that no conclusion resulted, while the pope could suggest no other resource than the postponement of the question.³ The subject had been incidentally debated, again and again, in its connexion with reformation, but more directly and formally, when the sacrament of order was under discussion. A decree was drawn up, which all

nière encore plus aigre qu'étendue, et on se censuroit réciproquement." — Sarpi, liv. ii. s. 86.

¹ Vid. Controversia de necessariâ residentia personali episcoporum, &c., explicata per F. B. Carranzam de Miranda. — *Le Plat*, tom. iii. pp. 522—584.

² Bossuet shows that such a doctrine was unknown for twelve centuries. — *Defensio*, pars iii. lib. viii. c. 11.

³ "Cum visæ sunt tot rixæ ac tot suspiciones ejus causâ coortæ optavit Pius ut sopiretur: et hæc in eo voluntas subinde aucta est." — *Pallav.* lib. xxiv. c. 14. s. 11.

the theologians approved, and all the canonists rejected.¹ Day after day, through weeks and months of the most critical period, was spent in fierce disputes. The whole business of the council was suspended, and from September, 1562, until July in the following year, no session could be held. The pope spoke strongly in consistory against the bishops who upheld the divine institution of their order, as if they favoured heresy, and were rebels against the see of Rome; he proposed to decide the point by his own authority, and was restrained only by his wiser counsellors. The difficulty was at last removed by the adoption of an ambiguous phrase, which each party were able to interpret in the manner favourable to themselves. It was the ordinary resource of the council in similar cases; but there were some even of the bishops present who were bold enough to remonstrate.² Such disputes occurred on an infinite variety of subjects and occasions. Sometimes they arose among the religious orders; we have not only the followers of Scot arrayed against the disciples of Aquinas, but the latter divided among themselves. Sometimes it was a contest between the learned and the unlearned; and as the latter were stronger in the council, they carried their point³: sometimes between the rich and poor bishops, as in the discussion about simonia-

Sarpi, liv.
vi. s. 29.

¹ Peter Soto on his deathbed wrote a very remarkable letter, April 17, 1563, in which he declares himself moved, by the increase of his sickness and the approach of death, to address the pope on the subject of episcopal residence, conjuring him by the most solemn considerations to declare it to be of divine right, "Si vero non fecerit, non dubito multum sedem apostolicam amissuram, et sanctitatem vestram ultimam damnationem in judicio Dei incursum." — *Le Plat*, tom. vi. p. 14.

² "On continua de même d'approuver les autres décrets, à mesure qu'ils étoient lus; et rien n'arrêta que la nouvelle instance que fit l'archevêque de Grenade, qu'on déclarât

ouvertement la résidence de droit divin, parceque, disoit il, les paroles ambiguës du préambule du décret étoient indignes d'un concile qui étoit assemblé pour lever et non pour augmenter les difficultés." — *Sarpi*, liv. viii. s. 22.

³ "Dans les congrégations suivantes les théologiens parlèrent sur les autres articles, et il y eut sur le troisième qui regardoit la traduction latine de l'écriture, une vive contestation entre les docteurs parfaitement versés dans la connoissance du Latin et du Grec, et ceux qui n'avoient aucune connoissance des langues." — *Sarpi*, liv. ii. s. 51.

cal payments.¹ The difference existed not only between individuals or certain communities, but whole nations were at variance; the Germans were urgent for granting the cup, and for the marriage of the clergy; the Spaniards for refusing both; on the question about the pope's power, Spain and France were at issue; the one received the council of Florence, the other the council of Basle; all the nations of the Roman obedience beyond Italy agreed in resisting the claim of the legates to propose the subjects of debate, and the reference made to the pope before any resolution was adopted; while the Italians were generally among the supporters of the Roman court. These divisions of the council were so well known, that Spain on the one side, and Italy on the other, became watchwords in the streets of Trent. In the assembly itself the difference of opinion led to such violence as would disgrace any company of educated persons; we are carried back eleven centuries, and reminded of the most disreputable synod ever held in the church. At one time the congregation was broken up, because the members could not be restrained²; at another time a bishop, entreating to be heard on a subject which concerned the episcopal office, was received with curses, and hissing, and stamping of the feet.³ We have the record of a miserable scene in which two bishops came to blows⁴; this took place in an early session; and we learn, by unimpeachable testimony, that the behaviour of prelates and theologians continued to the very end to be such as brought the council into disrepute, and exposed christianity itself to reproach. Ferdinand, writing to the pope in March, 1563, used the strongest

C. Ephesus,
A.D. 449.

¹ "La différence d'opinions sur cet article ne vint point de la diversité des sentimens, mais de la différence de condition des prélats."—*Sarpi*, liv. vi. s. 13.

² "Celui-ci ayant répliqué, quoiqu'en termes fort respectueux, il y eut tant de reparties de part et d'autre qu'il fallut terminer la congrégation."—*Sarpi*, liv. vii. s. 29.

³ "Alii in vocem, anathema, et consimiles contumelias proruperunt; alii conati sunt aut pedum suppositione, aut sibilo eum impedire."—*Pallav.* lib. xix. c. 5. s. 5.

⁴ "In Chironensis barbam injectâ manu, multas ex eâ pilos evulsit, et confestim abscessit."—*Ibid.* lib. viii. c. 6. s. 1.

terms of remonstrance, and in his reply the pope fully acknowledged the reasonableness of the emperor's complaint.¹

The council was united only in the condemnation of protestants; nothing else served to suspend their contention; and though they were from time to time drawn together by the bonds of a common hatred, they no sooner left the work of anathematising than their unanimity disappeared.² In the homely words of bishop Stillingfleet, "This was one of the great arts of that council, to draw up their decrees in such terms as should leave room enough for eternal wranglings among themselves, provided they agreed in doing the work effectually against the heretics, as they were pleased to call them." The consciousness of their mutual disagreements noway restrained their anathemas.³ Whoever denies secret confession to be a divine institution and necessary to salvation, or extreme unction to have been ordained by Christ, or solitary masses to be lawful, or penance to be a true and proper sacrament, falls under a curse. It is the same if he refuse to receive as sacred and canonical all the books which the Roman church receives, and that not in the original, but in the vulgate, with all its mistakes and mis-

Council of
Trent
examined,
preface.

Anathemas.

¹ "Proh dolor, ipsi quoque patres et doctores in concilio existentes ad contentiones et dissidia cum maximâ jacturâ, et dictorum adversariorum jubitatione prorumpere incipiant." — *Litt. Ferdinandi Cæs. Martii xiii.* 1563, *Le Plat*, tom. v. p. 691. "Majestatem tuam offensam esse altercationibus et contentionibus, quæ nonnunquam inter prælatos extiterunt, minime mirati sumus, &c." — *Responsum Pii IV.*, *Ibid.* p. 762. And yet a great cardinal, who lived in the preceding century, speaks of concord as indispensable, "Ecce concordantiam maximè in iis quæ fidei sunt requiri, et quanto major est concordantia tanto infallibilis judicium." — *Cusanus, De concord. cath.* lib. ii. c. 4. p. 715.

² "His absolutis ad dogmata ventum est; quamvis magnâ cum difficultate." — *Scipio Henricus, Hist. C. Trid.* p. 38. "Et quidem theologi licet in his explicandis viderentur discordes, attamen in damnandis hæreticorum erroribus concordēs fuerunt." — *Ibid.* p. 39. These are the words of an extreme Romanist.

³ "Dicere, anathema sit, idem sonat, atque diris devovere, seu optare ut penitus deleatur." — *Van Espen, Tract. de censuris eccles.* c. i. s. 3. And, again, "Anathema, ait concilium Meldense, est æternæ mortis damnatio, et non nisi pro mortali debet imponi crimine." — *Ibid.* c. iv. s. 1.

translations ; or if he refuses to acknowledge matrimony for a sacrament, because it was an old rite, and, as Augustine speaks, the sacraments of the new law flowed out of the side of Christ ; or if he should say that the Roman church was not moved by just causes in the denial of the cup, though this is to found an article of faith on human reason ; or if he denies the power of indulgences to have been left by Christ, though no one is able to tell us where ; or if he affirms that the public service ought not be said in the Latin, which is irreconcilable with scripture, and that mass ought to be performed in the vulgar tongue, since every dead language was once in common use ; besides a multitude of similar cases, in which the council was at war with antiquity, as well as with the word of God. On many great subjects persons were left to think as they pleased ; such as predestination, the origin of episcopal jurisdiction, the limits of papal power, &c. ; while others, far less important, but which seemed to involve the interest of the Roman church, were ruled arbitrarily, and dissentients laid under anathema. It may be no more than an opinion which a person entertains on some open question ; such as the authority of the church to create fresh impediments to marriage, and to dispense with those which exist ; or whether celibacy or the married state is to be preferred ; or whether bishops have power to reserve cases ; or where the jurisdiction of matrimonial causes ought to be lodged ; but if on these and many similar points, in which faith is not at all involved, he differs from the Latin church, there is the same penalty provided. He may be a learned man, and fully aware how such words as tradition, indulgence, confession, &c., were understood in primitive ages ; but if he will not consent to use them in the Roman sense, which is as different as possible, he cannot escape. The evil hangs over his head, so far at least as the power of this schismatical council can reach him, if he denies that images of Christ, or the blessed Virgin, or the saints, are to

Important questions left undetermined.

be retained in churches, though he may remember the indignant words of Tertullian on the other side, and the vehement act of Epiphanius, and the decree of the council of Elvira in that fourth century which is so much the subject of admiration.

The church of Rome, in its blind fury, pours out imprecations which can only hurt those who utter them. They have a very wide sweep, and include many whom the church of all ages has called blessed, some of the most esteemed in the Latin communion, and not a few of its canonised saints. It is the same, whatever may be the subject, baptism, or the eucharist, or God's blessed word; all good and holy things are turned to evil in the handling of this cruel mother. Her voice is evermore the same; when she speaks it is always in one form of words, and she delivers every doctrine with an anathema. There is a multitude of things of which we may safely affirm that they would never have been defined, except that condemnation might fall on some one's head. Trent became the mount Ebal of christendom; and the fathers of the council clothed themselves with curses like as with a raiment. We can find no parallel, unless we go back to the days of the Donatists, whom they resembled in many things beside.

The treatment of the protestants was exactly what might have been anticipated, for it was of all things the most improbable that they should receive patient and equitable hearing. Luther's doctrine had been condemned by the theological faculty of Cologne and Louvain in decent, moderate language. The university of Paris had used coarse railing, unworthy of a grave and learned body.¹ Ranke cites a remarkable paper, from which we learn that, in 1530, cardinal Campeggi, in the diet of Augsburg, proposed the eradication of Lutheran doctrine by confiscating

Treatment
of pro-
testants.

¹ The form of condemnation is given by Le Plat, tom. ii. pp. 98—114. It contains a significant passage: "Oh impiam et inverecundam arrogantiam, vinculis, censuris, imo ignibus et flammis coercendam potius, quam ratione convincendam."—P. 99.

Hist. of the
popes, book
i. c. 3. p. 84.

the property of heretics, burning their books, and proceeding against them by the inquisition, till they should be as completely extirpated as the Moors in Spain.

Le Plat,
tom. i. p.
146.

Ibid. p. 74.

March 20.
1562.

The council of Trent was called by the enemies of the reformed faith, and it was pervaded throughout by the bitterest hatred to those who held it. In a very early session we have a preacher who calls them traitors to God and the emperor; then another who denounces them as atheists, and more than half pagans; then a doctor in theology, who loads their great teachers with the coarsest reviling.¹ In the later sessions the spirit of animosity had by no means decreased. A representative of the seven Romanist cantons professed to regard the reformed in the same light in which the Israelites looked on the people of Moab², and exulted in the savage insults offered to the body of Zwingle. The reply of the council contains extravagant commendation of the Swiss, and not a word of reproof for the unchristian language employed by their envoy. At the close of the same year a doctor in theology and canon law, preaching on the ways of extirpating heresy, extolled the severity of Philip, who had kindled the fires of the inquisition at Valladolid. There was no murmur, nor one word, in this assembly of christian men, to rebuke the cruel doctrine of the preacher, or the merciless conduct of this wicked king. On the first day of the following year a discourse was delivered in which the protestants were compared to Gnostics and Manichæans. A few days later the bishop of Metz preached a sermon on occasion of the victory of Dreux, which was in every respect what a sermon ought not to be; it contained unqualified praise of the profligate duke of Guise, and of course the harshest expression of hatred against his opponents. To the very end of the council the protestants

Dec. 13.
1562.

Le Plat,
tom. i. p.
547.

Jan. 6. 1553.

Le Plat,
tom. i.
p. 573.

¹ "O Luthere, O Ecolampadi, O Bucere, O vos lutum et sordes, &c." — *Le Plat*, tom. i. p. 156.

² "Tanquam legitimi Israelitæ nun-

quam cum execratis Moabitis jungere profana connubia voluerunt." — *Le Plat*, tom. v. p. 123.

received little else but names of obloquy; they were called serpents, wolves, fallen apostles, monsters from the pit of darkness. Among the last discourses was one spoken by a Venetian monk, which certainly does not yield in bitterness to any which preceded.¹ The condition of political affairs was but gloomy on the protestant side; while the council was anathematising Luther's doctrines, the emperor was taking the field against the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, and the pope sending his contingent of troops; six sessions were held while the war was raging. Prince and bishop were both agreed in persecuting the Lutherans, though on different grounds; the one would punish them as rebels, the other as heretical teachers. The king of France, in the meantime, published a more severe edict against them than his predecessors, as if to prove that he had no sympathy with their opinions, though he was contending with their enemy the pope; while throughout Italy persecution raged under the auspices of the inquisition.² In 1558 Paul IV. revived all the laws regarding heresy. Against kings and princes his threats were very unavailing, but against inferior persons the efforts of this cruel old man were very effectual, and the dungeons of the inquisition were crowded with victims; the next year God in mercy removed him. Even within the council four persons were present who had for some years borne the office of inquisitor; and previous to the eighteenth session, on the question of the safe conduct, they resisted giving protection to those against whom proceedings had been begun. Pius IV. was at this time pope, who had commenced his pontificate by exhorting the kings

Persecution
of pro-
testants.

¹ "Si ergo populus iste nequam, si hoc semen Chanaan, si turmæ istæ diabolicæ, ad pedes sanctæ Rom. ecclesiæ non denique humiliari velint; suffocentur sicut alter Pharaonis exercitus qui populum Dei persequebatur; occidantur cum opprobrio sicut alter Goliath qui aciem Dei viventis exprobravit, &c."— *Le Plat*, tom. i. p. 736.

² *Le Plat* has preserved a letter ad-

ressed by Sleidan to Roger Ascham, dated Feb. 1552, in which we read: "Habet Julius per Italiæ partem illam suæ ditionis et aliis etiam in locis inquisitores acerrimos. Monachi quidam duo nuper abducti sunt Romam captivi, Ravennas unus, Ariminensis alter, qui de cælibatu sacerdotum, et cenâ Domini liberius quædam dixissent."— Tom. iv. p. 536.

of France and Spain to unite with the duke of Savoy in attacking Geneva as the stronghold of the reformed faith.¹

The protestants had lodged their appeal before christendom, and they were now too many and too great to be despised; but their chance of a fair hearing was still extremely slender. In the second period of the council their statements were answered with insolent brevity²; and the archbishop of Palermo suggested that, as heretics, excommunicated and living under a curse, they could only be received for instruction, and pardon, if they came with penitence and humility. When the third period arrived, they published at large their reasons for not presenting themselves at Trent.³

Much controversy has arisen on the question of the protection afforded by the safe conduct. That the security was insufficient is expressly alleged in the remarkable document drawn up by Melancthon, and printed at Frankfort in 1546.⁴ The same assertion was made by Badehorn, the ambassador of the duke of Saxony in 1552. He referred to the decree of Constance as furnishing grounds of distrust, and claimed that such a form should be granted as the council of Basle afforded to the Bohemians.

The safe
conduct.

Sarpi, iv. 36.
40.
Pallav. xii.
15. 8.

¹ He proposed the formation of a league for reducing dissentients by force of arms.—*Sarpi*, l. v. c. 55. He had extorted a profession of faith from prelates under his control, in which so-called heretics are anathematised: "Anathema hujus ætatis hæresiarchis, Luthero, Ecolampadio, Zuinglio, Rothmanno, Calvino, eorumque sequacibus, &c."—*Le Plat*, tom. iv. p. 650.

² In October, 1551, the ambassadors of the duke of Wirtemberg arrived at Trent; where they were joined by those of the duke of Saxony, and those of Strasburg, and five other cities. Sleidan was among them. They presented their confession of faith.—*Vid. Le Plat*, tom. iv. pp. 421—460. These were the only replies which they received: "S. synodus audivit ea, quæ a vobis relata sunt, et cum deliberatione providebit."—P. 463. "S. synodus audivit,

&c., et cum deliberatione omnia considerabit."—P. 533. The pope writing on the subject to his legate, breaks out into railing very unsuitable to the occasion, and very unbecoming to his office of bishop.—P. 533. For the protestant objections, *vid. Seckendorf*, p. 602.; *Révision du concile de Trente*, liv. i. ch. 12.; *Pallav. xii. 15. 11.*; *Le Plat*, tom. ii. p. 578.; iv. 462.

³ "Causæ cur electores, principes, aliiq; Augustanæ confessioni conjuncti status recusent adire concilium a Pio IV. Tridenti indictum, &c."—*Le Plat*, tom. v. pp. 48—76.

⁴ "Postremo et loci periculo justè movemur, ubi, cum nostri tuto versari, præsertim emissâ aliquâ liberâ voce non possent, satis excusati sumus quo minus ad eum locum accedamus."—*Seckendorf, Comment. lib. iii. p. 609.*

He stated that, on account of the defective security, the protestants had not presented themselves at the council.¹ They were then within a few miles of Trent, but on the refusal of the required change in the terms employed they returned home. It was not merely a question how the case would be ruled by canonists, and there was sufficient diversity of opinion among them; but the mind of the Roman church had been embodied in a precedent which was not at all likely to be forgotten, as long as the decree of Constance remained on record.² And there were circumstances belonging to the present period which were sufficient to create alarm. It had been proposed at Worms by certain persons, that Luther should be seized; Charles V. seems to have had no reluctance to play the part of Sigismund; and he afterwards regretted that he had not burned the great reformer.³ When the ambassadors of Wirtemberg distributed copies of their confession, some persons said that by this act they had violated their safe conduct. And soon after the opening of the council, the assassination of Juan Diaz, on account of his conversion to the reformed faith, had taken place; of which murder

Defective security.

Grounds of distrust.

¹ "Ex defectu salvi conductus id facere hactenus impediatur manifestum est culpam nullam illis attribui posse."—*Le Plat*. tom. iv. p. 466. Nothing could be more reasonable than the proposal of the count de Montfort: "Que l'on ne pouvait rien faire de plus avantageux pour le bien public que de leur ôter tous les prétextes qu'ils pouvoient avoir de chicaner, pour les rendre inexcusables devant tout le monde; et que puisque la minute du sauf-conduit ne différoit point en substance de celui de Bâle, il n'y avoit, pour leur fermer la bouche qu'à la transcrire mot pour mot, en ne changeant que les noms des personnes, des lieux, et des tems."—*Sarpi*, liv. iv. s. 38.

² If any one is bold enough to question the violation of faith in the case of John Huss, it is sufficient to cite the words of the council itself: "Cum tamen dictus Johannes Huss, fidem orthodoxam pertinaciter impugnans,

se ab omni conductu et privilegio reddiderit alienum, nec aliqua sibi fides aut promissio de jure naturali, divino vel humano, fuerit in præjudicium catholicæ fidei observanda: ideo dicta S. synodus præsentium tenore declarat dictum invictissimum principem circa prædictum quondam Johannem Huss, non obstante memorato salvo conductu, ex juris debito fecisse, quod licuit, et quod decuit regiam majestatem, &c."—*Von der Hardt*, tom. iv. pars i. col. 521. The historian of the Middle ages justly calls it "an atrocious business."—Vol. ii. ch. vii. p. 355.

³ "Il se trouva quelques personnes dans l'assemblée, qui approuvant ce qui c'étoit fait à Constance, disoit qu'on ne devoit point lui garder la foi."—*Sarpi*, liv. i. s. 16. Sleidan, who is an excellent authority for what passed at this time, mentions it as a current report; while Pallavicini has no other argument for its denial, than that Alexander does not mention it in his letters.

Dr. M'Crie says that, "all circumstances considered, it has scarcely a parallel in the annals of blood since the time of the first fratricide." Not only had the criminal been protected by the cardinal of Trent; but, in defiance of the demands of the protestants for justice, he had ventured to appear among the members of the council.¹ At a later period the terms of the safe conduct were differently expressed; but circumstances had changed, and the possibility of accommodation was at an end.

The members of the council ill qualified.

The members of the council which spoke in so peremptory and uncharitable a tone were but slenderly qualified for their great undertaking. There were among them courtiers and men of the world, trained in the days of Leo X., that period so intellectual and so graceful, when all forms of literature and art were fostered by liberal patronage, and nothing was wanting but christianity.² Of the bishops there were few whose names were known for learning or ability; some were mere titulars, having no dioceses, as the archbishops of Upsal and Armagh; some came from inconsiderable places, persons of no mark or likelihood, and not even deriving importance from their position.³ There were Jesuits, and others of undoubted ability, sent as advisers; but their learning lay chiefly in canon law and school philosophy; and by the constitution of the council the decision of questions was left to those who were least capable of handling them;

¹ The circumstances are detailed at length by Sleidan at the beginning of his seventeenth book.

² Mr. Roscoe, in his life of Leo X., gives some remarkable instances of the essential heathenism of the papal court at this era; the persons of the Holy Trinity identified with the divinities of the gentile mythology, and the stupendous sacrifice of the cross compared to the death of Curtius, &c. — Vol. ii. ch. xv. p. 85.

³ "On disait d'ailleurs: qu'entre tous ces prélats il n'y en avait en aucun de considérable par sa science; qu'il y avait quelques canonistes qui pouvaient

être habiles dans leur profession, mais qui n'avaient nulle connaissance de la religion; que les théologiens qui se trouvaient au concile étaient d'une capacité au-dessous de la médiocre; que le plus grand nombre étaient de gentilshommes ou de courtisans; et qu'à l'égard de la dignité des personnes, quelques-uns des évêques n'étaient que de simples titulaires, et que la plus grande partie des autres prélats étaient évêques de villes si peu considérables, qu'on pouvait dire que tout leur peuple réuni ensemble ne faisaient pas la millième partie de la Chrétienté."—*Sarpi*, liv. ii. s. 57.

the bishops who voted were not divines, and the learned men had no votes.¹ The Italians, as far as they were theologians at all, were for the most part scholastics. The pope, who presided by his legates when the most important topics were in discussion, had no moral or intellectual fitness; his illegitimate children were publicly acknowledged, and his grandchildren were cardinals at an early age; for his guidance in great affairs he admitted the influence of the stars, even beyond the fashion of that superstitious age; Paul III., as professor Ranke tells us, "held no important sitting of his consistory, undertook no journey, without selecting that day when the aspect of the constellations was most favourable; an alliance with France was impeded by this weighty fact, that no conformity could be discovered between the nativity of her monarch and that of the pope."

Lives of the popes, book iii. s. i.

The proceedings of the council were inaugurated by a sermon from Dominic a Soto, in which he urged that the day of judgment was at hand, because the pope, who is the ecclesiastical sun, had been deprived of light by the heretics who called him antichrist; while the moon, that is, the civil power, had been turned into blood; and the stars, by which the saints are intended, fell from heaven, by being defrauded of the honour due to them. He was followed by the bishop of Bitonto, who compared the council to the Trojan horse, and applied to the pope words spoken of our Lord, as the light which cometh into the world. And with such foolish and profane discourses as these the fathers were edified, from time to time, till the end of their proceedings.²

Nov. 28.
1545.
Le Plat,
tom. i. c. 1.

Sermons
before the
council.

Dec. 13.
1545.
Le Plat,
tom. i. p. 12.
John iii.
v. 19.

¹ Dr. Vargas wrote in these terms to the bishop of Arras, November 26. 1551: "What is chiefly to be noted is, that the eminent divines that are sent hither by his majesty, namely, the dean and professors of Louvain, persons so famous for learning and piety, are never called to the making of the canons and doctrines, nor suffered to see whether there be anything amiss

in them."—*Council of Trent, Geddes*, p. 43. Dr. Malvenda wrote to the same effect: "Those learned men having never been called to the making of canons, no, nor doctrines, notwithstanding its having been proposed to the legates by some bishops, and particularly by him of Verona, that they should be called to it."—*Ibid.* p. 167.

² The weighty words of cardinal De

Bold ignorance of the council.

The debates, even as they are reported by Pallavicini, were in the highest degree discreditable to the learning of the synod. But, in spite of their scanty numbers, especially in the earlier sessions, and their obvious unfitness for the task which they had undertaken, they went on, with infinite boldness, to condemn what antiquity, with one voice, had sanctioned, and to establish what even the Latin church of that age had never ventured formally to express. Near the close of the council the question of communion in one kind was debated, and from the circumstances of the case the theologians were thrown on their own resources. It would be hard to find more trifling and unworthy arguments than those which the historian gives as a specimen of such as were employed by the sixty speakers.¹

Sarpi, liv. vi. s. 30.

The use of fictitious documents, long after their character had been publicly exposed, is fatal to the claim of scholarship. Yet we find a theologian at Trent delivering a written judgment on the sacrifice of the mass, in which he cites a forged epistle of Anacletus; and Salmeron, on the same subject, using for authority the writing of Dionysius the Areopagite, and the epistle of Clement to the apostle James. Torres, again, or Turrian, whose ignorance and incompetency were afterwards exposed by Blondel with singular conclusiveness, was one of the divines sent by the pope, and he took a leading part in the debates.

Le Plat, tom. v. p. 424.

Le Plat, tom. v. p. 511.

Similar proofs of incapacity for dealing with the great controversies of the time meet us at every page of the history.²

Cusa are well worth noting: "In aliis autem ubi non secundum unanimitatem, sed vocum pluralitatem definitio expectatur, ibi discretio, et prudentia, et auctoritas meritò ponderari debent, ne fatuorum judicium (quorum infinitus est numerus) numero vota sapientum vincat."—*De concord. cath.* lib. ii. c. 16. p. 733.

¹ Jurieu mentions the statement of

the bishop of Lerida, that the cup was granted to the Greeks by the express permission of pope Damasus; and he adds, that "this made Du Ferrier, who was skilled in antiquity, laugh, and confirmed all people in the opinion that the Spaniards are very ignorant therein."—*Hist. of council of Trent*, book vi. p. 356.

² Vid. Edmundi Campiani judi-

But it was, after all, not so much for the establishment of doctrine, as for the reformation of morals, that the council had been summoned. The demand had been often made by those who had good claim to be heard; the emperor, the kings of France and Poland, the duke of Bavaria, princes and free cities in their diets, the great assemblies of the empire, as well as ecclesiastical synods, were urgent and unceasing in their requisition. The council of Pisa, at the beginning of the previous century, had exacted an oath from the cardinals, that whoever should be elected pope should continue the council till a thorough reformation of the church had been accomplished. The council of Constance made a similar decree. The great assembly of German princes at Nuremberg urged, among their primary grievances, the corruptions of the church which required correction.¹ At Trent, from session to session, the demand for reformation was repeated. Even in the last year of the council we find the French ambassadors still urgent that the articles which they had proposed should be presented for consideration, while the emperor Ferdinand used the most earnest remonstrances, both by his ambassador at the council, and by his private letters to the pope, against the evasion of a duty which had become indispensable.²

Demand for reformation.

Sess. xvi.

Sess. xl.

A.D. 1523.

It was not without reason that reformation had been so long and so urgently demanded. The evidence for its necessity is overwhelming; it is furnished by witnesses

cium de concilio Trid. expensum, ss. 18—22.; Schelhorn, *Amœnitates*, tom. i. pp. 345—366.; James Burckhardt says of cardinal Altemps, who was one of the legates: “*Latinae linguæ tam ignarus fuit, ut barbara maxime sæcula vix rudiorem habuerint episcopum.*”—*Ibid.* s. xx. p. 356.

¹ “*S. R. imperii principum ac principum gravamina centum quæ adversus sedem Romanam ac totum ecclesiasticum ordinem, &c., proponere voluerunt.*” This remarkable paper ends with these ominous words: “*Eandemque (sc. sanctitatem pontif.) quam hu-*

millime ac suppliciter pro abrogandis hisce oneribus rogare obsecrareque; ne deteriora contingant.”

² Le Plat gives in his collection two remarkable papers, preserved by Schelhorn; the one entitled, “*Consultatio imperatoris Ferdinandi jussu instituta, de articulis reformationis in concilio Tridentino propositis ac proponendis;*” the other, “*Syllabus præcipuorum postulatorum, quæ imperatori Ferdinando, si fieri posset in concilio Tridentino urgenda videbantur.*” — Tom. v. pp. 232. 260.

of every class ; and the inquiry is only embarrassed by the amount of the testimony.

Testimony
of Bernard
and others.

In the twelfth century Bernard inveighed against the pride and sloth and luxury of the clergy, in language whose indignant vehemence could hardly be surpassed.¹ John of Salisbury, whose reputation for learning and piety stood very high, set forth the evil lives of the clergy in terms as strong as any protestant afterwards employed.² In the next century William de S. Amour wrote against the vices of the monastic orders ; he was condemned by Alexander IV., yet his character was in every way respectable ; he was supported by the members of the university of Paris ; and we find the succeeding pope corresponding with him in terms of great regard. The witness of archbishop Sewal, and the dying words of the saintly bishop Grostête, add weight to the heavy accusation. Two centuries later it is still the same, or rather during this interval the corruptions of the church had even grown deeper and darker. Bossuet tells us that, besides the progress of Wicliffe's opinions, the relaxation of discipline, and the increase of immorality, made it needful to call the council of Constance.³ While the papal court had been seated at Avignon, that city became the centre and school of iniquity.⁴ And during the time of the

¹ Vid. Lib. De consideratione. Bossuet says : " Satis constabat post S. Bernardi tempora res in deterius quoque fluxisse."—*Defensio*, pars ii. lib. 5. c. 7.

² He was the friend of Adrian IV. Cave calls him : " Gentis et sæculi decus et ornamentum." He speaks strongly against the vices of the clergy : " Concutiunt ecclesias, lites excitant, collidunt clerum et populum, laboribus et miseriis afflictorum nequaquam compatiuntur ; ecclesiarum lætantur spoliis, &c."—*Polyeraticus*, lib. vi. c. 24. fol. 206. Nor did he spare the pope : " Et ipse Romanus pontifex omnibus gravis, et fere intolerabilis est. Collabentibus ecclesiis quas patrum construxit devotio, altaribus quoque incultis, palatia extruit, &c."—*Ibid.*

³ " Jam Wiciefiana hæresis totâ in ecclesiâ grassabatur, quodque malorum omnium caput erat, jacebat ecclesiastica disciplina, tantæque morum corruptelæ inerant, ut vel eâ causâ synodus necessaria haberetur ; cum ex eâ radice et schismata et hæreses prodiise constaret."—*Defensio*, pars ii. lib. v. c. 13.

⁴ Petrarch speaks again and again, in the strongest terms, of the crimes with which the residence of the pope was stained. He says, referring to Avignon : " Parva utique murorum ambitu, sed vitiis et ambitu animorum, et infinitâ cupidine, cumuloque malorum omnium, non magna modo, sed maxima, sed immensa, &c."—*Ep.* 18. The picture which he presents, both in his sonnets and in his letters, would

council, we have the testimony of the chief persons who took part in its affairs, on the wickedness which prevailed among all orders of the clergy.¹ Near the close of the century, Savonarola the Dominican raised his voice at Florence against the sins with which the church was polluted. They burned him, as they would have burned Laurentius Valla, the learnedest man of the age, but for the interposition of the king of Arragon.² Rome had become the fountain of corruption instead of the teacher of holiness; Luther's visit in 1510 did more than anything else to destroy any remaining reverence for the church in which he had been trained. The decree of the council of Lateran in its eleventh session makes the fullest admission of clerical delinquency; the words spoken by the excellent Mirandula in that assembly are very notable.³ Of this period Mr. Roscoe says, "That a very general relaxation, not only of ecclesiastical discipline, but of the morals and manners of the clergy, had taken place, is a fact, for the proof of which it is not necessary to search beyond the records of the church itself." And again, "Instead of applying the only radical and effectual remedy to the evil,

Witnesses to the immorality prevalent in the Roman church.

A.D. 1512.

suit the worst times of pagan Rome. He was an archdeacon of the papal church.

¹ "These are the words of Nicholas de Clemangis: "Jam illud, obsecro, quale est, quod plerisque in diocesisibus, rectores parochiarum ex certo et conducto cum suis prælatis pretio, passim et publice concubinas tenent?" — *De ruinâ eccles.* c. xxii. col. 23. Again, "Quid, obsecro, aliud sunt hoc tempore puellarum monasteria, nisi quædam, non dico Dei sanctuaria, sed Veneris execranda prostibula, &c." — *Ibid.* c. xxxvi. col. 38. Cardinal P. d'Ailli bears the same testimony: "Circa claustra monialium, quæ jam proh dolor ultrâ quam dicere audeam, dehonesta sunt, esset correctio adhibenda." — *Canones ref. eccles.* c. iv. col. 425. Henry de Langenstein takes as the title of a chapter of his work, written for the promotion of peace in the church, "De extremâ ecclesiasti-

corum illius temporis corruptione."

But the instances to be found in Von der Hardt's collection are endless. A little later we have cardinal Julian writing to Eugenius IV.: "Quotidie nova scandala ex deformitate clericorum insurgunt, nihilominus provisiones ex remedio procrastinantur." — *Fasciculus rerum expet.* fol. xxx.

² The Medici family were the enemies of Savonarola; he had refused to absolve Lorenzo on his death-bed. Philip de Commines says, that no preacher ever had greater influence over a city.

³ "Novi et qui annuas sacerdotii pecunias, commendatas eorum fidei, spurcissimis voluptatibus et impendant, et impendisse gloriantur. Hæc tu monstra Leo Decime tolerabis?" — *J. P. Mirandulæ ad Leonem pont. max. et concil. Lat. de reformandis moribus oratio.* Fasciculus, fol. ccix.

by introducing a reformation in their morals and lives, the pontiffs and cardinals of the church thought it more expedient to endeavour to silence reproach by severe denunciations and exemplary punishment." There is extant, however, a remarkable paper of instructions given by Adrian VI. to F. Cheregato his envoy at Nuremberg, in which he makes the fullest admission of the prevailing evils.¹ A little later we have a report made to Paul III. by a commission appointed to consider the subject of reformation. It presents a frightful picture of the condition to which the church had fallen.² In England the suppression of the monasteries brought to light much of the debauchery with which they had been infected. "It seems," says bishop Burnet, "that there was generally a confession made with the surrender. Of these some few are yet extant, though undoubtedly great care was taken to destroy as many as possible in Queen Mary's time." Scotland, which since the reformation has been distinguished by a higher standard of morals than most other countries, presented before that period many instances of unconcealed profligacy among the higher clergy. Cardinal Beaton and his successor lived in open transgression of their vows. It was the same with the bishops of Dunblane and Moray, Argyle and

Life of Leo X. ch. xv. pp. 85, 86.

Hist. of ref. Records, book 3. No. 3. vol. i. p. 149.

¹ "Dices nos ingenuè fateri quod Deus hanc persecutionem ecclesiæ suæ inferri permittit propter peccata hominum, maxime sacerdotum, et ecclesiæ prælatorum." And again, "Scimus in hâc sanctâ sede, aliquot jam annis, multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, et omnia denique in perversum mutata. Nec mirum si ægritudo a capite in membra, a summis pontificibus in alios inferiores prælatos descenderit."—*Instructio ab Hadriano VI. data F. Cheregato suo in Germaniam nuntio. Le Plat*, tom. ii. p. 147.

² The cardinals appointed were Contarene, Caraffa, Sadoletto, and Pole, besides five bishops. Their words are very earnest: "Tollantur, obstestamur sanctitatem tuam per sanguinem Christi, quo redemit sibi ecclesiam suam, eamque lavit eodem sanguine: tollantur

hæ maculæ." The instances which they adduced were very strong: "Abusus alius turbat Christianum populum in monialibus, quæ sunt sub curâ patrum conventualium, ubi in plerisque monasteriis fiunt publica sacrilegia, cum maximo omnium scandalo." And again: "In hâc etiam urbe meretrices ut matronæ incedunt per urbem, seu mula vehuntur, quas affectantur de mediâ die nobiles familiares cardinalium, clericique. Nullâ in urbe vidimus hanc corruptionem, præterquam in hâc omnium exemplari, habitant etiam insignes ædes: corrigendus hic turpis abusus."—*Concilium delect. card. &c., de emend. eccles. Paulo III. datum. Le Plat*, tom. ii. p. 596. There was enough to justify the well known epigram:

"Vivere qui sancte cupitis, discedite; Romæ Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonum."

Galloway. Nothing was more common than letters of legitimation for the offspring of prelates, who became heads of houses.

From an early period the poets were foremost among the witnesses against Rome. The troubadours, in the old Provençal language, took the vices of the bishops and clergy for their favourite topic. The Roman de la rose, written by William de Lorris and John de Meun in the thirteenth century, is full of invective against the mendicant orders. The Vision of Piers Plowman, in the following century, whether composed by Robert Longlands¹ or some one else, presents a bold exposure of the secular clergy. Chaucer, who lived in the reign of Edward III., has made us familiar with the sensual lives of ecclesiastics in all ranks, their avarice, and the shameless frauds which they practised. There was the same spirit among the Italians, from Dante, who spoke in awful seriousness, to Berni and Pulci, whose most popular subjects were exposures of the impositions and wickedness of the priests.² Sannazaro, who wrote at the end of the fifteenth century, with Battista Mantuano, whom they counted as a second Virgil, and a multitude of others, added their testimony against the church of Rome. The poetry of an age does but embody its prevailing thoughts and feelings.

In the council of Trent a full admission was made of the necessity of reformation³; and in a letter written by

See Godwin's Life of Chaucer, ch. 24 25.

Testimony of the poets.

¹ Robert Longlands, the supposed author, was a secular priest, and fellow of Oriel College. See Warton's hist. of English poetry.

² Berni, who gave his name to a certain kind of burlesque poetry, was an ecclesiastic, and is said to have been a convert to the protestant faith. He died in 1536. Pulci wrote somewhat earlier; his deep irony has hardly been surpassed; he seems to have been without any religious belief.

³ "SS. synodus, ad restituendam collapsam admodum ecclesiasticam disciplinam, depravatosque in clero

et populo Christiano mores se accingere volens, &c."—*Sess. vi. de residentiâ.*

No words could be more solemn than those in which the emperor addressed the pope near the close of the council: "Quocirca sanctitatem vestram, nunc iterum atque iterum officiosissime rogamus, et obsecramus per viscera Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut pro salute ecclesiæ quæ sanct. vestræ curæ ita demandata est, ut eâ nihil debeat habere carius, cum pro salute ipsius quando opus sit, vitam quoque profundereteneatur, ut horum omnium, quæ

the theological faculty of Louvain to Philip II. during the suspension of the sittings, there is a miserable picture of the low condition to which public morals had been reduced.¹ The necessity of the case was undeniable; but the result was no way proportionate to the reasonable expectation which had been formed. Some good and useful regulations were indeed framed, for establishing seminaries of education, for the visitation of dioceses, the instruction of the clergy, the restraint of non-residence, the election of bishops, the regulation of religious houses, &c.; but the mass of evil which had produced so much scandal remained untouched. The issue could hardly take any clear-sighted person by surprise, for no one was less likely to promote reformation than the pope under whom the council was convened. His successor was Julius III. In the year 1562, Pius IV. tried to arm the Roman catholic states in a league against the protestants; that is, to get rid of consequences which he feared he would have subjected Europe to the horrors of a religious war. In the council itself a struggle began very early between parties whose objects were as different as possible. On the one side were those who earnestly desired the remedy of great evils; on the other were those who wanted a complete condemnation of the so-called heretics, with the smallest amount of concession to the reforming party. It was contrary to the pope's original purpose, that the subject of reformation should be handled before questions of faith had been concluded; and the regulation by which they afterwards proceeded

Inadequate reforms.

Sarpi, liv. vi. s. 29

per nos commemorata sunt, dignetur benignam rationem ducere, et afflictæ reipublicæ Christianæ omnibus modis subvenire, omnemque operam dare, ut sublatis et emendatis iis quæ correctionem in ecclesiâ requirunt, tandem in optatum tranquillitatis et unitatis portum perveniamus."—*Arcanæ Cæsaris Ferd. litteræ. Le Plat*, tom. v. p. 702. Again: "Dolendum profecto est, universum clerum (proh dolor!) a semitis et vestigiis patrum ita enor-

miter degenerasse, ut omnis illorum et vita et mores et conversatio, cunctis S. canonum decretis ex diametro adversetur; stat apud clericos omne vitium in præcipiti, &c."—*Consult. Imp. Ferdinandi jussu instit. A.D. 1562. Le Plat*, tom. v. p. 224.

¹ Schellhorn has collected some testimonies to the bad morals prevailing in the Roman church at the time of the council of Trent; *Amœnitates*, tom. i. pp. 377—392.

pari passu, was only conceded when the earnestness of secular princes made refusal impossible.¹ He counted that for a secondary object which the whole of christendom was so earnest in demanding. We find it among the directions given by Paul III. to his legate, that he should provide so much occupation of another sort, that no time should be left for what was so distasteful to the papal court.² In the seventh session, we have the bishops urging the remedy of existing abuses, and the legates treating their remonstrances with the utmost disdain. When the Spaniards, about the same time, drew up eleven articles, extremely valuable and important, the pope, to whom information was conveyed, sent for the absent bishops, that their votes might defeat the proposition. The French ambassadors, near the close of the council, presented thirty-four articles, at which Pius was both alarmed and angry, until he was reassured by the bishop of Viterbo, who told him that some might be mitigated and some eluded.³ Then, again, proposals of reform were drawn up by command of Ferdinand for presentation at Trent. Luther himself could have hardly made a bolder statement; laws evaded by dispensations and exemptions, pluralities multiplied, simony like an incurable disease pervading the whole body, divine service most irreverently performed, and the clergy universally plunged in vice. We can well understand what Pallavicini tells us about the consternation of the legates, and their earnest endeavours to procure the suppression of the document; and, in fact, it was never presented to the council.⁴

Reformation opposed by the papal court.

Sarpi, liv. ii. s. 89.

Sarpi, liv. vii. s. 49.

¹ "De reformandis moribus, nec ante dogmata, neque simul cum ipsis agendum, quippe de minus præcipuâ et secundariâ synodi causâ." — *Nat. Alex.* sæc. xvi. diss. xii. art. 1.

² "Qu'il proposât toujours le plus de matières de doctrine qu'il seroit possible, ce qui produiroit plusieurs bons effets; l'un d'ôter aux Luthériens toute espérance d'accommodement que par une soumission entière; et l'autre d'intéresser encore davan-

tage les prélats contre eux, et de les tenir en même tems si occupés qu'ils n'eussent point le tems de penser aux matières de réformation." — *Sarpi*, liv. iv. s. xxviii.

³ "L'évêque de Viterbe le rassura en lui faisant espérer que sa sainteté en accordant quelques-unes de ces demandes, pourroit en modérer une partie, et éluder les autres." — *L.* vii. s. 51.

⁴ "Legati vehementer eo sunt commoti; cumque archiepiscopo Pragensi

Various evasions.

If any useful regulation were framed, it was in danger of being neutralised by exceptions.¹ For instance, great abuses had arisen by means of what were called conservatory letters, by which persons were withdrawn from legitimate ecclesiastical jurisdiction. A wholesome and necessary law was passed on the subject, but so many places were exempted, that, as it was alleged, the exceptions became larger than the rule. And if the reforms had been far more real and extensive, they would have been neutralised by the reservation in favour of the pope's authority², by allowing him the sole right of interpretation, and by leaving the duty of enforcing them in his hands. He was really the great criminal against whom the indictment was laid³, and his courts had been for ages the normal schools of corruption. Yet their reformation was now left to his discretion, which was of course tantamount to providing that they should not be reformed.⁴ The abuses of chapters and religious houses required especial consideration; but, instead of being brought under the direct operation of reformatory statutes, they were left to the supervision of the pope, for reasons which were very little connected with the good of the church.⁵ Unions of benefices, again, had long been a crying evil. The council passed a canon for their suppression in certain cases;

Sarpi, liv. iv s. 26.

ostendissent, quantâ tum concilii tum Cæsaris indignitate volumen illud conventui traderetur, eos cohortati sunt, ut tantisper suspenderent, dum ipsi per officia nuntii Ferdinandum ab eo concilio dimoverent."—*Pallav.* lib. xvii. c. i. s. 6.

¹ "Si quid salutare alicubi statutur, statim fraudulentis exceptionibus enervatur ac ita toti orbi illuditur."—*Heidegger, Hist. con. Trid.* sess. xxiv. p. 522.

² "S. synodus omnia declarat ita decreta fuisse, ut in his salva semper sedis apostolicæ auctoritas et sit et esse intelligatur."—Sess. xxv. can. 21. See also Richer, *Hist. concil. gen.* lib. iv. c. 5. s. 7.

³ "Per legatos suos præfuit concilio pontifex, si varic rem consideres simul

et actor, et reus, et iudex."—*Schellhorn, Amœnit.* tom. i. p. 300.

⁴ These are the words of Van Espen: "Ex ipsâ historiâ concilii Tridentini nequaquam ambiguum est, reformationi disciplinæ non exiguum obstaculum objectum fuisse, quod Romani plurima ad solum Romanum pontificem spectare, nec aliis fas esse ad ea manum mittere contendant, uti circa reformationem cardinalium ipsiusque curiæ Romanæ patuit."—*Pars* iii. tit. xii. c. vi. s. 4.

⁵ "Ut nimirum mediantibus hisce privilegiis et facultatibus hæc corpora eorumque singula membra sedi apostolicæ magis redderentur obnoxia, et ad tuendam ejus auctoritatem a quâ vigor et valor horum privilegiorum dependent essent procliviora."—*Ibid.*

but power was reserved to the apostolic see to maintain even those against which this most needful law was directed, that is, an exemption was granted in behalf of the person who was notoriously the chief delinquent. Perhaps the strongest case which can be produced is that of the decree respecting indulgences, in which it is provided that abuses needing correction shall be left to the authority and prudence of the sovereign pontiff.¹ It sounds like an irony. There were doubtless many persons present in the council who remembered the days of Leo, and the infamous traffic by which a pope replenished his treasury. There were multitudes living who had heard the voice of the great reformer denouncing the enormous frauds of which the elector of Mentz and the miserable Tetzal were but the agents.

In the meanwhile, the searching reform of the Roman conclave and curia, from which so much had been expected, was at last evaded, partly by mingling the proposition with that of episcopal reformation, partly by renewing, from time to time, the threat of subjecting temporal princes to the same process.² The pope's dispensing power, which the canons had carried to an extravagant extent, and against which the whole German nation solemnly protested, was suffered to remain; and so was the practice of reserving cases, although it was opposed by the divines of Cologne and Louvain as the result of avarice and ambition, and Gerson had spoken strongly against it in the council of Constance. There had been for ages a system of deception connected with the merchandise of false relics, by which the church had been scandalised, and the minds of reasonable and pious persons alienated; yet the council provided neither instruc-

The dispensing power.

The reservation of cases.

¹ "Statim ad summum Romanum pontificem deferantur, cujus auctoritate et prudentiâ quod universali ecclesiæ expediet statuatur."—Sess. xxv. *Decretum de indulg.*

² Pallavicini admits that the pope was pleased with the proposal for ap-

plying the scheme of reformation to secular princes: "Quò illi in seipsis defendendis occupati, minorem virium curarumque partem ad aulam Romanam premendam converterent."—Lib. xxii. c. 9. s. 1. See also lib. xxiii. c. vii. s. 4.

tion nor warning on the subject. These abuses and a great many more remained untouched.

We cannot wonder that such a reformation as this should have been received with dissatisfaction in the council itself, as well as throughout the Latin church. The witnesses of its failure are numerous and unimpeachable. Among the envoys who were present at Trent under Paul and Julius was Dr. Vargas, an able and accomplished statesman in the service of Charles V. His letters addressed to the bishop of Arras, from October, 1551, to the end of February, 1552, contain the clearest statements of the anti-reforming policy of the Roman court.¹ After the twenty-first session, that is, in the last period of the council, disappointment was generally expressed.²

We have a remarkable letter, addressed by the French ambassador at Trent to the queen-mother, in which he complains that there was no willingness to listen to any reformation, and declares that he has no expectation of seeing the desired result, unless the prelates were sent from France to give their votes.³ In a letter to the king he states that he had deferred to present articles of re-

¹ "As to the canons of reformation, I have nothing to say of them; but only that they are of so trivial a nature, that several were ashamed to hear them; and had they not been wrapped up in good language, they would have appeared to the whole world to be what they are."—October 12, that is, in the XIII. session. On the 28th of the same month he writes: "I am not at all satisfied with what has been done in reference to a reformation; neither do I hope to see much more done therein; for I can plainly perceive that the legate has the very same aims and resolutions that the present pope had." And, again, November 26., he writes, "It is really a matter of amazement, to see how things appertaining to God are handled here; and that there should not be one to contend for him, or that hath the courage to speak in

his behalf; but that we should be all 'canes muti, non valentes latrare,' and look on and suffer the miseries of the church to become incurable, and Germany to be quite lost." Schelhorn has given an account of these letters in his treatise entitled "Notitia librorum, in quibus acta quædam concilii Trid. collecta exhibentur."—*Amenit.* tom. ii. pp. 441—450.

² "Sur les articles de réformation on disoit en général: Qu'on ne pouvoit jamais traiter de choses plus légères ni plus légèrement, &c."—*Sarpi*, liv. vi. s. 39.

³ "Ils ne veulent point entendre à aucune réformation: parquoy je n'ai pas espérance de voir succéder de ce concile le fruit que je désirerois, s'ils ne vous plait y envoyer bientôt un bon nombre de vos prélats."—*Le Plat*, tom. v. p. 212.

Witnesses
to the insufficiency of
the Trent
reformation.

June 7.
1562.

July 19.
1562.

formation, because for the present there was no prospect that they would be entertained.¹ In another dispatch his colleague declared that nothing of importance had been done, and that the coming of the cardinal of Lorraine was the only remaining hope; we know how signally it failed.² About the same time the bishop of Paris declared before the council, that in France a reform had been accomplished far more useful than that which was now proposed at Trent.³ The bishop of Coimbra demanded that the remedial discipline should be applied to the pope; then to the cardinals and bishops, descending in due order to the inferior clergy⁴, while the bishop of Segovia complained that the council acted like a bad physician, and used lenitives in a mortal disease.⁵ Another bishop, who filled the two-fold office of prelate and ambassador, bore exactly the same testimony.⁶ A little later we have the archbishop of Prague asserting that the council had lost much time in doing nothing, and that its promises of reform had been broken.⁷ In the last year of the council, the emperor Ferdinand addressed a letter to

August 22.
1562.

¹ "Pour même raison nous avons aussi différé de proposer les articles de la réformation, d'autant que nous voyons bien qu'ils ne veulent entendre à chose qui préjudicie au profit et autorité de la cour de Rome: et davantage le pape se trouve tant maître de ce concile, y ayant la plupart des vœux à sa dévotion."—*Le Plat*, tom. v. p. 391.

² "S'ils proposent quelque chose touchant les mœurs, elle est de si peu d'importance, et de si peu de fruit, comme votre majesté a pu voir par les decrets de la précédente session, qu'il serait beaucoup meilleur de n'en parler point du tout."—*Lettre de M. de Pi-brac à la reine mère du roi. Le Plat*, tom. v. p. 456. And again, having spoken of the restraint laid on ambassadors, he adds, "Voilà des préjugez qui rendront tout vain et inutile, et frustreront tous les princes chrétiens, du désir qu'ils ont de voir une bonne et parfaite réformation en l'église."—*Ibid.*

³ "En France on avait fait une ré-

forme bien plus utile que celle que l'on proposait maintenant dans le concile."—*Sarpi*, liv. vi. s. 55.

⁴ "Que l'on devait commencer la réforme par le chef, et passer du chef aux cardinaux, des cardinaux aux évêques, et des évêques aux ordres inférieurs."—*Ibid.*

⁵ "On faisait comme un médecin malhabile, qui dans les maladies mortelles se servirait seulement d'un lenitif, ou n'emploierait que de l'huile."—*Ibid.*

⁶ "Dans cette assemblée l'évêque de cinq églises fit un long discours, où il exposa que jusqu'à présent le concile n'avait rien fait d'utile."—*Ibid.* s. 57.

⁷ "L'archevêque de Prague remontra, combien le concile avait perdu de temps à ne rien faire, et combien de fois les légats leur avaient promis de traiter de la réforme, et comment cependant on les amusait ou par de longues disputes sur de simples spéculations, ou par la réforme des abus les plus légers."—*Sarpi*, liv. vii. s. 44.

the pope, in which he expressed his fears that, unless remedies were speedily applied, the close of the sessions would but occasion scandal to christendom.¹ At the end of September, that is, a little more than two months before the close of the council, we have the ambassadors from the king of France remonstrating with the assembly that they had left the work of restoring discipline unaccomplished. In a letter to the king they complained that other questions were introduced for the purpose of interrupting the progress of reformation. The count de Luna and the Spanish bishops were urgent in pursuit of the same objects, and with as little success. Noel Alexander, who is extremely papal on all points which do not affect the Gallican liberties, states, that in the twenty-third session more things about reformation had been desired than accomplished.² And Richer, one of the wisest and best men whom the Roman church ever produced³, tells us that all christendom was disappointed in the hope to the fulfilment of which it had looked for more than two hundred years.

In order to understand how little had been done at Trent, we have only to contrast the reformatory canons with the requisitions contained in two important papers printed a little before the close of the council, the one representing the wishes of the Germans, the other of the French.⁴ That the abuses of the Roman court were touched with a very light hand we can have no better witness than the pope himself. He acknowledged that he

Le Plat,
tom. vi.
p. 233.

Le Plat,
tom. vi.
p. 251.

Acknowledgment of
Pius.

¹ "Ita ut verendum sit nisi propere salubria adhibeantur remedia, is futurus sit concilii exitus, qui et universo Christiano orbi scandalum et offensio-nem, præbeat, &c." He adds, "Proh dolor! ipsi quoque patres et doctores in concilio existentes ad contentiones et dissidia cum maximâ jacturâ et ditorum adversariorum jubilatione prorumpere incipiant."—March, 1563. *Le Plat*, tom. v. p. 691.

² "Circa morum emendationem plura hæc in sessione optata sunt quam

conclusa."—*Hist. eccles. sæc. xvi. diss. xii. art. 13.*

³ Schelhorn calls him, "Eruditionis et candoris laude celebratissimus."—*Amæn. tom. i. p. 306.*

⁴ "Syllabus præcipuorum postulatorum quæ imperatori Ferdinando, si fieri posset, in concilio Tridentino urgenda videbantur."—*Le Plat*, tom. v. p. 260. "Postulata oratorum regis Galliæ cum exhibitione xxxiv. articulorum."—Jan. 1563. *Ibid. p. 631.*

should have used more severity if he had himself undertaken their correction.¹ Avarice had been for many centuries the crying sin of the papacy; into which its whole system of policy might be resolved. Even what professed to be questions of faith or discipline, when they were closely examined, turned out to be nothing more than questions of finance. In the fiscal code of the Roman church holy things became the subject of merchandise, from baptism to burial, and by the doctrine of purgatory, even beyond the grave. Bulls of induction to sees and benefices, privileges to altars, &c., were so many sources of gain. Whatever strictness might be introduced in one age, was relaxed for the benefit of the papal treasury in another; thus prohibition of marriage was extended to eight degrees of consanguinity, and to spiritual as well as natural relationship; but then a dispensation might be purchased. And in the same way, if any one desired to be a pluralist, or to hold a benefice without understanding the language of the people, or to be excused from the fulfilment of vows, or to escape the performance of penance, he might obtain the privilege on the same terms. These relaxations were indeed so numerous that, as bishop Taylor says, a holy life seems only necessary for him who has neither friends nor money. The most important offices were sold to the highest bidder; and in the time of Alexander VI. there were few which had not become the subject of purchase and sale. Then, again, the endless exactions, ordinary and extraordinary, which were attempted throughout the Latin communion, raised resistance on all sides. Sometimes it was a great sovereign, like Edward I. or Philippe Auguste, who protested; sometimes a powerful or learned body, like the English parliament, or the university of

Vid. An argument for the royal supremacy, p. 135.

Avarice a chief sin of the papal church.

Dissuasive, ch. ii. s. 3.

¹ "Quibus quidem patribus magnam quoque nostro nomine gratiam habemus, quod in moribus emendandis corrigendâque vitæ disciplinâ adeo se præbuerunt moderatos in nos et indulgentes, ut si nobis ipsi illam curam ad

nostrum arbitrium revocare, nec patrum judicio integram relinquere placuisset, omnino adhibitori fuerimus plus animadversionis."—*Pii IV. P. M. orat. hab. in consist. post absolut. conc. Trid. Le Plat*, tom. vi. p. 307.

Vid. cent.
gravam.
Le Plat,
tom. ii.
p. 164—207.

Paris; sometimes an eminent prelate, like Grostête, or Edmund of Canterbury; but the testimony against papal covetousness is unanimous and clear. In the catalogue of grievances presented by the German princes at Nuremberg, heavy complaint is made of the vast sums wrung from the people by fraudulent pretences, and spent on luxury in the families and among the dependents of the pontiffs.¹

Sess. xxiv.
canon 17.

Sess. xxiv.
canon 19.

Of these abuses, some had been removed by the strong secular arm, and for those which remained the council of Trent provided very inadequate remedies. When payment for ordinations was forbidden, the bishop of Veglia demanded, reasonably, but in vain, that the prohibition should extend to the extortions practised at Rome.² Again, it was enacted that pluralities should not be any longer permitted; but the pope possessed the power to create unions, and a bishop was allowed to retain the revenues of the sees which he resigned, leaving only an allowance for the incumbent.³ Expectative graces, which had pro-

¹ No words could be stronger than those which Edward III. wrote to Clement VI. *Collier*, vol. i. p. 547. We have a letter addressed by the whole English nation to the pope against the extortions of the Roman court; "Epist. univers. Ang. super extortiones curiæ Rom." M. Paris, anno 1245, p. 666.: and the next year a list of grievances, among which these exactions have a prominent place, "Gravamina regni Angliæ," anno 1246, p. 698. This writer bears ample testimony on the same subject in many other places. Innocent IV. commended him, as "Vir probatæ vitæ, et religionis expertæ." The history of the English mortmain acts is a standing memorial of Roman rapacity. *Blackstone*, book ii. ch. 18. See also Mason's *Vindiciæ eccles. Anglicanæ*, lib. iv. c. 14. pp. 506—526.; Card. P. d'Ailli, *De necess. ref. ap. Von der Hardt*, tom. i. pars v. col. 276.; N. de Clemangis, *De ruinâ ecclesiæ*, Ibid. pars iii. col. 1.; Révision du concile de Trente, liv. i. ch. iv. p. 173.; Duaren, *De ecclesiæ*

ministris et benef. lib. v. c. 8., lib. vi. c. 3.; Sir R. Twysden, *Hist. vindication*, ch. iv. pp. 94—113.; Sarpi, *On beneficiary matters*; Hallam's *Middle ages*, ch. vii. vol. ii. p. 204.; An argument for the royal supremacy, pp. 135—153.

² He said, "Qu'il trouvoit ce chapitre fort imparfait, si l'on n'ordonnoit en même tems qu'on cessât aussi à Rome d'exiger de l'argent pour les dispenses que l'on y donnoit pour recevoir les ordres hors des tems prescrits, ou avant l'âge, ou sans le congé et l'examen de l'ordinaire, &c."—*Sarpi*, liv. vi. s. 37.

³ Pluralities continued to exist after the council, unconcealed and unchecked. Richer mentions one case of five bishoprics and five abbeys held together; another of three archbishoprics and six abbeys; a third of twelve abbeys with a most wealthy bishopric; and he adds, "Hæc sunt egregia monumenta emendationis ecclesiæ post Tridentinæ reformationis regulas."—*Hist. con. gen.* lib. iv. c. 5. s. 7.

duced infinite mischief, were abolished by decree; but another way was provided for perpetuating the abuse.¹ The number of appeals, which had formed a great grievance, was apparently diminished; but then the pope was still permitted to call by rescript such causes as he should see fit, to his own courts. Similar evasions are endless, and the ground was laid for the continued existence of the old corruptions. They had hardly ever been greater than in the century which followed the council of Trent. Families, such as the Aldobrandini, the Borghese, the Barberini, and others, were raised to enormous wealth by the multiplication of church preferments, to which their only title was their relationship to popes.²

Abuses perpetuated.

D'Espence, who had been present in the council and lived ten years after its close, bears witness that no reformation was accomplished in his time.³ In the year 1566 we have Pius V. complaining, in a letter to the archbishop of Salzburg, of the loose living in which the greater part of the higher clergy in Germany indulged. The next year he wrote a similar complaint to the archbishop of Cambray; and in other epistles he spoke of the vicious lives of ecclesiastics in Bohemia and elsewhere. What were the morals of the Roman church in the seventeenth century, under its most approved teachers, we may

Mendham's life of Pius V. ch. ii. p. 42.

¹ "Hæ igitur expectativæ nomine tenus tantùm in concilio sublatae sunt. Successerunt enim iis coadjutoria sine causâ cum futurâ successione quæ sunt ipsissimæ expectatarum gratiæ."—*Heidegg. Tumulus C. T.* ad sess. xxiv. p. 523.

² When Sixtus V. retrieved the condition of the finances which his predecessor left in disorder, it was by perpetuating the abuses which the council pretended to redress. The sale of benefices reached a shameful height under Innocent X.; so, again, under Clement X. at the close of the seventeenth century. See Ranke's *Lives of the popes*, book viii. s. 10. pp. 372—387. Hottomann, in his *Bru-*

tum fulmen, gives a long list of pretences on which exactions were enforced long after the council.

³ In his annotations on the epistle to Titus, he speaks in the strongest language on the immoralities of the clergy, and the insufficiency of the Trent reformatory decrees: "Tam diuturnorum motuum non alia causa major, quam quod tot annis nihil immutatur, nihil emendatur, et omnis reformandi spes inde abrupta, species ablata, quod reliquum ecclesiæ corpus reformatum velint qui tam multis annorum centenariis urbem in qua merum atque mixtum habent imperium, deformatissimum adhuc reliquerunt."—*In ep. ad Titum*, c. 1. digress. 2. p. 420.

learn from Pascal. A hundred years later the vices of convents in Tuscany became notorious; the whole Dominican order was found to have fallen into the lowest moral condition.¹ There was pantheism in doctrine, wrought out to its issue in sensual living; while the court of Rome, well acquainted with the facts of the case, was utterly regardless of remonstrances, and anxious only to shelter the delinquents.²

In Spain, where not long since convents were violently suppressed, there has been left a deep impression of their corruptions. It is embodied in the very proverbs of the country, and the common talk of the people in the streets; a monk hardly ventures to appear publicly in his proper garb. Now, either this general testimony is true, or else the population, which the Roman church has had so long under its exclusive teaching, is in a conspiracy against men of pure and religious lives. Then, again, if what our opponents maintain were accurate, Rome ought to be not only the fountain of pure doctrine, but the very model and pattern of holy living. It is as much the reverse at this time as when Luther made his memorable pilgrimage thither more than three centuries ago.³ Whoever wants to preserve reverential thoughts of the Latin church, had better put the widest possible space between himself

¹ "Il y avait déjà plus d'un siècle et demi que le relâchement de tout l'ordre de S. Dominique étoit un objet public de blâme et de murmure en Toscane."—*Vie de Scipion de Ricci*, tom. i. ch. xvi. p. 76.

² The accused nuns confessed to Rucellai, secretary at the court of Florence, the vices of which they had been the victims, and the atheistical principles inculcated by their spiritual directors. In 1774 a commission appointed for the visitation of the convents gave similar testimony. The facts of the case were fully stated, and on the clearest evidence, to Pius VI., whose efforts were directed to the concealment and suppression of the subject. The grand duke undertook the reformation of the Tuscan convents

when all attempts to move the court of Rome had failed. In the first volume of di Ricci's memoirs are to be found, among the Pièces justificatives, all the evidence of what is stated. The depositions taken by order of the bishop are given at length, pp. 381—454. and lay open a scene of profligacy, for which it would be hard to find a parallel.

³ Niebuhr writes thus in 1820, after four years at Rome: "Here in Italy the faith of the church has so died out, that the mummy would fall into dust at the first hard blow. But what will replace it God knows, since there is not a human throb in the heart of the people, nor is any want felt beyond those of the animal nature. It is just the same among the educated classes in Spain,

and the visible seat of the papacy. There is, again, no city more thoroughly Roman than Naples, and none in which the condition of the inhabitants is less to be envied. This cheerful, imaginative people, with so many materials of good, have been brought down to a worse moral condition than is recorded of any civilised and christian community. The population is well nigh parcelled out among soldiers, paupers, and priests; the ecclesiastical corps is immense; the city is pervaded by members of religious orders, while the mass of the people are sinking lower and lower in misery and despair. It is at once the most papal and the most wicked town in Italy.

But if the council of Trent had been as eager for reformation as it was notoriously the reverse, little effect would have been really produced, unless there had been a correspondent change in its dogmatic teaching. The establishment of false doctrine was clearly connected with the continued existence of scandalous abuses. Bishop Bull, in his sermon on the necessity for works of righteousness, has shown how thoroughly the Roman system interferes with the practical ethics of the gospel. Sin is only too rife in protestant populations; but then it is among those who wilfully stand aloof from the church. Among Roman catholics, on the contrary, there is the union of outward and periodical devotion with utter immorality. It is antinomianism on the broadest scale; all forms of sinful life and open profaneness bound up with a passionate adherence to certain forms of superstition.¹

Works, vol. ii. p. 15.

See Newman on Anglican difficulties, lect. ix.

where religion is regarded as an insupportable yoke."—Quoted by archdeacon Hare, *Charge*, 1852, notes, p. 342.

Mr. Coleridge bears the same testimony: "Every fresh opportunity of examining the Roman catholic religion on the spot, every new fact that presents itself to my notice, increases my conviction that its immediate basis and the true grounds of its continuance are to be found in the wickedness, ignorance, and wretchedness of the

many."—Coleridge *On the constitution of the church and state*, p. 147., quoted by Hare.

¹ So far also as immorality is the result of institutions, it is justly chargeable on the church by which they are sanctioned. The prohibition of marriage, in the case of regular and secular clergy is an instance. The saying of Pius II. is well known: "Sacerdotibus magna ratione ademptum connubium, sed majore quadam restituendum." Polydore Vergil, who was archdeacon of

The close of the council came at last, and in a way which adds very little to its credit. The year 1563 opened with gloomy prospects for the papal cause. In March the cardinal of Mantua died, a fortnight later Seri-

Wells early in the sixteenth century, bears the strongest testimony to the evil working of the law; *De rerum invent.* lib. v. c. 4. p. 314: and so does Cassander somewhat later; *Consultatio*, art. xxxiii. *op.* p. 987. Zuinger, in his work, "De festo corporis Christi," has a chapter entitled, "Digressio de vitâ impudicâ ecclesiasticorum pontificiorum." The fullest information on all points connected with the subject of clerical celibacy is to be found in the "Oratio de lege cælibatûs" of Stanislaus Orichovius the Polc, who lived in the sixteenth century. He was celebrated for his eloquence, and not less for his dissolute life. Neither scripture, nor apostolical usage, nor the decision of a general council, could be pleaded in behalf of the law. The synod of Eliberis, or Elvira, in 313, indeed, gave its sanction to this novelty; but the xxxiii. canon, which forbids the marriage of the clergy, has certainly no greater claim upon the obedience even of a Romanist than the xxxvi., which forbids the use of images. In the words of South, "Satan began to play the white devil, by prohibiting, upon pretence of higher sacerdotal purity, the marriage of the clergy." Even in the council of Trent there were urgent demands for the abrogation of this pernicious law, from the ambassadors of the emperor and the king of France, from the archbishop of Prague, and many others. Baumgartner, the Bavarian envoy, delivered a bold and faithful discourse, June, 1562, in which he stated that it had been the fruitful cause of immorality. No improvement had taken place since the German princes delivered their centum gravamina. The reasons which made the papal party stand out against all arguments from religion and good morals were stated in consistory, though not in the council: "Que si l'on permettoit aux prêtres de se marier, l'intérêt de leurs familles, de leurs femmes et de leurs enfans les tireroit de la dépendance du pape pour les mettre sous celle de leurs princes, et

que la tendresse pour leurs enfans les feroit descendre à tout au préjudice de l'église, &c." — *Sarpi*, liv. v. s. 77. The rule of private confession to a priest, which the council made binding under a curse (sess. xiv. c. 7.), is of the same kind. As early as the fourth century a case of great scandal had occurred in the church of Constantinople, which induced Nectarius and other bishops of the east to abolish the office of penitentiary priest. *Socrates*, v. 19. p. 278.; *Sozomen*, vii. 16. p. 726. It was instituted for the sake of sparing penitents the pain of public exposure, and abandoned on account of the great and ruinous evils which it involved. The Latin church has maintained the institution with the fullest admission of the wickedness to which it gave occasion. There is a constitution of Pius IV. bearing this title, "Inquisitorum hæreticæ pravitatis facultas, procedendi contra sacerdotes, qui mulieres penitentes in actu confessionis, ad actus inhonestos provocare et allicere tentant." — *Constit.* xxxi. April, 1561, *Mag. bull.* tom. ii. p. 48. It was confirmed and renewed, with fresh enactments, by Gregory XV. *Constit.* xxxiv. August, 1622, *Ibid.* tom. iii. p. 448. A farther renewal was found requisite by Benedict XIV., whose constitution xx. bears date June 1741. *Ibid.* tom. xvi. p. 32. In 1564 a discovery was made at Seville of the wide extent to which the confessional had been employed for purposes of guilt. The inquiry was finally suppressed by the inquisition, because it could not be safely prosecuted on account of the multitude of persons involved. "At last the Council of the supreme, perceiving the odium which it brought on the church, and its tendency to prejudice the people against auricular confession, interposed their authority, by quashing the investigation, and prohibiting the edict of denunciation from being repeated." — *M'Crie*, *Ref. in Spain*, p. 328. This case occurred the year after the close of the council.

pando, a learned and prudent man. The emperor and the king of France were utterly dissatisfied with the measure of reformation attained. Their ambassadors both at Rome and at Trent complained that the chief object for which the council was summoned had been omitted. The bishops were engrossed by their angry contentions on the question of residence; the envoys were occupied with a foolish contest for precedence; and there was a multitude of other subjects in dispute, and still unsettled. It seemed as if a peaceable and satisfactory termination were impossible. At this conjuncture Morone was appointed president; the most able and statesman-like of all the cardinals. He was accredited to Ferdinand as legate a latere; and by yielding some points and compromising others, in a personal conference, he obtained an accommodation. His design was promoted, in some measure, by the fear of secular reformation, which had often before kept princes in check. The business of the council was really transacted, at a most important crisis, between the emperor and the legate alone, and elsewhere than at Trent.¹ It had passed out of the ecclesiastical sphere, into that of politics; in the words of Ranke, "This result had only been attained by the utmost pliancy, the most astute contrivance, the most dexterous policy." About the same time, the cardinal of Lorraine, who came to Trent as the champion of the Gallican liberties, was won over by the flatteries which he received at Rome.² His position and interests were also changed by the death of his brother, and from this time the papal cause had no stronger advocate.³ In

March 23.
1563.

Hist. of the
popes, book
iii. s. 6.

¹ This is admitted by Pallavicini, who says, "Summa rerum Tridentinarum extra Tridentum tunc verti videbatur, nimirum Cœniponti, in iis quæ a Morono cum Cæsare agitabantur."—Lib. xx. c. 13. s. 3. The heads of the conference are given by Le Plat, tom. vi. p. 15.

² For the letter of invitation which he received from the pope see Le Plat, tom. vi. p. 193.

³ Pallavicini says: "Certum est Lotharingium in functione de quâ diximus, eo animi ardore, eâque virtute se gessisse, ut legati prosperum exitum illi præcipue acceptum referrent."—Lib. xi. c. ii. s. 5. The cardinal was extremely ill received in France on his return, as might have been expected. — *Sarpi*, liv. viii. s. 86.

Haste with which the council was closed.

November, news was brought of the pope's dangerous illness, and as every body knew that schism was inevitable, if his death took place before the close of the council, its termination was precipitated¹, the usual deliberation of theologians was omitted, and every impediment put aside. Eighteen years had elapsed since its first meeting; ten months had just been consumed in debate about episcopal residence; and there remained now only a few days in which to frame decrees on purgatory, the invocation of saints, the use of relics and images; and to consider such important subjects, as the index of prohibited books, the catechism, the reformation of the breviary and missal, as well as the whole question of indulgences.²

And this was the close of the assembly from which so much had been expected; it ended no controversies, and produced no adequate reformation. The pope had gained great accession of authority, which resulted partly from the adroit management of the legates, partly from the mutual jealousies of parties into which the council was broken up. His dispensing power was confirmed, as well as the privilege of reserving cases for his courts; his right to fill vacant sees recognised; the care of the whole church was ascribed to him; and, above all, bishops, in various cases, were appointed to act as his delegates.³

¹ "Je n'ai présentement qu'à exposer ce concert unanime des prélats, qui tendoient tous à un seul et même but, et qui paroisoient plutôt y voler qu'y courir." — *Sarpi*, liv. viii. s. 64. Or, as Heidegger expresses it, "Patres ad concilii finem non gradu sed saltu properant ac præcipitant." — *Notæ ad sess.* xxiv. p. 514.

² The xxiv. session was held on November xi.; the xxv., in which all these subjects were discussed, was held on the iii. and iv. of December. In the words of Pallavicini, "Decreta de dogmatibus excepta fuerunt; etiamsi decretum de purgatorio videretur quibusdam tenue, ac parum dignum concilio." — *Lib.* xxiv. cap. 4. s. 10. About the decree on indulgences he

states, "Eâdem nocte digestum fuit, formulâ contradictionibus haud obnoxia. Et primo manè in cœtu ferè generali perlectum." — *Cap.* 8. s. 1. The bishop of Lerida pleaded that no work was fitter for the council than the composition of a catechism and the regulation of the rituals. He hardly got a hearing. "La résolution que l'on avoit prise de finir, et le désir de quitter Trente, firent qu'à peine la plupart voulurent ils seulement l'écouter." — *Sarpi*, liv. viii. s. 73.

³ The bishops appear to have consented to this extravagant innovation, partly because, in certain cases, they gained exemption from the control of their metropolitans, partly be-

Some difficulty was involved in the so-called confirmation of the council; there were even a few bishops present who were bold enough to declare that it was needless. The pretended claim is, indeed, utterly without sanction from the early church. In a certain sense, the decrees of a general council were confirmed by all bishops; that is, each gave the weight of his influence by accepting them; any other confirmation, if councils were really assembled by the Holy Spirit, it would be profane to require.¹ And if the members of this synod believed that the authority of its decrees depended on the papal confirmation, they ought not to have separated till they had received it, which was indeed maintained by some. But it was decided against them, chiefly by the influence of the cardinal of Lorraine, who contended that if confirmation were speedily given, there would be suspicion of collusion; and if after examination, the delay would be too long.

Richer, Con. gen. lib. iv. c. 5. s. 9.

The so-called confirmation.

The decisions framed at Trent are assumed to be the law of the Latin church, but their admission even within the limits of the Roman obedience has been very far from general. In Germany, they were received with such modifications and restrictions as derogated from their authority. In France, all which contradicted the Gallican liberties were rejected, after an examination by the president le Maistre and another, who reported their objections under twenty-three heads. In Italy and Spain, that is, in countries where all free thought was suspended by the active agency of the inquisition, the whole were admitted. The alleged distinction between decisions of faith and those of discipline, is not tenable as far as the question of authority is at issue, and indeed

Reception of the decrees.

Courayer, append. xxvi. p. 787.

cause, as the price of the concession, they regained their authority over many who had been withdrawn from their jurisdiction.

¹ Lainez said, with singular boldness: "Que comme un nombre de prélats, assemblés par le pape pour un concile général, quelque peu considér-

able qu'il soit, n'a le nom et la vertu d'un concile général que parceque le pape la lui donne, c'est de lui seul aussi qu'il a son autorité, et s'il fait des décrets et des canons, ils ne sauroient obliger qu'en vertu de la confirmation du pape." — *Sarpi*, liv. vii. s. 20.

they cannot always be ranged under separate heads, because the latter often involve the former. The council of Nice not only decided the great Arian controversy, but ruled what would now be called disciplinary matters; on which equal submission was required and rendered.

There are many other questions connected with this synod which are full of perplexity to the Romanist. For ourselves it is enough to maintain that it was no more a general council than the Latin communion is the church catholic. It has no claim at all to our obedience, and as little as possible to our respect.

CHAP. VIII.

THE CLAIM OF INFALLIBILITY.

To some minds there is no attraction so great as that which comes from the promise of an unerring exposition of the divine will. Men are unwilling to labour for the investigation of truth. Jealous as they may be of freedom in action, they are so ready to make over to others the responsibility of forming their religious belief, that they interpret favourably all doubtful evidence for the claim, and give more than due weight to the arguments on the side of what they desire to find true. In the words of a very acute writer, "To examine and re-examine, to reason and reflect, to hesitate and decide with caution, to be always open to evidence, and to acknowledge that after all we are liable to error; all this is, on many accounts, unacceptable to the human mind, both to its diffidence and to its pride, to its indolence, its dread of anxious cares, and to its love of self-satisfied and confident repose. And hence there is a strong prejudice in favour of any system which promises to put an end to the work of inquiry at once and for ever, and to relieve us from all embarrassing doubt and uncomfortable self-distrust."

The search after infallibility: by archbishop Whateley.

The *à priori* argument about the benefit of an infallible living judge is worth but little. It is only a private opinion; and, as Chillingworth suggests, another might plausibly hold that it would be still better if every archbishop in his province, or every bishop in his diocese, or every clergyman in his parish, were infallible.

Religion of protestants, part 1. c. 2. s. 128.

If any one were to urge that the gift of infallibility

loded in a supreme head secures the ending of controversies, it would be enough to reply, that they have been always ended, if at all, in another way ; and thus the argument is turned against those who employ it. “ If the appointment of a visible judge would certainly prevent all heresies, and yet from the beginnings of Christianity there have been heresies in the church ; this is a demonstration there was no visible judge in those days.” And besides this, the claim itself is a chief subject of dispute, though the very existence of reasonable doubt is tantamount to an argument against it ; for we may say with dean Sherlock, that “ if God had intended to appoint a judge to end all disputes, certainly he would have done this so manifestly, that there should have been no dispute who this judge is ; for a doubtful and disputable judge is not a very proper person to end all disputes.” When we remember what is involved, we are bound to demand the clearest evidence. Whatever else is taken for granted, this claim of infallibility must not be, because it includes all besides ; when it is admitted, nothing remains to contend for, since to refuse assent to any doctrine or compliance with any practice enforced on such authority, would be profane as well as unreasonable.

Popish rule of faith examined, p. 221.

Discourse concerning a judge in controversies, p. 265.

Objections to the theory of infallibility.

But the objections to the claim are very formidable indeed. “ Perfect infallibility,” as Sherlock expresses it, “ is nothing else but an universal certainty of knowledge ; as, for instance, God only is infallible by nature ; but infallibility is a negative, and there are no negatives in the divine nature ; and, therefore, if we would understand what God’s infallibility is we must reduce it to some positive perfection, and that can be nothing else but infinite knowledge ; for this reason we say that God is infallible, because he knows all things, and he who knows all things can never mistake. So that it is knowledge which is the perfection ; infallibility is only a mode of speech to signify the most perfect certainty of knowledge.”

Preface to discourse.

If it existed in any one of our fellow-creatures we

should need the same gift for ourselves, in order to be certain that he possessed it, and we could not derive benefit from his endowment unless by participation in it. To use the words of the same great writer, "Though an inspired prophet is infallible in those things which he speaks by inspiration, yet it is not his infallibility, but that evidence he has that he is divinely inspired that makes him certain; much less can any man be infallibly certain who is not infallible himself, how many infallible teachers soever there are in the world. For we may as well say that a man may be wise with another man's wisdom, as infallible by another man's infallibility." Truth might of course come into the mind by intuition if God so pleased, or be in any other way miraculously imparted. But it is not about the extent of possibility that we are reasoning, but about the analogy of the divine dealings; and ordinarily we can no more discover truth of any kind without the exercise of reason, or what Sherlock calls the mediation of our natural faculties, than we could have the perception of outward objects without using the appropriate senses. The very way in which it is appointed for us to gain our belief is, as bishop Butler and others have shown, a part of our religious probation.

Only an infallible person could tell who possesses infallibility.

Preface.

The alleged proof of infallibility, on the other hand, is nothing else but a vicious mode of reasoning. "They run into a circle," says lord Falkland, "proving their tenets to be true, first because the church holds them, and then theirs to be the true church, because it holds the truth." If there is really a supreme judge of religious questions, he derives his authority from Christ, and we must therefore look for his credentials in scripture. We find a text in which our Lord addressed a warning, a promise, and a command, to an individual disciple¹; we

Of the infallibility of the church of Rome: by lord Falkland, s. 8.

Luke, xxii. 32.

¹ Duval says, "Infallibilitas per se et ordinariè annexa est dignitati pontificis virtute orationis Christi, Rogavi pro te, &c."—*De supremâ R. P. potestate*, pars ii. quæst. v. p. 299. An-

other, and a far more distinguished writer in the same communion denies this statement: "Ista promissio nemini convenit, nisi ei in cujus corde certum sit nunquam defecturam fidem.

are told that there was really the conveyance of a privilege unspeakably great, and that the application extends to the bishops of a particular see in perpetuity. This exposition, which is as far as possible from any obvious meaning conveyed by the words themselves, and from any sense put upon them by the early church, as we have seen, is enforced upon the authority of one who claims to be an unerring guide. But the very existence of such a guide is yet unproved; it is the subject on which we are engaged; and this very text which he assumes to interpret infallibly, is the solitary passage of scripture upon which his claim is founded. It is a palpable begging of the question; in the words of archbishop Whateley, "assuming the infallibility of our guide, and by means of that assumption, proceeding to prove it." De Maistre disposes of the difficulty in a very compendious fashion. He says that the catholic church is not given to arguing about its nature; it believes without disputing, for faith is a belief through love, and love does not argue.¹

Vicious reasoning.

Other scripture-proof there is none. Texts which contain the assurance of divine preservation and assistance to the christian community at large, are indeed alleged to prove a peculiar and pre-eminent privilege to one church and its bishop, though not a word is to be found which implies such a limitation. We may readily grant that the whole church will not at any time fall from the faith, though there is no promise that it will be entirely kept from doubt, any more than that it will be totally preserved from sin; but we cannot consent that the church of Rome shall be substituted for the church catholic, or that promises delivered in general terms shall be taken to sanction a very

Non autem talis est Romanus pontifex: non ergo profectò hæc ei promissio convenit:” And again, “Respondere solent, in Christi promissione seu precatone illâ singulari, respectu quidem Petri fidem ipsam intelligi, quâ intus creditur; at in successoribus saltem intelligi fidei professionem quâ fratres confirmantur. Quæ responsio non satis sibi constat; variumque hoc

et arbitrium ad arbitraria nos et incerta deducet.”—*Bossuet, Appendix ad def. Cleri Gall.* lib. iii. c. 10. p. 98.

¹ “L’église catholique n’est point argumentatrice de sa nature; elle croit sans disputer, car la foi est une croyance par amour, et l’amour n’argumente point.”—*De Maistre, Du pape*, liv. i. ch. i. p. 10.

exact and specific claim ; and yet this is what our opponents assume. “The gates of hell shall not prevail against it;” therefore the church of Rome will be specially preserved. “Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world;” therefore the pope will deliver true judgments. The church is “the pillar and ground of the truth;” therefore all christians must resort to Rome. “Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them,” *à fortiori* Christ is present in general councils, &c. &c., in which the fallacy is too obvious to need refutation, and yet it has been used, over and over again, with a certain amount of success. If infallibility is proved by our Lord’s words, John xiv. 16., then every sanctified person is infallible, which would be just as reasonable as to infer universal knowledge from the promise addressed to the disciples, “When he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth.” The declaration of Christ, “he that heareth you, heareth me,” had its fulfilment in the disciples because they delivered true doctrine. It is applicable to all faithful teachers, and to a great many popes it had no possible application of any kind. There is a class of texts which promise to the church perpetuity and the presence of the Holy Spirit, but a great deal must be conceded before they can be made available to the papal case. We must substitute a particular communion for the universal church; we must believe that the promise is not diffused among the body of believers, but is restricted to ecclesiastical synods, and that even these assemblies cannot claim the privilege unless summoned, directed, and confirmed, by the pope; of all which indispensable conditions scripture does not present the very faintest suggestion. Neither does it give any countenance to the expectation of finding an infallible earthly guide. Its arguments are addressed to the human understanding, and its persuasions to the moral feelings. While on the other hand such texts as these: “Take heed that no man deceive you.” “Prove all things.” “Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a

Matt. xvi.
18.

xxviii. 20.

1 Tim. iii.
15.

Matt. xviii.
20.

Irrelevant
texts.

John, xvi.
13.

Luke, x. 16.

Matt. xxiv.
4.
1 Thess. v.
21.

1 Peter, iii.
15.

reason of the hope that is in you," are so many exhortations to the exercise of private judgment; and if this had not been received for the interpretation, no conversions could have taken place from any form of error. The apostles did not appeal to any gift of infallibility, but they claimed to be believed, as delivering what they had themselves seen and heard; and others, as stating what they had received from those who were eyewitnesses of the word. They foretold the perils to which the faith would be exposed, especially through the coming of antichrist, but nowhere spoke of safety through the judgment of an infallible bishop.

1 John, i. 1.
Luke, i. 2.

Only moral
certainty
attainable.

Beyond the moral certainty, on which the reformed churches depend, it is impossible to advance. This doctrine of infallibility does not come with any credentials for securing an immediate and unhesitating acceptance, but it is to be put to the proof like any other statement. We must not be asked to receive it on authority, because this would be to presuppose the very point at issue. There is no possibility of avoiding a laborious and intricate examination of evidence. So great a claim cannot be taken for granted; it must be established by the ordinary method of moral evidence, for there is no way of producing conviction in this particular case by any separate and independent process. Whether the judge who professes to be infallible, and claims our submission on this ground, be really infallible or not, we must determine for ourselves, and by such proof as we should require on any similar question. His testimony of himself cannot be admitted to have any weight in reaching the conclusion, for it is the matter in dispute. We are promised an objective certainty for our guide in spiritual things, but in the course of searching it out we must depend upon ordinary means. We cannot ask for or accept its assistance at present, because we have not passed the preliminary stage of investigating its claims; it is yet under trial. We are not sure that it exists at all, and this is indeed denied by many; we do not even know where we ought to seek it, for there are competing claims put in, between which we have to decide. For our help

we are referred to the writings of the fathers, to the decisions of councils, and to the facts of ecclesiastical history, as furnishing in their various degrees the needful information. The anxious inquirer is sent to volumes of canon law, and to collections of papal bulls, that is, to an immense number of folios, written often in extremely bad Latin, containing much which is undeniably spurious, and much which no human wit can harmonise. He must sit in judgment on the testimony of great opposing schools in the Roman church, the one affirming what the other as absolutely denies. With infinite pains he is to work out his way to a conclusion, through most perplexed and conflicting evidence. Most persons, indeed, shrink naturally enough from so laborious and unsatisfactory an investigation, even if they possess the requisite qualifications; and yet it is only the first step towards the alleged infallible certainty. But whoever accepts, even in the most submissive form, the religion presented to him, pronounces, in so far, a judgment in favour of the authority by which it is enjoined. In whatever degree it is the act of a reasonable being, it is also an exercise of private judgment. In faith as in morals responsibility is bound upon us, and we cannot throw it off; and it is the great business of education to prepare us for exercising it rightly. There is no escape, for it is part of a divine ordinance. We may desire to be free from accountableness, but in the words of Waterland, "there is no infallible preservative against heresy, no irresistible expedient, any more than against other vices; neither ought there to be any; for then a right belief would be no matter of choice, nor faith any longer a virtue, as God designed it to be." Without the power of exercising choice and will in regard to things proposed there cannot be responsibility; nor would any reasonable service be possible, if the supposed interdict were laid on the exercise of the understanding. It is a personal duty which is in question. One man cannot put himself into the place of another, so as to exercise on his behalf the reason for the use of which every one is individually accountable.

Cited in
Dr. Words-
worth's
letter to M.
Gordon,
iii. p. 92.

Private judgment in the choice of a teacher.

We must employ each his own intellect, just as we get the perception of outward objects by our own senses. And if we were at liberty to renounce our duty of forming a judgment on things taught, we should still have to decide on the choice of a teacher; and this is so much the more important since upon the Roman theory it involves all beside. It is not, as some would persuade us, an easy thing; but this preliminary process is as complicated as any which we can imagine. Even the examination of doctrine may be incidentally included among the things by which we are to decide on the pretensions of teachers who are proposed. Let a person resolve to render himself up to the charge of some spiritual guide, to take on trust all which he may teach, and to do, with implicit obedience, all which he may command; still there is a choice to be made between the conflicting claims of different churches; and this cannot be taken on authority, but in the very nature of the case, is antecedent to it. Many indeed are so hindered by natural deficiencies, or the want of mental cultivation, that they cannot examine for themselves. And this is found practically to be the case with the majority of persons, but the ground on which their assent is demanded is the alleged truth of the claim capable of proof by moral evidence. It is admitted, not on the authority of the church, but through the influence of those who present it. Chillingworth shows, by unanswerable arguments, that the unlearned man can neither discover for himself the true church, nor afterwards interpret the language of its decrees, more easily than he can understand the scriptures. Those indeed who find the word of God too hard for comprehension, will gain little by reference to papal judgments.¹

Religion of protestants, part i. ch. ii. s. 108.

¹ In regard to the interpretation to be put on a bull of Nicholas III., Van Espen says: "Hic habemus, fatente pontifice, subinde posse constitutionem pontificiam etiam in materiâ doctrinæ adeò obscurè esse expressam, ut legentes in errorem inducerentur, nisi ejusdem constitutionis fiat explanatio."

— *Obs. in extrav. Joannis*, xxii. *Op. iv.* 155. The pages of this great canonist are full of such cases. Bellarmine and Du Perron understand the third canon of the fourth Lateran council in a totally different sense from Noel Alexander, and others. The number of similar instances is infinite.

And even before we begin to entertain the subject at all, we must have accepted some great truths about the being of God, his attributes, the relation in which we stand to him, and the communication of his will; until we have advanced thus far at least, we cannot render any obedience to the church. It comes to us professing to have in charge the dispensation of spiritual blessings; the very terms assume that we have attained a considerable amount of knowledge, and by a method with which church authority has nothing to do. Most accurate are the words of dean Sherlock: "The truth is, by disputing with heretics they give up their cause, and confess that in all disputes of religion there lies an appeal to every man's private judgment and conscience; and should they lose this point by their disputing, all the converts they make cannot recompense such a loss." When the Romanist presents arguments to prove the authority of Saint Peter's see, he appeals to private judgment as thoroughly as any of his opponents; for if we are to decide whether the church is what it professes to be, and this is preliminary to the duty of obeying, we must examine its marks and characteristics in order to pronounce whether there are probable grounds for believing it the community to which the promises were made. Bellarmine enumerates fifteen notes by which to distinguish the true church; whether his canons are sound, or rightly applied, is not the present question; but the very form of his argument is an appeal to private judgment. We are invited to decide on the pretensions of the supreme power; and at every step the proposed line of investigation tells fatally against the Roman claim. The very authority which is to be called in for concluding controversies must be examined. Its validity cannot be taken for granted, nor can it prove itself; the documents for substantiating its divine origin must be sought elsewhere, and be carried into that very court of reason which our opponents would have us abjure. There is no escape. Thus we are called upon to employ our faculty of private judgment on a most difficult subject, in order to

Preserva-
tive against
popery, ch.
i. p. 10.

reach a state in which, as far as some most important topics are concerned, we are never to use it again. But it is the only method. To claim admission for credentials on the ground of authority, and then to found authority on the same credentials, could not be for a moment allowed.

Again, the proofs for the infallibility of the Roman see cannot, on any reasonable supposition, make it certain beyond the possibility of error. Its advocates cannot, at most, allege anything beyond the conclusion to which, on all moral questions, our arguments must be brought. And yet in the present case to urge only probability, though it were the strongest imaginable, is to abandon the whole ground which had been previously assumed. In the words of bishop Stillingfleet: "An assent is required beyond all proportion, or degree of evidence; for you require an infallible assent, only upon probable grounds; which is as much as requiring infallibility in the conclusion, where the premises are only probable." That we should sit in judgment on the evidence for this lofty claim, and hear the conflicting testimony of learned men in the same church; and then decide with so much certainty as to exclude all doubt henceforth, would be nothing short of a miracle.

Grounds of protestant religion, ch. v. p. 112.

No one is able to tell where infallibility resides.

Those who, in the face of such objections, persist in maintaining the exercise of an infallible judgment are at least bound to tell us where it may be found. This is an indispensable inquiry, which lies at the very threshold of the subject; and yet there is the utmost disagreement in the answers which we shall receive. Roman controversialists enlarge upon the blessing which their church enjoys, instead of telling us how it may be attained. No one is able to pronounce, with authority, where infallibility resides, whether in the pope alone, or in a council alone, or in both united, or in the church diffusive; nor under what conditions it is exercised, nor to what class of subjects it is limited; and indeed on these, and kindred points, the disputation has been endless; and yet they

demand solution as the preliminaries to any possible application of this great alleged gift. "Our judge of controversies," says Chillingworth, "has become our greatest controversy."¹

After all, it is not the maintenance of a theory, but the practical application of a principle, about which we are concerned; and here we are left utterly at fault. If we conclude that this great gift is lodged somewhere, we shall find that whether it is in the church at large, which St. Peter represented, or in the particular bishop, by whom he is said to be succeeded, is by no means determined. The Roman church has no authorised doctrine of infallibility, though its existence is practically assumed, and is bound up with the whole catalogue of usurpations.² The claim is constructive, and not formal; it was put forward only at an advanced period of the papacy; during the earlier times we look in vain for any reference to it. In the words of Mr. Archer Butler, "There cannot be a greater historical mistake than to date the dogmatic supremacy of Rome, as if it synchronised with its ecclesiastical monarchy; the distinct recognition of this mysterious gift really ranks among the latest developments." The term came

On develop-
ment of
christian
doctrine,
letter vii.
p. 282.

¹ Bossuet bears witness to the utter disagreement of Romanists on this primary point: "De pontifice, quatenus separatim, etiam ut pontifex, sententiam dicit, inter sanctos et catholicos adhuc litigatur. Partim asserunt, partim dubitant, partim negant, et ab ecclesiâ ipsâ post motam quæstionem à tot jam sæculis saltem suspensa sententia est."—*Append. ad def. Cleri Gall.* lib. iii. c. 10. p. 97. Maimbourg proves the same in the sixth chapter of his treatise on the pope's prerogatives. In 1690, Leibnitz complained, and with reason, "qu'on n'avait pu convenir encore dans l'église Romaine du vrai sujet ou siège radical de l'infaillibilité; les uns la plaçant dans le pape, les autres dans le concile, quoique sans le pape, &c."—*Correspondance avec Bossuet, cited by De Maistre, Du pape*, liv. i. ch. xiii.

are "more or less undeveloped, or at least undefined by the Church."—*Development*, ch. vi. p. 368.

² The Catechismus ad parochos asserts infallibility for the Roman church in very arrogant terms: "Quemadmodum hæc una ecclesia errare non potest in fidei ac morum disciplinâ tradendâ, cum a Spiritu Sancto gubernatur: ita cæteras omnes, quæ sibi ecclesiæ nomen arrogant, ut quæ diaboli spiritu dicantur in doctrinæ et morum perniciosissimis erroribus versari necesse est."—Art. ix. symb. s. 18. p. 90. See also the Rhemist annotators on Luke xxii. 31., and elsewhere. And the claim is asserted, de facto, again and again; as, for example, in the bull Unigenitus, of Clement XI., which has no meaning unless infallibility is assumed, extending not only to the words of a book, but also to the intentions of the writer.

Dr. Newman includes the seat of infallibility among the things which

into use first among the schoolmen of the twelfth century, and the claim which it expresses was produced after the supremacy had been usurped, but gradually, and in process of vindicating a high spiritual authority. The notion has long been involved in the whole system of doctrine and discipline ; it is urged by controversialists as the great gift possessed by the Latin church ; it is asserted virtually in all acts ; and if it has never been formally expressed in an authoritative decree, this must be ascribed to the fear of offending the great and influential school of divines by whom it is denied. The council of Trent defined many minute and unimportant matters, yet on that which involves so much, it published no definition ; not even asserting that it exists at all.

The infallibility of councils held by some Romanists.

The infallibility of a general council has been affirmed by leading theologians, and is still held, as a theory, in the Roman communion, though the question has ceased to be in any way practical. The exemption from error can only be assumed on the supposition of a divine promise, and this certainly cannot be produced. If a council is assembled for holy objects, and if its members are separately influenced by the grace of God, we may well believe that its deliberations will be guided for the benefit of the church, which is as much as we can find warrant of scripture for asserting, but infinitely less than the Roman case requires. And we have no right to substitute a representative assembly for the whole body of believers ; this is the introduction of as great a change as can well be conceived in the conditions of the promise. If it is said that bishops in council represent the church universal, we may well ask where the sanction is to be found for the supposed principle ; bishops are appointed as governors, and not representatives. Christ gave a promise of indefectibility to the entire body of the faithful, and it cannot be transferred to a smaller number by any authority less than his own. The doctrine of the English church, that councils may err, and have erred, is most true and incontestable. The rea-

sons by which such assemblies have sometimes been influenced, are admitted to have been unsound. If the premises are false, it is difficult to prove the conclusion true. To say that a council may be inspired to frame right decrees, but not to maintain them by valid arguments, is a mere arbitrary distinction, for which, of course, no word of proof can be discovered. And there are some cases which, on a different ground, are beyond dispute; for example, if two councils publish contradictory decrees, there must be error on one side or the other; and this was notoriously the case between Nice and Frankfort, Florence and Pisa, Constance and Lateran. No ingenuity can make them speak the same language.

Another school of Roman writers maintain, with much earnestness, the personal infallibility of the pope, though there is very great diversity of opinion among them about the way in which it is to be exercised. Nor must we forget that the doctrine itself, apart from all circumstances, is vehemently controverted; the greatest authorities in the Roman church are at variance on this point. Turrecremata, who died in 1463, and to whom Pius II. gave the title of "Fidei defensor ac protector," asserts the infallible judgment of the pope within a certain range of subjects.¹ Pighius, who enjoyed the highest favour of three successive popes, goes much farther, and says that the bishop of Rome cannot err if he would, either in his public or private character.² Bellarmine maintains, that when the chief pontiff teaches the whole church in things which concern the faith, he cannot, under any circumstances, err.³ Stapleton says, that, as a private person, he may fail both in faith and morals, yet that he cannot err when he formally publishes a decree; that this opinion is generally re-

Personal infallibility of the pope.

¹ Sedes apostolica, in his quæ fidei sunt, et ad humanam salutem necessaria, errare non potest.— *Summa de ecclesiâ*, c. 109.

² "Ita in fide confirmatur, ut non possit, etiam si velit, in errorem priva-

tim aut publicè cadere." — *Hierarchiæ eccles. assertio*, lib. iv. c. 8.

³ "Summus pontifex cum totam ecclesiam docet in his quæ ad fidem pertinent, nullo casu errare potest." — *De R. pont.* lib. iv. c. 3. p. 209.

ceived among catholics, and that the contrary is scandalous and offensive, though perhaps not heretical.¹ Duvall, who was a doctor of the Sorbonne and regius professor of theology at Paris, tells us that the pope, speaking *ex cathedrâ*, even without a council, cannot pass a decree contrary to the faith or to sound morals.² Coster contends that the privilege of infallible judgment is annexed to the see of Rome, independently of sanctity, or learning, or any other personal quality.³ Ballerini broadly denies that any popes have erred, or can err. He assumes it to have been proved that agreement with the faith of the Roman church is indispensable, and hence infers that the question of imputing heresy to its bishop cannot be entertained.⁴ Among recent converts there is, as we might indeed expect, an admission of the extreme theory. Thus Dr. Newman translates into modern phrase the extravagance of some older writers. "That voice is now, as ever it has been, a real authority, infallible when it teaches, prosperous when it commands, ever taking the lead wisely and distinctly in its own province, adding certainty to what is probable, and persuasion to what is certain. Before it

On university education, introd. p. 22.

¹ "Media et vera sententia est, Rom. pontificem, ut privata persona est, tam in fide esse defectibilem, quam in moribus peccabilem; sed ut publica persona est, id est, quando de fide consultus ex officio respondet et decernit, hæreticum dogma nec unquam hæcenus tradidisse, nec tradere posse. Contrarium sustinere esset assertio erronea, scandalosa, et offensiva, etsi fortasse non hæretica." — *De princip. fidei*, contr. iii. quæst. 4. Stapleton was professor at Louvain. In the dedication of the first volume of his *Controversies to Paul IV.*, he is called, "Vir clarissimus et eruditissimus." He was in great favour with Clement VIII.

² "Solus pontifex, absque concilio aristocratico, si ut pontifex, seu (ut loquuntur) ex cathedrâ decernat, nihil quicquam contra fidem aut bonos mores potest decernere." — *De suprêmâ R. P. pot.* pars ii. quæst. i. p. 200. One of his arguments sounds strangely to those who remember his boundless reverence

for the Roman see: "Adde quod, si per asinum Balaam Deus verum est prolocutus, quidni minori certe miraculo per pontificem vel ignorantem vel hæreticum, rebus ecclesiæ istud postulantibus, idem præstabit, &c." — *Ibid.* quæst. 4. p. 266.

³ "Ut quisquis in eâ B. Petri cathedrâ sederet, seu pius, seu sceleratus, seu doctus, seu imperitus, seu nobilis, seu obscurus, dummodo ex officio pronuntiaret, Christum haberet directorem." — *Enchirid. contr. c. iii.* p. 136.

⁴ "Sequitur quidem statim, eos in fide nec errasse, nec posse errare, quibuscum in unitate fidei adhærendum esse traditio adeo constans et aperta prodit." — *De vi primatûs R. P. c. xiii.* s. 2. p. 135.

Launoy produces a host of witnesses of very high authority in the Roman church, that the pope is not infallible, and that he may be judged by a council. Pars iii. ep. 7. pp. 236—250.

speaks the most saintly may mistake; and after it has spoken the most gifted must obey." These are some of the opinions held by the ultramontane school. On the other side, a large number of the best and most learned among Roman theologians broadly and resolutely deny that the pope has any claim to the prerogative asserted. They maintain not only that he may err, but that there exists in the church a power for his correction or removal. Bossuet says that the doctrine of papal infallibility was unknown before the council of Florence. Dupin, in his fifth dissertation, has proved from scripture, from church discipline, from the history of popes, from their conflicting judgments, from their own confession, from the decrees of councils, from the decisions of universities, and from the writings of great church doctors, that the pope is not infallible.¹ John XXII. and Gregory XI., when dying, confessed their liability to error, and submitted all their statements, whether spoken or written, to the judgment of the church.² Pius IV. declared in consistory, that he himself, like his predecessors, was fallible.³ Perhaps the most remarkable case was that of Adrian VI., who, while he was professor at Louvain, maintained that the pope might err in questions of faith, and support heresy by decisions and decretal letters.⁴ He did not retract this opinion after becoming pope, but reprinted it at Rome in 1522. The parliaments and universities⁵ of France, as well as the

The pope's infallibility denied.

¹ Launoy has produced multiplied testimonies of popes themselves against the claim (part iii. ep. i. p. 163.); and Bossuet has collected many instances in which popes have erred. *Defensio*, pars iii. lib. 9. cc. 34—46.

² See Bossuet, *Defensio*, pars iii. lib. 9. cc. 27. 29.

³ "Neque sum dubius, quin ego et antecessores mei aliquando falli poterimus, non solum in hoc facto, sed etiam in aliis."—*Bossuet, Def. ibid.*

⁴ These are his words: "Certum est quòd possit errare etiam in iis quæ tangunt fidem, hæresim per suam determinationem aut decretalem asserendo; plures enim fuere pontifices Romani

hæretici." Cited by *Bossuet, Append.* lib. i. c. 12. p. 29.

⁵ In 1611, the Dominicans at Paris desired to maintain the infallibility of the pope; the Sorbonne would not permit them. Again, in 1663, the faculty of theology at Paris declared: "Non esse doctrinam, nec dogma facultatis, quod summus pontifex, nullo accedente ecclesiæ consensu, sit infallibilis." In 1664, the Sorbonne condemned a book which maintained papal infallibility. The same thing occurred in the following year, as well as on subsequent occasions; and in 1695, the parliament of Paris suppressed a similar work.

bishops and clergy, have been strenuous in maintaining the same doctrine; and it is asserted in the fourth of the Gallican articles.¹ In the midst of these discordant opinions on a point of main importance², the Roman church has not ventured to define what is the true doctrine, nor to make it an article of faith. In the council of Florence, where the subject in debate seemed bound up with the inquiry, no definition was made; and in the council of Trent the discussion was interdicted.

If we received the personal infallibility of the pope for the true doctrine, we should still be as far as ever from any satisfaction. Who could ascertain whether all the conditions, with which the exercise of the gift is encumbered, have been fulfilled? Even the fixing his decree on the door of St. Peter's church is affirmed by some to be indispensable to its binding authority. And there are points about which the utmost disagreement exists, such as, whether the pope is infallible in matters of fact, as well as in questions of faith. The affirmative was held when the book of Jansen was to be condemned, but the negative is also maintained. Then again, whether the infallibility of his decrees depends on their being pronounced in a council, or at least in consistory, which is held by many great authorities to be a needful circumstance; though it does not appear how the pope can possess so great a gift in common with a synod, if neither can claim it separately; many fallibles no more make an infallible, than many finites an infinite. On a great scale, these questions are very perplexing, and very far from being settled; many others of the same sort might be suggested. And in the smaller

Conditions
of the alleg-
ed gift.

¹ "In fidei quoque quæstionibus præcipuas summi pontificis esse partes, ejusque decreta ad omnes et singulas ecclesias pertinere, nec tamen irreformabile esse judicium, nisi ecclesiæ consensus accesserit." — *Cleri Gall. de eccles. potest. declaratio*, art. iv.

² We have a dissertation of Dupin, of which this is the title: "In quâ pro-

batur Romani pontificis judicium non esse irreformabile;" and a treatise of card. Orsi, published a few years later, and dedicated to Clement XII.: "De irreformabili Romani pontificis in definiendis fidei controversiis judicio." There could hardly be a more direct opposition, and neither of these writers can be disowned by the Roman church.

sphere of individual action, every hope of assurance disappears. If any one has doubts of which he cannot get rid, he may consult the decisions of general councils, provided that he is fortunate enough to find out which they are; or, for more certainty, he may take the decrees of Trent; still they are only a dead letter. He cannot be sure that he interprets them rightly; and there are some points on which he will gain no satisfaction. They are either not mentioned at all, because there was no agreement about them; or they are stated in ambiguous terms, because there were opposite parties to be conciliated. There is no living voice for his guidance, no unerring authority accessible to him. The only person to whom the doubts of an anxious mind can be carried, in the Roman communion, is the individual priest; and no one believes him to be infallible, except, indeed, those who are deplorably ignorant. As Chillingworth writes, "The doctrine of the church is delivered to most of them by their parish priest, or ghostly father, or at least by a company of priests, who for the most part are men, and not angels; in whom nothing is more certain than a most certain possibility to err. What then remaineth but that truth, faith, salvation, and all, must in them rely upon a fallible and uncertain ground." It is a miserable trifling with troubled hearts. In place of the unerring decision which we were led to expect, we are put off with another man's private opinion, instead of our own. It may be better or worse, that is, more or less in harmony with the truth, but, at any rate, it is something as different as possible from what we covenanted to receive.

And if it could be proved that, by virtue of Christ's words, the bishops of Rome, whatever their spiritual and moral character in other respects, always preserve the faith, then such a consequence would follow as dean Field suggests, "That however the faith of the pope might fail in respect of the persuasion of his heart, yet it should never fail in respect of outward profession. For though he become a heretic in heart, yet he should ever profess

Practical result.

Religion of protestants, part ii. ch. i. s. 71. p. 80.

Of the church, book v. ch. 42. p. 586.

Incurable
scepticism
of the
church of
Rome, ch.
ix. p. 58.

rightly concerning Christ to all men that shall come unto him, to inquire of him, and to be resolved by him." "What more incredible," says M. de Placette, "than that an atheist, infidel, and profane person, should be infallible? Infallible and ignorant of his infallibility; teaching with certainty what himself thinks to be false?"

Antinomia-
nism in-
volved.

And we ought not to overlook the antinomianism which is involved in the more common exposition which Romanists give of the claim under consideration. It is assumed that the pope will be sound in the faith, not only in respect to the profession and promulgation of it, but as to his interior persuasion also; and yet that he may be indifferent to moral obligation is undeniable.¹

The evil lives of some popes were so patent, that if moral character were admitted to impeach the claim of infallibility there would be an end of the debate. The Roman church is therefore driven to maintain that any amount of personal wickedness is consistent with soundness in the faith; that is, a person may have lived the great example of sin to his age, and yet have been, in right of his office, a true guide to the church. It is assumed, upon the arbitrary and uncatholic interpretation of a single text, that these persons were themselves sound believers, and that they had the office of regulating the faith of christendom. Their exemption from error would be as hard to prove as their freedom from sin.²

¹ Roman writers are compelled to maintain that this gift of accurately defining is independent of every personal quality, and is consistent with even the lowest forms of intellectual and moral character. It is one of the extravagant conclusions to which the theory of infallibility commits its champions. Bellarmine says: "Nos non negamus posse pontifices exemplo suo præbere occasionem errandi, sed illud negamus, posse eos ex cathedrâ errorem aliquem sequendum toti ecclesiæ præscribere."—*De Rom. pont.* lib. iv. c. 8. p. 213.

² Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, in a

synod held at Rome in the sixth century, maintained that the bishop of Rome not only inherits St. Peter's infallibility, but his holiness also: "Quis sanctum esse dubitet, quem apex tantæ dignitatis attollit? In quo si desint bonæ acquisite per meritum, sufficienti quæ a loci decessore præstantur: aut enim claros ad hæc fastigia erigit, aut qui eriguntur illustrat."—*Mansi*, tom. viii. p. 275. His treatise is entitled "Libellus apologeticus pro synodo palmari." It obtained the highest sanction of the council, and was placed by decree among its acts. Yet Maldonat reckons it among the errors of the

If we reject the separate infallibility of council or pope, there is a third theory ready to hand, in which it is said that all Romanists agree, and which ascribes the privilege to a general council confirmed by a pope; though it might indeed be objected that, if neither possess the gift apart from the other, there is no ground for believing that they attain it by the union of their judgments. But passing over this objection, we seem to be at last within reach of an applicable rule; but it is in appearance not in reality, for when we try to grasp and put it to the proposed use, we find ourselves as far as ever from any satisfaction. There is no agreement even about the definition of a general council; Bellarmine lays down certain conditions which have never been fulfilled¹; and as a point of fact, Romanists are no more able to furnish a list of councils which are received as general in their church, than a catalogue of popes.² When the number presented to us is the same, the names are different. The French and Italians may agree, for instance, in reckoning eighteen, but the former reject Lyons, Florence, and the fifth Lateran; the latter Pisa, Constance, and Basle. The difference of opinion on this important subject began before the great schism by which the orientals were separated from the Latin church. In the east they reckon the council of Constantiople in 754, as the seventh general council; and that which

Infallibility of council and pope united.

De concil. auct. lib. i. c. 17. p. 250.

calvinists: "Quod putant necessarium esse, ut R. pontifices Petro doctrinâ et moribus similes sint; ut ejus successores dici possint."—*In Matt.* xvi. 19. col. 341. There is a reference to the statement of Ennodius in the 23rd of the maxims ascribed to Gregory VII. The treatise itself is given by Mansi.

¹ The distinction between general and particular councils was not at first established. Athanasius gives the name of œcumenical to many which were only provincial. Even the four great councils were called general, rather on account of their reception by the church than by their constitution.

² These are the words of Launoy,

and no Roman writer is entitled to more respect: "Quot synodi celebratæ sint universales, vel œcumenicæ, numerare difficile quidem est, si facti; difficilior vero si juris conditio spectetur."—*Pars viii. ep. ii. p. 736.* And yet we shall see that there is nothing more important to be determined, if we consider the final article in the creed of Pius: "Omnia a sacris canonibus, et œcumenicis conciliis, &c. tradita, definita, et declarata, indubitanter recipio." If the phrase is to be applied distributively, all which has been defined by any general council, must be believed, under the heaviest penalty.

was held in the same place in 879, as the eighth. In the west, on the contrary, they gave these places in their list to the council of Nice in 787, and the council of Constantinople in 869.¹ There are other questions to which no satisfactory answer can be given; whether, for instance, the council of Sardica was general. Baronius, Du Perron, and others, say that it was; De Marca and Launoy that it was not.² Or, again, why the second council of Nice should be received as general, when it was rejected by the great council of Frankfort with its three hundred bishops. There is just as little agreement among the churches of the west, after their separation from the east had taken place; which will indeed excite very little surprise, when we consider in what an arbitrary fashion the title of œcumenical has been bestowed. Of the Lateran councils which are called general, the first was held in 1123; but of its acts nothing is known; the same may be said of the second in 1139; and of the third in 1179; they were mere assemblies of Latin bishops, held in times of schism and strife; they have left no records. The fourth, which is called the great council of Lateran, held in 1215, was very numerously attended; it made no canons, and the decrees which were read can only be considered as the constitutions of the pope. The subjects handled were of the highest importance, yet neither Innocent, who presided, nor his successor Gregory IX., called it a general council; and its decrees were not received as canons of Lateran for more than three hundred years.³ None of these four

So-called
general
councils.

¹ "There are no fewer than four which lay claim to the title of the eighth general council, and the pope was present, either in person or by his legates, in them all. Three of these were held at Constantinople. The first, 861, in which Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed; the next, 870, in which he was restored, and Photius deposed; the third, 879, when, after the death of Ignatius, Photius was again placed in the see. The fourth, which goes under the name of the eighth general council, is that of

Florence."—*Hist. exam. of the auth. of councils*, part ii. s. 7. p. 25.

² And yet it is to the decree of this council, as De Marca expressly declares, that the first origin of the pope's claim in judging bishops is to be ascribed.

³ Platina says, in his life of Innocent III.: "Venere multa tum quidem in consultationem, nec decerni tamen quicquam aperte potuit, quod et Pisani et Genuenses maritimo, et Cisalpini terrestri bello inter se certabant."—P. 216. Matthew Paris speaks still

synods are inserted in Merlin's collection, which was published in 1523. In the fifteenth century the perplexity becomes, if possible, greater. Pisa is rejected by some, and held doubtful by others, yet it established the succession of popes which has since been maintained. A little later we have the council of Florence, with its handful of bishops, utterly rejected by France, while, at the same time, a council was sitting at Basle, and these two assemblies putting their mutual animosity into the form of anathema. Early in the next century we have the fifth Lateran council, scantily attended, which, though timidly supported as œcumenical by some Romanists, and rejected by others¹, is generally received by the ultramontane party, to the exclusion of Constance with its two hundred bishops and the august assembly of lay churchmen. We have some councils received by Roman authorities, and some rejected, some partly approved, and some neither allowed nor refused; which is, as Leslie expresses it, "to go through all the degrees of uncertainty."² The first council of Lyons, in 1245, was only a provincial synod, as Launoy has abundantly proved³; and the second, in 1274, though largely attended, was no more than an

Uncertain-
ty.

more strongly, and says that the council ended in jests and laughter, "in risum et scomma."—*Ann.* 1215. Dupin gives this as his conclusion, after examination of the subject: "Itaque nulli à concilio canones sunt conditi, sed quædam à pontifice R. decreta sunt confecta, et in concilio lecta, quorum nonnulla plerisque videbantur onerosa: sed vel ex ipsâ istorum cano- rum lectione patet eos non fuisse à concilio editos, vel non eo modo quo nunc habentur."—*De antiq. discip.* *Diss.* vii. c. 3. s. 4.

¹ "De concilio Lateranensi, nonnulli dubitant, an fuerit verè generale."—*Bellarmino, De concil. auct.* lib. ii. c. 13. p. 265. "De Lateranensis quidem synodi auctoritate omnibus notum, quàm pauci episcopi; quàm ex paucis provinciis convenerint; quàm ex justis de causis Galli se excusârunt;

quàm difficilis tum ad urbem esset aditus, flagrante Italiâ atrocibus bellis."—*Bossuet, Defensio*, pars ii. lib. vi. c. 18. "Lateranensi concilio vix octoginta patres adfuerunt, e quibus sexaginta tantùm aut circiter episcopi, quorum magna pars ex Italiâ: christianissimi regis orator nullus, e Gallianis partibus antistites nulli."—*Dupin, Diss.* vi. s. 8.

² Besides this diversity, a modern professor of theology at Naples gives a table of "concilia quasi generalia," if any one can explain the meaning of such a phrase. Iavarone, *Institut. theolog.* tom. ii. p. 324.

³ "Præterea Innocentius, in hac contra Fredericum sententiâ concilium semel atque iterum nominat, sed universale, œcumenicum, vel generale nusquam nominat."—*Pars vii. ep.* 8. p. 672.

assembly of western bishops. The council of Vienne, in 1312, was summoned chiefly as a resource for enabling Clement V. to escape from an engagement to Philip the Fair. And yet these pass for the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth general councils. There are endless questions proposed in the Roman church, such as these : whether or not general councils are liable to err unless confirmed by the pope ; whether the pope can communicate his prerogative to legates ; whether it is needful that they should have full instruction on all questions to be debated (at Trent this was impossible) ; whether the fathers in council are judges, or only advisers ; whether the pope is bound to confirm the judgment of the majority, or whether he may sanction that of the minority ; whether conclusions must be unanimous, or if the majority determine, what proportion is required ; whether a provincial council becomes infallible by papal confirmation ; if pope and council should be at variance, to which side the faithful are bound to adhere. These, and many similar points, have been vehemently debated, and remain yet undecided.

Unsettled
questions.

But no general council has been called for three hundred years, as everybody knows, and the world is not likely to see another¹ ; so that whatever may be theoretically held about the concurrent authority of council and pope, there is no form or expression of infallibility now to be expected but a papal decree. Into the personal infallibility of the pope all else must then be finally resolved. He may be a worthless boy, like John XII., or a man of mature wickedness, like John XXIII., or Alexander VI. ; he may be a simoniac like some, or a heretic like others ; but at his lips, according to the theory which is urged upon us, the church is to receive its interpretation of God's blessed word, as well as the delivery of doctrine, more authoritative than that of all the wise and saintly

¹ "Le monde est devenu trop grand pour les conciles généraux, qui ne semblent faits que pour la jeunesse du christianisme."—*De Maistre, Du pape*, liv. i. ch. iv. p. 31.

men who lived in primitive ages. Supposing the proofs to be conclusive for the pope's infallibility, no one indeed ought to hesitate about placing an entire confidence in his judgment. Even the bishop of Bitonto could not, on this supposition, be reasonably blamed, when he said that he would sooner believe a single pope in things which concern the mysteries of the faith than a thousand Augustines, Jeromes, and Gregories.¹ If, however, on the other hand we find that not only are there the strongest *à priori* reasons against expecting that such a privilege should be assigned to any one, but that, as a matter of fact, popes have fallen into actual error on all the subjects which they have handled, we are bound by every consideration of truth and religion to withstand so profane and pernicious a pretension. And that popes have fallen into grievous error, and on matters both very important and very suitable for an unerring judge to determine, is beyond all question. Sometimes they have proved themselves incompetent to distinguish spurious from genuine documents. Adrian I. and others cited the donation of Constantine; Nicholas I. the acts of the council of Sinuessa²; and his successors for ages the decretal letters.³ The work of Gratian, which was corrected by a commission appointed by Pius IV., and published with confirmation by Gregory XIII., is full of coarse and stupid forgeries, which it needed no supernatural gift to detect.⁴ Sometimes popes mistook one writing for another, as when Zosimus and others produced the Sardican canons for the Nicene, which

Errors into which popes have fallen.

¹ "Ego, ut ingenuè fatear, plus uni summo pontifici crediderim in his quæ mysteria fidei tangunt, quàm mille Augustinis, Hieronymis, Gregoriis."—*Cornelius Mussus*, cited by *Stillingsfleet*, *Grounds of prot. relig.* part i. ch. 5. p. 146.

² "In hac epistolâ potissimum probare contendit Nicolaus, R. pontificem à nemine judicari posse, eumque in finem inter alia impendit acta suppositi concilii, quod habitum dicitur in causâ Marcellini papæ, quod hodie

passim ut fictitium rejicitur."—*Van Espen*, *Comment. in primam partem Gratiani*, Dist. xxi. Op. iii. p. 520.

³ When the council of Constance condemned the opinions of Wickliffe, the thirty-seventh article extracted from his writings, which denounced the forgery of the decretals, was assumed to be false, because so many popes had maintained their authenticity.

⁴ Vid. *Van Espen*, *In primam part. Gratiani*, proœm ss. 9, 10.

Baronius, Bellarmine, and others ascribe to ignorance, as a less injurious imputation than fraud. And still more, when Innocent III. quoted for holy scripture a passage written by Augustine.¹ Books to which the papal sanction is pledged as fully as possible contain undeniable misstatements. Thus the Roman catechism, after describing the ceremonies used in baptism, such as the use of salt, the chrism, &c., adds that they were instituted by the holy apostles.²

The largest demand on obedience cannot require us to believe of contraries that both are true; the most submissive temper of mind cannot acquiesce in propositions which contradict each other. And yet there are questions of perpetual occurrence on which we find that popes gave contrary decisions, as, for instance, when Clement III. and Innocent III. pronounced differently respecting the dissolution of marriage on account of heresy³; and when the same Innocent decided that, in a certain case, confession should not be kept secret, and the council of Lateran enjoined secrecy under heavy penalty, and without exception.⁴ Nicholas III. and John XXII. are at variance on the subject of poverty, in which the mendicant orders

Popes at variance with each other.

¹ "Innocentius P. R. III. velut ex divinis libris citat quæ habentur in Augustinianis; cum (inquit) S. Scripturæ dicat auctoritas, quod injuriam facit martyri, qui orat pro martyre. Hæc vero, ut omnes sciant, non scripturæ sacræ, sed Augustini dicit auctoritas, sermone xvii. De verbis apostoli." — *Dallaus, De usu pat.* lib. ii. c. 3. p. 246.

² "Id verò tum instituentium auctoritas, qui sine controversiâ S. apostoli fuerunt, tum finis, cujus causâ cæremonias adhiberi voluerunt, satis docet." — *Cat. ad par. pars II. de bapt.* s. 59. p. 167. Even Durand gives a very different account: "B. Clemens secundus à Petro ex ipsius doctrinâ unctionem olei chrismati addidit. Postea Leo papa, Damasus et Ambrosius exorcismos, benedictiones, et cæteras solemnitates adjecerunt." — *Rationale div. off.* lib. vi. c. 82. p. 365.

³ See Maimbourg on the prerogatives of the Roman church, c. xiii. p. 165. Similar instances are very frequent, but this is the more remarkable because Innocent makes an acknowledgment of, at least, apparent diversity. "Licet quidam prædecessores nostri sensisse aliter videantur." Roman controversialists have wearied themselves in the vain attempt to explain the difficulty.

⁴ Duvall, among others, has handled this case, though with a very slender amount of success. Vid. *De sup. R. P. potestate, pars ii. quæst. 5.* p. 313. The words of the canon are very express: "Caveat omnino ne verbo vel signo, vel alio quovis modo prodat aliquatenus peccatorem." — *Canon xxi.* And it assigns as the penalty for transgression that the offender shall be deposed from the priesthood, and confined for life in a monastery.

are so deeply interested.¹ Pope Gelasius pronounced against dividing the eucharist as a great sacrilege; pope Pius, with the council of Trent, cursed those who would not admit the rightness of the division. Gregory the great says that the book of Maccabees, from which he makes a citation, is not canonical scripture; Pius IV., and his council, say that it is. Sixtus V. published an edition of the vulgate, which he commanded the whole church, under the heaviest penalties, to receive; two years later, it was superseded by the edition of Clement VIII., differing in many hundred places, and enjoined under the same anathema.² The case is full of perplexity to Roman controversialists. They have found no better way of escape than to allege that the bull of Sixtus was informal and invalid, because it was not affixed to the doors of St. Peter's church; of which plea Launoy speaks with well merited scorn.³ Alexander III. condemned Peter Lombard⁴; thirty-six years later, Innocent III. restored

¹ See Van Espen, Diss. in extrav. Joannis XXII. op. iv. p. 150.; Dupin Diss. v. s. 4. p. 355. The question was considerable enough to cause a breach with Louis of Bavaria. See *Autorité ecclésiastique*, tom. i. p. 387.

² Sixtus, in his bull dated March, 1589, states that he had employed the assistance of cardinals and learned theologians, as well as all other means, and that he had invoked divine assistance. "Dei Omnipotentis auxilio suppliciter invocato, et ipsius apostolorum principis auctoritate confisi." He commits the fullest sanction of the Roman see to this edition. "Ex certâ nostrâ scientiâ deque apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine statuimus, ac declaramus." He provides that all future editions shall be exactly conformed to this. "Ne minimâ quidem particulâ mutatâ, additâ vel detractâ." He denounces the heaviest penalties against those who transgress the decree. "Is qui in supradictis casibus, sive eorum quolibet nostræ huic constitutioni non paruerit, ultra amissionem omnium librorum, ut alias temporales, arbitrio infligendas pœnas, etiâ majoris ex-

communicationis sententiam eo ipso incurrat." Clement VIII., in a bull dated November, 1592, reiterates the anathema against those who do not employ the edition which supersedes that of his predecessor.

³ "Promulgatio nec veritatem, nec falsitatem definitioni tribuit, sed inesse supponit. Itaque si falsa est definitio, falsa promulgabitur; si vera, vera quoque promulgabitur. Dico ampliùs, si falsa esset definitio, hæc vera ex promulgatione redderetur numquam, etiâsi charta promulgationis ad valvas basilicarum omnium Romanæ urbis per æternitatem totam affigeretur, et cursores sexcenti Stentore clamosiores adstarent."—Pars i. ep. 5. p. 29.

Dr. James published his "Bellum papale," addressed to archbishop Whittgift, in 1600. See also his "Variety of the Popish Bibles," and his "Apology for the Bellum papale."—*Corruption of the fathers*, part iii. pp. 272—311.

⁴ The letter of Alexander III. to William, archbishop of Sens, contains the strongest condemnation of the doctrine maintained by Peter Lombard. Baronius, A.D. 1179, tom. xii. p. 744.

him. Leo X., by a brief dated September, 1518, sanctioned the annotations of Erasmus on the new testament, yet Paul IV. put them into the prohibitory index. The acts of St. Andrew were condemned by Gelasius, and portions inserted in the breviary by Pius V.¹ And if we cannot trust those popes who contradict each other, just as little can we receive for infallible the judgment of a pope who contradicts himself. Was Zosimus right when he approved the doctrine of Celestius, or when he rejected it? Was Vigilius maintaining the truth when he supported the three chapters, or when he condemned them?²

The interpretation of scripture would be a most suitable application of the alleged gift; yet, up to the present date, no complete and authorised exposition has been afforded. The so-called infallible church has nowhere provided a commentary, or undertaken systematically to expound scripture. "Why does your church," says Chillingworth, addressing his opponent "thus put her candle under a bushel, and keep her talent of interpreting scripture infallibly thus long wrapt up in napkins? Why sets she not forth infallible commentaries or expositions upon all the bible?" Or, as bishop Jeremy Taylor expresses it, "What excuse is there in the world for the strange uncharitableness, or supine negligence of the popes, that they do not seat themselves in their chair, and write infallible commentaries?"³ And in point of fact some

See Wall on infant baptism, part. i. ch. 19. p. 362.

Religion of protestants, ch. ii. part i. p. 87.

¹ Contradictions between the acts of different popes were in the tenth century, so frequent, as to form almost the rule of their successive administrations. Baronius says: "Sunt hæc infelicissima tempora, cum alter alterius res gestas intrusus quisque pontifex aboleret."—*Ad annum* 908, tom. x. p. 667.

² Ballerini ventures to say: "Nec unus pontifex Rom. afferri poterit, qui aliquem ejusmodi definitionem revocaverit, &c."—*De vi ac ratione primatus R. P.* c. xv. s. 10. p. 432.

³ We shall be less surprised if we remember that many Roman writers deny to the pope the power of infallibly

interpreting scripture. Alphonso de Castro says: "Cum constet plures eorum adeo illiteratos esse ut grammaticam penitus ignorent, qui fit ut sacras literas interpretari possent?"—*Adv. hæreses*, lib. i. fol. 6. The older canonists held that the interpretation of the pope is not to be preferred to that of the fathers. See Van Espen, *Brevis comment.* in part prim. Gratiani, dist. 20. op. tom. iii. p. 518. The same great writer tells us, on the authority of Sixtus IV., that the pope has no power of infallibly determining the sense of any book.—*Observ. in extrav. Joannis XXII.* op. iv. p. 154.

interpretations there are, furnished by popes, which even Romanists do not in general believe to be true ; such as these : “ God made two great lights ; ” that is, he made the pontifical and kingly dignities, of which the former exceeds the latter as much as the sun is greater than the moon : “ Here are two swords ; ” therefore the pope has the temporal, as well as the spiritual, power at his disposal : “ In the image of God created he him ; ” therefore images are to be placed in churches ; “ The oxen were ploughing, and the asses were feeding beside them ; ” by the one are meant learned men, by the other, the simple folk. The seven sons of Job represent the twelve apostles, and his three daughters the laity. There are many similar perversions of scripture, which have passed current, and upon the highest authority the Roman church affords.

Papal interpretations of scripture.

When a pope came into contact with natural philosophy, his conclusions were often just as erroneous. He did not refuse such questions, as lying out of his sphere ; but, by the very act of delivering judgment, he claimed them as falling under his jurisdiction ; and he pronounced in a way which everybody knows to have been utterly wrong. His infallibility neither prevented him from meddling with such subjects, nor guided him to a true decision. Thus, in the eighth century, Virgil, bishop of Salzburg, was condemned by Zachary, because he maintained the spherical form of the earth, and the existence of antipodes ; he is now a saint of the Roman calendar.¹ In the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon was imprisoned as an astrologer, and dealer in unlawful arts ; his appeal to Nicholas IV. only procured him a closer captivity.² In the seventeenth it was still the same ; and Galileo, with the burden of his

Mistakes in natural science.

¹ “ Le pape Zacharie le censura publiquement pour avoir avancé qu’il y avoit des antipodes, et declara même cette opinion hérétique.” — *Dict. de Moreri*, tom. viii. p. 138., cited by *Gibbins*, *Roman forgeries*, p. 30.

² “ Loin d’accorder la liberté à Roger Bacon, qui avait appelé à lui de la sentence, il ordonna qu’il fût encore gardé plus étroitement.” — *Biographie Univ.*

three score years and ten, was brought from his cell in the inquisition, to abjure, on his knees, the philosophical heresy which has made his name famous through all time.¹ His friend Kepler would not have fared better, only he lived at Gratz instead of Pisa; nor our own Newton, if his lot had not been fortunately cast in England, and a little too late for such interference.² In the list of prohibited books were inserted all which taught the motion of the earth round the sun.³ Even the mathematicians, such as Le Sueur and Jacquier, have been reduced to strange shifts before they ventured to teach their incontrovertible science.

There is a class of subjects which, according to the Roman system, are of the very highest importance, and on which the so-called infallibility is utterly at fault. It is not now the question whether we ought to pray to dead men and women, or to preserve fragments of their bodies and garments, as objects for adoration, or whether there is reason to expect miracles always, and everywhere, that is as a standing ordinance of the church; but if in some of the alleged cases there are undeniable errors, and frauds, to that extent, the authority by which they are sanctioned is reasonably invalidated.

Roman
saints.

Rome is thoroughly committed to the catalogue of its saints, and they cannot be disowned, until the claim of infallible judgment is abandoned. The ancient process of canonisation was very simple. There was no public ceremony appointed, but every bishop, having satisfied

¹ "J'abjure, je maudis, et je déteste l'erreur, et l'hérésie du mouvement de la terre, &c." — *Biographie Univ.*

² These cases must have been thought very perplexing, or Dr. Newman would not have allowed himself to misrepresent them. "Not content with investigating and reasoning in his own province, Galileo went out of his way directly to insult the received interpretation of scripture; theologians repelled an attack which was wanton and arrogant." And again, "Friar

Bacon was popularly regarded with suspicion as a dealer in unlawful arts;" and "The geographical ideas of St. Virgil, bishop of Salzburg, were regarded with anxiety by the great St. Boniface, the glory of England, the martyr-apostle of Germany." — *Lectures on Educat.* discourse x. pp. 344, 345.

³ "Libri omnes, docentes mobilitatem terræ, et immobilitatem solis." — See *Gibbins, Roman forgeries*, p. 29. The prohibition lasted from 1616 to 1758.

himself of the sanctity of a deceased person, had the privilege of inserting his name in the list of saints.¹ In the twelfth century Alexander III. assumed the right exclusively to himself and his successors, on hearing that a person had been canonised who died in a fit of drunkenness.² But the names which were previously enrolled retain their place, and popes in succession have given the whole weight of their sanction to the worship of some, about whom there is often no real information of any kind, and some about whom too much is known.³ Such as they are, their names stand for the worship of the faithful on appointed days throughout the year, in the martyrology, which enjoys the fullest papal sanction, as well as in the Roman service books.

The early popes occupy a considerable space; their labours and sufferings are detailed; and yet, as everybody knows, the main part of their histories is fable. Some are honoured for martyrdom who are acknowledged to have been no martyrs at all, as Linus, Pius I., Hyginus, and others. Zephyrinus, who is of this number, died while the church enjoyed entire tranquillity. His successor Calixtus, who appears to have been a worthless impostor, is said to have suffered death with great torments under Alexander Severus, who did not persecute the christians at all. There are some, like Stephen, the turbulent opposer of Cyprian, whose character as saint

¹ "Multis quidem seculis auctoritate episcopali hæc canonizatio sive relatio in sanctorum catalogum facta fuit; idque sine ullo exteriori penè ritu seu cæremoniâ. Cùm enim episcopis de sanctitate vitæ alicujus defuncti sufficienter constaret, facultas dabatur populo eum publicè tanquam sanctum colendi; ejusque reliquiæ publicè populi venerationi exponerentur; atque hoc simplici ritu sanctorum catalogo adscriptus censebatur."—*Van Espen*, pars i. tit. xxii. c. 9. ss. 10, 11.

² "Audivimus quod quidam inter vos diabolicâ fraude decepti, hominem quandam in potatione et ebrietate oc-

cisum quasi sanctum (more infidelium) venerantur."—*Greg. IX. decretalium*, lib. iii. fol. 171. c. 1.

³ "De quibusdam, an unquam in rerum naturâ fuerint, merito dubitatur, quorum cultum figmenta historiarum et imposturæ miraculorum mirificè auxerunt, quæ figmenta etiam comperitorum sanctorum historias conspexerunt, quas quisque pro suo affectu commentus est."—*G. Cassandri, Consult.* art. xxi. *op.* p. 971.

Bishop Jeremy Taylor cites the saying of Gregory that "the bodies of many persons are worshipped on earth whose souls are tormented in hell."

is disputed even by Roman writers. Nothing is recorded about the manner of his death, yet on the faith of forged records he is said to have been beheaded.

There are some persons honoured as saints who are only known as sanguinary persecutors, like Ferdinand of Castille, who carried with his own hands wood for the burning of his subjects; and others, like Thais the Egyptian, whose immoral life was notorious, but whose conversion is extremely apocryphal. The name of Felix II. stands for the worship of the church, and yet he is acknowledged to have been an intruder and antipope.¹ Sometimes a person is reckoned among the saints who had no possible pretension except devotion to the see of Rome, while another is excluded who was believed to have wrought miracles, but who was on ill terms with the pope.² There is a good deal of perplexity for the papal controversialist in the case of persons who died out of the communion of Rome, and are yet counted for saints, as Meletius, Hilary of Arles, and others. Then, again, is the story of St. George and the dragon to be taken for a fable or a fact? Are we to esteem St. Christopher an actual person of gigantic size, or a mere emblem? Were the seven sleepers really dormant for some centuries, and then restored to wakefulness? How are we to decide about St. Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins? On these, and a multitude of similar questions, Roman writers who endeavour to fabricate excuses for their church say what is utterly at variance with statements which have had its highest sanction, such as those which we find in the service books of the sixteenth

Legends
authorised.

¹ Even Mr. Alban Butler is ashamed of him. He subjoins these words to a lengthy account of some obscure bishops: "With them is commemorated St. Felix, pope and martyr, whose name is found in the martyrologies on this day," July 29. — *Lives of the Saints*, vol. ii. p. 149.

² Van Espen cites these words from Henry Knighton: "Hâc de causâ quamvis Robertus perspicuis effulget miraculis, non est permissus canon-

zari." — *Jus eccles.* pars i. tit. xxii. c. 10. s. 2.

M. de Maistre says very significantly: "Examinez l'un après l'autre les grands docteurs de l'église catholique; à mesure que le principe de sainteté a dominé chez eux, vous les trouverez toujours plus fervens envers le saint siège, plus pénétrés de ses droits, plus attentifs à les défendre." — *Du pape*, liv. i. c. 6. p. 54.

century. Few Romanists probably believe the fable of Petronilla, the daughter of St. Peter; and yet her history is told, with some detail, in the martyrology, and in the reformed breviary, under the date of May 31. What are we to say of St. Almachus, whose name stands so suspiciously on the first page of the year book; or St. Julian, whose five thousand companions in martyrdom had no origin but the ignorance of a transcriber¹; or St. Longinus, of whom no one is able to form even a probable conjecture, except that, in the words of bishop Douglas, "From the Greek word which signifies a spear, and used by St. John in relating this fact, has been deduced the name of the soldier to whom it belonged, and the spear being once made a man, the man was easily made a saint;" or Zosimus, whose name was inserted by mistake?² How shall we speak of Veronica; as a false saint, or as a spurious relic? Each has been affirmed. But the instances are beyond enumerating of so-called martyrs, who either never existed, or who were worthless and wicked persons, or whose histories are wrongly recorded. The pages of the Roman martyrology will furnish many hundreds.

False saints.

Criterion,
p. 415.

And we may the more easily understand the mistakes and frauds which passed current in uncritical and credulous ages, if we consider the fashion of canonising in our own. Philumena is a modern saint. Her royal birth, her beauty, Diocletian's love, her cruel death, the ministry of angels who were seen to carry her soul to heaven, are parts of a detailed history, for which there is no foundation at all but four unintelligible words discovered in the catacombs, at the beginning of the present century. What evidence might be wanting was supplied, as usual, by visions. Leo. XII. pronounced her a saint; Gregory

Modern
cases.

¹ "In this place, for five soldiers, *quinque militibus*, writ in abbreviation *mil.* we now find *millibus*. But what is the multiplying five soldiers into five thousand saints, when we can produce an instance of a spear metamor-

phosed into a soldier." — *Bp. Douglas, Criterion, Works*, p. 415.

² Alban Butler does not even mention him. Yet his name stands in the Roman martyrology, Sept. 26. p. 230.

XVI. blessed her image ; and thus, on the highest authority, the Roman church became responsible. Criticism was outraged by the interpretation of an inscription, as religion and common sense by all the rest. And, after all, we find, by the acknowledgment of Roman theologians, that it is very doubtful whether there is any infallible judgment in the church on a subject which involves such important consequences, and whether the pope may not err in canonisations through wrong information.¹

Miracles.

The rule which makes canonisation depend on the evidence of miracles ensures their perpetuation. They must be furnished, however truth and religion and the souls of men may suffer, for the Roman church has made it an indispensable necessity.² But to require belief in miracles without adequate proof is unreasonable ; and to allege the infallibility of the pope, by whom they are sanctioned, is to assume the very thing which, on other grounds, is denied ; and, in the result, miracles do not become more credible, but the authority on which they are received more distrusted. And the character of the Roman church suffers in consequence, for we cannot deal with an alleged miracle as if we might believe or reject it at our pleasure. It is either true or false ; that is, either a divine glory, which no language can express, or a detestable imposture, deserving the execration of all good men.

Many of the foolish legends which Rome has indorsed were in some degree to be excused in the beginning, on account of the ignorance and half-reclaimed barbarism of those by whom they were first promulgated ; but not in their maintenance and after use by the better instructed. They often originated with monks who lived in dreary and

¹ "Fides ergo ambigua summo pontifici habebitur, ut qui cum hominem quemvis in divorum numerum refert, incertis mediis et argumentis nititur." — *Melchior Canus, De locis theolog.* liv. iv. c. 5. p. 123.

"Jam vero utrum infallibile sit ec-

clesiæ judicium in sanctorum canonizatione non est una et concors theologorum sententia." — *Iavarone, Instit. theolog.* c. v. s. 4. tom. ii. p. 304.

² "Undecima nota est gloria miraculorum." — *Bellarmino, De notis eccles.* lib. iv. c. 14. p. 296.

remote deserts ; sometimes the victims of their own idle and useless condition, and sometimes consciously misleading others. We cannot readily set the limit between delusion and deception ; not unfrequently the one passes into the other ; it is the punishment which overtakes fraud, that he who practises it becomes at last his own victim. In this way miracles grew more and more frequent, till life was well nigh made up of marvels, and the very air teemed with malignant spirits, who were continually assuming some material form.¹ The records, again, were often no more than the extravagance of figurative language, though they came afterwards to be received in their literal meaning ; to the people, at least, they bore no other, and had an objective reality, which made them full of peril. The duty of the Roman church was obvious ; but, so far from explaining that they were not to be taken as records of facts, it gave them the highest sanction, and admitted them, under their character of actual occurrences, into the service books by which the worship of its members was directed.²

¹ Martin of Tours is said by his biographer to have performed a multitude of miracles ; so many indeed, that if they were true, the course of nature must have well nigh been changed in his sphere of action, and the exception have become the ordinary rule. Yet the Roman church cannot reject them, for Sulpicius Severus, the writer of his life, is himself a saint, whose day is January 29. in the Roman calendar. Sulpicius died early in the fifth century.

Gieseler cites from Mabillon an instance in which an abbot implores a saint to abstain from miracles, which were so numerous as to be very troublesome : “ Per divinum nomen, quo temperaret a miraculis, quibus tantæ fratribus fiebant per occasionem infirmorum noctu et interdium molestiæ.” — Vol. ii. p. 124.

Bellarmino, De notis eccles. lib. iv. c. 14. ascribes to Bernard more numerous miracles than to any saint. Yet Bernard himself in a well known passage speaks of miracles as no longer

wrought in the church : “ Quis inquam dæmonia ejicit, linguis novis loquitur, serpentes tollit ? Quid ergo ? Si nemo hæc habet, aut perpauci, nostris videntur habere temporibus, &c.” — *Sermo I. in ascensione Domini, op. tom. i. col. 217.*

² The deception of the people by means of legends was one of the *centum gravamina* presented at the diet of Nuremberg in 1523 : “ Gentilibus fabulis quàm christianæ et evangelicæ doctrinæ similiores.” — C. e. xiv.

Gerson wrote strongly on this subject in his work “ De probatione spirituum.”

In the next century George Cas-sander bore witness to the guilty practice which had prevailed from an early period : “ Ficta prædicabantur miracula iisque miraculis populi superstitione alebatur, ut magis in admirationem miraculorum raperetur, quam ad sanctorum imitationem, vel vitæ emendationem provocaretur, &c.” — Art. xxi. *op. p. 972.*

Many of the miracles for which the Roman church has made itself thoroughly responsible bear evidence of falsehood beyond denial. Who for instance would hesitate to reject the story of the family at Bethany sent to sea in a boat without sails or oars by their Jewish persecutors, and carried safely to Marseilles, of which place Lazarus became bishop? Yet this statement is to be found in the reformed breviary as the lesson for St. Martha's day. What shall we say of Paul the hermit, about whom it is related, on the same authority, that when Anthony visited him, after a short time, he found him dead; and "while he stood perplexed how to dig a grave, two lions came up quietly, and, as it were mourning and tearing up the ground, made a hole large enough for the reception of a human body?"¹ Who believes that Dionysius the Areopagite, after his execution, carried his head two miles? yet the breviary delivers this as a tradition to be read once a year²; or that the house of Loretto was removed by angels from Galilee to Dalmatia, and thence to Italy? yet the Roman martyrology affirms this as the history of an actual occurrence.³ Some histories are given with long

July 29.
p. 244.

Butler's
Lives of the
saints, vol.
i. p. 65.

¹ "Cùm sarculum quo terram foderet, non haberet, duo leones ex interiori eremo, rapido cursu ad beati senis corpus feruntur: ut faciliè intelligeretur, eos quomodo poterant, ploratum edere: qui certatim terram pedibus effodientes, foveam, quæ hominem commodè caperet, effecerunt."—*Brev. Rom. ex decreto sacrosancti con. Trid. restit. Pii V., P. M. jussu editum*, Jan. xv. fol. 373.

Mr. A. Butler tells a similar story of St. Mary of Egypt, of whom he relates that "Zosimus being miraculously assisted by a lion, dug a grave and buried her."—*Lives of the Saints*, vol. i. April 9. p. 447.

² "De quo illud memoriæ proditum est, abscissum suum caput sustulisse, et progressum ad duo millia passuum in manibus gestasse."—October ix. fol. 494.

³ "Laureti in Piceno translatio sacre domûs Dei genetricis Mariæ, in

quâ Verbum caro factum est."—December x. p. 220.

The following is the received history of the house of Loretto. It was removed from Galilee in 1291, by angels, to Dalmatia, a distance of two thousand miles. Four years later it was carried to Italy, where, as it approached, the trees bowed themselves to the earth, and remained in that posture till they died, or were cut down: "Tenet fama, nec vana fides, venienti Deiparæ domicilio arbores obvias velut venerabundas inclinasse se, ac deinde pronas perstitisse quoad ævo, ventis, ferro, procumberent."—*Hist. Lauret.* lib. i. c. 6. This wood becoming a shelter for thieves, the house climbed a hill a mile distant; and then, having been a source of contention to two brothers who owned the spot, it finally removed to a little distance. The book of Turselline, in which these details are given, so far from being rejected

and exact detail, like that of Anna and Joachim, for which every one, who is even moderately learned, knows that there is no pretence of any reasonable foundation. And sometimes the similarity between the legends suggests that one must have furnished the pattern from which the rest have been copied; thus the breviary tells us that Francis de Paula passed over the straits of Sicily, using his cloak for a boat¹; the same thing is related of Raymond de Pennafort, and of Hyacinth, a Pole. Anthony saw the soul of Paul carried to heaven, through which evidence, indeed, the latter was canonised; in the same way Dominic saw the soul of his sister Scholastica²; the biographer of Ignatius Loyola says that he saw the soul of his friend Hosius; and the same thing is related of others. A saint while engaged in prayer is raised from the ground; this is told of Francis; therefore the followers of Dominic, of course, assert the same distinction for their founder; Theresa and Philip Neri, Dunstan and Peter of Alcantara, are said to have been lifted in the air; and, indeed, the cases are so frequent, that the very character of a saint seems to require that the laws of gravitation should be suspended. Even so late as 1839 one of five fresh saints added to the

with indignation by the authorities of the Roman church, received the highest commendation from Clement VIII.

There are endless fables about the B. Virgin, delivered as if they were portions of history, instead of foolish legends. The writers do not always agree. Thus, for example, some, depending on the revelation of S. Bridget, say that Jerusalem was her birthplace; others, trusting the story of the house of Loretto, say that it was Nazareth. In the old Roman breviary, March 20. stands for Joachim's day, where we have a hymn which ends thus:—

“Jam sacris junctus superum catervis,
Immo præcedens, potes omne, si vis;
Nihil nepos Jesus merito negabit,
Nil tibi nata.”

The ring used at the marriage of Jo-

achim and Anne is preserved in one place, the arm of the latter elsewhere, and the Bollandists give a list of miracles wrought through her intercession. Yet there is no reason for believing that such persons ever existed.

¹ “*Siciliæ fretum, strato fluctibus pallio suo, in eo quasi pedibus nisus, cum socio transmisit, admirantibus nautis, &c.*”—*Officia sanct. ex præcepto Sixti V. ab omnibus ecclesiasticis recitanda, In fin. brev.* April ii.

Raymond de Pennafort sailed from Majorca to Barcelona: “*strato super fluctibus pallio;*” and Hyacinth crossed the Vistula, “*Expanso super undas pallio.*”

² “*Ejus animam instar columbæ migrantem e corpore, in cælum ascendere vidit.*”—*Martyrol. Rom.* Feb. 10. p. 25.

Roman calendar is declared to have been frequently lifted in the air. There are miracles related which cannot serve any purpose but to move the scorn or pity of thoughtful persons; such as that of Nicholas keeping church fasts before he was weaned¹, and that of pope John, who borrowed a lady's horse which would never again submit to be ridden by its mistress, because it had carried a successor of St. Peter.² No one believes them to be true, and yet they are presented to us with the papal sanction. And there are some festivals of perpetual observance, which were established on no better foundation than revelations adduced by persons in such a condition of mind, that no one would have listened to their opinion on any subject requiring judgment and common sense.³ Thus the feast of Corpus Christi was instituted by Urban IV. on the ground of a vision alleged by a young woman at Liège; and that of St. Michael through the report of an apparition seen by some herdmen on the mountains. Revelations there are, indeed, without end connected with the saints in the Roman calendar; such as those of Theresa, which Stillingfleet justly calls sublime nonsense; and those of Bridget and Catherine, which flatly contradict each other. We may pity the disturbed and wandering imaginations of these poor dreamers; but there is a heavy responsibility for the infallible church, which presents so-called heavenly communications in such degrading forms.

Festivals
connected
with alleged
revelation.

¹ "Infans cum reliquos dies lac nutritricis frequens sugeret, quartâ et sextâ feriâ semel duntaxat, idque vesperi sugebat, quam jejunii consuetudinem in reliquâ vitâ semper tenuit."—*Brev. Rom. ex decreto SS. con. Trid. restit. &c. In festo S. Nicolai*, Decemher vi, fol. 365.

² "Cum ei nobilis vir ad Corinthum equum, quo ejus uxor mansuetio utebatur, itinere causâ commodasset, factum est, ut domino postea remissus equus ita ferox evaderet, ut fremitu, et totius corporis agitatione semper deinceps dominam expulerit: tanquam indignaretur mulierem recipere, ex quo sedisset in eo Jesu Christi vicarius."—

Ibid. S. Joannis papæ et mart. Maii xxvii. fol. 414. This story is related in the reformed breviary, on the authority of Gregory I. It is not easy to determine how far such men were consciously deceiving others, or themselves participated in the abject superstition of their age.

³ In the council of Trent miracles were alleged in support of Roman doctrines; Sarpi notices especially the infinite number adduced in favour of confession.—*Liv. iv. s. 23.* But there were few portions of the papal system which did not receive at one time or other the same sort of confirmation.

The history of some miracles received as genuine during the present century may well explain the successful frauds of the middle ages. In a mountain district of the Alps, twelve leagues from Grenoble, in a region whose inhabitants are proverbially ignorant and superstitious, it was reported that the blessed Virgin had appeared to some peasant children. The dress which they described, the patois in which the communication was expressed, the topics of the revelation, furnished evidence enough of fraud; but it was indorsed by the foolish old parish priest, and what his testimony is worth may be gathered from the intellectual and spiritual condition of his charge. The bishop of Grenoble became implicated, then the archbishop of Lyons, and finally the pope. For several years the matter remained in abeyance, till the delusion was fixed in the minds of the people, and the parti prêtre grew strong enough to sanction it. Then multitudes flocked to the place, the mountain was declared holy, a convent and church were built in honour of our Lady of La Salette, there were pilgrimages and miracles; until at last reasons transpired which made even the credulous confess that they had been deluded. We have another case occurring nearly at the same time. Rose Tamisier was educated by the nuns of a convent at Salon; she became remarkable for the visits which she received from angels and saints, and especially the blessed Virgin. Returning to her village, she refused all nourishment but the consecrated wafer. The vine-dresser, the mountain-shepherd, the curé, hardly wiser or more educated, became her followers. Her intense devotion had produced on her person the representation of the cross, the spear, the chalice, &c.; and on the tenth of November, 1850, it was reported that a picture of our Lord had, in the village church, exuded blood, in answer to her prayers. The alleged miracle was authenticated by the chief ecclesiastical and civil authorities; a deed of attestation was signed; the archbishop of Avignon preached on the stupendous occasion. But at last an intelligent and

La Salette.

Rose
Tamisier.

persevering chemist discovered the secret of the deception, and produced bleeding pictures to any required amount. The question passed properly enough out of the sphere of theology to that of correctional police; and the saint, being found guilty of fraud at the assizes at Nismes, was sentenced to fine and imprisonment. The real miracle was the belief in so absurd a story.

Relics.

The case of relics is similar in kind. Since it is the doctrine of the Roman church that they should receive worship, their multiplication follows on the enlargement in the catalogue of saints¹; and if an infallible judgment exists at all, every principle of charity would demand its exercise on so critical a point as the distinction between the genuine and the spurious. And yet even the gravest enumeration of the relics preserved at Rome sounds like profane jesting. Among them we have the sponge tinged with the blood of our Lord, the spear-head which pierced his side², the pillar at which he was scourged, thorns from his crown, nails from his cross, his cradle in one church, in another the table at which the last supper was eaten; there is the cloth with which he wiped his disciples' feet, as well as blood from his side, and the drops which fell from his brow. Among miscellaneous treasures of the same sort we find a stone cast at St. Stephen, part of Aaron's rod, manna from the wilderness, the espousal ring of the blessed Virgin, a piece of money received by Judas³, &c. The very locality in which these relics are

¹ "Nullus in fastis, aut martyrologio, et breviario sanctus et beatus memoratur, ex cujus vel corpore, vel veste, vel loco martyrii aut sepulturæ non ostenderentur particulæ quædam." — *Seckendorf, Comment. de Lutheranism*, lib. i. s. 54. c. 130. p. 222.

He gives a long list of relics, among which we find such as these: "Ex fornace trium puerorum fuligo. Ex Stephano ossa, sanguis, lapides eo tincti, terra ex loco in quo supplicium passus est, &c." — *Ibid.*

² The spear-head was sent, in 1489, by the emperor Bajazet to the pope, as

a bribe for the detention of his brother and rival: "Contigit etiam, ut eodem quo titulus Christi inventus est anno, Baiasetes Turcarum imperator, quo pontificem fratris captivi causâ sibi gratiorem redderet, pro magno munere ferrum hastæ quod latus Domini perforaverat, ad eum mitteret." — *Onuphrius, in vit. Innocent VIII.* p. 354.

³ These, and many more, are enumerated in the work of Panciroli, entitled "I tesori nascosti nell'alma citta di Roma raccolti e poste in luce per opera d'Ottavio Panciroli." In Roma, 1603.

found makes the Roman church responsible for their genuineness; but there is also an authentication in the highest form furnished by the indulgences granted to those who visit them.¹

Some relics which receive the highest honour are reported to have been found under circumstances which preclude the possibility of identification. Thus the remains of Cyprian, who was martyred in the third century, are said to have been discovered in the ninth, by the ambassador of Charlemagne, in a neglected tomb in Africa, and transported to France. The body of Augus-

¹ The law of the Latin church, which enjoined that altars should be destroyed which had not relics of saints or martyrs, insured an abundant supply: "Eo tandem superstitionis decentum est, ut eorum reliquiarum coleantur, et altaribus includerentur, omniaque altaria everti juberentur, in quibus nullæ essent inclusæ reliquiarum, ut canone quodam ex concilio Africano desumpto, liquet. Hinc autem plerique præstigiatores occasionem arripuerunt, per universum orbem discurrendi, ad ossium mercimonia distrahenda, quæ sanctorum reliquias esse multitudinè persuadebant, &c."—*Gentileti, examen con. Trid.* lib. iv. p. 277. The superstitious reverence for these alleged memorials made great progress in the midst of the ignorance and wickedness which distinguished the tenth century. In the words of Spanheim: "Nullum opportunius tempus fovendæ augendæque principum populorumque superstitioni, hoc ipso ignaro, indocto, pollutoque tot flagitiis sæculo."—*Sæc. x. c. iv. s. 4.* He speaks of the rebuilding of churches and monasteries which had been destroyed by the Saracens and others, as furnishing occasion for producing fresh relics: "Hinc miraculosæ corporum, cinerum, ossium, membrorum, sanguinis, suppellectilis, hujus et illius martyris, sæpe ignoti fictique, inventiones, &c., toto pene orbe christiano facto reliquiarum."—*Ibid.* Glaber Rodolphus, who lived in the eleventh century, gives an account of the methods pursued in his time by a collector of relics: "Effo-

diebat e tumulis clancule ossa evellens a cineribus nuperrime defunctorum hominum; sicque imposita in diversis apophoretis venditabat apud plurimos pro sanctorum martyrum seu confessorum reliquiis."—*Hist.* lib. iv. c. 3. In the thirteenth century the emperor Baldwin relieved his abject poverty by extensive dealing in relics.—*Gibbon*, vol. vii. ch. lxi. p. 412. The same historian tells us that, after the taking of Constantinople, an immense supply of relics was scattered over the churches of Europe. He adds, "Such was the increase of pilgrimage and oblation, that no branch perhaps of more lucrative plunder was imported from the east." In the fifteenth century we find the elector of Saxony giving a commission to purchase relics for the church at Wittemberg, and then sending them back to Italy, because the people began to despise them.—*Schlegel, Vita Spalatini*, p. 59. cited by *Dr. M' Crie, Ref. in Italy*, p. 53. But the Roman church continued to afford its full sanction to these impostures. Even in the broad light of the present age, the merchandise, like any other, is regulated by the demand. The catacombs furnish an unfailing supply; and these poor remnants of mortality, the spoils of the charnel-house, are collected under the superintendence of persons appointed by the apostolic chamber; then sorted, named, and laid up in boxes, under the seal of the cardinal vicar, and carried to the treasury of sacred relics.

tine is said to have been brought from Hippo to Sardinia, and thence to Pavia, where it was discovered in the seventeenth century; some incredible suppositions are involved. No relics are more celebrated than those of St. Mark at Venice, and yet nothing more is recorded about them than that certain nameless merchants brought them to that city early in the ninth century.¹ About Catherine, again, nothing is really known; and yet the martyrology informs us that her body was discovered in the eighth century by the christians in Egypt, and translated by angels to mount Sinai.² Sometimes there is an irreconcilable difference in the received accounts. Thus the remains of Scholastica are stated to have been carried into France, and deposited at Mons, where her festival is kept. This is maintained by Mabillon and others; while men equally learned, on the other side, contend that they have always been preserved at Monte Cassino, which Benedict XIV. certifies to be true. Sometimes the revelation of a martyr's burial-place is itself most incredible. Thus Gamaliel, who instructed St. Paul in the law, is said to have appeared to a certain priest, for the purpose of informing him where he himself and his son lay buried, side by side with Stephen the protomartyr and Nicodemus.³ The relics, thus discovered, have been dispersed in many places of Europe and Africa.

There are many cases in which the spuriousness of the alleged remains is evident. Thus, Stow informs us that the shrine of Thomas of Canterbury, with its costly ornaments, was seized by the king, and the bones burnt by command of Cromwell; yet the possession of his arm

¹ "D. Marci corpus ex Alexandria a mercatoribus Venetias defertur ubi nunc religiose servatur."—*Génébrard, Chronog. an. 827. lib. iv. p. 772.*

² "Cujus corpus in montem Sinai ab angelis mirabiliter delatum ibidem frequenti Christianorum concursu piâ veneratione colitur."—Nov. xxv. p. 210.

³ "Sanctorum corpora Stephani pro-

tomartyris, Gamalielis, Nicodemi, et Abibonis, quæ diu in obscuro ac sortido loco jacuerant, Honorio imperatore, Luciano presbytero divinitus admonito, inventa sunt prope Hierosolymam. Cui Gamaliel cum in somnis apparuisset, gravi quâdam et præclarâ senis specie, locum jacentium corporum commonstravit."—*Brev. Rom. restit. August. iii. fol. 448.*

is claimed by the church at Mons. The shrine of Eustachius was destroyed by the huguenots in 1567, and the bones which it contained burnt; yet a portion is said to exist in the church which still bears his name. In the same manner the supposed body of Francis de Paula was destroyed; yet portions are alleged to be found in many churches of his order. In the great revolution of France, the relics of Ste. G enevi e were utterly consumed, and yet on the restoration of the church their place was supplied by fragments of the same body.

Some memorials, which are held very sacred, are yet acknowledged not to be genuine. Thus, the nails of the cross, and the chains of St. Peter, are, for the most part, confessedly made in imitation of the true, perhaps enriched by filings, or at least by contact. The thorns of the crown are often no more than an admitted fabrication; and what the people worship as the blood of our Lord is privately explained to have exuded from a picture. The heart of a saint, alleged to have been miraculously preserved, may turn out on examination to be only a specimen of cunning workmanship.¹

The Roman church possesses no volume of higher

¹ The original number of nails from the cross is said to have been four; of which one was cast into the Adriatic by the empress Helena, to appease a storm; another was worn by Constantine in his diadem; a third, set in his bridle. Mr. Alban Butler says that some multiplication of these nails has sprung from the filings of that precious relic, put into another nail made like it, or at least from like nails which have touched it. — *Invention of the cross*, May 3. vol. i. note to p. 593.

Speaking of the crown of thorns said to have been given by Baldwin II. to St. Louis, he says, "Some thorns have been distributed from this treasure to other churches, and some have been made in imitation of them." — May 3. vol. i. p. 593.

He says that "the blood of Christ, which is kept in some places, of which the most famous is that at Mantua,

seems to be what has sometimes issued from the miraculous bleeding of some crucifix when pierced in derision by Jews or pagans, instances of which are recorded in authentic histories." So, again, he tells us that "F. H. de Ste. Marie, a judicious critic, relates a late authentic miracle performed by a heart made of taffety, in resemblance of the heart of St. Theresa." — May 3. vol. i. note to p. 563.

The pious and learned George Casander has given advice on this subject, which it would have been well if the members of his communion had followed: "Multo consultius videtur ut ab omni reliquiarum ostentatione abstinetur, et populus ad veras sanctorum reliquias colendas, id est, exempla pietatis et virtutum, quæ in scriptis vel ab ipsis, vel de ipsis extant, imitanda provocetur." — *Consult. art. xxi. op. p. 974.*

The Roman
breviary.

importance than the breviary, and none to which the weight of papal authority is more entirely committed. Great variety having arisen in the use of service books, the council of Trent, at the conclusion of its sessions, referred the subject to the pope¹; Pius V. having called in the assistance of bishops, and other learned men, published a reformed edition of the breviary, the use of which was enjoined, by a special decree, and all change of any kind or at any time forbidden²; the bull is dated July, 1568. It abrogated the breviary which was published by cardinal Quignon in 1536, under sanction of Clement VIII., and dedicated to Paul III.; many legends which had been omitted were now restored; some histories of saints enlarged, and some added; the service for the blessed Virgin was also replaced. There were, again, legends omitted from the reformed breviary of Pius, which, by the permission of the same pope, were retained in the service books of particular churches. Thus the Franciscans were allowed to keep for the use of their order many fabulous histories removed from the breviary generally enjoined. The book, thus prepared and sanctioned, contains endless anachronisms and contradictions; it cites the works of Dionysius, which are absolute and undeniable forgeries; and the pontificale, which is a mere collection of fables; it uses, without scruple and to a great extent, the writings of the notorious Simeon Metaphrastes, whose falsehood even Bellarmine exposes³, as well as of other fabulous authors.

¹ Decretum super indice, catechismo, breviario, et missali, publicatum eadem die 2. Sessionis ult. Trident. fol. 270. The correction of the breviary and missal were in progress when the council closed, and was completed under Pius V.

² "Statuentes breviarium ipsum, nullo unquam tempore vel totum, vel ex parte mutandum, vel ei aliquid addendum, vel omnino detrahendum esse." — *Bull of Pius V. prefixed to the reformed Roman breviary.*

³ "Illud autem est observandum, a Metaphraste scriptas fuisse historias de vitis sanctorum multis additis ex proprio ingenio, non ut res gestæ fuerunt, sed ut geri potuerunt; addit enim Metaphrastes multa colloquia sive dialogos martyrum cum persecutoribus; aliquas etiam conversiones astantium paganorum in tanto numero ut incredibiles videantur: denique miracula plurima, et maxima, in eversione tempiorum, et idolorum, et in occasione persecutorum; quorum nulla

No one can deny that, on certain important points intimately connected with the devotions of the whole Latin church, the so-called infallible judgment fails to afford any assurance. It will, of course, be said that the authentication of miracles and relics, and perhaps even the canonising of saints, do not belong to the sphere to which the gift extends, as involving questions of fact. But the answer is obvious. The Roman see expresses its claim to pronounce on such questions by the very act of delivering its decisions, which are to be received on the

Failure of infallibility on important subjects.

est mentio apud veteres historicos." — *Bellarmino, De script. eccles.* p. 284.

Yet Metaphrastes is cited by Roman writers as an authority; by Sylvester Norris, among others, to establish so important a point as the distribution of ecclesiastical provinces by St. Peter. — *Controversies by S. N.* first part, p. 208.

Other writers have followed in the same line. Jacobus de Voragine, who lived at the close of the thirteenth century, was archbishop of Genoa. He wrote "Historia Lombardi seu legenda aurea de vitis SS." His volumes contain the most extravagant falsehoods. Melchior Cano calls him "Hominem ferrei oris, plumbei cordis." — *De loc. theol.* lib. xi. c. 6. p. 241. Cave says of his work that it is "Nugis nugacissimis, fictis, ineptissimisque narrationibus refertissimum." — *Hist. lit.* p. 654. Surius, who was a Carthusian, lived in the fifteenth century; his lives of the saints are of the same character. It was one of the books which the duke of Bavaria, guided by the jesuits, caused to be translated into German, and circulated at his own cost. Luigi Lippomano was bishop of Verona; a learned man, who enjoyed the highest favour with the Roman court, and was employed prominently in the council of Trent. His eight volumes of the history of the saints contain a succession of utterly incredible stories. The works of the Bollandists form the chief collection yet made of the foolish legends by which religion has been outraged. There is no statement so extravagant, or so unsupported by evidence, but it finds a place in those leaden folios.

The Acta sanctorum fill more than 50 volumes, and, after 200 years, are yet unfinished. It is the great monument and warning of misused time and learning. For popular use there is the work of Mr. Alban Butler, commended by the sanction of all the Roman archbishops and bishops in Ireland, who express their desire that a copy were in the hands of every family (Jan. 29. 1833), and of which Dr. Doyle presumes to say that it is an historical supplement to the old and new testaments. It is for the most part a collection of legends, which have hardly a pretence of any credible foundation. The church of Rome is deeply responsible for all these writings, and for the delusions which they promote, though in a less degree than for the martyrology and breviary, which are, however, derived from the same sources.

"Hoc dolendum, quòd ex hoc auctore (sc. Metaph.) aliisque ejusdem farinae scriptoribus plurima fabulosa in divina nostra officia irreperint: et adhuc hodiè immixta remaneant, præsertim in breviario Romano, quo ple-ræque ecclesiæ Latinæ utuntur, idque etiam postquam a multis viris eruditissimis horum actorum falsitas detecta est, et luce meridiana clariùs ostensa, et quæ propterea e breviario multarum ecclesiarum auctoritate et solertiâ episcoporum sublata sunt." — *Van Espen, Scholia in canones Trullanos*, can. lxxiii. op. iii. p. 395.

See also the treatise of this great writer, "De horis canonicis," pars. i. c. iv. s. 2. op. ii. p. 671-2.

ground that they are absolutely true¹; and on a very remarkable occasion which arose during the Jansenist controversy, it expressly declared that the exercise of its unerring judgment does extend to this range.

We may well ask, where the proper field for the exercise of the alleged gift is to be found, if it is neither natural nor mental science, nor the interpretation of scripture, nor the fixing of the canon, nor the providing a standard text, nor the authentication of documents, nor the ruling questions of doctrine and discipline, nor the composition of the service book, nor the discriminating true saints and miracles from false. On all these points it has been again and again at fault.

If it is said that infallibility has its appropriate sphere, whatever that may be, within which alone it can be expected to pronounce, we need only reply, that it is impossible to draw a hard line of separation between the subjects in question, for they pass insensibly into one another. The physical and metaphysical, for instance, are bound up with theology, as indeed none but very shallow thinkers could doubt or deny. Again, it is hard to conceive how infallibility, which is a positive attribute, and does not admit measure, can yet, in its application to subjects which are alleged to be more or less unsuitable, pass from exact certainty through all degrees of doubt, till it is lost in the ordinary imperfection of human judgment.

History affords no help in maintaining the Roman exposition. It was not the series of popes, nor the Roman church at all, which furnished any considerable number of the early champions of the faith. The east, for the most part, produced the great writers who met gentile philosophy on its own ground with such signal success, and who

¹ The claim of unerring judgment in certifying relics was expressly advanced by Innocent III. in the Lateran council, A. D. 1215. 'Ne ullæ novæ reliquæ recipiantur, nisi prius a R. pontifice approbatæ fuerint.'—C. lxi.

Gentileti having cited this canon, adds, "Is enim ipse solus hujus generis mercimonii omnium maxime peritissimus habetur."—*Examen. con. Trid.* lib. iv. p. 277.

put down the earliest heresies which arose within the church itself. Sometimes it was heathenism which was to be encountered, sometimes a perversion of christianity; the doctrine might be materialist in its character, or pantheistic, but there was always found the person whom the crisis required; only let us observe, that he seldom came from the quarter which might reasonably be expected to furnish all needful defences. In the words of Neander, "However important the Roman church became by its outward ecclesiastical influence, and by the influence of the element of the Roman political spirit upon the progress of the church, it was proportionately poor from the beginning in regard to theological attainments. The anxiety for the outward existence of the church, which predominated here, appears early to have depressed the scale of theological knowledge." Whether we look to the history of the Gnostic and Manichæan sects, or the Arian and Sabellian, or the Nestorian and Eutychian, we find that they grew up, and flourished for a time, then faded and died out; but their extinction was accomplished independently of the infallible head, and for the most part these controversies excited comparatively little attention in the west. The battle of orthodoxy was maintained by the orientals for themselves and for the church; the questions at issue were sometimes indeed hardly intelligible to the Latins, bound up as they were with the subtle disquisitions of eastern philosophy. The work was done by councils, and much more by individual bishops. Great church synods took their proper part; and the orthodox faith was embodied in such definitions as the denial of it from time to time demanded. The inquiry of Bossuet is very reasonable, why, if the decision of popes were sufficient, so many councils should have been summoned. As archbishop Bramhall expresses it: "What needs so much expense, so much travel of so many poor, old, fallible bishops from all quarters of the world, when there is an infallible judge at Rome that can determine all questions in his own conclave with-

History of the christian church, s. v. 3. p. 371.

Heresies subdued independently of the pope.

Just vindication, part i. c. 8. s. v. p. 254.

De primatu
papæ, lib. i.
p. 13.

out danger of error?" In the words of Nilus: "If the tribunal of the pope were adequate to the settlement of such questions as arise, the summoning of the holy fathers would be altogether superfluous and unnecessary."¹

Pelagian-
ism.

It was the same in the fifth century, when pelagianism arose, and was encountered by the Africans under Augustine, and not by the pope. It was pre-eminently a controversy belonging to the west; it lasted on from century to century troubling and dividing the Latin church. When it arose Innocent I. was pope, energetic enough, and active beyond most of his predecessors; and yet it was not by his interposition that any effectual resistance was offered to the doctrines of this new teacher. In Africa, Augustine encountered Pelagius with success, and his doctrines became the theology of the west. The Roman church incurred, indeed, very just suspicion by its hesitation and inconsistency. In the words of bishop Hampden, "Read the repeated expostulations of the African clergy, conveyed in the form of respectful epistles to the heads of the Roman church, on the case of Pelagius and Celestius; and under their half-expressed fears of the orthodoxy of Rome, and their obsequious language of duty, you will easily see who are the real arbiters of the dispute; whose is the influential opinion, before which even the pride of the apostolic see must bend."

Bampton
Lectures, iv.
p. 158.

Occasions
for exer-
cising the
gift.

Occasions were of continual occurrence, and from a very early period, in which the gift of infallibility might have had most appropriate exercise by guiding the intellect of the age in its relation to religious questions. The old Greek philosophies, for example, continued to produce immense influence long after the people who gave them

¹ Du Moulin writes to the same effect: "C'a donc été un malheur aux anciens d'avoir ignoré cette distinction, et avoir assemblé tant de conciles si longs et si pénibles pour décider les différents de la religion, vu qu'il ne falloit que s'adresser au pontife Romain, &c." — *Défense*, art. xxiii. p. 588.

So again, Dupin: "Si l'on avoit crû dans l'antiquité que le jugement du pontife Romain étoit absolument infaillible; qu'auroit-il été besoin d'assembler des synodes œcuméniques pour juger des questions décidées par les papes. Pourquoi les papes eux-mêmes les auroient-ils demandés?" — *Traité de la doctrine Chrét.* liv. i. ch. 14. p. 355.

birth had sunk into decay. The sceptic and the epicurean, the academic and the stoic had passed away; but the systems themselves had too close a connection with human nature to be lost; they represented great lines of thought, and therefore could not die out. The pope never pretended to have sounded their depths, or ascertained their tendencies. The philosophy of the middle ages followed; it forms a somewhat confused mass, in which what is worthless and what is precious lie imbedded together. We find the scholastic writers, on the one hand, engaged in the solution of the minutest points which resulted in little else than laborious trifling. But on the other, they followed out an exact and scientific examination of very important subjects, presenting them in their different phases, and investigating their relation to kindred questions. And these metaphysical studies had a religious scope and character, to which all else was subordinate; it was the great question, continually recurring, whether what was taught in the domain of mental philosophy could be made to harmonise with the doctrines of the church. We may say, if we will, that the speculations which occupied the great thinkers of the time were over subtle, that they obscured rather than elucidated spiritual truth, and that, in many cases, they tended even to corrupt christianity by subjecting it to unsuitable handling; but, beyond question, they engaged the foremost minds of the age, and had a very close relation to religion. It was a case which required unerring direction, as much as any which we can imagine, not only as being bound up with the whole internal and spiritual life of several centuries, but because it involved great peril to the faith. There was not any reference to an infallible judge; no occasion, indeed, could be more suitable for his interference, yet he was unaccountably silent. We do not find that in the strifes of opposite schools, submission, on either side, was claimed on the ground of his decision. A system was put down by its rival, then after a while it revived, flourished, and

finally expired ; but its prosperity and decline were independent of the pope.

John Scot.

John Scot Erigena may, perhaps, be called the founder of the scholastic philosophy. His opinions were condemned in a provincial council, and he had the reputation, not undeserved, of being philosopher rather than christian.¹ Nicholas I., who was then pope, left to others the important task of encountering this able and unsound writer.

Valence.
A.D. 855.

Roscellin.

In the middle of the eleventh century we have Roscellin of Compiègne, who held opinions inconsistent with the true doctrine of the Holy Trinity. His works have not reached us, but we know that they were refuted by Anselm; the defence of the orthodox faith came from the abbey of Bec, and not from Rome. The parties of nominalist and realist, had their origin in this controversy ; the former followed Roscellin as their leader. He employed their doctrine in expounding the mysteries of the divine nature ; and when he became suspected of heresy the system which he had espoused fell into disrepute, until revived by Occam in the fourteenth century. The nominalists affirmed that words, or names alone, are universal ; the realists maintained the proper existence of universals, apart from the conception of them. Realism dealt with abstract ideas, to which it gave an objective existence opposed to nominalism or the philosophy of experience.² The differences by which they are distinguished were sometimes very minute and perplexing, and each system bordered upon a destructive heresy. It was the very case, on account both of its difficulty and of its danger, for the interposition of an infallible judgment. Peter Abelard, the disciple of Roscellin, and of far higher fame than his master, produced still more daring speculations. He may perhaps be placed between the nominalists and realists ; his writings

Abelard.

¹ M. Guizot gives some remarkable extracts from his work "De divinâ naturâ," which prove the boldness of his speculations.—*Civilization Moderne*, leçon 29.

² In the fifteenth century, John Huss was the leader of the realists, and after a protracted strife the nominalists were driven, in immense numbers, from the university of Prague.

certainly do not harmonise with either, though agreeing in part with both. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the middle ages, than the immense popularity of Abelard. By sheer force of intellect, he gathered about him such crowds of scholars, that old Paris had not dwellings enough to contain them, nor could the markets furnish provisions enough to feed them. Whether the doctrines which he maintained were true or false, there can be no doubt that they touched the received systems of theology at a thousand points. Here was a case, if any could be found, for the interference of an infallible bishop; a man bold beyond example, alleged to be a teacher of heresy, and condemned by a council¹, was yet exerting an unparalleled influence on the age. The people flocked to his lectures when he lived in retirement at his hermitage of the Paraclete, as they had been wont formerly when he taught at Mont Ste. G enevi eve. Clergy and laity, nobles and burghers, thronged to listen to discourses upon the most abstruse subjects, delivered by the favourite teacher of the time. It was the judgment of Bernard, from his retirement at Clairvaux, by which his condemnation in the council of Soissons was accomplished. The interference of the pope was invoked, not to judge the question, which he did not pretend to examine, but to punish a person already pronounced heterodox; he delivered sentence of imprisonment, at the representation of Bernard. It was the same great teacher who refuted Arnold of Brescia, when he had filled Lombardy with his doctrine. Bernard played the same important part, in respect to other controversies; De la Porret, Peter de Bruys, Henri, each the head of a sect, was encountered by this great champion of the faith; and next to him in influence, was Peter the venerable, and not the pope. A century later, that is, in the second period of the scholastic philosophy, we find the greatest teachers at Paris, Peter Lombard the

Influence of
Bernard.

¹ His "Introductio ad theologiam" was condemned by the council of Soissons in 1121.

bishop, Alexander Hales the irrefragable doctor, and Albert the great, Aquinas the angelic, and Bonaventura the seraphic. And soon afterwards, the controversy had its origin between the schools of Aquinas and Scot, the one Aristotelian, the other professing Platonism.¹ The Dominicans were Thomists, the Franciscans were Scotists; and it is impossible to harmonise the two systems. Aquinas followed Augustine implicitly on original sin and free grace; Scot was semi-pelagian; and each party was too strong to be disowned. The great leaders maintained their controversy for centuries, while popes looked on, but did not attempt to rule the great questions at issue. And it is worthy of note, that the supposed infallible head was always under somebody's direction. Thus, we have Damasus seeking instruction from Jerome, on questions of difficulty; Zachary receiving guidance from Boniface; Hildebrand leading several popes in succession so entirely, that their acts were really his. In the words of Mr. Hallam, "He was considered as something greater than the pope, who acted entirely by his councils. On Alexander's decease, Hildebrand, long since the real head of the church, was raised, with enthusiasm, to its chief dignity, and assumed the name of Gregory VII." Perhaps the most remarkable case is that of Bernard, in the twelfth century, who, from his retreat at Clairvaux, ruled all christendom. He writes to Eugenius exactly as he might have done, on the Roman theory, if their relative positions had been reversed, but in a way which is utterly incomprehensible in the case of a fallible abbot addressing an infallible pope. In the work, to the excellence of

Popes under
the direction
of other
persons.

Hist. of the
middle
ages, c. vii.
p. 9.

¹ The works of Aristotle, which were first introduced by the version of his Arabian commentators, produced an immense effect. They were cultivated in the Roman church because they afforded the means of defending dogmas which could have been maintained in no other way; that is, it was from Aristotle that the

subtle distinction was learned by which substance is represented as separable from its apparent accidents. Platonism, which had been in earlier favour, became supplanted. The judgment of Rome was, as usual, fluctuating and uncertain in respect to Aristotle.

which Calvin bears testimony¹, he remonstrates with him on the occupation of his time in deciding suits which regarded temporal matters²; and so, in other things, he goes on to give counsel and direction for the high office to which he was advanced, with as much freedom as if Eugenius were still a monk under his authority. The infallible teacher is sitting at the feet of another; the great ruler has let the power slip out of his hands; the real governor of the church is not in the Roman court, but in that monastery which Bernard has made so famous.

The fatal claim, which was advanced because it seemed to promise strength and glory to the Roman church, will work its inevitable ruin. It cannot, like other churches, cast off the superstitions, and correct the mistakes, of a former age; they may be exposed in the clearest light, but they cannot be abandoned; what was held in the sixteenth century, must be reproduced in the nineteenth; and the faith itself is put in the utmost peril, by binding together the truths of the gospel and the fables of the middle ages. No error is harmless, but every form of falsehood is followed by its appropriate mischief; and this claim of infallibility is full of evil tendencies, social as well as individual. It has an obvious connexion with the assumed right of punishing on account of opinion, which indeed follows logically, and is bound up with the denial of private judgment.³ There are many restraints which prevent its present exercise; yet if Romanists disavow the duty of compulsion in questions of faith, we can but say that they hold their creed inconsistently, or that they are

Evil results
of the claim
of infallibi-
lity.

¹ "Bernardus abbas in libris de consideratione ita loquitur, ut veritas ipsa loqui videatur."—Cited by *Neander, Life of St. Bernard*, note at p. 305.

² "Tell me, I pray you, why is it that from morning to evening you must needs be occupied with suits and suitors? They scarce leave you so much time as may suffice for the needful repose of the body, ere you are

roused to attend again their pleadings. Awake, then, and blush for the slavish yoke, under which you have groaned long enough."—*Neander, Life of St. Bernard*, p. 291.

³ "Ne vouloir pas se soumettre aux décisions dogmatiques des papes, ou reconnoître qu'ils sont sujets à l'erreur, c'est absolument la même chose."—*Autorité du pape*, livre ii. ch. i. p. 241.

better than their principles. It is this which separates the Roman catholic faith from every other, and so far unites all to resist what, however they may be explained, are its inevitable tendencies. It is true that persecution has no power to compel belief; neither the intellect nor the will is reached in this way; it can produce nothing beyond profession, and its utmost triumph is to make men false; spiritual convictions lie in a region beyond its reach. And yet as long as this groundless assertion of infallibility is maintained, persecution, which is its correlative, will be renewed at every opportunity. It must always fail in its professed object, for, in spite of alleged reactions and counter-reformations, there is no more hope of restoring what the middle ages believed, than of bringing back the reign of the alchemist and the astrologer. Yet when the Latin church has free scope for renewing the experiment, great suffering, on account of religion, is the consequence.

In the case of the multitude, it is not reasonable service which is claimed on the ground of infallibility, for the reason has nothing to do with it. Let the mind of a people be only set at work by mental training, and this bondage will soon be flung off. In the case of educated persons, the spirit of avowed obedience does not imply a larger and firmer grasp of faith, but the very reverse. There may be the profession of believing the middle-age miracles, or the genuineness of relics without adequate evidence, or of admitting doctrines on the sole ground of paramount authority, though they neither harmonise with scripture nor with one's inward consciousness; but external authority cannot produce internal conviction; men's minds will not submit, and could not if they would. There is an inner life not subject to arbitrary laws, the workings and issues of which are not to be restrained by the proposed methods. If we are in doubt on any point, and this is the case really in question, we shall not be relieved through finding it ruled by the authority which claims to

be infallible. We may pretend to submit, or we may even persuade ourselves that we have submitted, but the doubt will remain to torment us, and perhaps in the end to bring others with it. No one ever yet got rid of the perplexities which haunt him by recurring to the so-called infallible judgment, and it is not in the nature of things that he should. What is written on the memory will not be erased by the intervention of a dogma, itself the subject of endless disputation. A man may use the doctrine of infallibility against an opponent, as indeed most Roman controversialists do at present, and so decline a particular discussion by falling back on the principle in which he alleges all else to be included, but he will never succeed in quieting his own anxieties by any such method, for the plain reason, that infallibility itself requires proof, and will be admitted only so far as the evidence, whether from scripture or church history, or any other source, may warrant. And the question, however decided, is not settled once and for ever, but it will recur again and again. If, even on the whole, the claim seems to be established, and a general system of doctrine and discipline in consequence admitted, which is the most favourable supposition, yet whenever a point of faith or morals is proposed which contradicts scripture, or experience, or conscience, the infallible judgment will not be sufficient to remove the misgiving, but will itself be brought into fresh uncertainty. If doubts on other subjects arise, how can unhesitating conviction be retained on this? Is it so clear, so free from question, so universally admitted, that it may rank among primary and indisputable truths, the axioms as it were of theological science? If the infallibility of a particular church is the only foundation for the certainty of belief, if all faith is to be resolved into compliance with the supposed unerring guidance, and if the decisions presented should be contradicted by plain proof, against which we cannot shut our eyes, there is no refuge from universal scepticism. In the words of bishop Stilling-

Controversial use of the doctrine.

No doubts removed by it.

Grounds of protestant religion, part i. c. v. p. 109.

fleet, "When, upon severe inquiry, the falsity and insufficiency of those grounds is discovered, the person so discovering lies under a dangerous temptation of calling into question the truth of that which he finds he assented to upon grounds apparently weak and insufficient." All the old defences of faith have been abandoned, and the one which has been substituted proves untrustworthy. To use again the language of the same great writer, "Our assent must be wholly suspended upon that supposed infallibility, which, when once it falls (as it unavoidably doth upon the discovery of the least error in the doctrine of that church), what becomes then of the belief of christianity which was built upon that as its only sure foundation?" When unerring judgment on the whole compass of doctrines has been asserted, the very breadth of the claim brings a great risk. Failure on any point throws inevitable suspicion on all; it is the last venture; if faith is shaken now, there is nothing but bare unbelief; and the consequence is the more certain as the success has been complete; a child who has been deceived by his father, loses trust in every one's word. The Roman system puts infallibility in the place of moral evidence, and so lays the ground for infidelity, by undervaluing the testimony which is really addressed to us. It leaves no alternative between the state of mind which receives a multitude of foolish and self-contradictory legends, and that broad and hopeless scepticism which doubts all revelation; professing to afford certainty, it ends by destroying faith itself. When blind obedience has been exacted, the reaction is inevitable; religion will not survive such handling; either convictions are secretly held which contradict the open profession, or men cease to hold any principles at all; that is, the result will be either hypocrisy or unbelief, which can be avoided only so far as this doctrine of infallibility is held in a mitigated or inconsistent form.

Ibid. p. 110.

Peril of infidelity.

Infidelity, under its most subtle phase, is the peril of the age ; the struggle between belief and unbelief has not only begun, but made more progress than most of us are aware ; and it will be found that Rome has rendered most effectual aid to the assailants of all religious truth. The rationalist and the papal theologian are in substantial alliance ; Hegel and Schelling are but doing the same work as the ultramontanes. The words which Stillingfleet addressed to his opponents are full of warning needful for the present time. “ If you require that as necessary for faith which was never believed to be so when the doctrine of faith was revealed ; if upon the pretence of infallibility you assert such things which destroy all the rational evidence of christian religion ; and if at last you are far from giving the least satisfactory account concerning this infallibility of your church, then certainly we may justly charge you with unsettling the foundations of religion, instead of giving us a certain resolution of faith.” D’Alembert, and the encyclopedists, no more made the infidelity of the eighteenth century, than Luther and Melancthon the reformation of the sixteenth. They only gave form and expression to what had long been working in the mind of the age. It was the revenge of human reason against an intolerable usurpation. The unbelief which now haunts the convents of Italy, and walks boldly through the cities of Spain, is but a result from the same cause, the recoil into a condition of utter incredulity, from the heavy demands made by the Jesuits and their so-called infallible head.

Grounds of
protestant
religion,
part i. c. v.

The controversy which we are called to maintain is as practical as any which could arise. We have seen on what kind of evidence papal claims have been established. It is our duty earnestly to resist them, not only because they are false, but because they are pernicious, and form a great hindrance to the kingdom of Christ. In the struggle between good and evil which every day grows deeper and

darker, Rome will be found a formidable antagonist. It promotes unbelief by leading men away from the true foundation of faith ; and it destroys the principle of obedience by substituting blind submission to an earthly head in place of reasonable service rendered to the Lord of all.

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THE END.

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PUBLISHED BY
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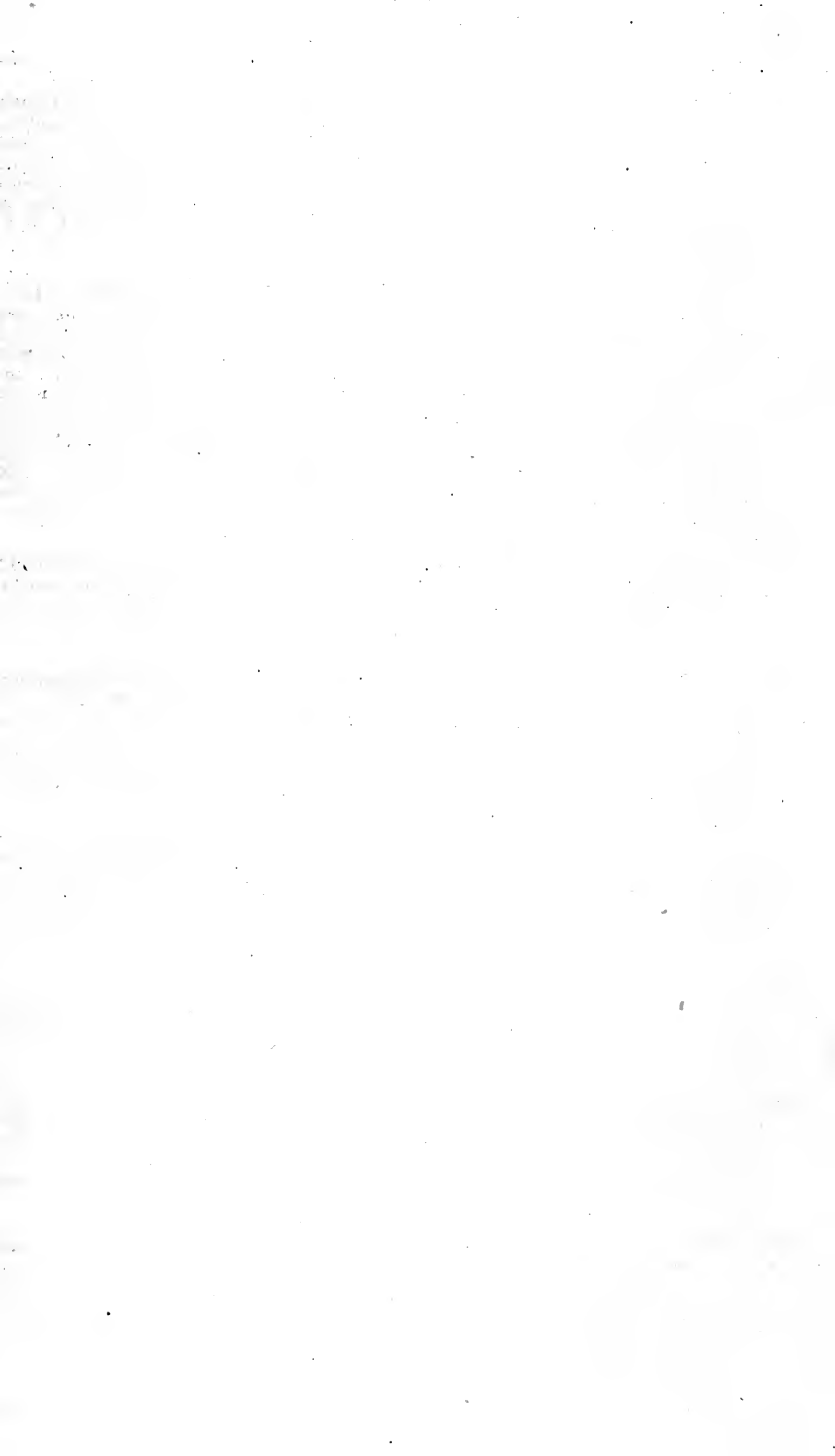
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