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The

Prince of the Apostles

A Study

BY

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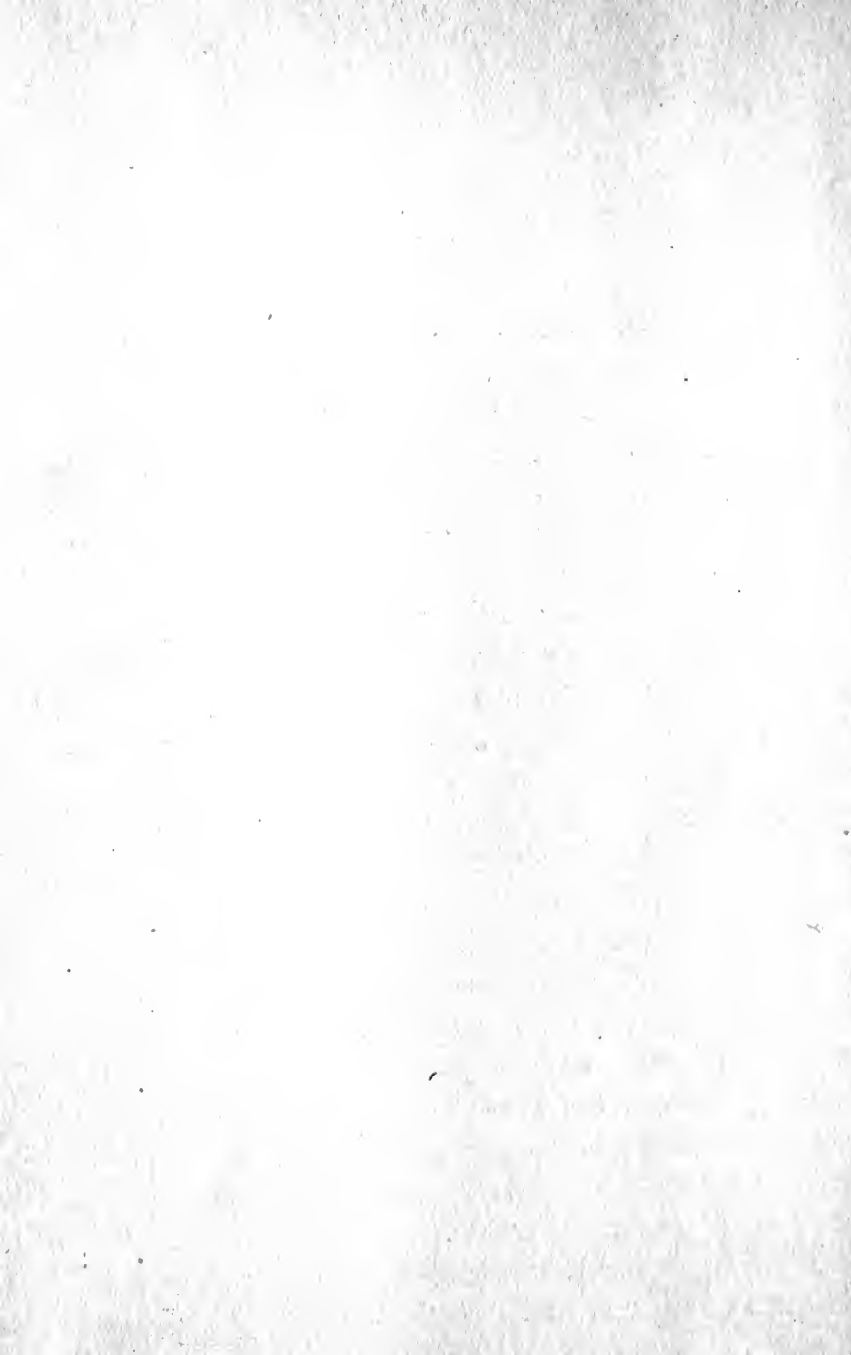


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TO THE HONOUR OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS
ARCHBISHOPS
ST. ANSELM AND ST. THOMAS OF
CANTERBURY
WE DEDICATE THIS VOLUME
IN
THANKSGIVING FOR THEIR EXAMPLE
AND IN THE
HOPE OF THEIR INTERCESSION.



PREFACE.

Every effort looking towards the reunion of Christendom assumes at the outset that the existing divisions and contradictions among Christians constitute a broad reversal of that state of unity which is prescribed for us by our Saviour in the New Testament, and that consequently they demand the attention of all Christians.

The present study still further assumes that the Church of Rome which is at once the largest and most famous church in Christendom, a church so constituted that it cannot formally change, and so closely related to the English people as to be the mother of their Christianity, has a first claim upon the consideration of all Christians, and more particularly of ourselves.

In regard to our divisions, we should be amazed and shocked by them, were it not for the dead weight of custom; and no theory of unity that the wit of man can devise will serve to excuse them, or to explain them away.

Merely to glance at one aspect: Whereas we are told in Scripture "to obey them that have the rule over" us, there are not a few instances, in England and America, of two bishops preaching contradictory doctrines, and claiming jurisdic-

tion, both of them, within the same geographical area; and this is only one among a thousand various illustrations of the confusion by which the ordinary, everyday Christian finds himself surrounded, yet it should suffice by itself to convince our readers of the justice of our cause.

If in order to meet all Christians on a common platform we appeal to the Bible, it must be confessed that the Bible gives no countenance whatever to a divided Christendom: the "Churches" of which it speaks are merely the several representatives in various places of that One Society which Scripture describes as "The Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."

In the face of this fact the Education controversy which is still going forward in England should compel us to pause and gravely consider: what a monstrous phenomenon is here, what a portentous fact!

Think of it; if the teaching of religion, religion of any kind whatsoever, in English schools is endangered at the present moment, it is due to the divisions among Christians.

Why it is that Christians who have been baptized into one body are facing and fighting one another, instead of facing and fighting their common foe; so that, with a militant secularism and atheism confronting them, Christians whether in England or America, are presenting

to the world the melancholy spectacle of a house divided against itself; a condition of which the outcome has been only too plainly foretold by our Lord.

All this, and much else that might be added, constitutes the case for reunion, and so far lays upon each individual conscience the responsibility of praying and working for the cause of Catholic unity.

To quote one melancholy illustration of the distance that separates those who ought to be standing side by side: so recently as March 5th in the present year the President of the Free Church Council, alluding in his opening address to the present unhappy relations between the Government and the Catholic Church in France, allowed himself to hold up for admiration the policy of the French people by which "whenever they see a biretta they hit it." Now there are differences of opinion, of course, on this question of the Church in France; but it is a fact, as we know it is, that one of the ministers of the Government in France congratulated them on having "with magnificent gesture" destroyed that hope of the next world for which the laboring man has been wont to kneel in prayer after his day's work; and that the Government has even struck out the very name of God from the coinage of the nation;—if all this is a fact, what kind of reflections can we be expected to have

when we go on to read the words of the President of the Free Church Council, and to find him saying at the end of his allusion to this lamentable controversy in France, "God bless the French Republic."

Such words in this connection, so far as they were endorsed by the members of the Council—and we like to think that they were not endorsed—would supply almost by themselves a sufficient apology for such a little work as this.

For is it not plain, even when all these years have elapsed since the days of the penal laws, that there is outside the Roman Catholic Church a certain kind of fixed prejudice against all that goes on within; so much so that while it is still considered to be a mark of liberal mindedness for an Anglican clergyman to preach in a Non-conformist pulpit; to belittle, if not to explain away altogether, his own orders, and sometimes even to contradict the fundamental teaching of the Apostles' Creed; the faintest whisper of a desire for re-union with the Holy See, although so much more may be said historically for this attitude than for the other, is not merely viewed with suspicion but even denounced as dishonesty. People still encourage themselves in the habit and it is a very bad habit, of assuming and proclaiming that while you may advocate reunion with the Eastern Church, or with the Non-conformist bodies, and still remain an honest man,

if you dare or presume to look towards Rome, an honest man you cannot possibly be.

The aim of this book, then, is to broach the argument for the other side, and to claim to speak openly, to work honestly, and to pray earnestly for the reunion of the Church of England with the Church of Rome: to discuss at the proper time and in the proper place the ways and means by which, it appears, such a consummation may be achieved, to hold opinions as opinions which may be beyond the range of what is generally accepted as Anglicanism, and to propose them for the due and constitutional consideration of representative bodies on either side. We venture then to put forward certain positions in this spirit and in the hope that they may be duly weighed by learned men, who are more competent to consider and pronounce upon them than ourselves.

I. First, we recognize the enterprise of reunion to be a genuine movement of our time, undoubtedly also the outcome of some special influence of the Holy Spirit of God. It is not merely in England or America that efforts are being made, but all over the world wherever men are in earnest there is a certain healthy impatience with a condition of things that is not to be tolerated.

That is the first consideration: We lift our eyes, and look away from our books with their

articles and formularies, and believe we see the beginnings of a movement that is intended to mend this mischief.

This being so, we cannot lay down the law as to the direction in which we may or may not look; but we can offer our own testimony. And if you say, "You are honest if you adopt my way, but dishonest if you adopt your own," then, we are constrained to register our protest.

It is time to speak very plainly upon the impertinence of a one-sided attitude that is as grotesque as it is unfair.

And this consideration disposes also of another objection. People are apt to ask us: "How do you get over this Article or that? Are they not expressly against you?" As if reunion were possible without change. If it is against the mind of God to leave things as they are, the only alternative is to change them. Is there not a proposal on foot, just now, to alter the Ornament's rubric? Is that suggestion disloyal, because it would involve change? The very notion of reunion implies and involves change.

2. And the next consideration is, that the various communions in Christendom can change only within certain limits without ceasing to be themselves; and if they cease to be themselves the very notion of corporate reunion is destroyed. Consider the relative positions of Rome and England from this standpoint.

Our contention is that Rome cannot change her dogmatic position without self-destruction but that England can amend her formularies.

Let this be carefully weighed: The Church of England to-day claims continuity with the Church of England before the Reformation; and the Church of England before the Reformation was in conscious dependence upon the Holy See in spirituals from start to finish; that is from A. D. 597 to A. D. 1534.

And if this was so then, why should it not become so now? If it was not wrong to contemplate change away from Rome, why should it be wrong to contemplate change towards it?

You may say, "It is impossible." But that is a question of fact, and not of principle. And you cannot say it is dishonest, though you may think it vain to contemplate it.

But perhaps you reply by disputing the position as to the pre-Reformation Church, and pronouncing it unhistorical. Very well, but you must prove your assertion and not simply attempt to laugh us out of court.

We speak under correction; only we must see the proof of your position before we abandon ours. So again the Church of England appeals to antiquity and more particularly to the first Four Councils, and we believe that we see express and formal statements there in support of our position. We speak under correction again

here; only we must be convinced that our opinion is wrong before we can abandon it.

Is it only in the place of what is called the Higher Criticism that scholars are revising their judgments? Consider as an illustration the following passage from Dr. Gairdner's Preface to *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century*:

"The copious stores of documents now available have *rendered many long-cherished views untenable*, (italics our own); but the results of investigation are as yet imperfectly known, and it is to be feared that the truth on very important subjects will have much prejudice to encounter before it can win general acceptance."

Dr. Gairdner may not, of course, agree with our inferences, but are we frankly facing his facts?

Remember, he has spent the greater part of his life with original documents, and you see what he says. Positions that were taken for granted a few years back will have to give way—such is his opinion. Why, then, should it not also be ours?

Read that brief preface of Dr. Gairdner's—it covers only three pages—and, if you weigh his words, you will conclude that they contain within them the making of a vast revolution.

It cannot be impossible, then, for England to make fundamental changes if she actually did so in the Sixteenth Century; and we have no proof

that Rome can undo her fundamental positions if she has never done so in fact.

That she cannot formally change does not prove, of course, that she is right; but, if true, it stamps as impracticable any scheme of reunion that demands such a change. But suppose we say for the moment, that Rome can formally change and that she ought to do so, what becomes of that charge of disloyalty so lightly urged against ourselves for suggesting that we should change?

3. For if we demand a formal change on the part of Rome we give our sanction thereby to the principle of change as such; and since a principle is a principle all the world over, formal change cannot be right in principle for Rome and yet wrong in principle for us; and if it would be immoral in us to entertain a suspicion of our own integrity, how can we have the face to demand this of Rome? And where, in that case, is the morality of our demand?

Is it not plain that we cannot require from Rome an attitude which we should consider disloyal and disreputable in ourselves? The way is clear, then, for the principle of change as such, and therefore also for that process which must everywhere precede change. This is important: remedy for our unhappy divisions is what every earnest Christian desiderates; but remedy involves change, and change implies a

previous process of preparation which must have its beginning in the mind of the individual. And the individual in this case will certainly be denounced as the traitor of the moment, even if he be proclaimed as a reformer in the days to come. Moreover, this process of change, which manifests its beginning in the individual person, generally, as a matter of experience, has its rise on the outer circumference of the Church circle; making its way subsequently on the tide of public opinion to her seats of authority and her centre.

First comes private, then public opinion; first the broaching of the idea by the individual, and next the entertainment of the idea by the society. The shocking thing must be said by the one first, and be shared by the many afterwards; a previous process such as this being necessary to pave the way for that constitutional change which we call Reunion. Thus the enterprise as such, whatever direction it may take or particular means it may adopt, demands and therefore sanctions the breaking of new ground and the entertainment and discussion of revolutionary considerations.

There is no escape from this, let our beginning be where it will; for if we assume, for the moment, that Rome can formally change, where are we in this case to begin, and who is to be the person?

Is it to be the Pope? Is it he who is to propose the unsaying of the Vatican definition of 1870? If so, will it not at once be urged that he is placing himself in an attitude of opposition to his own Communion, and playing the part of a traitor to his own cause? If, on the other hand, we say that the Pope should represent the Church and not dictate to it; that he can only propose a formal change on condition that he has the strong public opinion of the Church at his back to support him, where is this public opinion to be set in motion?

A support of this kind does not drop from heaven like a bolt from the blue, but is itself the result of a process which must have its origin in the individual; so that we have merely shifted the initiative from the papal shoulders to the shoulders of some inferior priest, and it is the inferior priest now and not the Pope who is the "traitor"; for will it not at once be said that it is preposterous for one, who has no special authority, to come forward with a proposition to reverse those very dogmatic positions he has sworn to accept and defend. And so, *mutatis mutandis*, with the Anglican Church, where the alternative would be between the Archbishop of Canterbury and some inferior priest. It is this fact lying in the background, and not yet fairly faced, that makes men shy of this movement, it being easier to hold aloof and call some one else a

traitor, than to come forward and be called a traitor yourself.

So it comes to pass that everyone waits for everyone else to move, and every several Communion preaches to others that very Gospel of change which it repudiates solemnly for itself. Disunion, then is disease; and with sickness in the house it is absurd to say in one breath that the body must be cured, and in the next that there is nothing wrong with it.

To contemplate reunion is to acknowledge that something is wrong, and unless you proclaim your own infallibility you cannot acknowledge that something is wrong without acknowledging also that you are partly to blame for it.

Thus let a distinction in change be recognized and every Communion be expected to countenance, not change of any kind whatsoever, but change only after its own kind; Rome on her part being asked to modify her discipline, and other Communions conforming to Rome, if possible, in their dogmas. Whether this latter conformity be possible is the question for us fully to consider and discuss, and the best that we can do for the present is to devote ourselves to a profound and unprejudiced study of the Papal claims. I think it will then become universally acknowledged on the one hand that if Rome does not consent to change her formal *de fide* positions it is because she cannot, and on the

other that our difficulties in the way of reunion with Rome are difficulties much more of discipline than of dogma. For example, Papal Infallibility is better understood now than it was some twenty or even ten years ago, and when we have had time to make some further study of the historical principle of tradition and the philosophical principle of development it will probably present to our minds no formidable difficulties at all.

If the Apostles poured all their doctrine into the lap of the Church of Rome there is no antecedent difficulty in believing that she has kept her hold upon that doctrine ever since, or that the Holy Spirit has helped her to do so, or that it would be impossible for her to keep it unless she were occasionally to declare and define it; nor is it extravagant to suppose, as we are attempting to show in the following chapters, that St. Peter's privilege and the subsequent and consequent privilege of his See are a recognized part of that doctrine. All this was piously held as an opinion by many, if not by all, the members of the Church of England before the Sixteenth Century, and it may come to be held in the same way by members of that Church again. But, however, this may be, it is certain that the interpretations of the dogma that were general among English Churchmen a few years ago and that still obtain in some minds to-day are grotesque,

and that a genuine study of the question is fatal to them.

This is only another way of saying that our difficulties are being gradually narrowed down and reduced from questions of dogma to questions of discipline.

After all it is in the ordinary, every day routine exercises of life that difficulties press, at least for the multitude of men; such questions as the celibacy of the clergy, the Mass in Latin, the refusal of the chalice to all but the celebrating priest, and the extravagant expressions in some devotional books. But all these are questions of discipline and not any one of them, in the primary sense, is a question of dogma.

Now if this should come to be acknowledged, if it should gradually become clear that it is just where other Communions feel the need for change to be most pressing that Rome can change, while it is only in a department that does not touch, in the sense of being able to harass, the multitude of men, that change to her is impossible, shall we not have gone a long way towards preparing for a Uniat Church as the ultimate resolution of our ecclesiastical difficulties?

Now in all these considerations as we have said above, it cannot too earnestly be insisted that as loyalty to one's individual self does not involve blindness to one's moral or intellectual failings, so loyalty to the Church must not be

understood to involve blindness to the faults whether of dogma or of discipline in those who claim to be her local representatives.

In such cases the individual holds an opinion beyond the range, but not therefore irreconcilable to his actual ecclesiastical position; nor is he disloyal in so doing, so long as that opinion aims at being absorbed ultimately into that position and not at destroying it. Just as, within the Roman Church, Papal Infallibility was entertained and distinctly held as an opinion by so famous a thinker as St. Thomas Aquinas centuries before it was authoritatively defined and added to the Creed of the Holy Roman Church.

Reunion discussions must be known as reunion discussions, and be kept apart, or, as it were, run on a siding, until they have won their way to public recognition and therefore to a position on the main line.

One last difficulty must be considered.

It may be urged that if it should be proved possible to conform to the dogmatic position of Rome that will amount to a surrender of the entire Anglican position. But this is a mistake of the first magnitude. For while, as we said above, it is only the few who appreciate the significance of dogma, although all benefit by it, where the shoe pinches with the many is in the plane of discipline, not dogma. Matters of discipline touch us all round

and strike us at once; and so far from changes in discipline making no difference they would in the eyes of the general run of men make all the difference in the world; and it is here, we repeat, that Rome can change, that she has changed actually in the past and might change therefore in the future. Discipline is in fact variously administered in different quarters of the world to-day, and there would be nothing impractical therefore in looking for modifications in that direction.

There must be a giving way somewhere when a quarrel comes up for settlement; and the moment of reconciliation is exceptional and seldom "correct."

Let the opinions broached in this little study, then, be viewed and treated in the light of these considerations: each of the authors has his word to say and says it in his own way. Chapters I; III, sections 3 and 5; VII; VIII; IX; X; XI; XIII; XIV are from the pen of the Editor of *The Lamp* and the remaining chapters by myself. It will be seen that whatever each may have to advance in support of his own conclusions we are agreed in the main contention of the book, namely, that the one hope of reconciliation all around, lies ultimately in reconciliation with the Holy See.

SPENCER JONES.

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The Prince of the Apostles



The Prince of the Apostles.

A STUDY.

CHAPTER I.

THE OPEN MIND.

I. INTRODUCTORY. The authors of this little Study in the great field of Petrine literature, feel no need of making an excuse for its necessarily incomplete form nor of explaining its failure to answer all questions or to set at rest all objections that may be raised, for we have at the outset called it a Study. But we do feel the necessity of begging each reader to bring to its consideration that intellectual attitude really very difficult to concede—The Open Mind.

Some one has said, instead of there being nothing new under the sun, it is nearer the truth to say, that all things are new. Facts of history presented under fresh conditions, truths brought before new audiences, unquestioned laws faced by unique demands, each one presents upon consideration by the student all the wearing stress and strain of adjustment to a new idea, for novelty may be held to be less originality of idea than the period of its application or the peculiar circumstances of its environment; for instance, there is

little that is original in the subject which follows, but there is much that is new in the manner of its presentment to Anglicans, for this study of The Prince of the Apostles is addressed by Anglicans to Anglicans and it has in view not to make individual converts to Rome but to further the trend of what we believe to be a religious movement already far on toward its predestined end: in a word to assist in bringing about the corporate reunion of the Anglican Church with the See of Peter. The very *raison d'être* of such a volume as this is to beget among Anglo-Catholics an open mind and a sympathetic attitude toward that famous See, described by St. Cyprian (A. D. 250), as "the Chair of Peter and the principal Church," and everywhere recognized in later days as the Mother of English Christianity.

Another important thing, which needs to be emphasized in thought, by those who would understand the Corporate Movement towards Rome, is that its advocates have no idea that the Anglican Body would thereby be obliterated or so far changed into something else as to be no longer distinguishable from the Churches of the Latin Rite, but quite the contrary. The Uniat Churches of the East, that enjoy communion with Rome and the protecting oversight of the Apostolic See at this hour, differ more widely from the Churches of the Latin Rite than we do ourselves and the Roman Pontiffs have time

and again intimated their readiness to make more liberal concessions than even to the Oriental bodies in case the Church of England should sincerely seek reconciliation with the Mother Church of Rome.

The lack of real desire for a return of the Anglican Church to reunion with the Holy See has heretofore been on our own part, and not on the part of the occupants of the Chair of St. Peter.

But to-day the voice of the Holy Spirit, which is the voice of reunion, is speaking to the consciences of Christians everywhere, and many students in the Anglican Church are coming more and more to see that in the great enterprise of reunion the attempt merely to denounce or to ignore Rome is as ill-advised as it is futile. For is it not self evident that we cannot come into the wider corporation of the Universal Church without sacrificing something of our insularity and submitting ourselves to an authority more Catholic in its scope and more supreme than that of our provincial hierarchy?

II. THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE. Whereas a prime essential of Catholic unity is undoubtedly "the historic Episcopate," that alone is not enough.

Suppose that all non-episcopal bodies should by a common impulse forsake their separate organizations and join some body of Christians having the Apostolic ministry: this would by

no means solve the problem of Church Unity. Fellowship with the Apostles and their successors cannot mean unity so long as the bishops continue out of fellowship with each other. There are at the present day three principal bodies claiming the historic Episcopate and having a membership of over three hundred million souls and yet these three bodies have no fellowship with each other, the Greek bishops are separated from the Anglican, and the Anglican bishops from the Greek and the Roman Episcopate breaks bread with neither. Manifest it must be to every thoughtful man that the successors of the Apostles must themselves learn as brethren to dwell together in unity, before the baptized millions in fellowship with them can constitute one united family. Another thing is equally evident—it is impossible for the successors of the Apostles to be in unity among themselves unless they can agree to acknowledge one of their number as head or president over the others.

In legislative bodies not so much as a committee of three can discharge its functions, unless one of the three presides in the chair of unity. It is a futile dream to contemplate a united Church on earth without a visible head. If every parish must have its rector, and every diocese its bishop, and every province its archbishop, how could the whole Catholic Church throughout the world

exist as one fold without having one supreme or chief shepherd over all? Did then the Divine Founder of the Catholic Church in its original constitution provide for a permanent head and universal shepherd over His flock, to feed the sheep with sound doctrine and protect them from the wolves of heresy? And is this head the Bishop of Rome? The supposed "Reformation Settlement" of that question is for the Anglican Communion of the twentieth century no settlement at all. The Anglican Church is undergoing a mighty transformation and a happy, triumphant issue out of our present difficulties demands, as we believe, more than anything else a right answer to the question, What are our proper relations to the See of Rome?

In England itself at this hour the political enemies of the Church are in control of the government and whilst dissent assaults from without rationalism is rampant within. As for America, Methodist dissenters alone, to say nothing of Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and a legion of others, outnumber Churchmen five to one. The communicants of the Episcopal Church in the United States constitute barely one per cent. of the total population and yet it is an English-speaking country. And what American Churchmen must confess still more sadly is that the historic Episcopate apart from the Papacy has not been able to preserve, even in so small a body, unity of faith. Minimising as much as we may the diversities of belief which exist between the various shades of Evan-

gical, High, Low and what might be termed "orthodox" Broad Churchmen, it cannot be denied that there is an aggressive and growing element both clerical and lay in the American Episcopal Church who are *neo-Arians* and openly deny such fundamental articles of the Christian faith as the Virgin birth of our Divine Saviour and His physical Resurrection from the grave.

We are not forgetting that unbelief and liberalism are boldly lifting their heads in *every part* of the Church to-day, nor that the Church of Rome herself is wrestling with great problems and within her may be heard many voices, but over that sea of sound we may clearly discern the voice of Authority; an authority which does command obedience; and advisedly speaking, therein is Christendom's hope for the future. The question is, may the Anglican Church remain true to herself and yet listen to that Voice; may she make its authority once more her authority, and compel her wayward children to listen? The question surely is a vital one and demands the most painstaking study.



CHAPTER II.

AN EVER PRESENT FACT.

How near we may be to an object without noticing it, and yet to any one who has once noticed it, how incredible it is that we should pass it by! A person who has no special love for flowers may live where they luxuriate and yet never notice them at all. And so a person may live for years in London or New York without seeing its principal sights or being able even to say what is the city's prominent feature.

And so again with a Cathedral city, the people who live there cannot help seeing the Cathedral and yet in a sense they, most of them, see it not; whereas others who make a journey there specially to see it can say afterwards what there is noteworthy in it.

In the Sacred Volume we are warned of the danger of having eyes and seeing not, and having ears and hearing not. It is not merely what is brought to us but also what we bring with us that makes the difference.

And so it is possible to be very near St. Peter in the New Testament and yet not to notice him; and the purpose of this chapter is to call attention

to the Prince among the Apostles and to his prominence in the history of the Church from the outset.

There is the fact to be considered first, and there is the explanation of the fact to be considered afterwards; and with a view to this consideration we may begin with the Bible and work forwards through history up to the present day, or we may begin with the present day and work backwards to the Bible; it is the latter or the inductive method that we shall choose; that is, we shall begin with the facts that lie near us.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

If we look around us, say, in England to-day we find that the famous abbey of Westminster is dedicated to St. Peter and the famous minster at York also. This, of course, is an ancient as well as a modern fact; but it represents a distinction of the first magnitude when we recall the age of these famous buildings and the position and importance of London and of York from the earliest times of our Church history.

And when we look out again into Europe we find that "The Pope" and "The Vatican" are terms of distinction recognized as such by friend and foe alike. What other bishop in Christendom occupies a position that can honestly be compared with that of Pius X? And this he ascribes to St. Peter; and the Church of his See which is dedicated to St. Peter is distinguished

from all other Cathedral Churches alike for its grandeur and for its striking characteristics.

And so again with the bishop's palace at Rome; it is not like any other Episcopal palace; the Vatican is extraordinary whether you consider its material proportions or the various business that goes on within its walls.

Kings and other royal personages, nobles and distinguished people of all countries come to see the Pope, just as St. Paul in the earliest days came to see St. Peter.

Lambeth, the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury, has venerable associations of its own, and is known by name throughout Europe, but what King dreams of paying a formal visit to the prelate who resides there?

However we explain the fact and this we shall do later, we cannot deny the prominence of this Episcopal palace at Rome, nor the unique position it holds in Christendom.

Then again, we hear of this bishop creating Cardinals or princes; and of what other bishop can we say the same? Consider again how the Pope is spoken against; of what other bishop in the world would people be so careful to complain? Here is something, then, that lies close against us, a fact that vexes or enthralls, as the case may be, but a fact that surely cannot be disputed. Indeed, it is one of the few things of which all people in the world may feel certain.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

And when we feel our way behind this fact we find that although it belongs to the present it rests for its support upon the past.

That past is a long past extending itself backwards some nineteen hundred years and we cannot evidently speak particularly of all these, but let us say something about some of them. Pius X by his very name recalls to us the pontificate of Pius IX and both agree in referring their distinction to St. Peter, the latter in his letter, addressed to "all Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops having favour and communion of the Holy See," in the year 1864 that is nearly fifty years ago, begins thus:—

"With how great care and pastoral vigilance the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, fulfilling the duty and office committed to them by the Lord Jesus Christ Himself in the person of most Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles. . . ."

Here the distinction itself and the ground of the distinction are equally plain; that bishop cannot be considered merely as one of many other bishops, if he can even dare to address himself to "all Patriarchs and Primates;" consider carefully what this signifies, even when we are careful to qualify it with the explanation "who are in favour and communion;" and it is equally plain that he dares to do thus because of St. Peter and not because of himself. This has been

the unvarying claim of the Roman Pontiffs from the very start.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Let us now push our enquiry and observation further back, to the 17th century: France was at that time one of the leading nations, and Bossuet perhaps the most distinguished ecclesiastic of Europe. Preaching at the court of one of the most famous sovereigns in history, a sovereign who identified the state with himself, and who would therefore be jealous of any intrusion, Bossuet addressed himself to the Gallican Episcopate thus:—

“This (the Roman See) is that Roman Chair so celebrated by the Fathers, which they have vied with each other in exalting,” while a little before he had said, “these great words in which you have seen so clearly the Primacy of St. Peter” and again “it was, then, clearly the design of Jesus Christ to put first in one alone, what afterwards He meant to put in several.”

Here again, in what may be termed a representative European situation a distinguished ecclesiastic points to the prominence of the Roman See and refers its prominence to St. Peter. So far then, it is plain that St. Peter is the prominent Apostle in the eyes of the 20th, of the 19th, we may say of the 18th century, and evidently of the 17th. In other words the Roman See as the See of Peter, or as the reputed See of Peter,

holds a position that is unique from the year 1600 to the year 1906.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

It is scarcely necessary to produce evidence of this prominence in the century of the Reformation. Henry VIII, in his reply to Luther, declared Rome to be the mother and mistress of all Churches and spoke of this as a fact which was known to all; and in the same work he based the Roman claims on the doctrine of the primacy *de jure divino*; in other words he referred them to the privilege of St. Peter.

And in conferring upon him the title of "Defender of the Faith" the Pope spoke thus:—

"As we have by this title honoured you, we likewise command all Christians that they name your Majesty by this title."

And not a voice was lifted up in England or in any other country against this action of the Pope.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Lanfranc, the first Norman Archbishop of Canterbury wrote, in 1072, "Verily is it not engrained in the consciences of all Christians that in respect to St. Peter's successors, no less than to himself, they must tremble at their threats."

THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

In the year 735 Pope Gregory III established a second Metropolitan See at York; and in 771 the See of Lichfield was erected into an Archi-

episcopal see; and furthermore this grant to Lichfield was revoked in 795 by Pope Leo III, who confirmed to the Church of Canterbury the authority it has ever since possessed.

“We have bestowed on the Archbishop,” writes the Pope to the King of Mercia, “such a prelateship, that if any of his subjects—Kings, princes, or people,—transgress his precept in the Lord, let him excommunicate him till he is penitent.” And in 803 the bishops of England in a council at Cloveshoe declared that “the Apostolic Pope had sent into Britain an authoritative precept of his prerogative, commanding the honour of St. Augustine’s See to be restored in all its completeness with all its parishes (dioceses) just as St. Gregory the Apostle and Master of our nation arranged it.”

THE FIFTH CENTURY.

In the 5th century the famous Pope St. Leo the Great in addressing the bishops gathered from various parts of Italy declared:—

“The Lord Jesus Christ (has) given so great a power to him whom He made *Chief of the whole Church*. . . . To him, therefore, let us ascribe this anniversary day of us his servant. . . .”

And at the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon some six hundred bishops of the Eastern Church heard this doctrine laid down by the Roman legates, in language that could not be mistaken, and no dissentient voice was raised.

During the first three centuries the Church was exposed to continual persecution, and no General Council was possible; moreover the records of that time have for the most part perished. Nevertheless such records as we have, discover the same phenomenon though not in so obvious a manner; the number of the faithful being at that time comparatively small, and the opportunities for the exercise of government less frequent. But St. Clement as early as A. D. 96, during the lifetime of St. John himself, addresses to the Church of Corinth an exhortation to peace and submission. And in the second century, St. Victor threatened to cut off the Asiatics; and although St. Ireneus intervened in the interests of peace he never questioned St. Victor's right. Later on, too, St. Stephen censured the African churches; and once more, in 347, at the *Council of Sardica* a synodical letter was addressed to Pope Julius declaring that "this will seem best, and by far the most fitting, if the Lord's bishops make reference from all the provinces to *the head*, that is, *the See of the Apostle Peter*." Thus in taking a bird's-eye view of the centuries from the first to the twentieth this phenomenon discovers itself consistently throughout, and the prominence of St. Peter cannot be denied, however it is to be accounted for.

Why should this be so? Why should we hear all this talk of St. Peter's See, and St. Peter's

privilege? And why should not the bishop who occupies that See confine his attention to his own See, or, if he is to be accepted as a patriarch, to his own provinces?

Now we have said that the present fact has its support in the past, and we have seen that past extending itself back to the very age of the Apostles themselves. What view, then, did the Apostles take of this phenomenon? When we come to Scripture itself do we find any warrant for this fact, or does St. Peter appear on the same level in all respects with the other Apostles? This again is a question of fact which we must now attempt to answer.

THE ACTS.

Now there is one book which has for its title *The Acts of the Apostles* and which therefore discovers the Apostles in action immediately after they were, if we may so express it, left to themselves. Any prominence there is will necessarily then disclose itself, and the two prominent names in this book are those of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The former half of the book describes in outline the history of the infant Church as a whole, and the latter the history of St. Paul's missionary labors among the Gentiles in particular; now let any one read the first twelve chapters, carrying in his mind the assumption that St. Peter is intended to take the lead, and let him say if all

the facts he meets with do not confirm this assumption. There were eleven Apostles at the very beginning and twelve Apostles immediately afterwards; why say so much about one, then? And why should that one be St. Peter? And yet St. Luke, when he sat down to write seemed to assume that the Acts of the Apostles resolved themselves into the acts of St. Peter, and it is plain that the Apostles were grouped together in his mind in that form. Otherwise why does he naturally write "Peter rising up in the midst of the brethren;" "Peter standing up with the eleven;" "Peter and the Apostles answering said;" "They said to Peter and to the rest of the Apostles." The multitude of listeners evidently gravitated naturally to St. Peter. And why should St. Luke tell us of the people placing themselves where the shadow of St. Peter as he passed by might overshadow them?

And it was the same with St. Paul, who after his conversion made a point of going up to see Peter, the expression being employed to signify the going to see a great sight.

But the "Acts" tells us more; it partly explains this prominence by declaring through Peter's own mouth that he was set apart by God to go to the circumcision, as St. Paul was afterwards to go to the uncircumcision. Now the Church of the Circumcision was the original Church itself; the Church as our Lord founded it; and we

are expressly told of the uncircumcision that it was to be grafted on to the circumcision.

Is it not interesting, then, to find that the Roman Church—the centre of the world—was associated with these two names and yet also that it is particularly associated with St. Peter? The Gentile Church is grafted on to the Jewish Church, and St. Paul is, as it were, grafted on to St. Peter. It will be allowed by all that this constitutes a genuine prominence: to record the speeches and sermons of one Apostle in full; to mention him expressly by name and others for the most part as a multitude grouped around him; and more particularly to declare that his special commission was to the original Church of the first moment with the further privilege of a revelation from heaven, that the Gentiles were destined to be included in that Church also, and that he was to be the first to let them in.

Certainly St. Peter is as prominent in Acts I to XII as the See of Peter is at any subsequent time in Church history. And this brings us at length to the Gospels themselves.

THE GOSPELS.

Here again, we shall observe the same phenomenon; the same grouping and the same proportion as before. Once again we are confronted by “Peter and they that were with him,” and his prominence even in the presence of our Lord is almost as plain as when that visible presence is

afterwards withdrawn. Now when we examine our Lord's method we discover a principle of distinction in it; the disciples as a body being distinguished from the rest of the world, and individual disciples being distinguished from their fellows.

The principle of selection is busily at work from the first: "I have chosen you," is our Saviour's own description of the process; and it is by this selection of the few that He proposes to manage the many; a process, you will observe, which not merely discovers a fact but also discloses a principle.

The process of salvation was not to be a simultaneous rain of redemption all over the earth, but an influence concentrated upon the few at first and spreading itself gradually to the multitude afterwards; the privilege of some which should afterwards become the possession of many. This is important. "To you," our Saviour says "it is given to know the mysteries but to others in parables."

Thus the disciples are marked off from the multitude; and so again among the disciples themselves, "He took with Him Peter, James and John;" and, more particularly still, to the first of these "I say unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church and I will give unto thee the keys and what-

soever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven”

Whatever else you say of this, it is manifestly a distinction of Peter; the others may have had afterwards all that Peter had at first; but the fact still remains that they did have it afterwards and that he did have it first; and certainly no human ruler would so distinguish an individual unless he wished others to distinguish him likewise. It would be an invidious distinction unless it was intended to be a real one; and our Lord's word was always with power. The pieces of the future Church were being fitted together within the womb of our Lord's ministerial life, and one piece was to be called "Peter" and to play a principal part.

There are epochs even in our Lord's brief ministerial course; first "Thou art Simon, thou shalt be called Peter;" next "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build;" and lastly "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep;" literally be a shepherd. "I am the Good Shepherd, and you must be a good shepherd after Me."

It is important to observe also that distinctions are as real when they are natural as when they are supernatural, and that God is wont to confer supernatural endowment upon men whom He has naturally prepared for it. The Holy Spirit does not obliterate the natural characteristics of the Sacred writers before He inspires

their pens, but rather chooses them for those very characteristics that by means of them He may show forth some aspect of the truth.

And so St. Peter had his natural disposition which fitted him for his supernatural endowment; and it is precisely men of such character that we should ourselves choose to govern and preside.

The natural explanation, then, of the prominence which has ever been given to the See of Peter is to be found in the prominence which our Saviour gave to Peter himself.

We began not by proving Peter's prominence in the New Testament, but by calling attention to the fact of his prominence throughout the history of the Church. This is important; St. Peter is in possession; and is recognized and has been recognized from the first by the vast majority of Christians as having a right to his place, a right moreover which has ever been described as divine. This is the obvious fact about him; and to omit this and to begin our study from Scripture itself is to ignore a principal feature in the evidence.

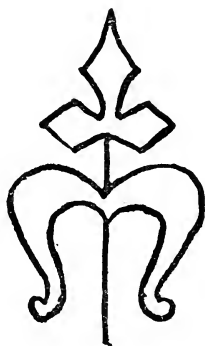
That the great Apostle should have been able to hold his ground for all these centuries constitutes in itself an important factor in the evidence, and it is for those who dispute this to prove from the Gospels that he has no right to be there.

Furthermore, prominent though this Apostle certainly is in the pages of the New Testament we must never forget that the sacred writings were originally addressed to those who already believed, and are not formal works of evidence upon the subject matter of belief. And the same remark applies more truly to the majority of writers who came afterwards; so that except where we have a treatise avowedly designed to expound the principles of Church government we must not look for more than incidental evidence.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this consideration; how many ecclesiastical writings of the present day include any definition of Church government at all, or anything more than a cursory allusion perhaps to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and this without any explanation of his dignity and of his relation to the other bishops. Schanz, the famous German theologian, points to this as a principal mistake with Protestants. "They seek formal and explicit testimonies when there are only implicit. This," he declares, "is the radical fault of the so called historical school as opposed to the dogmatic principle of Tradition." And it is easy to see how you may be misled, if you expect from a writer what he does not even profess to give.

An Anglican then may well state the position to himself thus: the entire Church, East and

West alike accepted the Pope as Primate of Christendom *de jure divino* at the Council of Chalcedon, and this council is formally accepted by the Anglican Church; is the witness of tradition and Scripture consistent with this position or does it manifestly disprove or discountenance it?



CHAPTER III.

ST. PETER IN THE GOSPELS.

I. THE LISTS OF DISCIPLES. There are four lists of disciples in the New Testament—which will be found in St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke and the Acts, as follows :

St. Matthew.

1. Simon.
2. Andrew.
3. James.
4. John.
5. Philip.
6. Bartholomew.
7. Thomas.
8. Matthew.
9. James of Alphæus.
10. Lebbæus.
11. Simon, the Canaanite.
12. Judas Iscariot.

St. Mark.

1. Simon.
2. James.
3. John.
4. Andrew.
5. Philip.
6. Bartholomew.

7. Matthew.
8. Thomas.
9. James.
10. Thaddeus.
11. Simon, the Canaanite.
12. Judas Iscariot.

St. Luke.

1. Simon.
2. Andrew.
3. James.
4. John.
5. Philip.
6. Bartholomew.
7. Matthew.
8. Thomas.
9. James.
10. Simon Zelotes.
11. Jude, brother of James.
12. Judas Iscariot.

Acts.

1. Peter.
2. John.
3. James.
4. Andrew.
5. Philip.
6. Thomas.
7. Bartholomew.
8. Matthew.
9. James.
10. Simon Zelotes.
11. Judas, brother of James.

Comment. In the above lists other names for the most part vary in their order, those of St. Peter as the first, and of Judas the traitor the last, never. St. Matthew begins his enumeration thus "the first—Simon."

That St. Peter's name should be always first and that of Judas last points to the principle of precedence in dignity.

II. PRECEDENCE IN DIGNITY. The conviction that the above is a precedence of dignity grows upon us as we examine the case more closely. Observe, for instance, how the sacred writers group the disciples:—

(1). "Peter and the two sons of Zebedee."

(2). "Peter and they that were with him."

(3). "And Simon and they that were with him, and followed after him."

(4). "Go, tell his disciples and Peter."

III. HIS PROMINENCE. Again observe the prominence of the man himself.

(1). "Lord, if it be Thou bid me come to Thee on the water." He steps out of the boat and surpasses the rest.

(2). "Declare unto us this parable." He acts as spokesman.

(3). "Thou art the Christ." Spokesman again.

(4). "It is good for us to be here" (Transfiguration). Spokesman again.

(5). He follows our Lord to the place of judgment.

(6). "Feed my lambs Feed my sheep" (to Peter alone).

In the four Gospels the name of this Apostle is mentioned as often as 91 times, whereas St. John's name which comes next to his is mentioned only 38 times throughout the entire New Testament. It requires explanation, and the explanation is, that this Apostle was recognized as first in dignity. But this is not the whole explanation; for it is plain that our Lord had placed him there.

"Thou art Simon, thou shalt be called Peter."

"Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Thus Peter appears in the Gospels as the Prince of the Apostles, and when we enquire Why? the answer is because our Lord distinguished him from the rest and placed him there.

And too it must never be forgotten that the four Gospels are not books of Christian evidence but were written for those who already believed. There had been for some years an actual existing society with its constitution already more

or less formed before any words were written.

So that, as we have said elsewhere, the question is not whether you are compelled to believe in St. Peter's privilege when you read the Gospel, but whether the allusions to St. Peter in the Gospel narrative are consistent with the dogmatic statements about him which the great majority of Christians have ever received.

The dignity of St. Peter and of St. Peter's See is an alleged fact in possession. The question is, Do the sacred writings bear out this position, or do they contradict it?

Their evidence for the most part need not be more than incidental, because there was already a living tradition in existence without them.

IV. THE FISHERMAN AND HIS BOAT.
A study of St. Peter, as he appears in the Gospels, would be essentially incomplete did it ignore what may be called *the dramatic teaching* of our Lord as to the part He had pre-destined St. Peter to play in His Church. We know that the favorite method employed by Christ to instruct His disciples in the things of the Kingdom of God was by parable and that these parables were usually dramatic sketches, where a sower would go forth to sow his seed, or a rich man would "fare sumptuously," while a poor beggar starved at his gates. But Christ taught not by word of mouth alone, using imaginary characters to convey the lessons He desired to impress upon the minds of

men, for all Judea and Galilee was a stage upon which He and His disciples performed many "miracle plays," acted out many dramas and every one of these gospel scenes was meant to be a revelation of Divine truth. Next to our Lord, St. Peter is confessedly the chief actor and his role must be carefully studied, if, as we have already said, his place in the Church of God is to be adequately appreciated.

Not to unduly prolong the present chapter, one scene as sketched by St. Luke must suffice for this special department of our study of St. Peter in the Gospels.

"And it came to pass, that, as the people pressed upon Him to hear the word of God, He stood by the Lake of Genesaret, and saw two ships standing by the lake; but the fishermen were gone out of them and were mending their nets. And He entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land. And He sat down and taught the people out of the ship. Now when He had left speaking He said unto Simon, Launch out into the deep and let down your nets for a draught. And Simon answering said unto Him, Master, we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing: nevertheless at Thy word I will let down the net. And when they had this done they enclosed a great multitude of fishes: and their net brake. . . . And Jesus said

unto Simon, Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men." (St. Luke v., 1-11.)

That our Lord meant the scene to be didactic is evident from what He said to St. Peter: "Fear not, Simon, henceforth thou shalt catch men." The sense is clear, the Galilean fisherman is to become a fisher of men. We know also that this name has clung to St. Peter, and to his successors in the Apostolic See, all along through the Christian centuries. St. Peter was not the only fisherman Jesus called to follow him, neither is the Bishop of Rome the only one in the Apostolic sense to whom has been transmitted the office of catching men. But as a simple matter of fact the title of "The Fisherman" has at some time or some how come to be possessed exclusively by the successors of St. Peter.

If any student of Christian literature, be he Roman, or Anglican or Eastern, be he Catholic or Protestant, or even atheist or pagan, should encounter in his reading the expression, "the throne of the fisherman," or "the fisherman's ring" he would without any question know that the expression referred to the Popes as successors of him to whom Christ originally said: "Henceforth thou shalt catch men."

In one of His parables our Lord likens the Catholic Church to "a net that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind." (St. Matt. xiii, 47.) And here we have the parable acted

out in detail. Simon Peter at the command of Christ lets down the net into the sea, so vast a multitude of fish is enclosed that the net breaks; Simon is compelled to beckon to his partners in the other ship to come and help him. There is an abundance of work for all hands, both ships are filled to overflowing and begin to sink. Surely in all this we have foreshadowed the history of Christian missions. But just now our eyes are fixed upon St. Peter and we see that by giving him the chief part to play Christ is revealing his predestined office in the Church of God.

It is St. Peter's ship into which our Lord chooses to enter. A ship has always served as the type of the Church. The place assigned to the faithful in a church building is called the *nave*, from *navis*, a ship. Therefore in entering Peter's ship and teaching the people out of it, Christ gave an object lesson which all generations of Catholic believers have readily understood. By common consent "Peter's ship" ages ago became a synonym for the Catholic Church and of that ship, in the popular understanding of the phrase, St. Peter's successor at Rome still remains in full command.

What I have said above about the accepted meaning in Christian literature of "the fisherman's ring" and the "fisherman's throne" is equally true of the expression, "Peter's Ship," or "Peter's Boat." And in this connection be-

cause out of Peter's ship Christ taught the multitudes, whether men accept Papal Infallibility or not, all Christians by the sheer force of association think of the Divine Teacher in Peter's boat when, as in 1854 and in 1870, the Pope speaks *ex cathedra*.

V. A SUMMARY. Studied with a fair and open mind in the light of nineteen hundred years of Church History and the actual conditions of the Christian world to-day there is no evidence more powerful for the universal Headship of St. Peter and his successors in office than the Gospel record of our Lord's own words to Simon Peter.

That our readers may have before them a condensed presentment of this evidence in its vividness and strength we have collected out of the Gospels the principal Petrine texts in their order with the briefest possible commentary taken from the highest sources.

(A). Not only is St. Peter's name always put at the head of the list, as was noted above, whenever the Twelve Apostles are enumerated in the New Testament, but St. Matthew expressly calls him, "the First" i. e. the Primate or chief one. (St. Matthew x, 2.)

(B). Simon is brought to Jesus by his brother Andrew, "and when Jesus beheld him He said, Thou art Simon the son of Jona, thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation a stone." (St. John i, 42.) Thus at their first meeting Jesus promises a special name to Simon, which

at once reveals an intention on the part of the "Rock of Ages" of associating this man peculiarly with Himself.

(C). The name thus significantly promised is actually given when Christ chooses and sets apart the Twelve Apostles. Of so much importance is this conferring a new name on the Galilean fisherman that three of the Evangelists make mention of it. Says St. Mark, "To Simon He gave the name of Peter"; St. Luke records, "Simon, who is called Peter"; St. Matthew, "Simon who is named Peter." Thus all four Evangelists (note the quotation from St. John above) tell us about this new name of Bar-Jona. This is the more extraordinary when we consider that only three of them mention the Institution of the Blessed Sacrament., (the fourth account being supplied by St. Paul).

(D). The explanation of this extraordinary attention paid to the surnaming of Simon is given in the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew. "When Jesus came into the coasts of Caesarea Philippi, He asked His disciples saying, Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?. And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the Living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona; for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art

Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.” Could words be plainer? Surely the simplest and most obvious understanding of them is the right one. Until it became the interest of separatists from the Unity of the Church to read into them some other interpretation they were commonly understood to mean just what they say, viz. that our Lord had called Simon from the beginning Peter because He intended to make him the rock on which after Himself He would build His Church. It is because this interpretation of the text was the generally accepted one by the ancients, that among the many titles given to the First of the Apostles by the Fathers, Councils and Liturgies of the Primitive Church the greatest number have reference to him as the rock-foundation of the Catholic Church. Here are a few of them: “The rock of the Church” (Hilary of Poitiers): “the rock of the Church that was to be built” (Tertullian): “receiving on himself the building of the Church” (Basil): “the immovable rock” (Epiphanius): “the most solid rock” (Theodoret): “the rock which the proud gates of hell prevail not against” (Augustine): “the foundation second from Christ” (Gregory Nazianzen): “the great foundation of the Church” (Origen): “the support of the Church (Gallican Sacramentary): “the rock and foundation of the Catholic

Church, and the basis of the orthodox faith" (Council of Chalcedon). St. Leo, the Great, has paraphrased the passage as follows: "For thou art Peter, that is, whereas I am the inviolable Rock, I the corner stone who made both one, I the foundation besides which no man can lay another: yet thou art also a Rock because thou art consolidated by My might, that what things alone are Mine, by My power may become common to thee by participation with Me."

(E). Immense as the foregoing is it is not all: Our Lord continues: "And I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Granted that Christ intended to give to St. Peter all that the saints and doctors of the Church have ever claimed that He did, could He have used stronger language in expressing that intention than is here set down? As Christ is the Rock-foundation of the Church and yet shares this with St. Peter, so by a change of figure He promises that He will give him government and jurisdiction over His Church. Whatever may be said about His afterwards conveying the power of binding and loosing to *all* the Apostles (on which fact no one insists more than the Church of Rome) yet it remains that *alone to St. Peter* did He say "*I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of*

Heaven.” The giving of keys has been by all ritual usage whether sacred or profane the outward and visible sign of investiture, possession and authority, and both the Old and New Testament afford us striking illustrations. God by the mouth of the Prophet Isaiah says: “I will call My servant Eliakim . . . and I will clothe him with My robe, and I will commit thy government into his hand: and he shall be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah. And *the key of the house of David* will I lay upon his shoulders; so he shall open and none shall shut; and he shall shut and none shall open.” (Isaiah xxii. 20-22). Christ’s supreme dominion over His Church is expressed by exactly the same figure in Revelations (iii. 7) “These things saith He that *hath the key of David, He that openeth and no man shutteth and shutteth and no man openeth.*”

(F). In the very next chapter of St. Matthew’s gospel is recorded a striking proof in practice as to our Lord’s intention of making St. Peter His Vicar. “And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received tribute money came to Peter and said, Doth not your Master pay tribute? He saith, Yes. And when he was come into the house, Jesus prevented him, saying, What thinkest thou, Simon, of whom do the kings of the earth take custom and tribute, of their own children or of strangers? Peter saith

unto Him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money; that take and give unto them *for Me and thee.*" (St. Matt. xvii.24-27). Not only do the tax-gatherers come to St. Peter as the one, whom they evidently understood to be authorized to speak for the Master, and not only does St. Peter give them an authoritative answer but the Master in telling him how to make good that answer uses the extraordinary words "For Me and thee." It must be evident to every one that as Levi and all the children of Israel "paid tithes in Abraham, when Melchisedec met him" (Hebrews vii. 9) so the whole Catholic Church of the future was involved in this question of Christ and St. Peter paying tribute. Without forcing the text in the least it is easy and natural to understand our Lord as saying in substance to the First of the Apostles: "A matter of principle is involved in this transaction and I wish to establish a precedent for all time in My Church and kingdom. You will remember how a few days ago I promised to you the keys of authority in this kingdom, now therefore go and do as I tell you *for Me and thee* and since you are My Vicar you will understand that you are paying tribute not only for us but

for these also who are and shall be one with us.”

(G). At the Last Supper in order to give the future rulers of His Kingdom an object lesson of how they should discharge their office Jesus rises from the table and girding Himself with a towel proceeds to wash the feet of His disciples and also tells them “He that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger, and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.” Remembering this admonition the Bishops of Rome from the earliest times have signed themselves the “servant of the servants of God.” Then having assured them all that He “appointed them a kingdom” and that they should “sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel,” He turns and addressess Himself directly to St. Peter: “Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to have you (plural) that he may sift you as wheat” (St. Luke xxii. 31). Take note that although Simon is addressed individually it is as the representative or head of the whole body. “Satan hath desired to sift *you*” i. e. St. Peter and “those who were with him,” the entire body of the Apostles. Next mark the counter move of Christ to checkmate His adversary. The Vatican Definition of 1870 quotes the words which follow as containing in them the Divine Promise of Papal Infallibility and they reveal the sure basis of Church Unity. “But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted, strengthen thy

brethren." What is infallibility, but a faith that fails not, and what unity can there be save round one central figure strong enough to impart solidity to all, who are united with him? The infallibility and solidarity of His Church are the two things which our Lord prayed might be preserved in St. Peter and if the prayer is not fulfilled in St. Peter's successor at Rome to-day, then where on earth is it fulfilled?

Take a look back at this point and note how consistent all the speeches and acts of our Lord to St. Peter have been so far. He first promises him a name which means stability and strength, then He actually confers it, then awhile after He explains its significance "thou art Peter and on this rock I will build My Church." He further promises him the keys of His kingdom, then we find Christ commissioning him to act as His Vicar, to pay tribute and saying: "Do this for Me and thee." Forecasting the future of His Church and the malicious designs of Satan against it He reveals what He has done and will do to circumvent the old Dragon by telling St. Peter in the presence of the others that He has prayed for him that his faith would never fail and that his offices should be to strengthen his brethren. Then comes the Crucifixion and the Resurrection and still our Lord's words and actions towards St. Peter show that He has undergone no change of mind concerning him. He appears to him

first before He does to the other disciples after the resurrection. St. Peter is still in the foreground just as formerly. But it is St. John who sketches the crowning scene of all, that scene where the great Master Builder completes the constitution of His Church by lifting into its place the key-stone of the arch, binding the whole into one.

“When, therefore they had dined, Jesus said to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me more than these? He saith unto Him, Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him, Feed My Lambs.

“He saith to him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? He saith unto Him, Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him, Feed My sheep.

He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me? Peter was grieved because He said unto him the third time, Lovest thou Me? And he said unto Him, Lord, Thou knowest all things, Thou knowest that I love Thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed My sheep.” (St. John xxi. 15-17).

Some have said that no jurisdiction over all the sheep of Christ was given to St. Peter in these three sentences; that all the passage means is that as St. Peter had denied his Lord three times he was re-instated as a shepherd along with the other Apostles by a thrice repeated sentence of forgiveness and restoration.

There is very little doubt that Jesus had the threefold denial in mind, but if St. Peter is henceforth to be a shepherd of the lambs and sheep in no more exalted sense than the other Apostles, why did Christ not include them also in His speech? "They all forsook him and fled" (St. Matt. xxvi. 56) and with the exception of St. John who among them behaved any better than did St. Peter? If he needed a re-instatement they needed it too. In fact Jesus did afterwards invest them all with a world wide commission and endowed them as a united college with the plenitude of His own Divine mission, but as He said to Peter alone: "Thou art the rock; I will give unto thee the keys; I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not; strengthen thy brethren," so to put the key-stone more firmly into the arch of Catholic Unity He said three times to him, who was to represent pre-eminently the Good Shepherd, "Feed My lambs; feed My sheep; feed My sheep."



CHAPTER IV.

S. PETER IN THE ACTS.

The book of the Acts falls into two principal divisions; the former half speaking to us of the Church in general, and the latter, of St. Paul's labours in particular; and it has been said with truth that the former half might be described as the Acts of Peter; for he is mentioned oftener than all the rest put together; he takes the leading part everywhere; he is mentioned directly, others obliquely; he answers for all the Apostles; and his actions and speeches are recorded in full.

His name occurs more than 50 times (Acts I-XII) the next after him being mentioned only 8 times; and yet, as Allies tells us, the book is a history of them all—"The Acts of the Apostles."

Again, he takes the leading part:—"In those days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples and said, men and brethren . . ."

"But Peter standing up with the eleven lifted up his voice . . . This Jesus hath God raised up whereof we all are witnesses."

"Now when they heard this, they . . . said unto Peter and to the rest of the Apostles, men

and brethren, what shall we do? Then Peter said unto them”

Again his name is mentioned directly, the rest obliquely:—

“In those days Peter rising up in the midst of the brethren”

“Peter standing up with the eleven”

“They said to Peter and to the rest of the Apostles.”

“Peter and the Apostles answering said”

Peter again, answers for all the Apostles:—

“Peter seeing, made answer to the people.”

“What shall we do men and brethren?
But Peter said to them.”

“Ananias brought a certain part and laid it at the Apostles feet. But Peter said”

“By what power have ye done this? Then Peter—filled with the Holy Ghost, said”

Once more, his speeches are recorded in full; so that it has been truly said “One Apostle marked off from the rest is found to act a leading part in the counsels of the Apostolic Church which it is impossible to explain upon any theory but that of his pre-eminence in the Apostolical College. The same Apostle determines important questions, his judgment being accepted by his brethren as final. No great Apostolical work is done without him while some are entrusted to his single administration. The power of life and

death, the special prerogative of sovereign authority, is exercised by him alone. His presence is regarded as peculiarly important to the Church; indeed as the hinge upon which its fortunes turn.*

* "One other instance there is of Peter's superior dignity, and therefore importance in the Apostolic College, which if, perhaps, less direct than some of the foregoing is even more persuasive. James was the first of the Apostolic choir to drink, as he had promised, of his Lord's Chalice and to seal his labours and trials with his blood. The occasion was a great and striking one. It is thus recorded by St. Luke: 'And at the same time Herod the King stretched forth his hand to afflict some of the Church, and he killed James, the brother of John, with the sword.' This is the first and last time that he is mentioned by himself in Luke's inspired history of the Universal Church. Great as he was, so eminently favored by his Lord, the elder brother of John, nothing is said of the Church's anxiety for his danger, her prayers for his release, her sorrow for his loss, or her exultation at his triumph by witnessing unto blood. He passed to his throne in heaven with this short record. The more emphatic is the contrast following: 'And seeing that it pleased the Jews he proceeded to take Peter also. Now it was in the days of the Azymes. And when he had apprehended him he cast him into prison, delivering him to four files of soldiers to be kept, intending after the pasch to bring him forth to the people. Peter therefore was kept in prison. *But prayer was made without ceasing by the Church unto God for him.*' That is, by the instinct of self-preservation, she prayed for her head. A few years later another Apostle, after glorious labours by land and sea, and missions of unrivalled suc-

And St. Chrysostom says:—

“Behold him making his rounds on every side, and the first to be found; when an Apostle was to be chosen, he was the first; when the Jews were to be told that they were not drunken; when the lame man was to be healed; when the multitude was to be addressed, he is before the rest; when they had to do with the rulers, it is he; when with Ananias, when healings took place from the shadow, still it is he. Where there was danger, it is he, and where there was dispensation, but when all is tranquil, they act in common.”

Again, the same writer says: “How are they the Acts of all the Apostles? Because according to Paul, when one member is glorified, all the members are glorified with it.”

And in allusion to the election of Matthias, and in answer to the question why Peter alone stood up, St. Chrysostom says: “Both as fervent

cess, was seized and imprisoned in this same city of Jerusalem and in danger of his life. But we do not hear of prayers being offered up without ceasing even for Paul, the Doctor of the nations. The Church's safety was not bound up with his, any more than with that of James, and therefore not even of the great preacher ‘in labours more abundant than all,’ are we told that in the hour of danger ‘prayer was made without ceasing by the Church unto God for him.’ James and Paul were most distinguished *members*, but Peter was more.” *St. Peter, His Name and His Office.* T. W. Allies, pp. 183-185.

and as one entrusted by Christ with the flock, and as the first of the choir, he ever first begins to speak."

Again, "Might not Peter by himself have elected? Certainly; but he does not do so that he may not seem partial."

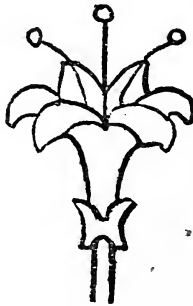
Once more, in allusion to the day of Pentecost: "What means *with the eleven*? They uttered a common voice, and he was the mouth-piece of all. And the eleven stand beside him, bearing witness to his words."

Repeatedly in the Acts the Apostolic College comes before us as a body with one who is plainly and practically recognized as head; and St. Chrysostom says "because entrusted by Christ with the flock."

Dr. Dollinger in "The First Age of the Church" has given the following summary of *St. Peter in the Acts*:

"It is Peter who appoints that one shall be elected to the place of Judas, and presides at the election. It is Peter who stands up with the eleven on Pentecost Day to preach the Gospel; and it is to Peter and the eleven that the multitude reply. It is Peter, though accompanied by John, who performs the miracle on the lame man at the gate of the Temple. It is Peter who on that occasion explained in Solomon's Porch the power of Christ. It is Peter, though both he and John are arrested, who makes the defense."

“The punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, the anathema on Simon Magus the first heretic, the first visiting and confirming the Churches under persecution, were all Peter’s acts. If he was sent with John by the Apostolic College to the new converts at Samaria, he was himself member and President of that College.”



CHAPTER V.

THE COUNCIL AT JERUSALEM.

I. FOREWORD. Controversialists of the anti-papal school have three or four texts in the New Testament which they never fail to bring forward as conclusive proof that St. Peter had no pre-eminence in the Apostolic College. One of these texts occurs in connection with the Council at Jerusalem. "St. James," they say, "and not St. Peter, presided and pronounced the final sentence. This proves conclusively that St. Peter was not recognized by the Apostles as having any headship over them."

Before approaching to the critical examination of this assertion will the reader please bear in mind how much has already been brought forward in support of St. Peter's Primacy and therefore how exceedingly strong the contrary evidence will have to be to offset and overthrow it.

We know of several texts in the New Testament which the Unitarians are constantly bringing forward to prove that Christ was not God as for example where our Lord says: "The Father is greater than I."

Now our theologians have quite rightly contended that the evidence in the New Testament for the Divinity of Christ is so strong and conclusive that in the interest of truth and consistency we are bound to interpret the texts which seem to tell against His Divinity in a manner which harmonizes them with the entire body of Holy Writ. Otherwise the Word of God is made to contradict itself.

And so in regard to St. Peter we are bound to interpret the very few passages which seem to contradict his Primacy in a manner that harmonizes them with the rest of Holy Scripture, otherwise we make of the New Testament not a consistent whole, but a mass of contradictions.

In proceeding to the consideration of the Council of Jerusalem and of one or two difficult sayings of St. Paul we do not expect to convince any against their will, but only to show such as are open to conviction how readily the texts in question can be brought into entire harmony with the sayings of our Lord to St. Peter and the other portions of Holy Scripture which strongly make for his Primacy.

II. THE COUNCIL. A specific and momentous question had arisen in the Church, viz., whether circumcision after the manner of Moses was still necessary to salvation. Certain men which came down from Judea declared that it was, and "no small dissension and disputation" arose, until it

was decided that Paul and Barnabas should go up to the Apostles at Jerusalem "about this question." We must not read the organized conditions of after times into this first simple moment; a difficult question came up for consideration, and the Apostles as a body had to decide it; these Apostles, according to the Catholic position, being all of them infallible and all of them therefore so far equal.

We get an interesting peep here into the first moment of tradition, for the general multitude it will be observed disputed, but did not dispose of, the question; it had to be referred to the Apostles, and it was from the Apostles that they received instructions, or instructions were handed down, how they ought to walk.

Next comes the muster which is deliberate:—"And the Apostles and elders came together for to consider this matter."

Here, then, we find ourselves at Jerusalem in the presence of an infallible body of men.

(1). It is the believing Pharisees at Jerusalem that start the discussion there, and the matter is disputed for some time, which probably means that several voices chimed in together, and tempers were waxing warm.

(2). Evidently this must be brought to some issue, and one of the Apostles therefore rises up and addresses the meeting, "Men and brethren. . . ."

Who is this? It is St. Peter. Observe, St. James the bishop of the diocese (as we should now express it) is present, and would be recognized by the Pharisees in question as their father in God. But Peter is the first one to break in upon the discussion, and the bishop of the diocese and the other brethren are now listening to him.

“Men and brethren, ye know how that a good while ago God made choice among us that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the Gospel and believe. And God which knoweth the hearts bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as He did unto us; and put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. Now, therefore, why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they.”

Such are the words of St. Peter who is the first to break in with a formal speech, and that a speech which discloses his distinction from all the rest, the bishop of Jerusalem himself included.

He was sent primarily to the Church of the Circumcision, that is, to the original Church, but he had also been singled out from the rest

as the one who should first declare the Gospel to the Gentile Church also.

(3) Next, Paul and Barnabas stand up and give an account of their missionary labours and how God had blessed them; "all the multitude keeping silence."

(4) Finally, St. James rises to speak.

"Men and brethren, hearken unto me: Simon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles . . . and to this agree the words of the prophets, (see Acts xv, 14-18) . . . Wherefore my sentence is that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles are turned to God."

III. COMMENT. There is then the Council itself, and there is the meaning we are to attack to the Council; or, in other words, there is the fact and there is the significance of the fact.

I. And first, the fact unfolds itself thus:—

St. Peter is the first to break in upon the discussion with a formal speech, in which he does not speak under correction; he does not say "I venture to think," or "I think, if my judgment in the matter is worthy of consideration," or "I speak under correction, and no doubt your bishop who is here, will have decisive words of his own to say." Not this; but, "Why tempt ye God . . ." and "*we* believe . . . we shall be saved, even as they."

What does St. Chrysostom, the great admirer

of St. Paul, say? He declares that Peter "allowed the discussion to arise." "Observe, he first permits the question to be moved in the Church, and then speaks."*

As regards these two and indeed as regards all the Apostles at the Council it is to be remembered that as Apostles they possessed judicial authority, and were there to give sentence; as indeed subsequently appears in the wording of the formal letter they drew up, which ran thus:—

"The Apostles and Elders and brethren send

*"But why does Peter first rise and decide the cause? Because he was the first of the Apostles, and as such supreme arbiter in controversy. . . . But how did the Council receive (the words of St. Peter)? Though 'there had been much disputing before,' though the keenest feeling had been excited, and the point involved the strongest prepossessions of the Jewish converts, 'all the multitude held their peace.' They acquiesced in Peter's judgment, and now readily 'heard Barnabas and Paul telling what great signs and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them.' . . . But is this affected by other persons likewise speaking and voting, as Paul and Barnabas? or by St. James likewise giving his sentence, as an Apostle? or by the whole matter being settled by common consent? As little as to be the head involves being all; as to preside over the rest takes from them the power of deliberation and resolution. Rather it is the office of the head and the president to take the initiative, and to point out the course which the others are to follow." *St. Peter, His Name and Office, by T. W. Allies, pp. 178, 180.*

greeting . . . for it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us. . . .”

Please observe at this point that it is a pure assumption that St. James presided in this council. The inspired record says nothing of the sort. What is plain is that in the formal speeches at the end St. Peter is the first to rise and take the lead, that later on St. James asks them to hear his view of the matter and that he expressly bases his judgment upon what St. Peter had previously said.

Dr. Hort, who was the most moderate of Churchmen, will not be suspected of any Catholic bias, and his interpretation runs thus:—

“There is nothing in St. Luke’s words (in the Acts) which bears out what is often said that St. James presided over the Conference at Jerusalem. . . . In the decisive speeches at the end the lead is taken by St. Peter, the foremost of the twelve . . . the words which begin his (St. James’) conclusion cannot reasonably be understood as an authoritative judgment pronounced by himself independently. The whole context of what is said in verse 22 about the actual decision makes that interpretation morally impossible. . . . The sense is doubtless, ‘I for my part judge. This is my vote,’ as we should say. . . .”

While another Anglican dignitary in his day, Thorndike, writes:—“The decree of the Council as it resolved upon St. Peter’s reason, so is

it framed and drawn up in St. James's terms; the one as the first of the Apostles, the other as having the charge of the Church there."

As St. Jerome says (Peter first laid down) "the rule, to which James and all the elders acceded."

We conclude this chapter by an apt quotation from "*Infallibility, a Paper read before the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury*" (pp. 55, 56) by the Rev. Vincent McNabb, the Dominican Prior of Woodchester, England. After commenting on the words of our Lord to St. Peter, contained in St. Luke's Gospel, "But I have prayed for thee (Simon) that thy faith fail not; and thou being once converted confirm thy brethren," he passes on to say:

"St. Luke's next most important witness to St. Peter's Infallibility is in his account of the Council of Jerusalem. 'And the Apostles and Ancients assembled to consider of this matter. And when there had been much disputing, Peter, rising up, said, Men, brethren, you know that in former days God made choice among us that by my mouth the Gentiles should have the word of God.' St. Luke had already narrated the dissension amongst the Apostles at the Last Supper as to who should be the greater, and how, at our Lord's clear choice of Peter, the strife was quelled. St. Luke again records another dissension, which was again quelled, not by our Lord, but by

St. Peter, who boldly appeals to God's election of *his mouth* to speak to the Gentiles. When St. Peter had spoken, St. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, rose accepting the doctrinal principle implied, he went on to suggest the practical steps to be taken in the matter. St. Luke has thus given us, not merely the bestowal, but also the exercise of St. Peter's power of settling disputes and confirming the faith of his brethren by a word of his mouth."



CHAPTER VI.

ST. PAUL'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS ST. PETER.

I.—“I WITHSTOOD HIM TO THE FACE.”

Mr. William George Ward once said: “There is no part of the New Testament which has more frequently been alleged by Protestants against the doctrine of St. Peter's Supremacy, than the Second Chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians. . . I believe that its real bearing is most truly and decisively in the opposite direction. For myself I am confident, not merely that it does not disprove the doctrine of St. Peter's Supremacy, but that it very emphatically corroborates that doctrine.”

Let us examine the case.

I. First, we know of course, that the Epistle to the Galatians is unlike any other letter of St. Paul's in the New Testament: the Apostle is evidently both angry and anxious, and we must begin by asking why.

His steps are dogged by the party known as the Judaizers, who endeavored to undermine his authority with the Galatians, who had followed him so faithfully at first.

St. Paul had taught, for instance, that circum-

cision had passed away with the old covenant, but the Judaizers stepped in and contradicted this, "constraining" the Galatians to be circumcised. This explains the exclamation of the Apostle: "Having begun in the spirit are ye made perfect in the flesh?"

More particularly these false teachers declared that St. Paul taught a different gospel from the older Apostles.

Who was it, then, who had bewitched the foolish Galatians? Who was it who was poisoning their minds against their Missioner? Who was it who was insinuating a doubt as to whether St. Paul's Gospel was really the same with that of the older Apostles? Who was it who was sending them back again to the "beggarly elements" of the law? It was the sect of the Judaizers; and the Apostle saw them in the background, and had them and their false teaching in his mind throughout.

2. How, then, does St. Paul address himself to this situation? First, he speaks of two visits that he paid to Jerusalem.

(a.) "I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter." (i, 18).

St. Chrysostom's comment is, "He said not to see Peter, but to visit Peter, as they say in becoming acquainted with great and illustrious cities" (that is the force of the Greek word which is here translated "see").

What was the reason of this first visit? May we not say, "to pay his respects to the Prince of the Apostles."

So far, it is plain that St. Paul, after the pause which followed upon his conversion, began by taking the deliberate step of paying a visit to St. Peter; and the force of the Greek word here translated, "to see," implies an attitude of deference as to an important personage.

(b) Next, in chapter two, he tells us how after many years, he went up to pay a second visit to the Apostles at Jerusalem, taking with him Barnabas and Titus. This was by revelation; that is it was God who led him to take this step.

We ask again, as we did in regard to the first visit, "Why?" What purpose was this second visit intended to subserve? St. Paul gives the answer himself: "lest I should run or had run in vain."

Now the paraphrase of these words by Estius and other Catholic commentators, as quoted by Ward, runs thus:—

"Lest, by being misunderstood, and thought to differ in doctrine from the earlier Apostles, my labours both past and present, should be frustrated and deprived of good result." The Galatians must not imagine that St. Paul differed from the earlier Apostles; and his visit to those Apostles and the way in which they received him, would convince them that there was no differ-

ence, and that his Gospel was identical with theirs; for "James and Cephas and John who seemed to be pillars (that is, who *were* pillars) . . . gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision."

"That will show you," he seems to say, "how false it is of the Judaizers to tell you that the other Apostles and myself are not thoroughly at one in this matter."

Now if this interpretation be correct, is it likely that St. Paul would allow himself immediately afterwards to say words which might seem to be disparaging? And yet what he actually goes on to say may at first appear like this: "But of these who seemed to be somewhat (whatsoever they were it maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's person) for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me." "Those who seemed," as we have said, is equivalent to "those who were justly in repute." Compare "there arose a strife among them which should be greatest," where the original runs "which of them seems to be greatest." Here, then, St. Paul wishes to show on the one hand that his message is the same as theirs, and yet on the other hand that he did not have to go to them to learn it, for he received it directly from heaven, being himself inspired as well as they, and being, like them, also infallible. As he says

in chapter I, verse I; "Paul an Apostle (not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ . . .").

This second visit, then, convinced the older Apostles of "the grace that was given" to St. Paul; they compared notes and it was plain that the Holy Spirit had made the Gospel message quite plain to St. Paul's mind and that there was, therefore, no sort of difference in their teaching, and it was consequently agreed that he should go on with his mission to the Gentiles as St. Peter was going on with his mission to the Jews.

Without such a meeting, then, and without such a careful comparing of notes a divergence might have arisen, however unintentionally, and St. Paul's work would have been all in vain ("I should run or had run in vain"). For after all there is but one Gospel, there is not another; and if St. Paul or any one else, even an angel from heaven, should preach another Gospel, let him be accursed.

The comparing of notes, then, ensured coincidence in teaching without, however, detracting from St. Paul's divine apostleship.

3. "But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed."

Whatever the reason for this attitude of St. Paul, it is urged, how can you say that he recognized any supremacy in St. Peter, when he "withstood him to the face?"

First, the question before them was one of conduct and discipline, not of dogma or doctrine, and therefore no question of infallibility comes up. Though, as Father Vincent McNabb shows ("Infallibility," p. 78), "to conclude that St. Peter would not have been reprehended by St. Paul had he been infallible is really to imply that none of the Apostles, not even St. Paul, was infallible." The fact is a true economy had to be practised in apostolic days. It was a time of transition; and the Apostles who were Jews themselves sometimes found it the wiser plan to humour the Jewish converts and not insist at once upon their giving up the ceremonial law. "Fearing those who were of the circumcision," signifies 'fearing for them;' as in chapter iv, verse II, "I fear you, (that is, my fear in regard to you is) lest I should have laboured in vain among you."

Some of the Jews would invite this treatment by their narrowness or inability to open their minds to the new dispensation; others would not experience the same difficulty."

In this case, when St. Peter found himself surrounded mainly with Gentile converts he felt he could safely put on one side such Jewish rites as had to do with "eating and drinking;" on the other hand, when the more bigoted Christian Jews came down to Antioch he feared this might scandalize them; they were not ready yet, perhaps, for the full truth, and to thrust it upon

them in all its fulness at this stage, might simply drive them out of the fold; so he practised this simulation, and those who were with him not unnaturally followed in his steps. Thus St. Peter regarding this question from the Jewish standpoint was keenly alive to the possible scandal of hurrying the Christian Jews out of their old habits; St. Paul, on the other hand, viewing it from the Gentile standpoint feared that the Gentiles would be scandalized by this economy; and he told St. Peter so, plainly; "I withstood him to the face." The very way he expresses himself shows how bold a step he thought it. Such an expression would have been unnecessary and out of place if St. Peter had been an ordinary person in no wise superior to himself. Here again, then, assuming that St. Peter *was* absolutely wrong and not merely that St. Paul *thought* him wrong, it touches neither his primacy nor his infallibility if on other and good grounds he be understood to possess them; for questions of conduct and discipline are on a plane altogether distinct from that of dogma and do not touch infallibility. Tertullian reminds us that it was "an error of conduct and not of teaching."

Again St. Chrysostom says: "St. Peter was the chosen one of the Apostles, the mouth of the disciples, the leader of the band; on this account, also, St. Paul went up upon a time to inquire of him rather than the others."

Theodoret, again, "Not wanting doctrines from men, as having received them from the God of all, he pays suitable honour to the chief." While St. Cyprian sums up the situation thus:

"Not even Peter, whom the Lord chose as first, and on whom He built His Church, insolently claimed anything for himself, when Paul afterwards reasoned with him on the subject of circumcision; nor took upon him to say in an arrogant manner, that he had the Primacy, and ought rather to be obeyed by those who were less ripe, and later than himself; but he readily admitted the counsel of truth, and gave easy access to that legitimate consideration which St. Paul adduced."

St. Peter's relation to St. Paul, then, seems to have been similar to his relation to the earlier disciples; except that whereas St. Peter had received a primacy for the founding of the Church St. Paul also, but afterwards, received a primacy for the founding of the Churches of the Gentiles. And as the Churches of the Gentiles were grafted on to the original Church, so the Gentile primate St. Paul was grafted on to the original and ecumenical primate St. Peter; for which reason it was fitting, as it also is in fact, that the Church of the whole world, that is of Rome, which was then the imperial centre of the world, should have the double dedication of St. Peter and St.

Paul, and yet that in all ages it should be known more particularly as "the See of Peter."

If, then, the great majority of Christians in the world recognize St. Peter as the Prince of the Apostles, and his successors in the Roman See as inheriting his privilege, there is nothing in this encounter at Antioch which is incompatible with this position, while the language and conduct of St. Paul in other parts of the same Epistle plainly conforms to it.

II.—THE CORYPHÆUS.

Immense as was his admiration for St. Paul, St. Chrysostom gives to St. Peter the designation of *Coryphæus*, or Leader, of the Apostolic band. Praising St. Paul's humility, he says:

"Paul was the servant not only of the Coryphæus of those Saints, but absolutely of all the Apostles, and this though he excelled all by his labours, in spite of which he thought himself to be the last. . . . You see this humble soul? . . . he was aware *how great a superiority* (*proedria* Grk.) Peter must enjoy, and he revered him more than all men, and he esteemed him according to his dignity. The whole world was looking to Paul, the care of the Churches throughout the world was hung upon his soul, every day he transacted a thousand matters . . . ; and setting all this aside, he went to Jerusalem, and there

was no other pretext for his journey, but to see Peter, as he himself says, "I went up to Jerusalem to visit Peter," so greatly did he honour him and set him before all. And then, when he had seen him, did he return at once? By no means; but he abode with him fifteen days. Tell me, then, if you should see some general, noble and famous, who, when war was begun, when the armies were in array, when the fight was at its hottest, when a thousand matters called him, should leave the ranks, and go off to find some friend—would you seek for a greater proof, tell me, of his good will to that man? I think not. . . . So much did he reverence Peter, that, with such necessity weighing upon him and pressing him, he ran for Peter's sake to Jerusalem, and remained with him fifteen days before returning."

"See Paul's wisdom (I Cor. ix:5 'have we not power . . . as well as the rest of the Apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas') he puts the Coryphæus last, for in that position he places his most powerful point. For it was not so wonderful, to represent the others taking about a sister as the primate (*protostates* Grk.) he who was entrusted with the keys of heaven." —(*St. Chrys: Hom. 21, in Cor.*)

"Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul: and I of Apollos: and I of Cephas: and I of Christ."

Here St. Paul places himself on the lowest step, and, gradually mounting up to Christ, places Cephias next to Christ.

“For all things are yours, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephias, or the world”

“That He was seen of Cephias, then of the twelve.”

“When they had seen that to me was committed the Gospel of the uncircumcision, as to Peter was that of the circumcision; for He who wrought in Peter to the Apostleship of the circumcision, wrought in me also among the Gentiles.”

Ambrosiaster, speaking on the above, says:—

“Paul names Peter only, and compares him to himself, as having received the primacy *for the founding of the Church*, he being in like manner elected to hold a primacy *in founding the Church of the Gentiles*, yet so that Peter, if occasion might be, should preach to the Gentiles, and Paul to the Jews.”

Allies says: “The Apostles saw that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was no less given to me above the rest than the Gospel of the circumcision to Peter above the rest; for He who wrought in Peter above the rest in the Gospel of the circumcision, wrought also in me above the rest in the Gospel of the uncircumcision.”

“But what can set forth St. Peter’s dignity more remarkably than to exhibit him in the same

light of superiority among the original Apostles, as St Paul was among St. Barnabas and his other fellow workers?"

Of St. Paul's rebuke to St. Peter, Ambrosiaster says:—

"Therefore he inveighs against Peter alone, in order that the rest might learn in the person of him who is the first."

St. Chrysostom says:—

"Christ (like a wise king who has one general for the cavalry and another for the infantry) divided His army, the Jews to Peter, the Gentiles to Paul."

"And he (St. Paul) shows himself to be equal in honour and compares himself, not with the others, *but with the Coryphaeus*, showing that each enjoyed the same dignity."

Father Chapman writes:—

"St. Paul shares in that ecumenicity of Apostleship which St. Chrysostom so frequently attributes to Peter, 'to whom were committed the sheep,' 'who was entrusted with the whole world.'"

"Peter, the generalissimo, Paul a colleague, sent afterwards to relieve him of half the command."

CHAPTER VII.

ST. PETER IN THE APOCALYPSE.

We shall conclude our New Testament study with the witness of St. John. The earliest mention of St. Peter in the Gospels is by St. John (i, 42), also the last (xxi, 17), where our Lord invests him with universal jurisdiction, saying: "Feed My lambs, shepherd My sheep." St. John, it is to be remembered, is the Eagle among the Evangelists. He soars above the earth and his gaze is fixed on Heaven. He is the man of celestial visions, the Prince of mystics, and in spirit he penetrates within the veil. He is not content with forecasting the greatness of St. Peter in the Church Militant, he draws aside the curtain and gives us a glimpse of his greatness in the Church Triumphant.

The fishing scene described by St. John in the last chapter of his Gospel relates, in the mystical sense, to "the General Assembly and Church of the first born, which are written in Heaven" (Hebr. xii, 23), and is thus differentiated from that other fishing expedition described by St. Luke and commented on in a former chapter. St. Luke, as the author of the Acts is sometimes called the first Church historian, and it is fitting

therefore that he should be the Evangelist divinely selected to tell of the miraculous draught of fishes, where the net broke, typical of the Church on earth,

“By schisms rent asunder,
By heresies distressed.”

But St. John is the seer and prophet of the Church in Heaven, “adorned as a Bride for her Husband,” and so he tells of the net that was not broken and which did not contain any bad fish to be cast away, but only “great fish, an hundred and fifty and three,” the mystical number of the elect, whose names are in the Lamb’s Book of Life. But what concerns us to note in our present study is the prominence of St. Peter, whether as governor of the ship, representative of the Catholic Church tossed upon the waves of the sea of this world; or as one of the mystical seven, who engaged in fishing after our Lord’s resurrection. Note how St. Peter in the latter as in the former occasion acts the leading part, he says: “I go a fishing. They say unto him, We also go with thee.” After the miraculous draught no sooner does St. Peter discover through the eagle vision of St. John, that the mysterious Stranger on the shore is the Risen Christ, than as leader of the expedition, eager to do homage to the Master, he leaves the others in the ship to drag the net heavy with fishes shoreward and himself jumps into the sea and swims to land.

But when his companions had joined him beside the Master, and Jesus issues the command "Bring of the fish which ye have now caught," St. John says. "Simon Peter went up and drew the net to land full of great fishes, an hundred and fifty and three." This falls in line with all that has gone before. As by a singular prerogative the representative and vicar of "the Ancient of Days," the Alpha and Omega, he both begins and ends the transaction. The same St. Peter, who took the lead on Pentecost Day and was the first to open the door of the Catholic Church to the Gentiles is pictured by St. John, as standing on the shores of eternity and drawing the net to land. This also is in harmony with the common tradition which makes St. Peter the key-bearer and door keeper of Heaven.

I. THE APOCALYPSE. When we pass from the examination of St. John's Gospel to the study of the Apocalypse do we find anything about St. Peter?

The Rt. Rev. Geo. F. Seymour, late Bishop of Springfield (U. S. A.), in his book, "*What is Modern Romanism?*" believed he had found in the Apocalypse sure and conclusive proof that the Blessed Apostles were all equal and no Primacy of jurisdiction was given to St. Peter. Bishop Gore in "*Roman Catholic Claims*" infers the same thing. Bishop Seymour makes this discovery the climax and ending of his "Consideration

of such portions of Holy Scripture as have alleged bearings on the claims of Modern Rome." We give the passage in full (*What is Modern Romanism?* p 135):

"Jesus said unto His disciples, 'Ye are they which have continued with Me in My temptations. And 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' (St. Luke xxii, 28-30). 'And there came unto Me one of the seven angels which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me saying, Come hither, I will shew thee the Bride, the Lamb's Wife. And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and showed me that great city, the Holy Jerusalem, descending out of Heaven from God. . . . *And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb.*' (Rev. xxi, 9, 10, 12.) Here (i. e. in St. Luke) we have the promise and the prophecy of Jesus, and the principle of *equality* is clear; there can be no mistake. It is equality of the exercise of jurisdiction jointly, for while the Kingdom is one, the thrones are twelve. Here (i. e. in Rev.) we have the promise and prophecy fulfilled in Heaven, and the principle of equality is displayed with the same, if not greater clearness and emphasis, since again

the city is one, yet the foundations are twelve and the names are in them. . . . Here Holy Scripture leaves us and we rest content. St. John places the telescope of prophecy to our eye and we see Heaven opened, and the Church in her eternal home, resting, not upon Peter as the sole foundation, as modern Rome would have us believe, but on the twelve Apostles as twelve foundations in co-ordination, built upon Christ, the eternal Corner Stone, as the Catholic Church teaches and has ever taught."

Surely there must be some mistake here. We have found so much to support the Primacy of St. Peter in the Scriptural research which we have made up to this point that certainly the Apocalypse will not oppose but rather confirm the Gospel witness.

Perhaps the Bishops of Springfield and Worcester have not carried their inspection of the Holy City far enough. Suppose we too put the telescope of prophecy to our eye and look a bit for ourselves. What do we see? Well, when we examine the twelve foundations in detail, we find that they are of different material. "The first is jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald, etc." This shows that God has differentiated the Apostles one from the other in some sort. There is not therefore absolute equality, a distinction of some kind is intended. The lenses of our telescope, alas, are not powerful enough to decipher the

names carved in the stones. Is there then no principle of interpretation by which we can discover which of these foundations represents St. Peter? Yes, to be sure we can. We have already noted in a previous chapter that in the four lists given in the New Testament of the names of the Blessed Apostles, St. Peter's name always takes the lead, while St. Matthew expressly calls him the First. The First Foundation then is St. Peter, and we see that it is jasper. But let us give a wider sweep to our vision. We raise our telescope and lo, we make an important discovery. We observe that "the city lieth four-square. And the building of *the wall of it is jasper.*" Here is something which gives to St. Peter at once an immense distinction. The walls of the Holy City are built out of the material, not of the second foundation, nor of the third, nor of the fourth, nor yet of any of the other foundations, save of the first, and that foundation is jasper as are the walls. Does not this revelation carry with it the whole Petrine contention? Our Lord said to Simon, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock, I will build My Church," and lo, when we come to view the finished structure we find that the walls are built up not of the material of the other eleven foundation stones which constitute the Apostolic basis of the Church but of the material of the first, that is to say, of Peter.

The walls of the city do not take their rise

from that Apostle, who is represented by sapphire, nor yet from chalcedony, nor from the emerald, the beryl or the amethyst, but only from the jasper. Is not here a distinction which reconciles any seeming conflict of statement between our Lord and St. Paul; the Former saying to St. Peter, "On this rock I will build My Church" and the latter declaring that the Church was built "on the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone."

II.—AN OLD MANUSCRIPT. To make all this clearer, imagine the discovery of an old manuscript, of which the following is a translation: "Phares, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, having resolved to build a palace of great magnificence, commanded his twelve sons each of them to supply the builders with a stone for the foundation, the material and dimensions to be according to specifications supplied by the architect, and in these twelve foundations were to be inscribed the names of the twelve sons of the King.

"All this being done according to the King's commandment, on a certain day, having summoned his sons into his presence, he went forth with them to examine the work. Then said he unto them: 'You know, my sons, that I have divided my kingdom into twelve provinces, and I have

appointed unto each of you a throne, that ye may sit thereon and judge my people. Ye also know that there has been a strife going on among you, which should be accounted the greatest. To put an end to all this I desire to signify by the construction of this building, who among you shall have the Primacy and sit in the seat of supreme authority. I do here and now make my choice known to you and will have it registered in the walls of this palace lest after my decease there be schisms among you and the consequent rending of the kingdom.'

'Observe that there are laid here twelve foundation stones, the first is of granite, and the second is of marble, and the third is of onyx, and the fourth is syenite and as to the rest you know for yourselves what they are. Now in the first of these foundations I see the name inscribed of him, who is my first born and your oldest brother, to him therefore I say in the presence of you all: Thou art the chief corner stone, elect, precious, and on thee I will build the walls of my palace. On the first foundation of granite I see thy name written and therefore of granite shall the building of the walls be and when I am gone I will give unto thee the keys of the palace and when men shall look on these walls they will be taught the lesson of unity and yet how true unity does not destroy the diversity of individual operation, for whereas unity is represented

by the one substance of the palace walls in solidarity of communion with the first foundation, yet co-ordinated with that first foundation and sharing with it the responsibility of bearing up the superstructure, are eleven other foundation stones all of them diverse one from the other.' ”

III. THE CORNERSTONE. When St. Peter wrote his first Catholic Epistle he no doubt had in mind the words, “On this rock I will build My Church,” for he employs similar language in describing the spiritual upbuilding of that same Church. “Coming,” he says, “as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God and precious, ye also as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house . . . wherefore also it is contained in the Scripture, Behold I lay in Zion a chief cornerstone, elect, precious: and he that believeth on Him shall not be confounded.”

Connect these words of St. Peter, also the original promise of our Lord to the same St. Peter, “On this rock I will build My Church” with the apocalyptic description of the Holy City and the open-minded student cannot fail to be struck with the consistency and harmony between them.

In the Book of Daniel mention is made of “a great stone, cut out without hands, (which) became a great mountain and filled the whole

world." This all Catholic commentators are agreed is the same "stone, elect, precious" mentioned in his epistle by St. Peter and is of course our Lord. The growth of this Stone until it shall become a great mountain and fill the whole world is a prophecy of the edification of the Catholic Church on earth and at the same time the gradual rising of the walls of the new Jerusalem, the Lamb's Wife, in Heaven, in other words the mystery of the "extension of the Incarnation."

Now in this connection let us recall the paraphrase of St. Leo the Great, commenting on St. Matthew, xvi, 18: "For thou art Peter, that is, whereas I am the inviolable Rock, I the corner stone . . . I the foundation besides which no man can lay another: yet thou art also a rock because thou art consolidated by My might, that what things alone are Mine, by My power may become common to thee by participation with Me."*

Beholding with St. John the Holy City, i. e. the Church Triumphant complete and entire, we see that the walls are all of them jasper and as they represent the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy of the stone cut out without hands it necessarily follows that the original stone of which the walls are simply the growth or expansion must also be of jasper. But since the twelve foundation stones are all different, there

* See note at end of chapter.

can be only one answer to the question, Which of the twelve represents the "Chief Corner Stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God, and precious?" It must be the first foundation for that alone is jasper. Does not then the Revelation vouchsafed to St. John completely confirm the interpretation of St. Leo, "Thou art also a rock, O Peter, for what things alone are Mine by My power shall become common to thee by participation with Me."

Note.—The objection is often made to the idea of the Catholic Church possessing a Visible Head on the earth that Christ alone is the Head of the Church and when our LORD is quoted as saying "Thou art Peter and on this rock I will build My Church," it is answered "Christ Himself alone, and not St. Peter, is the Rock on which the Church is built, because St. Paul says, 'Other foundation can no man lay than is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' " To show how little weight there is to this objection it is only needful to insist on the distinction between the primary and secondary sense of words in the New Testament. These two terms should be burnt into the consciousness of every Christian: "Primary" "Secondary;" and this question should be asked again and again: "Is the writer employing the term in the primary or in a secondary sense?" Otherwise we shall find ourselves always at cross purposes with our friendly opponents. Consider this attentively; "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." Is the term "foundation" employed here in a primary or in a secondary sense? Answer: In a primary. Unquestionably in the primary sense Christ is the one only foundation, there is no other. But now listen to the same writer (St. Paul)

again: "Built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone." How can Christ be the only foundation and yet the Apostles and prophets also be foundations? The answer of course is, that Christ is the only foundation in the primary sense, and that the Apostles and prophets can be described as foundations only in the secondary sense.

Again, Christ is described as "That great Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls." Here "Shepherd" and "Bishop" are employed in a primary sense, and in that sense Christ is the Shepherd and the Bishop and there is no other. But now listen to what He says to St. Peter, "Shepherd, or be a Shepherd to, My Sheep."

Peter, then, may be a Shepherd in a secondary sense, and only in that sense; that is, he is a Shepherd only in so far as our Saviour has delegated His office of Shepherd to him.

This is important: Say as is so often said that "the Church is a divine autocracy," and that her sole Head and Ruler is Christ; but is not the bishop the ruler over his own diocese? What would the Bishop of London say if he were told that Christ was the Ruler of the diocese of London? Would he not reply "Of course He is in the full and primary sense; but He has been graciously pleased to unite me with Himself and to allow me to share with Him His office and to represent Him in this city?" Now if Christ is the Ruler of the whole Church, and yet every bishop is also a ruler of a part of that Church, why may we not also say that Christ is the Bishop of the whole Church, and yet Peter is also Bishop of the visible part of that Church.

There is no philosophical difficulty then in saying in one breath that there is only one foundation, viz:

Christ, and saying in another breath that the twelve Apostles also are foundations, because in the first instance we are employing the term "foundation" in a primary and in the second instance in a secondary sense.

India is only a small portion of the Empire of which Edward VII is the sole head, and yet Lord Elgin is its Viceroy; here again Edward VII is the ruler of India if we are speaking in a primary sense, but if we are speaking in a secondary sense the ruler of India is Lord Elgin.

So the Visible Church is but a small and a very small portion of the entire Church when we recall the millions upon millions who live unto God and are now beyond the veil; and of this entire Church throughout the length and breadth of it, whether visible or invisible Christ alone is Head if we are speaking in a primary sense, and yet of that small portion of the Church which is called visible Pius X may be head in a secondary sense.

The Incarnation establishes and declares this primary and secondary sense; the Church is built not upon God only, but upon God and Man as they are seen to be perfectly united in Christ; and the two threads, divine and human, primary and secondary, extend in parallel lines throughout the official machinery probably of the entire society of Christ, certainly of that small fragment of it which is visible here on earth. Christ is the Bishop and yet on a lower but parallel line with Him there is the human bishop; Christ is the Priest and yet on a lower and parallel line with Him is the human priest; and so when we are thinking more particularly of jurisdiction Christ is the Head of the Visible part as He is of every other part of His charge, and yet on a lower but parallel line with Him there may be a human head.

CHAPTER VIII.

WITNESS OF THE PAPAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

In this chapter we propose to consider the phenomenon of the Papal Consciousness, that is to say, the sense of vocation to preside over the affairs of the universal Church and to shepherd the whole flock of Christ, which has been characteristic of the Bishops of Rome from the days of St. Peter down to the present hour.

I. GROUNDS OF OBJECTION. It has been a habit of mind with anti-papal controversialists to make light of the witness the Popes have uniformly borne to their own office in the Church of God and to insist that such testimony be thrown out of court as of no value on the ground that it is *ex parte*. It has been taken for granted by them that the Popes were filled with worldly pride and ambition and being actuated by inordinate greed for universal sovereignty they have employed all sorts of methods, even resorting to lying and forgery, to make good their claims. *Ergo*, the witness of the Popes as to the prerogatives of St. Peter is void and of none effect. Yet, by a strange inconsistency, these same controversialists never weary of quoting any Pope, whose words, by hook or crook, can

be twisted into evidence against the universal jurisdiction claimed by the Sovereign Pontiffs. For example it is persistently magnified out of all proportion that St. Gregory rebuked John of Constantinople for assuming the title of "Universal Bishop," telling him that such pride was the precursor of Anti-Christ, and yet few Popes have excelled the same Gregory in maintaining and exercising the Supremacy, for he ruled the Church Universal vigorously. That he possessed together with the Popes who preceded and succeeded him the same sense of Petrine vocation his letters abundantly testify. Two quotations will suffice: "As to what they say of the Church of Constantinople, who doubts that it is subject to the Apostolic See?" (Lib. ix, Ep. 1); and again, "If any fault is found amongst bishops, I know not any one who is not subject to it" (Lib. ix, Ep. 59).

II. THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD. If we are to make anything like a scientific study of the Papacy we must give due weight to this witness, which the Popes bear to themselves. To throw such testimony out of court as having no value would be most unscientific, because it would ignore one of the three witnesses of Himself which God has given man for his guidance into all truth. St. John says that "there are Three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word,

and the Holy Ghost: and these Three are One.' God has also left a threefold witness of Himself on the earth, viz. the witness of Revelation, the witness of the Church, and the witness of the Christian conscience illuminated and instructed by the Holy Ghost. When "these three agree in one" true science will recognize that it has discovered a threefold cord that cannot easily be broken.

In the foregoing chapters we have been studying the witness of the Holy Scriptures as to the office of St. Peter. We shall presently examine what the witness of the Church has been; to ignore the third form of evidence, viz. the witness which the Holy Spirit has borne through the mouths of the Popes themselves would be as unscientific as to undertake to construct a tripod with only two legs.

Every Catholic man, who would ascertain the will of God for himself that he may do that will, not only acquires directly or indirectly the knowledge of the truth as it is contained in the Scriptures, as well as the things commanded and expected of him by the Church, but he listens for the voice of God speaking within him, otherwise how can he know his *vocation*? In the ordering of deacons and priests and in the consecration of bishops this question of vocation is the first one asked of the ordinand: "Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration?"

If we discredit the reality of this sense of vocation we are casting aside what has been the basis of the greatest certitude in the career of the foremost servants of God since the history of the Catholic Church began. St. Paul, for instance, placed the certitude of his being called of God to the ministry of an Apostle above and beyond all doubt or question. "Paul, an Apostle," he writes to the Galatians, "not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, Who raised Him from the dead."

Twelve hundred years later it was the same with St. Francis. "My brothers," he said, "talk not to me of any other rule, neither St. Benedict's, nor St. Augustine's, nor St. Bernard's, nor of any other manner of life, save that which has been shewn and given unto me by God. The Lord called me to Him by a simple and humble road; and shewed me in truth this way of life for myself and for such as will believe and follow me." Two hundred years after St. Francis one of his sons, a Genoese navigator, expressed a sense of vocation which was so extraordinary that his contemporaries doubted of his sanity. Certain of his fellow Franciscans, however, believed that Columbus was taught of God, notably the Spanish Queen and the Guardian of La Rabida, John Peres, and the event went far to prove the correctness of their belief. St. Paul's vocation of course no one doubts. As to the

reality of St. Francis' call from God it would be hopeless to argue with any one skeptical enough to question it.

What then of the sense of vocation in the Popes? Are they alone to be treated as hypocrites or else as men deceived by the Devil? It would not be difficult to believe an Alexander VI. the dupe or tool of Satan, but is it possible to believe that the most notable line of bishops, as all will admit, in the whole Christian world, covering a period of nearly two thousand years and containing among them many canonized saints and martyrs and splendid confessors of the faith, some of them the acme of Christian heroism and scholarship, have all without exception gone wrong in their estimate of their own office, esteeming themselves the successors of St. Peter and inheritors of his jurisdiction over the whole flock of Christ, when in reality they were by divine appointment bishops merely of the diocese of Rome or at most Patriarchs of the West? In other words that all of them should have believed a lie.

As a psychological study it would, we think, be hard to find in the whole range of Christian experience a more remarkable phenomenon than this Papal Consciousness of vocation stretching as it does with unbroken continuity, link by link, along the whole chain of successive Popes from St. Peter down to the present occupant of his

Roman chair. If we are to attribute it to worldly pride and ambition then we shall have to show how it began with the Apostle Peter and has displayed itself in every one of his successors without a notable exception since. If we take the hypothesis that they were all deceived by Satan when they thought they were the agents of the Holy Spirit, we encounter yet graver difficulties in establishing the validity of our reasoning. On the other hand if it can be reasonably concluded that any one of them rightly understood the office and ministry committed unto him by God, then the Primacy *de jure divino* for all time is established, for in this much at least they are all agreed that as successors of St. Peter they had a commission from our Lord Jesus Christ to protect the flock of the Catholic Church everywhere from the attacks of the wolves of heresy, and to exercise a general supervision, or guardianship, over the Vine, which the Lord had planted.

III. THE EVIDENCE. But in what we have just said have we been assuming a general Papal Consciousness of vocation, which in fact has *not from the very first* existed, but only in later times, when, as some say, error in the form of the forged decretals crept in and established a lying tradition? To make good the fact we have asserted we offer in brief the following array of Papal witnesses.

ST. PETER.

As to St. Peter there is no need to add a thing

to what has already been said, especially in Chapters III and IV, *St. Peter in the Gospels* and *St. Peter in the Acts*. That he conceived of himself as placed by our Lord in a position of authority and leadership over the whole Church is the only rational explanation of his conduct, from the initiative he took in the election of Matthias to fill the place of Judas, to the addressing of his Epistles to the faithful at large without apologizing for so doing to St. Paul, or anyone else, whose converts were included in the general address.

ST. CLEMENT.

The first document belonging to Christian history beyond the pages of the New Testament is the Epistle of St. Clement to the Church at Corinth and Bishop Lightfoot speaks of it as "almost imperious" in its tone. St. Clement evidently had the Papal Consciousness fully developed for he passes over the head of St. John, who was still alive and reaches out the exercise of Roman supervision to the far off Corinthians, nor does he mince matters in the least. He claims their "*obedience to the things written by us through the Holy Spirit*" (Sec. 63) and a few sentences before making this claim of obedience through the spirit he says: "If any disobey the things spoken by Him through us, let them know that they will involve themselves in transgression, and no small peril." It is no wonder

that Lightfoot should characterize this letter as "the first step towards Papal domination." That is to say, Clement had the Papal Consciousness of universal jurisdiction in the year A. D. 96.

ST. VICTOR.

One hundred years later St. Victor affords another instance of well developed Papal Consciousness, when he threatened to excommunicate the Asiatic Churches "from the common unity" (Eusebius), unless they conformed to the Roman use in the observance of Easter. That he did not proceed to this extreme measure was due to the mediation of St. Irenaeus. Very scant are the records of the Papacy until the reign of Constantine but such records as survive the age of furious persecution reveal in every case the same sense of vocation actuating the Bishops of Rome to make the cause of the whole Church their own.

OTHER THIRD CENTURY WITNESSES.

There are four other important witnesses besides St. Victor to be found in the third century. "During the fierce persecution under Severus many Christians lapsed, and some would have closed the door of repentance to such forever. St. Zepherinus came forward and opened the gate of mercy as the High Priest of the Christian Religion. So Tertullian described him. Under St. Stephen the African primate had started on a

dangerous career, and might have carried all before him in a practice which must have ended in depraving the doctrine of the Sacraments. Whole provinces were exposed to the danger of being carried away with the novelty, when the Pope stepped forth and put a stop to the danger, acting avowedly on his position as successor of St. Peter. The vigilance of St. Dionysius the Pope, so praised by St. Athanasius, was exercised toward the saintly Dionysius of Alexandria, in view of possible dangers to the cardinal point of the faith, while St. Felix achieved the peace of the Church by deposing the Bishop of Antioch." (Rivington's *Primitive Church and the See of Peter*, p. 129).

THE PAPAL LETTERS.

The decretal letters of the Popes of the first three centuries have perished; but a complete series begins with Siricius A. D. 384. They are addressed to bishops all over the world.

In these letters we have an embarrassment of riches and it would be a waste of valuable space to give more than a few extracts, ending the catena with Pope Boniface.

1. *Siricius, A. D. 385, writes*:—"We bear the burdens of all who labor, or rather, the blessed Apostle Peter bears these in us, who in all things, as we trust, protects and defends us, the heirs of his administration."

2. *St. Innocent, A. D. 410*:—"As referring to us, that is, the head and apex of the Episcopate."

In another letter he praises the African Bishops for following "the regulation of the Fathers, which they, in pursuance of no human but a divine sentence, have decreed, viz., that whatever was being carried on, although in the most distant and remote provinces, should not be terminated before it was brought to the knowledge of this See, by the full authority of which the just sentence should be confirmed, and that thence all the other Churches might derive what they should order, whom they should absolve."

3. *St. Boniface, A. D. 422*:—"The formation of the Universal Church at its birth took its beginning from the honour of blessed Peter, in whose person its regimen and sum consists. For from his fountain the stream of ecclesiastical discipline flowed forth into all Churches, as the culture of religion progressively advanced. The precepts of the Nicene Council bear witness to nothing else, . . . moreover it knew that everything had been granted to him by the word of the Lord."

CHAPTER IX.

WITNESS OF THE CHURCH IN THE EAST.

In the apse of St. Peter's Church at Rome is preserved what is popularly esteemed to be the original chair used by St. Peter as First Bishop of Rome. It is enclosed in a huge framework of gilded bronze, designed by Bernini, and this is upheld by figures of four great doctors of the Church, two Greek and two Latin, viz.: SS. Chrysostom and Athanasius; SS. Ambrose and Augustine. Let St. Chrysostom and St. Athanasius then be the first to speak for the East, as its representatives, in regard to the Prince of the Apostles.

I. ST. CHRYSOSTOM—(1) "Peter, that head of the Apostles, the first in the Church, the friend of Christ this Peter, and when I say Peter, I mean the unbroken Rock, the unshaken foundation, the great Apostle, the first of the disciples."—(*De eleemos* iii, 4, vol. ii, p. 298).

(2) "Peter, the Coryphæus of the choir of the Apostles, the mouth of the disciples, the foundation of the faith, the base of the confession, *the fisherman of the world.*"—(*Hom, de decem mille talentis*, 3, vol. iii, p. 20).

(3) "The first of the Apostles, the founda-

tion of the Church, the Coryphæus of the choir of the disciples.”—(*Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt*, 17, vol. iii, p. 517).

(4) “This holy Coryphæus of the blessed Choir, the lover of Christ, the ardent disciple, who was entrusted with the keys of heaven.”—(*In Acta Ap.* vi, 1, vol. ii p. 50).

(5) “‘And I say unto thee: Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, that is upon the faith of this confession.’ Hence He shows that many will believe, and raises his thoughts high and *makes him Shepherd . . .* ‘And I will give to thee the keys . . .’ For what is proper to God alone, that is, to forgive sins, and to make the Church immovable in so great an onset of waves, and *to cause a fisherman to be stronger than any rock, when the whole world wars against him. . .* As the Father said speaking to Jeremias, that he would set him as a column of brass and as a wall; but Jeremias to a single nation, *Peter to the whole world.*”—(*Hom.* 54, *in Matt.* vii. p. 531).

(6) “The Father gave to Peter the revelation of the Son, but *the Son gave to him to spread that of the Father and of Himself throughout the world, and to a mortal man He entrusted the power over all that is in heaven, in giving the keys to him who extended the Church throughout the world, and showed it stronger than the world.*”—(*Ibid.*)

(7) "He saith to him, 'Feed my sheep.' Why does He *pass over the others*, and speak of the sheep to Peter? He was the chosen one of the Apostles, the mouth of the disciples, and the head of the choir; for this reason Paul went up to see him rather than the others. And also to show him that he must have confidence now, since his denial had been purged away, *He entrusts him with the rule over the brethren. . . .* 'If thou lovest Me, preside over the brethren,'"—(*Hom. 88 in Joann I*, vol. viii, p. 477-9).

(8) "If any one should say, 'Why then was it James who received the See of Jerusalem?' I should reply that *He made Peter the teacher not of that See but of the world.*"

(9) "He so wiped away the denial that he even became *the first of the Apostles, and was entrusted with the whole world.*"—(*Adv. Judaeos 8, 3* vol. i, p. 931).

When St. Chrysostom was driven by intrigue and violence from his See of Constantinople, A. D. 404, he appealed to the Pope, St. Innocent I., begging him to declare null and void all that had been done against him. By this action he afforded the proof that he recognized in the Bishop of Rome the successor of St. Peter and the continuance of that authority to govern the Universal Church, which our Lord, according to His teaching, had conferred upon the Prince of the Apostles.

II. ST. ATHANASIUS—As a champion of orthodoxy the East has no one of whom she may be more justly proud than the great Athanasius. The incessant fight he kept up against the Arians from the beginning of his apostolate until its very end is interwoven all the way through with incidental proof of the strongest kind that not only St. Athanasius himself, but the entire Orthodox East of his day, recognized the Petrine ascendancy of the Bishop of Rome in all ecclesiastical matters. The temptation here to amplify is hard to resist, but we shall be as brief as possible.

Shortly after the Council of Nicaea Eusebius of Berytus, an Arian, became the favorite of the Emperor Constantine and was promoted from see to see until he ascended the throne of Constantinople. A gigantic struggle ensued between the Arians and the Catholics for the mastery of the Church. The arm of Cæsar was the mainstay of the Arians on the one side, and the authority of St. Peter, vested in the Bishop of Rome, was beyond question the mainstay of the Catholics on the other. Eusebius and the Arian party were determined to depose Athanasius from the See of Alexandria and to that end a council, presided over by the emperor, was assembled at Tyre and their program was carried into effect. Athanasius went into exile. After some years he returned and resumed the charge of his see. The

Eusebians pressed Constantius, the Arian son of Constantine, to put him down once more from his seat. Accordingly another council was held under imperial auspices, this time at Antioch, and a canon passed expressly to meet the situation at Alexandria, to the effect that a bishop deposed by one council cannot be restored to his office by another, if in the meantime he has dared to exercise ecclesiastical functions. Against this sentence Athanasius appealed to Rome and Pope Julius came promptly to the rescue. The letter of Pope Julius, which St. Athanasius quotes with evident approval, bears clear witness to the existence in the Nicene period of the claim made by Rome to be of divine right the arbiter and final judge in ecclesiastical matters over East as well as West. Sozomen says (iii, 10): "Julius wrote that they had acted against the canons because they had not called him to the council, the ecclesiastical canon commanding that the Churches ought not to make canons beside the will of the Bishop of the Romans." Socrates, referring to the same Council of Antioch says: "Julius, Bishop of Old Rome, was not there, nor did he send a representative, although the ecclesiastical canon expressly commands that the Churches shall not make ordinances contrary to the judgment of the Bishop of Rome" (ii, 8). The canon in question must have been of Nicene enactment.

For the still further defence of Athanasius and

his orthodox colleagues against the Eusebian, or Arian, party, the Pope summoned the bishops of the entire Church to meet in Council at Sardica, in Thrace, being near the boundary line between the Eastern and Western Empires, and only fifty miles from Constantinople. It was intended to be a Ecumenical gathering, but when the Eusebian bishops, who mustered to the number of seventy-six, saw that the council would surely go against them, they first shut themselves up in a palace and finally withdrew to Philippopolis, where they held an heretical synod, going so far as to excommunicate the Pope, as "*princeps et dux malorum.*" Although because of this recalcitrant action Sardica failed to attain the rank of a general council, it came in after years to be regarded by both East and West as an appendix to Nicaea, and the important legislation there enacted was finally accepted by the whole Church and so became to that degree ecumenical. When we remember that the protection of Athanasius and the other Orthodox Bishops of the East from the plots of their powerful enemies was the *raison d'etre* of the Sardican Council, and that he and they took part in the passing of the canons, all must allow, that whatever witness Sardica bears to the universal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, its witness is the witness of St. Athanasius. In substance the Sardican canons amount to this; if a bishop anywhere in the

Christian world, East or West, should be condemned and should protest that the judgment was unjust, either his judges, or the neighboring bishops, or he himself had a right to appeal to the Bishop of Rome, who at his discretion could order a new trial to be conducted by the neighboring bishops, either with or without the assistance of a Papal legate or plenipotentiary. That this council, and Athanasius and the Eastern prelates as members of it, recognized a world-wide jurisdiction and Primacy in the Bishop of Rome simply cannot be denied, all scholars who have the facts before them, explain them as they may, must acknowledge this. Even Barrow in his "Supremacy" acknowledges as much. That the orthodox fathers of Sardica clearly understood it so, is manifest from the wording of the synodical letter addressed to Pope Julius, in which they say: "This will be seen to be the best, and very much the most fitting course, that, from each of the several provinces, the priests of the Lord refer to *the Head, that is, to the See of the Apostle Peter.*"

We must note here that the occupant of the Roman See is explicitly called the "Head" and that not because Rome is the mistress of the world but because the See he occupies is that of the Apostle Peter. The same thing appears in the wording of the canons for they give as the reason "Let us honour the memory of Blessed

Peter." Athanasius then is a witness and confessor not only to the Divinity of Christ but to the *jure divino* claim of the Bishop of Rome to call himself in a pre-eminent and special sense, the Vicar of that same Divine Lord.

III. THE PATRIARCHATES.—If we may accept as authentic the earliest traditions of ecclesiastical government that we have, the entire Church was originally divided into three Patriarchates, viz., Rome, Alexandria and Antioch. Why these three cities? Naturally one would expect Jerusalem to take rank and precedence above all other cities, because it was the City of David and the birth-place of the Catholic Church, but no, Jerusalem was not raised to patriarchal rank until the fifth century and then only to take the fifth place, after all the others. The reason why the whole Church recognised in these three cities a superior jurisdiction was all on account of the pre-eminence of St. Peter. It was a Petrine arrangement. The Prince of the Apostles himself, it would seem, arranged it so. Antioch was his original See: St. Mark, his special representative, he sent to preside over the Church at Alexandria, and finally because it was the capital of the world, and therefore the most fitting place to become the Capital of the Church Universal, St. Peter moved his headquarters to Rome and established there permanently the Chair of his authority. All the original proof we have goes to

establish the truth of the statement just made. Rome, Alexandria and Antioch always claimed and exercised patriarchal jurisdiction because they were the three sees of St. Peter's own founding. Of the three Rome alone claimed universal jurisdiction, Antioch and Alexandria contended for supremacy only within their own patriarchal limits; when the Bishops of Alexandria or Antioch were hard pressed their appeal was to Rome as to the court of last and supreme resort. We have just seen this illustrated in the case of St. Athanasius and other illustrations are abundant.

The Roman Council, which was convened by Pope Gelasius, in the year 494, says: "Though all the Catholic Churches throughout the world be but one bridal chamber of Christ, yet the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church has been preferred to the rest *by no decrees of a council, but has obtained the Primacy by the voice in the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Himself saying: 'Thou art Peter, etc.'* . . . First, therefore, is the Roman Church, the See of Peter, the Apostle, . . . But the Second See was consecrated at Alexandria in the name of the Blessed Apostle Peter, by Mark his disciple. . . And the Third See at Antioch is held in honour by the name of the same most blessed Apostle Peter, because he dwelt there before he came to Rome."

IV. CONSTANTINOPLE.—The City on the Bos-

phorus, which Constantine has forever associated with his own name, must also be associated for all time with the entry into Church history of a new principle of ecclesiastical government, viz., *Caesarism*, or as we have in more modern times learned to designate it, *Erastianism*, a principle, which asserts the superiority of the civil power to the religious, and instead of making the State the guardian of the Church's liberties, exalts the civil authority to a place of supreme control, making religion, like finance or agriculture, merely a department of the government.

When Constantine first embraced Christianity, while seeking to make it the dominant religion of the Roman Empire, he showed profound deference to the Church as to an institution divinely established and he supported the Apostolic See with all his princely might. But when Eusebius gained the emperor's ear, as twelve hundred years later Cromwell gained the ear of Henry VIII, the imperial policy underwent a radical change. The Arian party was Erastian to the core. The royal favour was their sole defence and one hope of maintaining their position. During the fierce struggle between them for the mastery the orthodox looked for leadership, protection and redress to the successor of St. Peter, as their head, but the Arians looked to Caesar.

When the emperors of the East became Cath-

olic, the Arians quickly disappear, but the seeds of Erastianism had taken deep root at Constantinople and they were never to be eradicated. At the Council of Chalcedon they cropped up in the shape of the 28th Canon, which gave precedence to the Byzantine Bishop over the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch on the ground that Constantinople was New Rome and therefore ought to rank next after Old Rome. This aggression of the imperial party was strenuously resisted by the Roman Pontiffs, because they clearly recognised it to be the assertion of a principle foreign to the original order and constitution of the Church. Father Rivington (*The Primitive Saints and the See of Peter*, p. 174) describes the contest between Rome and Constantinople in the following graphic words: "It was the world against the Apostle; the crown against the crozier; Caesar usurping the prerogatives of Peter. Constantinople, but a few years ago, was a spot all but unknown, whose bishop was suffragan to the Bishop of Heraclea. Now it was *New Rome* and its bishop aspired to be a second Pope. The Pope was the successor of St. Peter, and therein his strength lay; but the Apostle had selected the centre of the world for the base of his operations, and as the centre had shifted, why might not the new imperial city be also the centre of a new patriarchal jurisdiction? The answer was, that Peter, not Caesar, is the governor of

the Christian Church.”

It is true that after holding out for centuries against the twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon, the Pope finally conceded to Constantinople the coveted title, but it was at an hour when the imperial power was tottering to its grave. The menace of the Caesars had passed and for the sake of healing the Greek Schism Rome was magnanimous.

If the history of Constantinople may be taken as the exposition of the Erastian principle worked out to its logical conclusion, the object lesson ought to be to us an instructive one. Its nursing father was Eusebius, an Arian heretic; the incarnation of its spirit was Photius, more than any other man the author of the Eastern Schism; its punishment was the fall of Constantinople into the hands of the Moslem, and in our own day we see the Patriarch of Constantinople resisting with all his might the political aggressions of Russia and preferring the rule of the “unspeakable” Turk to falling into the hands of his ecclesiastical offspring, the Orthodox Slav.

In rejecting our Lord the cry of the Jews was, “We will have no king but Caesar.” Constantinople made the same choice in preferring to ground her greatness in the support of the crown rather than in allegiance to the one, whom her own fathers have repeatedly confessed to be the Vicar of Christ and the result historically has

proved almost as unfortunate for Constantinople as for Jerusalem.

V. ECUMENICAL COUNCILS.—The Seven Ecumenical Councils are the Gibraltar of Eastern orthodoxy. This rock foundation of their faith the Easterns certainly owe to the Bishops of Rome. Any candid student of Church history must recognize the uncontrovertable fact that the Ecumenical Councils were called into being, directed, ratified and confirmed by the Roman Pontiffs. When heresy held high carnival in the East and Catholicism was driven into exile it was Rome that fought the good fight of faith and amid the shifting sands of oriental speculation by means of the General Councils anchored the orthodox Confession upon the solid rock. And these same Ecumenical Synods testify unmistakably to the Primacy of St. Peter and his Successors in the Roman See. Thus the East is made to bear witness to the divine institution of the Papacy in a manner that reacts with crushing force upon herself, when she boasts of her unchangeable orthodoxy and claims that it is Rome who is in schism.

NICAËA.

Because the records of Nicaea have perished it will probably always continue a mooted question whether Hosius as president of the Council, acted in that capacity as Papal legate or as im-

perial commissioner; possibly he may have been both. Dom Chapman O. S. B. says: "There is no real testimony in favour (still less against) the authority of Rome to be extracted from the little we know about the first General Council" (*The First Eight General Councils and Infallibility. p. 12, note*). Even granted that Hosius was nominated as president by Constantine, as the learned Benedictine thinks is the "more likely" supposition, it is to be taken into consideration that "no precedents existed in 325 for the Council of Nicaea to follow, no canon laws on the subject of ecumenical synods or their procedure" (*p. 10 ibid*).

Those who contend that Hosius presided in conjunction with the Priests Vito and Vincentius, as representing Pope Sylvester, offer in support of their contention the following arguments:

(a) Hosius, Vito and Vincentius signed the decrees of the Council first, then followed in order Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. (b) Eusebius states that the Papal legates brought with them the authority of St. Sylvester. (c) Gelasius of Cyzicus places Hosius at the head of the legation. (d) Photius, who must have been familiar with the Constantinopolitan tradition does the same by bracketing the name of Hosius with the two Roman priests. (e) This brings the Nicene procedure into harmony with that of

the General Councils, which followed after. (f) The same Hosius presided at the Council of Sardica and there, it is asserted, he acted as Papal Legate, his associates being Archidamus and Philoxenus, Roman priests.* (*See Jungmann's Discertationes in Historiam Ecclesasticam.*)

(g) The Graeco-Russian Liturgy in the office for St. Sylvester ascribes to him the presidency at Nicaea, saying: "Thou hast shown thyself the Supreme One of the Sacred Council."

THE SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL.

The Second General Council, held at Constantinople, is remarkable as illustrating that it is not the great concourse of bishops attending a council which makes it ecumenical but that its full acceptance and recognition by the whole Church depends more than anything else upon its receiving the confirmation and endorsement of the Bishop of Rome. At Constantinople there were only one hundred and fifty bishops present, all of them from the East, yet because Pope Damasus accepted its definition of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost as added to the Nicene Symbol, the entire Church did the same and came to recognize it as of ecumenical authority.

EPHESUS.

The Third General Council met at Ephesus, in A. D. 431. It was wholly an Eastern Synod, save for the Papal legates. Philip, presiding as

* Fr. Puller, in "*The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*," disputes this ; p. 171.

the Pope's representative said: "It is doubtful to no one, but rather known to all ages, that holy and blessed Peter, Prince and Head of the Apostles, Pillar of the Faith and Foundation of the Catholic Church, received from our Lord Jesus Christ . . . the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven . . . *who to this very time and forever, lives and exercises judgment in his successors.* And so our most blessed Pope Celestine, the Bishop, his successor in due order and holding his place, has sent to this holy Council us to represent him." Instead of making any protest or in the least dissenting from these words the Council put itself on record as affirming the same thing, declaring that, "Arcadius and Projectus, Legates, and Philip, Presbyter and Legate of the Apostolic See, have said what is fitting."

CHALCEDON.

The Fourth General Council met at Chalcedon in A. D. 481. No less than six hundred Eastern bishops were in attendance and the Papal legates were without the support of a single Western prelate, and this makes the action of the Council the more extraordinary. Few national conventions have executed the will of an absent master more submissively than did Chalcedon the "commands" of Pope Leo.

Among those who had come to attend the council was Dioscorus, Archbishop of Alexan-

dria, who two years before in the city of Ephesus had presided over what has been nicknamed the Robber Synod. Seeing him present, Paschasinus, Legate of the Holy See, said: "We have in our hands *the commands* of the most blessed and Apostolic man, Pope of the City of Rome, which is the head of all Churches, in which his Apostleship has thought good *to order* that Disocorus shall not sit in the Council, but be introduced to make his defence." Lucentius, another Legate, gave the reason: "Because he must give an account of the judgment he passed; inasmuch as, not having the right to judge, he *presumed*, and *dared* to hold a council without the authority of the Apostolic See, which never was lawful, never has been done."

There is no protest, no outcry about Papal encroachments upon the right of the East; St. Leo's commands are executed; Dioscorus, the archbishop of highest rank in the East, is tried at once and condemned because "he had dared and presumed to hold a council without the authority of the Apostolic See." The sentence of deposition passed upon Dioscorus shows very plainly what the Fathers of Chalcedon thought about St. Peter's position by divine appointment in the Church of God. The formula was as follows: "Leo, most holy Archbishop of great and elder Rome, by us and by this great and holy Council together with the most blessed Apostle

Peter, who is the Rock and Ground of the Catholic Church and the Foundation of the right Faith, hath stripped him (Dioscorus) as well of the rank of bishop, as also hath severed him from all sacerdotal ministry." When the celebrated Tome of Pope Leo was read before the Council defining the Catholic Faith as against the heresies of Eutyches and Nestorius the Eastern Fathers exclaimed, "This we all believe. It is the faith of the Apostles. Peter hath spoken by Leo."

In the formal letter which the members of the Council address to the Pope at the conclusion of its sessions they not only say that he had presided over them "as a head over the members," but they attribute the fact to a divine appointment, expressly asserting that it was the Saviour that had committed to him the care of the Vineyard, i. e. the Church.

THE SIXTH GENERAL COUNCIL.

The Sixth General Council met at Constantinople in A. D. 680. The quotation which follows is taken from a letter written by the then Pope, Agatho, to the emperor, Constantine IV., and which the Fathers present at the Council greeted with the acclamation, "Peter hath spoken by Agatho": "Peter by a triple commendation received the spiritual sheep of the Church from the Redeemer of all, to be fed by him; under whose protection this his Apostolic Church

(Rome) has never turned aside from the way of truth *into any error whatsoever, and his authority, as that of the Prince of all the Apostles, the whole Catholic Church at all times, and the universal Councils faithfully embracing, have in all things followed.* . . . This is the rule of true faith, which this Apostolic Church of Christ, the spiritual Mother of your peaceful empire, holds and defends, both in prosperity and adversity, which Church, by the grace of Almighty God, will never be shown to have strayed at any time from the path of Apostolic tradition, nor to have yielded ever to the perverse novelties of heretics; but what in the beginning of the Faith she received from her Founders, the chief of the Apostles of Christ, *she retains unsullied to the end,* according to the divine promise of our Lord and Saviour Himself, which in the Gospel He gave to the Prince of the Apostles: ‘Peter, Peter, behold, Satan hath desired to sift *you* (plural) as wheat, but I have prayed for *thee* that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren.’ ”

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY INDORSED.

Not only did those present at the Council hail this declaration of Papal Infallibility with a *viva voce* vote of full endorsement, but they went further and wrote a formal letter in reply to the Roman Pontiff, echoing his sentiments and saying explicitly that it was “*a true confession sent*

by your paternal Blessedness to our most religious Emperor, which *we recognise as divinely written from the supreme Head of the Apostles.*” After quoting the above in his book, “*The Invitation Heeded*” (p. 330), James Kent Stone (now Father Fidelis of the Order of Passionists) says: “I find it very hard to understand how any one in the face of such evidence as this (and there is abundance besides) can maintain that the Greeks never acknowledged the Supremacy, by divine right, of the See of Peter. If they did not over and over again profess, not submission to Papal authority merely, but belief in Papal Infallibility, then it is vain to seek for truth in history.”

VI. THE FORMULA OF HORMISDAS—As though God intended that the Greeks should be compelled more than any other portion of Christendom to bear witness to the Chair of Peter as the centre of unity and the seat of Supremacy and Infallibility for the whole Church, in addition to every thing else there is the Formula of Hormisdas, of which Bossuet says: “Sent everywhere, propagated through all ages, consecrated by an Ecumenical Council—what Christian would repudiate it?” It was in A. D. 519, that John of Constantinople, the Emperor Justin, and a synod of Greek bishops, begged Pope Hormisdas to send legates to Constantinople and terminate sundry divisions, but principally the Acacian trou-

bles. Hence the Formula of Hormisdas, which every bishop in the entire East, who would have communion with Rome, was required to sign. Not only were the signatures of the Eastern prelates everywhere attached to it at that time, but it became traditional in its use and was handed on from generation to generation. As early as A. D. 546, Rusticus, a contemporary writer, estimated that it had been signed by as many as *two thousand, five hundred bishops*. This Formula was subscribed to at what the Roman Church accounts the Eighth General Council, held at Constantinople in A. D. 869, and it was made once more a test of communion with Rome for the whole Oriental Episcopate. This Formula begins with the declaration that, "in the Apostolic See (Rome) *religion has ever been kept immaculate*. Wherefore, desiring never to be parted from that faith and hope, we excommunicate all heretics, and in particular Nestorius, &c. *We receive and approve all letters of Pope Leo, following in all things the Apostolic See, and professing all its decrees.*"

Add to this the professions of faith made by the representatives of the Eastern Church at the Councils of Lyons and Florence, including the acceptance of the *Filioque* clause in the Nicene Creed and the case for Rome, as far as the Eastern witness goes, seems about as strong and complete as anything very well could be.

CHAPTER X.

WITNESS OF THE CHURCH IN THE WEST.

It would be superfluous to fill our pages with proof of that which cannot be disputed. From the sixth century until the sixteenth the witness of the Church in the West was practically unanimous as to the *jure divino* constitution of the Papacy. Bishop Gore, in "*Roman Catholic Claims*" says:

"No doubt after the fifth century the history of the Western Church is mainly the history of the exaltation of the Papacy. Isidore of Seville (c. A. D. 620) no longer interprets the injunction to St. Peter 'feed My lambs,' as the typical pastoral charge to feed the little ones of Christ's flock. The lambs are now the bishops of the Churches of the world whose government is by a special charge committed to Peter and his representatives" (p. 120). The one exception he makes to the universal rule in the West for a thousand years is that of "the reforming councils of Constance and Basle (A. D. 1415 and 1432) which assert," he says, "in the strongest language the subordination of the Pope to General Councils"; but then he adds, "the Pope, however, on the whole triumphed over the councils."

I.—THE PRIMITIVE SAINTS.—The debatable ground comprises the first three or four centuries of the Christian era. It is to this period that Father Puller has devoted his very evident learning and laborious research in "*The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome.*" This voluminous work shares with the shorter treatise of Bishop Gore just quoted the distinction of being, in the popular estimation, the strongest defence of Anglicanism as a system of Church government independent of and apart from the jurisdiction of Rome anywhere to be found.

In appealing to the first three centuries Father Puller enjoys along with Protestants an obvious advantage; the records are scant and much scope is given the controversialist to manipulate the fragmentary remains in accordance with his own theories or the thing he sets out to prove. For illustration, Father Puller is at great pains to show how the exaltation of the Roman See was a purely civil matter due to the conversion of Constantine and later on to the rescript of the emperors Valentinian and Gratian. But then in much the same way the Seventh Day Adventists undertake to prove that Sunday is a pagan institution, which an imperial edict of Constantine saddled upon the Christian Church as a substitute for the Sabbath, which had been observed by the people of God from time immemorial. It

is a question which of these two contentions is most helped by the silence of the first three centuries.

Then, too, a similar line of controversy has been assumed by the Presbyterians and other non-Episcopal bodies to refute the claim of episcopacy to be a part of the Church's divine constitution.

The texts of Holy Scripture which the Catholic Fathers have been accustomed to quote in support of the Papacy, Father Puller explains away with the same facility that the Presbyterians sweep to one side those passages which episcopal authors are wont to quote in support of Apostolic Succession, and with the witness of primitive antiquity it is the same. The Presbyterians are compelled to confess that by the time of the holding of the Council of Nicaea the episcopal form of Church polity had become well established throughout Christendom, but for all that they strenuously insist that there was a time of greater or shorter duration immediately after the Apostles when the government of the Church was presbyterial. To this Anglicans have replied with crushing logic that since it can be proved that as early as the third or even the second century episcopacy was everywhere in possession, it is both inconceivable and incredible that in the age immediately preceding, presbyters and bishops constituted but one and the

same order. Yet it is something hardly less extraordinary which Father Puller would have us believe about the Papacy. In the fourth and fifth centuries we find the united Episcopate of East and West in council after council referring to the Bishop of Rome as the successor of St. Peter, on whom the Church was built and to whom the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given. They call him their head and address him as the one to whom the Lord had committed the care of His vineyard, i. e., the Catholic Church.

According to Father Puller, all this was a mistake. The origin of the Papacy was purely human, its explanation is to be found in the fact that Rome was the imperial city, hence the superior importance and authority of its bishops, especially when the emperors became Christian. The association of the Roman See with the sayings of our Lord to St. Peter was an afterthought, a device of the Popes to bolster up their growing thirst for power and to subjugate the whole world to their sublime ambition.

There is no mistaking Father Puller's words: "I sometimes think that the Roman Pontiffs, having acquired this vast extension of jurisdiction by the act of the civil power without any proper concurrence of the Church were driven to devise some presentable theory which should constitute a religious basis for the new authority which they had acquired. Their vague claim to

be successors of St. Peter would be an obvious basis to put forward. That claim, in the sense in which they made it, being really unhistorical and baseless, there could be no definition of the privileges conferred by it, either in Scripture or tradition. This absence of authoritative definition would leave them free to plead their succession from St. Peter as a religious basis for a jurisdiction derived from the emperor" (p. 156).

How under heaven these same Roman Pontiffs persuaded the entire Church both East and West suddenly and all together to accept this "religious basis," which they so cunningly and shrewdly "devised" and to henceforth act and speak as though it had been an apostolic tradition, this we confess is more than we can comprehend by the utmost stretch of imagination. It ought to be a revelation to us to what straits the opponents of the Papacy are driven when a scholar of Father Puller's learning will *seriatim* put forward so incredible a proposition.

To use a homely phrase Father Puller has simply "put the cart before the horse." Instead of the Popes deriving their jurisdiction from the civil magistrate and then when acquired seeking a religious basis for it by inventing the Petrine Claims, it is certainly more reasonable and in harmony with antiquity to believe that the fountain of Papal jurisdiction is in reality the com-

mission of Christ to St. Peter and the Roman emperors finding the Bishops of Rome in recognized possession of the Chair of Peter offered to enforce their Apostolic authority with the power of the State. Gratian's rescript was granted, Father Puller tells us, "in response to the petition of a synod of bishops gathered from various parts of Italy, and held at Rome under the presidency of Damasus, towards the end of May, or in June, 382." It seems that this synod asked the reigning emperor to re-enact a law made by his father Valentinian of his own volition, by which bishops summoned to appear at Rome should be compelled to do so by the civil authorities, if they refused to obey the Papal mandate. It was a case of the state standing behind the Church to enforce its synodical regulations, as has been the case in England to a greater or less degree since it first became a nation.

If there had not been a human and purely natural side to the growth of Papal jurisdiction, as well as a divine and supernatural one, it would have been quite different from the Incarnation itself and the entire history of the Catholic Church. The fatal error in Father Puller's book is not that he emphasizes the facts about the former, but that he denies the latter. The facts he brings to the fore about the imperial greatness of Rome and the help contributed by the Roman emperors to the Popes in the de-

velopment and extension of their power no more explains away the Petrine basis of their authority than what Harnack says in regard to the like development of episcopal authority proves that the Episcopate is not a divine institution. How like Fr. Puller's description of the growth of the Papacy is the great German's historical sketch of the Catholic Episcopate. "When the *monarchical* Episcopate" (the author of *The Primitive Saints* is always referring to the *monarchical* Papacy) "had developed, the Church began to approximate its constitution to state government; the system of uniting sees under a metropolitan who was, as a rule, the bishop of a provincial capital, corresponded to the distribution of the empire into provinces, etc." (*What is Christianity.* p. 251).

Says Father Carson in "*Reunion Essays*": "It need not alarm us that purely human influences—the prestige attached to the bishopric of the imperial city, the transference of the seat of the secular power to Constantinople, the donation of Charlemagne, the invasion of the Goths, aided the development of Papal Supremacy. God works behind history; He is the author of seemingly fortuitous occurrences, shaping human events for His own ends, 'rough hew them how we will.' Granted the divine commission—just as one grants the gifts of grace in the baptized—one may look for the one, as much as the other,

to be developed under the action of forces purely natural, and the natural forces in the one case, no more than in the other, derogate from the greatness of the divine gift—they do but help to the due development of the divine purpose” (p. 45).

Bishop Gore sees more of the finger of God in the Papacy than does Father Puller. “No one,” he says, “can fairly contemplate the greatness of the Papacy, or consider how vast the position it occupies in the whole of history, without being satisfied that it is something more than could ever have been created by the ambition or power of individual Popes or by the evil forces of injustice and fraud. It is one of those great historic growths which indicate a divine purpose latent in the tendencies of things and the circumstances of the world.” (*Roman Catholic Claims* p. 106).

The fathers of Chalcedon in arguing for Constantinople that it should have the second place after Rome, because it was the new seat of imperial power, were no doubt right in attributing Rome’s ecclesiastical good fortune to the fact that it happened to be the imperial city. As Jerusalem owed its pre-eminent association with Christ to the fact that it was the royal city of the Jews, so had not Rome been the imperial city of the Gentile world St. Peter would not have established his See there, God would have chosen

some other place for the future capital of Christendom. In the light of all that has happened since how can any Christian man doubt that God predestined Rome to become the Apostolic See because He willed that the throne of the Fisherman should supplant the throne of the Caesars and that the glory of the spiritual empire of Jesus of Nazareth, reigning through His vicars, should far outshine the greatness of the civil empire even at its height? In the twentieth century of the Christian era, ages after the last vestige of the Roman empire has perished, it is a fact, which no one can dispute, that the reputed successor of St. Peter rules with supreme authority over a world-wide kingdom, numbering more than two hundred million subjects, and that he does so must be a providence of Almighty God, a fulfillment in some sense of our Lord's promise to His Apostles, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto to the end of the world," and of that other saying to St. Peter, "On this rock I will build My Church and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

II.—DEVELOPMENT.—But the main contention of Father Puller still remains to be considered. Having laid down the proposition that "the Popes have no divinely given Primacy of Jurisdiction," he begins by quoting from the Decrees of the Vatican Council of 1870 the definition of Papal Supremacy there promulgated, and then

through many pages labors to show that the Primitive Saints were strangers to any such definition.

Here for illustration is a characteristic specimen of Father Puller's reasoning: "Now, the Vatican Council decrees that because the Roman Pontiff presides over the universal Church by the divine right of his apostolic Primacy, therefore 'he is the supreme judge of the faithful, and recourse may be had to his judgment in all causes which pertain to the jurisdiction of the Church.' Why did not the Council of Nicaea safeguard this divine right of its infallible monarch? Is it not marvelous that on the very first occasion, when the whole Church has an opportunity of meeting together by representation in an ecumenical synod, the one matter, in which it seems to take no interest, is the divinely given prerogative of its head?" (p. 140).

This sort of an argument sounds plausible at first sight, but if one takes the pains to study Newman's "*Development*," or Carson's Essay on "*The Evolution of Catholicism*" instead of any longer appearing plausible it becomes unreasonable almost to the verge of absurdity.

"The Christian revelation," says Father Carson, "belongs to the category of great 'ideas' which unfold themselves by degrees, are apprehended slowly and formulated in language of growing distinctness" (*Reunion Essays*, p 49).

This Newman has forcibly illustrated by the history of the Arian controversy.

When we take into consideration that the very word employed by the Fathers of Nicaea to define the divinity of Jesus Christ, *homoousion*, had actually been rejected in the middle of the previous century at the Council of Antioch,* it shows how illogical it is to expect the definitions of the Vatican Council held as late as 1870 to be fully expressed and set forth in the canons of the first general Council held in 325. Can we characterize by any milder adjective than absurd a thesis which assumes that Papal Supremacy is no part of the Church's divine constitution, because it was not as clearly defined in the fourth century as in the nineteenth, in view of the fact that the seven General Councils, in which the doctrine of the Incarnation was defined, began as late as the fourth and ended in the eighth century. If it took the Church so long a time to elaborate and develop its conception and understanding of the Person of Jesus Christ, its Founder, what wonder if it took a still longer time to limit and define the office of His Vicar.

What we are to look for in the first ages of the Church is not the full-blown system of Papal jurisdiction, as defined by the Vatican Council, but some recognition, however embryonic, of a

* Newman's Essay on Development, p. 16.

de jure divino connection between St. Peter and the Bishops of Rome, as deriving their authority from the Prince of the Apostles and perpetuating in themselves his original office. No matter what else Father Puller proves from the writings of the Primitive Saints, if he fails to invalidate this connection, his elaborate thesis falls maimed and broken on the rock against which it has been hurled and the definition of 1870 stands, in so far as it gives to the Pope, as the successor of St. Peter and the inheritor of his office, no more teaching or magisterial authority than are expressed in the texts of Holy Scripture on which the Vatican Decrees are based.

III.—ST. CYPRIAN.—Father Puller's book contains over five hundred pages. In one brief chapter we cannot do more than cross examine two or three of his principal witnesses. St. Cyprian is a great favorite among Anglicans of the anti-papal school and Father Puller delights in him above all. He is his most telling witness. He even asserts that "the defenders of the English Church may safely stake their case, so far as it relates to Papal claims, on the witness borne by St. Cyprian."

What we are interested to know is not whether St. Cyprian had as fully a developed conception of Papal Supremacy as the fathers of the Vatican Council, but whether he connected St. Peter with

the See of Rome and saw in that city the chair of his authority permanently established.

Question. Does St. Cyprian testify that St. Peter is the Foundation upon which Christ built the Catholic Church ?

Answer. He does so repeatedly. Again and again he says: "Peter, whom the Lord first chose, and on whom He built His Church" (*Epistle to Quintus*); "Peter, in the first place, upon whom He built the Church" (*Epistle to Jubaianus*); "Peter, on whom the Church has been built by the same Lord" (*Epistle to St. Cornelius*); "There speaks Peter, upon whom the Church was to be built" (*Epistle to Florentius Puppianus*); "Peter likewise, on whom the Church was founded by the good pleasure of the Lord" (*De Bono Patientiae*).

Q. Does he teach that our Lord originated the unity of His Church with the Apostolic College as a body or with St. Peter as one man ?

Ans. With St. Peter, as one man, for he says: "The Lord speaks to Peter: 'I say to thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church. . . .' Upon him He builds His Church. And although He gives a similar power to all His Apostles after His resurrection. . . . Nevertheless in order to make the unity manifest by virtue of His authority He disposed the origin of this unity as springing from one man." (*Liber de Unitate Ecclesiae*).

Q. Does he derive the Catholic Succession of bishops from St. Peter ?

Ans. Yes, for in his thirty-third epistle he writes: "Our Lord whose precept we ought to reverence and observe, determining the honour of a bishop and the ordering (*rationem*) of His Church, speaks in the gospel, and says to Peter, 'I say unto thee &c.'

Thence the ordinations of bishops and the ordering of the Church runs down through the changes of time and the line of succession, so that the Church is settled upon the bishops, and every act of the Church is controlled by these same rulers."

Q. While deriving in this way the authority of St. Peter to the whole college of Catholic bishops, does St. Cyprian in any peculiar sense associate the See of Rome with St. Peter and with his office of "showing forth the origin of unity" (*Epistle to Jubaianus*)?

Ans. He speaks of Cornelius being appointed Bishop of Rome, "when *the Place of Peter and the rank of the sacerdotal chair* was vacant." Thus he calls the See of Rome "the Place of Peter," he does more than this, writing to the same Cornelius about certain schismatic Carthaginians, who had sent legates to the Apostolic See, he says: "they dare to set sail, and to carry letters from schismatic and profane persons to *the Chair of Peter, and to the Principal Church, whence sacerdotal unity, had its origin (adque ad Ecclesiam Principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est).*"

Q. What conclusions may be logically drawn from these words of St. Cyprian?

Ans. The office and administrative power which is derived from St. Peter to all Catholic bishops in general, is in a distinctive and special manner transmitted to the Bishop of that See, which is called by him the "Place of Peter, the Chair of Peter and the Principal (or as Tertullian defines the Latin term the ruling or sovereign) Church." Neither can the words, *unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*, be lightly passed over. He declares that our Lord built His Church upon Peter that "by virtue of his authority" the unity of the Church might have its "origin as springing from one man." And in this passage he describes Rome as "the Principal, or ruling Church, whence sacerdotal unity had its

origin." The connection is as obvious as an axiom in geometry. St. Peter and the Roman See are one, what therefore is predicated of the one can be predicated of the other. That principal Church is "the Place of Peter," he placed the "Chair" of his personal prerogative there. As Christ first singled him out from his fellow Apostles, that the "origin of unity might spring from one man," so the Chair of Peter is placed for all time in the city of Rome, that it might be the perennial source whence sacerdotal unity should have its rise for each and every succeeding generation.

Thus have St. Cyprian's words been understood in their plain and simple meaning by Catholic doctors and saints in all ages. Are we so to understand them, or are we to adopt the tortuous explanations of Father Puller, who adopts for the purpose of his foregone and fore-conceived theory a "symbolic" sense, which is very suggestive of the symbolic interpretation which Protestants give to the plain words of our Lord, "This is My Body; this is My Blood."

Up to this point we have quoted nothing as coming from St. Cyprian, but what Father Puller himself acknowledges to be authentic, but there are other disputed texts concerning which the author of "*The Primitive Saints*" says: "Some person or persons unknown forged certain sentences about the grievous consequences of deserting the See of Peter, and inserted them into Cyprian's treatise (which) supplied the lacking Papal elements; a few lines were enough to give

a different turn to the whole argument." In a foot note he adds: "Ultramontane writers suggest that the interpolations were marginal notes, which crept into the text by the carelessness of copyists. With every wish to be charitable, I feel no doubt myself that the forgery was deliberate."

Now in all fairness it ought not to be ignored by us that no less a scholar than Dom John Chapman, O. S. B., a few years back made a very careful examination of the earliest extant copies of St. Cyprian's letter and then gave to the world the reasons for his conviction that it was St. Cyprian himself who made the marginal notes. In the first instance, so Dom Chapman explains, his treatise on Unity was written to controvert Felicissimus, a deacon of Carthage, who was making a schism in Africa. Later, word came that Novatian was creating a similar schism in Rome, "whence sacerdotal unity had its rise." Therefore St. Cyprian desiring to help Pope Cornelius quell the Novatians sent the same letter on to Rome, but in order to make it locally stronger and more effective, he added a few notes in the margin, which brief notes finally got embodied in the text and afford the basis of the charge of forgery.

What gives Father Chapman's contention still greater weight among textual critics is that it has been endorsed by Harnack. He says: "In my

judgment the author (i. e. Dom Chapman) is right . . . *the interpolation is St. Cyprian's own work* . . . the conclusion forces itself upon the critic verily as the most probable solution. One may only not say it is unimpeachably certain, but one is justified in maintaining that it rests on the soundest proof. . . . *It is no longer open to anyone to treat the group of passages as a discreditable Roman forgery.*" (*The Lamp*, December, 1903).

If Chapman and Harnack are correct then Cyprian's witness for the Roman Primacy is even more emphatic. "What Peter was, that indeed were also the other Apostles, . . . but the beginning starts from unity *and the Primacy is given to Peter* that one Church of Christ *and one Chair* should be made manifest. . . . Whoso holds not this unity of the Church, does he think he holds the faith? Whoso strives against the Church and resists, *abandons the Chair of Peter, upon whom the Church is founded*, does he flatter himself that he is in the Church?" (The marginal notes or "interpolations" are printed in italics.)

IV.—ST. AUGUSTINE. Next after St. Cyprian Father Puller summons to his support the great doctor *par excellence* of the Western Church, St. Augustine. He labors very hard with him, but a short cross examination is sufficient to reveal to what little avail.

Question. Does St. Augustine give anything like a Primacy, or superiority to St. Peter among the Blessed Apostles ?

Answer. Yes, repeatedly. Witness the following: "Peter, first and chief in the order of Apostles, in whom the Church was figured" (*Sermon xxvi*); Peter to whom He entrusted His Sheep *as to another Self, He willed to make one with Himself*, that so he might entrust His sheep to him: *that he might be the Head, &c.*" (*Sermon xlvi*); "which Church the Apostle Peter in virtue of the *Primacy of his Apostolate* represented, *being the type of its universality*" (*Tom. iii. part ii*); "Peter alone almost everywhere was thought worthy to represent the whole Church..... Here, therefore *the superiority of Peter is set forth*, because he represented the very universality and unity of the Church."

Q. Does St. Augustine ever associate Rome with the Apostle Peter as the Seat of his Apostleship and the centre of Catholic Unity ?

Ans. He does so again and again. As an antidote to the Donatist schism, for instance, he composed a ballad, or psalm, to be sung by the common people, one of the stanzas of which runs as follows:

"Number the bishops from the See of Peter itself,
And in that order of Fathers see who succeeded
whom,
That is the rock against which the gates of hell do not
prevail."

Q. What contemporary evidence can be given that St. Augustine meant by the See of Peter, Rome, and that communion with it was the test of Catholic Unity ?

Ans. St. Optatus uses the same argument in his controversy with the Donatists: he says: "You cannot deny that you know that in the City of Rome the episcopal chair was bestowed on Peter first, on which

sat Peter, the Head of all the Apostles, whence he was called Cephas; in which one chair unity was to be preserved by all lest the rest of the Apostles should stand up each one for a separate Church; so that he should be a schismatic and a sinner who should set up against the one chair another. (*De Schism. Donat. lib. ii, cap. 2*).

Q. Does St. Augustine anywhere refer to the Apostolic See as the fountain source of supreme authority in the Holy Catholic Church?

Ans. He does so in arguing with a Manichean. "Shall we hesitate," he asks, "to hide ourselves in the bosom of that Church, which even by the confession of the human race hath obtained possession of supreme authority from the Apostolic See, &c." (*De Utilit. Cred.*).

Q. Did St. Augustine ever act as a Papal legate?

Ans. Yes. He was sent as one of a Papal commission into Mauritania to re-hear certain appeals made to Rome.* He says that he was "enjoined to do so" by the venerable Pope Zosimus, Bishop of the Apostolic See. St. Possidius, in his life of St. Augustine, says he went to Mauritania, "compelled by the letters of the Apostolic See."

Q. When Anthony, Bishop of Fussala, appealed to Pope Boniface from the sentence of a council in Numidia, what did St. Augustine do?

Ans. He addressed a letter to the Holy See, imploring the Pope not to reinstate Anthony and saying: "there are cases on record, in which the Apostolic See, either pronouncing judgment, or ratifying the judgment of others, . . . neither deprived of the honour of the Episcopate, nor left altogether unpunished certain bishops. I will not search out cases very remote from our times, but I will mention recent cases." He

* *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, p. 491.

then gives three cases of recent date in Mauritania.

Q. After two African councils had condemned the heresy of Pelagius what did St. Augustine write to St. Hilary?

Ans. He wrote that "the heresy was not yet evidently separated from the Church." (*Epist. clxxviii ad Hilarium*).

Q. But when Pope Innocent I. sent his final sentence to the African bishops, what did St. Augustine then say?

Ans. "Two councils have sent to the Apostolic See and thence rescripts have come. The case is finished."

Q. What does St. Ambrose say, who more than any other was instrumental in the conversion of St. Augustine, and is said to have baptised him?

Ans. "This is Peter to whom he said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church.' *Therefore where Peter is, there is the Church.*"

Q. What does St. Jerome, another contemporary of St. Augustine, say?

Ans. "I, following no leader but Christ, *am united in communion with your Blessedness, that is, with the Chair of Peter. On this rock I know that the Church is built.*"

V. THE CLEMENTINE ROMANCE. Yet it is essential to Father Puller's thesis that these references of the Primitive Saints to the Chair of Peter be invalidated, the "theory that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome" must not be entertained. How then did these great fathers and doctors of the Church come to call Rome the See of Peter and thus lay the foundation of the "Papal pretensions"?

If Father Puller did not on every page of his book give us the evidence of entire sincerity, we would almost understand his words in a Pickwickian sense, when he says: "It is no part of my business to explain how the story of St. Peter's Roman episcopate was originated and spread. . . . The fact that St. James was undoubtedly the first Bishop of Jerusalem might suggest the notion that at Rome also the first bishop was an Apostle and who could that be but the senior of the two apostolic founders? However, for my own part, *I feel little doubt that it is to the Clementine romance that we must look for the true origin of the story.* This romance was a heretical production, written by some unknown author in the interests of the Ebionitish sect." It happens in this anonymous production that St. Peter is represented as laying hands on St. Clement and then causing him "*to sit in his own chair.*" And with this heretical document, according to Father Puller, originated the tradition that Rome is the See of Peter, the place where he established the chair of his Primacy.

In our humble opinion such an explanation is worthy of a place alongside of "the Nag's Head fable" in the "Curiosity Shop" of Anglo-Roman polemics.

In summing up the case of the Church in the West it is to be remembered that we began this chapter with the statement that it was superfluous

to fill our pages with proofs of what was already generally conceded and then quoted Bishop Gore to the effect that from the sixth century to the sixteenth the witness of the Church in the West was practically unanimous in regarding the Bishop of Rome as the successor of St. Peter and everywhere acknowledging his authority in matters both of doctrine and discipline.

In the preceding chapter we think we have shown conclusively that from at least the Council of Chalcedon in the fifth century until after the seventh General Council held towards the close of the eighth century the Eastern Church also confessed that St. Peter perpetually presided over the universal Church in the Roman See. Thus for at least a period of three hundred and fifty years the entire Church both East and West witnessed to the Papacy as an institution founded by Jesus Christ in the person of blessed Peter. If the Roman Primacy be not *de jure divino*, what then becomes of the infallibility of the Church universal? If in a matter so fundamental the whole Church for so long a time could have fallen into such a grievous error, how then has our Lord fulfilled His promise to the college of the Apostles, "I will send the Holy Ghost and He will guide you into all truth?"

Let those answer as best they may, who insist that the institution of the Papacy rests on a lying tradition, but before we give in our adherence

to such an assumption we should reflect that by so doing we contradict all the great doctors and saints of the Western Church from Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine, to Bernard, Bonaventure and Aquinas, that not only the third, fourth, sixth and seventh Ecumenical Councils are thereby discredited but Sardica, the 4th of Constantinople, the Councils of Lyons and Florence and also the reforming Councils of Basle and Constance. Nor has the most searching examination of the patristic literature of the first ages of Christianity brought to light, as far as we have been able to discover, one single explicit denial on the part of a Catholic doctor or saint that to the Roman Church belongs the Primacy because therein St. Peter established the chair of his apostleship. And this is the more remarkable, because the Bishops of Rome were perpetually affirming their succession from the Prince of the Apostles, and, if the Catholic Fathers either of the East or West had regarded this claim as based on a falsehood they certainly would have said so very often and very emphatically.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WITNESS OF THE BRITISH CHURCH.

To offset the prominence which has to be accorded to Rome in English Church history after the coming of St. Augustine, as we shall see in the next chapter, certain Anglican historians of an anti-Roman bent of mind have been disposed to refer to the British Church as entirely independent of Rome and a standing proof that primitive Christianity knew nothing of Papal Primacy and jurisdiction. In this chapter we shall examine this assumption whether it be well grounded in fact, or otherwise.

I. LUCIUS AND POPE ELEUTHERIUS. The Venerable Bede, in his Church History (Bk. I, Chap. 4) tells us that "whilst Eleutherius, a holy man, presided over the Roman Church, Lucius, king of the Britons, sent a letter to him, entreating that *by his command* (or by an act of his authority) he might be made a Christian. He soon obtained his pious request, and the Britons preserved the faith which they had received, uncorrupted and entire, in peace and tranquility, until the time of the emperor Diocletian." Says, Dr. John Taylor in "*The Coming of the Saints*" (p. 200): "Considerable doubt has been thrown

on the existence and history of King Lucius, but without any adequate reason. Pope Eleutherius, a Greek, is said to have occupied the See of Rome from 177 to 192 A. D. Two letters of his have been preserved in the records of the Church of Rome (*Mansi*). One is addressed to the Christians of Lyons and Vienne at the time of the great persecution, and the other to Lucius, King of Britian. This letter, and the occasion which called for it, appears to be in strict harmony with what we know of Roman occupation at this date. . . . It is also in essential harmony with the Welsh account in the 35th Triad &c.”

II. ARLES AND SARDICA. Whatever be the truth about the introduction of Christianity into Britian, and we suppose it will always be a subject of controversy, for the traditions are many, there can be no doubt that British bishops were present at the Councils of Arles (A. D. 314), and of Sardica (A. D. 347), as well as at Nicaea, Ariminum and Troyes. At Arles those taking part in the synod, despatched the decrees they had passed to Rome for the approval of Pope Sylvester, and in a letter to him they say:

“We have thought of providing for our dioceses, in the presence of the Holy Ghost and His angels, certain regulations. But it is our opinion that as you have a wider jurisdiction it is your duty to promulgate them to all the faithful.”

Here the British bishops acting in concert with the Gallican bishops, recognizing "*the wider Jurisdiction*" of the Bishop of Rome, believe it to be part of his duty "to promulgate" the regulations they have made in a provincial council "*to all the faithful,*" thus making them binding on the whole Church. Surely these bishops would not have so acted if they had had any idea that the Bishop of Rome had no more jurisdiction over the British Church than any other foreign bishop.

At Sardica, it will be remembered, the fathers who composed it, including the British representatives, addressing Pope Julius, said: "It will be seen to be best and most proper, if the bishops from each particular province make reference *to their Head, that is to the Seat of Peter the Apostle.*"

The British Church was represented officially by its bishops at Sardica, quite as much as Alexandria was represented by St. Athanasius and therefore the synodical letter just quoted is official evidence that the Catholics of Britain two hundred and fifty years before the coming of St. Augustine recognized Pope Julius as their head, because, as they believed, he occupied the "seat of the Apostle Peter."

III. THE BOOK OF LANDAFF. Gildas, the Church historian of the Britons, laments, and we lament with him, that their ancient records were devoured by fire and sword at the time of the

Saxon invasion. Yet even so the scattered remains of Welsh literature and tradition give satisfactory proof to the unprejudiced student that faith in the Primacy of St. Peter and the Roman Church prevailed among the primitive British Christians.

The Rev. J. D. Breen, O. S. B., in a tract entitled "*The Church of Old England*" has culled from such sources as the *Book of Llandaff, Cambria Sacra*, etc., the following interesting facts:

In the lives of Saints Dubricius and Teilo (the first two Bishops of Llandaff), we read in reference to privileges granted them: "*Sanctioned by Apostolic Authority*," e. g., in the *Book of Llandaff*, p. 356, it is said: "This is the law and privilege of the Church of Teilo, of Llandaff, which these kings and princes of Wales granted to the Church of Teilo, and all its bishops after him forever, and *was confirmed by the Popes of Rome*." Also p. 373, "And as the Church of Rome has dignity above all the Churches of the Catholic faith, so the Church of Llandaff exceeds all the Churches of Southern Britain in dignity, etc."

Following the example of St. Paul, who went up to Jerusalem to confer with St. Peter, the third Bishop of Llandaff went to Rome to confer with St. Peter's successor. St. Cadoc of Llancarren went seven times to Rome in his life. Even in the civil law of the Britons we find

the indubitable proof of their devotion to St. Peter. The XXVth article of the Dimetian Code of British laws runs thus: "Whosoever shall commit treason against his lord, or waylay, he is to forfeit his patrimony and if caught is liable to be hanged. . . (but) . . . if he repair to the Court of Rome, and return with a letter in his possession showing that he is absolved by the Pope, he is to have his patrimony."

The formula employed by the old British kings and princes in granting estates to the Church was as follows: "I grant to Almighty God, to St. Peter, to holy Dubricius () acres of land that the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass may be offered up for my soul and the souls of my wife, children and forefathers."

IV. THE PALAGIAN HERESY. The history of the Pelagian heresy is itself a proof that the British Church in A. D. 400 was dependent upon Rome, as members of a body are dependent upon the head. Pelagius succeeded for a time in drawing to himself the attention of the Church universal and the Britons were naturally proud that one of their countrymen should attain to such distinction. Pelagianism, therefore, took root and flourished in Britain, but when the Pope pronounced Pelagius a heretic, as loyal Catholics the British wished to be rid of Pelagianism and they applied to the Pope for help. It is St. Prosper, in his Chronicles, who tells us that accord-

ingly Pope Celestine sent, in place of himself (*vice sua*) "Germanus and Lupus (two French bishops) to refute the heretics and guide the Britons to the Catholic faith." St. Prosper also says that Pope Celestine "kept the Roman island (Britain) Catholic, and made the foreign island (Ireland) Christian; the first by expelling certain native leaders of Pelagianism from their hiding places in the ocean, the other by ordaining a bishop (Palladius) to establish Christianity among the Scots." Certainly the Pope must have exercised a real jurisdiction in the region of the Britons, and to have had something more than a mere Primacy of honour, to be able to drive out of their hiding places and expel from the country the native leaders of the Pelagian heresy.

V. SS. PATRICK AND NINIAN. Then too, it cannot be forgotten that it was at this period (about 430 A. D.) that St. Patrick, a native of Britain, under the Papal blessing became the Apostle of Ireland. St. Patrick, it is declared, was a devoted son of the Holy See and after a lapse of fifteen centuries his spiritual sons are to this very day among the most zealous defenders of the prerogatives of St. Peter in all the world.

St. Ninian, too, the Apostle of Scotland, belonged to the British Church, and yet it was the Pope, who commissioned him to evangelize the Picts.

Surely we have no sound historical reason for repudiating the statement of Gildas that the British Church held St. Peter to be the First of the Apostles and the keybearer of the Kingdom of Heaven.

VI. CONFERENCE WITH ST. AUGUSTINE. Much capital has been made by those, who assume that the British Church knew nothing of the Pope, out of the refusal of the British bishops to submit to the jurisdiction of St. Augustine. But if the story of their interview with the first Archbishop of Canterbury be true they had consulted one of their wise men beforehand and if St. Augustine had risen to meet them instead of sitting still they would have submitted to him. But when we remember their intense animosity to the Saxons, can we conceive of their being willing under *any* circumstances to accept this newly arrived missionary as superior to their own time honored archbishop, unless they had had some profound regard for the sovereign authority of the Bishop of Rome? Certainly not. The line of justification taken by the British bishops against Augustine's counter claim shows this, for they took the ground that their Church was a *papal foundation*, and its local customs were authorized "by authority of the holy Pope Eleutherius, *their first founder*, as also by the practices of their holy fathers, the friends of God and followers of the Apostles." (Gotcelinus in *Hist.*

Major, c. xxxii; also *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. II, p. 308.)

The very difference, which they had with St. Augustine, as to the time of keeping Easter, is another incidental proof of their ancient adherence to Rome, for theirs was the Roman use of an earlier period, whereas St. Augustine brought the revised use direct from Rome. "Even so late as A. D. 433" in another matter, say Haddan and Stubbs, "they followed the directions of Pope Leo the Great." Their ignorance of the later changes was due to their isolation from the rest of Christendom temporarily owing to the invasion of the Northmen and their imprisonment, as it were, in the mountain fastnesses of Wales and Cornwall.

That communion and intercourse with Rome was soon after resumed, and the filial devotion of the Welsh to the successor of St. Peter once more abundantly displayed, is too well established as a matter of history for us to extend this chapter to any further length to prove it.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PRE-REFORMATION WITNESS OF ECCLESIA ANGLICANA.

In treating of the relations between England and Rome between the years 597 and 1534, we shall divide the period into two main portions: the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church (597 to 1066), and the history of the Church in the later middle ages (1066 to 1534).

I. A WRONG VIEW. It has been the custom with us to say that while England was a Roman Catholic country in the period immediately preceding the Reformation, this state of things had not always been so, and that it came about through various accidental causes, such as the conquest of the country by the Normans in 1066, and all that was involved in that conquest, and by successive and aggressive acts on the part of the Popes by which they first intruded, and afterwards tightened their hold, upon a domain that was not properly their own.

Eventually, however, the Church in England realised an independence which had been hers at the outset but which through Roman aggression had little by little been lost. Those who allow themselves to entertain this notion naturally

resent any attempt to recover a connection which in their judgment represented at once a decline and a disaster; and men who advocate this attempt are recognised and denounced as traitors.

But if this view of the pre-Reformation Church is historically false, the position is changed, and the prospect and project of reunion with the Holy See will appear no longer as an outrage upon the common sense of the community, but simply as the recovery of a position which should never have been surrendered. Consider the case attentively: it has been the custom to say, "All along the centuries before the Reformation the Church of England was a national Church, managing her own affairs, and most jealous of advice, which the Pope was too ready to give, and of interference on his part which was throughout consistently resented."

Now, it is only too easy to read the present into the past, and to picture to ourselves in the 7th century a national Church of England, such as we see before us to-day. But such a picture is misleading, for the inhabitants of what is now called England did not form one nation or one Kingdom, when the Western Church first extended itself into the country; and it was largely due to the unifying influences of that Church that the unity of the English nation came eventually to be realised.

Green, the historian, recognises this: "Greg-

ory, as we have seen, had plotted out the yet heathen Britain into an ordered Church, and although the carrying out of this scheme in its actual form had proved impossible, yet it was certain that the first effort of the Roman See, now that the ground was clear, would be to replace it by some analogous arrangement. But no such religious organization could stamp itself on the English soil without telling on the civil organization about.

“The regular subordination of priest to bishop, of bishop to Primate” (and we may add, of Primate to Pope) “in the administration of the Church would supply a model on which the civil organization of the State would unconsciously but irresistibly shape itself. The gathering of the clergy in national synods, would inevitably lead the way to national gatherings for civil legislation. Above all, if the nation in its spiritual capacity came to recognize the authority of a single Primate, it would insensibly be led in its temporal capacity to recognize a single sovereign. . . . The hopes of such an organization rested in the submission of the English States to the Church of Rome.”

II. AN UNKNOWN PHENOMENON. Here, then, we shall set down at the outset a proposition which we are prepared to withdraw at once or to modify, if our leading historical scholars will convict us of error. It is a position which we

desire with all respect to submit to their correction; and it reads thus:

An *Ecclesia Anglicana* not in conscious dependence upon the Holy See in spirituals is a phenomenon unknown to history before the reign of Henry VIII. We take the period according to its precise limits, i. e., from A. D. 597 to 1534; and we assert that in no single year, from the former date to the latter did Churchmen in England regard themselves as otherwise than in conscious dependence in spirituals upon the Holy See. And as it was with Churchmen during that period so was it also with the legislature.

I.

A. D. 597 TO 1066.

We are not denying that the influence of the Roman Church made itself felt more and more, particularly after the conquest.

But here it is a mistake to attribute the invasion to one side, as if the State had not also encroached upon the Church, or as if there were only two principal parties in the case, instead of what may be called a three-cornered relationship such as actually subsisted between the Crown, the barons, and the Church during the latter half of the period.

III. AN EXTENSION OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

Where it is a question of a quarrel it may be convenient for one side or the other to take its stand upon one particular point of time, arbi-

trarily chosen, and obstinately adhered to and to refuse to look behind it.

But it is more satisfactory to go back to the very beginning of all. And when we do this we find, in fact, that what made its appearance in England when the Roman missionaries came over, and when their labours were supplemented by others, was the corporation known as the Catholic Church. In other words that entire Church as a whole was a corporation in the first place, and its various portions found in various parts were known as corporations only as representing the wider corporation. And when the Church was thus extended into England in the 6th century it was so far like the extension of a railway line, which pushes its way into new localities without surrendering its old regime: the old headquarters are what they are and where they are, and the new localities do not control the old management, but are subject to it. The Church which thus entered within the boundary lines of Britain was a Church with the Holy See for its visible centre and its final court of appeal. So far as this corporation was welcomed and acknowledged in the country, so far also was the Holy See acknowledged and welcomed.

So true is this that the Pope of that moment is constantly alluded to as "Blessed Gregory, the Apostle of the English race," or as "Our Father Gregory"; and writing in the year 1199, three

hundred years before the Reformation, Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, is able to assert, in an appeal to the Pope, that Canterbury has always manifested "the greatest obedience to the Supreme and Chief See, that of the blessed Peter."

According to the language of St. Aldhelm, Gregory was "our watchful shepherd and teacher, who saved our ancestors from the dark errors of paganism and brought to them the grace of regeneration."

It was at the end of June, A. D. 601, that Gregory gave his directions for the government of the Church in England. The Metropolitan Sees were to be established at London (afterwards transferred to Canterbury) and at York; although the latter was not to enjoy archiepiscopal rights until after St. Augustine's death.

Each Metropolitan was to preside over twelve suffragans, and the pallium was to be given to each Archbishop. As has been already observed this plan was not realised in every aspect of it; but the broad fact remains, that the first Archbishop derived his jurisdiction from the Holy See as did also every subsequent Archbishop up to the Reformation.

It will scarcely be urged as against this, at this time of day, that Augustine went to Arles and was consecrated by the Archbishop of that city.

Certainly Augustine did go to Arles, and cer-

tainly he was consecrated by the Archbishop there; but why did he go, and why was it there that he was consecrated? The answer is, because it was according to Pope Gregory's wish.

This is important, because Augustine is sometimes represented as if debating to himself, with his finger to his mouth, as to what Archbishop he should turn to; and as if it were a matter merely for himself. One writer, for example, declares: "The reason why Augustine was consecrated at Arles was that . . . being more accessible than Rome and the Roman theory which holds that all power to authorize and confer the Episcopate is vested in the Pope not having been invented, he naturally resorted thither."

No, on the contrary, it has to be repeated, Augustine was consecrated at Arles because Gregory wished it. As Bede says:

"In the meantime Augustine, the man of God, repaired to Arles, and, pursuant to the *orders* received from the holy Father Gregory, (*italics our own*) was ordained Archbishop of the English nation by Etherius, Archbishop of that city." (*Bede i. cp 27*).

Virgilius, the true name of the Archbishop, was at that time Papal vicar for all Gaul; so that it was as the representative of the Pope that he consecrated Augustine. Furthermore, (in the same chapter of Bede), Pope Gregory writes: "We give you no authority over the bishops of

France, because the bishops of Arles received the pall in ancient times from my predecessors, and we are not to deprive him of the authority he has received." And again at the end of the section: "But as for all the bishops of Britain, we commit them to your care."

From this it is evident that what the Archbishop of Arles was towards all France, that Augustine was also to be towards all Britain; and that while the latter received from Virgilius the power of order, both alike derived their jurisdiction, or the power to exercise their orders, from Pope Gregory.

Some of our writers are beginning to recognize this but others still continue to speak as if Augustine acted on his own initiative and independently of the Pope.

Thus one writer declares "Augustine went over to Gaul (not to Rome) to obtain this authority. . . ."

And another, a Hampton lecturer of earlier times: "He (Augustine) seems to have crossed over into Gaul and to have advised with Etherius, Archbishop of Arles, upon a public appearance as metropolitan of the English nation."

On the other hand such recognized authorities as Dr. Bright and Bishop Collins without sympathizing, of course, with the drift of this chapter, declare the fact, as Bede proclaims it, that it

was in accordance with Pope Gregory's directions that Virgilius consecrated Augustine.

IV. WHAT GREGORY THOUGHT. But it may be objected that Pope Gregory's view of his own position was something very different from the Roman position to-day. To this we must reply that we are not here considering that question, but only the question as to whether either Augustine on the one side, or Gregory on the other, supposed for a moment that the first Archbishop of Canterbury, or those who were to succeed him, were to be independent of Rome.

And to answer this question we need not discuss the controversy between Gregory and the Archbishop of Constantinople on the title "Universal Bishop." All we have to ask is what Gregory considered to be his relation to other bishops; and his own words will answer this.

"Though there were many Apostles, yet the See of the Prince of the Apostles alone has acquired a principality of authority." Again: "If any could claim the title of universal Apostle it would be St. Peter's successor." And once more: "Who doubts that it (Constantinople) is subject to the Apostolic See? I know not what bishop is not subject to it if fault be found in him."

From which it is plain that the project of converting England and the enterprise itself eman-

ated from a point in the brain of a Pope who never doubted that the chair he sat in was Peter's chair, and that the Church over which he presided was the head of all the Churches.

And it is certain that St. Augustine shared this view, and recognized in the English Church, of which he was the first Archbishop, what Duchesne describes as "a colony of the Church of Rome."

V. BONIFACE AND HONORIUS. And it was only a few years after St. Augustine's day, A. D. 619, that St. Justus fourth Archbishop of Canterbury, received the pallium from Pope Boniface V, with the injunction that he should "ordain bishops when occasion should require." And the injunction of Pope Honorius to the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the same name, is famous as well as significant: "When either of the Prelates of Canterbury or York shall depart this life, the survivor. . . . may fill up his place with another bishop *by this our authority* (italics our own), which, as well out of regard to your affection as on account of the great space between us, we are induced to concede." (Mansi X. 580).

VI. THEODORE AND WILFRID. Nor does the famous controversy between Wilfrid, Bishop of York, and Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, contradict the position we are proposing, for, however they may have quarrelled between

themselves, they both acknowledged the Holy See, and the language of that See to them was unmistakable. Listen to the words of Pope Vitalian, for example, in A. D. 657:

“We have thought good at present to commend to your most wise Holiness all the Churches in the island of Britain. But now, by the authority of the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, to whom power was given by our Lord to bind and to loose in heaven and in earth, we, however unworthy, holding the place of that same blessed Peter, who bears the keys of the kingdom of heaven, grant to you, Theodore, and your successors, all that from old time was allowed, forever to retain unimpaired, in that your Metropolitan See, in the city of Canterbury” (Mansi XI. 24).

On the other hand Bede in alluding to the Council of bishops at Hereford (A. D. 673) informs us that Theodore signed himself thus: “I, Theodore, unworthy Bishop of the See of Canterbury, sent by the Apostolic See.” While Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, was one of the 125 bishops in the Roman Synod called and presided over by Pope Agatho to consider the heresy of the Monothelites. And in the course of the letter, which is addressed to the Emperor, occurs the following passage:

“The light of our Catholic and Apostolic true faith by the blessed ministry of Peter and Paul,

the Princes of the Apostles, by their disciples and apostolic successors, has by the help of God been preserved step by step down to our littleness, obscured by no foul darkness of heretical error, nor polluted by the mists of falsehood. . . . For in this the Apostolic See and our littleness have toiled not without dangers, now taking counsel with the Apostolic Pontiffs, now making known to all by a synodical definition the rules of truth and defending the boundaries which cannot be transgressed even to the loss of life. . . . ” While allusion is also made to previous Emperors “who embraced the tome of the holy Pope Leo, which by his words Peter the Apostle had published.”

And so with the dogmatic letter of St. Agatho who alludes to the long suffering patience of his predecessors with those who were in error “that they might not make themselves aliens from our fellowship, or rather that of St. Peter, whose ministry, though unworthy, we fulfill, and the form of whose tradition we declare.” Wilfrid, Bishop of York, is living in the atmosphere of all this in Rome, and subscribes to it and identifies himself with it; an attitude which is incompatible with the notion of an independent national Church in Britain that knew nothing of the spiritual claims of Rome. Indeed Kemble, the great historian of the Anglo Saxon period, expresses his astonishment on finding that “the

power of the Roman See was, generally speaking, most substantially founded by the efforts and energy of Teutonic prelates," while a much more strenuous opposition to it was offered by provincials in the cities of Gaul.

Also he quotes a continental author in the ninth century as calling the English "*maxime familiares apostolicae sedis*" (Kemble, p. 372, vol. ii). And even allows himself to declare that "when we consider the position of the Roman See towards the north of Europe during the interval from the commencement of the seventh till that of the ninth century we can scarcely escape from the conclusion that England was the great basis of Papal operations" (pp. 371, 372).

VII. CLOFESHO. Turn, again, to the Council of Clofesho, which Kemble describes as one of the most solemn ecclesiastical acts on record (A. D. 803), and you will find the integrity of the See of Canterbury restored, after the following manner:

The bishops of England at the Council declare that "the Apostolic Pope had sent into Britian an authoritative precept of his prerogative, commanding the honour of St. Augustine's See to be restored in all its completeness with all its parishes (i. e. dioceses) just as St. Gregory, the Apostle and Master of our nation arranged it."

"We have bestowed on the Archbishop," writes Pope Leo, "such a prelateship that if any

of his subjects—kings, princes, or people—transgress his precept in the Lord, let him excommunicate him till he is penitent.” And so with St. Dunstan in the tenth century, whom we find petitioning the Pope to sanction the reform of abuses in the Church. There is much more than a mere Primacy of *honour* in all this; it was in fact, a Primacy of supreme jurisdiction.

Can it honestly be said, then, that at any point of time during this period (A. D. 597 to 1066) there was any sort of doubt as to the dependence of the Church in England on the Holy See of Rome? Or can it be maintained that the Church in England was dependent simply because Rome had planted it; just as the Church in South Africa is in a sense dependent upon the Church in England to-day? The claims of contemporary Popes were not confined to the area of England, and the English prelates knew this all along without ever lifting up their voices against it, however they may have resented a few particular manifestations of this authority. It is on evidence such as this, then, that our proposition is based. And we have devoted the greater portion of the chapter to this earlier period because no intelligent student will be found to maintain in our day that England was anything but what we now term a Roman Catholic country from A. D. 1066 to 1534. However, we shall adduce some illustrations from contemporary records in proof of this.

II.

A. D. 1066—1534.

VIII. THE PAPAL REGESTA. It will be known, of course, to most of our readers that Pope Leo XIII laid open the Vatican Library to the inspection of scholars from all parts of Europe, and that Dr. Bliss, the scholar deputed to represent England, has published a few volumes intended to provide "an English calendar of all entries in the Papal Regesta of the Middle Ages which illustrate the history of Great Britain and Ireland." We shall now select and set down a few of these; leaving them, for the most part, to speak for themselves. Vol. VII of the Regesta, A. D. 1198, for example, includes the following:

"[8 Kal. Maii.] St. Peter's, Rome [f. 29].

"Inhibition to the Archbishop on complaint by the prior and convent of Canterbury from building a new chapel at Lambeth, contrary to the prohibitions of Popes Urban and Clement; with order to pull down what is built, and suspension of the clergy who officiate in it.

"Concurrent letters to the suffragans of the province."

Again:

"A. D. 1233, 2 Id. Maii, Lateran [f. 25].

"Monition to the King of France to make peace with the King of England, which the Pope has ordered the

Archbishop of Sens and the Bishops of Paris, Winchester and Salisbury to promote."

One more entry during the pontificate of Urban IV may here be set down:

"A. D. 1261, 10 Kal. Mar. Viterbo [f. 13].

"Mandate to all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Deans, Archdeacons and other prelates to celebrate the feast of St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester, on 3 Non, April, he having been placed in the catalogue of Saints on 5 Kal. Feb. after examination of his life and miracles, under Alexander IV, the cause having been promoted by the King and magnates of England."

We now go on to quote from *Papal Letters*, vol. 1, A. D. 1198-1304.

"A. D. 1278, Non. Maii St. Peter's [f. 20d].

"Absolution of Hugh, Bishop of Ely, from his promise and oath made at his consecration by Pope Alexander, to visit the Apostolic See every three years."

"A. D. 1278, Kal. Oct., Viterbo [f. 51d].

"Indult to Queen Eleanor to have a portable altar, at which her chaplains may celebrate divine offices."

"A. D. 1279, 12 Kal. Oct., Viterbo [f. 183].

"Exhortation to the Archbishop of Canterbury to abstain from contests as to the carrying of the cross, and commending to him the new Archbishop of York who is coming to his See with the Pope's benediction, the Archbishop of Canterbury's rights remaining untouched. [Marginal note]. *Ista litta fuit missa clausa.*"

"A. D. 1290, 15 Kal. Aug., Orvieto [f. 57d].

"Mandate on the Queen's petition to the Bishop of Winchester, the Abbot of Westminster and the Dean of Bayeux, to appoint one of her clerks to a canonry and prebend of Dublin."

"A. D. 1291, 7 Kal. Mar., Orvieto [f. 1].

"License to Edmund, King Henry's son, to choose his confessor, who shall give him absolution in all

cases not reserved to the Apostolic See.”

“A. D. 1301, Kal. Maii, Lateran [f. 17d].

“Indult to Edward I, that his clerks and lay persons of his household may confess to his chaplain who shall give absolution [as above].

“Ibid: The like to Prince Edward, [f. 18].

“Ibid: The like to Queen Margaret.

“Ibid: Indult to the King to choose his confessor.

“Ibid: The like to Prince Edward.

“Ibid: The like to Queen Margaret.”

IX. ROBERT GROSSETESTE. Inasmuch as special interest attaches to the name and career of Robert Grosseteste, the famous Bishop of Lincoln in the thirteenth century, we venture to set down some facts and principles that are associated with his name in order to reinforce the illustrations of the proposition that we are seeking to establish, viz.:

That an Ecclesia Anglicana not in conscious dependence upon the Holy See in spirituals is a phenomenon unknown to history before the reign of Henry VIII.

In an age of distinguished intellects the name of Robert Grosseteste stands in the front rank; St. Thomas Aquinas having died only twenty-one years later, in 1274, and Albert Magnus in 1280. It was said of Grosseteste that to compare him with any of the doctors of his time would be like comparing the sun with the moon. But his name is more particularly accounted famous because of a certain attitude which he adopted towards

the special abuses of his time. And this is where his policy is of interest to ourselves, inasmuch as his steady and determined opposition to improper presentations, especially to an appointment to a Canonry at Lincoln which the Pope of his day attempted to enforce, has betrayed some into the conclusion that, because he resisted an appointment that was proposed by the Pope, he therefore repudiated the rule of the Pope as such.

This is a mistake, and, in alluding to the misapprehension, the Anglican editor of his letters, Mr. Henry Richard Luard, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge (Rolls Series), says:

“Grosseteste has been styled one of the harbingers of the Reformation. If this means that by his determined endeavours to raise the character of the clergy, the zeal with which he strove against abuses, his unceasing opposition to all improper presentations—from however high a source they originated—his sense of the awful responsibility of his office, his anxiety for the study at Oxford of the Scriptures above all other books, and his efforts to prevent the clergy from usurping functions that would lead them away from their clerical duties, he led the way towards that event, it is certainly true.

“But if it implies that he had any tendency toward the doctrinal changes then brought about

in the Church, or that he evidenced any idea of a separation of the Church of England from that of Rome, a more utterly mistaken statement has never been made.

“He was essentially a man of his own time, feeling vividly what were the great causes which were disturbing the Church and lowering the character of both clergy and people; and he eagerly seized and directed the means which the age offered towards the removal of these causes and the improvement of the condition of the country.”*

Some eight years before his death he wrote to Henry III, at that time King of England (1245), urging upon him the obedience and fidelity due to the Pope; and this letter elicited a response from the King, of so remarkable and suggestive a kind that I venture to transcribe it *in extenso* :

“My Lord Bishop, what relates to our Crown and royalty we determine to preserve uninjured according to our duty; and our hope is that the Pope and the Church will lend us their aid in this, and you may be assured that always and in all respects we shall show all obedience, fidelity and devotion to the Pope as our spiritual Father, and the Holy Roman Church as our spiritual Mother; to them will we firmly adhere, both in prosperity and adversity; on the day when we do

*Preface to Letters, p. xiv.

not do this, we consent to lose an eye or lose our head; God forbid that anything separate us from devotion to our spiritual Father and Mother.

“For besides all the reasons which affect us in common with other Christian princes, we are above all others bound to the Church by an especial reason; for just after our Father’s death, while still of tender age, our Kingdom being not only alienated from us, but even in arms against us, our mother, the Roman Church, through the agency of Cardinal Gualo, then legate in England, recovered this Kingdom to be at peace with and subject to us, consecrated and crowned us King, and raised us to the throne of the Kingdom.”*

Now let us pause here and observe how progressive the work of reunion is. Robert Grosseteste has constantly been put forward, in past days, as a standing witness to the supposed fact that the Church in England resented the rule of the Pope in spirituals, as if Henry VIII’s subsequent and more drastic action, was a mere carrying out and completion, however clumsy in character, of the same policy. The proposition laid down in this chapter offers an absolute and point blank contradiction to this view, and one item of evidence in support of this contradiction

* Letters of Grosseteste, Preface, pp. xv, xvi.

is what we here have to say about the famous Bishop of Lincoln.

To say that Grosseteste was anxious to support a national Church, independent of the Holy See, in spirituals as well as in temporals, is false. So long as it is put forward in ignorance or as the outcome of inherited prejudice it may perhaps be excused, but in no case can it be tolerated or allowed to pass.

Grosseteste would have spoken somewhat as follows:

“The Church of Rome is, of course, the mother and mistress of all Churches: in all greater spiritual causes an appeal lies to the Holy See; nor can a bishop be appointed without that See’s consent. This is an elementary fact known to all. On the other hand, if the Pope attempts to force a candidate into some benefice, one who is perhaps a foreigner and manifestly unfit for the position, such action must be resisted, not because it emanates from the Pope, but because it is wrong in itself and therefore an abuse, never mind who attempts to perpetrate it.”

It is not enough, then, to say that during the Middle Ages the action of the Holy See was sometimes resented; the further question has to be asked, By whom, and on what grounds?

Was it by the State as such? If so, do not confuse the Church with the State. Or was it by ecclesiastics in England? If so, on what grounds?

On the ground that the Holy See had no right to interfere at all, or on the ground that it pushed its legitimate interference beyond its legitimate bounds? This distinction, the distinction between temporals and spirituals, might be illustrated by several letters of Grosseteste. Thus, in one instance, he prays for the help of the Pope against the dean and chapter, who, although they are not exempted by any privilege from his jurisdiction, have thrown every possible obstacle in his way: and he addresses the Pope as "*Summus Pontifex, Dei Gratia,*" and as being "*in loco Petri, Apostolorum orbisque totius princeps.*"

And on another occasion Grosseteste complains of the delay in sending him two Dominicans, whose presence at his side is due to him as a Papal privilege; "*licet id habeamus domini Papae privilegio et concessione.*"

At the same time, as I have already indicated, he stoutly opposes the presentation of the Pope's nephew, Frederick de Lavagna, to a canonry at Lincoln, not on the ground of his being the Pope's nominee, but because of his "youth and unfitness."

And again, to revert to the legitimate interference of the Holy See, he writes:

"There is therefore nothing that can be truly alleged for the diminution of the episcopal power which the bishop has by the Canon law, who has the same from our lord the Pope, and from





Jesus Christ through him, unless our lord the Pope, to whom belongs the plenitude of power, curtail of the episcopal power something which the Canon law grants usually, on account of some gain to the Church known to him, and not to be questioned by others, and which afford large compensation for this curtailment.”—*Letters of Grosseteste*, no. 127, Rolls Series.

Thus, the lesson we learn from the life of Grosseteste is what we are coming to recognize as the supreme question of the moment; viz., the distinction between two departments of power, one of which belongs rightly to the Holy See according to the unanimous belief prior to the Reformation, the other to the State; and furthermore the distinction that has to be carefully observed at all times in a world such as this, viz., the distinction between the legitimate use of power and its abuse. It is also a luminous illustration of the principle enunciated in the Preface of this book viz: how it is possible in the interests of a reunited Christendom for every Church to change after its own kind. The Anglican Church of the twentieth century claims unbroken continuity with the pre-Reformation Church in England. Therefore in proportion as it can be shown that she was then in communion with Rome so can we hope for a return of the same corporate relations again.

And it is this which leads us to hope and even

confidently to anticipate that the ultimate recovery of Catholic unity, in East and West alike, will be found to turn not upon impossible attempts to unite Canterbury and Constantinople in opposition to the Holy See as such, but upon the willingness of Constantinople and Canterbury alike to acknowledge once again as they both did in the times preceding their schism, and on the testimony of the Ecumenical Councils, the Primacy of the Holy See, *de jure divino*. Such, let it be repeated even once again, is the question all the world over at the present moment; the question of jurisdiction, and more particularly the accurate distinction, within that jurisdiction, between temporals and spirituals.

Such is the problem which is being worked out before our eyes in Italy, where it is known as "the Roman Question"; and upon the right solution of this problem depends the settlement of the religious difficulty in England as well as in France.

CHAPTER XIII.

UNDER THE TUDORS AND SINCE.

Our study of Anglican Church history prior to the Reformation leaves, we think, no room for doubt or question as to the dependence of the Church of England in spirituals upon the See of Rome from the coming of St. Augustine to the reign of Henry VIII. Nor can it be successfully disputed that the bishops and clergy of the Church of England during this time in many ways expressed their belief in the Roman Primacy as having authority over them *de jure divino*, and not simply *de jure ecclesiastico*.

I. FORCE AND FRAUD. How then did such a radical change of attitude take place under Henry VIII towards the Papacy? The account of the English Reformation so long current among Anglicans to the effect that the Church of England was weary of the Papal yoke and eagerly embraced the opportunity afforded by Henry to shake herself free from "the usurpations of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities" has been so thoroughly discredited of late years by our best historians, both secular and ecclesiastical, that no man who has due regard for his reputation as a scholar will any more venture

to uphold the old time tradition about the "blessed English Reformation." It has been slain by the cold logic of facts.

The substitution of the King for the Pope as "Supreme Head" of the Church of England so far from being in any sense the free and willing act of the English clergy and people was accomplished in the teeth of national opposition by sheer brutality of force coupled with political trickery and fraud. It has been truly said: "Henry VIII fixed his supremacy on a reluctant Church by the axe, the gibbet, the stake, and the laws of praemunire and forfeiture."

Dr. James Gairdner, an Anglican Churchman, has shown this most conclusively in his book, *The English Church from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Mary.* A review written very soon after the appearance of the book thus sums up the author's presentation of the facts:

"The historian has made it clear that the Reformation was not the work of the English nation as a nation. . . It was not the nation that chose the Reformation, it was the court party that forced the Reformation on the nation. . . . This fact is proved by repeated insurrections of the people throughout the length and breadth of the land, indignant uprisings of an oppressed nation, which Dr. Gardner details with unsparing impartiality; in 1536 in Lincolnshire; in

1537 in Yorkshire; next in the whole north from Westmoreland to Lincolnshire; in 1548 in Cornwall; in 1549 in twenty-one counties together. Given a leader for the people the Reformation would never have happened. . . Papal Supremacy the English nation, as a nation, never sought to cast off. There were indeed grumblings—it is an Englishman's birth-right to grumble—but 'one thing is to be noted. What little was said was very far indeed from a repudiation of the actual jurisdiction of the Church and its existing head.' The king substituted himself for the Pope, the Spiritual Head, wholly and solely because the Holy See would not violate the moral law and give him a dispensation 'for either bigamy or divorce.'

"The nobility bribed by Church property, were interested to maintain the revolution. The House of Commons was packed and then brow beat. If the people resisted, the king 'butchered' them. If they tried to give expression to their grievances, he gagged them. Whosoever refused to perjure his soul by swearing to the king's spiritual supremacy Henry 'brutally despatched'—Lord Chancellor More, Cardinal Fisher, the Earl of Kildare and his five uncles, the Abbots, of Jerveaulx, Fountains, Glastonbury, Reading, Colchester, Sawley, Whalley and a host of other distinguished men, including Prior Houghton and his saintly Carthusians, 'on whom

the dreadful sentence was carried out with even more than usual brutality, for they were ripped up in each other's presence, their arms torn off and their hearts rubbed upon their mouths and faces.' By such sweet methods did Bluff King Hal dethrone the Pope in the hearts of the English people."

That there was some heretical feeling in certain quarters during the earlier years of the century is of course a fact; but, as Dr. Gairdner assures us, "there was no appearance, indeed, that those so affected were the more enlightened part of the nation. Few among them appear to have been men either of social position, of judgment, or of education."

No careful student of the state of religion in England at that time will deny that there was room for some wholesome and drastic reforms, but they were such as were dealt with by the reforming Council of Trent (1546-1563 A. D.). Its decrees clearly demonstrated Rome's recognition of the necessity of reforming certain abuses and her desire to co-operate in the widespread demand for such reform. Sir Thomas More was one of those who advocated reform, yet he went gladly to the stake rather than deny the divine constitution of the Papacy by subscribing to the royal supremacy as a substitute for that of the Pope.

It was in 1512 that Colet preached his famous sermon to the Convocation which had been

“specially summoned to take measures against the further spread of the mischievous opinions.” And in this sermon what he attacked was not the existing constitution of the Church, but the worldliness of its clergy. The bishops, he said, were the persons to set this right: the clergy must be recalled from worldly and secular objects to the proper spiritual duties of their vocation. Heresy, he declared, would soon disappear under the influence of a devout and spiritually minded clergy. His text, Romans xii. 2, sufficiently indicates the line he pursued.

While as regards the King himself his answer to Luther, a few years later, an answer in which he insisted upon the Primacy of the Pope *de jure divino*, and spoke of Rome as Mistress of all the Churches; and which he dedicated to Leo X.—this on the one hand and Wolsey’s own words to De’ Gigli that “the King will be ready to expose his person and goods to support the honour and dignity of the Holy See,” on the other;—all this so far speaks for itself.

But this is by no means all: for whatever may have been the extent of worldly-mindedness among the clergy, and whatever abuses there may have been in the matter of indulgences, the Church of England in the persons of her representatives was doing her utmost to check the intrusion into England of the “Lutheran heresies” during the earlier half of the reign, and the King

himself was supporting her in this policy. While as regards the jurisdiction of the Pope it is not true to say that there was any desire or even dream in England, during those years, of repudiating his authority in spirituals, although that authority may have seemed to weigh heavily in temporals. But even here the unreality of Henry's policy was only too plain, for in the event the money that went out of England, in the shape of first fruits, and other charges, money which had hitherto found its way to the Pope, was not recovered to the clergy, but merely transferred to the pockets of the King himself.

No, although Henry certainly made good use, or bad use, of any heresies that were floating about in the ecclesiastical atmosphere, or rather of the people who championed those heresies, there are certain facts which are easy for us to fix, and a certain well defined period that we can easily ascertain, which constitute the proximate cause of the Reformation in England; and the more this cause is analysed the less do we find in it of anything that can be called genuine religion.

It has been said with truth that the ecclesiastical revolution of the sixteenth century was practically effected in 1528—1534, about the same length of time as the present King of England has been on the throne.

It was what happened within the compass of

those few years that made the revolution a possibility then, and that paved the way for all the revolutionary measures that followed afterwards.

Even two or three years before 1528 Henry was falling into dissipated ways, and leaving all the government of the country practically in Wolsey's hands: and as time advanced and none of his male children by Katherine survived; and when Anne Boleyn came upon the scene he began to be consumed by a passionate desire to be rid of the former and to be united to the latter.

Let any one weigh the two following passages one from Gairdner's history and the other from one of the contemporary documents of the period itself, and he will see how far religion, or that science of religion which we call theology, had to do with the momentous changes of this epoch.

"The King's passion for Anne," writes Gairdner, "though no doubt sufficiently obvious at court, could have provoked no great amount of speculation; for he had already debauched her sister and was expected to do the same with her. Anne, however, withstood his advances, and was not to be won, except by pledges which a married man had no right to give; and the King was considering now (1527) how to make these pledges good, either by obtaining from the Pope (in consideration of his merits towards the Holy See) a license for bigamy, or a declaration of nullity, on the theory that there was a flaw in the dispensa-

tion for his first marriage. To his eager eye it appeared that either of these ways was conceivable. * * * A dispensation, however, would be required to marry Anne quite as much as it had been for his marriage with Katharine; for by his illicit intercourse with her sister, Anne stood in precisely the same degree of affinity to him that Katherine had done by her marriage with his brother. * * * ”

And now turn to a letter from the Ambassador in England to the Emperor Charles V., dated February 21, 1531: “If the Pope had ordered the lady to be separated from the King, the King would never have pretended to claim sovereignty over the Church. * * * The Nuncio has been with the King to-day. * * * The Nuncio then entered upon the subject of this new papacy made here (the King making himself Pope in England) to which the King replied that it was nothing, and was not intended to infringe the authority of the Pope, provided his Holiness would pay due regard to him, and otherwise he knew what to do.” And a fortnight later, March 8th, the same ambassador wrote:

“The clergy are more conscious every day of the great error they committed in acknowledging the King as sovereign of the Church, and they are urgent in Parliament to retract it. Otherwise they say they will not pay a penny of the 400,000

crowns. What will be the issue no one knows.
* * * ”

The dominant fact of the moment, then, was Henry's consuming passion for Anne Boleyn, and, in conjunction with this fact, his disappointment at having no male heir by his wife, Katharine. This was why Cranmer was called to be Archbishop of Canterbury; this was why Cranmer first and Cromwell afterwards were so careful as to the licenses they issued to preachers, and why from time to time they withdrew those licenses; for it was only men who were prepared to denounce the Pope and preach up the divorce that were allowed to preach at all; and this, too, was why Cromwell insinuated into Henry's mind the suggestion of a National Church that should be independent of the Church of Rome. Henry hoped that this one governing desire of the moment might be granted without the necessity of repudiating the Holy See, but when it became a choice between the will of the Holy See and his own will, then as in every other instance, it was his own will that prevailed.

Such appears to be the state of the case when we examine it in the light of the most recent research. The Wars of the Roses in the previous century had practically exterminated the old nobility, and this coupled with the further fact that the "People" were only now very gradually emerging into a position of any influence at all,

it was this that opened the way for the imperious Tudor temper, and made the tyranny of that temper a possibility. Dr. Gairdner shall speak again: "The Church of Enland was left under the absolute control of Henry * * * and the Church within the Kingdom—that element of the national life which had really most freedom of spirit—was not only bound and shackled, but terrorized and unable to speak out." And in a letter to a correspondent which Dr. Gairdner allowed him to quote, the historian referring to an article in a well known Anglican magazine, writes:

"I quite agree with you and the writer in the Church Quarterly that there was no thought of questioning Papal jurisdiction before the Reformation. Indeed I go as far as to say that any wilful attempt to do so would have been sinful." Again: "Tyranny cut off England from Rome."

And it is the same distinguished authority, who has spent the greater part of his life, as well as of his talents, in studying and editing the original documents of this period, who writes: "The position of the Church (on the accession of Henry) under the jurisdiction of Rome seemed as secure as it had ever been. * * * The great schism of the Papacy * * * the rival Popes were things of the past and were never to return. * * * The Council of Constance put an end to ecclesiastical anarchy, and there was but

one obedience in Western Europe for more than a century after; as indeed there is but one obedience still for those who acknowledge Papal authority at all."

One or two further illustrations of what has here been said may now be set down.

We have said that the pulpits were tuned by the King himself; and here is a transcript from Cranmer's Letters 460:

"Order taken for preaching and bidding of beads.

1. For preachers in the presence of the King and Queen, who are to name them and the Princess Elizabeth in the bidding of beads.

2. * * * And that every preacher shall preach once in the presence of his greatest audience against the power of the Bishop of Rome. * * * Preachers to declare the justice of the King's later matrimony to the best of their ability, and to point out the injustice of the Bishop of Rome from the beginning of the King's cause. * * * "

(Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII., Vol. VII., p. 190.)

However, in spite of this precaution some of the preachers evidently could not contain themselves for we find Henry VIII. writing to Cranmer later on:

"Notwithstanding the repeated councils summoned by the King to promote unity in religion, there swarmeth abroad a number of indiscreet

persons with neither learning nor judgment, who nevertheless are authorized to preach, and blow about their folly. Considering the pains we have taken to avoid this, and the commands we have given to you whom besides your profession, we repute a person addicted to honesty, and to the observation of our precepts, we expect you and the rest of our ministers, whom we have chosen, to instruct the people to have special regard to the election of preachers." (*No. 750, Henry VIII. to Cranmer.*)

Cranmer did his best and we find him writing to Latimer:

"To master Latymer, parson of Weste Kynton, in Wiltshire:

"Last April, Cranmer and the bishops of his province caused an inhibition to be had for preaching within their dioceses to prevent the malignity of divers preachers, who intended to hinder the King's just cause of matrimony and deprave the Acts of Parliament. * * * It was therefore concluded that no bishop or bishop's officer should license any to preach without special injunction declared to them that they should not preach anything prejudicial to the King's matrimony. * * * wishes him (Latymer) to be right circumspect that the injunctions may be well observed, or else to return the licenses of any whom he doubts." (*Vol VII. p. 289.*)

It must be plain to every honest man that

1. Henry then turned his face away from Rome when he turned it away from Katharine and towards Anne Boleyn.

2. That had he been able to manage Rome he would have turned his face away from Katharine without turning it also away from Rome.

3. That failing to manage Rome he forced his clergy to unite with him in separating from her.

4. That the nobles were for the most part won over to his side by handsome presents from the spoils of the monasteries.

Subsequent events cannot be appreciated unless this exercise of force extending over the last twelve or thirteen years of Henry's reign be carefully considered. Doctrines and principles jealously withdrawn from all the pulpits for a course of years would necessarily die out of the minds of the multitude and prepare the soil for the more drastic changes under Edward VI. Green who is one of the first authorities on this period, and in the judgment of Bishop Stubbs, one of the first historians of his day, confirms what has here been said: "The last check on royal absolutism, which had survived the War of the Roses, lay in the wealth, the independent synods and jurisdiction and claims of the Church; and for the success of the new policy it was necessary to reduce the great ecclesiastical body to a mere department of the State, in which

all authority should flow from the Sovereign alone, his will be the only law, his decision the only test of truth.”

A brief outline of what may be called the formal acts, by which this not very innocent proceeding was finally carried out, may now be enumerated.

II. HOW IT WAS DONE. The first move was to declare that the whole nation had incurred the penalties of *Praemunire* because they had submitted to the authority of Wolsey as Papal legate, the King himself having been the first to do so. The absurdity of the situation was relieved in the eyes of the general public by a royal pardon of all except the clergy. One hundred thousand pounds sterling was the price they were induced to pay to escape severer punishment but in the petition for forgiveness, which they were instructed to present to the King, Henry insisted that a clause should appear in the preamble asserting that “he alone was the Protector and supreme Head of the English Church and Clergy..” The word “Protector” had long been affected by emperors and kings in relation to the Church and Cromwell thought under its familiar sound to slide in the fatal wedge which was intended to cleave asunder England and the Holy See. Fisher by his remarkable speech in Convocation sounded the alarm. The clergy demurred. The debate of

resistance lasted through thirty-two sessions. Henry swore on his word as a king that he never intended it to mean any authority in spirituals. By cajoleries and threats the clergy were at last betrayed into a fatal compromise which cost the Church her independence. They qualified the clause by adding the words, "as far as the law of Christ doth allow." No mention of the Pope was made and in this form it passed Convocation.

The bishops explained in Parliament the meaning they attached to the clause. In May of the same year (1531) Convocation registered a formal protest that in giving the King this title they "did not intend in any way to detract from the authority of the Apostolic See." In the Northern Province Archbishop Tunstall protested that the "Headship" ought to be "*in temporals* after Christ" and Archbishop Warham's protest may be seen to this day in the Lambeth register. "In the Name of God, Amen," is its solemn beginning: "We, William, by Divine permission Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of All England, and Legate of the Apostolic See, do publicly and expressly protest for ourselves and for our Church of Canterbury, that we will not consent, and do not intend to consent, as with safe conscience we cannot consent, in any sort of way, to any statute passed or to be passed in the present Parliament (1532) inasmuch as these statutes or any of them, are

known to tend to the injury of the Roman Pontiff, or of the Apostolic See, etc." Warham died on August 24, 1532.

1533.

On January 25, Henry secretly married Anne Boleyn, telling the priest that he had the Pope's permission. The marriage was kept dark until Cranmer had gotten his Bulls for consecration as Warham's successor and had taken the oath of allegiance and obedience to the Pope, which happened at the end of March. On Palm Sunday Bishop Fisher was arrested. On May 23, Cranmer as Archbishop pronounced the divorce of Henry from Catherine. On May 28, Anne's marriage was declared valid and on May 31, she was crowned. On September 7, Elizabeth was born. On November 19, Papal sentence of excommunication was published against Henry.

1534.

In this year Parliament passed certain bills wholly abolishing the Pope's power and transferring all jurisdiction to the King. Preachers throughout the realm were commanded to preach against the Pope. Convocation was made to declare that "the Pope hath no more jurisdiction in England than any other foreign bishop." Childs, a Protestant writer, says that the clergy were driven to this "simply and almost avowedly with the knife at their throats in the trenchant shape

of an indictment of Praemunire." On June 9, Henry ordered the Pope's name to be erased from all "books in the Church."

1535.

On May 4, three Carthusian priors were martyred "for not acknowledging the King's supremacy."

On June 22, Cardinal Fisher was beheaded for the same cause.

July 6, Sir Thomas More was sent to the block.

October 9, Cromwell was made Vicar General by the King as Head of the Church.

1536.

All archbishops and bishops were suspended that they might receive their power afresh from the King.

The monasteries were visited and dissolved. Thereby the King and his nobles greatly enriched.*

*Henry's next step was to break up the religious corporations called monasteries. They were staunchly Roman Catholic and were sure to be centres of opposition to his proceedings. Besides they had large possessions, which he stood much in need of. He issued a commission of inquiry into their condition, but the report being too favourable it was suppressed. A copy, however, has recently been found among the State Papers. Another

1537.

“The Pilgrimage of Grace” crushed by lying strategy. †

1538.

St. Thomas of Canterbury convicted of high treason and his shrine despoiled and relics scattered to the winds.

1547

Henry VIII. died. Edward VI. succeeded to

commission was appointed, consisting of Legh and Leyton, who sent in a report called the Black Book, just the thing to suit the King's purpose. ‘The character of the visitors, the sweeping nature of the report, and the long dispute which followed on its reception, leaves little doubt that the charges were grossly exaggerated.’ (Green). The Commons resisted for the first time. They knew how unpopular such a measure was sure to be. The monastery was the centre of nearly every good work in the neighborhood. There was provided food for the hungry, shelter for the homeless, help for the sick, and instruction for the ignorant. To save the larger ones, however, it was agreed to sacrifice the lesser ones to the King's greed.”—*J. D. Breen's Church of Old England.*

† “It must not be supposed that the people submitted tamely to all this. A very serious rebellion, called the Pilgrimage of Grace, threatened to overturn the government. The King had to negotiate, and promised to reverse his whole policy. Scarcely had the people dispersed when the gibbets were erected in all directions, and the country was deluged with blood”—*Ibid.*

the throne. Archbishops and bishops all resigned and were reappointed "while they behave well" by the mandate of a boy. A coterie of ultra Protestants of the Geneva type surrounded Edward and for six years worked havoc. Paget said at this period to the Duke of Somerset, the Protector, "With eleven-twelfths of the people the new religion has found no entrance." In 1549 a troop of German mercenaries had to be brought over from Calais to conquer popular resistance.

1553.

Mary proclaimed Queen and crowned amid great rejoicing.

1554.

Parliament petitioned for reconciliation with the Holy See. Cardinal Pole formally absolved England on St. Andrew's Day. All acts against the Pope repealed.

III. ELIZABETH. Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole dying on the same day, Nov. 17, 1558, Elizabeth was proclaimed heir to the throne. The child of Anne Boleyn clinched the nail that her father drove into the casket of the liberties of the English Church. The two acts in the tragedy are wonderfully similar. Henry had his accomplice and chief instigator in Thomas Cromwell, Elizabeth found a devoted and able lieutenant in William Cecil (Lord Burghley). Henry and

Cromwell put their heads together and planned the Royal Supremacy Act and accomplished their purpose. Elizabeth and Cecil after the Act had been repealed in Mary's reign, determined upon its restoration and carried out their program with a thoroughness of detail that has stood the wear and tear of nearly four centuries.

The thing was brought about in both instances by a combination of tyranny and sharp practice, but whereas Henry was a master of brute force, with Elizabeth the diplomatic lie was ever the favorite weapon.

She protested at the outset of her reign that matters of religion should stand as she found them, yet five or six weeks later the Mantuan envoy wrote to the Ambassador at Paris: "Until now I have believed that the matters of religion would continue in the accustomed manner, Her Majesty having promised this with her own mouth many times, but now I have lost faith, and I see that little by little they are returning to the former bad use" (that is as it had been under Edward V). Among the State Papers there appears a document with this significant title: "The Device for the Alteration of Religion in the first year of Queen Elizabeth." Camden describes it as the work "of her inwardest counsellors," and rightly or wrongly, it has been attributed to Cecil. It opens with this question, "When shall the alteration be first at-

tempted?" and the answer is, "At the next Parliament, so (that is supposing) that the danger be foreseen and remedies therefore provided."

IV. THE CONVOCATION OF 1559. Early in January, 1559, Convocation met, presided over by Bonner, Bishop of London. A Protestant writer says of it that it was "the only Convocation of the age which is above suspicion of having yielded to government pressure." If the English Church as represented by the whole bench of bishops was really longing for deliverance from the yoke of a foreign Pontiff, now is their opportunity to speak out, with the certain knowledge that any anti-papal utterances on their part would win for them the Queen's favour. But by a unanimous and entirely spontaneous agreement, braving the royal displeasure, they take just the opposite stand. On January 24, the clergy in Convocation drew up a set of five articles, declaring the belief of the Church of England in (1) the Real Presence of our Lord's Body and Blood in the Holy Eucharist; (2) Transubstantiation; (3) the Sacrifice of the Mass; (4) the divinely appointed Supremacy of St. Peter and his Successors over the universal Church; (5) that the authority to deal with matters of faith and discipline belonged to the pastors of the Church and not to laymen.

If the Anglican Church voiced her real faith

and convictions at any time during the sixteenth century it surely was in the Convocation of 1559. And as that was the last time that a free synod of the English Church has declared what its belief is concerning the Papacy and as moreover such declaration is in entire accord with all previous synodical utterances of *Ecclesia Anglicana*, save during that brief period when in violation of *Magna Charta* Henry VIII. under gag-law forced the English clergy to confess a supremacy in which they did not believe, the question naturally suggests itself, Why should not this come to be regarded as the true faith of the Church of England inasmuch as the witness of the Holy Ghost must always be consistent?

Certain it is that prior to the sixteenth century the faith of England's Church was that of the Catholic Fathers of all ages and more particularly of the first Seven General Councils, which we have already seen bore no uncertain witness to the spiritual Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. And shall we not be running the risk of convicting our own Church, to say nothing of the Church Universal, for at least a thousand years, of bearing false witness concerning the Prince of the Apostles and his Successors, if we are not prepared to reckon with the declaration of Convocation in the eventful year of 1559?

The problem before us is how to come into line with the rest of Catholic Christendom, and

is it not a strong proof of the Providence watching over the Anglican Church that notwithstanding the supremacy and uniformity acts unjustly and illegally forced upon the English clergy by Henry and Elizabeth, there is nowhere to be found in the formularies of the Anglican Communion to this day a specific denial or rejection of the *de jure divino* Primacy of the Bishop of Rome.*

And it is difficult to say on what grounds it can be considered wrong or extravagant for

*But it is asked, What of the XXXVIIth Article of Religion, which expressly says that "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm"?

Before directly answering this question it is to be remembered that all mention of the Bishop of Rome is struck out of this Article in the American Prayer Book. It merely reads "The power of the Civil Magistrate extendeth to all men, as well clergy as laity, in all things temporal; but hath no authority in things purely spiritual." It is further to be borne in mind that the American Prayer Book in its Preface says: "This Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline or worship or further than local circumstances require."

Evidently the American revisers of the Articles understood the word jurisdiction in its political and not in its spiritual sense and therefore put it down under the head of an alteration required by "local circumstances." Now the teaching of the Roman Church concerning the *Spiritual* jurisdiction of the Pope is no matter of "local circumstance" but is world-wide, universal

Anglican Churchmen to-day to recognize the authority attaching to the first 900 years of English Church history, and to appeal to this authority with a view to the settlement of that ecclesiastical confusion which has marked the course of the Anglican Church during the last four centuries.

V. THE ESTABLISHMENT. But to resume our narrative of the important events of 1559. Parliament packed for the Queen's purpose met on January 25, and on March 18, the Bill of

and as applicable to America as to England. Moreover it is a doctrine so vital and essential as to affect the very foundation of the Catholic Church. If then the authorities of the American Episcopal Church had understood the Article to mean a denial on the part of the Church of England of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Holy See then in deliberately cutting it out of the formulary they have departed in a very essential point of doctrine from the Church of England, which we repeat, they said they had no intention of doing

Two particulars in the English Article strongly point to the correctness of the understanding given to it by the American Revisers. The first of these is the title of the Article—*Of the Civil Magistrate*. Since the Civil Magistrate is a secular and therefore temporal officer the kind of jurisdiction which rightly belongs to him is a temporal jurisdiction and *not* a "spiritual" one as the American Prayer Book says, and therefore as it is in direct relation to the civil officer that the Bishop of Rome is mentioned it is most natural to assume that it is in regard to temporals and not spirituals that "jurisdic-

Supremacy was introduced. The bishops in the House of Lords resisted it to a man. As long as they were present it was found impossible to pass the bill, although five new Protestant peers had been created.

This therefore happened: during the Easter recess a doctrinal disputation between the bishops and certain of the reformers was held in the presence of the Privy Council. Then on the flimsy pretext of disputing the ruling of Sir Nicholas Bacon two of the bishops

tion in this Realm" is denied to the Holy See. The second particular to be noted is the word "*Realm*," now realm means a kingdom or state and the jurisdiction which appertains to a royal domain is very different from that which appertains to the Catholic Church, which our Lord said was a "Kingdom not of this world." In the United States the Pope has absolutely no jurisdiction in the realm of the Civil Magistrate, i. e., of the State; but over the Roman Catholic Church in America his jurisdiction is as supreme as in the City of Rome itself.

In England for centuries there had been constant friction between Church and Realm because the distinction between spirituals and temporals was never clearly drawn and the Pope and the King were repeatedly infringing, the former on what the latter regarded as affairs of the Realm and the latter on what the former regarded as affairs of the Church. In the light of this fact it is easy to understand why in an Article which deals with the functions of the Civil Magistrate it should be affirmed that the Pope "hath no jurisdiction in this

were sent to the Tower and five others were ordered to come for sentence each day. In this fashion they were gotten out of the way and in their absence the Supremacy Act passed the House of Lords by the narrow majority of three votes on May 1.

On May 18, the Oath of Supremacy was tendered to the bishops, who all refused to take it, although Kitchen of Landaff afterwards conformed and retained his see. The rest were deprived, suffering either life long imprisonment or else banishment. Matthew Parker was consecrated Archbishop on December

Realm," which is quite another proposition from saying that the "Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in the English Church."

What interpretation Elizabeth and her council were pleased to put upon the Article does not now concern us. If the English Government once thought good to disallow even the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome in England, it retreated from that view of things, when the penal statutes were repealed, and although it still continues to insist that the Pope has no jurisdiction in affairs, which appertain to statecraft, yet it willingly consents to and countenances his spiritual jurisdiction as exercised over several millions of British subjects. It would indeed be a sorry exhibition of injustice for the Crown or Parliament to hold English Churchmen legally to an interpretation of the XXXVIIth Article which the State in its treatment of Roman Catholics has long ago laid aside.

17, and the vacant sees were gradually filled by nominees of the Queen.

In the same year some two hundred of the clergy were deprived besides the bishops for refusing to conform, including three bishops-elect, one abbot, four priors, twelve deans, fourteen archdeacons, sixty canons and fifteen heads of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge. Little in "*Reason for Being a Churchman*," following the lead of older Anglican writers, gives a very false impression of the actual facts by saying that all the rest of the Clergy, 9,400 in number, conformed. The list of names preserved among the State Papers shows that in the visitation of 1559 only 803 of the clergy could be prevailed on to take the oath and it was not until the more severe statute of 1562 that any kind of conformity was generally enforced. The Rev. J. B. Breen, O. S. B., says: "The old parish priests were, as a body, true to their bishops. No more than one in twelve conformed." Cox writes to Peter Martyr, "The Popish priests among us are daily relinquishing their ministry, lest, as they say, they should be compelled to give their sanction to heresies." In York out of ninety summoned only twenty-one took the oath. (*See Life of Edward Campion*, by R. Simpson.)

To quote again from Dom Breen: "The Eng-

* The Church of Old England, p. 43.

lish people never willingly abandoned the Catholic faith; they were robbed of it by violence and fraud. Their lawful bishops were gagged and imprisoned; their clergy done violence to, and they themselves driven into outward conformity with a faith they detested in their hearts and which was forced upon them by fines, imprisonment and even death, under a code of penal laws such as has seldom disgraced any statute book. Some two hundred priests were executed, while a large number perished in the filthy and fever stricken prisons into which they were plunged on purpose to cause their death. Forty-two clergy accepted a safe convoy to Ireland, but were drowned off Scatterry Island by the Queen's order. About twelve hundred had at various times escaped to Ireland, and were now hunted like wolves and shot like carrion crows, till the few survivors from bullet, steel, nakedness and hunger died in the most inaccessible places, where they were beyond the reach of their persecutors."

VI. CORPORATE REUNION. It seems to the writer of this chapter that the Church of England is no more to be held responsible for the radical separation from the Holy See which took place under the Tudor regime, and her consequent Catholic spoliation, than a man is responsible for his maimed and almost naked condition, who has been set upon by desperadoes, stripped and wounded and well nigh beaten to death. It is the

contemplation of the cruel wrong and outrage committed upon the sacred rights of the Anglican Church by secular violence which has created within her pale the party of Corporate Reunion. Far from being a body of disloyalists and disgruntled malcontents, the members of this party seek only to bring to its fullest completion the work of Catholic restoration and restitution now going on in the Anglican Church, and they see that this can never be truly realized, until by actual communion with the Apostolic See the Church of England regains her ancient and honourable place among the Churches of the Catholic West.

“And shall not God avenge His own elect, which cry day and night unto Him, though He bare long with them? I tell you that He will avenge them speedily.” (St. Luke xviii, 7-8).

A remarkable sermon of the Bishop of Clifton (R. C.) on “The Reunion of England with Rome” begins with these words:

“It is said that when St. Edward the Confessor was on his death bed, a vision of the future fortunes of the Church in this country was granted to the dying King. He saw a fair and flourishing tree cut off at the ground, and carried away three furlongs from the root, and then the tree was carried by invisible hands back again to its root and flourished again as before. This tree was the Church in England. A ter-

rible catastrophe was to happen, by which it should be cut away from its root, and then after a period represented by the three furlongs, it was to live again on its former root and again bear leaves and fruit."

It must be acknowledged that the radical cleavage which took place in England at the time of the Reformation was the separation of the Church in England from the Church of Rome, from which it had originally derived its corporate existence as a tree grows out of its roots. If the furlongs refer to time, rather than to distance in space, then it is also to be noted that the Catholic Revival as a historical fact began at Oxford in St. Mary's Church on a certain Sunday in July, 1833, or just three centuries after Henry by the passing of the Supremacy Act effected the radical cleavage mentioned above.

In the light of the irresistible and steady trend of the Anglican Church ever since in a Romeward direction one need not be a prophet, as was St. Edward the Confessor or the Curé of Ars, who foretold the same thing, to become cognisant of the fact that the providential trend of the Oxford Movement is toward the Reunion of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* with the Apostolic See of Rome.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DOGMAS OF 1854 AND 1870.

I. THE GALLICAN SCHOOL. The later advances of the Oxford Movement have eventuated in a powerful school among us of what might be described as Gallican or Tridentine Anglicans. They constitute the advanced center of the Catholic party (so-called) at the present time. The theology, moral teaching and ritual practice of this school is drawn almost exclusively from Roman sources. Constantinople and St. Petersburg have very little attraction for them and they clearly recognize that if Corporate Reunion ever is realized it will be by the return not only of Canterbury but of the East to communion with Rome as the primatial See of Christendom. The enterprise of reunion, however, does not as yet command their enthusiastic support because as they at present look at it the Dogmas of 1854 and 1870, together with the Bull of Leo XIII. condemning Anglican Orders, constitute an insuperable barrier. They say in effect: "If Rome had only not added to the faith and asked no more of us than the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent and the primitive teaching concerning the Primacy of the Apostolic See,

we could readily allow as much, for in fact that would be no more than the pre-Reformation belief of the Church of England, to which as Anglo-Catholics, we are bound in consistency to adhere. But the Dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility, added to the repeated refusal of Rome to recognize the validity of our orders, render all efforts to repair the sixteenth-century breach hopeless and vain, since nothing that we can do is at all likely to alter the *de fide* definitions of 1854 and 1870 or to effect a recall of the Bull *Apostolicae curae*."

As the subject of Anglican Orders is not related to the title of this volume as intimately, or so immediately, as the dogmas above mentioned, and as the treatment of orders involves also the question of jurisdiction, the two together demand a much more extended consideration than can be given them in a book, which has already grown beyond what its authors originally intended. For this reason, however reluctantly, we shall be compelled to limit our present study to that which is of *faith*, as distinguished from what is of discipline, in the decrees of the Roman Pontiff.

THE DOGMA OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

II. ST. ANSELM. Although the first trace of the observance of the Festival of the Blessed Virgin's Conception is to be found in a directory of worship used in the monasteries of Jerusalem as early as the fifth century and the Spaniards

claim to have kept it as early as the 6th, yet says Bishop Ullathorne in his work on "*The Immaculate Conception*," "it was from England that this festival took its most remarkable rise and diffusion in the Western Church. * * * After St. Anselm had been made Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1093, he is said to have established the Feast of the Conception in the Province of Canterbury. . . . Driven an exile into France by the persecution, first of Rufus, then of Henry I., St. Anselm spread devotion to the Conception of the Mother of God in that country. It is the tradition of Normandy that he was the means of the establishment of the feast in that province. It is also asserted that it was through his influence that it was first introduced into Lyons. It was in that city he composed his treatise *On the Virginal Conception*." Speaking of the great English Franciscan, who might be called the Doctor of the Immaculate Conception *par excellence*, Bishop Ullathorne says: "Soon after St. Bonaventure there arose in his order the famous John Duns Scotus, who first at Oxford, and then in a disputation before the University of Paris, laid the foundations of the true doctrine so solidly, and dispelled the objections in a manner so satisfactory, that from that moment it prevailed. It was Scotus who removed the great objection of St. Thomas. He proved that so far from being excluded from re-

demption, the Blessed Virgin obtained of her divine Son the greatest of graces and redemptions, through that very mystery of her immaculate preservation from all sin. And from this time the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception not only gained a vast deal of ground in the schools of the universities, and became the common opinion there, but the Feast of the Conception came to be established in Rome. . . . With the exception of the Dominicans, all, or nearly all, the Religious Orders took it up. And the devotion sank deeply into the hearts of the people.”

III. CANON WIRGMAN. The Rev. A. Theodore Wirgman, D.C.L., Canon of Grahamstown, South Africa, it can hardly be denied has written the ablest treatise on the Blessed Virgin which the Anglican Church has produced in our generation. In Chapter I on *The Predestination and Sinlessness of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, at the head of which he places the quotation from Wordsworth, “Our tainted nature’s solitary boast,” Canon Wirgman not only accepts with approval the Scotist teaching upon the Immunity of the Blessed Virgin from all stain of sin, but upon examination he finds nothing either in the formularies of the Eastern Church or the Anglican that contradicts the Roman Definition of 1854. After a review of the Orthodox authorities he says: “We claim to have shown that there is nothing in the

authorized formularies of the Eastern Church to prevent agreement between Rome and Constantinople upon the doctrine of the Immunity.* We must now examine the Anglican formularies in the same spirit of reconciling explanation. First of all we may remark that the Anglican Reformers were well versed in the theological controversies of their own times. They knew of the Scotist and Thomist controversy upon the Immunity, and they deliberately left the question open, as the Council of Trent † did. They were clear enough in their language, when they condemned what they considered to be medieval corruptions and abuses. If they had desired to condemn the Scotist doctrine of the Immunity, they would have done so in plain language. *But they did not*, and at the present day no Anglican could be censured for holding it."

* It is noteworthy that while the convert from Rome is required by the Russo-Greek Church to repudiate explicitly the doctrine of the *Filioque*, the Primacy of Rome, and the Infallibility of the Pope, no mention is made of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

† Although the Fathers of Trent did not think it expedient to close the question by making belief in the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin obligatory on all the faithful in communion with the Apostolic See they plainly indicated the mind of the Council by declaring that: "It was not in the intention of this Holy Synod to include in the decree which concerned original sin, the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary, Mother of God."

IV. THE ENGLISH KALENDAR. Passing over the author's examination of the Anglican formularies we come (p. 45) upon a statement of fact, which, it seems to us, all but formally commits the Anglican Church to the Catholic doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Canon Wirgman says: "There is a noteworthy piece of history in connection with the successive revisions of the Anglican Kalendar. December 8th had been observed by the Church of England as the Festival of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary during the Middle Ages. In the Kalendar of the first Prayer Book of 1549 all the Festivals of the Blessed Virgin, except the Annunciation and the Purification were omitted. This omission continued in the Book of 1552, and in the Elizabethan Prayer Book of 1559. But in 1561 a Commission was appointed to revise the Kalendar and the Table of Lessons. This commission *restored the three festivals of the Conception, the Nativity and the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.* They reappeared in the next edition of the Prayer Book, and have held their place ever since on Dec. 8th, September 8th and July 2nd—the dates assigned to them respectively in the Sarum and Roman kalendars. It is very difficult to retrace steps taken under the influence of reaction. We must give due credit to Archbishop Parker and the Commissioners of 1561 for their effort *revocare gradum*, after the *facilis descensus* of the

reign of Edward VI. It may fairly be inferred from Archbishop Parker's action that he desired the Church of England to be at one with the rest of Christendom, in paying due honour and reverence to the Blessed Virgin."

Have we duly weighed the significance of this action of the Elizabethan Reformers in restoring the Festival of the Conception to the English Kalendar, after it had once been thrown out? As so restored does it not stand for the same thing that it did in the pre-reformation period of Anglican Church history, viz., the immaculate or sinless Conception of the Blessed Virgin? Why celebrate at the altars of Holy Church something that was not clean and pure? The very purpose of the establishment of this Festival in the English Church and its subsequent spread through the Western Church was to promote among the faithful devotion to the Immaculate Conception. This is evidenced by the famous protest which St. Bernard* addressed to the Canons of Lyons, because under the inspiration of St. Anselm they had introduced this festival. He would not have so protested had he

*Bishop Ullathorne shows how St. Bernard's apparent condemnation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in reality only condemned what the Church of Rome herself condemns. He says: "It is evident from the tenor of his language, that he had no idea in his mind beyond that of the *active* conception, and that

not, with the faithful in general, associated its observance with the doctrine of the Virgin's immunity from original sin. A further proof is that the Dominicans, who for a long time held out against the doctrine, celebrated the *Sanctification* of the Blessed Virgin on December 8, instead of the Conception.

By 1561 the festival and the doctrine had become completely synonymous everywhere in the West and it is hard to conceive why the authorities of the English Church at this date should have restored the Feast of the Conception unless they intended it to be observed by Anglican Churchmen with the same doctrinal intent as did the other Churches of the Catholic West.

V. MARTIN LUTHER. Nor is it so much to be

the distinction between the active conception and the passive, or animation, had not yet been drawn. The words of St. Bernard are unmistakable. He says: 'For how could she be holy without the sanctifying Spirit, or how could there be an association between the Holy Ghost and sin? Or how, truly, could sin be absent when concupiscence (*libido*) was not absent; unless it were said that she was conceived of the Holy Spirit and not of man? But hitherto this has been unheard of. St. Bernard, then, is clearly arguing upon the notion of the active conception, which the Church does not contemplate in the mystery. Hence Albert the Great observes: 'We say that the blessed Virgin was not sanctified before animation, and the affirmative contrary to this, is heresy condemned by St. Bernard in his epistle to the Canons of Lyons.'"

wondered at that Archbishop Parker, having received his theological training and being ordered priest in the lifetime of Henry VIII., should have believed in the Immaculate Conception of our Lady, for in this regard he was not one whit more Catholic than Martin Luther. Among the sermons of the latter is one from the text, "*Blessed is the womb that bare Thee,*" which for clearness and force of statement we will now produce, since it is a correct setting forth of the doctrine and draws the distinction made by theologians between what are called the *passive* and the *active* conceptions. Incidentally it is to be noted that this sermon of Luther was preached on the Feast of the Conception, which is an additional witness to the identification of the festival with the teaching that the Blessed Virgin was conceived without sin and hence still further enforces the argument that by officially recognizing the Feast the Church of England also recognizes the Dogma in honour of which the Feast is kept.

"But as the Virgin Mary herself was born of a father and mother in the natural way, many have been disposed to assert that she was also born in original sin, though all with one mouth affirm that she was sanctified in the maternal womb, and conceived without concupiscence. But some have been disposed to take a middle way, and have said that man's conception is two-fold; that the one is from the parents, but that the other takes place when the little body is prepared, and the soul infused by God, its Creator. Of the first conception we shall say nothing. Nor does it much concern

us, so that the Virgin Mary be conceived in such manner after the common way, that Christ may still be expected, as alone conceived in the way peculiar to Himself, that is, without man. For it must so have been, that Christ, God and man, would be conceived in all His members perfect; wherefore it was necessary that His should be the most spiritual and most holy of all conceptions. But in the conception of the Virgin Mary, whose body was formed with progress of time, and after the manner of other children, until the infusion of the soul there was no need of such conception, for it could be preserved from original sin until the soul was to be infused. And the other conception, that is to say, the infusion of the soul, is piously believed to have been accomplished without original sin. So that, in the very infusing of the soul, the body was simultaneously purified from original sin, and endowed with divine gifts to receive that holy soul which was infused into it from God. *And thus in the first moment it began to live, it was exempt from all sin.* * * * This is signified by those words which the angel Gabriel said to her, "Blessed art thou among women"; for it could not be said to her, Blessed art thou, if at any time she had been liable to the curse. Again, it was just and meet that that person should be preserved from original sin, from whom Christ received the flesh by which he overcame all sins. And that, indeed, is properly called blessed which is endowed with divine grace, that is, which is free from sin."

VI. NO NEW DOCTRINE. If the corypheus of Protestantism so lucidly expounded the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception three hundred years before it was defined by Pope Pius IX., it can hardly be called a new doctrine.

The debate over the doctrine had spent its

force long before the Reformation; by the time Pius IX succeeded to the Chair of Peter it appears that there no longer remained in the entire Roman Catholic Episcopate a single bishop who did not believe that Mary was conceived without sin. Petitions had been pouring into Rome for generations from all parts of the Catholic world asking the Holy See to proclaim the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception a dogma divinely revealed. At last Pope Pius IX. responded to these petitions but even so the greatest deliberation was manifested and no pains spared to secure a complete expression of the mind of the Church. An encyclical was addressed to every archbishop and bishop in communion with Rome inquiring what was their own and their people's belief concerning the mystery. Over six hundred replies were returned and not one was a *non credo*, only four raised objections to the doctrine being defined and fifty-two thought the opportune time for the definition had not yet arrived.

To again quote Bishop Ullathorne:

“After all these preparations, and after sacrifices and prayers had been offered up from every part of the earth, his Holiness invited a certain number of prelates from each country to Rome, as representatives of the hierarchy, whilst he expressed his readiness to welcome as many other bishops as could conveniently come.

A hundred and fifty archbishops and bishops responded to the call. From Asia and the East to North America and the far West, from the shores of the Baltic to Australia, and the Isles of the great Pacific, the Church was there in her chief pastors assembled around the supreme Head of the Church, and the Chair of Catholic Unity.

“On four several days this venerable assemblage of bishops met, under the presidency of three distinguished and learned Cardinals, and the Papal Bull, drawn up and prepared for its final revision, was laid before them, and every part was freely discussed. * * *

“All was now ready, and on the 8th of December, the Festival of the Immaculate Conception, in the ever memorable year 1854, during the celebration of Solemn Mass which the Supreme Pontiff offered up, surrounded by a hundred and fifty two mitred bishops, fifty-three Cardinals, more than two hundred prelates of an inferior order, a vast body of clergy from many countries, and some thirty or forty thousand people, who crowded the vast Basilica of St. Peter’s,” the Dogma was promulgated. “The Pope, most deeply moved and with his face bathed in tears, read to that silent but agitated assembly, the decree of the Immaculate Conception, and solemnly defined that: ‘It is a Dogma of Faith that the most Blessed Virgin Mary, in the first instant of her Conception, by a singular privilege and grace of God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the Human Race, was preserved exempt from all stain of original sin.’ And such is the wisdom, patience, care, diligence, deliberation, attention to the sentiments of the Episcopacy, and even of the people of the Catholic world, the ripeness of Council, and the earnestness of prayer with which the Holy See proceeds before defining a doctrine.”

VII. LORD HALIFAX. We conclude this section of the present chapter with the words of Lord Halifax:

“Take the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, which is matter always brought forward in certain quarters when Reunion is mentioned. To suppose that it pleased God, in view of the merits of her Son, to extend to His blessed Mother in a greater degree the same grace which we know from the words of Scripture it pleased Him to confer on St. John the Baptist, is surely not a proposition which of itself need alarm any one. St. John Baptist, we are told, was full of the Holy Ghost from his mother’s womb. Is there, in the light of that fact, any difficulty in believing that the Blessed Virgin may by God’s grace have been filled with the Holy Ghost from the moment of her conception? No doubt the difficulty of the authority to impose such a belief remains, but even here a Church which, like the Church of England, has imposed thirty-nine Articles, containing a variety of propositions outside the Creeds, on her clergy, as statements not to be contradicted, need surely not scruple for the sake of peace to acquiesce in a doctrine which can claim the support of so large a portion of the Western Church.”

The time is near at hand, we venture to say, when Anglicans will be proud to remember that

English Churchmen prior to the Reformation were the foremost champions of the Blessed Virgin's Immunity from original as well as actual sin, and that England had among the nations of Christendom the pre-eminent distinction of being called "*Mary's Dowry.*"

Let us now turn our attention to the

DOGMA OF PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

The word infallibility is from *in* (not) and *fallor* (I am deceived), which derivation clearly defines its meaning to be the state of *exemption from error, the power of not being misled.* Infallibility, then, is not to be confounded with *impeccability*, neither is it *omniscience*; a person or a society of persons to be infallible does not have to possess all knowledge but enough not to call black white or to declare a thing to be true which in reality is not true. Then again the sphere in which infallibility is exercised may be limited by specified metes and bounds. A farmer for instance might be an infallible judge of cattle, but taken off the farm and brought to the city he might be deceived by a dozen "confidence men" in a single day. Papal Infallibility, like that of the Church with which it is intimately connected, has its limitations, what those limitations are it will be in order to consider later.

VIII. THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE CHURCH.
 Since our Lord promised His Apostles that He

would send the Holy Ghost to guide them into all truth (St. John xvi., 13), that He would be with them through all ages to the very end (St. Matt. xxviii., 20), and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against His Church (St. Matt. xvi., 18), it is to be presumed that we are all agreed that whether the Pope is infallible or not, the Catholic Church certainly is. Suppose therefore we make the Infallibility of the Catholic Church our starting point and then proceed to enquire how that Infallibility will be effected either by the acceptance or rejection of the Infallibility ascribed to the Pope.

If it could be clearly demonstrated that the Vatican Council was in error in defining that "when the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra*, etc., he is possessed of that Infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed" the effect upon the faith of two-thirds at least of those, who lay claim to membership in the Catholic Church, would be as a blow that shivers a fabric to atoms. If you discredit the Dogma of Papal Infallibility you discredit the Papacy as a divine institution to which are attached the promises of our Lord to Blessed Peter, and when you discredit the Papacy you so far discredit the entire Roman Catholic Church, that instead of being Infallible it is convicted of a stupendous error, viz., that of betraying the vast majority of those

who confess the Nicene Faith into believing as necessary to their salvation a doctrine that is false.

Even if we should accept what is commonly called the branch theory of the Catholic Church, so that its membership in round numbers consists at the present time of thirty million Anglicans (a liberal estimate), one hundred and ten million Easterns, and two hundred and sixty million Roman Catholics (*Father Krose, S. J.*) think how seriously it would effect the Infallibility of the Universal Church could it be proven that a majority of one hundred and twenty million, or almost two-thirds of Catholic Christendom, were so committed to a false dogma that they could not abandon it without committing ecclesiastical suicide. How could the Catholic Church, even admitting the branch theory, be held to be Infallible when much the larger portion was formally committed to error? But this is not the whole of the dilemma. Since the Papacy has staked its entire claim to guide and govern the Church of God upon its possession of the same Infallibility, wherewith the Church herself is endowed by the Divine Redeemer; then to discredit the Dogma of 1870, as we have already said, is to discredit the Papacy and this fatally compromises the Infallibility not only of the Roman Church but also that of the Graeco-Russian Church.

IX. THE BASIS OF THE EAST. The Infallibility of the East and her boasted orthodoxy rest upon the Seven Holy Ecumenical Synods. Anything therefore, which discredits the inerrancy of these synods, compromises the Infallibility of the Graeco-Russian Church. (See Chap. VIII. for the witness of the Seven General Councils.)

It was the Sixth General Council which endorsed, not only with a *viva voce* vote, but by a formal reply, the letter of Pope Agatho, read before the fathers of the Council, which contained the statement that the Apostolic Church of Rome under the protection of St. Peter "*has never turned aside from the way of truth into any error whatsoever. . . . nor by the grace of Almighty God will ever be shown to have yielded to the perverse novelties of heretics, but that which in the beginning of the faith she received from her founders, the chief of the Apostles of Christ, she retains unsullied to the end.*" If Rome has erred in the definitions of the Vatican Council, then Constantinople and the East erred along with Rome at the Sixth General Council. Therefore to destroy the Infallibility of Rome fatally compromises the Infallibility of the East. But what effect would this have on the Infallibility of the Anglican Church?

X. ANGLICAN INFALLIBILITY. Why, Canterbury too is fatally compromised. Up to the time of the sixteenth-century breach with Rome it

cannot be denied that the faith of the Apostolic See was the faith of the Anglican Church and what Rome authoritatively confirmed as infallibly true Canterbury accepted. The Church of England, then, prior to the Reformation not only accepted as infallible the Seven Ecumenical Synods, that are the basis of Eastern orthodoxy, but she accepted along with Rome the Fourth Council of Constantinople (reckoned by Rome as the Eighth General Council), which incorporated in its proceedings the Formula of Hormisdas, a profession of faith that had repeatedly, during the previous three hundred years been signed by the entire Eastern Episcopate, and which among other things in support of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiffs, contains this declaration: "Because the sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be passed over, Who says: 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build My Church,' these words are proved by the real effect which has followed; because in the Apostolic See the Catholic religion *has ever been kept immaculate*, and holy doctrine celebrated there." Also, while in communion with Rome, the Anglican Church accepted as ecumenical the Council of Florence, held in 1439, among whose decrees is the following: "We define that the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff hold the Primacy over the whole world, and that the same Roman Pontiff is the successor of

blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and that he is the true Vicar of Christ, and Head of the whole Church, and Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that to him, in blessed Peter, the full power of feeding, ruling and governing the Universal Church was given by our Lord Jesus Christ." If all this be erroneous doctrine, and it cannot be true, unless, as we have already seen, Papal Infallibility is also true, then the Church of England was certainly not infallible prior to the Reformation. And this effectually disposes of our original proposition, that the Catholic Church of Jesus Christ is infallible. Unless the Vatican definition is true, there is no part of the Catholic Church, which has not erred, and there is nothing left for us but to bow our heads in sorrow and confess in the language of the XIXth Article of Religion that "as the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred, so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith."

Since the logic of an appeal to history makes a rejection of Papal Infallibility incompatible with any adequate belief in the Infallibility of the Church Catholic, suppose we assume that the definition of the Vatican Council is true. What then becomes of the Infallibility of the Catholic Church and how is the East and the Church of England effected?

X. EX CATHEDRA.—And first we have to consider the objection urged at the time of the Vatican Council by so many opponents of the Dogma, and still often reiterated, that to make the Pope infallible convicts the Roman Church of error at the bar of history, because one Pope in particular was condemned by a General Council as a heretic, and another signed an Arian formula of faith. To this it has been answered that these cases do not come within the scope of *ex cathedra* pronouncements to which the decree of 1870 limits the guarantee of Infallibility. In regard to Liberius Cardinal Newman says: "It is astonishing to me how any one can fancy that Liberius, in subscribing the Arian confession, promulgated it *ex cathedra*, considering that he was not his own master when he signed, and it was not his drawing up."

As to Honorius, James Kent Stone (Father Fidelis) says: "He was frightened at the bare thought of a new Eastern heresy, and instead of investigating and condemning, he strove to arrest the evil by hushing it. In a word, he erred, not in Faith but in judgment; he was condemned not for heresy, but for negligence,"* and in proof of this he quotes the words of Pope Leo, who confirmed the sentence of condemnation passed by the Sixth General Council, "Honorius, who, failing in the duty of his Apostolic authority, in-

* The Invitation Heeded, p. 335.

stead of extinguishing the flame of heresy, fomented it *by neglect.*”

What Father McNabb, O. P., remarks about this appeal to history is worth considering: “Infallibility has been in exercise some nineteen hundred years; yet the most searching critics can find only some two or three so-called cases of error in these nineteen centuries. But surely the stress laid upon (these) should lead thinking men to inquire whether, after all, there is not some supernatural assistance granted to an institution which, on the confession of its most determined opponents, has made so few mistakes in so many centuries.”

It was the extravagant claims advanced by Manning in the name of Papal Infallibility, which drove him to make the unfortunate assertion that an appeal to history was treason. There is in fact no institution in the world that appeals more constantly to history than the Papacy. “The magisterium of the Church,” says Schanz, “as the living organ not of revelation, but of tradition, could not define a doctrine without historic evidence.”

There is no magic about Infallibility, neither is there anything like the Delphian oracle secreted in the Vatican. “For,” as the Vatican Fathers say, “the Holy Spirit was not promised to the successors of Peter, that by His revelation they might make known new doctrine, but that by His

assistance they might inviolably keep and faithfully expound the revelation or deposit of faith delivered through the Apostles.”

Father Carson in *“Reunion Essays”* (p. 75), tells the following story of the late Dr. W. G. Ward:

“Shortly after the abrupt closure of the Vatican Council he happened to be at a dinner party in London where, as was not unnatural, the conversation veered round to the ecclesiastical topic of the hour. Dr. Ward seized the opportunity, in his impulsive way to sing a paean of victory over the signal defeat of the now discredited minority, whose opinions he had unsparingly denounced in magazine article, pamphlet and private letter as heretical. His neighbour (to whom he was personally unknown) broke into the silence that followed his outburst with the quiet remark. ‘But after all, we must remember that the moderates at the Council—Doupanloup, Meignan, Hefele, and the rest—really won the day. We have but to read the definition, and compare it with the previously expressed opinions of the Extremists, to see it.’ It is said that Dr. Ward, quite taken aback, unable to refute the truth of the assertion, rose hurriedly from the table and rushed hatless from the room.”

Happily for the cause of Reunion it is the school of Newman, rather than of Manning, whose views of Papal Infallibility have in reality prevailed.

XII. THE POPE, THE CHURCH AND THE COUNCIL.—A more serious objection to the Vatican Definition, and one which has been

pressed with great vigor, insists that it robs the Church at large of Infallibility and depreciates the value of General Councils by attributing Infallibility to the Pope as an individual, apart from and superior to the general body of the faithful and the universal Episcopate. This objection is based on the last clause of the definition, which reads: "The Roman Pontiff * * * is * * possessed of that Infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed in defining doctrine regarding faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions *are of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church, irreformable.*"

Papal apologists say that this objection falls to the ground of itself because it rests upon a false interpretation of the decree. Fessler, the Secretary General of the Council, whose book on "*True and False Infallibility*" received the imprimatur of Pope Pius IX., says: "It is not meant by this that the Pope ever decides anything contrary to the tradition of the Church, or that he would stand alone in opposition to all the other bishops, but only that the Infallibility of his definition is not dependent on the acceptance of the Church, and rests on the special divine assistance promised and vouchsafed to him in the person of St. Peter, etc."

The words which follow as coming from Lord

Halifax ought to carry great weight with Anglo-Catholics :

“ If theologians like Dr. Pusey, Bishop Forbes and Dr. Keble have felt that the decisions of the Council of Trent and our own formularies are not irreconcilable, surely it is a duty to see how far they can be reconciled; and if it is said that the Vatican Council has destroyed the possibility of agreement, no doubt it has made a change, but the question is, whether it has made *such* a change as makes all negotiations impossible.

“In the first place it is clear that the results of the Vatican Council are not what infallibilists and anti-infallibilists thought at first. * * * If the Infallibility claimed for the Pope is not, as Cardinal Manning and Mr. W. G. Ward thought, separate from the Church, in regard to any point contained in the deposit of the faith, to ascertain which he is bound to take all necessary means, so that it is not the Infallibility of the Head as separate from the Episcopate, but of the Head in union with the Episcopate that is asserted by the Council, then, though I do not say that many and grave difficulties will not remain, I do say that they are not such difficulties as need preclude hope of fruitful negotiation and eventual reconciliation.

“The visible Head of the Church, after consultation with the universal Episcopate, determining what is the tradition of the Church is one method of arriving at the truth, just as a Council is another. How the truth is arrived at is a detail; the essential thing is that it should be the mind of the whole Church which is expressed in either case. * * In the first case it is expressed through the intervention of its visible Head speaking for the body previously consulted; in the second, through the Head and the body speaking together.” (*Introduction to England and the Holy See, p. xviii*).

The following quotations are taken from the *London Tablet*: "The Pope is infallible as Head of the Church. No head can live apart from the body. Hence the Pope is only so far infallible as the Body of Christ, the Church, is herself infallible."

"Consultation of the Episcopate beforehand and cognisance of the mind of the Church are practically inseparable from the making of a Papal Definition, just as acceptance of the Church is practically inseparable from it afterwards. The Pope in becoming the Head does not cease to be a member of the Church, sharing in its life, its faith, its mind, its perceptions, etc."

A searching study of Papal Infallibility finds nothing in the Dogma of 1870 which conflicts with or overthrows *per se* the Infallibility of the Church, on the contrary it provides the only definition of Infallibility, which is consistent with the promises of Christ to St. Peter and the rest of the Apostles; to the witness of the General Councils; and the consentient voice of the Catholic Church in all ages. To accept the Dogma of Papal Infallibility as true establishes the ancient tradition that the Holy Roman Church ever kept the faith inviolate and immaculate and gives to the dogmatic faith of the majority of Christians now living on the earth the seal of infallible truth.

As for those Eastern Churches, which are

grounded on the rock of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, by accepting the Vatican Decrees they clear themselves of inconsistency and are brought once more into formal agreement with the Greek fathers of the Fourth Council of Constantinople, the Second of Lyons and the Council of Florence as well as the three or four thousand Eastern prelates, who during the course of some three hundred years subscribed to the Formula of Pope Hormisdas.

As for the Anglican Church, acceptance of the Vatican Definition would mean two or three amendments to the Thirty-nine Articles, which are certainly not irreformable.

And these alterations could be made with all the better grace, since as we have shown in the previous chapter, the Reformation Settlement was forced on the Church of England illegally and uncanonically, by the civil power, in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of the bishops and the great majority of the clergy. The Thirty-nine Articles being thus amended the Infallibility of the English Church for the first thousand years of her existence would be re-affirmed in the confession of her twentieth century children. This would remove all fear of an appeal to the faith of our pre-Reformation saints, such as Anselm and Thomas of Canterbury and would immensely strengthen our constantly reiterated claim to an historical and doctrinal con-

tinuity with the *Ecclesia Anglicana* of Saxon and Norman times.

But best of all it would create that absolute oneness of dogmatic faith between Rome and Canterbury and Constantinople, which must necessarily be brought about before Catholic communion can be re-established and our Lord's prayer answered "*Ut omnes unum sint.*"



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