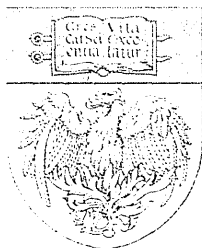


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PAPAL AIMS AND PAPAL CLAIMS

*WITH REMARKS ON APOSTOLIC
SUCCESSION*

BY

E. GARNET MAN

BARRISTER-AT-LAW^{II}



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ERRATA

- Page 3, for Monsieur read Monsignor.
Page 9, for Lugdoni read Lugduni.
Page 9, for Lignori read Liguori.
Page 41, for Liddle read Liddell.
Page 47, for *Felius* read *Filius*.
Page 49, for partæ read portæ.
Page 49, for prævaturæ read prævalituræ.
Page 79, for Delarne read Delarue.
Page 79, for χατισχόσουσι read χατισχύσουσι, and
delete Greek words from μέαν to ιφαλλεταιναρ.
Page 109, for centurio read centum.
Page III, for omna read omnia.
Page 210, for Ainger read Angers.
Page 236, for coputata read copulata.



PAPAL AIMS AND PAPAL CLAIMS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This Book to the Reader

—:0:—

Judge not before
Thou know mine intent,
But read me throughout,
And then say thy fill ;
As thou in opinion
Art minded and bent,
Whether it be
Either good or ill.

—*Cranmer.*

IN a letter entitled "The Divine Teacher," written by Mr. Humphrey, Jesuit priest, the writer attempts to induce a "Protestant" to change her creed for his own; and after dilating upon "Moral Certainty and Physical Certainty," asserts that, above all these certainties, there is one which excludes all doubt: "the certainty of divine faith." He finishes by

declaring that he is certain, amongst other things, that "the Holy Father is the Son's Vicar, and infallible"—and he asks why it is that he, a Catholic, in common with all Catholics, believes this doctrine; and that his correspondent, in common with all Protestants, disbelieves in it?—and he gives as the reason that, apart from all affirmation or belief on the one hand, and from all denial or disbelief on the other, he has with the former the grace or light of Divine Faith (denied apparently to Protestants); and he boasts that he sees the truth by a super-added supernatural light, the light of divine faith, a quality bestowed by his Maker on *his* soul. Having this, he has no disposition to inquire, he has no fear or suspicion of the possible truth of the opposite; and further, no arguments will avail to persuade him of the truth of the opposite!

Such being his opinion, it is sufficiently clear that he does not wish to search after divine truth; in fact, he boasts that he has found it: and yet he commences his letter with an anomaly!

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—You are searching after divine truth, and I congratulate you, for sooner or later you will most certainly find it," etc., etc.

From his pamphlet I gather that he considers he has found divine truth without inquiry, and by the special grace of God; and being so convinced, nothing will change him. I congratulate him on his happy frame of mind, and taking his letter, as

addressed to myself, with anxious fear and trembling, I continue my researches after truth, in hopes of finding that special gift, which certainly has not been hitherto vouchsafed to me, namely—"seeing as Mr. Humphrey sees."

I am not at once carried away by his personal asseverations that he has acquired divine light, because I have seen, met, conversed with, and read of many good and devout men, who have also in as many words asserted this identical belief. Each in his turn has felt convinced that the divine light has been shed on him. So certain were the Christian martyrs of the Reformation on that point, that they allowed themselves to be burnt by the Roman Catholics, and with their last breath gave out praise and glory to their Saviour Christ.

At all times, amongst Anglican Churchmen and Non-Conformists the same proud boast is made. However, not only amongst Christians is this boast of divine knowledge common, but the same feeling has actuated the Hindu, the Mohammedan, the Buddhist and the Brahmin.

When in India, I once stood by the death-bed of an old Brahmin gentleman, as he was brought down to the Ganges to die, and asked him, "Is it peace, my father?" He whispered, "It is peace, my son." His conviction as to his having "divine" light was probably as strong in him as in Mr. Humphrey. And yet Mr. Humphrey would not accept his con-

viction. Why, then, should a searcher after truth accept the dictum of the one more than that of a multitude of others who believe differently with the same certitude? They are as honest and upright as those of Mr. Humphrey's faith.

As to the duty of search, and the blessing promised thereunto, we are enjoined in many precepts of Holy Scripture to practise it.

I allude to such passages as, "Those that seek me early shall find me"; "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness"; "Seek those things which are above." While at the same time we do not forget the mingled certainty and humility of St. Paul: "I therefore so run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air, but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway."

Tertullian writes: "The precept, 'Seek and ye shall find,' was addressed to all. You must consider what ye have to seek—what ye have 'to seek,' then, is that which 'Christ has taught,' and you must go on seeking until such time as ye find, and believe when thou hast found." (De Præscrip. Hær. cap. ix., x.)

In Purcell's "Life of Manning," p. 317, vol. ii., there appears a letter written by the then Secretary to the Pope, Monsieur Talbot, which gives us a good insight into the position which the Roman clergy

consider that the laity should hold in regard to search in sacred matters.

This letter had been called forth by the attitude taken up by the English laity and the Staffordshire Club with regard to Dr. Newman. It is as follows :

“Vatican,

“April 25, 1867.

“MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—I cannot help writing to you again about the address of the English laity, etc., etc. I look upon the address of the English laity as the *most offensive production* that has appeared in England since the times of Dr. Milner; and if a check be not placed on the laity of England, they will be the rulers of the Catholic Church in England, instead of the Holy Episcopate.

“Now it is quite true that a cloud has been hanging over Dr. Newman in Rome, ever since the Bishop of Newport delated him to Rome for heresy in his article in the *Rambler* on consulting the laity on matters of faith, etc., etc. Now that a set of laymen, with Mr. Monsell at their head, should have the audacity to say that a blow that touches Dr. Newman is a wound inflicted on the Catholic Church in England, is an insult offered to the Holy See, etc., etc.

“They (the laity and the Stafford Club) are beginning to show the cloven foot, etc., etc. They wish to govern the Church in England by public opinion,

and Dr. Monsell is the most dangerous man amongst them.

“What is the province of the laity? *To hunt—to shoot—to entertain.* These matters they understand, but to meddle with ecclesiastical matters, they have no right at all.

“Dr. Newman is the most dangerous man in England; and you will see that he will use the laity against your Grace, etc., etc.

“If you yield, and do not fight the battle of the Holy See against the detestable spirit growing up in England, the Pope will begin to regret Cardinal Wiseman, who knew how to keep the laity in order!

(Signed)

“TALBOT,

“*Secretary to the Pope.*”

To hunt!—To shoot!—To entertain!—Such is the province of the laity. They have found truth in the pale of the Church. Investigation and inquiry is for them—no more! But does not this destroy liberty of thought and conscience? To the Protestant “liberty” is one of his Church’s great watch-words, and yet he acknowledges that liberty, unrestrained by law and love, is not liberty but license. True liberty is the liberty of the individual restrained by the law of Catholic Unity. Wherever the “spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.”

The Roman Catholics have sacrificed liberty for unity.

In their "Index Expurgatorius," they have closed the gate against inquiry, with the consequence that Ward the Romanist has stated, that when a Protestant meets a Roman Catholic in argument, "it is like a civilised man meeting a barbarian" (Purcell's "Life of Manning," p. 656, vol. i.). And yet Mr. Humphrey boasts, at p. 6, that "you may ply a Catholic with argument about some truth of his religion, and say what you will, he is as certain as ever that his faith is right and that your opinion is wrong." What a happy frame of mind to be in! But his happiness is shared equally by the Plymouth Brother and the Salvationist. Moreover, it is not only found amongst professing Christians, but even with the Hindu, Mohammedan, and many others.

Mr. Humphrey also goes on to state, that "a Protestant fears to be exposed to the teaching of a Roman Catholic priest because of the result." I am unable to answer for all Protestants, but I know that Cardinal Wiseman expressed fears at the result of a Roman Catholic consulting the Bible, for he complained that in all cases of lapse from the Catholic Church to the Protestant, the perusal of the Bible was the cause.

He says: "The history in every single case is simply this, that the individual by some chance or

other, probably through the ministry of some pious person, became possessed of the Word of God, of the Bible; that he perused the book, that he could not find in it Transubstantiation or Auricular Confession, that he could not discover in it one word of Purgatory or of worshipping images. He perhaps goes to the priest and tells him that he cannot find these doctrines in the Bible. His priest argues with him, and endeavours to convince him to shut up the book that is leading him astray; he perseveres; he abandons the Communion of the Church of Rome—that is, as it is commonly expressed, the errors of the Church—and becomes a Protestant.”

It is a disastrous explanation. Roman Catholics who turn Protestant lapse always through examining the Bible! Therefore they must not be permitted to examine the original title-deeds of the Church, else they will relinquish the Roman Church and their faith.

A Protestant might reasonably fear exposing a young inexperienced Protestant girl to the ordeal of consulting a Jesuit priest, when it is recollected that the platform upon which a Jesuit might attack her religion is touched upon by Dr. Newman, and put into more brutal English by the Romanist Ward, who writes: “Make yourself clear that you are justified in deception, and then lie like a trooper” (quoted in *Con. Rev.*, p. 94, January 7, 1899). Surely

a Jesuit priest might think he was clearly justified in deception, when he was attempting to draw her into the bonds of his Church, under a mistaken idea of saving her soul ?

In fact, upon reading the Jesuit works of Leonardi Lessius, "De Justitia et Jure," Paris, 1628, who lays down that, "There is no compulsion to swear according to the meaning of the judge; but equivocation and mental restriction may be used." Also Suarez, "In Aperis de Virtute et Statu Religionis," Tomus ii., Lugdoni, 1614, who writes: "It is not intrinsically wrong to use equivocation even in making oath, whence it is not always perjury;" also Vincent Filliucius, Tomus ii., Lugdoni, 1633, Ursellis, 1625, who gives as his opinion: "It is not wrong to use equivocation, if it is used *with precaution.*" For instance, if you say "I swear," *you must say in a subdued tone "that to-day," and then out loud, "I have not eaten such a thing,"* it is admissible; and also, after gathering the opinions of Lignori, Escobar and Mendoza, all priests of the Society of Jesus, it is fair to presume that they teach, an action ever so sinful, if done with a good intent, to be no sin. Emmanuel Sa, the Jesuit, writes: "It is not mortal sin to *take secretly* from him who would give if he were asked." If one has taken what he *doubts* to have been his own, that very *doubt* makes it probable it is safe to keep it.

Tolet says: "If a man cannot sell his wine at a fair price—that is, at a fair profit—he may mix a little water with it."

Pascal's tale of the dishonest servant was disclosed in the French Court. The account is as follows:

D'alba was a servant to the Jesuits, in their college of Clermont, Rue St. Jaques. Thinking his wages were insufficient, he stole some plates, and was brought to trial before the Court on the 16th April, 1647. He confessed, but stated that it was not theft on the strength of the doctrine enunciated by the Jesuits, and taught to him: That if a servant deem his wages, food, etc., not enough, he may abstract the difference from his master's property. He produced evidence of this teaching, and the doctrine was found proven. Montrouge, the judge, gave sentence as follows: "Prisoner can't be acquitted upon the doctrine of the Fathers, as it is pernicious and contrary to natural and divine law, and so tending to confound all families." He ordered the executioner to burn the Jesuit writings, and to whip the thief.

A defence of the Jesuits is offered in the *Novelles Considerations*, Versailles, 1817, which amounts to the following: "That if some of their order held obnoxious principles, the whole society was not to blame for the faults of a few, otherwise all the apostles would be held to blame for the fault of Judas." But when Molina, Serrarius, Turrianus,

Tolet, Azor, the *Secreta Monita*, Sanchez, Suarez, Mariana, Perez, Escatior, all alleged writers of their order, and whose books are presumably authorised by their superiors, disseminate such doctrines, it is difficult to comprehend why the society should not be held responsible for them."

John L'Heureux, a Jesuit, in his book printed at Colon, as to equivocation, says (Anno, 1610, p. 38):

"When any man is drawn into question under an unjust tryall (no man standing bound to inform against himself, as Nature teaches us plainly), he may peremptorily and freely deny that for which he is called in question, without any tergiversation, because he always understands this clause, 'ut teneat dicere.'"

Aspilcuita, a Jesuit, on Equivocations, says: "It is lawful for a man to dissemble, his being a Catholic;" and there is an account given of St. Francis, who, being demanded by the sergeants "if a murderer whom they pursued were not passed that way," thrusting his hand into his sleeve, protested that he passed not that way, meaning up his sleeve, although he had seen him. The cant phrase, "Up one's sleeve," is probably derived from this episode.

If it be true that the majority of French officers who gave evidence in the Dreyfus case were educated by Jesuits holding such doctrines as the above, their false statements may be easily accounted for.

CHAPTER II

ARGUMENT

I ENTER into this investigation with caution. God has given a certain amount of reasoning power to all. As long as that power is applied in the spirit of honest inquiry, the inquirer is justified in prosecuting the search after "Divine Truth." But according to Mr. Humphrey, this Divine Truth is found in the dicta of a number of gentlemen, who, in Councils, and in later times as popes in and out of Council, have promulgated certain canons and rules, which they claim to be given by divine inspiration, and which they term the "Rules of the Church"—and which Christians must believe or be "anathema." They term themselves the "Church" much in the same way as the directors of a company might term themselves "The Company."

According to Mr. Humphrey, "Faith is a submission of reason to a certain divine and therefore infallible authority." But the mere "ipse dixit" of that gentleman or of the popes and Councils is not sufficient to warrant our staying all inquiry into the

question, as to whether we are justified in assuming that these gentlemen really possessed that "certain and divine infallible authority," or had merely impressed themselves with the idea that they possessed such a gift.

It is an important question, because they suggest that perdition is the penalty of not believing their dicta; and that unless we worship according to their rites, and believe as the Roman Church orders, we are "without the pale." They boast that the only true divine authority emanates from *their* Church, and from nowhere else. Surely when we see so many other religious men of good lives and honest convictions disagreeing with this formula, we are placed upon inquiry.

Mr. Humphrey says he has no desire to inquire! He thinks that revelation is above history, and that there is an "ultimate Judge in such matters of history as affects the truths of revelation; and that the only source of revealed truth is the Church of Rome." He adds: "It is not therefore by criticisms on past history, but by acts of faith in the living voice of the Church *at this hour, that we can know the faith.*" He laughs at the idea of anyone *but* the Church knowing the history of the Church. But supposing that this Church, amongst other things, is alleged to have forged many of its documents of title, and to have sunk its spiritual in the pursuit of worldly empire, am I not entitled to inquire into the truth

of these charges, and into the authority upon which their claims are based ?

If so, I am equally entitled to ask *who* constituted this "Church" *whose* rulings I am to take unquestioned ? If he means by the Church our Saviour, the apostles, and the canons derived from Scripture, then I can understand his argument. But if I am to take also the rulings of Councils and of the popes—Councils being of two kinds : (1) those up to the fourth century of the undivided Church ; (2) those of the popes only—I feel entitled to investigate the authority for such an assertion.

What Councils ? Who constituted them ? In the chapter on "Canons and Councils" (post), I have attempted to portray the kind of men who presided at these meetings—some good, many indifferent, and many irretrievably bad. Is there any evidence that they were actuated by the Holy Ghost ?

To ascertain the truth of this assertion is the goal of my investigation. If, however, I take the Roman Catholic ruling, I am debarred from such inquiry. I am compelled to exercise that blind and unreasoning obedience or faith which actuates the Hindu widow when she mounts the burning pile to be immolated with the corpse of her husband ; or the Hindu devotee, when, suspended by hooks stuck in his back, he swings in mid-air to the noise of the tum-tums at the festival of the Charak Pujah. They both display a faith active and honest, and also a blind

and unreasoning obedience to the tradition or rulings of their religion.

“A perfect religion,” says Lightfoot, “implies a true creed and an honest, or, as we say, a conscientious and intelligent belief in it. The first without the last is formalism, the last without the first exalts conscientiousness above truth, and honest truth above a true creed. But an honest and true inquirer, who brings to the study of the Scripture no extraordinary learning and acuteness, but an unprejudiced docile mind, may ascertain with reasonable certainty, what are the points insisted upon by our sacred writers as ‘essential’; and what are excluded as inconsistent with the religion which they taught.”

“Our reasoning powers, no less than our faith, are the gift of God; and so long as the former are applied with due care and diffidence to the investigation of the grounds of belief, and to the authority upon which dogmas are founded; so long it cannot be held beyond a layman’s province to make such scrutiny.” In the pursuit of any such investigation, however, “vigilant discretion is no less needful than zeal and perseverance, if we would really advance along the Christian course. The most active, patient traveller, if he be not also watchfully careful to keep in the right way, may be expending his energies in going farther and farther astray.”

But where, it may be asked, does reasoning end and faith begin ?

Having been vouchsafed unusual opportunities of becoming acquainted with the inner life of many of those highly philosophical religions of the East, the author feels himself impelled to study minutely the claims set forth with such certainty of conviction by the Roman Church, and desires to approach the study impartially, and with an anxious desire to "search for and ascertain the Truth."¹

¹ It has been the author's lot for many years to be thrown amongst men of different religions, whose tenets he has been able to examine, and whose characters he has learned to respect ; and the experience thus gained enables him to take a wider view of the conflicting claims of different sects than would have otherwise been possible. During his residence in Burma, he enjoyed the inestimable advantage of the friendship of the Right Reverend P. Bigandet, the excellent R.C. Bishop of the Province, intercourse with whom was in itself a liberal education. As counsel for the Mohammedans in the late Cow Riots in India, he was brought into close connection with the leading Mohammedans, with many of whom he has resided as an invited guest. Some of these he numbers among his intimate friends. He has also spent years in friendly intercourse with Buddhists ; and, as before stated, he has stood by the cot of a dying Brahmin, awaiting on the banks of the Ganges his final summons, which he welcomed as a summons of "Peace." As a Magistrate, he has superintended the ceremonies of the Charak Pujah, before swinging was prohibited ; and has accompanied the police by the side of the Car of Juggernath at Pakoar to prevent devotees from immolating themselves under its massive wheels. He has also seen the streets of a Santal village deluged with the blood of many bullocks, sacrificed in rites similar to the ancient Athenian sacrifices of a hecatomb of oxen. As standing counsel for a Chinese Secret Society (the Short-Coats), disciples of

Confucius, he has become acquainted with their principles. In short, fortune has cast his lot with men of many sects and religions ; and he has found amongst them all many of the virtues which we have come to label Christian, and regard as the special outcome of our faith. He has found good in every one of them. Faith in itself is no test of Truth or of divine inspiration, seeing that the most mistaken and ignorant heathen has been as ready to die and suffer for his particular dogma as the most enlightened Christian.

CHAPTER III

THE PAPAL CLAIMS

IN this chapter I do not attempt to trace the gradual growth of the pretensions of the papacy, but merely to give a synopsis of some of the more startling alleged claims.

Archbishop Cranmer collated the most prominent, and I take them from his writings. They are to be found in the Parker edition, Cambridge University Press, pages 68 to 75. They are as follows:—

Dist. 22; omnes De Major et obedient Solitæ extrar.
De majorit et obedient; Unam Sanctam:—

“He that knowledgeth not himself to be under the Bishop of Rome, and that the Bishop of Rome is so ordained by God to have primacy over all the world, is an heretick, and cannot be saved, nor is not of the flock of Christ.”

Dist. 19, 20, 24, 91; A recta; Menor; Quoties;
Hæc est, 25, 91 Generali; Violatores:—

“All the decrees of the Bishop of Rome ought to be kept perpetually by every man without any

repugnancy, as God's word spoken by the mouth of Peter; and whosoever doth not receive them, neither availeth them, the Catholic faith nor the four Evangelists; but they blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and shall have no forgiveness."

Dist. 21, *Quamvis*, et 24, 91; *A recta*; *Memor*:—

"The See of Rome hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, nor cannot err."

9, 93, *Ipsi*; *Cuncta*; *Nemo*; 396; *Dudum aliorum*; 17; 9, 4, *Si quis*; *De Baptis et ejus effectu*; *Majores*:—

"The Bishop of Rome hath authority to judge all men, and specially to discern the articles of the faith, and that without any Council, and may assoil them that the Council hath damned. No man hath authority to judge him, nor to meddle with anything that he hath judged—neither emperor, king, people, nor the clergy, and it is not lawful for any man to dispute his power."

Duo sunt 259, 6, *Alius*; *Nos sanctorum*; *Juratos*; *In Clement de hæreticis*; *Ut officium*:—

"The Bishop of Rome may excommunicate Emperors and Princes, depose them from their States, and assoil their subjects from their oath and obedience to them, and so constrain them to rebellion."

De Major, et obedient, Solitæ, Clement de sententiæ et rejudicata, Pastoratis :—

“The Emperor is the Bishop of Rome’s subject, and the Bishop of Rome may revoke the Emperor’s sentence in temporal causes.”

De elect, et electi potestate, Venerabilem :—

“It belongeth to the Bishop of Rome to allow or disallow the Emperor after he is elected; and he may translate the empire from one region to another.”

Dist. 17; Synodum; Regula; Nec licuit; Multis; Concilia; Dist. 96, Ubinam; Ad Romanum :—

“There can be no council of bishops without the authority of the See of Rome.”

“Nothing may be done against him that appealeth to Rome.”

293, Aliorum; Dist. 40; Papa; Dist. 91; Satis :—

“The Bishop of Rome may be judged of none but God only; for although he neither regard his own salvation nor no man’s else, but draws down with himself innumerable people by heaps into hell, yet may no mortal man in this world presume to reprehend him. Forasmuch as he is called God, he may be judged of no man; for God may be judged of no man.”

24, 9, 5:—

“The Bishop of Rome may open and shut heaven unto men.”

De electione et electi potestate:—

“It appertaineth to the Bishop of Rome to judge which oaths ought to be kept and which not.”

De jure jurandi; Si Vero, 1596, auctoritatem:—

“He may absolve subjects from their oath of fidelity, and absolve from other oaths that ought to be kept.”

(Clement) de hieræticis, Multorum:—

“The Bishop of Rome may give authority to arrest men, and imprison them in manacles and fetters.”

Dist. 96, Quis, Nunquam, etc., etc.:—

“Princes ought to obey bishops, and to submit their heads unto the bishops, and not to be judges over the bishops, for bishops ought to be judged of no layman.”

Clement de reliq; et venerat; Sanctorum:—

“We obtain remission of sin by observing of certain feasts and certain pilgrimages in the jubilee and other prescribed times, by virtue of the Bishop of Rome’s pardon.”

De penitent, Dist. 1, Multiplex:—

“A penitent man can have no remission of his sins but by supplication of the priest.”

Pope Paul sent to Henry VIII. the following message:—

“Did you not promise to forsake the Devil, etc., and dost thou turn to heresy? For the breach of this thy promise, knowest thou not that it is in our power to dispose of thy sword and sceptre to whom we please.”

Others worthy of notice I have culled from different authorities. They may be shortly summarised as declaring spiritual authority over the soul—and temporal authority over the body—to punish, to imprison, or to slay. But these claims shall speak for themselves.

“Christ has committed the whole world to the Government of the Pope,” said Innocent III. Gregory IX. restated this claim; and on the discovery of America and India in 1492, the then Pontiff, Alexander VI., claimed the right to decide to whom the newly-discovered countries should belong. Adrian IV. gave Ireland to Henry II., and Pope Alexander II. sanctioned William the Norman’s invasion of England. Nothing more could be claimed by Pope Boniface VIII. He was “Lord of Heaven and Earth.”

The meridian of the power of the popes was

attained, and the Crown became the slave of the mitre, under the most powerful of the popes, Innocent III., who declared that the pontifical authority so far exceeded the royal power as the sun doth the moon. The words of God were appealed to in describing the See: "I have set thee over the nations and kingdoms to root out and destroy, and to throw over." "I alone," said Innocent, "I alone enjoy the plenitude of power, that others may say of me, next to God, 'and of his fulness have we received.'"

Rome claims to be at once "the Catholic (or Universal) Church," and also to be divinely exempted from errors and dissensions.

Archbishop Whately, in "Apostolical Succession Considered," thus writes:—

In the Bull "Unam Sanctam," Boniface, A.D. 1299, declares that it is necessary for every creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff. The temporal must be subject to the spiritual, and be judged by it. In writing to Edward I., Boniface says that the Kingdom of Scotland was the special property of the Roman Church, and that therefore he, Edward, must not touch it.

In the Roman Canon Law, in the gloss on the Extravagantes of Pope John XXII., Tit. xiv., cap. iv., ad Callem Sexti Decr., Paris, 1685, the words appear:—

"To believe that *Our Lord God the Pope* has not

the power to decree as he has decreed is to be deemed heretical."

Collette avers that the popes have not entirely rejected this title of "Lord God the Pope," for the passage appears in the edition of the Canon Law published in Rome in A.D. 1580 by Gregory XIII. The Index Expurgatorius of Pius V., although ordering the erasure of other passages, yet leaves this one; and to this edition is appended his Bull in these terms:—

"We decree, sanction, and ordain that it shall not be permitted to anyone . . . to add to, alter, transpose, or take from any interpretation to the book of Canon Law as revised," etc. Other parts were expurgated, but "Dominus Deus Noster Papa" remains confirmed. This occurs in two editions published at Lyons in A.D. 1584, 1606; in those of Paris, A.D. 1586, 1601, and 1612, and also A.D. 1522-1561. (*Vide* Collette's reply to Smith, S. I., published 430 Strand, U.)

I have before referred to the dicta:—

"The Pope of Rome may be judged of none but God only, for although he neither regard his own salvation nor no one else (*sic*), but draws down with himself innumerable persons to hell, yet no mortal man in the world presume to reprehend him. (Forasmuch as he is called God, he can be judged by no man.)"

More than one hundred examples of propositions such as quoted above are collected in the Gravamina

adversas Syn. Trident, Restit., p. ii. ; Caus. vii. ob. Tyranniden Papæ, p. 291 ; Argent, 1565.

A distinction, however, must be drawn between statements of Romanists as to what they allege the papal powers are, and as to what the popes themselves claim. For instance, the Decretum is the basis of a study of Canon Law made by Gratian, while the gloss is a commentary mostly written by John the Teutonic. The words in brackets are said to have been interpolated. Many Roman Catholics repudiate this claim. But I cannot discover any official repudiation, and in the face of the number of examples shown, it is difficult to believe that this claim has not been entertained.

The tendency to support it is further manifested in the manner of the coronation of the Pope.

The triple crown marks the triple jurisdiction of the Pope over heaven, earth, and purgatory. The ceremony of installation is described in official documents as follows:—

“He is borne in the pontifical chair, and is placed on the High Altar, where he is saluted for the third time by the Cardinals kissing his hands, feet, and mouth. The Pope is placed on the High Altar, a spot consecrated by the actual presence of the body, blood, soul, and divinity of a living Christ. He sits on the High Altar, using it as his footstool, and enthroned as King; he is adored as a god in the same manner as is the consecrated wafer, adored by

the Cardinal Princes who kiss his feet, which rest on the Altar of the Supreme. He sits in the Temple of God, showing himself as if he were God." (*Vide the Universe*, R.C. Paper, 27th June, 1846.)

In the history of the Councils by the Jesuits Labbæus and Cossart (Tom. xvi., Col. 109; Paris, 1671), it is recorded in a speech delivered to Pope Julius II. at the fourth Lateran Council, 1512 :

"Tu enim Pastor, Tu medicus, Tu gubernator, Tu denique alter Deus in Terris—

"Thou, in short, art God on earth."

In the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX. it is written :—
 "Our Lord so strictly retained to Himself the power of translating bishops that He conceded and granted it only to Peter, and through him to his successors, as a special privilege—as *antiquity testifies*. For it is not man but God who separates those whom the Roman Pontiff, who is not the vicegerent of man but of God, appoints. Hence he is said to have a heavenly power, and hence changes even the nature of things, applying the substantial of one thing to another—can make something out of nothing—a judgment which is null he makes to be real, since in the things which he wills, his will is taken for a reason. Nor is there anyone to say to him, Why dost thou do this? For he can dispense with the law, he can turn injustice into justice by correcting and changing the law, and he has the fulness of power,"

In July, 1870, the Vatican decree vested infallibility in faith and morals in the Pope, when he issues his decrees as Head of Christ's Church.

The *Catholique National*, in its issue of the 13th July, 1895, quotes the words of the Archbishop of Venice:—

“The Pope is not only the representative of Jesus Christ, but he is Jesus Christ Himself hidden under the veil of flesh. It is Jesus Christ who pronounces the anathema or accords a favour. So that when the Pope speaks, we have no business to examine, we have only to obey.”

Cardinal Bellarmine lays down the following proposition:—

“Nam fides Catholica docet, omnem virtutem esse bonam, omne vitium esse malum: si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vele prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclésiâ credere, vitia esse bona, et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam errare.”—De Sum. Ponti., vol. iv., cap. v., sec. viii.

English translation.—“*The Catholic faith teaches that all virtue is good and all vice evil: but if the Pope should err by prescribing vices or prohibiting virtues, then the Church would be bound to believe that vices are good and virtue evil, unless she wished to sin against conscience.*”

Ignatius Loyola endorses this when he says: “That we may in all things attain the truth, or (that we may not err in anything) we ought ever to hold it as a

fixed principle, that what I see white I believe to be black, if the Hierarchical Church so define it to be, or to be in conformity with the Church itself; if she shall have defined anything to be black which to our eyes appear white, we ought in like manner to pronounce it to be white." (*Vide* "Spiritual Exercises" of Loyola, with preface by the Right Reverend Nicholas Wiseman, A.D. 1847, p. 180.)

In Donovan's translation of the Trent Catechism, officially published at Rome, A.D. 1839 (vol. i., p. 603), it is laid down:—

"Priests and bishops are . . . representatives on earth of God Himself. Impossible to conceive a function more exalted; and justly, therefore, are they called not only angels but also gods, holding as they do amongst us the power and majesty of the immortal God!"

In the *Tablet*, 18th January, 1896, the Patriarch of Venice is represented to have said:—

"The Pope *represents Jesus Christ Himself*, and therefore is a loving father."

Monseigneur Rougaud, Bishop of Laval, on the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, says (vol. iv., *Le Chritienisme et le temps present*):—

"The Host is dumb. It is then only half of yourself which is wanting to me, oh, my Saviour—and if only half of yourself is found in the Eucharist, it is in effect in another place. It is in the Vatican. It is in the Pope. The Pope is the second method of

the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Church. As we see Jesus in the Eucharist, so we see Jesus in the Pope."

In chap. v., he says:—

"We now can form a just idea of the Pope. It is Jesus Christ concealed under a veil contained by a human organisation. . . . Behold the true idea, which we must entertain of the Pope."

Chap. vi. "It follows that we ought to experience at the feet of the Vicar of Christ something of the impressions which we experience at the foot of the Holy Altar. I prostrate myself with emotion at his feet, as at the feet of Jesus Christ."

Chap. vii. "Open your soul, seek the ardour of these sentiments for the Holy Eucharist; you will experience the same as there is in the devotion and veneration for the Pope, etc. All comes from the Pope. He creates the Church, and in her and by her he illumines and sanctifies all our souls."

The Romanist Hortensius says:—

"The Pope and Christ make but one consistory; so that sin excepted, to which the Pope is subject, the Pope in a manner can do all that God can do."

De Maistre writes in his book, "Du Pape":—

"Without the sovereign Pontiff there is no Christianity. Christianity entirely depends on the Pope. Without the Pope, Christianity loses its force, its divine character and converting powers. What is wanting in the living but *dumb* Christ in the con-

secrated Host is made up in the person of the Pope."

The Bishop of Bayonne, amongst other things, in his pastoral, published in the *Church Review*, June 25, 1896, declares that:—

"The Eucharist of the Holy Spirit which renders *Him* always present under the corporal substance is the Infallible Pope. The Pope, the visible personification of the Spirit of God. The Pope, the Incarnation of the Holy Ghost."

Leo XIII. declares himself to be the Vicar of the Son of God, as successor of St. Peter, whom our Lord appointed to be supreme over the other apostles and over the Church of God, which, according to the Pope's assertion, includes the whole Christian race.

In an authorised Roman Catechism, approved by Archbishop Gibson, A.D. 1885, it is stated:—"The Pope can, with infallible certainty, proscribe and condemn doctrines, logical, scientific, physical, metaphysical, or political of any kind."

In the "*Vérités de la Foi*," p. 184, it is set forth:—

"*Qui, sous l'obéissance du Pape, professent la véritable, Doctrine de Jésus, cette Église est Une, Sainte, Catholique, Apostolique, Romaine, Ceux qui n'appartiennent pas à cette Église, ne peuvent être sauvés.*"

A so-called Œcumenical Council of the Roman Church assembled under the Bishop of Rome has declared the Pope to be infallible on questions of faith

and morals—that when he speaks, he speaks “with the voice of God, independent of Holy Scripture, traditions, Fathers, or Councils.” Leo XIII. declares in his Encyclical that the Church regarded as “rebels and expelled from the ranks of her children all who held beliefs on any point of doctrine different from her own.” He states, quoting from another source, that:—“There can be nothing more dangerous than those heretics who admit nearly all the doctrine, and yet by one word, as with a drop of poison, infect the faith taught by our Lord and handed down by *Apostolic tradition*. If bishops seceding from St. Peter and his successors are separated from the fountain, etc., and from the fold whose leader is the chief pastor, they are exiled from the Kingdom” (Encycl., sec. ix.).

Cardinal Manning states:—

That “the right of deposing kings is inherent in the supreme sovereignty, which the popes as vicegerents of Jesus Christ exercise over all Christian nations. Those rights are not derived or delegated, but are the essence of that royal authority of Christ with which vicegerents on earth are vested.” Again, in his sermons on religious subjects, he puts into the mouth of the Pope this reply to those who urge him to be reconciled to Liberalism:—“In His (Christ’s) right I am sovereign. I acknowledge no civil superior, and I claim more than this; I claim to be the supreme judge on earth, and director of the con-

sciences of men, of the peasant that tills the field, and the prince that sits on the throne ; of the household that lives in privacy, and the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the last supreme judge on earth of what is right and wrong."

Amongst the decrees of the so-called great Œcumenical Council of A.D. 1870, Canon vi., we read:—"If anyone should say that that intolerance with which the Catholic Church proscribes and damns all religious sects separated from her Communion is *not commanded by divine law* ; or that concerning the truth of religion, *opinions only, but not certainty, can be had* ; and therefore that all religious sects are to be tolerated by the Church—let him be accursed."

"If anyone should say that the power conferred by Christ, our Lord and Saviour, on His Church was only that of directing by advice and persuasion, *but not also of commanding by laws, and of coercing and compelling by exterior judgments, and by salutary punishments*, those who are astray and contumacious—let him be accursed" (Canon xii.).

"To justify the existence of more than *one Church*, it would be necessary to go outside this world and to create a new and unheard-of race of men" (Encycl., p. 13). The word "Church" here is meant to signify only those under the papal rule.

Pope Paul II., in judging the Hussites, A.D. 1469, says:—"It is the office of St. Peter to support the 'Church.' . . . The metaphorical expression of 'bind-

ing' and 'loosing' indicates the power of making laws, of judging, and of punishing. Peter has been placed as shepherd of the Christian flock, he has received the power of governing all men" (Encycl. pp. 37, 39, 40).

The above statements contain a brief summary of the papal pretensions, and of the claims which have to be admitted without question by all belonging to the Roman Church. Seeing that these awful powers are vested in fallible men, some of whom were such notorious evil livers that it is difficult to conceive them to have been inspired by the Holy Spirit, surely we are justified in investigating the basis of such claims before submitting blindly to the servitude demanded.¹

Mr. R. F. Clark, S.J., in his article in the *Nineteenth Century* for February, 1900, replying to Dr. Mivart's article on the "Continuity of Christianity," clearly summarises the essential dogma which must be believed by every Roman Catholic under pain of anathema, when he states that:—"Whether such dogma be defined by the Apostles' Creed, or by the Vatican Council, or by any one of the long race of popes speaking in his character of doctor and teacher of the Universal Church, makes no difference what-

¹ While this chapter was being written, I have been favoured with the perusal of an assertion as to Roman dogma, which brings the subject of papal pretensions up to date, March, 1900.

ever." Pope and Councils are in their definitions but "the mouth-pieces of Jesus Christ, and consequently anyone attempting to modify or set aside any of their definitions of doctrine is 'anathema'."

"Catholic dogma carries in its every detail the infallible sanction of its divine author." The writer goes on to say: "*Every one entering the Church must bid farewell to their private judgment at the threshold. They must renounce henceforth all claims to judge of that which the Church has stamped with infallible teaching.*" Before resigning private judgment to such a tribunal, to whose dicta we must bow, it is but right and proper that we should investigate the historic grounds upon which popes and Councils claim to be the mouth-piece of Jesus Christ. The mere averment of title to such powers does not preclude our investigation into the grounds upon which such averment is based.

If history, or documents, or tradition give such power, then let us bow to the yoke. But if after careful inquiry (not as to doctrine, but merely as to jurisdiction and authority), we find that neither the one nor the other is based upon Scripture, or even upon uncorrupted tradition, but merely upon bare assertion alone, we should be justified in rejecting such a statement—and the claims of the Pope to be "the mouth-piece of Jesus Christ" fall to the ground.

CHAPTER IV

WHITHER TO DIRECT OUR STEPS

THOSE advancing the pretensions set forth in the last chapter are, according to the rules of evidence, bound to support them by the production of such adequate proof as would convince an average intelligent inquirer, searching in good faith for truth.

It is my object in these pages to communicate the result of careful research into history, confined more particularly to the ante-Nicene period, for we have a better opportunity of tracing the intent and meaning of the divine dispensation the nearer we advance to its source, and before it has become veiled in the mists of tradition.

If in this investigation, extending over the first three hundred years, we should find Peter, or the bishops of Rome themselves, claiming supremacy, and if we should find sacred contemporary writers also supporting their contention, we shall have advanced far on the road to elucidating the papal claims. But if, on the contrary, the records of the

past do not support such a contention, but rather militate against it, then the question will arise whether we are to take on faith the dicta of the Popes, or appeal to the reasoning faculty bestowed on us by God.

Some papal writers aver that the very fact of the existence of these claims, and of their flourishing for many centuries, should be accepted as a proof of their divine origin. But the fact of the existence of other religious bodies, with other different claims entirely repugnant, and which prosper in equal, if not greater, ratio with the Roman Catholics, supplies of itself a sufficient answer to this assertion.

In this investigation it will be necessary to take certain points—landmarks, as it were—to guide us on the route we intend to travel.

The papal claims rest professedly upon a three-fold basis: Holy Writ, tradition—as settled by the Roman Church—and the writings of the Fathers.

In this they differ from the Anglican Church, which only acknowledges the first as a safe and sure guide, and in this connection I would refer to the twenty-first article.

The New Testament is acknowledged by all Christians to contain the history of our Saviour, and the truths necessary for salvation. It presents to us the history of the commencement of the Christian Church, and is the foundation and stronghold of the Christian faith.

Many persons question the authenticity of the miracles, and urge that as the various Gospels and Epistles were not collated until many years after the Ascension, statements of events have been interpolated which never occurred. For instance, the rending of the veil during the Crucifixion, the obscuration of the sun, the appearance of the dead, etc. They argue that had these appalling phenomena actually happened, some record would have been discovered amongst the writings of contemporaneous historians. But the veriest unbeliever cannot deny the fact that a man called Jesus died on the Cross, and that by His teaching and example, myriads were turned from their evil ways—that poor illiterate fishermen, tanners, and others of humble origin, suffered martyrdom in fearful tortures in support of the faith; and most astounding miracle of all, that this “superstition,” as Tacitus terms it, was able eventually to revolutionise the known world. Nor can he deny the fact that, while the leading city of the then civilised community, Rome, was sunk in the deepest corruption and wickedness, when blood was poured out like water, when the world had become a sink of iniquity, and when a deep melancholy was stealing over the educated classes, and suicide considered the only panacea for mundane evil, this humble son of a carpenter preached for less than three years, died a martyr on the Cross, and left a Faith behind Him so glorious, so good, and so humane, that vice and iniquity quail before it, and

enlightenment and civilisation have followed in its wake. This Faith has lasted for nearly nineteen hundred years, and is now in full and increasing vigour.

CHAPTER V

THE BIBLICAL GROUNDS FOR PETER'S SUPREMACY CONSIDERED

“Inquiry is human ; blind obedience brutal. Truth never loses by the one, but often suffers by the other.

“There may be a wantonness in search as well as a stupidity in trusting. It is great wisdom *equally* to avoid the *extreams*” (*sic*).—“Penn’s Maxims,” p. 39.

No attempt is made to investigate the objections as to whether our Saviour’s sayings were correctly recorded, or as to the question concerning the time elapsing between His alleged utterances and the same being reduced into writing, or as to the question of inspiration and freedom from mistakes existing in transcribers and translators of those words into various languages ; for such an investigation is not germane to the present inquiry. Those passages are assumed to be correct.

The foundation for the papal claims rests upon the supremacy alleged to have been accorded to St. Peter by our Lord, and upon the succession of the popes of Rome to his apostolic powers. As it is upon this basis that these claims either stand or fall, it becomes

necessary to ascertain the extent to which they are corroborated by Scripture—whether Peter himself asserted such authority, and whether contemporary Christians acknowledged such an ascendancy. Romanists urge, “that as Christ willed His kingdom should be visible, He was *obliged* when He ascended to Heaven to designate Peter as vicegerent on earth.” In support of their contention they produce certain passages of Scripture which, casually read, give a certain authority to their statement.

Mr. Humphrey, in his “Divine Teacher” (p. 12), writes:—“It was necessary not merely to the well-being but to the very existence of the Church, according to the divine idea.”

Without attempting to ascertain whether the supremacy of Peter was evolved from a divine idea of *necessity*, of which there is no evidence, I will rather take in detail the several texts on which Peter’s claims are founded, and attempt to gather from divine utterances and the writings of the apostles the consensus of authority for the powers claimed for St. Peter.

It is remarkable that, while the belief or non-belief in Peter’s supremacy over all Churches, and its subsequent descent to the popes, is made a matter of such awful moment, yet we find this belief left to be deduced from what are practically inferences and pure conjecture. Also, that while the doctrine of salvation is proclaimed with no uncertain note, this,

the most important of all—and the awful powers vested in St. Peter and his so-called representatives of the Godhead on earth—should depend on vague construction.

The first authority cited is as follows:—

“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.

“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” (Matthew xvi. 18, 19).

I may mention here that the proper name of Peter in Greek is “Petros,” not “Petra.” The rock on which the Church is to be built is “Petra.”

Now “Petros” means a movable fragment of rock, a stone that may be thrown. “Petra” means the solid rock, the immovable cliff. (See Liddle & Scott's Greek Lexicon, “Sub Vocibus.”)

The verse may therefore be rendered: “And I also say unto thee that thou art a fragment of rock (easily moved), and upon this solid rock (immovable cliff) I will build my Church” (pointing to Himself, or at any rate, meaning Himself), “and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it.” Hades, the unseen world, the land of oblivion where all things are forgotten, within whose portals enter all men, except this Kingdom of Heaven; which Kingdom is an ever-

lasting Kingdom, and its dominion without end. Not against this nor against the cliff on which it is immovably fixed, nor the man Christ Jesus, thus symbolised by the solid rock, shall the dread powers of darkness prevail.¹

J. C., in a letter to *Church Bells* on the text "Thou art Peter," writes as follows:—

"SIR,—In your 'Roman Notes' in last week's *Church Bells*, there is a quotation from the Roman Catholic paper, the *Monitor*. The *Monitor*, in a leading article, wants to know if to the text 'Thou art Peter' . . . a meaning can be given which is more coherent, logical, and natural than that given by centuries of the Roman tradition?

"But may I put this question first? Does the text 'Thou art Peter' actually exist in the original Greek? There are three references in the Gospels to St. Peter's confession, viz., St. Matt. xvi. 18; St. Mark viii. 29; St. Luke ix. 20; and perhaps a fourth, St. John vi. 69; and in St. Matthew's Gospel, xvi. 18, alone is found the expression, 'Thou art Peter.' Some eminent authorities say that 'Thou art Peter' is not in some of the ancient manuscripts at all. The original statement in the Greek is $\sigma\upsilon\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha\varsigma$, not $\sigma\upsilon\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \Pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\varsigma$, $\sigma\upsilon\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha\varsigma$ having been written over by some

¹ These letters are inserted as they are the latest bearing on the subject.

scribe, and made into *σὺ εἶ Πέτρος*. The formula *σὺ εἶπας* is to be found in St. Matt. xxvi. 25 and 64, translated in our Authorised and Revised Versions as 'Thou hast said,' in the Douay (Roman Catholic) Version, 'Thou hast said it,' meaning assent to what has been already said. For my own part, I have hunted through every commentary I could find for an explanation of the expression, 'Thou art Peter,' and some are most ingenious, but none of them conclusive. One of them actually accuses our Blessed Lord of the profanity of making a play or pun upon the words *Πέτρος* and *πέτρα*. To my mind, the explanation that our Blessed Lord did not say 'Thou art Peter,' but 'Thou hast said it,' is the natural one, and fits in with the context in each of the Gospels where the account of St. Peter's confession is recorded.

"J. C.

"December 16, 1901."

To the above the following replies were given:—

"SIR,—With your permission, I should like to reply briefly to 'J. C.' I do not, of course, know to what eminent authorities he refers, for the statement that 'Thou art Peter' is not found in some ancient manuscripts. Tischendorf, and Westwood, and Hort give no hint to that effect, and pass over the verse in complete silence. To my own judgment, it would seem a very crude forgery. We can have nothing to

do with such weapons. 'Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas,' or, in plain English, nothing but the truth. As regards the interpretation of the words, the late Dean Mansel's comment (*Speaker's Commentary*) seems to me admirable: 'The verbal allusion is lost in the English, but the Greek can hardly be naturally interpreted except as referring to the person of Peter, and the fulfilment of the prophecy is to be found in the fact that he was the chosen agent in laying the foundation of the Christian Church, both among the Jews (Acts ii. 41) and among the Gentiles (Acts x. 44-48; *cf.* Acts xv. 7). But the promise is given to St. Peter individually, as the person who, by divine revelation, had uttered his confession. Nothing is said or intimated concerning any office that Peter was afterwards to hold, nor of any successor in such an office.' With Bengel, who adopts the above interpretation, we may fairly say, 'Quid hæc ad Romam?' I cannot agree with 'J. C.' in seeing anything like profanity in the fact that our Lord makes a play upon the words 'Petros' and 'Petra.' In His teaching He used sarcasm, irony, etc., and why is humour to be debarred?

"AUSTIN LOWRY.

"Hawerby, Grimsby, *December 23, 1901.*"

"SIR,—Referring to the letter of 'J. C.' in yesterday's number of *Church Bells*, Πέτρος is a stone, a loose stone, such as houses are built with. Πέτρα is a

rock rooted in the earth, such as, if large enough, makes the best possible foundation for a house. Our Lord Christ, therefore, described Peter as one of those stones wherewith His Church is built, not as a rock whereon it is built. Romanists are bad Grecians, and don't understand this. "EDMUND LAURENCE.

"December 28, 1901."

In support of Peter's supremacy and power, the papal authorities produce seventy-seven quotations from Fathers and Councils, but only *one* is from a Christian writer dating before the third century.

The French writer Launay computes that forty-four Fathers render the passage as to the "rock" in one way, and seventeen in another.

Pope Pius IV., A.D. 1564, in his authoritative creed, lays down that:—

"No one be allowed to interpret the Scriptures save by the unanimous consent of the Fathers." No one can urge that all the Fathers are unanimous in this interpretation, and faithful Romanists are placed in the dilemma of either repudiating the dictum of infallible Pius IV., and adopting the infallible dogma of Leo XIII., or *vice versa* (Gore, p. 81).

In the encyclical (29th June, 1896), the words of Christ are stated to be: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church." He does not say, "Upon thee will I build my Church," but upon this fragment of rock will I build, etc., etc. And hence

the Encyclical argues:—"Peter being the foundation, how could he fulfil this office without the power of commanding, forbidding, and judging, which is properly called 'jurisdiction.' But surely this is stretching the meaning of the word 'foundation' beyond its legitimate limit. Taking it in its ordinary acceptation and giving the most favourable interpretation possible, can it be made a ground for claiming jurisdiction over the other apostles, who were all likewise 'foundations'?"

When discussing the meaning of ancient words and phrases, it becomes essential to ascertain the actual sense and meaning which they might have conveyed to hearers at the time they were uttered, and to earlier Christian writers. The more so in this case, as the original words are lost, and we are dependent on a translation. Augustine, in his Commentary, states "that Christ was the rock: Peter the Christian people." That the rock was "the confession of faith made by Peter"—that Peter "was built on Christ, not Christ on Peter." Sermon lxxvi. 1: "Hoc ei nomen (Petrus) à Domino impositum est; et hoc in eâ figurâ, ut significaret Ecclesiam. Quia enim *Christus* petra, *Petrus* *populus Christianus*. Petra emin principale nomen est. Ideo Petrus à petrâ, non petra à Petro; quomodo non à Christiano Christus, sed à Christo Christianus vocatur. Tu es ergo inquit, Petrus; et super *hanc petram quam confessus es*, super *hanc petram quam cognovisti*

dicens, *Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi, ædificabo ecclesiam meam; id est super me ipsum Filium Dei vivi. Super me ædificabo te non me super te.*" So S. Hilary de Trin. vi. 36. "*Super hanc confessionis petram ecclesiæ ædificatio est.*" On this rock of the confession is "the building of the Church."

(El. Horæ Apocalypticæ, vol. iii., cap. v., p. 149. Horæ Apocalypticæ, vol. i., cap. iv., p. 402.)

St. Chrysostom says:—"By rock he understood Peter; not his person, but his faith and confession" (4 Bul. 81).

In the great disputation held at Leipsic, June 21, 1519, before the great Council, between Luther on the one side and Dr. Eck on behalf of the Pope, Eck opened the proceedings by quoting—"Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church." Luther replied that the natural and obvious sense is that the truth Peter had just confessed—in other words, Christ Himself—was the rock. That Augustine and Ambrose had so interpreted the passage, and that there-with agree the express declarations of Scripture: "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ"; and that Peter himself terms Christ "the chief corner-stone, and a living stone, on which are built up a spiritual house."

Eck hurled at him quotations from the forged Decretals (which will be mentioned hereafter, and which Luther did not know at the time were forged); but with intuitive sagacity, he boldly pronounced

from their internal evidence that they were spurious, which eventually they turned out to be. (*Vide* "History of Protestantism," by Dr. Wylie, p. 298.) From that controversy, Eck retired discomfited.

Referring to Galatians, chap. ii., from 6th verse, the underlying mistake seems to consist in the common error of pressing a simile too far, and also in not keeping a clear distinction in cases in which a change of simile entirely alters the relations of the people affected. So Peter may be a rock, but not exclusively *the* rock; for the other apostles are rocks or foundations on which the Church is built. But again, the apostles are pillars, and Christians are the living stones; and, in this case, the only rock is the great foundation, Christ Himself.

Paul interpreted the meaning of "rock" or "foundation" when he wrote in Ephesians ii. 19-21: "Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints and of the household of God; and are built *upon the foundation* [*rock*] *of the apostles and prophets, Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone*; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord."

The assertion that Peter alone is the foundation would utterly destroy the comprehensiveness of the expression here set forth, in which the plural—"apostles"—is used.

Again: "The twelve apostles are declared to be

the twelve foundations" (*vide* Rev. xxi. 14): "And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb."

Cave, in his "Lives of the Apostles," p. 156, says:—"But all the apostles are equally called foundations, yea, said to be 'the twelve foundations upon which the wall of the new Jerusalem'—that is, the evangelical Church—is erected; and sometimes others of them besides Peter are called 'pillars,' as they have relation to the Church already built."

Origen writes, in Joan's Comments, Migne Series, Græca, Tom. xiv., Origen iv., p. 187:—"Petrus autem, cui tamquam fundamento superstructa est ecclesia Christi, adversas quam nec ipsæ inferorum partæ prævatituræ sunt." In this quotation he is not termed a rock, but foundation, and he uses the same word for *all* the apostles. In Tom. v., v. n. 4, on Exodus, he also writes:—"Vide Magno illi ecclesia fundamenta et petræ solidissimæ, super quam Christus fundavit ecclesiam." In this instance, he was animadverting on the want of faith shown by the Israelities. In so writing, Origen agrees with St. Paul when he speaks of the Church as "built upon the foundation of all the apostles," not one in particular (Ephes. ii. 20). Unfortunately, we are placed in a dilemma when quoting from the records of the ancient writers. There is no certainty that the reader has before him the opinions of him from

whom the writings are said to have emanated. There is a strong probability that he may be reading the ideas of some pious transcriber, who has attached his own meaning to the original, and either changed or interpreted the text. The reason for this assumption is delineated in chaps. xvii. and xviii. Again, mere extracts often convey but a false idea. To properly understand a writer's real meaning, the context has to be set out, but in this short sketch such a method becomes impracticable.

With regard to the keys, he says:—"Does Christ here promise the keys to Peter—that is, power of governing and of exercising Church censures, and of absolving penitent sinners? The very same power is elsewhere promised to *all* the apostles, and almost in the very same words: 'If thine offending brother prove obstinate, tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee an heathen and a publican. Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.' And elsewhere, when ready to leave the world, He tells them: 'As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.'"

Cave continues:—"Thou shalt have that spiritual authority and power within the Church whereby, as with keys, thou shalt be able to shut and

lock out obstinate and impenitent sinners, and, upon their repentance, to unlock the door, and take them in again; and what thou shalt thus regularly do shall be owned in the Court above, and ratified in heaven."

The popes claim the keys, as successors to Peter, and aver that they are symbolical of authority. A jailor's keys show him to have power to open the jail gates, to admit and to release. But he cannot do this without a warrant from his superior. His power is a subordinate power. The sceptre, crown, and throne convey signs of supreme authority, rather than the keys. The keys take a lower place.

The keys are referred to in the Old Testament.

In 1 Chronicles ix. 27, referring to the Levites, it is written: "And they lodged round about the House of God because the charge was upon them, and the opening thereof every morning appertained to them." Also in Isaiah xxii. 21-22: "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 shoulder: so he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open."

Here the delivery of the keys is made a secondary gift, after the "government" has been committed to Eliakim.

In Rev. ix. 1, the fifth angel receives the key

of hell, and in chap. xx. 2, he chains Satan for one thousand years; and in Luke xi. 52, the hypocrites are charged with taking away the key of knowledge.

Taking the different renderings of the word "key" in the Bible, it does not appear to convey that idea of supreme power since claimed by the popes.

Thorndike says (vol. i., part ii., p. 782):—"The power of the keys and the mark of it in admitting to the Communion of the Church by baptism or by penance may be considered either in respect to God or in respect to the Society of the Church. In the first respect that holds true, that it is the act of a physician, seeing that as a physician can do no more than help nature to overcome the disease by the use of things which he prescribes, so much and no more is this power able to do by prescribing to those that seek for remission of sins and everlasting life to undertake the profession of Christianity, and to go through with it."

Again at p. 366, the same writer says:—"The means of forgiveness ministered in the discipline of penance consists in the party's repentance and the prayers of the Church. Penance was to appease the wrath of God offended," and to recover His favour again; which Firmilianus terms, "to make satisfaction to God." Not in the sense used by the Church of Rome, etc., but according to the use of the word in good Latin to "appease His wrath with true sorrow.

The penitents at public service, after the earnest prayers of the congregation for their pardon, coming and kneeling before the Bishop, who, holding his hands over their heads, with his blessings and prayers dismissed them. This was called on their part *ὑπόπτωσις*, or falling down; and on his part *χειροθεσία*, or imposition of hands in penance. In the ministering of these means of forgiveness the power of the keys is seen." He proceeds: "Besides this, I find that St. Cyprian hath placed the power of the keys in the Sacrament of Baptism" (Ep. lxxiii., p. 201, Ed. Oxon).

The power of loosing and binding is a general power given to all apostles, and not to Peter in particular.

By comparing 1 Cor. i. to v., and 2 Cor. ii. to x., we find that St. Paul exercised this same power of excommunication by commission; and that afterwards, on the repentance of the sinner, he absolved him in the same manner, and readmitted him into communion with the faithful.

St. Cyprian, in discoursing on the Unity of the Church, refers to this when he mentions the respective charges of the Lord to Peter and to the Twelve. "The authority and power committed is the same to each several apostle. But for the sake of showing that many apostles did not make many churches, but one only, therefore the first declaration of the foundation of a universal church is couched in

language addressed to one only—St. Peter—for that one occasion the words are to one, but the meaning is for ever to all," etc., etc.

Of the apostles, it is said that "the power given by Christ to them in equal measure with St. Peter passed on to the churches which they established, and to the bishops who everywhere succeeded them." (See Benson, 196, ep. 68, 31, 3, 72, 75.)

"For the unity of the whole, consisting in the correspondence of collateral, and the dependence of subordinate churches, and the act of any church done within the compass of those rules by which the whole is tied, obliging all churches by the unity of the whole, it follows that what is true of St. Peter in *his* church is true in all churches, and this is that which St. Augustine, Optatus, and St. Hierome take to be the meaning of our Lord's words to St. Peter (Matt. xvi. 16), when they deliver that our Lord in them speaks to St. Peter as to one that represented the whole Church." (See Firmilian, "Notes to Cyprian," p. 785.)

With reference to the passage, "Feed my sheep" (John xxi. 17), Cave defines it: "Faithfully instruct and carefully rule and guide them." But he urges that "this saying has been strained into the meaning that Peter should have uncontrollable monarchy and dominion over the whole Christian Church, and over the apostles themselves. Rome says that this power was solely invested in St. Peter alone and no

one else, and those who were to succeed him in the see of Rome, and anyone who believes that his divine power is not inherited by the Pope and his successors shall be anathema."

But granting that our Lord only addressed Peter, yet the very same power in equivalent terms is elsewhere indifferently granted to all the apostles, and in some measure to the ordinary pastors and governors; as when our Lord told them "that all power was given Him in heaven and in earth"; by virtue whereof "they should go teach and baptize all nations," and "preach the gospel to every creature"; that "they should feed God's flock," "rule well," "inspect and watch over them." Words conveying as large, if not a larger meaning, and of more express signification, than those which were here spoken to St. Peter. It is manifest that the more judicious of the Fathers never understood this commission in any other sense. Origen also says: "That every true Christian that makes this confession with the same spirit and integrity which St. Peter did, shall have the same blessing from Christ conferred upon him" (Cave).

The last encyclical of Leo XIII. does not enter into the question whether Peter actually exercised his alleged powers, but claims superiority for him over all apostles and churches by reason of these Biblical quotations before referred to. Many and bitter have been the controversies over the exact

meaning of these disputed passages. They are capable of many renderings and many significations. To enable us to comprehend or attain their correct meaning, it is necessary to bear in mind that the words mainly consist of figurative and technical phrases, and were not new to those to whom our Lord spoke ; but, on the contrary, were well known to Jews cognisant, or supposed to be cognisant, of their ancient traditions. The phrase "binding and loosing" was, and still is, perfectly familiar to the Jews, and meant to them, as it would now, the enforcing and abrogating of rules—deciding as to the manner and extent to which a previously existing law is to be considered as binding, much as is now done by our judges. (See Whately, p. 11, and Walton's selections from the Mishna.)

The phrase thus understood cannot bear the strained meaning Papists desire to place on it.

Farrar writes ("Early Christianity," p. 593):—"That St. Peter was a leading apostle—in some respects *the* leading apostle—none will dispute; but that he never exercised the supremacy assigned to him by Roman Catholic writers is demonstrable, even from the New Testament, etc., etc."

Upon these passages in Scripture rest Peter's patent supremacy—a supremacy never acknowledged at the time, but gradually evolved to suit the exigencies of the Roman Catholic Church, and based upon

certain texts, the originals of which are lost, and of which we have only translations.¹

¹ "Romanists themselves admit that it would be a wrong principle to take to the full extent expressions that were meant to be understood in a qualified sense only, and they therefore place themselves in a dilemma as to the interpretation and meaning of the figurative dicta of a large portion of the Scriptures." (*Vide* "Catholic Belief," written under sanction of R. C. Archbishop of Westminster.)

CHAPTER VI

DID PETER HIMSELF ACT AS IF HE WERE SOLE INFAL-
LIBLE VICAR OF CHRIST? DID HE EVER ASSERT
A CLAIM TO BE UNIVERSAL BISHOP, OR DID HE BY
WORD OR DEED PLACE HIMSELF ABOVE THE OTHER
APOSTLES OR SHOW THAT HE ASPIRED TO TEM-
PORAL OR SPIRITUAL SUPREMACY OVER THE WHOLE
WORLD?

THE only true standard by which we can arrive at the meaning of the various texts of Scripture mentioned in the last chapter, and the only true test by which they can be interpreted, may be resolved into the following questions: How did Peter himself receive them? How did he act upon them? and does he appear by either word or action to have adopted the interpretation placed upon them by Roman Catholic writers?

If we can gather that Peter's words or actions support the papal contention, or that his contemporaries acted as if they believed it, then their interpretation is worthy of consideration. But if careful research reveals no grounds for this assumption, but rather the contrary, then the in-

vestigation into the value of certain words in the text resolves itself into "so much beating of the air."

For we gather the true interpretation of words from the actions and sayings of the principal actors to whom they may be addressed, and of those contemporaries who heard them and were affected by them.

I have been unable to find any phrase in the New Testament which can possibly be strained into a justification of the assumption that Peter ever asserted or claimed the powers afterwards arrogated in his name.

Allowing that his modesty forbade his vaunting such supremacy, had it existed, there would surely have been some record of its exercise. But he neither claims, asserts, nor exercises any greater jurisdiction than the other apostles. In fact, the inference to be drawn from those writings clearly negatives such a proposition. The negative is further strengthened by reference to the Acts of the Apostles, to the passages in St. Paul's letter to the Romans, and to St. Peter's letter itself.

As time rolls on, the primary meanings and significations of words change. Words and phrases which might convey one idea in ages before Christ may convey quite another in ages after His advent. The original signification becomes obscured in the mists of the past, and is often entirely altered.

Again, expressions used in Eastern countries are misunderstood in Western climes. In the latter the word "brother" is used in a restricted sense, whereas in the former it signifies cousin, friend, and bears a much wider signification. The term villain is now a term of opprobrium; formerly it only meant a "serf." Even Mr. Humphrey mentions the change of the words "heretic," "heresy." But the only true test to gauge the sense of words is to discover the manner in which those words appear to have been received and acted upon by those who heard them spoken, and whom they immediately concerned, and who were personally interested in their rendering. Remembering this, it would only be natural to expect that Peter, had he interpreted the texts in the same sense as the Romanists now interpret them, and had he thought himself singled out for special honour and power, would have acted as one convinced of his high mission, and at once have asserted his superiority in order to perform his duty. On the contrary, he makes no attempt to place himself above the rest; and we find no indication, on the part of the rest, of any difference between themselves and himself. Certainly had they understood from our Saviour's words that any precedence was conferred upon their fellow apostle, such was their reverence for their Lord's commands that they would have shown by their speech and conduct that they regarded him as more than an

equal; even if they had not exaggerated his status in their desire to please their crucified Master. Of this, however, there is no sign or record; neither can any indication of Peter's assuming any superiority be found. Should not this tend to lead us to assume that, when Peter lived, the texts relied upon did not convey the meaning now attributed to them?

Not only did Peter never assert such supremacy, but he rejected the honour as due only to God when Cornelius threw himself at Peter's feet and worshipped him (Acts x. 25, 26). "And as Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet, and worshipped him. But Peter took him up, saying, Stand up; I myself also am a man." And yet those who claim supremacy through this very man allow themselves to be worshipped in a manner which, judging from this action, Peter himself would have persistently refused.

No indication of Peter having assumed any superiority can be gathered from the Epistles known by his name, and supposed to be written by him. No allusions are made to his position; and in neither is there a shadow of a reference either to his primacy or supremacy.

In verse 1 of the first chapter of the first Epistle of Peter, he terms himself simply "an apostle of Jesus Christ"; and in verse 1 of the fifth chapter of the same Epistle, he sends a modest exhortation to the "elders of the Church," from one who is "also

an elder." Surely if he had been anything more than an apostle it would have been his duty to have described himself as such. Not to have done so would have savoured of mock modesty, and of his failing in his manifest duty. The only priority the apostle ever claimed was one of circumstance only. "God chose me," he says, "amongst all the apostles to be the first that preached the Gospel to the Gentiles." In Acts xv. 7, it is written: "Peter rose up, and said unto them, 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." But he does not add: "And to me was entrusted the sole supremacy over all my brother apostles and over all churches, princes, and powers, and—infallibility!"

Farrar says:—

"Neither Peter nor Paul appear to have claimed universal jurisdiction. But the claims of the former seem to have been manufactured afterwards in unison with the worship of images, and similar superstitions."

If our Saviour had intended the words upon which Peter's supremacy is based to have had the weight now attributed to them, it is improbable that He would have administered the rebuke, "Get thee behind me, Satan."

It was St. John who lay in our Saviour's bosom, not Peter.

If it were the intention of our Lord to have placed Peter in the position now claimed for him, surely such a position would have been acknowledged by Paul, his brother apostle. But, on the contrary, Paul publicly reprovcs him, and Peter never retaliates by pleading his supreme authority.

St. Paul repeatedly and emphatically speaks of our Lord Himself as "the Head," and never once even hints at any vicarial headship on earth, as attaching to any one of the three "who were regarded as pillars."

Bright, in his "Early Church," says that Peter had a kind of leadership—at any rate, during the period extending to the Council of Jerusalem; but he adds that out of such a prominence a papacy cannot emerge by any process of rightful derivation, and in the apostolic period it certainly did not exist. St. Paul appointed Timothy and Titus as, in the first place, his delegates; but we never find St. Peter appointing any one in like manner, and neither do we find Peter giving the very faintest hint of any consciousness of any such honour or office as Papalism assign to him. If St. Peter had been by Christ's commission His Unique Vicar, the Monarch and Oracle of the growing Church, a polity so simple and intelligible must have found expression in apostolic writings, and could not have been ignored by the "Vicar," Peter himself.

Whether a supreme visible head on earth or a

united church with a Supreme Head in heaven, such as Cyprian portrays, be necessary, is not germane to this portion of our investigation. The only question is: "Did Peter claim or assert such a supremacy?" And the answer, as far as I am enabled to discover, is "No!" If this question be thus answered in the negative, then all arguments founded on such relationship between Christ and Peter fail, for the onus rests on those alleging the fact.

CHAPTER VII

WAS PETER EVER BISHOP OF ROME ?

SOME papal writers assert that Peter was "for twenty-five years Bishop of Rome." For such a statement, made so positively and so circumstantially, it might be supposed that ample evidence was at once forthcoming. Doubtless the very boldness of the assertion has caused many to accept it as an historical fact, well established. How surprising is it, therefore, to find upon examination that it rests upon assertion, and assertion only. Indeed, beyond the doubtful interpretation of a single word, Scripture itself has nothing upon which to base the supposition that Peter ever resided at Rome.

"The Church that is at Babylon," he writes in the end of his first Epistle, "saluteth you." What Babylon? The ancient city of that name being no longer existent, it has been interpreted to mean "Rome." But this interpretation has not been universally accepted. Amongst English writers of eminence, Bishop Burnet and Cranmer have hesitated to admit it, and the learned reformers, Flaccius, Illyricus, and Zanchius have held it doubtful. But

admitting that the interpretation is not improbable, it is truly a far cry from this to the deduction that the writer of the Epistle was there as "Bishop." So startling indeed is the assumption, that some of the more rational of Roman writers treat it apologetically! Farrar alleges that it was first suggested by Baronius. In the arguments of many, there seems to be at the bottom, as Cave remarks in his "Government of the Church," a *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*, it being generally taken for granted that he was Bishop of Rome in the proper sense. So far, therefore, as Scripture is concerned, there is absolutely no case for Peter's episcopate. Indeed, the sacred writings are absolutely inconsistent with any such supposition. St. Paul, it is well known, was twice imprisoned in the Roman capital, and thence indited more than one of his Epistles, and that during the time when Peter, according to the assumption we are considering, was its Bishop. Is it conceivable that, if this were the case, he should have made no mention of, or reference to, the fact? Such an omission is inconceivable.

But if the statement derives no support from Scripture, it has little, if any, from tradition; for those sacred writers who lived nearest to apostolic times, and who would therefore be the first receptacles of the tradition, evidently knew nothing of it. St. Clement, for example, himself a reputed Bishop of Rome, and who is said to have written the letter of the Roman Church to the Corinthians, never

refers to it. He speaks of Peter and Paul in terms of absolute equality. St. Ignatius, speaking of these two apostles, relates of them that they both spent some time at Rome, but merely as missionaries, giving apostolic injunctions. Dionysius of Corinth, addressing the Roman Church, writes to the same effect. Irenæus ascribes the settlement of the Roman Church to the efforts of the two apostles jointly and equally, adding that "they" (not Peter only) "entrusted Linus with the ministry of the episcopate. Irenæus certainly did not regard Peter as the first Roman bishop, for he refers to the episcopal lists of apostolic churches as running up to "some first bishop appointed and preceded by an apostle, or some apostolic man" (Bright's "Early Church," p. 12).

The statement that Peter came to Rome in A.D. 42 appears first in the Chronicon of Eusebius, which was written some 300 years after the supposed event. This, and his exercise of the episcopate for twenty-five years following, is utterly irreconcilable with certain facts gathered from the writings of St. Paul. For it is clear from Acts xv. 7, that in the year 52 A.D. Peter was at Jerusalem, taking an active part in the synod there. In A.D. 57, he was travelling as a missionary with his wife. St. Paul writes (1 Cor. ix. 5): "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord and Cephas?"

And it is equally certain that he was not at Rome

in A.D. 58, when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to that Church, nor when he arrived there as a prisoner in A.D. 61, nor, as has been before intimated, during the years of his imprisonment from A.D. 61 to 63; nor when he wrote his last Epistles thence in A.D. 66-67. The only time, indeed, that he could ever have been at Rome was just before his martyrdom; and so clearly is this the case that many Romanists, as Valesius, Pagi, Baluz, Hug, Klee, Dallinger (see Waterworth and Allnatt), do not attempt to controvert it, and the historian Alzog, speaking of the twenty-five years' episcopate, candidly refers to it as "an ancient report" (Farrar's Notes, p. 65).

Roman apologists attempt to supplement their lack of evidence by asserting "an ancient report," that although Bishop of Rome, Peter spent a large portion of his time in travelling in other climes.

The great champion of the authority for this "ancient report" was Baronius. Baronius was born in 1528 at Naples, and was especially retained to reply to the first Protestant Church history—"The Magdeburg Centuries," in or about A.D. 1558. He was the Pope's librarian, and therefore his statements have to be received with caution, for reasons given in the subsequent chapter on Tradition. He wrote nearly 1,400 years after the event. The utmost even that this ingenious apologist could bring forward to support the apostolic origin of the papacy was to proceed upon the idea that the statement as

to Peter's residence at Rome was satisfied by his having had his headquarters there during his episcopate, whilst, as a matter of fact, he was often and continuously away from it on missionary work. But if there had been any ground for such a theory, it would not have been left for Baronius, writing 1,400 years after St. Peter, to have enunciated it. Had the facts been as he supposed them—had St. Peter planted the Church at Rome, and made it the seat of paramount spiritual power, to which all other Churches were to be subservient—it is incredible, as Cave observes, that “St. Luke should omit a matter of such importance to the whole world, and that no one syllable should be said of any such Church . . . that he should not so much as mention that he (St. Peter) was ever there, especially as he records many of his journeys and preachings at places of far less consequence.” Equally improbable is it, as before intimated, that St. Paul, who is thought to have written his Epistle to the Romans about A.D. 58, and who takes up the greater part of one chapter in saluting particular persons then at Rome, should have omitted the name of the principal person there. Surely the Supreme Bishop of the Church, if there were one, would have been the first object of his felicitations!

But that there was no bishop there, or any one capable of “imparting spiritual gifts,” is still further evident from the intimation of St. Paul himself of

his desire to come to Rome for that purpose, and to "establish converts in the faith." "For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established" (Romans i. 11). Had St. Peter been there, then, surely there would have been no cause for this anxiety; and it would have been insulting to one holding the position assigned to him to have expressed it. Again, when St. Paul went to Rome in the second year of Nero, had St. Peter been there, he would surely have gone to visit him, even if he had not sojourned with him, instead of living by himself "in his own hired house," preaching and acknowledging no human authority.

Moreover, St. Paul, in 2 Cor. xi. 28, writes: "Beside those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of *all* the churches." Peter nowhere states that he has the care of *all* the churches, and yet if Peter's position were supreme, we should not expect Paul to write thus.¹

The ancient writers, as already stated, knew no distinction between Peter and the other apostles. In addition to those already reviewed, Ignatius, Papias, and Irenæus (A.D. 179) refer to Peter and Paul preaching the Gospel at Rome, without hinting at any pre-eminence to the former. Indeed, were we to judge only by what is written in the Scriptures,

¹ Our Lord Himself (St. Matt. xx. 25-28) tells His disciples that although the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, such is not to be the case with the apostles.

and in the earliest Christian writings, the authority of Peter in the latter days of his life seemed somewhat on the wane. In the East, at Jerusalem, it was overshadowed by that of James, the Lord's brother, and in the West by the energy of St. Paul (Farrar, p. 1).

After the Antioch incident particularly, Peter absolutely disappears from human ken, and little reference is made to him in any writing for more than 100 years, when his name may be said to reappear in the alleged epistles of Clement of Rome (Ep. i. 5, 4). And if so little is known of St. Peter from this time, the knowledge we possess of his supposed successors is still less. He is mentioned in the religious romance termed the "Clementine Recognitions," said to be about the first half of the third century (bk. i., cap. xii.).

Polycarp of Smyrna, born towards the end of Nero's reign, came to Rome about A.D. 158. He says that Paul and Peter founded a Church at Rome; but he nowhere puts Peter before Paul, neither does he state that either one was Bishop of Rome. Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, states that after Peter and Paul had sown the seeds in Corinth, they went together to Italy, where they suffered martyrdom (Cave, 225, St. Peter).

There is no valid evidence in the Scriptures warranting a "searcher after truth" to assume that Peter ever was Bishop of Rome, although he may

have visited Rome before his martyrdom; in fact, there is the strongest presumption against it.¹

¹ In *Church Bells* of August 10, 1900, the following paragraph appears :—"A well-known Roman priest has written in the *Weekly Register* that the story of St. Peter having fixed his See at Rome, and of having resided there for twenty-five years, must be abandoned."

CHAPTER VIII

DID THE APOSTLES OR PETER'S CONTEMPORARIES EVER
APPEAR TO ACKNOWLEDGE HIS SUPREMACY ?

ANOTHER great aid to the interpretation of the texts referred to in Chapter V. may be summoned to our assistance, by inquiring into the manner in which Peter was treated by his contemporaries, and by those writers immediately succeeding him.

Whatever may be the meaning placed upon these texts, one fact stands out clear and manifest. Peter neither by word nor deed arrogated to himself universal supremacy.

If this is explained by the plea of his modesty—an explanation, however, hardly to be entertained—we can fall back upon the consideration as to the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries and the early Christian writers. These should be the most important witnesses on the one side or the other. But here again testimony is conflicting.

The Bible itself assists in the investigation. In Acts viii. 14, we read as follows :—

“ Now when the apostles which were at Jerusalem

heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, *they sent unto them Peter and John.*" The apostles' action does not convey the idea that Peter was supreme, but rather that he was subordinate to the Councils, and did not act on his own motion.

In the Council of Jerusalem he does not preside, but St. James, our Lord's brother, is president. Would he not have presided, and would not the decree have gone out in his name, if he had been the acknowledged supreme head ?

It is also to be recollected that in Acts xv., at the Council of Jerusalem, it is James who says: "My judgment is," etc. It is James who acts as judge; it is James who issues his fiat. And this occurred *after* Christ's death, when all the power which Peter is alleged to have possessed must have been already given to him. Peter also was present, and spoke at the meeting. How can his action be reconciled with the idea that Christ left him to be supreme on earth? If such were the case, Peter should have issued the decree—Peter should have given the judgment—Peter should have presided. The answer to this question appears to be, that Peter's true position was entirely different to that afterwards assumed by the papacy.

In Acts xv. 22, the messengers who carried the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem to Antioch are said to have been sent by the apostles and elders, and the whole Church—not by Peter alone.

St. Paul asserts his own apostolic independence when he writes in Gal. i. 1: "Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father."

In verses 11 and 12 he continues: "I certify you, brethren, that the Gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Again he says in Gal. ii. 7: "But contrariwise, when they saw that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the Gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter."

These words certainly show that Paul considered himself to have equal rights with Peter, and that he did not accept any subordinate position to the latter.

It is Paul, not Peter, who ordains Timothy and Titus (*vide* 2 Tim. i. 6): "Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee, by the putting on of my hands." (*Vide* also Titus i. 5.)

In Gal. ii. 9, we read as follows: "And when James, Cephas, and John—who seemed to be pillars—perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision."

Ver. 11: "But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed."

Ver. 12: "For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision."

Ver. 13: "And the other Jews *dissembled likewise with him*; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation."

Ver. 14: "But when I saw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?"

This rebuke and charge of dissimulation was given *after* the Ascension, and *after* the alleged supreme authority must have been conferred on Peter. Surely if he had been recognised as the supreme infallible head by his contemporaries, either Paul would not have rebuked him thus, or Peter would have replied by asserting his supremacy.

But the tenor of the Scripture militates against such an assumption. St. Paul, in 2 Cor. xi. 28, remarks: "Besides those things which are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of *all* the churches." Here is a clear allegation that Paul, not Peter, was the overseer. If Peter had written thus, the Romanist case would have been greatly strengthened. But by the very fact of Paul making

such a statement, the claim for Peter's sole supremacy is proportionately weakened.

Cave says:—"How can the headship arrogated for St. Peter be reconciled with the rebukes administered to him at Antioch, and with the statement by St. Paul that he derived 'no information' as to his apostolic duties from any of those who seemed to be somewhat—amongst whom, and not above whom, he ranks St. Peter—in apostolic endurance and martyrdom?"

Whately remarks that though Paul, in speaking of miracles as the sign of the apostles, evidently implies that "no one not possessing such miraculous gifts could be regarded as even on the level with an apostle"; yet he does not, even by virtue of that office, claim supreme rule over all the churches, neither does he ever hint at the subjection, either singly or collectively, of any one church to another.

Summing up the foregoing, we find:—

- (1) The other apostles sending Peter to Samaria.
- (2) The Church at Jerusalem indignantly calling him to account for the bold step which he had taken in the case of Cornelius.
- (3) Paul at Antioch withstanding him to the face, and claiming to be no whit inferior to the very chiefest apostle; and assuming the apostolate of the uncircumcision—that is, of the whole Gentile world—as pre-eminently his own.

St. Peter was not specially "the disciple whom Jesus loved"; and though he received from his Lord some of the highest eulogiums, he also incurred the severest rebukes. Even when we turn to the Fathers, we find St. Cyprian saying:—"To Peter first, and after the Resurrection the same commission was given to the rest of the apostles," Ep. lxxiii., lxxv., lix. The Presbyter Hesychius calls, not St. Peter, but St. James, "the prince of priests, the leader of the apostles, the crown among the heads, the brightest among the stars." He called St. Andrew the "Peter before Peter." St. Cyril says that Peter and John had equivalent honour.

If our Lord had already designated Peter to be supreme, what can be said about that verse in Luke xxii. 24, when, towards the close of our Lord's ministry, it is recorded that there was strife "amongst the apostles which of them should be accounted the greatest." Now, according to papal contention, our Lord had long before designated Peter as the greatest. Does not this contention show that the apostles were ignorant of such a nomination; and are we not justified in presuming that the papal theory is not supported by Scripture? Much the more so when we take our Saviour's reply. He does not say that Peter was the greatest. But (ver. 24), "He that is greatest among you, let him become as the younger," etc. There is no designation of Peter here.

Again, in Acts i., we find *all* the apostles

making the selection of a fit person by lot to the College of Apostles. Peter was only the spokesman, and does not appear to have claimed any precedence.

We find also in Acts xi. that the apostles and brethren which were in Judæa contended with Peter (referred to before) in the matter of the baptism of Cornelius, and called him to account. If the apostle were supreme and infallible, surely they would have treated him as the Pope now claims to be treated. If Peter were not infallible and supreme, what grounds have the popes for claiming to inherit or succeed to higher attributes than their alleged great founder?

In Origen's Comms., Matt. Tom. xii., 10, 524, Delarne, Paris, 1740, he says: "Πέτρα γὰρ πᾶς ὁ χριστοῦ μαθητῆς. Petra enim est omnis discipulus Christi, id est." Every disciple of Christ is a rock, Peter is not alone referred to. (*Idem*, Tom. xii. 11.)

"Πετρος δὲ ἐφ' ᾧ οἰκοδομεῖται ἡ χριστου εκκλησία, ἧᾗ Πυλαι ἄδου ου χατισχόσουσι μίαν ἐπιστολήν ομολογούμενῃ Ὑατα λέλοιπέν ἔστω δὲ και δευτέραν αωραμ ιφαλ-
 λεταιναρ." Peter on whom is founded the Church of Christ, against whom the gates of hell cannot prevail.

"But if thou thinkest that the whole Church is built by God on that Peter alone (ἐπὶ τόν ἕνα ἐκείνον πέτρον μόνον), what wilt thou say of John the Son of Thunder, and of every one of the apostles? Shall we dare to say that the gates of hell were not to

prevail against Peter in particular, but they were to prevail against the other apostles and perfect ones? Is it not true for each and for all, what was said before, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it? and also that other saying, 'Upon this rock I will build my Church'?"

In Matt. Tom. xii. 11; 525, he again writes:—"What! Are the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven given by the Lord to Peter alone, and shall no other of the blessed receive them?" He finishes thus: "But if this promise, 'I will give the keys of Heaven,' be common to the others also, so likewise are all the things recorded before and after this, as spoken by Peter."

In fact, the treatment he received from his brother apostles is incompatible with the suggestion that he was ever recognised by them as supreme ruler on earth, and lord of all other churches, and over all the other disciples and brethren.

It would have been expected that the liturgies of those early days might have thrown some light upon the subject, and offered a criterion by which to judge of the pre-eminence accorded to Peter.

"Grueber" has collated them as follows:—

The liturgy of St. James speaks of the Catholic Church as "founded on the rock of faith," not on St. Peter, and of the glorious Sion as the mother of all churches, not Rome.

In the Liturgy of St. Mark the Patriarch or Pope

of Alexandria is described as "pre-ordained to rule over Thy Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church"; and the only saint commemorated by name is St. Mark; and the first rank in the commemoration of places is assigned to Jerusalem, not Rome.

The Liturgy of the Holy Apostles gives no evidence.

St. Clement's Liturgy (if the passage be genuine) assigns to St. James and "his parishes" the first place in supplication.

St. Basil's Liturgy commemorates the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Baptist. The same may be said of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom. It is most remarkable that in all these early liturgies, mostly written in Greek and not Latin, no mention is made of Peter. And yet Peter is claimed as the "stirps et origo" of the papal dynasty.

CHAPTER IX

(PART I)

DID THE BISHOPS OF ROME DURING THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES ASSERT CLAIMS TO THE UNIVERSAL SUPREMACY NOW ARROGATED BY THEIR SUCCESSORS ?

It is important to discover the attitude of the early bishops of Rome in relation to the powers now claimed by their successors. If these powers were derived directly from St. Peter, we should expect to find the bishops immediately succeeding him cognisant of their privileges and responsibilities. But the deeper the research, the stronger becomes the impression that evidence entirely fails to support such a contention. It is rather an after-thought evolved from ambition during the effluxion of time. Many doubt whether there were any actual bishops of Rome immediately after Peter's death. Down to Anicetus, Eusebius terms them the heads of the Roman Church, not the heads of the Catholic Church. Plummer (p. 93, "Church of Early Fathers,") says,

“We may date Roman Episcopacy in the full sense of the term from the middle of the second century.”

Jerome says that before factions were introduced into religion by the prompting of the devil, the Churches were governed by common council of the elders; but as each man began to consider those whom he had baptized to belong to himself and not to Jesus, it was decided throughout the world *that one elected from among the elders should be placed over the rest*, so that the care of the Church should devolve on him, and the seeds of schism be removed. This is carrying out the opinion expressed by Cyprian—that a bishop be appointed to rule over his own diocese. Nothing whatever is mentioned here about one bishop having been appointed to rule over all the other bishops and dioceses, as would undoubtedly have been the case if such a fact had happened; for Jerome lived in the latter part of the fourth century. Jerome here states the reason why one head was chosen, but he gives quite a different cause for such selection to that of the Romanists. He speaks of the evolution of the diocese and not of the Pope. (*Vide Com. Hieronymi in Titum c. i., opera. vol. iv., p. 412.*) If at that period a Popedom at Rome were established with a direct descent from St. Peter as head, this suggestion of Jerome's would have been mere surplusage. There is nothing mentioned about Peter being selected in the first instance, nor about the descent of his powers upon his successors.

The chronology of the Roman bishops for the first two centuries is uncertain, and for the most part their lives are obscure. Some writers would have us believe that, with the exception of two, they were all martyrs in the third century. The post was one of danger; hence the occasional vacancies. Yet the first bishop of whose martyrdom there is evidence is Telesphorus, A.D. 138, and we have to pass over another century before we find another undoubted instance of martyrdom. Whenever we catch a glimpse of the Church of Rome in these first centuries, the bishop is either out of sight altogether or in the background. (Plummer, "Church of Early Fathers," p. 93.)

It was amongst the Greek-speaking population that the conquests of Christianity were first made, and it was from the Greeks that Christianity emanated. Extant early Christian writings are in Greek. The epistles of Ignatius, Polycarp, and Dionysius; the Apologies of Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Theophilus; the treatises of Papias, Clement and Origen were all in Greek. The first Christian literature in Rome was also in Greek—even the earlier Roman liturgies were in Greek. There is no Latin Christian literature or Latin liturgy extant before A.D. 150, and the Comms. of Hippolytus in the third century contain many passages and liturgical phrases in the original Greek. (See Warren's "Liturgy of the Ante-Nicene Creed,"

p. 108.) The fact of the language of the Church being Greek would support the argument that Christianising influence, in the first instance, came from the East.

We have to wait for close on two hundred years before Rome can boast of a Latin bishop (Victor). Is it not fair to presume that Rome was rather a Christian mission and offshoot from the parent branches of Asia, where Christianity had first taken root?

The most ancient Churches took pride in their apostolic origin and were revered on account of it, but as yet no supremacy of one Church over another was either admitted or claimed. The Greek-speaking half of the Western Empire had no official centre, and Greek-speaking Christendom had no official centre either. (Plummer, "Church of Early Fathers," p. 88.)

Paul, when taken prisoner; spoke Greek to the chief captain; and also when he spoke to the Greeks at Athens he must have spoken Greek (Acts xxi. 37, 38): "Paul said to the chief captain, May I say something unto thee; and he said, Dost thou know Greek?"

The first bishop or presbyter of Rome who left any writings behind him was Clemens Romanus, whose episcopacy is placed by Eusebius A.D. 93 to 101, and who is assumed to have been the friend and fellow-worker of St. Paul. His only writing accepted as

genuine is an epistle to the Corinthian Church. Many others bear his name, but they are considered to be forgeries. This epistle shows that Clement never arrogated to himself supreme power over the other Churches. At the very outset it is stated that the sender is "the Church of God which sojourneth at Rome." It does not purport to emanate from Peter's successor or from the Bishop of Rome. The letter shows no special pre-eminence in the actual writer, and is referred to as emanating from the community and not from the individual.

Judging from the epistle, Clement did not assume supreme powers, nor does it appear that he held the isolated position now claimed by his alleged successors.

Cave says (Apos. History, p. 85, ed. 1682): "He wholly writes in the name of the Church of Rome, but with such humbleness and mild persuasiveness that, had he known himself to be the infallible judge of controversies, to whose sentences the whole Christian world was bound to stand, invested with a supreme unaccountable power from which there lay no appeal, we might have expected to have heard him argue at another rate."

Lightfoot remarks:—"It is the more surprising that if Clement held such high office, he should not only neglect to distinguish himself in any way from the rest of the Church (as Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, does for instance), but that even his name should be

suppressed. If Clement held the high office of sole Vicar of Christ and Supreme King over all the Churches, surely some allusion would have been made to that fact." Even by his contemporaries, Ignatius of Antioch, and Polycarp of Smyrna, he was rather esteemed as the chief of the presbyters, than the chief over the presbyters. And it is only upon this understanding that his episcopacy can be reconciled with the language of his own epistle, or with the notice in his younger contemporary Hermas.

His epistle to James was said by some to be genuine. It commences thus:—"Clement to James the Lord' (meaning the Lord's brother), "and the *bishop of bishops* who rules Jerusalem, the Holy Church of the Hebrews, and the *Churches everywhere excellently founded* by the providence of God, with the elders and deacons and the rest of the brethren, peace be always." (Clem. Hom., Clarke's Ante-Nicene Library, vol. xvii., p. 6.)

Here, at any rate, the writer gives to James, our Lord's brother, precedence, *as bishop of bishops, ruling the Churches everywhere*. This statement would be incongruous if the writer and not James had held that office, for it is not the Bishop of Rome who is termed "bishop of bishops," but the Bishop of Jerusalem. Although of doubtful authenticity, these epistles are admittedly of great age; and I cite this extract to show that, forgery or no forgery, the

Head of the Church was then considered to exist at Jerusalem rather than at Rome.

Clement, in writing to James against the temporal power of the bishops (cap. vi., p. 9, vol. xvii., *idem.*), declares, as to the duty of a bishop:—"Now if you are occupied with secular cares, you should deceive both yourself and your hearers. For not being able on account of occupation to point out the things that are advantageous, both you should be punished," etc. "Wherefore do you indeed preside over them *without occupation*, so as to send forth seasonably the words, etc. Does not this mitigate against the theory of temporal power?"

The Clementine Homilies, and the Recognitions in Latin and the Homilies in Greek, are generally considered spurious, and written about the third century. It is acknowledged that there is no possibility of discovering who is the real author of either. The Recognitions have come down in the form of a translation, of which the original is lost. Rufinus, who translates them from Greek into Latin, says:—"His countrymen should thank him for unlocking the spoils of Greece." But unfortunately Rufinus' translation is not to be trusted, for we find him in his prologue admitting that he had smoothed over, in his translation, everything that would appear discordant with Catholic belief. This will be referred to again in a future chapter.

The translator remarks that the writer of the

Recognitions of Clement does not appear to have any intention of presenting his statements as facts; but choosing the disciples of Christ and their followers as his principal characters, he has put into their mouths the most important of his beliefs, and woven the whole together by a thread of fiction.

The next presbyter of the Roman Church who looms out of the dark vale of history appears to be Anicetus. Some express doubts as to his exact position, but allowing that he might have been bishop, we find that a dispute had arisen as to the exact time of keeping Easter. The then Roman Church wished it kept on one date, and the Eastern Churches on another.

Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, martyred about A. D. 155, visited Rome towards the end of his life, and discussed this paschal question with Anicetus. There was no attempt made by Anicetus to "lord it" over Polycarp, or to coerce the other Churches to agree to the Roman idea. Anicetus was unable to convince him; but at the same time they parted with mutual affection, and each celebrated Easter in his own way. No argument can be gathered from this fact that Anicetus claimed or was acknowledged to be supreme Vicar of Christ on earth by Polycarp or any one else.

At a later period forgeries were committed to support the claims of the papacy, and epistles fabricated purporting to emanate from the ancient bishops.

One, said to have been written by Fabian, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 236-250), is amongst the Isidorian forgeries. Although rejected by all as spurious, I quote an extract as follows:—"It appears your love for the seat of the apostles requires counsel, which we neither can or ought to deny you. *It is clear that your predecessors did this for the bishops of many districts.*"

This forgery is valuable for the inferences we can draw from it. The forger is clearly desirous of furthering the claim to the papal supremacy. He appears to have had the impression that the papal claim to appellate supremacy is not founded on good title; so to repair it he alleges that the bishop writes: "It is clear my predecessors did this *for many districts.*" He founds not his claim on ancient right or supremacy, but merely upon an allegation of custom, and even then he does not claim to advise *all* churches, but merely *many*, and is in direct opposition to Pope Anterus (A.D. 235), who writes, "It does not belong to my humble station and measure to judge others. *In Pope Gregory's letters to St. Augustine, he nowhere speaks of himself as the successor of St. Peter, or claims authority over the new Anglican Church, but mentions it side by side with the Roman Church, the Gallican Church, and any other Church.* He even instructs him that the English Church was not to be bound to follow the Roman in the most solemn act of worship, the celebration of the Holy Communion."

CHAPTER IX

(PART II)

DID THE BISHOPS OF ROME IN THE EARLY CENTURIES
ASSERT CLAIMS TO UNIVERSAL SUPREMACY, NOW
ARROGATED BY THEIR SUCCESSORS ?

THE writings of Clement of Alexandria, about the reign of Severus, of Justin, of Athenagoras, of Origen and Tertullian, stirred to enthusiasm the Christian Societies of the East. At that time, Rome does not appear to have held absolute pre-eminence in the estimation of Christians. It was venerated as an "Apostolic" Church, but that was all. This title, held in common with many Christian communities of Greece and of Asia, established a sort of equality amongst them.

The obscurity of the first bishops of Rome, and the mists with which their actual names and successions are surrounded, is sufficiently explained by their religion having been imported into a city so grand and so opulent as that capital of the world. They were swamped in it. They were but an obscure set

which, Tertullian says, was first heard of at Rome in Tiberius' reign.

It is also to be recollected that Christian Rome was in reality a mission station. Antioch, Jerusalem, and the other Churches were, at first, far in advance of Rome in Christian knowledge. This view is strengthened by the fact, before stated, that during the first 150 years Greek and not Latin was the ecclesiastical language, and that all the liturgies were in Greek.

Christians in Asia and Greece were more fervent and numerous than those of Rome. It is probable that, in consequence of the persecutions, the Christians at Rome were more desirous of hiding their belief. Consequently their bishops, if they had any, were more obscure than the officials of the elder Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch.

Up to the end of the second century, the Christians at Rome had no church in which to worship. (Villemain's "Life of Gregory VII.," p. 6.)

Victor lived about 190 A.D. He is alleged to have been the first actual Latin bishop, and was known to have intimate relations with the Imperial Court. He gives us the first example of that arrogance which afterwards distinguished the Roman pontiffs.

The dispute before mentioned, which had commenced with Anicetus, still existed. Rome, Palestine, Pontus, Corinth, and Gaul had agreed that Easter should be kept on a Sunday; but the Asiatic

Churches held that it should be celebrated on the 14th Nisan.

The innovation was rejected by the Churches of Africa, and even a bishop of the Western Church—Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons—termed the attempt to be one of pride and injustice. Victor's suggestion was pooh-poohed, and each Church was allowed to exercise its ancient custom.

Victor threatened to excommunicate the recusant Churches. (Tertullian, *De Præscrip. Hæreticorum*.) The word "excommunicate" is used, but, as far as I can understand his words, they did not convey the same idea of punishment as excommunication at present conveys in the Roman Church. It rather meant an order to his own flock; over which he ruled, to refrain from dealings with these recusant Churches.

This order he had a perfect right to promulgate, as it only affected his own flock, over which he had jurisdiction. I do not gather that the opposing Churches were ordered to be closed, and the clergy inhibited from performing their sacred functions, as became the custom centuries later. We find instances in the time of King John and Henry IV. in England, when the Pope excommunicated this kingdom, and placed it under a ban.

The See of Rome, in fact, exercised beyond its limits but one kind of power, the same that was exercised by all other Churches, and which belongs to

every private community—the power of declaring that it has broken all ties with certain others, or some society. In this case the bishops of these proscribed Churches seem to have taken no heed of Victor's decision, but, on the contrary, they exhorted him with much severity to consider how he could promote peace and unity. Neither does Victor ground his acts upon the basis of sole supremacy.

Although the Churches were contumacious, he does not appear to have taken steps to enforce his order. Far from endeavouring to assert his claim to sole supremacy, he never moved, in the first instance, without proceeding by means of a synod. He betrays no idea that the Bishop of Rome, as merely such, had authority over other Churches.

In weighing his action, we must recollect "that he was probably the first Roman who ever sat in the Pontifical Chair—that he belonged to that proud race who had conquered the then known world—and that he was basking in the sunshine of the purple, the friend of an all-powerful monarch." It does not require a stretch of the imagination to draw the inference that it was on Victor's initiative that the long list of papal pretensions commenced. Those claims appear to have been formulated for the first time at the end of the second or beginning of the third century.

Zephyrinus is alleged to have been Victor's successor, A.D. 202. The epistle ascribed to him

belongs to the famous collection of False Decretals, forged in the ninth century, and to which I shall refer in a later chapter.

In the first epistle, Zephyrinus is alleged to have ordered that, upon the trial of a bishop, "the end of his case should be remitted *to the Seat of the Apostles*, that it might finally be decided there."

The words are :

"To it (meaning Rome) *all should appeal* and have recourse, etc. Because it was to the blessed Apostle Peter these terms were addressed. 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' And the other privileges which have been granted to this Holy Seat alone are found embodied in the Constitutions of the Apostles and their successors, and in very many others in harmony with these." (Vol. ix., p. 147, Ante-Nicene Library.)

These writings referred to are admitted forgeries, and their tendency is manifest. They were fabricated centuries afterwards, to bolster up the belief that a bishop of Rome, early in the third century, claimed the right to have all appeals sent direct to Rome. The wording is peculiar. It inserts the reasons for such a claim. It states : "*Because to St. Peter it was said*—'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth,' etc.—therefore his successors have a right to entertain all appeals," etc.

It is an attempt made by forgery in the ninth century to show grounds that an appellate jurisdiction existed and was in use in the third century.

Zephyrinus is also said to have asserted [his claim to be the *chair of Peter* and] that he himself *sat in the chair* of Peter—grounding his premiss upon the words of the Lord: “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church.” This pretension can only be gathered incidentally from the statement made in Tertullian’s crushing reply, which is inserted in a subsequent chapter. Zephyrinus does not appear to have based his claim upon the tradition that his predecessors had held the same privilege.

Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, a contemporary of Tertullian, states that Callistus, A.D. 220, had assumed “the power to forgive sins,”—but these assumed powers were inexpressibly offensive to the School represented by Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen, whose remarks thereon will be found in a succeeding chapter.

The alleged epistle of Urban the First, A.D. 225, is also amongst the Isidorian forgeries. But in this forgery the power of bishops in general is magnified, rather than the Roman bishops. I quote from the Ante-Nicene Fathers (Clarke, vol. ix., p. 121,) as follows:—

“Furthermore, as to the fact that in the Churches of the bishops there are found elevated seats set up and prepared like a throne—*they show by these* that the power of inspection and of judging, and the

authority to loose or bind, are given to them by the Lord, etc. These things we have set before you, in order that ye may understand the power of your bishops."

[*Memo.*—The reason given is founded on no apostolic succession, but *because the throne is raised, ergo* the power must be that of inspection, etc.]

In the forged letters of Pope Anterus, who lived about 235-236 A.D., he is alleged to have written to Boetica and Toletana (Clarke, *Ante-Nicene Library*, vol. ix., p. 241) as follows:—

"Now of the transference of bishops, on which subject it has been your wish to consult *the holy seat of the apostles*. Know ye that that may be lawfully done, for the sake of the common good, or when it is absolutely necessary, but not at the bidding of any individual. Peter, our holy master and the prince of the apostles, was translated for the sake of the common good from Antioch to Rome, in order that he might be in a position there to do more service."

In the forged epistles of Fabian, Bishop of Rome from A.D. 236 to 250—epistles which are universally rejected by all as spurious—we find that they commence as follows:—

"By the divine precepts and the apostolic institutes, we are *admonished to watch in behoof of the position of all the Churches*, whence it follows that you ought to know what is being done in things

sacred in the Church of Rome, in order that, by following her example, ye may be found to be true children of her who is called your mother," etc. (Ante-Nicene Library, vol. ix., p. 249).

Again, at p. 267 *idem*, we find :—

"It is determined, moreover, that in the case of an accused bishop appealing to the seat of the apostles—that shall be held to be a settlement which is the decision of the Pontiff of that same seat."

In the second epistle, he sends greeting to all the bishops of the East :—

"Your love for the seat of the apostles requires counsels which we neither can nor ought to deny you. It is clear, moreover, that our predecessors did this for the bishops of *many* districts—and brotherly charity and the debt of obedience impose the duty of so doing upon us—who . . . are placed in the same seat" (*idem*, p. 255).

[*Memo.*—This forgery is clearly made for the purpose of slipping in a statement as to the custom of former popes. It is an attempt to establish a jurisdiction which had never existed. Had it really existed, it would not have been necessary to insert these clauses.]

I can discover no evidence that the earlier popes ever made such claims [but the later popes eventually did], and it is to support the later claims that they adopted the forgeries which I have noted. The reader may fairly ask : If these extracts are all

admitted forgeries, wherefore do you insert them? The reply is: They are cited, because from them we are led to infer two things. Firstly, That they display an intense desire to give Rome pre-eminence "per fas aut nefas"; and secondly, That the pious forgers must have doubted her legitimate claims to such pre-eminence, and hoped by these forgeries to assist her in bolstering them up. In fact, they suspected an absence of title, and were prepared to forge one.

The next important communication extant is a letter to the Carthaginian clergy from the Roman clergy, who had learnt from one Crementius, that Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, had withdrawn himself at the time of persecution.

At this time the Roman See was vacant—the last bishop, Fabian, having been martyred in that year; and after him there was a kind of interregnum. The date of this letter may be about A.D. 250 or 257, and its translation is to be found in vol. viii., An. Ni. Chr. Lib., p. 14. They write:—

"Since it devolves upon us who appear to be placed on high, in the place of a shepherd, to keep watch over the flock [alluding to the absence of their own shepherd or bishop], if we be found neglectful, it will be said to us as it was to our predecessors also who in such wise negligent, had been placed in charge, that we have not sought for that which was lost," etc.

They compare this position with that of the Christians at Carthage, and write:—

(3) “You see then, brethren, that you also ought to do the like, so that those who have fallen may amend,” etc. They finish with:—“The brethren who are in bonds greet you, as do the elders and the whole Church.”

One question arises on this letter—Why should the Roman clergy correspond with the Carthaginian unless they were superior? But it appears to have been the custom for one Church to correspond with and encourage another, without arrogating any superiority of the one over the other. I cannot gather from this epistle any grounds for assuming that the Roman clergy asserted superiority over the Carthaginian.

In other epistles they greet Cyprian with the term “pope” (father), a term not then applied to Roman bishops. In epistle xxx., they write:—“With mutual prayers let us by turn cherish, guard, arm one another.” The epistle concludes thus:—“We bid you, most blessed and glorious father, ever heartily, farewell in the Lord; and have us in memory.” There is nothing of superiority to be gathered from these communications. Cornelius, who became Bishop of Rome after the interregnum, informs Cyprian of the return of certain confessors to the Church, and commences—“Cornelius, to Cyprian his brother, greeting” (Ep. xlv., Oxford Ed. xlix., *idem*).

Plummer remarks (p. 98, "Church of the Early Fathers") :—"In the 136 distinguished Churchmen singled out by Jerome during the first four centuries, only four are bishops of Rome, so unproductive was that Church of either thinkers or writers."

Hippolytus was considered by Dollinger to be a schismatical bishop of Rome or Ostia early in the third century. He is said to have written the refutation of all heresies, but he termed Zephyrinus, who also was a bishop of Rome, and succeeded Victor, as one uninformed and shamefully corrupt (vol. vi., p. 329, Ante-Nicene Library). He also states that he was led away by Callistus through presents and illicit demands. I can find nothing in his writings to further the papal claims.

Fabian, who met a martyr's death in the Decian persecutions, A.D. 250, was one of the many bishops to whom Origen wrote in defence of his orthodoxy. He has been made famous by reason of the forged epistles attributed to him, and to which I have already referred.

I can find nothing in the fragments of Caius, a presbyter of Rome, who lived in the time of Zephyrinus, and which are mentioned by Eusebius, to lead us to presume that he had any idea of the Petrine supremacy. Callistus had left no genuine letters. Those that are attributed to him form part of the False Decretals of the pseudo-Isidorians.

The tendency of these forged letters is towards

enhancing the power of Rome, by inserting phrases of a similar intent to the following:—"And as the Son of God came to do the Father's will of your mother, which is the Church, the head of which, as has been already stated, *is the Church of Rome.*"

The tendency of the Christian writers of the earlier period was towards enhancing the power of every [Christian] bishop, and not that of one in particular. It was left to the forgers of later centuries to supplement their omissions.

Towards the end of the third century the bishops of Rome, in common with those of Antioch and Alexandria, held a kind of pre-eminence over all others, because they were each considered as rulers of a primitive and "apostolic" Church. But this pre-eminence implied no superior power infringing on the rights of other bishops, but merely a power of convening Councils.

St. Austin told Boniface, Bishop of Rome in 418 A.D., that "the pastoral care was common to all those who had the office of bishop, and though he was a little higher advanced to the top of Christ's Tower, yet all others had an equal concern in it."

If there be no positive evidence that the Roman bishops successfully asserted pre-eminence in the first three centuries, we have the clearest evidence that a Pope of the sixth century absolutely denied these claims of the papal chair, and refused to place himself in the position his successors afterwards claimed.

I allude to Gregory the Great, who, in writing to the Emperor Maurice, states that any one claiming universal priesthood would be "the forerunner of Antichrist." He was educated for the legal profession, and at the age of thirty held the high post of "prætor urbanus," and with his legal training and knowledge would have been the first to claim his dues, if such claims were justifiable. Ego fidentur dico quia quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat in elatione sua antichristum præcurrit quia superbiendo se ceteris præponit (Gregor. Magni Papæ I., Epist. Lib. vii., Indict xv., Ad Mauric, August Epis. xxxiii., op. ii., Col. 381, ed. Bened. Par. 1705.)

He strenuously opposed the ambition of John, who desired to be called "Universal Bishop." He states that *none of his predecessors* would use that profane name, and none of the holy men in any dispensation would suffer himself to be called "universal." "Nemo decessorum meorum hoc profano vocabulo uti voluit" (Lib. iv., Epis. 80). He writes to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, disclaiming authority over him and rejecting the name of universal Pope. "Nos hunc honorem nolumus oblatum suscipere." We (being bishops of Rome) will not take this honour (Ep. xliii., col. 771). He also counsels him neither to write to him, nor to receive letters from him by the name of "Universal." He remarks that if he be called universal patriarch, the name of Patriarch is

taken from the rest. (Mag. Pap. I., op. Epis. Lib. v., In. 13.) He declares that Leo refused the name of Universal Bishop, though it was offered to him by the Synod of Chalcedon. (Mag. Pap. op. Par. 1705, Ep. Lib. v., In. Du. xiii.) He asks who, contrary to the statutes of the Gospel and the decrees of Council, presumes to take to himself the new name (*idem*, ep. xx.). He speaks of certain, *not* all bishops as under his charge. He says: "The Godly laws, the Reverend synods—yea, the commands of our Lord Jesus, are broken by the invention of this proud name" (*ibid.* ad Maurice, August, ep. xx., col. 748); he calls it a name of blasphemy, and beseeches God to turn away this pride and contumacy from the Church (*ibid.* Lib. v., Indict. xiii.).

In Pope Gregory's letters to St. Augustine of Canterbury, he nowhere speaks of himself as the successor of St. Peter, or claims authority over the New Anglican Church. He mentions it side by side with the "Roman Church," the "Gallican Church," and any other Church, and allows the Church of Rome only to be a part of the Church. (4 Jew. 922.) He even instructs him that the English Church was not to be bound to follow the Roman in the most solemn act of worship—"the celebration of the Holy Communion."

Pope Pius the Second, when Cardinal, admitted that before the Nicene Council very little regard was

had to the Church of Rome (Cave Prin, "Christianity," p. 376).

Taking the tendency of the whole evidence on this point, it is quite clear that the earlier bishops never dreamt of the supremacy with which later Roman Catholic historians afterwards attempted to clothe them.

Arrogant some were—ambitious and unscrupulous most were, but their arrogance and ambition never carried them so far as to put forward that supremacy to which their successors ultimately soared.

CHAPTER X

IS THERE EVIDENCE TO SHOW THAT THE POPES OF ROME ARE THE ACTUAL DIRECT SUCCESSORS OF ST. PETER ?

CARDINAL VAUGHAN, in his introduction to Mr. Rivington's volume on "The Primitive Church," remarks that, if the Church is visible at all, it must have a visible head. *Ergo*:—the Pope is rightly established as a supreme visible head of the Church, and *successor to Peter*. But the Cardinal's assumption is not supported by the writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. He assumes a necessity which thinking men traverse by replying that the Head of the Church is Christ in Heaven, and that no sole visible head is required on earth. Cyprian's idea of a visible head on earth is met by a bench or federation of bishops. It is to the latter portion of the sentence, however, that I wish to address myself; and that is to the statement that the Pope is the direct *successor to St. Peter*.

If the mists of uncertainty hang over the later days of Peter, the very blackness of night envelops the history of his immediate successors. There is no

evidence to show that Peter was Bishop of Rome; neither that he ever had an immediate successor claiming any divine powers.

As stated in a preceding chapter, the bishops of the Church of Rome in the early centuries (if existent) were in the background; and the fragment of correspondence between that Church and Corinth shows that Dionysius was ignorant of any sole successor to St. Peter or of Rome having jurisdiction over other Churches. (Plummer, "Church of Early Fathers," p. 94.)

Leo XIII. in his encyclical of 29th June, 1896, states: "For the apostles consecrated bishops, *and each one appointed* those who were to succeed them immediately in the ministry of the Word. Nay more, they likewise required their successors to choose fitting men, to endow them with like authority, and to confide to them the office and mission of teaching. We see it (the magisterium) propagated, and, as it were, delivered from hand to hand." Later on, he writes: "*They appointed them*, and then ordained them, so that when they themselves had passed away, other tried men could carry on their ministry." I do not understand from this passage that the magisterium passed to Rome only. Villemain in his life of Gregory VII., vol. i., p. 2, writes: "Open the history of the great Christian Revolution, search the records of the early centuries, the bishopric of Rome, at first, fills but a small space in either. All

the great men are elsewhere; in Asia, in Africa, at Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Cæsarea, Carthage, Constantinople." In the fourth century, the chair of Rome appears to possess less lustre than that of Milan, as shown forth in the genius of St. Ambrose, and the humiliation of Theodosius. It was the Bishop of Hippo, not of Rome, who presided over the "Councils of Africa."

The popes claim direct apostolic succession. If they mean that there has been a direct succession from St. Peter to the present occupant of the papal chair, then historical evidence does not support their contention. If, for example, such a succession is claimed because the list of popes is alleged to go back to St. Peter, the light of historical research shows such a statement to be fallacious. No one can urge that each Pope ere he died "imposuit manus" on his immediate successor, as the encyclical before quoted would lead us to presume.

In some instances there was an interregnum of many months (sometimes caused by martyrdom) between the death of one and the election of the next bishop. During this "hiatus," was the "divine afflatus" or gift of infallibility held in suspense? And as the successor to the papacy was often appointed by the vote of the congregation, or the mandate of an emperor, or by rival popes fighting for the papal chair, or by simony, the question arises: Did the Holy Ghost descend on each and

all of these? The man who was duly elected, or the man who bought the triple crown by bribery, or attained it by murder? or when three rival popes were contending, did the holy gift descend on all three equally guilty, or upon the one who lasted out the longest, on the principle of "To the victor the spoils," or "survival of the fittest"?

The above are questions which the encyclical fails to answer.

It was in 366 A.D., after the death of Liberius, that two Christian factions fought for two rival claimants to the bishopric, Ursino and Damasus. Damasus carried the day, but on being elected by his party, he besieged his opponent in the Church of Sicininus. The Churches were stained with blood, and one hundred and thirty-seven men were killed in one day. The pontifical book says that "Damasus won because he had the greater number on his side." "Constat in basilica Sicininus uno die centurio triginta septem reperta cadavera peremptoram" (Amm. Marc.).

Lightfoot, in his dissertation "On the Christian Ministry," gives a clear synopsis of the different opinions held with regard to Episcopacy. "Some recognise in Episcopacy an institution of divine origin absolute and indispensable; others have represented it as destitute of all apostolic sanction. Some consider that no Christian community can have any right or claim to be a branch of the Christian Church without it; others think that it

may be desirable for good government but not indispensable."

The meaning of the word "bishop" in its fundamental sense was "overseer," or inspector, and the expression was not a title of office. But about the opening of the second century, we find an episcopal organisation working amongst the Churches.

As long as there was an apostolic founder of a Church living, there was hardly any necessity for a bishop. As these gradually died or were martyred, the necessity for a recognised ruler was manifested; and by a gradual process of development the episcopal system came into being. These bishops or rulers presided over their own different dioceses; but there is not the slightest evidence to show that a supreme bishop presiding over all others was ever dreamt of, or intended by the apostles. These bishops appear to have been elected by suffrage.

"The Primitive Apostolic Canons show us the bishop elected by his flock, and accepted by the neighbouring bishops." (See Benson's "Cyprian," p. 27.)

Eusebius relates, concerning the bishops of Jerusalem (Ec. His., bk. vi., cap. x.), that Narcissus, having retired from the world, etc., it seemed proper to the bishops of the neighbouring Churches to proceed to the ordination of another bishop (A.D. 211-217). We learn from this that bishops were then ordained without reference to the bishop of Rome. It may be assumed that the above mode of election prevailed at

Rome as well as in the other dioceses. We know that, by reason of martyrdom and other causes, there was no continuous line of bishops at Rome. Sometimes spaces of a year intervened between the death of one and the election of another. Space does not allow us to give a full detail of the intrigues and violence that subsequently accompanied these elections. But assuming "omna rite esse acta," it was by the unanimous vote of the congregation, or by the fiat of an emperor, that the earlier Roman bishop ascended to the papal chair.

The same routine was followed in other dioceses, and the question may well be asked, What constituted the efficacy of the Roman vote or consecration, that through it the Bishop of Rome should inherit greater powers than those descending upon bishops of other dioceses? Why did not the vote of the other congregations in other dioceses confer similar supernatural powers upon their several elected and duly consecrated bishops? No authority can be found from which we can gather that there was some inherent miraculous attribute or efficacy in the vote of a Roman congregation, rather than in any other congregation, or that the order of an emperor, actuated by worldly motives, should confer infallibility on his nominee.

If anyone could be expected to write with knowledge of Church history, it would be Eusebius (born about A.D. 260). He held office in the Church

at Cæsarea. He became connected with Pamphilus, head of a theological school, and devoted himself to the collection of a Church library, and especially to the care and defence of his great master Origen. He refused the patriarchate of Antioch, and died Bishop of Cæsarea (340 A.D.). This ancient Father, however, in attempting to write the history of the apostolic succession, remarks that his great aim was—“to preserve from oblivion the successions, although not of all, yet of the most famous apostles of our Saviour in those Churches which then were eminent and still renowned.” (Eccl. His., bk. i., cap. i., Cambridge, 1683.)

He tells us that “he had to tread a solitary and untrodden way, and could *nowhere* find so much as the *bare steps* of any men who have passed the same path before, excepting only some small shews and tokens divers here and there have left us—holding forth, as it were, *torches afar off*.” He proceeds: “I suppose that I have taken in hand a subject very necessary, because I have not found any ecclesiastical writer which hath hitherto employed any diligence in a work of this matter.” This does not portray a very certain or luminous path. Speaking of Peter and Paul and the Churches founded by them, Eusebius says: “Now how many, and what sincere followers of them have been approved as sufficient to take charge of those Churches by them founded, it is not easy to say. Except such and so many as can be

collected from the words of St. Paul." He continues: "Timothy *is reported* to have been the first that was chosen to the bishopric of the Ephesian Church, as also Titus of the Churches in Crete." (Eusebius, bk. iii., cap. iv.)

Eusebius was Constantine's great friend; he had also access to the great library mentioned above. He was zealous and painstaking, and desirous of settling the succession, and, combined with these advantages, he lived within three hundred years after the death of Christ, and consequently would be nearer the source of the living stream than any more modern Father. Yet he admits that he is "travelling on an untrodden path." So we may take it that, up to the early part of the fourth century, no trustworthy or reliable records or traditions existed as to Peter's immediate successors.

Eusebius, in bk. iii., cap. i., quotes Origen as his authority for Paul's martyrdom at Rome, and for Peter's preaching there. According to him, Rome was the last place to which Peter went. But Origen lived (b. 185 A.D.) more than a hundred years after Peter's death, and could have no knowledge first-hand of either event.

Eusebius commences the second book of his Ecclesiastical History thus:—"Let us now examine the circumstances that followed the Ascension of Christ, presenting some from the divine Scriptures, and others from such other documents to which we shall

have occasion to refer." Here is the ground-work from whence he draws his conclusions. We note that his history is merely a collation of alleged facts, gathered from documents and reports, and therefore liable to error, as all histories are; but it is important, from the circumstance that he had great facilities for learning the truth.

Referring to Clement, he quotes him in his second book (cap. i.) as follows:—"Peter and James and John, after the Ascension of our Saviour, though they had been preferred by our Lord, did not contend for the honour, but chose James the Just as Bishop of Jerusalem." In the same chapter he writes:—"The Lord imparted the gifts of knowledge to James the Just, to John and Peter" (he puts Peter last). "After His resurrection, these delivered it to the rest of the apostles, and they to the seventy, of whom Barnabas was one."

Jerusalem is first mentioned, not Rome. Eusebius then goes on to state in cap. iii.:—"The doctrine of our Saviour spread throughout every city and village. Through the agency of Peter, Cornelius and his whole house received the faith of Christ, and a great number of Greeks at Antioch received it, through the agency of those who had been scattered through persecution." He next mentions Alexandria.

In cap. xiv., he mentions:—"Peter, that powerful and great apostle, who by his courage" (not from his selection by Christ) "took the lead of all the rest, was

conducted to Rome against Simon Magus." And in the next chapter he states that:—"Impressed by the splendour of his piety" (not by the splendour of his office), "they solicited Mark, the companion of Peter, that he should leave a monument of his writing, which he did in the Gospel according to St. Mark."

In bk. iii., cap i., Eusebius states that:—"Peter appears to have preached through Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, to the Jews, and, finally, *coming to Rome*, was crucified with his head downwards. Paul also spread the Gospel from Jerusalem to Illyricum, and finally suffered martyrdom at Rome under Nero." In cap. ii., he states that, after the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus was the first that received the episcopate at Rome. He bases this statement on the fact that Paul mentions him in his epistle to Timothy.

In cap. xxxviii., Eusebius quotes the epistle which Clement wrote in the name of the Church at Rome to that of Corinth.

In bk. iv., cap v., he traces the descent of the bishops of Jerusalem from James, the brother of our Lord.

In bk. v., cap. i., he mentions an account, sent by those Churches, of their sufferings in Lyons and Vienna, *not first to Rome*, but to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia. If the Church of Rome had then been the head of the Christian world, we should have expected that this would have been forwarded there.

Touching succession, Tertullian says:—"But if the heretics feign or fabricate such a (personal) succession, this will not help them. For their doctrine itself, compared with the doctrine of the apostles, will, by its own diversity and contrariety, pronounce against them. For this is the manner in which the Apostolic Churches transmit their registers. As the Church of Smyrna, which records that Polycarp was placed thereon by John; as also the Church of Rome, which makes *Clement* to be ordained in like manner by Peter." (De Præscript. Hæreticor., cap. xxxii.)

Cave, in his "Life of Clement" (p. 151), states:—"The writers of the Roman Church have great words, so ever they speak of the constant and uninterrupted succession of St. Peter's chair, are yet involved in an inextricable labyrinth about the succession of the four first bishops of Rome, scarce two of them, at any rate, bringing in the same account."

Eusebius (bk. iii. cap. 4), places Clemens Romanus as Bishop of Rome from A.D. 93 to A.D. 101, *because* he was mentioned in the Epistle to Timothy. Tertullian alleges that he was ordained by St. Peter. But in the Apostolic Constitutions (lib. vii., sec. iv., p. 204, vol. xvii., Ante-Nicene Lib.), it is set forth that "of the Church of Rome, Linus, the son of Claudia, was the first ordained *by Paul!* and Clemens, after Linus' death, the second ordained *by me, Peter!*" These Constitutions are said to be by Clement, Bishop of

Rome, but although undoubtedly ancient, they are forgeries of Oriental origin, and their real author is undiscovered. Of Clement's death nothing is really known. Rufinus, in his preface to Clement's "Book of Recognitions" (*ibid.* p. 141, vol. iii.), writes thus:—"The Epistle in which the same Clement, writing to James, the Lord's brother, informs him of the death of Peter, and that he had left him his successor in his chair and teaching, and in which also the whole subject of Church order is treated of, I have not prefixed to this work, both because it is of later date, and because I have already translated and published it." He then attempts to reconcile the inconsistency in the statement that Linus and Cletus were also earlier bishops of Rome, by assuming that they must have undertaken the episcopate in *the lifetime of Peter!*

Bellarmino confesses that the pontifical succession has no foundation in Scripture; and as he was the great papal theologian and defender of the papacy in the sixteenth century, his words should have weight (*vide* 5, Cave, 365).

Lightfoot says:—"Hegesippus, who visited Rome about the middle of the second century, has left it on record that he drew up a list of the Roman bishops to his own time. But this list is not extant."

Irenæus gives a list commencing with Linus. Eusebius gives two lists, agreeing in order but not in dates. Catalogues are also found in later writers,

transposing the sequence of the earlier bishops ; but who is at this time able to pick out and correct all these discrepancies ? According to Powell, Tertullian, Rufinus, and Epiphanius say that Clement succeeded Peter ; Jerome says that most of the Latin authors supposed Clement to be the successor of Peter. But Irenæus, Eusebius, and Augustine contradict this, and say that Linus succeeded Peter.

Chrysostom seems to go the same way. But Pearson asserts that Linus died before Peter, so he could not have succeeded him.

Cabassute, the learned papal historian of Councils, says : "It is very doubtful as to whether Linus, Cletus, or Clemens succeeded Peter."

The "Pontifical" makes Cletus succeed Linus, and gives several different lives of Cletus and Anacletus, as if they were two men. Bishop Pearson has shown that these were two names of one man. In attempting to rectify this mistake, the papal defenders aver that Ignatius, Irenæus, Eusebius, St. Augustine, and Optatus were all mistaken or wronged by their transcribers, who leave out Cletus. But the admission that the above Christian Fathers' writings are untrustworthy tends to weaken the value of the whole testimony.

The same doubts rest over the fourth bishop. Some assert that Clement succeeded Peter ; but Peter had been dead twenty years when Clement is alleged to have succeeded him.

Lightfoot has traced the various episcopal descents at Jerusalem, Antioch, Syria, Asia Minor, and others; and it is only when he comes to Rome that he remarks (p. 66):—"As we turn to Rome, we are confronted by a far more perplexing problem than any encountered hitherto. The attempt to decipher the early history of episcopacy here seems almost hopeless, when the evidence is at once scanty and conflicting."

Platina, officially appointed to be papal biographer, had good opportunities for learning the succession of the popes. He acknowledges that the authorities on the subject in several centuries following were full of confusion. "And he complains," says Prideaux, "that they who were appointed as prothonotaries to register the passages in the Church were in his time become so illiterate that some could scarce write their own name in Latin." Prideaux remarks in another place that "Omniphrius, Platina, and Ciaconius complain much of the subject of registering, and the confusion of the popes' lives, notwithstanding their succession is made such a convincing argument."

Burnet states that for about three hundred years "the popes were made upon the Emperor's mandate."

Villemain writes, p. 87., vol. i. :—"When Belisarius was in possession of Rome, he was informed that Pope Sylverius was corresponding secretly with the Barbarians, and seeking to deliver the city to them.

Belisarius ordered him to choose a successor. He named Vigilius. Vigilius repaid this by sending Sylverius to the desert island of Palmaria. Vigilius in his turn intrigued with the Barbarians, whereupon the Byzantine Court invited him to Constantinople, and kept him in chains for seven years, while Italy was contended for by Greeks and Goths." This disposes of two popes, neither of whom appear to have been legally placed on the papal chair. In spite of the fact that both were traitors, are we to assume that the divine afflatus and infallibility must have existed in them? I may here add that St. Hilary, Bishop of Rome, A.D. 461, by Council held at Rome, A.D. 465, put a stop to bishops appointing their own successors in his diocese.

The occasional plurality of popes is not denied by the Romanists, but they urge that it does not prejudice the succession.

The translation of bishops from one bishopric to another was prohibited by the important Councils of Nice, A.D. 325, Canon 15; Antioch, A.D. 341, Canon 21; Chalcedon, A.D. 451, Canon 5. This would prevent anyone previously a bishop in another diocese from being elected to Rome.

Canon Le Courayer, a learned Roman Catholic, Librarian of the Abbey of St. Geneviève at Paris, in his dissertation on English ordinations, p. 241, gives an account of the history of Pope Formosus. All his ordinations were declared void by his successor,

Stephen VI. Sergius III. renewed all that Stephen had done against Formosus, and caused his ordinations to be again in turn annulled. Which of these three popes was the legitimate successor of Peter, and infallible? All three could not be; yet all claimed to reign simultaneously.

CHAPTER XI

IS THERE EVIDENCE THAT PETER TRANSMITTED ANY EXTRAORDINARY OR DIVINE POWER TO THE BISHOPS OF ROME IN PREFERENCE TO ANY OTHER BISHOPS?

IF evidence is absent as to the popes' apostolic succession, much less evidence is there of the actual transmission of Peter's alleged powers to the popes.

Bright, in his "Early Church," says:—"Romanists are constrained to claim primitiveness for that papal autocracy which is now the very basis of their whole system. They may adopt the 'theory of development,' but they must contend for the propositions laid down by Pius IX. in the decree 'Pastor Æternus,' and approved (whatever that may mean) by the 'Sacred Vatican Council,' on the two main points of the papal jurisdiction and the papal magisterium or teaching office. This decree explicitly appeals to 'the ancient and constant faith of the Church universal,' the *tradition received*—the right of the Bishop of Rome to universal jurisdiction."

Lightfoot remarks that:—"The growth or birth of the bishops of Rome can be attributed to the fact that it was a gradual development, not advancing at a uniform rate, but showing different stages in different Churches." He adds that:—"A bishop was elected by the presbyters out of their own body." Irenæus, in writing to Victor of Rome in the name of the Gallican Churches, says:—"It was not so observed by the *presbyters who ruled* the Church which thou guidest—we mean Anicetus, and Pius Hyginus," etc.

It was probably the contest with heresy which hastened the development of episcopacy in the Roman Church (Plummer, p. 92).

Jerome writes:—"This has been said to show that with the ancients, presbyters were the same as bishops, but gradually all the responsibility was deferred to a single person, that heresies might be rooted out. Therefore," etc., etc., "let bishops beware that they are superior to presbyters—*more owing to custom than to any actual ordinance of the Lord,*" etc., etc.

Augustine also, writing to Jerome, says:—"Although, according to titles of honour *which the practice of the Church has now made valid*, the episcopate is greater than the presbytery, yet in many things Augustine is less than Jerome."

These ancient writers show that, for mere expediency, were elected from the body of presbyters.

That no one bishop was elected to rule supreme over other bishops; and, taking the Bishop of Rome as an example, that he was elected from his brother presbyters (when he was not chosen by an Emperor's mandate), merely to rule over his own particular see; and that those presbyters had no power to, and did not in early days, elect him to rule over foreign sees or foreign bishops. By what jurisdiction could the Roman presbyters and laity elect a bishop to rule supreme over all other churches, and, in fact, over all the world? At p. 90, he says:—"We may well ask the question: How were the first bishops of Rome chosen, unless by their fellow presbyters, who had no jurisdiction except in their own see."

In the "Teaching of the Apostles" (Ante-Nic. Lib. p. 45, vol. xx.), it is set forth that:—"After the death of the apostles, there were guides and rulers in the Church; they taught that which they had received from the apostles to their successors; also what James had written from Jerusalem, Simon from Rome, John from Ephesus, etc." This appears to have been written before the title of bishop was appropriated.

In the book, "Concerning Addeus" (*ibid.* cap. viii. p. 135) it is written:—"To Simon was allotted Rome, to John Ephesus"; but no distinction appears to have been made that one should have greater power than the other.

The student of ancient ecclesiastical history has a most difficult task before him, when he attempts

to unravel the chain of hearsay evidence recorded as facts, to discriminate between the pious opinions of writers who, blinded by superstition and bigotry, relate miracles with no knowledge of the rules of evidence, and evolve out of their inner consciousness events that never have happened; the offspring of heated imaginations, whose alleged writings are handed down to us—often not from the originals, but from copies made by those who thought it no sin to change, interpolate, or add to them, and not seldom in a language foreign to that in which they were originally written.

We are, however, compelled to draw from this source our knowledge of the religious history and opinions of those who have lived in the past, and if we cannot be certain that we are reading the actual writings of the alleged scribes, we can feel satisfied that we are getting those of the ancient transcribers.

Even Eusebius, whose history I have had so often to quote in these pages, can hardly be taken as one who is said to be entirely impartial. As Lecky remarks: "The portrait he has drawn of the saintly virtues of his patron Constantine, which we are able to correct from other sources, abundantly proves with how little scruple the courtly bishop could stray into the paths of fiction."

"The Deaths of the Persecutors," ascribed to the pen of Lactantius, is nothing more than a party

pamphlet. It would be difficult to recall to mind any one of the alleged writings of the ancient Fathers that could be implicitly trusted or depended upon as a safe guide. The writers lived in an age credulous and uncritical, and when a "single incident would often be diversified and exaggerated into many distinct narratives."

But if this can be said of incidents, what can be said of the distortion of opinions—of the strained rendering that each pious writer could put on the opinions and statements of those who had gone before him—how they would be tainted by his own bias and his own views?

Although three bishops, with the written consent of the others, were ordinarily requisite to ordain a bishop, yet the Church often admitted the ordination by one bishop or two bishops. Pelagius, Bishop of Rome, had but a presbyter and two bishops to ordain him; Siderius, Bishop of Palæbisca, had but one bishop to ordain him; Dioscurus of Alexandria was consecrated by two bishops; Paulinus alone ordained Evagrius as Bishop of Antioch. Yet, as a common rule, three bishops were necessary. But no special privilege was allowed to the Bishop of Rome to ordain by himself (Bingham, vol. i., pp. 139, 140).

As to the succession, Rufinus, in his preface to Clement's "Book of Recognitions," remarks (Ante-Nic. Lib., vol. iii., p. 142):—"I do not think it out of place to explain here what in that letter [Clement's letter to

James] will perhaps seem to some inconsistent. For some ask : Since Linus and Cletus were bishops in the city of Rome before Clement, how could Clement himself, writing to James, say that the chair of teaching was handed over to him by Peter ? Now of this we have heard this explanation : that Linus and Cletus were indeed bishops of Rome before Clement, but during the lifetime of Peter, which makes Clement to be ordained of Peter."

But in his "Harmony of the Fathers" (vol. iii., p. 357), he does not put Clement as ordained by Peter, but writes:—"He whom Peter bade to take his place and sit upon this chair in Mightiest Rome, where he himself had sat, was Linus ; and after him, Cletus, etc., etc."

But Migne translates this as follows:—"Of whom the first, whom Mightiest Rome bade take his place, upon the chair where Peter's self had sat, etc., etc."

Here are the contradictions. In the first place, he makes Clement first bishop, and in the next volume he puts Linus, and then Cletus. And again, one translation makes him write : "Peter bade Cletus take his place," while another makes "Mightiest Rome" appoint Cletus, etc. But the most probable solution to the difficulty is, that the first statement as to Clement is made by Tertullian, while the "Harmony of the Fathers" has long been considered a forgery. I append the translator's note to the chapter of the "Harmony." He writes :—"The

state of the text in some parts of this work is frightful. It has been almost hopeless to extract any sense whatever out of the Latin in many passages—indeed, the renderings are in these cases little better than guess-work—and the confusion of images, ideas, and quotations is extraordinary.”

There is no conclusive evidence of distinct succession from Peter to the popes of the present day. But we might infer that, as the bishops of the other Churches were elected and ordained, so were the early bishops of Rome; and that by ordination or election they attained similar, but not greater power than the bishops of the Churches at Jerusalem, Symrna, Carthage, Antioch, and others. The claim of direct succession is faulty, the evidence that they obtained greater divine afflatus or supremacy than their contemporary bishops of other Churches is entirely wanting.

Besides there being no evidence as to the actual succession of the popes, a much greater difficulty arises when we consider the manner in which some of these popes were chosen, ordained, or inducted. We find three popes reigning at one time; one pope murdering another; debauchery and simony rife for at least 150 years; and yet Romanists now claim uninterrupted succession of apostolic power.

In A.D. 767, an insignificant Duke of Nepi took the Vatican by force, and caused his brother, who was a layman and not a priest, to be ordained Pope. Was

this layman Vicar of Christ, and infallible, by the mere fact of being placed in the papal chair; and was he able to receive or transmit the divine *afflatus* to his successor? (Villemain, vol. i., p. 115). It does not follow that because the papal succession cannot be clearly traced that there was not a kind of irregular succession. But papists base their high claims upon their Pope being the direct descendant of St. Peter, and endowed with a supreme power not vouchsafed to other bishops. It is necessary for their title that this should be clearly proven; otherwise their claims to apostolic succession, infallibility, and supremacy fall to the ground.

But what is Apostolic Succession?

It is said to be a setting apart by the laying on of hands by persons empowered thereto, by which the gift of God cometh. St. Paul charges Timothy, whom he had previously ordained, "to stir up the gift of God which was in him through the laying on of hands."

Canon Holland says:—"It is nothing more than the rule which holds good in every well-ordered government, viz., that officers cannot appoint themselves, but must derive their commission from a supreme central authority."

But does this laying on of hands give special grace in one case more than another? Why should not a duly constituted Bishop of Antioch, or Syracuse, or Carthage, who has been legally "set apart and

ordained by the laying on of hands," be endowed, to all intents and purposes, with the same supremacy and divine afflatus as that of a Bishop of Rome? Where is the authority for supposing that any enhanced efficacy is vouchsafed to a Bishop of Rome by ordination, merely because he happens to be a Bishop of Rome? I have failed to discover any evidence to show that Peter held any infallible supremacy, or transmitted that unknown quantity, through the various bishops of Rome, to the present occupant of the papal chair.

CHAPTER XII

DID THE EARLY FATHERS AND WRITERS ACKNOWLEDGE ANY, AND IF ANY, WHAT KIND OF SUPREMACY, OF THE BISHOPS OF ROME BEFORE THE TIME OF BARNABAS ?

IN the last chapter I have attempted an analysis of those ancient records immediately bearing on the status of the earlier bishops of Rome. They do not appear to have entertained the exalted idea of the position which was afterwards claimed for them by the Vatican. True, they assumed a certain dignity, but history fails to produce any data from which the claim of supremacy can be evolved.

Even the arrogance of Victor and Stephen does not carry us far on the way. Proud and overbearing they may have been, but never do they act as if they considered themselves endowed with the attributes of sole supremacy and infallibility.

Having failed to elucidate those attributes from their own words or epistles, I have searched contemporary writings in vain to discover whether the papal contention can be supported from any early sources.

If they had been considered infallible, or the sole representatives of the Godhead on earth, and supreme over all other Churches, we should have expected to find that contemporary writers would, one and all, have acknowledged their supremacy. Many laid down their lives for Christ's sake, and surely if they had believed it to be our Saviour's desire and command that they should look to Rome alone, as the seat of the one infallible head on earth, we should have expected to find some traces of such a belief. But we seek in vain amongst the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and the early sacred authors for support for such a statement. On the contrary, we find evidence directly militating against it. The Apostolic Fathers are said to be Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, the author of the "Shepherd of Hermas," and the author of the Epistle of Barnabas.

Clement's Epistle has been remarked upon in the last chapter, and no one can have the temerity to urge that it discloses aught but humility, whilst it displays no knowledge of the powers attributed to the writer by his successors.

If we could find genuine statements, made within a reasonable period after the demise of the early bishops, upholding the Roman contention, they would naturally be entitled to the greatest attention, but we search for them in vain. It is true that as time rolls on, and St. Peter's history and that of his alleged immediate successors become more enveloped

in the dim mists of the past, allegations crop up under the garb of traditions; but of contemporary writings supporting such a contention, there are none. The general value of tradition will be examined in a succeeding chapter.

The tendency of the earlier writers is rather towards magnifying the power of *all* bishops, without reference to anyone in particular.

Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch about A.D. 109, according to Eusebius, is alleged to have left fifteen epistles extant, but of these, eight have been unanimously rejected as spurious. Three only can be safely considered as genuine.

In his Epistle to Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, he writes:—"Look to the bishop, that God also may look upon you" (Cureton's Epist., Ignatius to Polycarp, p. 7). And again:—"It is right for us to look to the bishop as to our Lord; the bishop presiding over you in the place of God." In his epistle to the Magnesians, he writes:—"Be careful that ye do everything, since the bishop presiding over you in the place of God, and the presbyters in the place of the angels of the Council, and the deacons in the place of the apostles who are entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ." Again he says:—"Ye should do nothing without the bishop." Again:—"Let everyone be reverential towards the deacons as towards Jesus Christ, and towards the bishop who is in the place of the

Father"; and again:—"I spake with a loud voice—with the voice of God—'Attend to the bishop and presbyters,'" (p. 232); and p. 233:—"He who honoureth the bishop is honoured of God."

Eusebius, in his "History of the Church," (bk. i., cap. xxi.), writes:—"And Ignatius, who even to this day is renowned by many, was the second Bishop in the Church of Antioch after Peter." Ignatius wrote to the Church of Rome requesting that they would not beg off his martyrdom. It appears that it was on his way to martyrdom from Syria that he wrote to the *Church* of Rome—not to the Pope or Bishop of Rome.

If the Bishop of Rome held the supremacy which the popes at present arrogate, Ignatius would surely not have ignored his dignity, and would have written to the sole supreme Head of the Universal Church—if there had been such a person.

But history affords no such record, and in upholding the dignity of the episcopacy, *all* bishops are included.

Ignatius is commonly recognised as the staunchest advocate of episcopacy at that time, though this view is perhaps due to the forged and interpolated epistles bearing his name. He considered that the chief value of episcopacy consisted in its being a visible *centre of unity* in the congregation. "Vindicate thine office with all diligence," writes Ignatius to the Bishop of Smyrna, "in things temporal as well

as spiritual. Have a care of unity, than which nothing is better." He says to the people:—"Give heed to your bishop, that God also may give heed to you. I give my life for those who are obedient to the bishop, to presbyters, to deacons." From these passages it will be seen that Ignatius values the episcopate chiefly as a security for good discipline and harmonious working in the Church. The writer, who before or about the middle of the *second century forged and interpolated* the Ignatius letters, follows in the track of the saint whose name he assumes, while he lays greater stress on the divine authority of the institution. But extravagant though some of his statements may appear to be, he does not seem to mention or allude to any authority as inherent in one bishop, to be supreme over the rest. He says:—"The bishops established in the farthest parts of the world are in the Council of Jesus Christ—clearly we ought to regard the *Bishop as the Lord Himself*. He that obeys his bishop, obeys not him, but the Father of Jesus Christ."

If the papal pretensions had been at that date as they are now, instead of magnifying bishops in general, he surely would have declared the Bishop of Rome to be the universal bishop. We should have expected him to have mentioned the high position held by the supreme Vicar of Christ, but he is silent.

This forger gives to each bishop a portion of that

crushing despotism that none of the popes alone claimed. It is not germane to my purpose to enter into the question of the forgery; suffice it for my argument to call attention to the fact that, forgery or no forgery, it is manifest that the general office of the bishop is magnified, and nothing said about any particular bishop having authority over his fellow bishops. In his extravagant exaltation he does not leave out of sight the presbyters. He says they form a "worthy coronal" round the bishop. They stand in the same relation to him as the "chords to the lyre." Surely if he touched upon those in a grade lower than the bishops, he would have referred in glowing terms to him who would be a grade higher. And the only just inference to draw is that such omission arose from the fact that there was no Bishop of Rome asserting the papal pretensions at the period which he was discussing.

Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, is the next apostolic Father. He was born about A.D. 70, and was martyred at about 86 years of age. He was a disciple of John, teacher of Irenæus, and had talked with those who had seen Christ in the flesh. Irenæus states that Polycarp went to Rome in A.D. 156, which would be shortly before his death. Apparently he went to consult about certain points, on which the two bishops speedily agreed, with the exception of the date for the observation of Easter, referred to before. Each adhered to his own custom,

without either breaking off communication with the other. Polycarp left, after having celebrated the Eucharist in Rome at Anicetus' request.

The supremacy of the Bishop of Rome cannot be gathered from any writings or sayings of Polycarp. One question may suggest itself. If Rome were not supreme, why did Polycarp visit or write to Rome? The same reason can be given here as can be found in Eusebius regarding Polycrates and Victor. In fact, it appears to have been the common custom for the Churches to correspond with each other. Rome being the most important city of the West, Polycrates wrote to its bishop to try and arrange matters, so that both the Eastern and Western Churches should have one uniform day for keeping Easter.

We next come to Hermas. He was a visionary who recorded his dreams. His writings appeared about the latter half of the second century under the name of the "Shepherd." He has been quoted by ancient writers, but it is not known who he was, or if that were his name. By some he is said to have been the brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome. It is difficult to find in Hermas evidence of the existence of any episcopal government at all, or of opposition to its introduction. He appears to use the word *ἐπισκοπος* as synonymous with *πρεσβυτερος*, and he always speaks of the government of the Church as in the hands of elders, without giving any hint that one elder exercised authority over the rest.

His doctrine is :—“The Son of God is older than all creation. He is the *rock* on which the Church is built.”

He is said to have lived at Rome, and yet never mentions Peter, or leads us to presume that at Rome there reigned the Supreme Head of the Church on earth—“the Vicar of Christ”—supreme over all other bishops.

“Barnabas” makes no mention whatever of Rome.

CHAPTER XIII

DID THE EARLY FATHERS AND CONTEMPORARY WRITERS
ACKNOWLEDGE THE SUPREMACY OF THE ROMAN
BISHOPS FROM THE TIME OF BARNABAS ?

INSTEAD of finding that loyal obedience to the bishops of Rome which we should have expected, had the papal pretension as to supremacy been correct, we can discover nothing but bickering and contention whenever the attempt is made on the part of any Roman bishop in the second or third century to assert supremacy over the neighbouring Churches. Again, the question arises here: Would not history have presented a different aspect, if these papal claims had been founded on sacred authority from the very commencement ?

About A.D. 170, we find Dionysius, Bishop of the Church of Corinth, writing to the Churches of Athens, Lacedæmon, and also to the Churches in Pontus *and Rome*. No less than seven bishops are mentioned, amongst whom is Soter of Rome. In all cases he appears to have written to the Churches, *and not to the bishops*, although addressed to them. Soter's reply, unfortunately lost, is spoken of "as the letter

of the Roman Church," not as proceeding from the infallible supreme head of all the Churches.

Dionysius uses the plural throughout :—

“ ὑμῖν πέμπετε ὁ μακάριος ὑμῶν
ἐπίσκοπος Σωτήρ, ὑμῶν τὴν
ἐπιστολήν ”

This epistle is cited by Eusebius in his fourth book, cap. xxiii., Eccl. Hist.

In another fragment (An. Nic. Fathers, vol. xxii., p. 168), Dionysius calls attention to the tradition that the Corinthian Church, *like the Roman*, had been planted by St. Peter and St. Paul.

I believe the Romanists do not deny that Peter and Paul founded the Roman Church.

Whatever may be the truth about the connection of the two apostles with Corinth, this fragment leads us to assume that Dionysius was ignorant of a successor to St. Peter, who held jurisdiction over all other Churches. It is the apostolic Church of *Peter and Paul* which is held in honour (Plummer's "Early Fathers," p. 94).

The greatest sacred writer of the third century who appears in the roll is Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. Forced into the episcopate against his will, he appears to have considered his position to be one of absolute independence. He lived two centuries later than Ignatius, and holds the bishop

to be the absolute Vicegerent of Christ. This applies to all bishops, *not* the Bishop of Rome especially. He nowhere recognises the papal claims of infallibility or supremacy over other bishops.

In his epistles on the unity of the Church, he never states that such unity was to be obtained by union under one temporal head. He never suggests that the Pope of Rome was the universal bishop. His statement is—"What the bishop was to his own diocese, that the whole united body of bishops was to the whole Church." In writing to Florentius Pappianus, he remarks: "Christ, who says to the apostles, and thereby to *all* chief rulers who by *vicarious ordination* succeed to the apostles, 'He that heareth you, heareth me'"; also, the Church which is "Catholic and one, is not split nor divided, but is certainly knit together and compacted by *cement of bishops fast cleaving each to the other.*" (Another translation has—"by cement of priests who cohere with one another.") (*Vide* also Benson, "Life of Cyprian," p. 190.)

Nothing here warrants the supposition that one Bishop of Rome was then acknowledged to be the sole arbiter of the destinies of the Catholic Church. In the third epistle he writes, speaking of a complaint against a deacon:—"The great decision is postponed until all the bishops of Africa can assemble and make sure of acting in harmony with the bishops of Italy."

The tone and manner in which correspondence is addressed offers a valuable guide for ascertaining the relations existing between the parties corresponding.

Stephen succeeded to the See of Rome A.D. 254. Cyprian's first extant letter to him was not so much in a tone of equality as in a spirit of direction, if not of dictation. He anticipates no differences, but plainly expects to be on the same terms with him as had existed with Cornelius. His language is rather peremptory, but with a peremptoriness which feels that it may reckon on compliance. In the next letter, Cyprian makes an apology for him on the ground of his "unacquaintedness" with the facts and the truth of the case. He makes allowance for his inattention, and proceeds to lay down principles and give directions in absolute reversal of those of Stephen (Benson's "Life of Cyprian" p. 311).

A question had arisen as to whether heretical baptism should be held valid or not. Stephen recognised its validity; Cyprian insisted on re-baptism; and a synodical letter was forwarded to Rome, whereupon Stephen wrote a letter threatening to withdraw from their communion (Eus., bk. vii., cap. v.). A Synod of African bishops had declared in Cyprian's favour, as did those of Asia Minor. Stephen, in his correspondence, asserted the apostolic authority of a distinct tradition for the Roman usage, magnified the chair of Peter, and vituperated Cyprian

as "a false Christ, a false prophet, a treacherous worker," etc., and threatened excommunication—a threat, however, which never appears to have been carried out. But here he never claims infallibility, or to be supreme bishop over all. He gets, however, a reply from Firmilian, the Metropolitan of Cappadocia:—"Thou hast excommunicated thine own self." Firmilian, in his epistle to Cyprian, writes of Stephen "that he has not done anything deserving of kindness or thanks"; compares him to Judas. He mentions Stephen's audacity and pride, and "the things he has wickedly done," and at paragraph 6 says: "But those at Rome . . . vainly pretend the authority of the apostles." He goes on to remark upon Stephen *daring* to break the peace against him. Again:—"Let Stephen understand that spiritual birth cannot be without the spirit." Again:—"Stephen, who *announces* that he holds by succession the throne of Peter." [*Memo.*—Here Firmilian does not write that Stephen sits on the throne, but merely that Stephen *claims* such succession.]—*Vide* Firmilian's epistle to Cyprian, lxxiv.; Cyp. ep. An. Nic. Fathers; Benson's "Life of Cyprian," p. 352, *et seq.*; Euseb., Ecc. Hist., bk. vii.

Two of Stephen's leading presbyters at first agreed with him, but afterwards publicly consulted Dionysius of Alexandria, who gave it as his opinion that heretics might be validly admitted without second baptism, but that Churches which ruled otherwise *must not be overruled from without*. Cyprian sends to Pompey,

Bishop of Sabiata, Stephen's epistle and his own reply, for Pompey was anxious to learn the facts. But Cyprian's reply to Stephen is of such a kind that Jerome terms it "a rending of Stephen." In fact, Cyprian was always in conflict with Stephen, exhorting or excusing him, or assuring him that by his own vain threats of excommunication he had excommunicated himself. But obeying him—never! And yet Cyprian laid down his life for our Lord. If he had believed it to be our Lord's command that the Bishop of Rome should reign supreme, and be implicitly obeyed, would not Cyprian have acted differently? Stephen, Bishop of Rome, was allowed to govern in his own diocese only.

I believe there are no original epistles from Stephen extant. They are referred to by Eusebius and Cyprian, but they appear to have been lost.

Eusebius, in bk. vii., calls Dionysius of Alexandria to aid him in his seventh book of history by "exacting the particulars of his (Dionysius) time in the epistles." Continuing, he says, "Stephen succeeded Lucius, who, when dying, transferred his office to Stephen." In cap. iii. he states that Cyprian was of opinion that those turning from any heresy whatever should not be admitted without re-baptism. But *Stephen was greatly indignant at this!* Eusebius, in bk. vii., cap. v., records that Dionysius makes the following remark on Stephen: "He had written before respecting all those from Cappadocia and Galatia, etc., and all

nations adjoining 'that he would not have communion with them' on this account, because they said he re-baptized heretics."

In the absence of the exact words used by Stephen, it is difficult to discover the extent to which Stephen's ambition led him. If he merely refused to have any more communion with them, and forbade his flock to do the same, then he would appear to have been acting within his rights. But if he forbade other Churches beside his own to have converse or communion with the heretics, then he was acting *ultra vires*, and attempting to exercise that superiority which his successors afterwards surreptitiously obtained.

Cyprian, in his arguments (Ep. lxxiii., vol. i., to Pompey), propounded the true principles of our Reformation when he added: "If some aqueduct, whose stream was ever large and copious before, fails suddenly, do we not proceed to its fount, there to learn the nature of that failure, etc.? Even so must God's priests do now if they would keep the divine precepts. So if divine truth wavers, we turn back to its source in the Lord's words, and also to its delivery by evangelists and apostles, and our plan of action takes its rise where rose alike order and beginning." This opinion appears to support the Anglican dogma and not the Roman, for it appeals to Scripture alone, rather than tradition. (*Vide* Benson's Cyp., p. 359.)

Cyprian openly stated at the great Council of Carthage, referring to Stephen, Bishop of Rome:—
“For neither does any of us set himself up as bishop of bishops, or compels his colleagues by tyrannical terror to a necessity of obedience; forasmuch as every bishop, according to the liberty and power that is granted, is free to act as he sees fit, and can no more be judged by others than he himself can judge another bishop.”

This speech, publicly delivered, unchallenged in such an assembly, where eighty-seven bishops were gathered, offers strong evidence of the fact that at that time the supreme power and infallibility of the Bishop of Rome was not acknowledged by contemporary Churches or bishops.

Cyprian was by profession a lawyer. He magnified to the utmost the power of bishops, and followed Irenæus, yet he never exalted the Roman See above other Sees. He summoned synods of bishops as they had been summoned before. Cyprian's idea of unity was one undivided episcopate, and he maintained that the unity of the Church consisted in the unanimity of the bishops. What would be said now of a Romanist bishop, who, disagreeing with the Pope, summoned a council of bishops, upset the Holy Father's decision, and derided his excommunication? And yet Cyprian is a saint of the Church! This could not have been done if the bishops of Rome held the same status then as they claim now. The papal writers have queried the

above inferences, but I will refer to their contention in a subsequent chapter. Suffice it to remark that the text of Cyprian has been grossly tampered with, and forged passages interpolated to support the Roman theory. This is a grave charge to make, but the grounds thereof will be stated hereafter.

CHAPTER XIV

DID THE FATHERS AND CONTEMPORARY WRITERS ACKNOWLEDGE THE PRETENSIONS OF THE BISHOPS OF ROME FROM THE TIME OF TERTULLIAN?

TERTULLIAN, alleged to be born in Carthage about the second century, might be termed the first Latin Christian writer after Victor and Appollonius (*vide* Jerome). He is said to have been a presbyter of the Roman Church, although some doubts have been thrown upon this (*vide* Kaye); and Eusebius, in his *Ecc. Hist.*, lib. ii., cap. ii., tells us that he was accurately acquainted with Roman laws, and also an especially distinguished person at Rome. He displays a great knowledge of the proceedings of the Roman Church with respect to Marcion and Valentinus. His opinions do not seem to have been very grateful to the Roman clergy, as will appear natural, when the subjoined extracts from his works are perused.

In citing him, I do not urge that he is one whose opinions are infallible, but he is as much entitled to them as any other ancient or modern writer, or an

Archbishop Temple, or a Spurgeon, or a Pope. But the former lived in an age when opinions such as his might be put to the test under torture or cruel death—a fact which gives proof of his sincerity. These writings are also useful as guides for gauging the beliefs and impressions of the position of early Christianity, as enunciated by men who lived at the time, and who are the great sources from which we can judge of the position of the early Roman bishops.

He writes in “Ad Nationes,” lib. ii., cap. xvii.:—“In conclusion, without denying all those whom antiquity untied and posterity has believed to be gods, etc., there yet remains for our consideration that very large assumption of the superstitions of Rome, which we have to meet in opposition to you, O heathen, that the Romans have become lords and masters of the whole world; because by their religious offices they have merited this dominion to such an extent, that they are within a very little of excelling their own gods in power.”

He goes on to add:—“The nation, therefore, which has grown to its powerful height by victory after victory, cannot seem to have developed owing to the merits of its religion.” He then compares Rome’s greatness with that of the Assyrians, Medes and Persians; and says:—“It is the fortune of the times. The same great Being who dispenses kingdoms has now put supremacy over them into the hands of Rome.” He does not mention spiritual supremacy

here, only temporal; although the temporal afterwards conduced to the spiritual supremacy.

In his chapter on prayer, translated in vol. i., p. 180, Ante-Nic. Library, xi., he remarks:—"Our Lord very frequently proclaimed 'God' as Father—nay, even gave a precept that we call no one on earth Father but the Father whom we have in heaven" (Matt. xxiii. 9). How in the face of this authority, written about A.D. 208, can the Roman Church term the popes "Holy Fathers," "Gods on Earth"? In writing on "Christian Modesty" (An. Nic. Fathers, vol. xviii., p. 57), he contrasts the then Bishop of Rome's conduct with that attribute. He states:—"It is the foundation of Christian Modesty which is being shaken to its foundation, etc. I hear that there has even been an edict set forth, and a peremptory one, too. The Sovereign Pontiff—that is, the bishop of bishops—issues an edict:—'I remit to such as have discharged (the requirements of) repentance, the sins both of adultery and of fornication.' O Edict, on which cannot be inscribed 'Good deed!' And where shall this be posted up? On the very gates of the sensual appetites, I suppose. But far, far from Christ's betrothed be such a proclamation. She, the true, the modest, etc.—she has none to whom to make such a promise; and if she had, she does not make it."

If at that time Peter's supremacy had been known and acknowledged, and such supremacy had been conceded to his alleged successors, we should not

have expected to find from one such as Tertullian these ironical remarks. They were written about the commencement of the third century by so good a Christian, who must have been acquainted with the "apostolic" claims—had they then been recognised.

In this notice of remission of sins was another attempt at the insertion of the thin end of the wedge of papal supremacy, A.D. 190 to A.D. 217.

The Chief Pontiff—Pontifex Maximus—was a title claimed and used by the Roman emperors themselves. It is defined as: "Judex atque arbiter Rerum humanarum Divinarumque." The Christian emperors also used it, until Gratian, according to Zosimus, refused it (Kenneth's *Antiq.*, p. 72).

But he continues in chap. xxi. *idem.* (for a fuller translation see Ante-Nicene Library, vol. xviii., under chap. on "Difference between Discipline and Power), "Who, moreover, was able to forgive sins. This is His (God's) alone prerogative; for who remitteth sins but God alone, etc. etc., and, of course, who but He can remit mortal sins? Exhibit therefore even now to me, apostolic sir! prophetic evidences, that I may recognise your divine virtue, and vindicate to yourself the *power* of remitting such sins, etc. etc., who, or how great are you that you should grant indulgence, who, by exhibiting neither the prophetic nor the apostolic character, lack that virtue whose property it is to indulge.

"But, you say, the Church has the power of

forgiving sins. I now inquire from what source you usurp this right to 'the Church' to forgive sins. If because the Lord has said to Peter, 'Upon this rock will I build my Church'; 'To thee have I given the keys of the heavenly kingdom'; or, 'Whatsoever thou shalt have bound or loosed in earth shall be bound or loosed in the heavens' (*sic*) you therefore presume that the power of binding and loosing has descended to you—that is, to every Church akin to Peter—what sort of man are you, subverting and wholly changing the manifest intention of the Lord, conferring (as the intention did) this (gift) *personally* on Peter. 'On *thee*,' He says, 'will I build my Church,' and 'I will give to *thee* the keys'—not to the Church, and (*sic*) 'Whatsoever *thou shalt have loosed or bound*,' not what *they* shall have loosed or bound. For so withal the result teaches. Peter himself, therefore, was the first to unbar in Christ's baptism the entrance to the heavenly kingdom. I now inquire into your opinion (to see) from what source you usurp this right to 'the Church.'"

Although Tertullian denies to the popes attributes which they now allege they inherited as successors of Peter, he states that the Church of Rome is on apostolic foundation.

He challenges the heretics to produce the "origines" of their Churches, or to unfold the roll of their bishops, running down in due succession from the

beginning, that their first distinguished bishop shall be able to show for his pedigree or ordainment some one of the apostles or of apostolic men. For this is the manner in which the apostolic Churches transmit their registers, as the Church of Smyrna, which records that Polycarp was placed there by John, as also the Church of Rome, which makes Clement to have been ordained in like manner by Peter. In exactly the same way the other Churches likewise exhibit their several worthies: whom, as having been appointed to their episcopal places by apostles, they regard as transmitters of the apostolic seed. (Tert., *De Præscrip.*, cap. xxxii.)

Here Tertullian, while giving Rome an episcopal succession, does not place her above any other of the episcopally descended Churches.

From his protest it can be inferred that at the beginning of the third century he had not heard of the great powers afterwards claimed by the bishops of Rome. At the same time, he asks: Was anything held from the knowledge of Peter who is called "the rock on which the Church is built," who also obtained the keys, with the power of loosing and binding? But this statement cannot be held conclusive as to the Pope's present powers, and it is only by careful comparison of the context that a writer's real meaning can be understood.

Irenæus, who was acquainted with Polycarp, became Bishop of Lyons during the latter quarter

of the second century. Unfortunately, with the exception of a portion of his first book, which has been preserved in original Greek, no original MS. has come down to us, but only an ancient Latin version, and almost all that is known of him is to be found in Eusebius, lib. v.

The Latin is most barbarous and involved, and therefore his writings have not the authority they otherwise would have possessed. For they are second-hand, and only conjectural translations of their meanings can be made. I quote them, "quan. val."

In his refutation of heretics (lib. iii., cap. iii., Crobe, Greek and Latin, etc., Oxon. 1702; Brit. Mus. 476, 414), there appears: "Since, however, it would be very tedious to reckon up the successions of all the Churches, we do put to confusion all those who, in whatever manner, etc., assemble in unauthorised meetings; by indicating that tradition derived from the apostles, of the very great, the very ancient and universally known Church, founded and organised at Rome by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul; as also the faith preached to men, which comes down to our time by means of the succession of the bishops. For it is a matter of necessity that every Church should agree with this Church on account of its pre-eminent authority, that is, the faithful everywhere, inasmuch as the apostolical tradition has been preserved continuously by those

(faithful men) who existed everywhere, *not at Rome alone, but in all quarters.*"

Irenæus was writing "a refutation of the heretics, from the fact that in the various Churches a perpetual succession of bishops was kept up," and he singles out the Church of Rome because "it would be tedious to reckon up all the others." He does not assert that the Roman Church was founded by Peter only, but by Paul and Peter.

Some say that in the above sentences Irenæus admitted that the bishops of Rome governed the Church universal. But nothing can be clearer than the fact that Irenæus was speaking solely of the local Church of Rome—other Churches and their rulers being freely mentioned in the chapter in which reference is made to them, *i.e.*, chapter xxiv. lib. iii., at the end of which we read that Irenæus sent letters of exhortation not only to Victor, but likewise to the majority of the "other rulers of the Churches," [*memo.*, not one ruler]. As the Greek original has been lost, Littledale thus translates this passage:—"It is necessary that every Church should come together to (*convenire ad*) this Church because of its superior dignity (or preferable principality)." The superiority was secular, not religious; the definition is given by Cyprian (Ep. 52): "Plainly because Rome ought to precede Carthage by reason of its size."

The Council of Antioch (A.D. 341) gives the

principle on which the superiority is founded: "It is fit that the bishop in every province should know that the bishop presiding in the chief city (Metropolis) is to have superintendence of the whole province, because all people *come together* from all quarters to the chief city."

Irenæus in his subsequent conduct shows that he did not consider Victor to be an infallible Pope. For when Victor in excessive zeal against the Quartidicimans fulminated a sentence of excommunication mentioned before, Irenæus, according to Socrates, (Eccl. Hist. lib. v., cap. xxii.) severely censured him, telling him that although the ancients differed in their time for celebration of Easter, they did not depart from intercommunion.

There is much dispute as to the authenticity of these passages. But taking them as genuine, and giving the full meaning, they first state that "Peter and Paul," not Peter alone, founded the Church at Rome, and therefore every Church should agree with it. But it would be a strained construction to urge, that, *ergo*, every other Church should be *under its dominion*.

We must also recollect that Irenæus wrote in Greek, and that the original is lost; so that these words are not a translation of his, but a barbarous and ungrammatical synopsis from a Latin translation of what it is conjectured Irenæus may have written. "Convenire ad" is translated "to agree with."

Eusebius (Eccl. Hist., lib. v., cap. xxiv.) gives us a fragment of Irenæus's letter to Pope Victor. It appears to have been a synodical epistle to the head of the Roman Church regarding the dispute referred to, ante, as to the date of observing Easter :—

“And those presbyters who governed the Church before Soter, and over which you now preside—I mean Anicetus and Pius, Hyginus, with Telesphorus and Xystus—neither did themselves observe, nor did they permit those after them to observe it. And yet, though they themselves did not observe it, they were not the less in peace with those Churches where it was observed. . . . And when the blessed Polycarp went to Rome in the time of Anicetus, and they had a little difference among themselves likewise respecting other matters, they immediately were reconciled. . . . For neither could Anicetus *persuade* Polycarp not to observe it . . . neither did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, who said he was bound to maintain the practice of the presbyters before him. Which things being so, they communed with each other, and in the Church, Anicetus yielded to Polycarp the office of consecrating the Eucharist, and they separated in peace.”

It is a fair conclusion to draw that, imperfect though these fragments may be, and condensed as they are, and not presumed to be the exact words of the original text, yet there is sufficient to gather the impression that Irenæus is recording the fact that

the then bishop at Rome (Anicetus) yielded to Polycarp, and did not attempt to force upon his Church his own opinion as to the exact date for keeping Easter. The whole circumstance shows a feeling of equality between the bishops rather than of subserviency the one to the other.

Irenæus, according to Greenwood (p. 33, *Cath. Petri*), is not to be understood as referring to the Roman Church as the exclusive source of authentic tradition. In the section of his work immediately preceding that containing the passage just quoted, he observes : that the tradition of the apostles had been published throughout the world ; and that in every Church, those who chose might ascertain what was their genuine doctrine. He could, he adds, if he pleased, enumerate all the bishops who had been inaugurated in those Churches and their successors, down to his own day, etc. However, as this would be too tedious a process, he has selected the traditions of the Roman Church, etc.

Origen was probably born about A.D. 185 at Alexandria. He was well educated, and considered so learned that he was asked to expound the Scriptures in the presence of Alexander and Theocritus, bishops of Jerusalem and Cæsarea. It is said that he wrote about 6000 volumes. One of his works, the *De Principiis*, was translated from the Greek by Rufinus ; but Jerome found so many liberties taken with the text, that he undertook a new translation

(*vide* Crombie's "Writings of Origen," Ante-Nic. Fathers).

Rufinus, in his prologue, admits that he "has found in the original Greek many stumbling-blocks, but he has so smoothed and corrected them in his translation, that a Latin reader would meet with nothing which could appear discordant with our belief" !! This statement is of itself sufficient to destroy all trust in the writings of Origen as declared by Rufinus. It is one example of the manner in which the writings of the old Fathers were tampered with in those early times. As another commentary upon the constant danger of interpolation, this very Rufinus adjures by the Holy Trinity, and beseeches any transcriber of his translations, under pain of hell, to keep from any insertion or alteration in the manuscript! This shows how prevalent must have been pious frauds, interpolations, and forgeries in those days. But, taking the record of Origen as we now find it, he remarks, in his tirade against Celsus (cap. xxix., vol. ii., bk. iii., An. Nic. Fathers):—"Whereas the Churches of God, which are entrusted by Christ, when carefully contrasted, etc., are as beacons in the world. For the Church of God which is at Athens, and you may say the same thing of the Church of God at Corinth, of Alexandria."

He continues:—

"In like manner, in comparing the council of the Church of God with the council of any city, you

would find certain councillors worthy to rule in the city of God, if there be any such city in the whole world." (I give the literal translation.)

No mention here of Rome: Athens, Corinth, Alexandria mentioned, yet the seat of the supreme Bishop—the head Church of all—passed over in silence.

Gregory Thaumaturgus had been ordained Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea in his absence—a most unheard-of proceeding. The date of his ordination is about A.D. 240. In his panegyric of Origen, his teacher, he states:—

“The Son above knows how to praise the Father worthily. In Christ, and by Christ our thanksgivings ought to be rendered to the Father.”

He omits any mention of an intervener on earth. Again, in the twelve Topics of the Faith, he lays down the grounds of belief (vol. xx., p. 109, Ante-Nic. Fathers), and anathematizes all those who do not believe these twelve Topics; but fealty to Rome or the Bishop of Rome is not touched upon, neither is Rome mentioned.

I have been unable to find amongst Gregory's writings any allusion to Rome, by which we might gather that he ever knew of the pretensions of the papacy.

Dionysius was the pupil of Origen, subsequently presbyter of Alexandria, and finally bishop of that city in A.D. 247. He wrote much, but only a few fragments of his letters remain. Eusebius has incor-

porated, in the 6th and 7th books of his history, some of them. He had been charged with "making three gods." His namesake of Rome wrote to inquire about this error. His reply shows absolute independence. There is no evidence that either side claimed or admitted any metropolitan or dogmatic authority as belonging especially to Rome. That Rome should write rather than any other Church is explained by the facts that Rome was the Empire's metropolis, whose Church had unique opportunities, and would be especially conversant with the disturbed condition of the Corinthian Church. (Plummer's "Early Church," p. 85; see also p. 191, vol. xx., Ante-Nicene Library.)

It was also the common custom, as shown above, for one Church to write to another.

He also writes to Stephen, Bishop of Rome:—"Understand, however, my brother, that all the Churches located in the East are now made one again." (Ep. v. *idem*.)

In Epistle vi. to Sextus (p. 218, vol. xx., Ante-Nic. Library), Dionysius writes:—"That Stephen had written letters, etc., giving them to understand that for that same reason he would depart from their communion, because they rebaptized heretics." I have referred to this in a former chapter. The supposition has been made that Stephen threatened to excommunicate the Eastern Churches; but the threat of departing from their

communion hardly comes up to the idea of the "excommunication" now generally understood by the Church. Stephen might threaten to withdraw from communion, and such a threat would be within his powers. He might compel those within his own jurisdiction to avoid all intercourse with the Eastern heretics, but that does not convey the same idea as "excommunication" would now convey, if fulminated by the Pope of Rome.

Eusebius (Eccl. Hist., lib. vii., cap. v.) records that after Stephen had held the episcopal office for two years, he was succeeded by Xystus. Dionysius makes the following remarks on Stephen:—"He had written before respecting Helenus, etc., and all nations adjoining, that he would not have communion with them; on this account because they said he rebaptized heretics."

Eusebius prefaces his notice of Dionysius thus:—

"And first we must speak of Dionysius, who imparted liberally of his inspired industry, not only to those under him, but to those elsewhere; also making himself most useful to all, in the Catholic principles which he indited to the Churches of Lacedæmon, Athens, Nicomedia, and the other Churches in Crete, and the Churches in Pontus, Cinosus, and Rome, as well as to his most faithful sister Chrysophora. In mentioning the letter of the Bishop of Rome to him, he speaks of it as the letter of the Roman Church, not of the Roman Bishop."

St. Hilary, who lived about the end of the third century, and whose praise is in all the Churches, calls Pope Liberius an Apostate, and anathematises him:—"I say anathema to thee, Liberius, and to thy accomplices."

St. Vincent of Lerius, in expounding the Rule of Faith, most wonderfully neglects to assert the infallible supremacy of Rome, which, according to the Canon, is the one necessary foundation of that rule, and indeed its very essence (p. 13., "Sup. Rome," by Mitchell).

In the teaching of Addeus the Apostle, collected from a Syriac document, said not to be later than the fifth century, it states that Antioch, Syria, Cilicia, Galatia, even to Pontus, received the apostles' ordination to the priesthood from Simon Cephas, who went up from Antioch and himself laid the foundation of the Church there, and afterwards to Rome, and founded the Church there as well as in all Italy, Spain, Britain. He was ruler and guide there.

Here it appears that Antioch and the neighbouring Churches shared the same privileges as those which Peter gave to Rome.

CHAPTER XV

DID THE EARLY SYNODS OR COUNCILS TO A.D. 325 ACKNOWLEDGE THE SUPREMACY OF THE BISHOPS OF ROME ?

IT does not appear that any detailed instructions were ever left by Christ or His apostles as to a synodal system for the Christian Church.

Christians of all shades have sought the prototype of every Christian Council in that of Jerusalem, recorded in Acts xv. The other apostolic assemblies, reported in Acts i., vi., xxi., are irrelevant.

The record in Acts xv. is so scanty that little can be gathered from it. The decrees seem to be a practical compromise for the sake of peace. A controversy had arisen as to the necessity of circumcision for salvation, as before mentioned in the chapter on Peter. The question was referred to a Council at Jerusalem, presided over by James, *not* by Peter. It is James who, in chap. xv., v. 19, *ibid.*, says:—
“Wherefore *my* sentence is, that we trouble not them which, from among the Gentiles, are turned to God.”
This Council took place *after* our Saviour’s death, when Peter’s position must have been established ;

but even here he does not seem to have claimed or held supremacy. He certainly says:—"You 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," etc. "Now, therefore, why tempt ye God," etc.

According to the modern Roman theory, the appeal to a synod would have been unnecessary. The matter should have been referred to Peter alone, who would have given an infallible judgment without having recourse to James as the mouth-piece of the assembly.

Although there are records of local synods called in divers places, there do not appear to have been any General Councils for some centuries. In the middle of the third century, local councils or synods had become standing institutions in Asia Minor and in North Africa; and as time rolled on we find Councils meeting in almost every Christian diocese. But no one diocese claimed a superiority over another. A meeting under one bishop was a diocesan synod; under a metropolitan it was a provincial synod. A General Synod usually consisted of an assembly of bishops, either of the Western or Eastern divisions of the Church. Such was that of Arles, in 314 A.D., to which place Constantine summoned the bishops of the Western Church.

The necessity for summoning this Council or Synod had arisen because Donatus had accused Cecilian, Bishop of Carthage, to Constantine the Great. The

Emperor referred the case to Pope Melchiades and to Marcus, and also to three French bishops, together with whom assembled fifteen bishops of Italy. These gave judgment against Donatus.

Eusebius gives us a copy of the Emperor Constantine's rescript, in which he ordains the said Council of bishops to be held at Rome "*for the unity and peace of the Church*" (bk. x., cap. v.). It commences thus:—"Constantine to Miltiades, Bishop of Rome, and to Marcus. As I have received many communications, etc., in which Cæcilianus, Bishop of Carthage, was accused by his colleagues in Africa, etc., I have resolved that the said Cæcilianus, together with ten bishops who appear to accuse him, and ten others whom he may himself consider necessary for his cause, shall sail to Rome. That you being present there, as also your colleagues, whom I have ordered to hasten to Rome, Reticus, Maternus, and Marinus, may most justly decide," etc.

The case was tried and given against Donatus; but he appears to have ignored the Pope's decision, and to have appealed to Constantine. The Emperor also did not consider the Pope's judgment final, for he allowed the appeal, and gave an order for a new trial.

In this case, the order summoning the Council for a new trial was sent to Chrestus, Bishop of Syracuse. Eusebius sets forth the order thus:—"Constantine to Chrestus, Bishop of Syracuse: As there were some

already beginning to waver in the Catholic religion, I had thus written that the same might be rectified by delegating certain bishops from Gaul, and summoning others of the opposite party from Africa, who are contending with one another, that by careful examination in their presence, it might be decided, etc., etc. But they, being unwilling to conform to the decision already promulgated, and stating that all points had not been fully discussed, and had been fully discussed, and had been decided with too much haste and precipitancy, etc., etc., I have ordered them all to proceed to Arles by public vehicle and settle the question."

The roll of those who attended that Council is still extant. We note here that the Council was not summoned by the Bishop of Rome, but rather in appeal from him, and that the delegate from Rome signed fifth on the list below the signature of the British bishops; so from this we may gather that up to 314 A.D., no supreme judicial power had been granted to the Bishop of Rome.

It appears that the early emperors were in the habit of summoning these Councils as they wished, and delegating powers to some bishop to preside. But I can find no record of a Bishop of Rome of the early times summoning a General Council *proprio motu*.

It is worthy of note here, that the three British bishops assembled at this Council were those of York, London, and probably Caerleon-upon-Usk.

Their presence indicates a state of advanced Christianity in England, which militates against the contention that Augustine first introduced Christianity into this country.

Sacred writers differ as to what are the Councils that should be termed Œcumenical and binding for the whole Church. Hefele gives a list of twenty, commencing from Nicæa, A.D. 325, including Trent A.D. 1545, and ending in the Vatican Council, A.D. 1869 to 1870. I give the list as generally acknowledged by the Roman Catholic Church:—

| | A.D. |
|--|-----------|
| 1. The Council of Nicæa | 325 |
| 2. 1st Council at Constantinople | 381 |
| 3. Council at Ephesus | 431 |
| 4. " " Chalcedon | 451 |
| 5. 2nd " Constantinople | 553 |
| 6. 3rd " " | 680 |
| 7. 2nd " Nicæa | 787 |
| 8. 4th " Constantinople | 869 |
| 9. 1st Lateran | 1128 |
| 10. 2nd " | 1139 |
| 11. 3rd " | 1179 |
| 12. 4th " | 1215 |
| 13. 1st Council at Lyons | 1245 |
| 14. 2nd " " " | 1274 |
| 15. Council at Vienne | 1311 |
| 16. " " Constance | 1414-1418 |
| 17. " " Basil | 1431-1438 |
| 17b. " " Florence | 1438-1442 |
| 18. 5th Lateran | 1512-1517 |
| 19. The Council of Trent | 1545-1593 |
| 20. The Vatican Council | 1869-1870 |

In looking over the history of these several Councils, one is struck with the political manœuvring exercised in the appointment of the members, and the tone that seems to have pervaded their consultations. It is, however, the point of this research to attempt to discover in what manner Rome was looked upon by the earlier Synods and Councils. Was her supremacy acknowledged? Was it taken to be an admitted fact not to be questioned, in such a way as Parliament accepts the supremacy of our King? History gives a decided negative to this.

In the first Synods and Councils it is quite apparent that those assembled, whether bishops, presbyters, or laity, had no conception of any Roman supremacy. Even Pius II., when Cardinal, admitted that very little regard was had to the Church of Rome before the Nicene Council. (Cave, p. 376.)

It is also important to note that although Rome claims ancient supremacy, no General Councils or Synods were ever held at Rome until the twelfth century. They were all held in the East, and were summoned by emperors. In the above list I have only quoted those Councils acknowledged as Œcumenical by the Romanist writers; but long before A.D. 325, local synods or diocesan councils were held. It seems to have been the practice in every diocese.

The first Synod mentioned by Eusebius in his history is a very large one held at Rome; but it could not have been a General Council, because in the same

chapter (bk. vi., cap. xliii.), he records (A.D. 250) how Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, sent an account of the Council to Fabius of Antioch; while Cyprian sends reports of his, and the opinions of the bishops of Africa, on the same point. It was merely a meeting of those Italian bishops subject to Rome. A much larger Council was held on the heresies of Paul of Samosata at *Antioch* A.D. 270, in which all the most eminent bishops are named (bk. vii., cap. xxvii., xxviii.).

In A.D. 253, sixty-six bishops met at Carthage to settle the petition from Bishop Fidus, prohibiting the baptism of infants. Rome does not appear to have been consulted in these deliberations. Cyprian presided over the Council, and Fidus' petition was rejected.

I have referred to the appeal of the two bishops of Leon and Merida, in Chapter V., how they had sacrificed to idols; and how one of them (Martial) had buried his children with pagan rites. They had admitted their lapse and had abdicated. They both afterwards procured a declaration from the then Bishop of Rome, Stephen, that he held them to be still occupants of their respective Sees. The Spanish Churches appealed to Cyprian against this ruling. A Council of thirty-seven bishops assembled at Carthage accepted the appeal, and reversed the Roman sentence. There is no further reference to the Roman see in the matter; they simply say:—

“Our colleague” (*not our master or supreme bishop*) “was a long way off, and ignorant of the facts and of the truth.” They acquitted him of all blame, but of negligence. They make not the most distant allusion to any inherent prerogative in his office as Bishop of Rome. (Ep. 67, Synodia, cap. v.; Ben. Cypr. 238.)

There were three appeals to Synods or Councils of the Church of Africa at Carthage under Cyprian against ecclesiastical judgments of the Bishop of Rome, and they were reversed. The Pope was also admonished of his duty towards Novatianists, and was requested to transmit an account of it to Carthage.

It is plain that Firmilian, in A.D. 264-269, had never heard of the Romish claims of supremacy. He affirms the apostolic antiquity of re-baptism; touches upon the quasi-supremacy of Jerusalem (not Rome); expatiates on unity, and compares the conduct of Rome to that of Judas, without misgiving. In two other letters, he remarks:—“And Stephen is not ashamed to afford such his patronage against the Church, and to say—Cyprian is a false Christ, and a false apostle, and teacher, and worker; and conscious that all these flaws are in himself, forestalls them by falsely laying to another’s charge what he should have quite deservedly said of himself.”

Would a Roman Catholic bishop dare to say that of the Pope now? And yet Firmilian was president of the third Council of Antioch, and the foremost

Church ruler in the East. May we not draw the conclusion that the relations between Rome and the Christian Churches were quite different in the earlier centuries to what they afterwards became?

In the great controversies concerning the lapsed and re-baptism, it is to be observed that out of all those who asked Cyprian's advice, of all his own councillors, of prelates assembled from Africa, Numidia, of Firmilian, and Dionysius the Great—not one suggests the least deference to the Roman See, nor mentions its estimate of itself as an element in the question, or as a scruple to be borne in mind. (Benson's "Life of Cyprian," p. 384.)

CHAPTER XVI

DID ALL THE SYNODS OR COUNCILS SUMMONED IN THE FIRST EIGHT CENTURIES UNANIMOUSLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE SUPREMACY OF THE BISHOPS OF ROME ?

I REMARKED in the last chapter on the fact that the locality of the first seven General Councils was always Eastern, and within the jurisdiction of the Eastern Church. These were never held in Rome nor in Roman Church jurisdiction; neither were they ever summoned by the popes of Rome, but by emperors.

The eighth Council was held at Constantinople A.D. 869. The debates were conducted in Greek, never in Latin.

How is it possible for the popes to reconcile their present pretensions with this historic fact ?

The Council of Nicæa, held in A.D. 325, may be fairly termed the first Œcumenical Council of the Christian Church. It was summoned by Constantine to consider the question raised in the Arian controversy. Eusebius writes :—"To God alone was the healing of these differences an easy task, and Constantine appeared the only one on earth capable of

being his minister for this great end." It settled the Nicene Creed, and also decided the Paschal question. Eusebius appears to ignore the Bishop of Rome here, and makes Constantine the only "minister of God" (Eus., cap. v., lib. iii., "Life of Constantine").

It was not summoned by, or at the instance of the Bishop of Rome (Sylvester), and Eusebius incidentally mentions him in the list of bishops who were summoned. He was ill at the time, and sent his two presbyters to represent him. They never sat next to the Emperor's right or left hand. In fact, they do not seem to have held any higher status than many of the other bishops. Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, and Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, sat on the immediate right and left hand of the Emperor.

Eusebius, in giving an account of the 250 or more bishops summoned for their wisdom and eloquence, does not distinguish the Roman from any other Church. As the order of precedence was closely followed, it is fair to presume he had no knowledge of her sole supremacy and infallibility.

It was declared in the 6th Canon as follows:—

"That the old custom should continue to exist, *i.e.*, that the Bishop of Alexandria should have jurisdiction over all these (provinces), for there is a similar relation for the Bishop of Rome," etc.

Papists and anti-papists have both quoted this Canon for and against the primacy of the Pope. But Phillips remarks, with justice, as Hefele says;—

“It is evident that this Canon cannot be used to demonstrate the primacy of the Pope.”

As the Creed of Nicæa is the first deliberate composition of Articles of Faith, so the signatures at Nicæa form the first example of subscription to such articles. And they guide us to estimate the status then held by Rome.

Some imperfect lists have been preserved in various forms. But at the head of all these lists is the signature of Hosius of Cordova, who writes under the articles:—“So I believe as above written.” After his signature come that of the two presbyters, who sign thus:—“We have subscribed for our bishop, who is the Bishop of Rome. So he believes as above is written.”

Labbi gives the list as follows:—

“Osius episcopus civitatis Cordubensis provinciæ Hispaniæ dixit. Ita credo sicut superius Scriptum est.”

Then comes:—

“Victor et Vincentius presbyteri urbis Romæ pro venerabile viro papa et episcopo nostro sancto Silvestro subscrip: ita credentes, sicut supra Scriptum est” (*vide* Ampli. Collectio Sacrorum Conciliorum, Labbi, Tom. xi., p. 692).

With regard to the Paschal controversy, I may here note that when the Bishop of Alexandria settled the date, the See of Rome had no power to alter it,

but had to appeal to the Emperor (Neale's "Alex. Church," i. 18).

Stanley, in his "Eastern Church," Lec. v., p. 180, writes:—

"We see also how the claims of the Roman Church, so highly exalted in later Roman annals, have no place in the true contemporary accounts of the Council. In the descriptions of Eusebius and Athanasius, the Bishop of Rome is an old man, kept away by illness."

The popes *now* claim to be able to summon General Councils, and to rule free and unrestrained from all temporal authority; but in the fourth century we note that the bishops of Rome claimed no power to summon the Councils; they did not attempt to do so, and they obeyed the summons of emperors to come when called with other bishops.

When Athanasius was banished by the Synod of Tyre, held towards the latter end of A.D. 335, Constantine issued an edict ordering him to be restored. Athanasius, against whom the Arians had combined, was protected by Pope Julius, who attained the papal chair A.D. 337. The Arians had determined to ruin Athanasius, and they wrote to Julius to assent to the acts of the Synod of Tyre. In the meantime, Eusebius and his party had summoned a Synod at Antioch, and they deposed Athanasius, who thereupon went to Julius at Rome. Julius cites the Eusebians to come to the proposed

Council. The Antioch Council replies that there were other places more convenient. They acknowledged the Church at Rome to be very venerable, as having been from the first the seat of the apostles, yet it was beholden to the East for those great men who had planted and propagated religion there—that the dignity of bishops was not to be measured by the greatness of cities.

Does not this imply that the actual status of the Church of Rome was attributable to Rome's great position as a city? They add that he had taken upon him to examine the acts of the Council of Tyre which ought not to be called in question. In short, they offered to hold peace and communion with Julius only if he would ratify the deprivation of those whom they had deposed—otherwise they would have nothing to do with him. They dismiss his legates with a sharp letter, telling Julius that though he had the greater See, they were not otherwise inferior to him; that they took it ill that he had communicated with Athanasius, whose cause to espouse was to affront the Synod, and in effect to annul their sentence, which they looked upon as highly unjust and contrary to the rule of the Church. In short, if he would reject those whom they had deposed, and receive those whom they had substituted, they were ready to hold peace and communion with him. If not, they renounced him and his communion (Sozomen, *Eccl. Hist.*, bk. iii.,

cap. viii.). Julius wrote complaining of the bitterness of their letters, and that contrary to the Canons of the Church they had not invited him to the Synod, whereas ecclesiastical rule and custom had made the Bishop of Rome to be concerned in all important determinations (Soc., Eccl. Hist., lib. ii., cap. xvii.). No claim is made here based upon "Divine Command or Tradition." He goes on to add that the great Nicene Council had given their permission that the Canons of one Council should be tried by another. (Hefele, "Canons and Councils".)

This correspondence shows that up to A.D. 327, the bishops of Rome were not acknowledged as supreme by the bishops of Antioch; and the reply given by Julius proves that he merely bases any authority he may have possessed on ecclesiastical rule and custom; and that only so far as to claim a right "to be concerned in all important determinations," not a sole right as an appellate authority.

At the General Synod held at Sardica, convened by the Emperor, the Eastern bishops wrote to the Western bishops that they would not sit with them unless Athanasius and his fellows were first expelled; and as their request was not granted, the Synod divided, and their meetings were held in separate rooms, and they issued edicts of condemnation against each other. The Eastern bishops deposed Julius, Bishop of Rome, "ut principem et ducem malorum," as captain and ring-leader of the whole

mischief. They state that he had first opened the door to communion with wicked and condemned persons, etc., and had boldly presumed to defend Athanasius. (*Vide* Sozomen, bk. iii., cap. xi.)

While the Eastern bishops were thus pouring out the vials of their wrath, the Western passed the third, fourth and fifth Canons in favour of Julius, *granting him power "to receive appeals out of other provinces, and if bishops were aggrieved at home, or unjustly deposed, or that their case could not be conveniently determined, they might have recourse to "Julius of Rome," who should have power to decide their cause.* It is well to note here, that the Western bishops more immediately under Rome were for Julius, while the Eastern, farther removed, and out of his jurisdiction, were against him.

We may infer from these Canons that, up to their enactment, Rome had no right or prescription to hear appeals; for if Rome held such authority, this enactment would have been unnecessary. Julius' successors are not named, and the Council was not Œcumenical, nor the Canons enacted by unanimous consent.

The Abbés Gosebler and Delare, in translating Hefele's account, remark on behalf of the papacy: "The principal of appeal had already been contained in *the idea of the primacy*, and had been put in practice before this Canon was promulgated."

The reply to this is, that there was then no such

“idea of a primacy” as was afterwards evolved, and the opinion is but an opinion hardly based on reliable evidence. May it not rather be evidence of a *new* idea!

A curious incident, which can hardly be explained, if we look to the Pope as an infallible guide, appears when the Bishop of Rome convened a Synod at Rimini, held A.D. 360, in which the Latin bishops, beguiled by Valens and Ursacius, two bishops of Illyricum, imprudently signed minutes susceptible of an heretical sense. They had no sooner returned home than they found out their mistake, and repented of it. (Sulp. Sev., *His. Sac.*, lib. ii., p. 419-436; Edit. Lugd. Bal. 1647; Gibbon's *R. E.*, vol. iii., p. 342.) Gibbon remarks that the story is elegantly told by Sulp. Severus.

This was not an Œcumenical Council, and the Pope could, as any other bishop could in his own diocese, summon a synod or diocesan Council, but the remarkable fact appears—that the Latin bishops admitted that they had been deceived into signing minutes, which after return to their homes they discovered must have been wrong.

The Council of Chalcedon was summoned A.D. 451, and by the 28th Canon, it was declared “that the Fathers properly gave primacy to the throne of the elder Rome, *because that was the Imperial City*, and the 150 most religious bishops (Council of Constantinople, Canon 3) gave privileges

to 'New Rome.' Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch—Jerusalem the most august See of all, the See of our Lord's brother, was not made into a Patriarchate until this Council so declared." The whole gist of the importance allowed to Rome appears in the words—"because it was the *Imperial City*," and probably such was the truth. These bishops decreed her qualified supremacy—not because she claimed through tradition, or because her bishop was the legitimate successor of St. Peter, but merely on the ground of the importance of the city in which the See had been placed. This Canon is valuable as a guide to comprehending the impression on the minds of those ancient Fathers present. It shows that although they were all desirous of increasing the power of Rome, yet they were ignorant of Rome's supremacy as claimed hereafter.

Patriarchs, like metropolitans, took rank from the civil importance of the See.

From the fact of increasing her conquests, it would be natural that the presiding prelate at Rome should claim a certain jurisdiction over the priests and Churches founded by missionaries sent out to those conquered places.

Gregory VI., in a Council held by Henry III. at Sutri A.D. 1046, was charged with simony and degraded, he having bought off the two anti-Popes, Sylvester III. and John XX. (Hefele, "Councils," vol. vi.)

Moore states, in his "Lectures on the Reformation," p. 336, that in A.D. 681, the most important illustration of the relations between Pope and Council in the period preceding separation of East and West, is the condemnation of Pope Honorius by the 6th General Council of Constantinople. This Pope had openly espoused the Monothelite heresy, and officially taught it in pontifical letters, and was in consequence condemned and anathematised. Littledale has it that a later successor, Gregory II., assured the Spanish bishops that Pope Honorius was certainly damned (case of Honorius, "Petrine Claims," pp. 114-118). The proceedings of this Council are such a blow to papal claims that every attempt has been made to explain them away, even to alleging the proceedings were forged (Baronius), but without success.

It was in A.D. 1123 that the first Lateran Council was held by Calixtus II., who then for the first time published decrees in his own name:—"Auctoritate sedis apostolicæ prohibemus." (Janus, p. 191; Canon 1, Hefele, vol. vii., p. 181.)

"For a long time, however, the tradition that the Council was the true counterpoise against papal arrogance, and was the final appeal in cases of heresy, lingered on in the memory of Western Christendom."

The Council of Pisa, A.D. 1409, summoned to put an end to the Great Schism, succeeded in deposing both the rival Popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., and electing a new one, Alexander V. But no reforms

were carried out, and the deposed Popes refusing to submit to the Council, the schism became a triple instead of a double one. Still, the power of the Council was asserted in spite of the dogma enunciated a century later by Leo X., that the Pope has full and unlimited authority over Councils, and can at his good pleasure summon, remove, or dissolve them. This so-called Council was a packed Council, consisting of fifty-three Italian bishops. The authorities cited were either fictions or forgeries, although they are relied on by Manning to support the infallibility of the Pontiffs. (*Vide* Janus, a Romanist author, pp. 198 to 293, who remarks: that from A.D. 1378 to 1409, Western Christendom was divided into two obediences, viz.,—French and Italian; and from A.D. 1409 to 1414 into three—*i.e.*, we have here three Popes reigning at the same time.)

The Council of Constance A.D. 1416—the largest in point of numbers ever held in the West; for nearly 600 doctors and bishops were present—assembled for reform “in head and members, according to the imperative will of Europe.” They passed without protest that “every lawfully convoked Œcumenical Council representing the Church derives its authority immediately from Christ, and every one, the Pope included, is subject to it in matters of faith, in the healing of schism, and the reformation of the Church.” In pursuance of this expressed belief of Western Christendom, Pope John XXIII., the most worthless

and infamous man of his time, was deposed for adultery and confined in a dungeon, and Martin V. elected in his stead. (Hefele, "Councils," Tom. x., p. 439.)

Eugenius was deposed by the Council of Basle A.D. 1431, and Nicolas V. revoked all that he had uttered against that Council.

Pius II., A.D. 1458, visited every appeal to a Council with excommunication. So although *de jure*, the Council was supreme; *de facto* the Pope was to be omnipotent. (Moore, p. 337.)

I have stated before that all Councils held during the first nine centuries, and which were counted Œcumenical, were held in the East, such as at Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, or Chalcedon, and not at Rome. Surely if Rome were then acknowledged supreme, the great Councils would have been held in that city or diocese. It was nothing unusual in those days for the Council to override the protest of the Pope or his legates, as in the case of Chalcedon, which exalted Constantinople to the second place.

From A.D. 1123, it may be said that the Councils were merely machines for promulgating papal decrees. A contemporary, Walter Hedingford, remarks on the Vienna Council:—"This assemblage cannot be called a Council, for the Pope did everything out of his own head, so that the Council neither answered nor assented."

The words of a Dominican in 1484 expressed the

feeling of the age:—"The world cries for a Council, but how can one be obtained in the present condition of the heads of the Church? No human power avails any longer to reform the Church through a Council, and God Himself must come to our aid in some way unknown to us." These "infallible" popes, as a rule, were the greatest opponents to reform, and yet they were termed "Vicars of Christ."

We may notice how desirous Luther was to appeal to a General Council, and the fear of the very name of Council evinced by Clement VII. (Moore, p. 338.)

It is not my province in this treatise to trace the gradual extinction of power in the Councils, and its transfer to the popes. But neither infallibility, omnipotence, nor the supremacy of the Pope was ever formulated by the earlier Councils. The Council of Chalcedon increased the papal authority, but merely upon the ground that Rome was the greater city.

For the first three centuries there do not appear any Councils in which this question of supremacy and infallibility had ever been raised, or even thought of.

The fact that the popes thus in a long struggle conquered the Council, is against the pretensions of the Roman Church; for if it had been clearly enunciated from the time of the death of Peter that the popes were gifted from above with infallibility and power over all the Churches, they would not have had

to fight for 1400 years to obtain that which they allege was their prerogative from the first.

So we find that the power of Councils, whose predecessors had sat in judgment on the popes, had condemned some for adultery and heresy, and excommunicated others, at last disappears, leaving the alleged infallible Vicar of Christ with his usurped powers, to be "judged by no man" or body of men on earth. But wonderful to say, that immediately upon this culmination of papal dominion, the Pope's temporal supremacy was swept away, and he has become a prisoner in his own palace.

CHAPTER XVII

ON THE VALUE OF TRADITION

TRADITION includes oral statements of events alleged to have happened in the past. Its historic value decreases in proportion to the length of time elapsing from the happening of the supposed event.

The great weight allowed to tradition by the Romanists constitutes one of the vital differences separating the Roman from the Anglican Church.

The Romanists exalt tradition to equal if not greater value than the Bible. But while the latter appears to have been kept singularly free from forgery or interpolation, the former is admitted on all sides to be honeycombed with both.

Cardinal Manning writes (p. 132, vol. i., Pur. "Life of Manning"):

"1. That there is a living judge of interpretations guided by an inspiration, the same in kind with that which dictated the Holy Scriptures.

"2. That the rule by which the judge shall proceed is, 'what was anciently received.'

"3. That some points of belief (which, if it means anything more than the sixth Article of the Church

of England, must mean of necessity faith), were not committed to writing in Holy Scriptures, but rest on *oral* tradition alone.

“Acting on this rule, Rome, at the Council of Trent, added to the Nicene Creed many doctrines which cannot be proved in Holy Scripture, *e.g.*, transubstantiation, purgatory, invocation of saints, veneration of images, indulgences.

“4. Rome requires a profession of this faith as necessary for Communion.”

He then contrasts the Roman rule with the Anglican, thus:—

Rome asserts oral tradition is a sufficient proof of points of necessary belief.

The Church of England:—that the Scripture is the only sufficient proof of necessary faith.

Rome says:—Doctrinal Articles added to Pius' Creed may be proved by Scripture, but need not.

The Church of England says:—They ought to be proved from Scripture, but cannot.

Rome maintains that they are binding, because they are apostolic traditions.

The Church of England denies that they are apostolic traditions, in as much as they will not stand the Catholic test, not being primitive, nor have they ever been universal, nor held with consent of all Churches.

Manning writes to a lady, in a letter dated May 6th, 1850:—

“MY DEAREST,—Judging by the evidence of the Primitive Church, there are many, and they very grave and vital, points on which the Church of England seems more in harmony with Holy Scripture than the Church of Rome” (vol i., p. 473, *ibid.*).

The Cardinal has quoted the Council of Trent as the authority for the Roman doctrines then enunciated, but which could not be proven from Holy Writ, and also states “that Rome requires a profession of this faith as necessary for communion with her.”

The Roman Church does not allow the laity to investigate this tradition for themselves. Even in the face of doubts as to its trustworthiness, the laity dare not weigh its value nor sift the evidence; but the findings of the Church *must* be considered holy and inspired.

Rome claims to be able to pick out the true from the false, and bids her children take her “dicta” unquestioned.

She says:—You must trust us—you must not even examine for yourself. For the Holy Spirit which guides the Councils of the Church bids you be satisfied without search. You are forbidden to read even the English Bible. In the “Index Expurgatorius” you will find histories, volumes of research, which you must not read. Be satisfied!

Is Roman Catholicism changing?

In the 5th General Rule in the “Index Expurgatorius” it is written: “Since experience hath taught

that through the rashness, ignorance, or malice of men, more harm than good has arisen from the use of the sacred books in the vulgar tongues," therefore "all Bibles in any such languages are forbidden, together with every part thereof, whether printed or in manuscript." Leo XII. calls the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongues the *perversion* of the Bible, and it may turn into a "Gospel of the Devil" (T.C., p. 15). Yet against this order there has lately appeared a Testament printed and recommended by Cardinal Vaughan and other Roman Catholic bishops (*vide* Cath. Truth Tract, 8th Feb., 1899).

"Search for the truth"—the Jesuit Humphreys says—"but only in the paths dictated by the Church. Read no histories, no books of research, that the Church does not allow"—your place is to hunt, to shoot, to entertain, but to search for truth—never!

Archbishop Whately has set out (p. 75, "Apos. Suc. Considered") the estimation in which the works of the Fathers should be held:—"When men do come to consider and inquire into the foundation on which they are told to rest their own hopes of eternal life, and to pronounce condemnation on those who differ from them; doubt, dissatisfaction, and danger of ultimate disaffection will beset them, etc., etc. For when referred to the works of the orthodox ancient Fathers, they find that a very large portion of these works is lost; some fragments or reports of them by other writers alone remaining: they find again that

what has come down to us is so vast in amount that a life is not sufficient for the attentive study of even the chief part of it. They find these authors are far from being agreed, on all points, with each other or with themselves; and that learned men again are not agreed in the interpretation of them; and still less agreed on the orthodoxy of each, and the degree of weight due to his judgment on several points;—not even agreed, by some centuries, as to the degree of antiquity that is to make the authority of each decisive, or more or less approaching to decisive. Everything is obscure, uncertain, disputable, and actually disputed!" And he ably sums up in the following words:—"They (the earliest inquirers) can perceive that the mass of Christians are called upon to believe and to do what is essential to Christianity, in implicit reliance on the reports of their respective pastors, as to what certain deep theological antiquarians have reported to them respecting the reports given by certain ancient Fathers of the reports current in their times concerning apostolical usages and institutions."

Again he states:—"To learn what has been said and done by eminent men in every age of the Church, is interesting, etc., etc. But the mistake is to assume on the ground of presumptuous conjecture—for of proof there is no shadow—that these men were infallible interpreters of the apostles, and had received from them by tradition something not contained, or

not plainly set forth, in their writings; but which yet were designed by those very apostles as a necessary portion of Christianity" (p. 66).

St. Augustine, in writing to the Donatists, says:—
"You are accustomed to object against us the letters of Cyprian, the judgment of Cyprian, the Council held under Cyprian. Now who knows not that the holy and canonical scripture is confined solely to the Old and New Testament; and in this it is distinguished from the writings of all succeeding bishops, that no doubt or dispute whatever is to be had about the sacred Scriptures; but the letters of all bishops written after the confirmation of the sacred canon may be reprehended or corrected, if they deviate, etc., from the truth, by the more recent writings of any one having more knowledge than they; or by the weightier authority of other bishops or Councils. And even Councils themselves held in particular regions yield without question to the authority of Councils collected from the whole Christian world; universal Councils, and even these fuller Councils themselves are often corrected by those which follow them when actual experience hath brought something to light which was before hid, and something which escaped has become known; and all this ought to be done without any sacrilegious presumption, inflated arrogance, and with Christian charity." (Augustine, "De Baptismo Contra Donatistas," vol. vii., lib. ii., p. 40, Lugduni, 1586.)

Augustine in the above sentiments lays down the true principles of Protestantism, as settled at the Reformation. In fact, these principles were held by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, about the end of the fourth century. It is worthy of note that this powerful diocese of Milan was not then tributary to the papal chair.

“The bishops of Milan,” says Pope Pelagius, A.D. 555, “do not come to Rome for ordination.”

He further informs us that “this was an ancient custom of theirs.” The independence of Milan was not finally extinguished until Nicholas II. A.D. 1059. (*Vide* Platina, “*Historia delle Vite dei Somni Pontifici*,” p. 128, Venetia 1600.) One outcome of this independence was that the pure light of the Gospel shines here comparatively free from tradition.

Ambrose was Bishop of Milan for twenty-three years, and died A.D. 397. He lays no stress on tradition, but upholds the great doctrines afterwards set forth in the Reformation, and then held by a large portion of the Christian Church long after Rome had polluted the stream of Christianity, by thrusting the dogma of revelation by tradition upon her fold.

The doctrines enunciated by him differ in no essential respect from the doctrines with regard to tradition held by the Anglo-Catholic Church at this day. “The Bible alone was his rule of faith; Christ alone was the foundation of the Church; the

purification of the sinner, and the remission of sins, were not of human merit, but by the expiatory sacrifice of the Cross. There were but two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and in the latter, Christ was held to be present figuratively only." Such is a summary of the faith professed and taught by the chief bishop of the North of Italy in the end of the fourth century.

Rufinus of Aquilea, first metropolitan in the diocese of Milan, taught substantially the same doctrine in the fifth century. His treatise on the creed no more agrees with the catechism of the Council of Trent than do the present Protestant catechisms. The same may be said of Laurentius, Bishop of Milan in the sixth century; and in A.D. 590 we find the bishops of Italy and of the Grisons, to the number of nine, rejecting the communion of the Pope as a heretic.

In the seventh century, Mansuetus, Bishop of Milan, declared that the whole faith of the Church is contained in the Apostles' Creed, from which it is evident that he did not regard as necessary to salvation the additions which Rome had then commenced to make in the form of traditions. The Ambrosian liturgy, now or lately used in the Milan diocese, is a monument to the comparative purity of faith and worship in the churches of Lombardy. (I quote from Wyllie's "Protestant Church.")

These authorities demonstrate that the belief in

tradition has been of gradual growth and against the opinion of a large portion of Christendom, and even against a large body of opinion expressed at the Council of Trent.

Bishop Taylor says: "No Church admits the one half of those things which certainly by the Fathers were called traditions apostolical." Traditions were admitted which the present Church rejects (*vide* "Traditions," bk. i., *et seq.*).

"The Fathers," says Dr. Dwight, "however sincere and however satisfactory their testimony concerning facts passing before their eyes, yet received traditional accounts loosely, and both believed and recorded much of what took place before their time, without truth or evidence."

Irenæus writes: "Read more diligently the gospels given us by the apostles, and read more diligently the prophets, and ye will find that all the Lord did and suffered and taught is preached" (bk. iv. cap. 66). Even Jerome is considered by Bellarmine to be shamefully astray with regard to Peter. (2 Full. 292.)

Chrysostom writes: "It is only by the Scriptures that ye can know the Church of God. Thou shalt add nothing to the Word of God, nor take aught therefrom. Whatsoever is required for our salvation is already contained in the Holy Scriptures. If there be anything needful to be known or not to be known, we shall learn it by the Holy Scriptures."

(2 Ep., cap. iii., Hom. ix., Tom. xi.; 24 cap. Matt., Homilia 49; Holy Ghost, Tom. 3; Matt. 22, cap. 4. For a full treatise on Chrysostom, *vide* Cranmer, "Parker Soc. Confutations," p. 27.) He also writes that "anything spoken after the apostles' time, let it be cut off and of no authority. Be a man never so holy, be he never so well-learned after the apostles, he hath none authority." (Hom. Psal. lxxxvi., Tom. viii., p. 103.)

Chrysostom seems to have had a prophetic inspiration when he writes:—

"Out of the very true Churches sometimes come deceivers. Therefore, we may not believe, no not them 'that speak to us in the name of the Church,' unless they speak and do such things as are agreeable to the Scriptures." (Chrys., op. Par. Matt., Hom. xlix., ex. cap. xxiv., Tom. vi.)

Origen also writes:—

"We must needs call to witness the Holy Scriptures, for our judgments and expositions without those witnesses carry no credit."

Numerous other opinions of the same tendency could be cited. Some have been answered by Roman Catholic writers, by terming Jerome a heretic.

Pope Gregory seems to have put little trust in tradition, when he writes Augustine that a "true preacher must fetch the foundation of his matter out of the Holy Scriptures. Heretics surely bring forth things *not* contained in the Holy Scriptures." (Gregor.

Pop. I. op. Moral, Lib. xviii. in cap. xxxviii., Beati Job., Tom. i., Col. 563, Ed. Paris 1705.)

Following, therefore, Gregory's dicta, the Anglican Church rationally holds the Roman Church heretical and schismatic for having brought forth things *not* contained in Holy Scriptures. (*Vide* Manning's list ante.)

Origen writes:—

“No man ought (for the establishing of doctrine) to use any books that be without the Canonical Scriptures. (In Mattheum, Hom. xxv., Tom. iii., p. 842.)

Damascenus, lib. i., cap. i., p. 3, writes:—

“All that ever was delivered by the law, the prophets, and evangelists, we receive, acknowledge, and reverence, searching nothing beside them.”

Romanists contend that their popes and Councils have been enabled to sift the wheat from the chaff in tradition, and virtually to supplement Scripture; and they wish it to be supposed that this power has been given by divine intuition.

Leo XIII. fails lamentably to show a knowledge of mundane affairs when he calls upon “*all men to shake off Freemasonry and its shameful yoke, because under the evils of Freemasonry it rejects the divine sacrament, it denounces practices of piety, and eliminates the sanctity of marriage.*” (*Vide* “Reunion of Christendom.”)

Such an outburst of wrath is amusing to the

writer of this book who, himself a Freemason, is conscious of the ignorance and slander displayed in the above diatribe. It would be greeted with surprise by the millions of Christian Freemasons under the British Grand Lodge as an unfounded aspersion, and is only quoted here as a specimen of a so-called "infallible interpretation of a *lying* tradition"! The Pope certainly appears unable to distinguish the true from the false. If he is mistaken in one fact, why not in others?

Manning recognised the difficulty when he wrote:—

"If I treat infallibility as a principle, I meet with difficulties in detail. If I judge of the detail, I can find no principle: yet, if there be a principle, private judgment is shut out"—that means, Reason. Which suggests that the last act of reason is the first act of faith, or often of infatuation! But God has given to all a certain amount of reason. Why destroy God's gift? Faith is strengthened when aided by reason; without reason it is apt to sink into an hallucination!

CHAPTER XVIII

(PART I)

ON PAPAL FORGERIES

THE deeper research is made into the records of the past, the greater becomes the difficulty in discriminating between the genuine and the forged. Unfortunately, we are unable to rely on the Roman Church as a safe guide, for the majority of the forgeries emanate from the Vatican, and the papal authorities have been the worst offenders in fabricating or adopting them.

In attempting to investigate those various traditions which tend to support more immediately the pretensions of the Roman Church, we are met at the outset by the difficulty evolved from the papal adoption of those principles enunciated by Ignatius Loyola, as to "the end justifying the means."

This maxim often appears to have been present, and it consequently taints with suspicion a large portion of the tradition which more especially has emanated from the ægis of the Vatican.

I base this allegation more especially upon the statements of Roman Catholics themselves.

The late Dr. Newman remarked:—"That a

Christian both thinks and speaks the truth, except when careful treatment is necessary."

Ward; the Roman Catholic writer, says:—"Make yourself clear—that you are justified in deception, and then lie like a trooper" (see ante).

Even Cardinal Manning allowed that the early Church tradition was "untrustworthy," and urged the Pope to have a fair edition made. He records his conversation thus:—"I spoke long to the Pope about his letter to the three cardinals on history. I told the Holy Father that our histories were distrusted as partial and dissembling; that his Canon about hiding nothing and writing sincere history would gain much confidence in England." (Manning's Diary, Nice, 9th Dec., 1883.)

Surely this was an euphonius method of telling the Holy Father that his Church's history was doubted; and the very fact of a Canon being issued on the subject, is of itself presumptive evidence of the evil existing.

But we do not require to draw inferences; for gross, flagrant, and numerous have been the forgeries committed under papal auspices.

Before the introduction of printing, copies of all ancient writings were made by pious monks in their several monasteries; and thankful we ought to be for the pains they took. The beautiful illuminated manuscripts now extant are splendid monuments of their skill, industry, and care. But, when a pious

copyist met with a passage which he thought required "accentuating or improving," he was often inclined to interpolate his own rendering to such a sentence—"For the glory of God and the Pope!"

Some writers, such as Rufinus, for instance, admit that they have changed or interpolated the text. In the Prologue of Irenæus to the *De Principiis*, he sets forth:—"I should follow as far as possible the rule observed by my predecessor, and especially that distinguished man who, after translating more than seventy of those Treatises of Origen in which a good many stumbling-blocks were found in the original Greek, *so smoothed and corrected them* in his translation, that a Latin reader would meet *with nothing* which would appear *discordant with our belief*. His example we follow. The whole tenor of the Prologue shows that Rufinus felt justified in changing the text to suit his own views of orthodoxy. Jerome refused to take his rendering, and made another translation.

Rufinus, however, appears so fearful that his own writings may be treated in the same manner as he treated others, that he makes this solemn adjuration:—"In the presence of God the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, I adjure and beseech everyone who may either transcribe or read these books, by his belief in heaven, by the resurrection of the dead, and by that everlasting fire prepared for the Devil and his angels in hell, and where the fire is not quenched, that he add nothing to that which is written, and take

nothing away, and make *no insertion* or alteration," etc., etc.

Dionysius complains in ep. xxii., p. 168, An. Nic. Fath. to the Roman Church. "I wrote letters . . . and these letters the apostles of the Devil have filled with tares, taking away some things and adding others, for whom a woe is in store."

So great had become this evil, that ancient Christian writers were wont to inscribe at the end of their manuscripts curses on those who should interpolate, add to, or detract from their words. No stronger corroboration of a dangerous custom can be adduced than this dumb evidence from the dead. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, added to his work in the Ogdoad this solemn adjuration:—"I adjure thee, whosoever thou art that shall transcribe this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ and by His glorious coming, that whatsoever thou transcribest thou shalt compare with this manuscript and diligently correct it." (Euseb. cap. v.)

Origen himself complains that his books were tampered with by heretics, and of the falsification and forgeries under his name.

There is hardly a sacred writer or father whose records have not been tampered with, or the copies of whose writings can be taken to be free from forgeries or interpolations.

Socrates (bk. i., cap. i.), in mentioning Eusebius, remarks that "this author was evidently more

intent on a highly wrought eulogium of the Emperor than an accurate statement of facts."

Canon Moore, in his "Lectures on the History of the Reformation" (p. 327), gives a summary of two great papal forgeries termed "The Donations of Constantine" and the "Decretals."

In A.D. 754, Astolph, King of the Lombards, was at the gates of Rome. Pope Stephen wrote a most pathetic letter, stating that Astolph had burned all the villas and suburbs, and had not spared the churches—altars were plundered, nuns violated, etc., etc. He conjured Pepin, by God and His Holy Mother, to come and relieve him; finishing with a promise of "victory and eternal life." As help did not quickly come, he again wrote, as if from Peter—commencing with "I, Peter the Apostle, protest, admonish, and conjure you, etc., to save the beloved City of Rome from the detested Lombards, etc. I promise you my protection in this life, and in the next will prepare for you the most glorious mansions in heaven, and will bestow on you the everlasting joys of paradise!"

Pepin marched to his relief, and conquered the Lombards. Instead of handing back the territory he had thus taken to the Byzantine Emperor, to whom it rightly belonged, he bestowed the whole on the Pope.

By the gift of this foreign potentate, a large part of Italy became the kingdom of the papacy, and from

this incident arose the temporal power of the Pope, founded on a theft and cemented by a forgery.

It was manifest that no clear title could be given, for Pepin had stolen the provinces from the rightful owner. To validate this robbery, and to give the popes some faint ground of right for thus holding stolen property, a document was forged purporting to be a deed of gift by the Emperor Constantine to the then Bishop of Rome, by which the Emperor granted Italy and the western provinces, with jurisdiction over Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem.

In it the Emperor is also alleged to state that he served the Pope as his groom, and led his horse. (Moore, p. 331.)

The value of such a document to the papacy would be priceless, for it at once takes away the slur of having received stolen property, and of having based the foundation of their temporal power upon an unscrupulous robbery. They could now claim as a right what they before held as a favour taken under a theft.

This donation bore upon the face of it forgery and fraud. For it was a document first produced in the eighth century, and written in eighth century Latin, purporting to be dated early in the fourth century.

That the document is a forgery is now admitted by papal historians. But the end for which it was forged has been attained centuries ago.

It was Lawrence Valla, born at Rome in 1406, who, in his treatise on the "Donation of Constantine," first made a masterly exposure of the forgery. In consequence of his writings, he was arrested by the Inquisition and condemned, and would have been burnt but for the intercession of "King Alfonso."

Nevertheless, although he demonstrated the worthless basis upon which the foundation of the papal temporal power had been made to rest, he argued that no pretence of prescription could be admitted on behalf of that power to exhort the Romans to rise against it. (Robertson, *His. Chris.*, bk. viii., p. 139.)

Ah, Constantine ! of how much ill was cause,
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
That the first wealthy Pope received of thee.

As the commencement of the temporal power of the popes was founded on this forgery, their spiritual power was enhanced by the forgeries of the Isidorian Decretals. I do not attempt to give in detail a full list of them. Neither time nor space would allow me. I only touch upon some of the more salient.

The monster forgery of these Decretals first came to light about the middle of the ninth century. They purported to be decrees of the earliest popes, as well as records of certain acts and canons of Synods and Councils.

On their strength, Pope Nicolas (about A.D. 863)

promulgated the Canon that all papal utterances were a rule for the whole Church, and all decrees of Councils dependent on the Pope's good pleasure. Consequently in a Synod called A.D. 863, he anathematised all who should reject the teaching and ordinances of the Pope.

The spuriousness of these documents is indicated by such anachronisms as the following:—A pope of the second century corresponds with a bishop of Alexandria who lived 200 years later! and the earliest bishops of Rome quote St. Jerome's version of the Bible made A.D. 400!

Dean Milman, in remarking on these forgeries, states:—

“Up to this period, the Decretals, the letters or edicts of the bishops of Rome, according to the authorised or common collection of Dionysius, commenced with Pope Siricius, towards the close of the fourth century. To the collection of Dionysius was added that of the authentic Councils, which bore the name of Isidore of Seville. On a sudden was promulgated, unannounced, without preparation, not absolutely unquestioned, but apparently overawing at once all doubt, a new code, which to the former authentic documents added 59 letters and decrees of the 20 oldest popes from Clement to Melchiades, and the donation of Constantine; and in the third part, among the decrees of the popes and of the Councils from Sylvester to Georgory II., 39 false decrees, and

the acts of several unauthentic Councils." ("History of Latin Christianity," vol. iii., p. 191.)

This forged code is made so as to comprehend all the false claims of the popes: the whole dogmatic system and discipline of their Church, their supremacy, and, in fact, all their powers.

In regard to the authorship and date of the false Decretals, Dean Milman further remarks:—

"The author or authors of this most audacious and elaborate of pious frauds are unknown; the date and place are driven into such narrow limits that they may be determined within a few years, and within a very circumscribed region. The false Decretals came not from Rome. The time of their arrival at Rome, after they were known beyond the Alps, appears almost certain. In one year, Pope Nicolas I. (A.D. 859) is apparently ignorant of their existence; in the next, he speaks of them with full knowledge. They contain words manifestly used at the Council of Paris (A.D. 829), consequently are of later date (*idem*, vol. iii., p. 193).

Pusey (244) states:—

"One of the greatest wounds which the false Decretals have inflicted on the discipline of the Church, is that they extended infinitely appeals to the Pope. It appears that the forger had the point greatly at heart, by the care he has taken to diffuse through all his work the maxim—that not only every bishop, but every priest, and generally every person,

who finds himself harassed, may on every occasion appeal to the Pope. He then made as many as nine popes speak on the subject—Anacletus, Sextus (first and second), Fabian, Cornelius, Victor, Zephyrinus, Marcellus, and Julius.

The fable of Constantius' miraculous cure of leprosy was first produced in Pope Hadrian's letter to the 7th General Council at Nicæa (A.D. 787).

CHAPTER XVIII

(PART II).

ON PAPAL FORGERIES

PAPAL forgeries, however, extend further back than those related in the former chapter. It was in A.D. 347, that certain Canons were passed by the Council of Sardica. To give them greater authority, we find these very Canons transferred as if they had been passed at the great Council held at Nicæa A.D. 434.

Villemain, in his "History of Gregory VII.," p. 67, gives the following account of it:—

"Zosimus, the successor of Innocent, displayed before a Council assembled at Carthage pretended articles of the Council of Nice, which submitted all the other Churches to the Church of Rome. The African bishops protested that they could find nothing of the kind in their reports of the Council of Nice. They had to give way, notwithstanding. But the dispute was afterwards renewed, and only terminated at last by Imperial power."

To conceal the fraud, "Pope Julius" is altered into

“Pope Sylvester” (Hussey’s “Rise of Papal Power,” p. 57).

The Romanists quote Cyprian as one of their greatest authorities for claiming that the Pope represented the unity of the Church, and that Cyprian acknowledged him to be the universal bishop. But Benson, in his “Life of Cyprian,” has clearly shown that the words upon which the papal authorities base their statements are deliberate forgeries. He states:—“Papal apologists have steadfastly maintained the grossest forgeries in literature.”

In giving his reasons (at p. 204, *et seq.*, of his “Life of Cyprian”), he writes:—“Cyprian has been quoted as an authority for the papal claims by the Bishop of Ainger, in A.D. 1682. But the passages on which the Romanists rely are forgeries—forgeries deliberately for three centuries past forced by papal authority, in the teeth of evidence, upon editors and printers who were at their mercy. The recent labours of Hartel reveal a similar process at work long before upon the manuscripts. The corruptions were always patent, but now we can actually watch the agents.”

Dukes, cardinals, masters of the palace, and prelates prevailed over the broken-hearted scholars, etc. All that energy, all that diplomacy—the very tone of this movement—is the best witness to the value of the Protestant conviction, that Cyprian without these forged and interpolated paragraphs is an irrefragable witness against Roman Catholic assumptions.

He goes on to say:—"There never was a viler fraud—never one so easy of detection—embodied for the first time in A.D. 1563, after all earlier editions and reprints had escaped them."

It was Latini Latini had committed to him the editing of the text. But he complained in a private letter that while passing through the press, not only were biblical quotations altered to conformity with the Vulgate, but besides "some passages were retained, contrary to the evidence of the manuscripts, and even some additions made." Under these circumstances he would not allow his name to be linked with such a fraudulent edition, and withdrew his annotations, deeming it no light crime to conceal the truth. In the "*Bibliotheca Sacra et Profana*" or collected notes by the same critic, he mentions three epistles by Cyprian, first discovered by himself. These the superior authorities would not allow to be published "un-amended"! They also burked the anti-Roman epistle of Firmilian.

What a comment upon papal methods does this offer! Here we find the most accomplished and competent editor of his time, and a Roman Catholic, compelled to resign his work, because he was powerless to prevent the theologians of the Vatican from manipulating, remodelling, and tampering with and burking his text.

When, however, this forged Cyprian, thus concocted by the Vatican, was attempted to be foisted on the

Council of Trent in A.D. 1563, the agent advised the Vatican that it would be expedient to give authority to *those interpolated and spurious words*; so in the new forged Cyprian a note was actually attached to the volume which ends thus:—"It is not improper, if pious and catholic interpretation and true senses be applied to the writings of the old Fathers to preserve always the unity of the Church which Cyprian had so much at heart. Otherwise no end to heresies and schisms!"

Such manipulations of the text as this discloses are of themselves sufficient to taint with distrust records emanating from papal sources.

In the Benedictine edition, Baluze had taken the right version of Cyprian; but on his death occurring before the work had passed through the press, the forged interpolations were added under the Jesuit Master, Cardinal Fleury; by what printers called a "cancel," with a note thus:—"It had become necessary to alter much in Baluze's notes, and more would have been altered, if it could have conveniently been effected." In tracing fairly carefully and lucidly, as Benson has done, these and the other forged interpolations, he remarks:—

"Singular, hateful, and in its time effective, has been this forgery, as a papal aggression upon history and literature. Its first threads may have been marginal summaries in exaggerated language. Then came an unwarranted paraphrase, and a deliberate

mutilation for a political purpose. Then it appeared in manuscripts of the author, with its indictment round its neck, side by side on the same page with the original which is caricatured. Then it was forced into two grand editions, with an interval of a century and a half between them, first by the court of Rome itself, then by the court of France with the fear of Rome before its eyes."

"*Tantæ molis erat Romanum condere sedem.*"

To support the papal claims of the succession to Peter and to bolster up the papal idea of supremacy, these forgeries were made. To this day the works of Cyprian are cited as the Papist's Charter, and appealed to as genuine.

From the forged Decretals, Gregory VII. borrowed the main pillar of his system of aggrandisement. Isidore had made Pope Julius (about 338) write to the Eastern bishops:—"The Church of Rome, by a singular privilege, has the right of opening and shutting the gates of heaven to whom she will." On this forgery he built his scheme of dominion. How should not he be able to judge on earth, on whose will hung the salvation or damnation of men? The passage was made into a special decree or chapter in the New Codes (Janus, 109). Volumes would be required to give a full account of all the forgeries. Suffice it to say, that if these were eliminated from history, the papal title would appear to be founded on a myth.

It is to Janus, a Roman Catholic, and to the Jesuit Cautel, that we are indebted for the bright lights thrown upon these attempts to hoodwink the religious world.

In Janus (pp. 141-42) appears the following, which I have summarised :—

“Forgeries, since the days of Gregory VII., had been co-ordinated and enriched at Bologna, the chief school of law in Europe. The Donations, the Decretals, the Orders of Hildebrand, together with contributions of Deusdedit, Anselm, Gregory of Pavia, and Gratian himself, were collected in Gratian’s Decretum, which became the manual for canonists and theologians.”

We will now examine the forgeries by which the whole constitution of the Church was gradually changed.

Every Father and every sacred writer appears to have been tampered with. I before remarked upon the fear expressed by a number of sacred writers as to their manuscripts being interpolated and changed after their death, and the curses they showered on the heads of those future forgers. Rome cannot be charged with the fabrication of all ; but the majority either emanate from, or have been subsequently adopted by, her. I have only attempted to give the more prominent.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CHURCH FROM THE ROMAN CATHOLIC VIEW

CARDINAL VAUGHAN summarises the Roman Catholic dogma thus:—"Whensoever any doctrine is contained in divine tradition of the Church, all difficulties from human history are excluded. The only source of revealed truth is God; the only channel of His revelation is the Church" (p. xxi., *Humph. Div. Revelation*).

The Pope is (to the Roman Catholic) the visible head of the Church, and there can be no teaching of divine revelation except by his authority.

Cardinal Vaughan, in his letters to the *Times* between January 20th and March 1900, declares that:—"Questions of the policy of the Church, the character and conduct of the Pope, of the Roman congregations, of the Cardinals 'in curia,' of bishops in their official capacity, of the laws and discipline of the Church, of the clergy in the discharge of their duties must not be criticised."

In fact, it resolves itself into the old Roman Catholic dictum as defined by Mr. Humphrey, at p. 51 of his pamphlet:—"I do not believe what the

Church teaches me because my reason tells me upon investigation that it is true, but simply because *she* teaches me. I know that when the Church speaks, her words express the mind and will of God, and that if I reject them, I criticise Him ; I bring them to the bar of private judgment ; I judge my Maker ! ”

If such an assertion were acted upon, it would destroy all attempts to discover the *authority* upon which the Church rested, or to ascertain the real meaning of the word Church as he uses it, or its constitution or its powers.

Supposing that any Buddhist or Mussulman were to assert that Buddha or Mahomet were God's vicar, and that any one who criticised such dicta would be “criticising God,” would such a statement constitute a reason for refraining from inquiry ? If it would not avail in these instances, why should it avail in the case of the Roman Catholic ?

Mr. Humphrey's statement holds the word “Church” in “terrorem” over the laity. His word is:—“Obey that which the Church decrees !” If you question her orders you criticise God !

But who constitute this Church ? Who compose the body of men who issue these decrees, particularly those not sanctioned by Scripture ?

I can understand appealing to the Bible for authority ; but Romanists say :—“You must be guided by the Church alone,” *id est*, by that dogma or doctrine which certain men, who are said to represent the

Church, have picked out from the ancient Fathers, or from tradition, or may have evolved out of their own consciousness.

Who picked out and settled the true from the false in the tangled skein of the writings of the ancient Fathers, or from (often lying) tradition? Who were these men who performed this task, and who were too often misled by lying forgeries? Who was authorised to declare that which appeared to be orthodox or heretical? Who are these claiming to have been guided by the Holy Ghost?

Surely their title to this claim, their title to term themselves "the Church," their lives and characters, their knowledge and status, their guiding motives, the manner of their call, the legality of their summons—all these may be considered. For be it recollected that the claim involves special divine inspiration—a power by which Scripture is added to or qualified.

Are we to expect the "Church" to speak from divine inspiration in the Council of Trent? Are we to expect infallibility in a Council which promulgated the Vulgate edition of the Bible, and declared it to be the only correct translation? And yet, thirty years afterwards, had to withdraw it as full of mistakes, and unworthy of credit.

When we read the history of such a Council—view the intrigues—the papal finesse—its composition of puppets and politicians, we are surely entitled to

inquire into the grounds of their claim for infallibility, and the reason why the laity are debarred from scrutinising their title to represent the Church.

When it is said, "The Church speaks," the phrase refers to the words uttered by men said to be inspired, but who may be termed "quasi" directors of an unlimited liability company—met together in the shape of synods, councils, or congregations. Of late years the authority of these directors has been merged or absorbed in the Pope, who may be termed, for the purpose of argument, the chairman of the company. Whatever dogma he settles, under certain conditions, is declared to be law, and the shareholders (the laity) are held to be "anathema" who do not subscribe without question to his rulings.

These new propaganda may or may not be warranted by the original articles of association—the Bible; but whether *ultrâ vires* or otherwise—no scrutiny or criticism is allowed. The chairman and directors allege infallibility, and cursed be they who presume to ask questions.

Are we to give unflinching obedience to such a board, whose predecessors have given examples of their *fallibility* in judging of things temporal?

They have erred in multitudinous cases. But let a Roman Catholic speak for himself on this head. I refer to Mr. Mivart's letter to the *Times* of October 17, 1899, *re* "Dreyfus."

"I have heard apologists say that 'Leo XIII. was

silent because he did not like to offend France!' True, indeed, is the saying, 'Save me from my friends!' Offend France! God's vicar to refrain from telling men what their duty is, for fear of consequences! As if God could not be trusted with the consequences of any acts done in fulfilment of His behests! Such a failure is almost without precedent, yet there has been one almost as great. I refer to the condemnation of Galileo. There, also, an appalling blunder was made, and one of the greatest of opportunities thrown away. Then the Pope and cardinals emitted an authoritative judgment which (as I pointed out in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1885) was not only false as regards physical science, which was not supposed to be their province, but also false as regards the interpretation of Scripture, which everyone supposed to be their province—so rendering futile any such future Scriptural decrees. At that time the Pope and cardinals misled the world with respect to belief, with the result that one by one, millions of Catholics have since abandoned their religious belief. Dreyfus is the Galileo of the nineteenth century, and through him, authority has now misled the world with respect to morals, with the probable result that other millions of Catholics will, one by one, abandon Catholicity.

"Amongst the many men who, by their real relations constituted this so-called 'Church,' a very small minority are ecclesiastics; and 'deference'

and 'obedience to the Church' really means deference and obedience to these men. Now, the symbol used by Christ of Himself as 'The Good Shepherd' is a beautiful and appropriate one; but it may be useful, now and again, to bear in mind that 'sheep' are amongst the most stupid of animals, and that they are preserved and cared for in order that they may be fleeced and fed on.

"The Roman congregations consist of men who have obtained more or less of what most men care for—influence, power, and some 'ways and means.' Doubtless, many of them are excellent and holy men, actuated by the best intentions; but it is only natural that, as a body, the Curialists should try to move heaven and earth to keep the advantages they have obtained.

"I have a suspicion, however, that their dogmatising in the name of an abstraction is a process rapidly approaching its end. Some fatuous efforts lately made at Rome to dissipate the rapidly extending belief in evolution are, to say the least, not encouraging, in spite of the mortifications inflicted on poor Fathers Zohm and Leroy. It would seem that the lesson taught by Galileo will never be thoroughly learnt by the Roman Curia. During a recent long illness, I have read Creighton's, Pastor's and Ranke's Popes, and what has struck me even more than the indifference to truth, justice, and frequently to religion of the Roman Curia, has been its amazing

stupidity, which now must surely be patent to everybody.

“Sad, indeed, is it, that so excellent and venerable a Pope as Leo XIII. should thus find himself hampered and ensnared by the neglect of his predecessors to reform their judicial procedure, as those of all other courts have been reformed, instead of continuing in a condition profoundly abhorrent, not only to Englishmen, Americans, and all English-speaking people, but to the whole civilised world.

“It is very painful to a Catholic to have to write thus, and some persons may feel inclined to say that, instead of addressing the public, I should only make private and respectful representations to headquarters in order to bring about reform.

“Gladly would I so act, and only so, were I not convinced that such an effort would be about as useful as would be an attempt to destroy a strong fortification by whistling.

“The monstrous decision concerning Galileo was only overcome by the force of universal scientific opinion, and the evils at Rome, here pointed out, will also cease only when reprobation by the universal judgment of civilised mankind has been brought to bear upon them.

“Of these congregations the highest and the worst is that of the holy office—the Inquisition—whereof the Pope himself is the prefect, and the meetings of which he is supposed to preside over personally

every Thursday. Even the late Cardinal Manning has recorded his conviction as to 'the essential injustice of its procedures and its secrecy,' but similar methods (as to secrecy) exist with regard to the congregation of the index and others.

"The evil of all this has been keenly felt by not a few English Catholics, and recently one of the most pious and devoted of them, Mr. James F. Hope, wrote a letter to Catholic journals entitled 'A Plea for Habeas Corpus in the Church.'

"Concerning it he says: 'Externally, indeed, there is a fair measure of prosperity and peace; internally there is rancour, ferment, and unrest, the ominous symptoms of a coming storm. And this the Roman Catholic priests term unity! There is one main factor in the situation which embitters controversy, gives birth to calumny, and shuts the mouths of the well-disposed—by this I mean the secret procedure in the Roman congregations, which have jurisdiction in matters of opinion and faith.'

"The *Weekly Register* (August 26, 1900), commenting upon this letter, says, as to the procedure of these congregations:

"'The accused is often condemned on charges and evidence he never sees. A movement is suppressed before its supporters even know that it is impugned. Books and persons are "delated" in private, and not even the persons chosen to report on them are known.'

“Indeed, a strong feeling of discontent with the Roman Curia is felt by at least some priests as well as laymen. One learned theologian, resident at Rome, and well acquainted both with facts and papal officials, writes to me thus :

“‘The situation in Rome is very curious. I think a quarrel has been started on the old lines of England against the Curia, and freedom against central despotism which will not end very speedily. The authorities recognise only one principle of government, and it is the principle which Englishmen finally conquered in the seventeenth century.’

“The modest and respectful plea of Mr. Hope was quickly and resolutely opposed by Cardinal Vaughan’s organ, the *Tablet*. It was objected, amongst other things, that the Curialists are the Pope’s own servants, and do his bidding as he wishes them to do it, and that the discontented form but an infinitesimal fraction of the whole Catholic body. The first of these objections would transfer all the blame to the shoulders of the Pope himself. As to the second, it is by small, select minorities that all important movements are initiated.

“The cardinal’s organ also boldly declares that ‘the Church’ does not argue, but only teaches dogmatically.

“Great is the mischief and delusion often produced by mistaking mere abstractions for concrete realities, and this emphatically applies to that abstract term

'the Church.' In sober truth 'the Church' has no existence anywhere in the world, but only a number of men and women who have real relations to their surroundings; just as no such thing as 'the horse' exists, but only a number of variously coloured and shaped real, concrete horses."

True it is, that for these opinions Mr. Mivart was excommunicated; but at the time of publication, he was within the fold of the Church, and admitted to be a renowned scientific scholar. His letter appears founded on common sense and historic truth. It is impossible to shut one's eyes to the glaring inconsistencies and ignorance displayed in Galileo's case, and the awful injustice perpetrated century after century by those who claimed to represent the Roman Catholic Church—The Church!! Men, some good, some immoral and bad, claiming to constitute the conduit pipes through which heavenly knowledge percolated, and who discouraged criticism on the grounds that their dictum, because it is theirs, was the dictum of God.

CHAPTER XX

ON THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH

PAPAL writers point to the "Universality" combined with the "Unity" of the Roman Catholic or, as they term it, "The Catholic Church." They assert that their "Catholic" Church is in every land and in every clime, "the Church of the world," whereas the Church of England—her very name defines her boundaries, and that she is not entitled to the word Catholic.

But they appear to forget that the Christian doctrine preached in the Anglo-Catholic Church is identical with that preached in every clime and in every country under Anglo-Saxon influence, differing in some slight matters of ritual, but agreeing in all fundamental principles with the doctrine preached in the Church of the early Fathers. The Anglican Church flourishes wherever the British flag flies, and that flies "over an empire o'er which the sun never sets."

The term "Catholic" has been appropriated by the Romanists. They ignore those Christian organisations, the Anglican, the Greek, the great body of

Presbyterians, Nonconformists, and all those who believe in the Trinity. Each is equally entitled to be termed Catholic—each is a portion of Christ's Church—united, not in ritual, but still united in worshipping the Godhead in spirit and in truth.

The question was settled as early as the fourth century by Justinian, who decreed that all believers in the doctrine of the Trinity were entitled to the name Catholic. "Hanc legem (*i.e.*, qui secundum Apostolicam disciplinam, Evangelicamque doctrinam, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti unam Deitatem sub pari majestate et sub pia Trinitate credant) sequentes Christianorum Catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti." (Codex Just., lib. i. tit. fig. 1 dibri. Venice 157.)

"We order that all who follow this rule (that is, who believe in the deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, in their co-equal majesty and triune Godhead, according to apostolic teaching and Gospel doctrine) shall adopt the name of Catholic Christians."

The language of the Athanasian Creed is equally explicit: "This is the Catholic Faith, that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity."

We all know the words of Ignatius: "Ubi Christus, ibi ecclesia."

The Roman Catholics beg the question—they narrow the true signification of the word Church. It is not requisite that all should be under the same earthly administration.

It would require stronger authority than the Romanists can produce to warrant belief in the assertion, "That one who worships Christ, and yet does not belong to the Roman Catholic Church, and acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, can belong to no true Church and cannot be saved."¹

In Cyprian's writings before the Decian persecution, he did not limit the word *Church* to the individual congregation either with or without its chief pastor. That name is first used equally and without distinction of the Congregation, of the Diocese, and of the Whole "Body of the Faithful." Thus, in the First Book of Testimonies, he says the *Church* is the new people in contrast with the Jewish. (Benson, Cyp., p. 187.)

The unity claimed under the sole supremacy of the Pope places without the pale the major portion of Christendom. The Romanists say, you must have one visible head on earth, and without that head and unity, there can be no Church. But is not this a very confined horizon? Are we not justified in taking a wider view? Does not the living Church of

¹This is qualified by the Jesuit missionaries in their tracts for the conversion of England. They now assert that Protestants who lead a good life, love God and their neighbour, and are blamelessly ignorant of the just claims of the Catholic religion, are not excluded from heaven, provided they believed that there is one God, and do not know and believe (without any fault on their part) that in God there are three divine persons. I therefore gather that they are at issue with their own catechisms. Is this unity?

Christ rather contain all those saints and Christians who have served Him in spirit and in truth, including all those saints and true Christians who have departed, and are now in paradise. May we not safely conclude that our great Anglican divines, and men like Wesley, Spurgeon, and other great Nonconformists who have worshipped Him, and acknowledged Him to be the Son of God—men who, at this present time, do not even believe in apostolic succession; Christians also of all sects and persuasions who acknowledge and believe in the Saviour and the Sacraments, and act up to their belief;—surely these, with the great army of saints and martyrs, form the living universal Church of Christ. “Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there will I be in the midst of them,” our Saviour promises, and again He says, “*Those who are not against me are for me.*” It requires great temerity to judge so harshly of fellow-Christians and others without “the pale,” as the Roman Church does.

Gregory, who sent Augustine to England, defines the Church as “one flock under one shepherd,” and says:—“All we are one in Christ Jesus—Himself being the *one* shepherd. He does not claim a second shepherd on earth.” (Greg., ep. iv., 36; 1 Jew. 378.)

He also allows that the Church of Rome is only a part of the Church. (4 Jew. 922.)

The bishops at the Council of Basle say:—“*Ecclesia Romana non est universa sed est de universitate cor-*

poris mystici (id est) ecclesia; et sic est membrum dicti corporis mystici ut patet per beatum Gregorium. . . . Igitur exquo est membrum dicti corporis non est nec esse potest caput illius; cum differentia sit inter caput et membra." (In appen. Conc. Basle Sacrosanct: Generali: and, in eadem Append: Eod: cap.) "The Church of Rome is not universal, but a part of the universal mystical body of Christ which is the Church, and so is it a member of Christ's body mystical as it appeareth by St. Gregory. Therefore, forasmuch as it is a member of the said body, it is not, neither is it able to be the head of the same body, for there is a difference between the head and the members."

Even Cardinal Manning remarks:—

"For 300 years the grace of sanctity and penitence has visibly dwelt and wrought in the Church of England; the most saintly and penitent have lived and died in it. I must believe that the spiritual discernment of Andrews, Leighton, Ker, Wilson, are purer than mine." (Purcell's "Manning," vol. i., p. 473.)

But Cardinal Manning hardly goes far enough in this Christian spirit of toleration. In St. John x. 16 (R.V.) our Saviour says:—"And other sheep I have, which are not of *this* fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and they shall become one *flock*."¹

¹ Not "fold," as the Donay Bible and the Vulgate has it—a source of unutterable error.

In Romans, chap. xi., St. Paul seems to treat the question with his usual practical sense, and on broad principles. From a careful study of the words these thoughts are evolved :

1. God will judge Christians according to His written word.

2. Will administer punishment to those who have not known it without reference to it.

3. Many good heathen attain to all requisite light, inasmuch as they show God's truth (the work of the law) written in their hearts.

4. Many such good virtuous heathen put to shame the possessors of the light of revealed truth, by their superior obedience to the voice of conscience.

In St. Luke xii. 47-48, the Saviour gives us some very weighty teaching on this point. In the words:—
“And that servant which knew his Lord's will, and made not ready nor did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes ; but he that knew not, and did things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes.”

So far, then, from presuming that good heathens will doubtless be without the pale, I venture to hope, that amongst our Saviour's own will be found the good and great of all ages, and that His redeeming work shall avail for them also. When I think of that eternal world to which we are all hastening, and of its bliss, to which we all aspire, as not the least among its felicities ; I also reckon on the hope of

meeting there a Socrates and a Plato, a Solon, a Confucius, a Marcus Aurelius, and many good and noble Hindoos, pagans, Mussulmen, and Buddhists, and of being permitted with them to gaze upon Him who is at once the life and light of men—the only unalloyed truth—and in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. All the blessed dead with them will then be entranced with the beatific vision of absolute, eternal, and unlimited goodness and beauty and knowledge. I trust they will help to constitute “the Church.”

CHAPTER XXI

ON THE UNITY AND CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH

GREENWOOD in his "Cathedra Petri," bk. i., p. 100, writes:—"It is sufficiently clear that up to the close of the second century, the idea of the Church as a 'Sacramental Unity,' so defined, was, if thought of at all, very imperfectly unfolded."

The word "Church" is a very generic term; it conveys different ideas to different people.

To the Roman Catholics the term signifies the mystical body of Christ, with an infallible Pope at its head representing God on earth; and when the "Church" speaks, her words express the mind and will of God.

They also contend that as unity is the great desideratum, it cannot be arrived at without a controlling power on earth, and that power is the Pope—and those who do not acknowledge him are "anathema." But what is unity? Is it to have one dull unreasoning obedience—when all are welded together, with one unchanging ritual; or is unity as defined by Cyprian—when all are united, acknowledging one God and Father, Son, and Holy Ghost:

a Trinity in unity, a Church united in faith, but with a liberty in matters of detail and ritual.

Cardinal Vaughan argues that a visible Godhead on earth is expedient and necessary. But the majority of the early Christian writers do not appear to have based their ideas of unity upon the same grounds.

The Protestant or Anglo-Catholic says: there is unity under one Godhead, Christ, the Head of the Universal Church in Heaven. He denies the necessity or expediency of a pope to represent the Godhead on earth.

The Protestant opinion is identical with that of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who died A.D. 397. He wrote: "The Bible alone is my rule of faith, Christ alone the foundation of the Church." At that period this question of expediency does not appear to have arisen. The idea of unity conveyed a different signification to that now enunciated by the Cardinal. In answer to his allegation as to expediency, may it not be urged that this desideratum is met, by the existence of separate communities all worshipping the Trinity as defined by Justinian ante? Such a diversity may be consistent with unity, and is more expedient.

Cyprian defines unity as the Church under one head—but that head, Christ alone. The Church on earth managed by an assembly of bishops, or chosen leaders in the different Councils, and never by one claiming sole supremacy on earth.

Cyprian writes to Florentius Papianus: "The Church which is 'Catholic one' is not split nor divided, but is certainly knit together and compacted by a *cement* of bishops fast cleaving each to each other." (Ep. 66, 8. See Benson's "Cyprian," p. 190.)

Each bishop was held to be a centre of authority and fountain of jurisdiction in his own diocese. (*Idem*, p. 192.)

Cyprian regarded each bishop as exclusively the representative of God to the congregation, with no intervener between Him and the throne of grace; whereas, if I understand the Romish dogma aright, the Roman Catholic bishop is but the delegate of the Pope, who is the sole vicar of Christ, and the intervener, through whom all grace comes from above.

Cyprian recognises the controlling power of the presbyters, but practically all power was centred in the bishop. His idea of unity—a bench of bishops—has, at any rate, an older claim than that put forth by the popes, and appears stronger even on the ground of expediency.

Papal writers quote Cyprian as an authority in support of their view on the unity of the Church, and produce forged and interpolated editions, which would appear at first sight in their favour. But when the originals are compared with the later, the forgeries and interpolations are manifest. (*Vide* chap. xviii.)

Bingham states (vol i., p. 95) that "every bishop

was supposed to have an equal share in his superintendency over the Catholic Church." Dioceses were merely made for convenience. The whole Church was considered but one flock, and in the sense of feeding his Master's sheep, every bishop was a universal pastor. St. Austin stated this to Boniface; Gregory Nazianzen terms Cyprian "Universal Bishop," although he only presided over the Church of Carthage and Afric; also, Athanasius is styled the same universal bishop. Clemens Romanus gives St. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, the title of governor over all Churches, as well as that of Jerusalem.

Bingham adds: "Dioceses were but limits of convenience for the preservation of order in times of peace; but the faith was a universal thing, and when war was made upon that (in the shape of heresy, etc.), then the world was but one diocese, and every pastor thought himself obliged to feed his great Master's sheep, in whatever part of the world they were scattered."

Bishop Lightfoot, after referring to Eusebius, Irenæus, and St. Clement, remarks: "These notices seem to justify the conclusion that immediately after the fall of Jerusalem, a Council of Apostles and first teachers of the Gospel was held, to deliberate on the crisis, and to frame measures for the well-being of the Church. The centre of the system, then organised, was Episcopacy, which at once secured the compact and harmonious working of each individual congre-

gation, and as the link of communication between separate brotherhoods, formed the whole into one undivided Catholic Church" (p. 44).

The clear definition of the unity of the Church is to be found in the following quotation :

"Unus Deus est, et Christus unus, et una Ecclesia ejus, et fides una, et plebs (una) in solidam corporis unitatem concordia glutino coputata." (*Vide* Benson's "Life of Cyprian," p. 185.)

The New Testament, while announcing all that is necessary for salvation, omits to enter into detail, or give directions as to ritual. This omission must have been intentional. The practical administration of the several Churches, long before Rome arrogated to herself supremacy, appears to have been left to the exigencies of the several communities, united together under their respective bishops, presbyters, or rulers. In every community there must be leaders, and they must be obeyed; otherwise—chaos! And the Apostles acted as leaders not at first chosen by the people, but from above. We nowhere find that they nominated, either jointly or severally, any one bishop or presbyter to reign supreme over the *whole* of the other Churches, or to represent the unity of the Church.

The "Church" in the earlier and purer days resembled a federated republic—a union of different dioceses ruled by their several bishops on earth, acknowledging one head in heaven.

CHAPTER XXII

THE RISE OF THE PAPAL POWER, TO A.D. 325

THE powers now claimed by the papacy are not synchronous with the origin of Christianity, nor did they arise simultaneously, but they have been asserted gradually, and at various times, becoming more and more exorbitant, as the epoch of primitive Christianity faded into the dim vista of the past. Beginning with the modest assertion of Episcopal precedence, they have advanced step by step, taking here a little and there a little; until, after eighteen centuries and a half, they culminate in the claim of papal infallibility.

Mr. Rivington attempts to explain this development as merely the result of a natural growth; and compares it to that of the acorn, developing into the oak. But this analogy is incorrect, as a moment's consideration will show. The thing developed has no correlation to the germ. An acorn does not produce thistles.

Mr. Rivington assumes that the supremacy of the Pope is but a development of the supremacy of St. Peter, and the transmission of the apostolic powers to

a succession of popes, modified to meet the ever-growing needs of the times.

This development may be considered under two heads:—Firstly, the acquisition of the temporal; secondly, the growth of the spiritual power.

At the time of the crucifixion, Rome had become the mistress of the known world. With more than a million and a half of inhabitants—the centre of all commerce. With people from all nations flocking to her, she was peculiarly well placed for the promulgation of the Christian religion. She herself was but the offshoot of a Christian mission, brought to a knowledge of the Saviour through Greek-speaking Jews; using in her liturgy and in her ecclesiastical language the Greek and not the Latin tongue.

For the first two centuries her Christian advance is hidden in obscurity. Her bishops are hardly to be recognised in the midst of the teeming population of Rome, and their very names and successions became subjects for dispute in after years. But this very obscurity enabled the tender plant of Christianity to grow unnoticed in the souls of slaves and persons of low degree. When it became stronger and more diffused, and the words of salvation had commenced to bear seed in patrician soil, it then awakened the fears of the emperors, who considered that their authority might be endangered by this new worship—a worship which placed an unseen God above themselves and the gods of Rome.

Considering the state of the empire, the persecutions which arose were the natural outcome of these fears; and the main question resolved itself to this—whether the Christian would sacrifice to the Emperor or to God? Many Christians “lapsed,” and saved their lives by sacrificing to the Emperor. Those who refused were executed. Seven persecutions have been recorded. It was in A.D. 304 that Diocletian’s inscription is dated; on it we find the words:—“Superstitione Christi ubique deleta, cultu deorum propogato.” But this, like many other inscriptions, lies! Christianity was never destroyed.

The Roman Church in A.D. 250 according to the letter of Pope Cornelius (quoted in Euseb. H. E. vi. 42), comprehended, besides its bishops, forty-six presbyters and seven deacons, with their subordinate officers. In this number are not included the Bishops of Ostia, Tibur, Portus, and a few others, who might to a certain extent have acknowledged the Bishop of Rome as their patriarch, but who certainly did not owe him the deference, now paid by all Roman Catholic bishops to the papal See. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, gives us evidence of this in his “Refutation of all Heresies.”

Although comparatively little is known of the earlier bishops of Rome, persecuted and obscure as they were, yet there is no reason to assume that they did not attempt to do their duty, or to keep their Church pure. But as time rolled on, and their

successors commenced to bask in the smiles of the purple, and in the sunshine of prosperity, a change for the worse made itself apparent. This evil had been noticed and commented on, even as early as the reign of Diocletian. Then the Roman Church had attained a great degree of prosperity. Churches had begun to display architectural splendour. Converts flocked in from all ranks, and "Christians held high offices in the state, and in the imperial household." (Euseb. viii. 1; Gibbon i. 575.)

But through these temporal advantages, contemporary writers complained that ambition had crept in (Euseb. cap. i.; Rob. 201, vol. i.).

There was a rude awakening, however, when Diocletian, urged on by Galerius, issued a decree (A.D. 303) ordaining that all who should refuse to sacrifice, should be liable to torture, etc., and that the Scriptures should be committed to the flames. This edict was soon carried into execution. The Christians in the West suffered varying degrees of fortune, until Galerius, when sinking under a loathsome disease, issued an edict in his own name jointly with those of Licinius and Constantine, that Christian Churches should be spared or rebuilt, and that Christians might exercise their religion.

The final persecution lasted up to A.D. 313. But the very severity of the tortures seems to have disgusted even the pagans, and raised feelings of commiseration in them. It was in the end of October

A.D. 312, that Constantine published at Milan an edict in favour of the Christians; and from this edict dates the commencement of more prosperous days for the whole Christian world. By this time, according to Justin Martyr:—"There existed not a people, whether Greek or barbarian, or any other race . . . amongst whom prayers were not offered in the name of a crucified Jesus, to the Father and Creator of all."

When the numbers of the Church were thus extending, as Rome conquered and strengthened her hold on the different nations, the ministry of the Church became more defined; and as the congregations became more wealthy, and had a greater tendency to combine for their mutual protection, the position of the bishops naturally acquired a greater appearance of outward dignity. (Robertson, "Christian Church," vol. i., p. 223.)

Bishops were then elected by the clergy and people.

Pastors of neighbouring churches had become accustomed to meet in synods, and these synods arose first in Greece. The chief city of each district was regarded as the metropolis, and here the synods met, under the local bishop, who naturally took the lead.

A still higher authority than that of ordinary metropolitans was attached to the great seats of government at Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch.

Tertullian places all the Apostolic Churches upon the same level, classing Phillippi, Corinth, Thessalonica, and Ephesus with Rome.

But Rome, as the great Church of the West, had special advantages. From Rome went out the conquering legions, to be followed sooner or later by missionaries, who, appearing for the most part as Roman citizens, naturally caused their converts to look towards that city as the "fons et origo" of divine favour. Strong in its wealth, its missionaries, and its charities, it was linked with all other cities and places of the empire, by continual intercourse. Hence it became pre-eminent above every Church.

But the history of the first three centuries leads us to presume that the bishops of Rome did not then possess any power of jurisdiction or precedence over any other Churches out of Italy and the western provinces.

Pretensions such as those made by Victor, and Stephen's attempts, were the germs which showed to what goals the ambition of the bishops of Rome was tending.

But while Rome extended her missions in the most barbarous parts of Britain and Germany—for stationed in the centre of Italy, she had the North of Europe to convert—her sister Church (the Eastern) shut in by the Persian empire, whose rulers were enemies to the faith, was ultimately to be checked by the great Mahomedan invasion; in fact, the misfortunes of the

Eastern increased the power of the Western Church and the papacy.

The great move onward was, however, made, when Constantine, in his edict of A.D. 312-313, gave toleration to the Christian religion. He bestowed munificent gifts on the Christian communities, built churches, and associated frequently with bishops. He exempted the clergy from the decurionate, and their lands from taxation. He allowed the emancipation of slaves (a ceremony which, until then, had been performed before a magistrate) to take place in Christian Churches; and by an edict A.D. 321, he ordered Sunday to be observed. But as "Pontifex Maximus" he always held himself to be the head of the Church. It was he who summoned Councils, and settled disputes amongst the Christians. He appears to have combined the pagan headship, with the desire to be the head over all the bishops.

In A.D. 324 he recalled all Christians that had been banished, and in an edict addressed to his subjects, advised them all to become Christians.

Milman ("Lat. Christianity," vol. i., p. 71) remarks:—

"As the religion, if not of the Empire, of the Emperor, the Bishop of Rome rises at once to the rank of a great accredited functionary. He is the first Christian in the first city of the world. As long as Rome is the imperial residence, an appeal to the Emperor is an appeal to the Bishop of Rome. He sits, by the imperial authority, at the head of the

synod of Italian prelates, to judge the disputes with the African Donatists."

But another important factor arose in the Roman Church, when Constantine granted the power of holding landed estate and of receiving all kinds of property by bequest.

His removal of the seat of civil empire to Constantinople, also gave the bishops of Rome greater license. Untrammelled and freed from the overshadowing influences of a Court, the Bishop as head of the Church became head of Rome, and held a more independent position. Dissensions and civil wars seemed to have affected Greek Christianity, while Rome and Latin Christianity stood aloof. Liberius, the Bishop of Rome, A.D. 352-356, stands forth, as one who dared to refuse the Emperor's mandate with regard to Athanasius. The Roman people supported their pastor; and Constantius had to order his seizure by night, and to banish him to Thrace—a punishment which broke his spirit. But all Rome is up in arms in his favour, and this episode assisted to teach the Romans to look upon their bishop as their king; and so much was this post sought after by rival factions that the election of a bishop often caused the streets of Rome to run with blood.

Fierce affrays marked the elevation of Damasus, A.D. 366, and continued at intervals during the elections of many of the popes, especially from the

eighth to the eleventh centuries (Mil. "Lat. Chr.," vol. i., 89-172).

Ammianus remarks:—

"No wonder that for so magnificent a prize as the Bishopric of Rome, men should contest with the utmost eagerness and obstinacy. To be enriched by the lavish donations of the principal females of the city; to ride, splendidly attired, in a stately chariot; to sit at a profuse, luxurious, more than imperial table—these are the rewards of successful ambition." He contrasts this pomp and luxury with the abstemiousness (*sic*), the humility, the exemplary gentleness of the provincial prelates. So profuse had become the offerings to the Church, that a law was passed to restrain the avidity of the clergy and the prodigality of the givers. Jerome heartily denounces this foolish generosity on the one hand, and the grasping cupidity on the other.

Monastic Christianity, which sprang up about this time, formed another great factor in further increasing the power of the Roman Church.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE RISE OF THE PAPAL POWER, FROM A.D. 325

THE position of the Bishop of Rome in the fourth century may be inferred from the action of the Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, where the three principal Sees of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch were recognised as presiding over their respective provinces. Each of these Sees was the Church of a great capital, and each was reckoned to have the honour of apostolical foundation. The second General Council enacted that the Bishop of Constantinople should stand next to Rome, "forasmuch as it is a new Rome"; a reason from which we may assume that, in the opinion of the assembled bishops, the secular greatness of the old capital was the ground on which its ecclesiastical precedence rested.

In A.D. 347, the Council of Sardica in its Canons passed a decree that, on an appeal to the Bishop of Rome, he might decide whether the judgment was to be reconsidered, and appoint judges for the second hearing, and delegate an ecclesiastic from his side to institute a commission of inquiry.¹

¹ If appeals had been allowed to Rome from the commencement, a decree such as this would have been hardly necessary.

On the occasion of some civil or criminal proceeding having been enforced against certain priests, Pope Felix (A.D. 355) obtained a rescript from the Emperor, which ordered that all demands upon, or complaints against, a clerk of the Church of Rome, should be brought before the Pope, and forbade an appeal to civil tribunals.

Siricius, Bishop of Rome in A.D. 385, issued the first decretal which became law to the Western Church. It was addressed to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona, who had written to consult Siricius on clerical celibacy and heretical baptism amongst other things.

It was Augustine, Bishop of African Hippo, who organised Latin theology, and finally under the name of the "City of God" established that new and undefined kingdom, at the head of which the Bishop of Rome was finally to place himself as a sovereign.

The popes were then evolving their aspirations to become the sole earthly representatives of God.

This brings us to the end of the fourth century.

In the fifth century there arose a line of Roman prelates admirably qualified, from their personal character, to advance the supremacy of the Roman See.

The emperors, after they had withdrawn from Rome, were too busy with the cares and calamities of Eastern sovereignty to pay much attention to the West. The Western emperors had retired to the

marshes of Ravenna, and soon gave way to a barbarian, who assumed the title of Sovereign of Italy.

Even with the barbarians amongst them, and amidst all the scenes of confusion, violence, and bloodshed, the prelates of Rome were looked up to with awe.

Innocent (A.D. 402), of irreproachable sanctity, took advantage of the rapidly sinking powers of Western emperors to assert despotic spiritual control over all Churches. "To him first dawned the vast conception of Rome's universal supremacy—dim and shadowy, but still comprehensive in its outlines." He accentuated the powers of Peter, strengthened the tradition as to the bishops of Rome being his successors, and declared that as all the Churches of the West, not of Italy alone, but of Gaul, Spain, and Africa, had been planted by St. Peter and his successors, they were bound to follow Rome's example and obey her. Rome now chose to rest her title to supremacy on the succession from the great Apostle. In A.D. 408, Alaric sacked Rome, but himself a Christian, gave sanctuary to all who rushed to the Churches, although he dispersed the pagans and destroyed their temples. He thus gave a further impetus to the power of the Roman Church.

Christian Rome arose from the ruins, and with its rise disappeared the ancient pagan religion with all its venerable titles. From this time the greatest man

in Rome was the Pope. It was declared through the Church alone, and thus through the hierarchy alone, that man could be secure of the work of God upon his soul. Ambition, mingled with religious fervour or fanaticism, seems to have been the motive-power present with the popes.

Zosimus (A.D. 417), the successor of Innocent, displayed before a Council assembled at Carthage *pretended* articles of the Councils of Nice, which submitted all the other Churches to the Church of Rome. The African bishops protested that they could find nothing of the kind in their reports of the Council of Nice, and five years later they wrote, telling him that they had ascertained that the pretended articles were not of the Council at all. These pretended articles were forged; but nevertheless they formed one of the many steps which enhanced the papal power. (See Milman, vol. i.)

Another, and it may be considered one of the strongest aids for strengthening the temporal power of the papacy, was introduced by Leo the Great.

In A.D. 440 he interdicted the practice of public confession (then common) to substitute in its place private confession, which was more favourable to the power of the priests (Villemain, p. 75). Thanks to this change, the thoughts and feelings of men and women were in the hands of the priesthood. It has been from that day to this a tremendous agent for good in some and of great evil in other cases.

Manning seemed to attribute to this, the decadence of "Catholic Countries," when he remarked "that their decay might be attributed to 'Absolution,' which it was hard to keep within bounds." This very practice of confession is attributed by many to be a cause of French decadence at the present time. (*Vide* Fowler's Letters in *Church Bells*.)

Valentinian III., Emperor of the West, passed a decree dated the Ides of June, A.D. 445, by which the "decision of the Pope of Rome was declared powerful in Gaul, without imperial sanction." In it he ordered that Hilary, a Bishop of Gaul, should not trouble by arms, nor resist the order of the popes; and that every bishop summoned before the tribunal of the Pope, and not attending, should be forced to attend by the governor of the province. Here we gather a hint of the method by which the popes ultimately attained their supremacy. *Not* from any inherent rights emanating from them as successors of St. Peter, but in consequence of orders promulgated, at first from the emperors, and when their rule had passed away, evolved from the plenitude of their own power.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE RISE OF THE PAPAL POWER, FROM A.D. 500

So long as the empire lasted in the West, and even later, the emperors enacted and enforced the observation of the ecclesiastical, as well as the civil law.

In A.D. 527, Justinian declares he recognises the authority of the four great Councils. He even acknowledges the supremacy of Rome, and commanded all Churches to be united to her. (Mil. "Latin Christianity," vol ii., p. 7.)

It was about this time that the bishop, by mandate, became an imperial officer in certain temporal affairs. In each city he was appointed, with three chief citizens, annually, to inspect the public accounts. All bequests and trusts were under his cognisance.

Gregory I. (A.D. 590) caused the ritual of the Church to assume more perfect form and magnificence. He raised the papacy by his careful husbandry of the estates of the Church, and he sent out a great number of missionaries. Rome thus became a great and important missionary centre. In his person, the Bishop of Rome first became in act and influence, if not

in avowed authority, a temporal sovereign. It was Gregory who offered his congratulations to Phocas, when (A.D. 590) he had murdered his own and Gregory's great benefactor, the Emperor Maurice; and it was his successor, Boniface IV., who was able to obtain a decree from Phocas, forbidding the Patriarch of Constantinople from using the title "Œcumenic."

In the seventh century, Mahomet and his successors invaded Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and the provinces of Asia Minor, then inhabited by Christians of the Greek Church. In many places the latter were exterminated or forced into slavery. Thus attacked, and fighting for dear life, the Eastern Empire had no strength to keep Rome in obedience. On the other hand, the knowledge that the East was thus invaded, grouped all the West around the alleged chair of Peter at Rome. Rome was still under the yoke of the Greek Empire, until she was enabled to throw it off through the invasion of Charles Martel. But the yoke was not abolished at once. When Pope Martin I. condemned the monotheletic doctrine at the Council of the Lateran, the Exarch of Ravenna went to arrest him, but was deterred by the sight of the Roman soldiery. But another Exarch came to Rome, bade the people elect another pope, and carried off Martin to Constantinople. He was led through the streets with an iron collar round his neck.

The Greek emperors, in order to lessen the inde-

pendence of the Roman Church, often placed Greeks in the papal chair; but "Church before patriotism" had even then become the motto of the papists, and the Pope Constantine, a born Greek, became the murderer of Justinian II., to whom he was indebted for his promotion.

It was Gregory II. (A.D. 715) who made use of the alliance with the Lombards, and obtained an order from their king that the Archbishop of Aquilea should submit to the Roman Church, and receive the pallium from it (Villemain, p. 109).

The episode in the eighth century of the relief of Rome by Charles Martel, the advent of Leo III., the crowning of Charlemagne, the wonderful letters written by Stephen (before referred to), the driving out of the Lombards, and the subsequent gift of those districts, finally caused the alleged successor of the humble fisherman of the Galilean lake, the apostle of Him whose Kingdom was not of this world, to become a temporal sovereign.

It was in the year A.D. 756 that the rule of the popes as kings of Italy commenced. The Roman Church, poor and obscure in the third century, by this time had its head ruling over a large and wealthy kingdom—the superior of all kings. But as the temporal power increased, Christianity decreased. Fighting bishops now appear, with lance in one hand and crozier in the other; wearing the mitre one day, and conducting the services in the cathedrals; on the

next, helmeted, and giving and taking hard blows, and fighting and swindling, and acting as if there were no God, nor righteousness nor truth in the world.

Many popes themselves were scarcely better. It was Nicolas I. who allowed the forged Isidorian Decretals to be published as authentic. Although now generally admitted to be forged, they were then accepted by an ignorant, superstitious, and uneducated laity; and they greatly helped to develop the papal power. It is an utter impossibility to give a clear and succinct sketch of the development of the papacy in a short chapter, or to compress in a few pages the history of 1,800 years.

No blacker history of human nature can ever be depicted than in portions of the history of the papacy. The worst vices seem to have gathered around it. Pride, lust, incest, ambition, lying, ingratitude, torture, inordinate affection, simony, murder, and sacrilege seem, at intervals, to have possessed those who occupied the papal chair. Here and there a good pope arises, like a bright star of goodness in the blackness of the night of cruelty and wickedness. The idea of a visible head of Christ's Church on earth ruling in unbroken succession over all kingdoms, powers, and principalities, and dispensing truth, charity, righteousness, and peace, is magnificent. But when one reads the records of crime and misery presented in papal history, the

mind is struck with regret that such a beautiful ideal should have become a chimera and a dream.

Power and wealth seemed to fall into the hands of the hierarchy, mainly owing to the unexampled rapidity with which the military aristocracy was exhausted. Every military family which became extinct weakened the power of the temporal nobles. The constant civil wars, the libertinism of manners, which crowded the halls of the nobles with spurious descendants, often without perpetuating the legitimate issue—a form of devotion which threw many who might have kept up the noblest families into the priesthood or the cloister; the alienation, through piety or superstition, of their estates to sacred uses; all these causes conspired to drain away riches and power from the nobility. For the Church was always ready to acquire, and forbidden to alienate; and was protected by awful maledictions and by alleged miracles which seemed constantly at their command against heathen as well as Christians. The fact that all the little education there might have been, rested entirely in the hands of the clergy, and that this clergy looked to the Bishop of Rome as their head; the fact that cathedrals and monasteries might be burnt or destroyed, and churches plundered, signified but little; for the next generation saw them rise again from the ruins, resume their wasted estates and repair their shattered buildings. But above all, while feudal estates lapsed for want of heirs, and

family possessions were dissipated, the pope, the metropolitan, and the bishop had always an heir to hand. There was no lapse in these estates; once within the clutches of the Church, there they remained. No wonder, then, that the riches and power of the papacy increased and developed by leaps and bounds, until we find a king standing in sackcloth and ashes shivering with cold, at papal gates, holding the stirrups of the popes when they dismounted; another beaten with stripes in cathedrals, and bowing down to the dust before the alleged Vicar of Christ on earth.

The struggle of the popes for temporal sovereignty and its attainment caused the papacy to sink from the status of a religious society, to that of a baneful political organisation.

Its development is, to a great extent, attributable to the Popes Hildebrand or Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Boniface.

Another cause underlying this ascendancy may, however, be traced to the fact that the Church stood, as it were, a buffer between the oppression of the feudal aristocracy on the one hand and the poor serfs on the other. Again, the right of sanctuary must have been a great boon to the latter class. But above all, the noble charities, the hospitality, and the care shown to the poor and wretched, must have endeared the Church to a large number of the people, and given a hold upon them which was further clenched by superstition and the power of the priest.

While we dwell on these good traits which conduced also to the rise of the Roman Church, there were other weapons, mundane and potent, which further assisted its onward progress. I mention two: the first, the power of excommunication; the second, the Crusades. The former unsparingly used, often by pope against rival pope, was an awful weapon in the hands of an unscrupulous Hierarchy; while Crusades also gave to the popes a vast accession of power and influence. Urban placed himself at the head of this great movement. He bequeathed it as a legacy to his successors. The Pope was General-in-Chief of the armies of the faith. He assumed from the commencement, and maintained to the end of the Crusades, an enormous dispensing authority; not a dispensing authority only from the penalties of sin in this world or the next, nor a mitigation of the pains of purgatory, nor a remittal of those acts of penance which the Church commuted at her will, but the taking the cross for the Crusades absolved the soldiers, by the Pope's authority, from all civil and social obligations. It substituted a new and permanent principle of obedience for feudal subordination. The Pope became liege lord of mankind. The Crusader was the soldier of the Church, and this was his first allegiance, which released him from all other. The Pope was thus invested with a kind of supremacy, altogether new and unprecedented. It gave him fresh and magnificent sources of revenue, for it was

the custom of the Crusader, on starting for war, to assign his estates to the Church in trust. If he came back, he allowed the Church to keep them, or entered a monastery. If he died, the property, once in papal clutches, was seldom given up. For at least two centuries this traffic went silently on, the Church always receiving, rarely alienating. And this, added to the ordinary offerings of devotion, the bequests of deathbed remorse, the exactions for hard-wrung absolution, the prodigal bribes of superstitious terror, the alms of pure and self-denying charity, gave increased power and wealth to the popes and the Roman Church. (See Milman's "Latin Christianity.")

Unfortunately, it established in the Christian mind the justice of religious wars, and the history of the next five centuries is a perpetual crusade. The unbeliever was the natural enemy of Christ and His Church, represented by the Pope. If not to be converted, he was massacred and exterminated. The popes scrupled not to unfold the banner of the Cross against any of their disobedient sons. A Pope originated the Crusade against John of England, and, in fact, every enemy of the political power of the Pope was treated as an unbeliever.

The last great Crusade was the Spanish Armada ; but its germ still flourished in the Inquisition, in the persecution of the Jews, and still shows vitality in the action of the Jesuits and of the priests in the Dreyfus case.

Even chivalry itself helped to augment papal power, for the young knight was initiated with a religious service, his oath was taken and registered by the Church; he put on his spurs under the ægis of the Church; and when death took him, he was still laid to rest within the walls of the Church.

The development of papal supremacy appears but a natural sequence of events, not pushed forward or upheld by supernatural intervention—more than such an intervention can be said to be present in every act of life. Ambition, and forgery, and other worldly methods took their course. It is urged by pious Roman Catholics that the very fact of Rome being allowed to exist, is of itself a marvel, proving miraculous intervention, when all the abuses of which she has been guilty are taken into consideration. But other nations and other churches flourish as well.

CHAPTER XXV

THE INQUISITION AND PAPAL PERSECUTIONS

ANOTHER aid to the development of the papal power was found in the Inquisition. The idea may be traced back to the Crusades. The popes had instituted these holy wars, and the minds of the laity became accustomed to the fact, that as the popes represented the cause of Christ, it was right to fight against and annihilate his enemies. Unfortunately, some popes took advantage of this feeling, to further their own personal ends. The Inquisition became an awful power. Like a black terror, it caused many countries to be watered with the tears and blood of their inhabitants, while it succeeded in riveting tighter the chains which bound the laity to the Church.

Instituted under the name of the Holy Office by Pope Gregory IX., and strengthened by Innocent IV., for the purpose of dealing with heretics and heresies, revived by Sixtus IV., and re-instituted in Spain with great severity, it became a powerful engine for the increase of the temporal power of the papacy.

No deed of murder, torture, or robbery was too base for its infamous procedure. Women and children, old men and maidens, none were spared. It ate into the vitals of every country in which it obtained a footing. It is calculated that in seventy years the population of Spain alone fell from ten to six millions. It hung like a black cloud over that country to a greater or less degree until A.D. 1820, when it was abolished by the Cortes. In Spain alone it is computed that 32,000 persons were put to death, and immense numbers were subjected to various pains and penalties. Torquemada burnt 9,000 and Diego Diez 1,600. It caused numbers to flee the country, and indirectly may be credited with the loss above stated.

But it was not by the Inquisition alone, that Rome caused bitter misery and desolation wherever people did not bow to her yoke. "Christ ruled by love and healed the servant's ear." His vicars caused the extermination of the Albigenses. Age and sex were not spared. A smiling district was reduced to a wilderness, not because the people did not worship Christ, but because they disagreed with the Pope. Innocent III. sounded the tocsin of persecution against the Waldenses, who were exterminated in the same manner. Children and women were barbarously murdered and burnt wholesale, and their villages destroyed. We may put the loss of life here at 100,000, so Gerdesius says (Hist: Renova: tom.

i., p. 39, gro. 1744): "Alva devastated the Protestant Netherlands, and historians give an awful account of the deeds committed. Protestants were massacred by the Pope's sanction at St. Bartholomew's to the number of 70,000. He afterwards went in state to return thanks for this massacre, and sent Cardinal Ursin, his legate, to France to thank the king for so great a service done to the Church."

In Bohemia, in A.D. 1621, we find the heretics burnt or cut to pieces, broken on the wheel, hanged, beheaded, or branded. Thousands were forced to flee the country. In A.D. 1627, precious manuscripts were destroyed by the Jesuits, and the population sank from four millions to 800,000. Even to this day Jesuits are execrated in Bohemia.

The Jesuits from Spain were said to be the prime movers in these massacres, and they succeeded in leaving Bohemia a desert. Pelzel, a papal historian, asserts "that the Bohemians, once a glorious nation, were wiped out by this persecution, and the history of Bohemia as a nation is no more."

An attempt has been made to defend the popes as not responsible for all these infamies, but history, alas! is against them. They cannot hide the episode of Paschale, the Waldensian missionary burnt at Rome in the presence of Pius IV. and his cardinals in state. Before that brilliant assembly the Protestant martyr stands, and as he mounts the scaffold and is tied to the stake, he cries, "Good people! I am

come here to die for confessing the doctrine of my divine Master, Jesus Christ." Then turning to Pius, he arraigned him as the enemy of Christ, the persecutor of his people, the Waldenses and the anti-Christ of Scripture, and summoned him to appear before the Throne of God. The Pope watched the martyr writhing in the flames. (*Vide* Wyllie's "Prot. Hist.")

A graphic account of the state of the Inquisition Prison is given by an eye-witness in "L'Italia del Papolo" (April, 1849), when the Republic took over the buildings. He writes:—

"From this place so near the Vatican issued the orders for the slaughter of the Jews and the last Mussulmen in Spain. Within this building was decreed the murder of the Waldenses. Here Galileo suffered; the imprisonment of Gianone was ordered; Pasguali condemned to the flames. Here was planned the murder of the Ugonotti. Here the censorship was organised, and from this place issued the mysterious orders to be carried out in all parts of the world by the Jesuits, etc., etc. On opening a wall they descended into a small subterranean place, damp, without light or passage out, with no floor, but a blackish oleagenous earth resembling that of a cemetery; scattered about were pieces of garments of ancient fashion, the clothes of unfortunate persons who had been thrown down from above and died of wounds, fear, or starvation. The rich soil had hardly begun to be removed before human bones were uncovered, and some very long locks of human hair which had doubtless belonged to the heads of females. Poor martyrs of ignorance and fanaticism torn from their families, to be thrown into a cloister and hurled into this dungeon to die.

"Dropped through a trap-door, for the judgment hall is over it, they were thus disposed of, when it was important that all traces should be lost. The cells were found in the greatest filth. In one were things which indicated horrible secrets, a piece of a woman's handkerchief of large size and an old bonnet for a girl

of about ten years old. In another four sandals and several nuns' cords, etc., were found, and so in almost every one of the prison rooms mouldering relics gave their silent witness to many an awful tragedy. In one vault the rings on the ceiling had served for the torture of the question. In one cell a stone was found which raised disclosed a 'Vade in pace'—'Go in peace'; a place of silent death, where the victim languished until death released him. A portion of a wall had been apparently covered with a greyish hue to make it look old. It was pulled down, and the prisons of Pius V. were discovered. They were at the bottom of a stone staircase. Many small chambers were found filled up with a mixture of earth and lime. Along the walls were recesses in which the condemned were buried alive, being immersed in a kind of mortar up to their shoulders. In some places it was evident they had died slowly and of hunger. This was inferred from the position of the bodies. They were placed in lines opposite each other, the skulls were gone, but were found in another place.

"Amongst the archives were discovered accounts of the different trials, showing the strongest exhibitions of the intellect panting to break the impediments which prevented the improvements of human nature." (See *Accounts of the Inquisition and Siege of Rome*, by Theodore Dwight, New York.)

Cruel and despotic as the Jesuits' rule appears to have been, it still increased the papal power.

Some of the acts recorded, blacken the roll of history, others throw lustre on the political ingenuity of the popes. But the whole offers little evidence of being imbued with that saintly spirit of Christ or that Divine Inspiration of which the Roman Church boasts.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPIRITUAL POWERS OF THE PAPACY—ON THE GROWTH OF DOGMA

I HAVE attempted to sketch the gradual assumption of temporal power by the Roman Church. Side by side with it, has grown up certain dogma, not derived from Scripture, but evolved by leaders of that Church, and which Cardinal Manning sets forth as follows:—“Transubstantiation, purgatory, invocation of the saints, veneration of images, indulgences, mariolatry, infallibility.” These, he states, cannot be proven by Holy Scripture, and yet are held necessary for belief. When we examine the doctrine of the Church of Rome, as it existed in the earlier centuries, ere the introduction of those innovations referred to, we find it practically identical in all essential particulars with that of the Anglican Church at the present time. In fact, the latter Church may justly claim to hold within it, all the essential elements as set forth in the Scriptures, and as held by the earlier Fathers: the points of difference between the two Churches

existing in the fact, that the Anglican Church ignores all later innovations not warranted by Scripture.¹

The Mass, as at present celebrated in the Roman Church, is a "travestie" of the Mass formerly celebrated in the same Church, or in the Anglo-Saxon Church.

Elfric, the Saxon monk, in conjunction with Siric, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his great Paschal Homily, delivered about A.D. 990, gives the same idea of the Sacrament to be lawfully administered *then* as is generally, or *ought* to be generally, administered in Anglican Churches *now*. It was left to a monk, Radbertus, A.D. 786, to start the idea of the actual eating of "the body, blood, and bones of Christ, as born of Mary." Long and bitter were the controversies. The great Roman Catholic divines, Johannes, Scotus, Eregina, with others, combated the delusion; but again the faction at Rome conquered, and after more than one thousand years, this error was promulgated A.D. 1215. The true Anglican Church adopts the ancient and less material dogma.

If we take the worship of Mary, we find it nowhere taught by the Evangelists. Tertullian, in fact, seems against any supreme veneration for her. She was undoubtedly a good and holy woman, but the Bible gives no authority for her worship. In fact, "Woman,

¹ The religion of Rome in A.D. 1900 is a very different religion to that of A.D. 500. Romanists account for the difference by the theory of development.

(Lady?) behold thy son!" is not a term expected from a son to his mother in any age. It does not convey affection, even in the Greek. And when our Saviour was accosted with the remark, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked," He replied: "Yea, rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it" (Luke xi. 27, 28).¹

The Feast of the Presentation dates from the eighth century. It was introduced into the Western Church about the fourteenth century, having been withdrawn from the calendar by Pius V., and restored by Sextus V. The Annunciation is first alluded to as a festival in a Canon of the Council of Toledo about A.D. 656. "Mother of God" was first applied by sacred writers in the third century. There was a festival of the Virgin in A.D. 430. Proclus preached at it. But in the earlier centuries we have no record of the worship of the Virgin. It remained for Pope Pius IX., A.D. 1854, to declare the "immaculate conception," and implied perdition to every one who did not believe it. The Anglican Church adheres to the scriptural and evangelical authorities, and thinks this papal dogma "heretical." A doctrine culminating 1,800 years and more after the event!

It was in the year A.D. 754 that we hear of the

¹ The word "transubstantiation" appears to have been first used by Stephen, Bishop of Autun, in his book, "De Sacramento Attaris," written about A.D. 1100 or later.

quarrel about the veneration of images which was an innovation. Leo the Isaurian had issued an edict A.D. 730 requiring their demolition. Constantine Copronymus convened a Council of 338 bishops, who carried out the policy, and until A.D. 787 the Iconoclasts carried all before them, but 350 prelates at the second Council of Nice upset this. Alcuin, an English or Anglo-Saxon dignitary of the Anglo-Saxon Church, opposed the worship of images strongly, and an important Council at Frankfort, A.D. 794, at which Alcuin was present, condemned the Nice Council, and declared *that* worship "as being such as God execrates." At last, however, the faction at Rome conquered, and adopted the innovation! The Council of Trent decreed that images of Our Saviour, the Virgin, and Saints, should have due honour and veneration by kissing and prostration. The Anglican Church has not done so. (Spence, "Hist. Ch. England," p. 323.)

The idolatry arose from the Romans having become accustomed to the pagan idea of the worship of images, but it took centuries to develop.

The educated Roman Catholics deny that they really worship images, but "*worship*" is, *to venerate, to respect, to honour, to treat with civil reverence.* (See Webster's Dictionary.)

The farther from the source, the more the stream becomes polluted. This is the case with the Roman Church.

The doctrine of purgatory has not more than two

declarations of supreme authority on the subject. They are to be found in the decrees of the Councils of Ferrara and of Trent. Money payments for prayers to shorten the pangs of purgatory and for indulgences came later.

Compulsory confession has been referred to in an earlier chapter.

Indulgence first appears to have been sanctioned by Boniface in the Jubilee of A.D. 1300, and afterwards in the Bull by which Clement VI. proclaimed the Jubilee of A.D. 1350. It really signifies the remission in whole or in part of the temporal punishment ordered by a temporal Ecclesiastical Authority, with jurisdiction for sins committed. In the earlier days minor ecclesiastical offences could be readily atoned for by almsgiving (Aug. de Fid. et Op., c. 19; Rob., "Chr. Ch.," vol. vii., p. 483). The doctrine gradually grew until it resolved itself into two propositions, besides those quoted above:—

1. That after the remission of eternal punishments there remains due to God a certain amount of temporal pain to be endured either in this world or the next.

2. That this pain can be remitted by the application of the super-abundant merits of Christ and of the Saints out of the treasury of the Church, the administration of which treasury is the prerogative of the Hierarchy.

This doctrine of indulgences has too often been

grossly abused by the Roman Hierarchy; and the older the doctrine became, the more flagrant became its abuse. The scandalous and reckless conduct of the hawkery of papal indulgences for the completion of St. Peter's at Rome formed one of the causes of the Protestant Reformation.

To gain money for papal expenses, the Pope's agents traversed the Continent selling indulgences wholesale; "even a legate at one fell swoop sold indulgences to a regiment of 300 men. This drove Luther to intensify his crusade." But notwithstanding the immoral traffic, it brought "grist to the papal mill."

A specimen of its abuse at the present time may be taken from the *Roman Catholic Times* of January 20, 1900:—

"Tenpence once given to the Paris Union Precious Blood secures 4,000 masses yearly.

"The same sum once given to the Providential Proposal secures 4,380 masses yearly.

"One shilling once given to Our Lady of Lerins Association secures over 10,000 masses yearly.

"One shilling to the Œuvre Expiatory secures over 3,000 masses for the abandoned souls in purgatory for twenty years.

"The foregoing are all established by zealous and worthy priests, with the approbation of their Bishops."

Roman and Primitive Christianity differ indeed. What an anomaly does this offer? Money payments,

the privilege of the rich, avail, while the poor, unable to pay, are left to the pangs of purgatory !

It took the Vicars of Christ one thousand eight hundred and seventy years to declare their infallibility. In attempting this they were opposed by a minority of Bishops, each representing 492,520 votes, while each majority voter represented 142,570 only. The minority fled from Rome the next day, fearing the consequence of their contumacy.

It appears singular that it took nearly nineteen hundred years to declare a power by which the climax of papal pretension is attained.

It is also a singular coincidence that on the very day the Pope signed the decree—that is, on 18th July, 1870—Napoleon III. entered on the Prussian War, which finally resulted in the overthrow of the temporal power of the Pope.

One question suggests itself: If all these above "points" were necessary to salvation, what became of the poor souls who lived in the earlier ages before these dogmas were promulgated? Are they all anathema? If there be a negative answer to this question, then I ask what practical advantage do later Christians derive from these new points of faith being thrust upon them?

The decree of the Vatican Council as to infallibility is to the following effect:—

"We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed; that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks ex

cathedra, etc., etc., speaks by virtue of his supreme Apostolic Authority, that he defines a doctrine to be held by the Universal Church, by the Divine Assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, and is possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed," etc., etc.

Where is the historic evidence showing that Divine Assistance was specially promised to the Pope through Peter? If there be such evidence—and I confess I am unable to discover where—it surpasseth human understanding to comprehend why this question of infallibility was not discovered and settled long before. Has there been another and a later dispensation?

An account of the struggles between the popes and their Councils would fill pages. Sometimes the Councils, notably those of Constance and Basle, A.D. 1483, animated by a desire for reform, attempted to curb the powers of the Episcopate.

But the apparent victories of Councils ultimately proved nugatory. The popes were always ready to act, while Councils were summoned rarely, and were always unwieldy (Robertson, "Hist. Ch. Church," vol. viii., p. 360). Their final extinction was decreed by themselves when they declared the Pope to be infallible.

CHAPTER XXVII

HAS ROMAN CATHOLICISM BEEN A BLESSING TO THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE SUBMITTED TO ITS YOKE ?

IF we take those countries which are more immediately under the yoke of Rome, we discover that morality, civilisation, and prosperity languishes in proportion to the strength of the hold of that Church upon the people. If we glance at Spain and Portugal, two of the most bigoted countries in the world, we view a fading civilisation and a decaying race. If we look at Cuba and Manilla, we find those magnificent countries also languishing under the rule of the Roman Catholic priest. The action of an unscrupulous and immoral priesthood has contributed to the rebellion against Spain and the final overthrow of her rule. I write advisedly, for the rule of the priest in Manilla has been a curse to the country ; and for many months I have had graphic accounts, from a resident there, of the numbers of idle men who, under the garb of the priest, have fattened upon the poor natives. They have held both the religious and civil power in their hands, and have so grossly misused it, that the natives, believing them to be an embodiment of the

Spanish Government, have risen to throw off the yoke.

The *Protestant Observer* quotes a long extract from the *Manilla Times*, 12th April, giving a sad picture of the state of religion in the Philippine Islands.

Cardinal Manning, in his *Diary*, vol. i., p. 388, remarks:—

“ ‘Milanese,’ one of the members of the *Cireolo Romano*, spoke likewise.

“ I asked him why ‘Aatholic’ countries were in advance, and Catholic in the rear, of civilisation.

“ *He admitted the fact*—said that Leo X. had done great evil to Rome and the Church. He said that for three centuries the popes had fraternised with princes, and used *religion against the people*; that the Jesuits had desired to maintain a dominion by a low or no education.

“ I said that some thought religion apart from the Church was the future of civilisation; but that I found countries without this organisation in advance of those with it.”

Again, at p. 398 *idem*, he remarks:—

“ I walked away with ‘Ambrosoli’; asked him how it was that ‘Aatholic’ countries outstrip Catholic in political advance. He said that in Catholic nations there is a principle of authority—I said of ‘absolutism,’—which it is hard to keep from spreading beyond its bounds. He also attributed their decadence to the abuse of absolution.”

In the above private notes of Manning, we have the admission that civilisation and political freedom flourish rather in Protestant than in Roman Catholic countries, and this is endorsed by two high dignitaries of the Roman Church.

Again he writes, vol. i., p. 473, *idem* :—

“The political, social, domestic state of foreign countries, as compared with England, is to me perplexity and alarm.”

In remarking on the immorality amongst priests, vol. i., p. 387, he writes :

“The Abbate told me (1) That there was much immorality even among women, before and after marriage. (2) That discipline is very lax. (3) Even some priests were very lax.”

Again at p. 386, against the Jesuits he records :—

“That they labour under suspicion, reasonable, historical, and preternatural.”

Some time ago, S. Bræchi, speaking of the Curate, said :—

That they are despotic, having too much power, *e.g.*, of imprisonment, and are corrupted by it. That he believed they were open to the charge of incontinence ; that some treated it very lightly. That the regulars, especially the Dominicans, are open to the same charge.

In the footnote he remarks :—

“Pius IX. made many attempts to reform the monastic orders in Italy, but they were always

frustrated by the obstinate resistance of the great monastic houses, especially the Dominicans. At the suppression of the orders, the Pope is said to have declared that though he was bound publicly to condemn the suppression, in his heart he could not but rejoice, as it was a blessing in disguise."

Cardinal Manning added, "That the success of the Revolution in Italy was in no small degree due to laxity of morals in the clergy, secular and regular, and to defective education, etc." The late scandals at Rome, published in the letters from an abbess, supports this allegation and brings us up to the current year.

Cardinal Vaughan, in a letter to the *Spectator*, asserts that civilisation and political prosperity clings to Protestant countries; but while admitting this, he gives as a reason, that Americans and English are more unscrupulous; in fact, that the children of this world (Protestants) are wiser in their generation than the children of light (Roman Catholics)!!

This might be considered an answer entitled to some weight, if history showed that Roman Catholic countries were more scrupulous, more honest, more moral than Protestant countries. But no unbiassed observer could admit that Spain, Portugal, or any other Roman Catholic country can surpass England, or Germany, or America in scrupulous dealing in morality or in justice. Wherever the yoke of the priest is loosened, there the country seems to rebound. Italy, although on the verge of bankruptcy,

has raised herself to become more free. France, although lapsed into a state of infidelity, has been more prosperous than ever. In that country, religion has been left to the women. It was, however, Protestants and infidels who asked for justice in the Dreyfus case, while the priests hounded on the people, and worked on their worst passions to obtain a conviction. No wonder that the French nation, formerly educated to view the Pope as God on earth, should have awakened to the anomaly, and have fallen into infidelity in consequence.

According to Mon. E. St. Genix, the Roman Catholic Church in France has degenerated, and become a blood-sucking vampire of a kind probably unmatched in history. Money-making is the cry of the "congregations." Millions of francs are wheedled out of the poor and ignorant for the alleged purchase of the good-will of St. Anthony and St. Joseph, accounts of which are published in a paper issued under the ægis of the Vatican. He gives several instances. He also mentions the charge made by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nancy, and supported by eminent citizens of the Republic, against the nuns, who work poor children from ten to fourteen hours a day, and turn them adrift shattered in constitution, with little hope of gaining a livelihood. I refer to this, as the charge is made by Roman Catholics themselves. (*Vide Con. Review*, March, 1900.)

As to Vienna :—

“According to an article in the *Contemporary Review* for March, by Mon. E. St. Genix, religion in Vienna, both of priests and people, is at a terribly low ebb. No doubt any acute Roman controversialist could make the same charge as to many places in England; but the Roman Church is declared by its controversial champions to be the sole true Holy Church, and the English Church to be no part of the Church at all. The example, the tone, the influence, the success of the Roman Church ought then to be better in all four ways; as a matter of fact, it is not.” (A. B., *Church Bells*, August 18, 1900.)

With regard to France, the celebrated French statesman, Monsieur Thiers, in his “*Traité des Superstitions*,” cap. vii., p. 18, states that certain purchasers are attracted by the advertisements shown by certain churches: “*Here* at each mass souls are delivered from Purgatory.”

Père Hyacinth writes in the Paris *Siècle* as follows :—

“It was copied into *Church Bells* of November 10, 1899, and commented upon by Mr. Lias: ‘One day in my cell of the barefooted Carmelites, I wrote for a Catholic review these short lines, which I had long and painfully meditated: “The old political organisation of Catholicism in Europe is on all sides collapsing in blood, or, what is worse, in the mud, and it is with its

powerless and discreditable ruins that people wish to conjoin the future of the Church.”’ For the time he retracted, but the conviction, he says, remained with him. In 1870, he finally broke with the Pope, and then he wrote that ‘if the Latin nations in general, and France in particular, are given up to anarchy, social, moral, and religious, the principal cause is not Catholicism, but *the manner in which Catholicism has long been understood and practised.*’ He then passes Austria and Spain in review, and asks, ‘What has become of the two branches of the Empire of Charles V., Philip II., and Ferdinand II.? Truly the sins and errors of the fathers have been heavily visited on the children.’

“He goes on to say that a wide glance at the world divides the moral universe into two portions, those which increase and prosper, and those that suffer and die. These divisions are independent of physical geography. In the first class he reckons England, North America, Germany, and Russia. In the second, Ireland and Poland, Austria and Spain, and the South American Republics. He does not mention France. In which category, I wonder, does he in his inmost heart place her? What is the cause, he says, of this state of things? Is it geographical position? No, for civilisation came originally from the South. Is it race? No, for there is in reality no such thing as the Latin races, though there is such a thing as Latin culture. Austria is German and Slav, Poland is Slav,

Ireland is Celtic, and he might have added Spain consists of Celtic and Teutonic races intermixed. Is it political organisation? No, for each of the two divisions contains monarchical and republican governments. What is it, then? It is *the degradation of the conscience produced by centuries of Vaticanism*. Individuals may be punished elsewhere, but nations must suffer their punishment here. Hence we see the elevation of the nations which Christ has made free, the humiliation of those which the Pope has enslaved. Under his yoke, consciences are not sound, because they are not free; not sincere, because they are enslaved to men and to idols, instead of belonging to themselves and the true God."

A learned divine, the Rev. Montague Fowler, in writing from Paris in *Church Bells*, December 1, 1899, writes:—

"If I were asked to explain, in three words, the cause of the present discontent and moral paralysis which pervades France, I should be tempted to reply—Jews, Jesuits, and Judet. On reflection, I should no doubt amend it by saying—Speculators, the Confessional, and the Press.

"Into the anti-Semitic question it would be impossible to go within the limits of this article. It suffices to say that the conditions of financial enterprise in France are such as amply warrant the suspicious attitude taken up by the French nation since the scandals of Panama, but do not

justify the position taken up against the Jews in particular.

“The mainspring of the dissatisfaction in France, the true reason for the tide of agnosticism and infidelity on the one hand, and of blind injustice and arrogance on the other, can be attributed directly to two things alone—the *system of the Confessional*, and *the rottenness of the national Press*.

“The Confessional, as applied in France, partakes very much of the Jesuit rule, and may be briefly summed up as the spy system. When a great Roman Cardinal (a Jesuit) recently dined with some English friends, he was accompanied by a young priest, because, as he explained, the rules of his order did not permit him to come alone. *A spy was at his side*.

“The position of a French father or husband, whose wife goes systematically to confession, is analogous. He is never alone. Not even in the precincts of his own home—not even when he turns to confide in, or seek comfort from his own wife. He, too, has a spy ever at his side. For a wife to confess every trivial act and thought of each day without the mention of her husband would be difficult; the questions put by her director make it impossible.

“The husbands, goaded by this inquisition, for the most part rebel, first against the Confessional, and finally against the whole system of the Roman Church. The wife (and who shall blame her?) clings the more tenaciously to the only faith she knows.

One dispute follows another, and in the present day, in fifty per cent. of the French middle and lower-class homes, the head of the family is an agnostic, tolerating his wife's attendance at church and religious devotions, strictly on the understanding that she does not go to confession, and that no priest crosses the threshold.

“Not infrequently, too, the mothers of families object strongly to the Confessional, and thus become severed from the ministrations of their clergy. ‘Je suis Catholique, mais je ne pratique pas’ (I am a Catholic, but I do not practise), is a frequent remark to be heard in France.”

In Neronian's letters to Mozley inserted in the *Con. Rev.*, September, 1899, I see, that the writer admits that Catholics are confessedly behindhand in political, social, physical, and economical science, but urges that such a state of things is but the outcome of apostolical teaching: “Take no thought for the morrow, what ye shall eat and what ye shall drink.” But he adds that England is as bad in unbelief as France, Italy, and Spain—meaning, I suppose, that Roman Catholicism has no more power than Anglican Catholicism over the faith of the people. It is the case of the Pot and the Kettle. He admits the bad government in the papal states, and that an ecclesiastical world-wide sovereign has neither time nor thought to bestow on secular matters.

He also states that the Catholic Church is en-

cumbered by its connection with moribund nations, but adds, the want of coal in England two centuries hence may make her moribund also. This is a mere matter of opinion which I beg leave to doubt.

But with regard to the allegation made against Protestant countries, I quote Cardinal Manning's words expressive of his opinion, with regard to the advent of Protestantism, and the Anglo-Catholic Church in England.

He adds: "Perhaps in no country can be found so remarkable an exhibition of the counteracting and remedial power of the Reformation.

"That the Anglican Church stands immovably rooted in the soil of England is, under God, because she was brought back to apostolic truth, *e.g.*, Anglican Catholic truth. No Church in the last 300 years has borne what she has met and overcome. All foreign churches shielded from the storms which have broken on their despised sister in England have declined and wasted. The countries most successful against the Reformation—for instance, Spain and France—are the most destitute of Christianity. But the English Church, tried beyond all, now more than ever shows a vivid and inextinguishable life," etc., etc. (*Vide* vol. i., p. 206.)

The above are statements of facts that a change in his religion could not alter.

I conclude with a statement written by a Roman Catholic in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, the Jesuit organ,

and quoted by A. B. in *Church Bells*, which is as follows:—

“Wealth and power no longer belong to the Catholic nations; they have become the appanage of peoples who have separated from the Roman Church. Spain and Italy, France, and a large part of Austria, if compared with Germany, England, and the United States, are feebler in the military department, more troubled in their politics, more menaced in social affairs, and more embarrassed in finance. The papacy has had nothing to do with the conquest of one half of the globe, of Asia and Africa; that has fallen to the arms of the heirs of Plotius, of Luther, of Henry VIII. All the vast colonial possessions of Spain are passing into the hands of the Republic of Washington: France yields the sovereignty of the Nile to Great Britain; Italy, conquered by Abyssinia, maintains with difficulty her maritime influence by following in the wake of England. Here have we, in fact, all the Catholic countries reduced to submit to heretic powers, and to follow in their traces like so many satellites. The latter speak and act, and the former are silent, or murmur impotently. This is how affairs stand at the end of the nineteenth century, and it is impossible to deny the evidence of it. Politically speaking” (he might add religiously, too), “Catholicism is in decadence.”

The blessing of God is less apparent over Catholic than over Protestant countries, and dynasties subser-

vient to the papal rule appear to have enjoyed less prosperity than those freed from the yoke. England, which has received more papal curses than blessings, does not appear to have suffered under their infliction, but rather to have prospered despite of them.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE PAPACY IN REGARD TO ITS RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND

THE Church of Rome may well be proud of her magnificent organisation and of those within her priesthood, such as Bigandet, Brindle, and Father Nugent of Liverpool. Had she been enabled to keep herself free from an ambition clad in the imposing garb of religion, from the early influences of paganism, and from her desire for sole temporal and spiritual supremacy—based on a false assumption, the offspring of an afterthought—she would have presented a massive barrier on behalf of Christianity, against the world, the flesh, and the devil. But Christ's Kingdom is not yet triumphant; the spirit of evil has not yet been vanquished.

The slimy trail of the serpent can be traced through Roman Church history. It is apparent in the insidious manner in which evil influences have permeated the minds of the teachers of that Church, and has even transformed the intrinsically good, by its very exaggeration, into that which is evil. It has compelled her to resort to forgery, cruelty, and

dissimulation to support her pretensions; and even in her expressed desire for good, she has caused such awful misery to countless thousands, that nations have but too good reason to curse her very name.

The Jesuits have contributed to this position by their action as the army of the Pope. In tracing their history, the student must be struck by the fact of their ejection from every civilised country, in which they may have attained a footing. The last example is that of France. They meet the charge of their frequent expatriation by the reply that "they are persecuted for Christ's sake," and quote Luke vi. 22, "Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company." But if this were the reason, it is inexplicable, that equally good and deserving parish priests, have been allowed to remain unmolested in those very countries from which the Jesuits have been expelled. In France and in every other of those countries referred to, the honest hard-working village curé still labours on in peace and quiet. *They* are also soldiers of the Cross, and yet *they are* not expatriated. The reason is not far to seek. It is because they refrain from mixing themselves up with political questions, and are never as a body, and seldom as individuals, scheming for party aims, or against the welfare of the country of their adoption. They do not merge patriotism in the desire for papal supremacy.

The Roman Church in England is essentially a

foreign political organisation founded on a religious basis, the leaders of which are foreigners, and, as a rule, inimical to this country. Trace our national history from the early ages, and the student can but arrive at the conclusion, that England has been regarded as a milch cow for the papal exchequer, and as a dumping ground for the sale of her livings to foreigners. In pursuance of her steady policy, Rome formerly gathered annually more taxes than the king collected for the service and defence of the country.

The popes at Avignon added insult to injury when they applied the money so collected to the use of the French king, who was then at war with us. They sold bishoprics and appointments to foreigners who had never set foot in the country, and who drew their stipends, and spent them, *while they lived at ease* abroad. The monasteries gave asylum to idle Italian and other foreign priests. In the list of those who inhabited the monasteries, foreign names abound. Idle clerics were foisted on the land to the detriment of the resident Anglican clergy, who were always complaining against the exactions of the Roman curia and the influx of the friars.

The question had for centuries been asked: Why should England pay taxes to Rome? Why should the Pope be monarch of England?

In A.D. 1529, Parliament—not for the first time—complained of the exactions imposed by the clergy on the laity: "*That the priests demanded heavy sums*

for probate and mortuaries; that they acted as stewards to bishops, occupied farms, traded in cloth and wools; many lived in noblemen's houses, instead of residing on their livings, with the consequence that the poor had no refreshing, and the parishioners lacked preaching and instruction."

Even to this day this "milking" is performed, but in another way. It would be interesting to ascertain how many thousands of pounds are now annually collected from Great Britain, and sent out of the country, to fill the coffers of a foreign potentate—the Pope—to the detriment of our resident poor.¹

Cardinal Manning, in his "Unity of the Church" (p. 361), writes:—"If any man will look down along the line of early English history, he will see a standing contest between the rulers of this land and the bishops of Rome. The Crown and the Church of England, with a steady opposition, resisted the entrance and encroachment of the secularised power of the Pope in England."

"The repudiation of the supremacy of the papacy commenced when the Conqueror refused to pay Peter's pence at the bidding of Gregory VII.; was carried on by Henry II., by Edward I., and by the authors of the statutes of Provisors and Premunire,

¹ The small amount given this year by Roman Catholics to the Hospital Sunday Collection may thus be accounted for. The Church of England subscribed £28,740; the Church of Rome £411 only!

and to an end by the Act of Appeals and the Act of Supremacy. England then became a complete nation in itself." (Strype, vol. i., p. 204.)

Henry VIII., truculent, morose, and lascivious, had, however, a clear conception that his interests were bound up in the prosperity of the country; and although caring little for religion, he was patriotic and clever. His quarrel with the Pope was based on more points than his divorce question. He never could have ejected the friars unless he had known of the abuses under which the English writhed. He had to decide whether he should rule in his own country, or become a puppet in the hands of the Pope and his nominees. Be it recollected that Wolsey, struck with their corruption, had tried to rectify some of the monastic abuses. Religion had but little voice in the matter, and it is worthy of note that the executions in this reign consisted of hanging, drawing and quartering. This is the punishment for high treason alone, and *not* for offences against religion.

The Pope had absolved all the King's subjects from their oath of allegiance. He in self-defence demanded that all should take the oath that he alone was supreme in England. Those friars who refused he ousted and mostly executed. This he could not have dared to do unless he was assured that the large majority of the nation were in his favour.

It is to be noted that later on, out of 9,400 Roman Catholic local clergy all but a few hundred swore

allegiance to Elizabeth. Space does not suffice to give the many instances of the hatred shown by foreign Roman Catholic clerics to this country, even up to the present day. I make no charge against the patriotism of the majority of English Roman Catholics. Some of their ancestors fought for Protestant Elizabeth against the Pope, and the laity are now fighting side by side with their Protestant brethren against the Boers.

The Spanish Armada was fitted out to bring this country under papal rule, and with the Pope's express wish and sanction. It was specially blessed by the Pope, but he might as well have cursed it! He especially cursed Elizabeth; he might as well have blessed her! The flower of the chivalry of Spain passed thence never to return. Shattered and broken by tempests, this magnificent fleet with all its treasures was swept away, and with it the glory of Spain! Ruined in wealth and men, she has never recovered the blow, and although the Pope had promised a million ducats towards the expenses, he afterwards refused to pay, saying: "He could not be expected to give a million of money for an Armada which had accomplished nothing, and was now at the bottom of the sea."

Spain has little for which to thank the papacy. Papal aid has been to her a curse rather than a blessing.

If ever the hand of God can be traced, it is in this

great debacle. With that fleet sailed a ship containing 200 officers of the Holy Office—the “bloody Inquisition”!—under Don Allacon, the chief Inquisitor. To subjugate the Protestant spirit arising in England was their intent, and to bring under the papal yoke—by means of stake, torture, and oppression—“Merrie England!” Thanks to Almighty God, these harbingers of woe and instruments of oppression sleep their last sleep with the mighty dead at the “bottom of the sea.”

Imagine for one moment the position of this country had the Pope conquered! Woe and lamentation would have been o’er the land, and England’s place in history would have been swept out. Remember the Bohemians!

England has but to recollect the hatred of the papacy in the past, and to be forewarned for the future.

Since those days, time has rolled on, effacing in his tracks the memory of the mighty deeds of valour performed by English Protestant heroes.

Another phase has arisen. Protestant teaching grants equal rights to men of all creeds and beliefs. In striking contradistinction to the bigotry and injustice shown in those countries in which the papacy is in the ascendant! We have again the Pope dividing this country into dioceses, and again mighty efforts made to bring England under his rule—which “God forbid!”

Has papal enmity cooled since then? We are told by the Catholic Truth Society that the Pope loves us—his predecessors said the same to those they burnt at the stake! When we look on countries in which Roman Catholicism is in the ascendant, we gather no reassuring data thence. The history of recent times gives us examples of enmity which are not reassuring for our peace and prosperity, should Roman Catholicism obtain unlimited power here. Subsidised newspapers under Roman Catholic influence in France, in Germany, in Austria, in Belgium, and the official Vatican press in Rome, teem with abuse against this country. Even up to this 19th December, in the year of our Lord of Grace and Peace, 1901, it has continued to pour forth its venom.

I give an instance from the *Times* of that date:—

“And yet the clerical press can find time and space to indulge in the luxury of Anglophobe, regardless of the impression it may produce among patriotic Catholics in England.”

The correspondent continues:—

“*December 19.*—I had occasion this week to call attention to the violently Anglophobe attitude that continues to be observed by the clerical press in Austria in dealing with South African affairs. It is not only in England that Roman clericalism is considered inimical to progress. Even in Austria civilisation is advancing, and a group of citizens

in Vienna, including several professors of the University, have formed an anti-clerical association, and issued a manifesto. It sets forth that everywhere 'in France, Germany, Spain, etc., there are popular movements and political events testifying to the fact, that the masses regard clericalism as their most dangerous enemy, and asks: Where rabid clerical demagogism flourishes, is every trace of political thought and free spirit to be extinguished? Is every attempt at emancipation to be regarded as folly?' The founders of the association think not. They look forward with confidence to the triumph of the liberal views of the century, and invite the co-operation of all liberal and independent citizens in their quarter of the metropolis."

The perusal of history warrants that general distrust of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, which seems to pervade the minds of the many. They know that when that Church had attained the highest zenith of its power—THEN the "Dark Ages," in which freedom, literature, and civilisation stagnated, came into being; and that as the power of the Church diminished, light came to the benighted nations.

We need not, however, appeal to the past when the present offers object lessons for our notice.

By a mere coincidence, the Marquis of Ripon (a pervert) was Secretary of State, when the agitation regarding the deprivation of the Protestant Church at Malta of its endowment was proceeding. But an

indication of the gradually increasing power of the Roman Catholic priesthood is offered by the action of Mr. Balfour during last session in withdrawing the clause as to the inspection of laundries—a clause considered necessary for the protection of hard-worked girls and women, and in favour of which religious sects were almost unanimous. But no—as the *Times* writes—“The priesthood stepped in, and Mr. Balfour succumbed.” It was said, that he at first contemplated exempting laundries under that religion only. But this raised a general outcry, and so to please the Roman Catholic priests and the Irish members, he was compelled to withdraw the clause altogether. It is but fair to add, that another reason is given, *i.e.*, that the Irish members threatened to delay the passing of the Bill, unless the obnoxious clause were excluded.

With the Jesuits, consciously or unconsciously, are now working those extreme High Churchmen, who travesty the Roman ritual, and yet still draw their stipend from the Anglican Church. Their position appears anomalous, and taking into consideration their ordination vows, the “man in the street,” without considering the religious part of the question, asks: Whether they are not guilty of a civil breach of contract? Whatever their legal position may be, they are levelling the “Road to Rome.”

An object lesson from which we may gauge the future condition of England, should it come under

the papal yoke, can be obtained from the following fact:—"In the Church of St. Etheldreda, Holborn, formerly Anglican but now Roman, the royal arms were suspended; now they are relegated to a misty dark corner outside the church—so dark that the following inscription necessitates it being painted on a white ground to make it visible:

"This emblem of the royal supremacy was removed from the Church of Etheldreda on its restoration to *the Roman obedience*, A.D. 1876."

A logical sequence, but at the same time of dark import, should Rome's desires be attained. "Roman obedience" has a wide signification.—The lethargy which seems to enthral Englishmen in sleep, and causes them to ignore the darkening clouds gathering over them, can only account for such publications as the following being allowed to pass unchallenged. I quote from *Church Bells*, January 17, 1902:—

"It is, however, a sad and simple fact that there is much disloyalty among papists who owe allegiance to the King. Newspapers will call much attention to the utterances of certain pro-Boers, but they do not call so much attention to the sayings and doings of disloyal Romanists."

If the following had been put forth by any English clergyman, or by the English Union, plenty of attention would have been called to it. Leading articles would have been written off in scores, and M.P.'s in abundance would have asked questions in

Parliament as to what the Government was going to do. I take this from the *Catholic*:—

**“ENLISTING IN THE ENGLISH ARMY IS TREASON
TO IRELAND.**

“Every man who engages in an unjust war is guilty of grievous sin, and if he dies without repenting it must suffer the loss of his soul. This is the doctrine of the Catholic Church.—
Rev. P. F. Kavanagh, O.S.F.

The Irish Catholic who takes the Saxon Shilling and dons
the Red Coat becomes

A Traitor to Ireland ! A Renegade to his Religion !
An Enemy to Freedom !

When he takes the oath of allegiance to England's King he
declares his readiness at the command of his Officer

To wage war against his own Countrymen.

To aim his rifle at the breast that gave him life.

To shed his brother's blood.

To fire the roof-tree over his father's head.

To desecrate the Churches of his ancestors.

Are YOU prepared to do these things ?”

And so on. The precious production ends as
follows :—

Enlist in England's Robber Army, and experience the fate of
Judas in this world and in the next.

By Order,

LIMERICK YOUNG IRELAND SOCIETY.

Cumann na n-Gaedeal.”

An article appeared last year in a leading Roman journal published in London. It was a sort of political speculation as to the future of European nations and the position of Rome in them. A gentleman who has

exceptionally good opportunities and experience comments as follows. For many years he travelled in Russia, Finland, Germany, and other European countries, and he is an exceedingly well-read and thoughtful man. His conclusions are briefly as follows :—“The Romans look forward to the breaking up of the Austrian Empire ; Germany will take a large slice, but the annexed part will be that where the population consists chiefly of Romans, and will cause that Church to be the predominant partner in Germany. The bulk of Europe will then be Roman ; and Rome also is working hard for her increase in America. England will be left as the only country of any account in opposition to Rome. Of course if Rome ever became in the ascendant in Germany, war with England would be far more probable than now, although the Roman press on the Continent is egging on the abuse of England.”

Cardinal Manning's words must never be forgotten. He addressed his suffragans as follows at Ware, or Westminster, at his third Provincial Council :—“I shall not say too much if I say, that we have to subjugate and to subdue, to conquer and to *rule* an Imperial race. We have to do with a will which reigns throughout the world, as the will of old Rome reigned once ; we have to bend or break that will which nations and kingdoms have found invincible and inflexible. Were heresy conquered in England, it would be conquered throughout the world. All its

lines meet here, and therefore in England the Church of God must be gathered in its strength." And when we remember, writes A. B., Cardinal Newman declared that "even in secular matters it is ever safe to be on the side of the Pope, and dangerous to be on the side of his enemies," we may all well work and pray to check the progress of Roman ascendancy, both at home and throughout the world. It is not against the Roman Catholic laity or the hard-working Roman Catholic parish priest that I write: I number friends amongst both classes. But it is against that hidden unscrupulous power in the papacy, which exploits the charity of the good sisters, the trusting devotion of their laity—the superstition of the ignorant—the Holy Father himself, in furtherance of political ambition and temporal supremacy.

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