The Anglican Claim of Apostolical Succession

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CARDINAL WISEMAN

WITH PREFACE BY THE REV. LUKE RIVINGTON, D.D.

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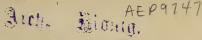
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CARDINAL WISEMAN

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LONDON CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY 69 SOUTHWARK BRIDGE ROAD, S.E.

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PREFACE

THE following essay, published by Cardinal Wiseman in the Dublin Review for August, 1839, must always possess a peculiar interest for English Catholics: for it was this which dealt a blow to John Henry Newman's confidence in Anglicanism, from which, by the grace of God, he never recovered. The late Dean Church, in his account of the Oxford movement, gives the following graphic description of the effect of Cardinal Wiseman's argument on the mind of the great leader of Anglicanism : "In the summer of 1830, he Newman] had set himself to study the history of the Monophysite controversy. 'I have no reason,' he writes, 'to suppose that the thought of Rome came across my mind at all. . . . It was during this course of reading that for the first time a doubt came across me of the tenableness of Anglicanism. I had seen the shadow of a hand on the wall. He who has seen a ghost cannot be as if he had never seen it. The heavens had opened and closed again.' . . . But another blow came, and then another. An article by Dr. Wiseman on the Donatists greatly disturbed him. The words of St. Augustine about the Donatists, securus judicat orbis terrarum, rang continually in his ears, like

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words out of the sky. . . . It was 'a most uncomfortable article,' he writes in his letters ; 'the first real hit from Romanism which has happened to me'; it gave him, as he says, 'a stomach-ache.' . . . It told on him as nothing had yet told on him. What it did, was to 'open a vista which was closed before, and of which he could not see the end'; 'we are not at the bottom of things,' was the sting it left behind. From this time, the hope and exultation with which, in spite of checks and misgivings, he had watched the movement, gave way to uneasiness and distress." (*The Oxford Movement*, by R. W. Church, pp. 225–7, 1892.)

Besides the historical interest which thus attaches to this essay, its power is such that it may yet have a work to do in bringing others to the same happy conclusion to which Newman was brought; and in this hope the Catholic Truth Society has thought well to republish it.

The point in the following essay which seems to have especially troubled Newman was the necessity of communion with the aggregate of Churches throughout the world. England found herself in the sixteenth century separated from the *orbis terrarum*, and has been so ever since: such separation, according to St. Augustine and others, is fatal. It is an argument which has lost none of its force during the last fifty years.

LUKE RIVINGTON.

September 8 1894.

The Anglican Claim of Apostolical Succession

IN an article in the *Dublin Review* for October, 1838, we examined, by the light of antiquity, the claims advanced by the Oxford Divines in favour of Apostolical Succession in their Church. In order to simplify the controversy, we made concessions till we almost feared we might have scandalized our brethren. We wished to take up the controversy upon the lowest imaginable 'grounds, and for this purpose we made the following liberal allowances :—

First, we put aside all questions respecting the validity or invalidity of ordination and consecration in the Anglican Church.

Secondly, we entirely considered the case of this Church as one to be investigated by canonical enactments, overlooking the great point of ecclesiastical and doctrinal union with the Universal Church, which is essential, *jure divino*, for the legitimate existence and exercise of hierarchical authority.

Thirdly, we limited the rights of the Holy See to be a party to the lawful appointment of bishops in England, to those of the patriarchate, instead of considering those of its supremacy.

Fourthly, we even imagined the hypothesis that the rights exercised by the Pope, as patriarch of England, had no better foundation than usurpation at the outset.

After making all these abatements in our just assumptions, we proved that the advocates of the Anglican Church could not sustain any claim on her part to a share in Apostolical Succession. But it was not by any means our intention to leave the investigation there. On the contrary, we promised to raise the question to a higher level, and discuss our adversaries' pretensions, or rather repel them, upon considerations involving more serious consequences. The following extract from our former article will at once explain our actual position, and define the point from which the present starts :—

"After our clear exposition of our motives, we shall not, of course, be suspected of having yielded too much, or of '

having placed the rights of the Holy See upon too low a ground. We have cer-tainly given up much. We have discussed the matter as one of ecclesiastical right, rather than of divine; and have shown that, even thus, the jurisdiction and succession claimed by the Tracts [i.e., the Tracts for the Times] for their Church are null. But in fact it would be in our power to show that such rights as the Apostolical See held, and yet does hold, over the episcopacy of the Church, are not of ecclesiastical origin, but belong essentially to the Chair of Peter, as granted to it by our Lord Himself. This leads us to another and a much higher ground on which to base any resistance to the pretensions of the English Church and its upholders to be an ecclesiastical establishment or 'a branch,' as they choose to call it, 'of the Catholic Church' —a ground, too, which still dispenses with all inquiry into the validity of Angli-can ordination. We mean the state of schism into which it put itself at the Reformation, and which at once acted as a blight upon all its ecclesiastical powers -withering them, and rendering them incapable of any act of valid jurisdiction, or any place in the Apostolical Succession. This portion of our argument, with many other matters connected with this subject, we reserve for our third [the present] article upon the Tracts. We shall treat it by the light of ecclesiastical antiquity, and exhibit instances curiously parallel with that of the Anglo-Hibernian establishment."

We hardly consider it necessary, for the adversaries whom we are combating, to prove that a Church, placed in a state of schism, at once forfeits all right to the lawful exercise of its hierarchical functions. All the examples quoted in our former article, and the abundant testimonies which we shall give in this, will sufficiently prove that, according to the principles of the ancient Church, a state of schism is a state of sin, of outlawry, and deprivation; and that, even where ecclesiastical functions might be validly exercised, they cannot be so, either lawfully or salutarily. The bishops of a schismatical Church could not be admitted to vote or deliberate at a General Council, nor be present, save as an accused or an accusing party; they could not be allowed to communicate with other bishops, without first retracting their schismatical principles; and upon returning to the unity of the Church, they would require to be formally reinstated in their sees, or would be removed to others, or remain suspended. In fine, it is only in the true Church of God that Apostolical Succession can be had; and any one who, even maintaining the integrity of faith, held not to unity of communion, was anciently reckoned to be out of that Church. "Nobiscum estis," writes St. Augustine, "in baptismo, in symbolo, in cæteris Dominicis sacramentis : in spiritu autem unitatis, et in vinculo pacis, in ipsa denique Catholica Ecclesia nobiscum non estis."¹

The paragraph we have extracted from our former article pledges us to the painful duty of proving that the Anglican Church is fundamentally and essentially a schismatical Church, and, as such, has no right to a place in the Apostolical Succession. Now, though we thus advance to a closer position with our adversaries than in our last argument, yet we are aware that we are by no means going to the extent to which we have a right. Is the English Church *only* schismatical? Is it not as truly heretical? We unhesi-

" You are with us in baptism, in the creed, in the other sacraments of the Lord; but in the spirit of unity, in the bond of peace—in fine, in the Catholic Church itself—you are not with us." Ad Vincent Rogat. Ep. xciii, ol. xlviii,

tatingly reply, Yes. The one state can-not easily exist without the other. St. Jerome clearly distinguishes the two, but at the same time draws this conclusion, of how naturally one runs into the other. "Inter hæresim et schisma," he observes, "hoc esse arbitrantur, quod hæresim perversum dogma habet; schisma, propter episcopalem discessionem, ab ecclesia separatur. Cæterum nullum schisma non sibi aliquam confingit hæresim, ut recte ab ecclesia recessisse videatur." 1 And so likewise St. Augustine : "Schisma [est], recens congregationis ex aliqua sententiarum diversitate dissensio; hæresis autem schisma inveteratum."2 That is to say, seldom will schism fail to justify its separation from the Church by departing from its doctrine, and so insisting that the supposed errors, which it abandoned, obliged it to separation. In this way does the Anglican Church plead doctrinal necessities for its schism-and

[•] In Epist. ad Tit. c. iii. "This they suppose to distinguish heresy from schism, that erroneous doctrine constitutes heresy—while schism is a separation from the Church, by the secession of bishops. However, no schism fails to frame some heresy to justify its departure from the Church."

² The same Saint, writing against Gaudentius, says : "Cum schismaticus sis sacrilega discessione, et hæreticus sacrilego dogmate." Lib. ii. c. ix.

that very plea proves heresy. But in our argument on the subject of Apostolical Succession we are willing to consider the separation as simply schismatical, in the same manner as we speak of the Greek Church, which is, in truth, heretical. The fact is that we can attain our purpose with the more lenient charge for our basis, and therefore we prefer it. The case of heresy in the Church of England can, indeed, be summarily made out on the simple ground of its having rejected the decrees of an Œcumenical Council. Still it might be considered necessary to go into details of doctrines, to establish the point to full satisfaction. At the same time the Fathers make no distinction between heresy and schism, as a ground of forfeiture of the rights belonging to the true Church, of which jurisdiction is one. Once more let us hear the great Doctor of the Western Church : "Credimus et sanctam ecclesiam, utique Catholicam. Nam et hæretici et schismatici congregationes suas ecclesias vocant : sed hæretici de Deo falsa pronunciando, ipsam fidem violant; schismatici autem dissensionibus iniquis a fraterna charitate dissiliunt, quamvis ea credant quæ credimus. Quapropter nec hæretici pertinent ad Ecclesiam Catholicam quæ diligit Deum ; nec schismatici, quoniam diligit proximum."¹

From the passages we have already given, it must sufficiently appear what is the distinction between the two states, the one supposing error in faith, the other separation from unity. Now in investigating the position of the Anglican Church in regard to the latter, we wish to examine it by the light of antiquity, and to judge it entirely by the rules laid down and determined by the Fathers of the primitive Church. Such, in fact, is the standard by which these divines desire to be measured; and it is a satisfaction to us to have this point, at least, of complete agreement. We shall, therefore, take a case from the history of the early Church, which we consider parallel, even to an extraordinary degree, with that of the English Established Church; from it we shall learn what were the criterions by which the Fathers of the ancient Church judged of

¹ S. Aug. De Fide et Symb. c. x. tom. vi, p. 161. "We believe the holy, yea, the Catholic Church. For heretics likewise and schismatics call their congregations Churches; but heretics, by speaking falsely of God, violate faith; and schismatics, by wicked dissensions, depart from fraternal charity, although they believe what we believe. Wherefore neither heretics belong to the Catholic Church, which loves God, nor schismatics, because she loves her neighbour," a case of schism, and what the manner in which they expressed their sentiments concerning it. We shall, moreover, hear the objections brought by the schismatics, and the answers given to them.

No schism longer or more extensively afflicted the Church, or gave rise to more interesting discussions, than that of the Donatists in Africa; and we therefore select it as an illustration of the controversy between us and the Anglicans.

The Donatists, although they received their name from Donatus, schismatical bishop of Carthage, yet dated from the intrusion of his predecessor, Majorinus, consecrated by several bishops, while Cæcilianus held the see; on the ground that the latter was disqualified from holding it, because his consecrators had delivered up the sacred volumes to the persecutors. These bishops, seventy in number, assembled in council at Carthage, with Secundus, of Tigisi, primate of Numidia, at their head, wrote to the Churches of all Africa a synodal letter, in which they declared the consecration of Cæcilianus to be schismatical, and refused to communicate with him.¹ Here then we have

¹ St, Aug. in Brevicul. Collationis, cap. xiv. Oper tom. ix. p. 569. Auct. lib. cont. Fulgentium Donatist. cap. xxvi. Ibid. Append. p. 12. a strong case, in the supposition that each national Church has an independent existence. A large body of bishops, headed by the neighbouring primate, steps in to examine an election charged with grievous irregularities, and pronounces a sentence which is communicated to all the rest of the African Church. They consider Cæcilianus as an intruder, and appoint Majorinus in his place. A large portion of the African Church assent to their sentence, and from henceforth consider the latter as the legitimate archbishop, and refuse to hold communion with the former. On the other hand, many continue to consider Cæcilianus as true bishop of Carthage, and remain united with him in communion.

But before examining how this complicated state of things was resolved, we must not omit to say a few words concerning the unhappy passions that led to this schism; the reader, we think, will be as struck as we have always been with their exact resemblance to those that produced the separation of England from the communion of the Church. St. Optatus sums them up in these words : "Schisma igitur illo tempore confusæ mulieris iracundia peperit, ambitus nutrivit, avaritia roboravit." The first of these causes was the anger of a powerful woman called Lucilla, who could not brook the discipline and reproofs of the true Church.² She thought it therefore advisable to excite a schism, and with money and influence encouraged those bishops who were already inclined to cause one. Who does not here see a remarkable coincidence with the case of Anne Boleyn and her fautors,3 who, seeing that the discipline of the Church would not admit of her impious designs, brought about, as the first cause, the king's awful separation ? "irascenti et dolenti," as St. Optatus writes, "ne disciplinæ succumberet." The second cause of the schism was ambition; in Africa, that of some who sought to obtain episcopal dignity; in England, that of Henry, who desired to possess the supremacy of the national Church. The third was covetousness, in both cases,

¹ St. Optatus De Schism. Donatist. lib. i. cap. xix. ed. Dupin, p. 18. "The schism, therefore, was at that time bred by the rage of a disgraced woman, was nourished by ambition, and strengthened by covetousness."

² Ibid. c. xvi. She had been reprehended by Cæcilianus for superstitious devotion to unauthenticated relics.

³ "Cum omnibus suis potens et factiosa femina, communioni misceri noluit." Ibid. c. xviii.

after the wealth of the Church. A considerable quantity of Church plate and ornaments had been deposited in the hands of some leading men among the clergy and people, by the Deacon Felix, from fear of persecution. These they appropriated to themselves, and, when called on by Cæcilianus to restore what was not theirs, preferred to become schismatics, so as to retain possession of their ill-gotten wealth. A very similar desire to enrich themselves by the plunder of the Church and appropriation of the accumulated wealth of ages, will easily be recognized as the chief corroborator, in powerful men among the laity and clergy, of their wish to depart from the unity of faith.

The foundations of the schism thus laid, it became every day more and more complicated in its operation. For the number of bishops who maintained it was very considerable, and spread over the whole of Christian Africa, to such an extent that many dioceses were entirely in their hands, and the Catholics in some districts exceedingly few in number. The Donatists became so powerful as to take forcible possession of churches, and seize upon the property and persons of the Catholics. Hence the civil power found

it necessary to interfere, and send deputies into Africa, to repress the extravagances and chastise the excesses of these desperate men. This only led to their having a new boast, that of confessors and martyrs, titles which they readily gave to all that suffered for crimes connected with the schism.¹ Many of the questions of fact, as we learn from St. Augustine, became, in course of time, involved in obscurity, such as the true case of Cæcilianus's consecration, and his real character; so that, in truth, it had become difficult for a simple individual to unravel the matter, or decide for himself to which party he ought to belong. The Catholic pastors therefore exerted themselves, by every means in their power, to point out such simple arguments as would at once convince the most illiterate with whom they ought to side. These we shall proceed to present to our readers.

In the first place, they generally treat with the Donatists as with schismatics, and not heretics. It is a question

^r See, for instance the Acts of Macrobius, written with all the pathos of those of the true martyrs, and those of Maximian and Isaac, first published by Mabillon, and republished in St. Optatus's Works, p. 193, *seq.* Macrobius was the Foxe of the Donatists.

whether these men insisted upon the whether these men insisted upon the erroneous doctrine generally attributed to them, of having rebaptized those who had been baptized by heretics, whether such truly or only in their judgement. St. Augustine quotes Tichonius, of whom we shall later speak, as assuring us that in 330 a council of two hundred and in 330 a council of two hundred and seventy Donatist bishops condemned the practice ; and as appealing to witnesses still living in 380.¹ The same Father acquits them of any error respecting the Trinity, although Donatus himself is supposed by him to have had some erroneous opinions concerning it. St. Optatus clearly acquits them of errors in faith, thus writing to Parmenianus : "Bene clausisti hortum hæreticis, bene revocasti claves ad Petrum, &c. . . Vobis verò schismaticis, quamvis in Catholica non schismaticis, quamvis in Catholica non sitis, hæc negari non possunt, quia vobiscum vera et communia sacramenta traxistis. Quare cum hæc omnia hæreticis bene negentur, quid tibi visum est, hæc et vobis negare voluisse, quos schismaticos esse manifestum est? Vos enim foras existis." 2 Hence this saint always calls

¹ Ер. хххіх.

² Lib. I. c. xii, p. 12. "Rightly hast thou closed up the garden to heretics, rightly hast thou claimed the keys for Peter., . . But to you

Parmenianus by the title of brother ; and, when this was indignantly rejected, vindicates it at length in the opening of his fourth book. Once more he repeats that the Donatists are brethren, because they possess the same sacraments.¹

Secondly. The Donatists, as well as their adversaries, claimed the title of the Catholic Church. The general body of them (for we shall see that an important modification of their principles on this head was later introduced among them) maintained that the Catholic, that is, the true Church, only existed among themselves, and cut off from its pale all who were not in communion with them.² At the celebrated Conference of Carthage, held by order of Honorius, in 411, be-

schismatics, although you are not in the Catholic Church, these things cannot be denied, because you have taken the true sacraments in common with us. Wherefore, since these are all rightly denied to heretics, why have you thought that there is any wish to deny them to you who are schismatics? For you have gone out."

¹ Cap. ii. p. 72. However St. Augustine occasionally calls them heretics, as Cont. lit. Petil. lib. i. c. I, where he says, "Donatistarum hæreticorum." He again argues the point more fully, Cont. Crescon. Gram. lib. ii. cap. 4.

² "Eam (ecclesiam) tu frater, Parmeniane, apud vos solos esse dixistis," S. Opt. lib, ii. cap. i, p. 28. tween the Catholic and Donatist bishops, the former headed by St. Augustine, the latter by Petilianus, the schismatics were exceedingly indignant that the title of Catholic should be exclusively claimed by, and given to, the other side. On the third day of the conference, when the moderator Marcellinus called the orthodox by this name, Petilianus rose and said, "Only that side is the Catholic which shall carry off the victory in this contest." I But throughout the conference, the Catholics strove in vain to bring their opponents to the point as to who had a right to be considered the true Church ; and it may be worth while to extract a few passages from the Acts, to show how similar the mode of argument pursued on both sides is to what would be pursued in a modern debate between Catholics and Protestants.

"Fortunatianus, bishop of the Catholic Church, said: 'Explain the grounds of your separation and dissension from the universal Church, spread over the entire world." After some tergiversation, being once more pressed by Fortunatianus, "Petilianus, bishop, said: 'That the Catholic Church is with me, our pure

¹ Gesta Collat. Carthag. diei 3. cxlvi, ad Calc. Oper, S. Opt. p. 305.

observance of the law, and your vices and crimes establish." He then goes off to other matters irrelevant to this question. Later, when Marcellinus once more gives the title of Catholic to the anti-Donatist side, Petilianus again demands that the Acts should give his party the same title. Marcellinus replies that he gives that name to one party, because the imperial decree bestows it; and then Petilianus answers that till the present contest is decided, it will be to them but an empty name. "He shall obtain it," he adds, "who at its conclusion, shall be found truly a Christian." Émeritus, another Donatist bishop, spoke in the same strain. St. Augustine had urged the necessity of being in communion with the Church which the Scriptures proclaim must be diffused over the entire world, "whose communion," he adds, "we appear to hold, but which is falsely charged by you with grievous crimes." To this Emeritus replied, that whoever is truly a Christian, he only is Catholic and can claim the name; and, that though it is by a sort of prescription borne on the forehead by the other party, yet it should be placed between the two as the reward of the victors.¹ This speech of Emeritus contains another plea, presenting a curious resemblance to the reasoning of the Tracts to which we may later allude.

Thirdly. In addition to this desire to claim an equal right with their opponents to the name of Catholic, we must notice the desire on the part of the Donatists to disclaim this name ² or to fasten a similar one on the Catholics, just as that of "Romanist" or "Papist" is in vain applied to us by Protestants. Thus Petilianus, in the same conference, said : "Donatistos nos appellandos esse credunt, cum si nominum paternorum ratio vertitur, et ego eos dicere possuin, immò palam aperteque designo, Mensuristos et Cæcilianistos esse." ³

¹ "Quicunque justis legitimisque ex causis Christianus fuerit approbatus, ille meus est Catholicus, illi hoc nomen imponitur, ille debet sibi hanc regulam vindicare ; quamvis ipsa Catholica, quæ nunc pro præscriptione partis adversæ quasi in fronte quadam rite adversum nos temperari cognoscitur, medium esse debet ; et in judicio ita censtitui, ut hoc nomen victor accipiat." Ibid. p. 301.

² The Tracts disallow the title of Protestant as applied to the Anglican Church. Vol. iii. p. 32. See also Mr. Newman's "Letter to Dr. Faussett," 2nd edit.

³ "They think that we ought to be called Donatists; whereas, if account has to be taken of

Let us now see how the Fathers argued on the other side, and what broad, clear, and simple arguments they chose to convict the Donatists of the schism ; to prove to them that they belonged not to the Church of Christ, that is, to the Catholic Church, but must be content to bear the title which at once designated them as separatists, and followers of men and not of God.

I. The first, the most frequently and the most earnestly urged of these arguments, is the fact of the Donatist Church, however numerous its bishops and its people, being excluded from communion by other Churches, and not being admitted by them within the pale of the true Church. And this, as we shall see, is not an argument based upon right, but upon fact : it does not require, in the opinion of the Fathers, any previous examination into which party was right; the very fact of one's being in communion with foreign Churches, and the other's not, was considered a decisive proof that the latter was necessarily in a state of schism. They lay down as principles, that the true Church of Christ was to be

the parental names, I could call them, yea, I do openly and publicly call them, Mensurians and Cæcilianists." Ibid. p. 296. dispersed over the entire world, and that, consequently, no national Church could claim for itself the distinction of being this only true Church. Thus reasons St. Optatus : "Ergo Ecclesia una est. . . . Hæc apud omnes hæreticos et schismaticos esse non potest. Restat ut uno loco sit. Eam tu, frater Parmeniane, apud vos solos esse dixisti. . . Ergo ut in particula Africæ, in angulo parvæ regionis, apud vos esse possit ; apud nos in alia parte Africæ non erit? In Hispaniis, in Gallia, in Italia, ubi vos non estis, non erit?"1 He then enumerates other countries in which the Church existed, that held not communion with the Donatists : and reasons upon the texts of Scripture, which promise the entire earth to Christ as His kingdom.

Now the reasoning here is twofold, and in two ways applicable to modern controversy. In the first place, it attacks the foolish presumption of those who would

¹ "Therefore, the Church is one. . . . It cannot be with all heretics and schismatics. It must therefore be only in one place. Thou, brother Parmenianus, hast said that it is with you alone. Therefore, that it may be with you in a small portion of Africa, in a little corner of the land, with us, is it not, in another part of Africa? Is it not, in Spain, in Gaul, in Italy, where you are not?" Lib. ii. cap. I. p. 28.

maintain that the Anglican Church is the only apostolic one, the only true Church of God, in consequence of the corruption of every other in communion with the Holy See. This is a common boast, of which it can hardly be necessary to bring examples to any reader versed in controversy. The argument of Optatus, grounded upon Scripture testimony, denies at once the possibility of any national Church being exclusively the true one, and those over the world that are in communion being false. Secondly, this reasoning strikes as much at the theory of the Tracts, and other High Church writings, which would fain have us consider the Church of Christ as an aggregate of many Churches, holding, indeed, different opinions and practices, and not actively communicating together, so that the Anglican Church may be called "that branch of Christ's Church which is established amongst us," and the Church of Rome is allowed to be a portion (though a corrupt one) of the same Church of Christ. This system is directly at variance with the arguments of St. Optatus : "Restat ut uno loco sit." He does not imagine the possibility of Donatists being considered a part of the true Church : if they constitute it, the

rest of the world is excluded—if Spain, Gaul, and Italy, which are in mutual communion, Donatist Africa is shut out from the pale.

St. Augustine's reasoning on this subject is precisely the same. We think it needless to quote passages from him, where he maintains the universality of the Church, and that only that can be the true Church which is dispersed over the whole earth : because it would be difficult to read many pages of his writings against the Donatists without meeting a commentary on one of these or similar passages : "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed"; "I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance," &c. ; "He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river to the bounds of the earth."

Upon these texts he insists against Parmenianus, against Petilianus, and against Cresconius, as sufficient to prove that the Churches in communion must be true, to the exclusion of all that stand in separation from them. However, the texts which we shall have occasion to quote will put the sentiments of this most learned Doctor beyond all question. In fact, we must now see the pleas whereby the Donatists justified their state of separation from communion with the rest of the world; and we shall see how exactly they resemble those of Protestants, and how they were met by this great Father.

I. They argued that the corruptions of the Church were such as rendered it impossible for them to keep in communion with it. This was the common plea of all schismatics. St. Jerome tells us that a Luciferian, disputing with a Catholic, "asserted that the entire world belonged to the devil, and, as it is their wont to say, that the Church was become a house of wickedness." 1 Parmenianus in like manner affirmed, "that the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Italians and their friends, by whom he must understand the entire world, resembled the African traditors by participation in their crimes and companionship in their guilt." 2 "Hence," he concluded, "that the whole world had been contaminated by the crime of surrendering the sacred books,

¹ "Asserebat quippe [Luciferianus] universum mundum esse diaboli et, ut jam familiare est ipsis dicere, factum de Ecclesia lupanar." Dialog. adv. Lucifer. cap. 1, tom. ii. p. 173, ed. Vallars.

² "Gallos, et Hispanos, et Italos, et eorum socios (quosubique totum orbem vult intelligi) traditoribus Africanis commercio scelerum, et societate criminum dicit esse consimilem." August. cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. i. cap. ii. and other sacrileges."¹ This language resembles not a little that of the *Book of Homilies* regarding the corruptions of the Church before the Reformation.

But the resemblance between the ancient and modern schism is, on this point, still stronger. The Donatists went on to say that there came at that time godly men, who bore witness against the prevarications of the Church, and urged those certain provinces to purge out the foul abuses that had crept in, and to separate themselves from those among them that adhered to them, and consequently from those foreign Churches who kept communion with these. "Dicit enim legatione functos quosdam, sicut ipse asserit, fidelissimos testes ad easdem venisse provincias, deinde geminato adventu sanctissimorum, sicut ipse dicit, Domini sacerdotum, dilucide, plenius ac verius publicata esse quæ objiciunt."² "Frustra

¹ "Dicit Parmenianus hinc probari consceleratum fuisse orbem terrarum criminibus traditionis, et aliorum sacrilegiorum." Ibid. cap. iii.

² "He says that most faithful witnesses, as he calls them, acted as ambassadors to those provinces, then by the repeated arrival of most holy priests of the Lord, as he says, these things which they object were clearly, more fully and truly published." Ibid. c. ii. The first witnesses may represent the foreign Reformers ; the second class corresponds to Cranmer, Ridley, &c. dicit Parmenianus 'damnatos in Africa traditores in consortium damnationis acceptos a provinciis transmarinis." 1 Now, the answer which the Fathers make to this excuse for separation is such exactly as we make, and is perfectly applicable to the case between us and the Anglican Church. They put against it at once the promises of Scripture, that the universality of God's Church should never fail, and made it a question between the authority of God and of men, whether those promises could fail, or not rather the testimony of men be false. "Homo putans sibi magis credi debere quam Deo," St. Augustine calls the man who makes that argument. " Quid, quæso te," he asks, "quid per ipsos fideles testes quos vultis Deo esse fideliores, quid publicatum est? An quia, per Afros traditores, semen Abrahæ quod est Christus, non est permissum venire usque ad omnes gentes, et ibi exaruit quo pervenit? Dicite jam magis collegis vestris credendum esse quam testamento Dei."2 We would

^r "In vain does Parmenianus say that the traditors condemned in Africa, were received into fellowship of condemnation by the provinces beyond the seas." Ibid. cap. iv.

² "A man who thinks he ought to be believed rather than God." "What, I ask you, what was willingly extract the entire paragraph, which is most apposite and conclusive for our case. St. Jerome makes use of a similar argument from the Scripture promises. "If Christ has not a Church, or has it only in Sardinia, He has become too poor; and if Satan possess Britain, the Gauls, the people of India and barbarous nations, and the entire world, how have the trophies of the Cross been bestowed upon one corner of the whole earth?"^I

But the reasoning of the Fathers is sometimes closer and more to our purpose even than this. They propose to the Donatists the same dilemma as we, in our controversy, do to Protestants. Either the Church was so corrupted before your

published by these faithful witnesses, whom you make more worthy of credit than God Himself? That, through the African traditors, the seed of Abraham, which is Christ, was not permitted to come to all nations, and was dried up where it had reached? Say at once, that we must believe your colleagues more than God's Testament." Ibid. cap. ii.

¹ "Si ecclesiam non habet Christus, aut in Sardinia tantum habet, nimium pauper factus est. Et si Britannias, Gallias, Indorum populos, barbaras nationes, et totum semel [simul] mundum possideat Satanas, quoinodo ad angulum universæ terræ Crucis trophæa collata sunt ?" Ubi sup. No. 15, p. 186. Reformers came that it had ceased to be the Church of God, or not. If it was, then had Christ's promises failed, which secured perpetuity to His Church : if not, whence did those who separated from it derive their authority for this purpose, or how could any act or teaching of theirs make it cease to be what it was before ?

The following passage of St. Augustine is to this effect: "Quod si erat etiam tunc Ecclesia, et hæreditas Christi non, interrupta, perierat, sed per omnes gentes argumenta accipiens permanebat, tutissima ratio est in eadem consuetudine permanere quæ tunc bonos et malos in una complexione portabat. Si autem tunc non erat Ecclesia, quia sacrilegi hæretici sine baptismo recipiebantur, et hoc universali consuetudine tenebatur ; unde Donatus apparuit? de qua terra germinavit? de quo mari emersit ? de quo cœlo cecidit ? Nos itaque, ut dicere cœperam, in ejus Ecclesiæ communione securi sumus, per cujus universitatem id nunc agitur quod est ante Agrippinum, et inter Agrippinum et Cyprianum per ejus universitatem similiter agebatur."¹ Here, then, it is

¹ "But if the Church then was, and Christ's inheritance had not perished by being interrupted, but, receiving increase through all nations, yet endured, it is the safest principle to persevere in

taken for granted that the very fact of any practice being followed or tolerated in the Church is a sufficient vindication of it; and that, whenever a separation takes place from the body of the Church on the ground of such being corruptions, those are safe who adhere to the portion that perseveres in those practices, while the pretended reformers are at once to be rejected, as having no mission or commission for their schismatical undertakings.

The same Father uses the same argument on other occasions. For instance, in his treatise "De unico Baptismo," where he writes as follows : "If that be true which these men assert, and by which they endeavour to maintain or excuse the cause of their separation, namely, that the fellowship of the wicked

the same practice which then united in one embrace the good and the evil. But if at that time there was no Church, because sacrilegious heretics were received without [repetition of] baptism, and this was the universal practice, whence did Donatus make his appearance? from what earth did he spring up? from what sea did he emerge? from what heavens did he fall? We, therefore, as I had begun to say, are secure in the communion of that Church, through the entire of which that is now practised, which, in like manner, was practised through it entire before Agrippinus, and between Agrippinus and Cyprian." De Baptismo cont, Donatistas, lib. iii, cap. 2.

in the same sacraments defiles the good, and that, therefore, we must separate ourselves bodily from the contagion of the evil, lest all should together perish;¹ it clearly follows that at the time of Stephen and Cyprian the Church had perished, nor was any left to posterity, in which Donatus himself could be spiritually born. But if they consider it impious to say this-as in truth, it is impious-then, as the Church remained from these times to the times of Cæcilianus and Majorinus, or of Donatus, . . . so could the Church remain after this latter period, which, increasing through the entire world, as had been foretold of her, the particular crimes of any traditors or other wicked men could not defile. . . There was no reason, therefore, but it was an act of the greatest madness, for these men, as if to avoid the communion of the wicked, to have separated themselves from the unity of the Church, diffused over the entire world." 2

¹ How often do we see and hear applied to those in communion with the Catholic Church, those words, "Go out from her, my people, that you be not partakers of her sins, and that you receive not of her plagues" (Rev. xviii. 4).

² "Si ergo verum est quod isti dicunt, et unde causam suæ separationis asserere vel excusare

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These passages hardly require any comment; any reader of ordinary judgement will see how St. Augustine must, upon his principles, have judged the case of the English Church, if it put in the plea of justification, which the great body of its defenders do, that the absolute corruptions of the foreign Churches with which it had before been in communion, as well as of those at home who resolved upon keeping up that communion, made it imperative on her to refuse communion without their reformation. For he takes it for granted; first, that before such a call on them was made, these aggregated Churches con-

conantur, in una communione sacramentorum mali maculant bonos, et ideo corporali disjunctione a malorum contagione recedendum est ne omnes pariter pereant; jam tunc Stephani et Cypriani temporibus constat periisse Ecclesiam, nec posteris derelictam, ubi Donatus spiritualiter nasceretur. Quod si dicere nefarium judicant, quia revera nefarium est, sicut mansit Ecclesia ex illis temporibus usque ad tempora Cæciliani et Majorini, sive Donati, . . . sic potuit et deinceps Ecclesia permanere, quam toto, sicut de illa prædictum est, terrarum orbe crescentem nullo modo poterant quorumlibet traditorum ac facinorosorum aliena crimina maculare. . . . Nulla igitur ratio fuit, sed maximus furor, quod isti velut malorum communionem caventes, se ab unitate Christi quæ toto orbe diffunditur separarunt." De unic. Bapt. cont. Petil. c. xiv. stituted the true unfailing Church of Christ; secondly, that if a particular Church, such as the African or the British, called upon them to make changes, or by making such, separated itself actually or virtually from their communion, they could not thereby lose their prerogative, but remained what they were before ; thirdly, that it was safe to remain in communion with these rather than with the separating Church; fourthly, that if Cyprian (still less, if Berengarius or Huss), with some, protested against a practice, held in his time by the great body of the Church,¹ it could not thereby cease to be what it was before, nor could any portion of the Church plead in excuse of its separation any such decision, but such a portion at once became involved in the guilt of schism and all its entailed forfeitures.

These principles, if applied to modern controversy, will go a great way towards deciding the respective positions of the Catholic and Anglican Churches.

2. But it may perhaps be said that the case between us and Protestants

¹ "Multi cum illo (Stephano) quidam cum isto (Cypriano) sentiebant." Ibid.

is by no means so simple as that of the Donatists and the Catholics of their times, but that the decision as to a case of schism must depend upon the examination of the points of difference. Now to this we reply that by the Fathers who combated the Donatists, the question was essentially considered one of fact rather than of right; that is to say, the very circumstance of one particular Church being out of the aggregation of other Churches, constituted these judges over the other, and left no room for questioning the justice of the condemnation. St. Augustine has a golden sentence on this subject, which should be an axiom in theology: "Quapropter *securus* judicat orbis terrarum, bonos non esse qui se dividunt ab orbe terrarum, in quacumque parte orbis terrarum."¹ This principle he repeats in fuller terms on another occasion : "Inconcussum igitur," he writes, "firmumque teneamus, nullos bonos ab ea [Dei Ecclesia] se posse dividere; id est nullos bonos etiamsi cognitos sibi malos patiantur, ubicumque

¹ "Wherefore, the entire world judges with security that they are not good, who separate themselves from the entire world, in whatever part of the entire world." Cont. Epist. Parmen. lib.iii. cap. 3. versantur, propter se a longe positis et incognitis bonis temerario schismatis sacrilegio separare ; et in quacumque parte terrarum vel facta sunt ista, vel funt *vel futura sunt*, ceteris terrarum partibus longe positis, et utram facta sint, vel cur facta sint ignorantibus, et tamen cum orbe terrarum in unitatis vinculo permanentibus, ea ipsa sit firma securitas non hoc potuisse facere, nisi aut superbiæ tumore furiosos, aut invidentiæ livore vesanos, aut sæculari commoditate corruptos, aut carnali timore perversos."¹

Here then is a general rule applicable not merely to the Donatist case, but to all future possible divisions in the

" "Let us, therefore, hold it for an unshaken and stable principle, that no good men can separate themselves from it [the Church]: that is, that, although they may have to endure evil men known to themselves, no good men, wherever they may be, can on their own account separate by the rash sacrilege of schism, from the good living far off and unknown to them. And in whatever part of the world this has been done, or is done, or shall be, while the other distant parts of the earth are ignorant that it has been done, or wherefore it has been done, and yet continue in the bond of union with the rest of the world; let this be considered quite certain, that none can have so acted, unless they had been either furious with swelling pride, or insane with livid envy, or corrupted by worldly advantage, or perverted by carnal fear." Ibid, cap. 5. Church. Those cannot be possibly right who have separated themselves from the communion of distant Churches which remain still connected in the bond of unity. Whatever plea may be set up of corruptions or abuses, the true ground of separation will be one of those pointed out by the great St. Augustine. And, in truth, who does not acknowledge that the "haughty fury" of Henry VIII, the "worldly advantage" of his and his son's "corrupt" nobility, and the "carnal fear" and time-serving policy of a "perverted" heartless clergy, who had not the courage to follow More and Fisher to the scaffold, produced and promoted the first schismatical separation of England from the communion of other Churches dispersed over the world?

3. The principles thus far laid down, on the authority of the ancient Church, meet not only the reasoning of the ultra-Protestants, but also those of the High Church, or Oxford school. For they maintain that, although throughout the Middle Ages, the Church in communion with Rome was, in spite of her errors, the true Church, because she had not sanctioned them by any positive decree ; yet she forfeited her title, and became heretical, when at the Council of Trent she did so.¹ Now this was precisely the argument of the Donatists, which we have seen combated by St. Augustine. They allowed that at the time of St. Cyprian the Church in communion with Pope Stephen was true and orthodox, though the same evil principles and abuses existed which they so severely reproved ; but no sooner did the body of foreign Churches formally adopt and approve these malpractices, and the erroneous maxims on which they were grounded, than they fell into a state of heresy and schism. Now we have seen St. Augustine put this case, and demonstrate that either the Church failed in the first instance, and so was lost, and with it lawful sacraments and orders ; or else that this could not be admitted in the second. We have seen how any one Church, in one portion

¹ "True, Rome may be so considered [heretical] now ; but she was not considered heretical in the first ages. If she has apostatized, it was at the time of the Council of Trent. . . Accordingly, acknowledging and deploring all the errors of the Middle Ages, yet we need not fear to maintain that after all they were but the errors of individuals, though of large numbers of Christians." Tract xv. p. 10, where, in a note, the opinion of Gilpin is quoted with approbation, that after that epoch, "it seemed to him a matter of necessity to come out of the Church of Rome." This is perfectly the Donatist view of the case.

of the world, could not possibly be allowed to be right, while protesting against the union of other Churches over the rest of the world. The very fact of its being in such a position at once condemns it, and proves it to be in schism. Still it may be both interesting and instructive to pursue this inquiry still further, and see this particular plea more closely examined : for it so happened that the Donatists, like the modern Anglicans, asserted that they were not the separatists, but that the other Churches were. These are their words : "Si vos tenere Catholicam dicitis, Catholicos illud est quod Græce dicitur unum sive totum. Ecce in toto non estis, quia in partem cessistis." To this St. Augustine on this occasion contents himself with first explaining the meaning of the term "Catholic"—to wit, that which is extended over all the world-and then by throwing ridicule on the extravagance of the assertion. "How can we be separatists," he asks, "whose communion is diffused over the entire world ? But as, if you were to say to me, that I am

¹ "If you say that you have the Catholic Church, καθολικος is, in Greek, 'one,' or 'whole.' Behold, you do not constitute the whole, since you have seceded apart." Cont, Litt. Petil, lib, ii. cap. 38.

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Petilianus, I should not know how to refute you, except by laughing at you as in jest, or pitying you as insane ;— I see no other course now. But as I do not think you were joking, you see what alternative remains."¹

On another occasion, the same holy Father gives a decisive criterion whereby it may be determined who went forth from the Church, or who were, in other words, the violators of Catholic unity. It was not long before the Donatists split into innumerable sects-the usual consequence of departure from unity. But the account of this division is so well given by St. Augustine, and so accurately describes the vicissitudes of modern as well as of ancient schism, that we must be allowed to quote his words : "Eadem pars Donati in multa minutissima frusta conscissa est, quæ omnes minutissimæ particulæ hanc unam multo grandiorem in qua Primianus est, de recepto Maximiniastarum baptismo reprehendunt, et singulæ conantur asserere apud se tantum-

¹ "Sed quemadmodum, si mihi diceres quod ego sim Petilianus, non invenirem quomodo refellerem, nisi, ut aut jocantem riderem, aut insanientem dolorem ; hoc mihi nunc faciendum esse video ; sed quia jocari te non video, vides quid restat." Ibid. modo verum baptismum remansisse, nec omnino esse alibi, neque in toto orbe terrarum, qua Ecclesia Catholica expanditur, nec in ipsa grandiore parte Donati, nec in ceteris præter se unam ex minutissimus particulis." If for the "pars Donati" we substitute the Anglican Church, what a faithful picture we have of the minute subdivisions of separation into which dissent from her has broken, every one of which denies to the others sound doctrine-as the Donatists did baptism-as well as to the original branch of which they are the boughs, and to the great trunk of Catholic and apostolical descent from which both it and they have been lopped off.

But to come to our point, which is, the criterion suggested by St. Augustine for determining who are the separatists and schismatics. It is this : You have no difficulty in deciding that these different

^{*} "The very sect of Donatus is divided into many very minute parts, every one of which minute parts blames this much larger one, in which Primianus is, for having received the baptism of the Maximinianists; and each one endeavours to maintain that true baptism has remained in it alone, and is nowhere else, neither in the entire world, over which the Catholic Church is spread, nor in the larger sect itself of Donatus, nor in any other except itself, one of the said most minute parts." De Baptis, cont. Donatistas, lib. i. cap. 2, sects separated from you, and not you from them (as they pretend); because, while *primitive* Donatism is commensurate with them all, each of these prevails more in one than another province ; the Rogatenses, for instance, in Cæsarean Mauritania; the Urbanenses in some parts of Numidia; and so forth. This criterion would apply to the Anglican Church. For some parishes are comparatively free from dissent ; and there is no portion of England, however occupied by it, in which that Church is not found : then some sects, as the Quakers, are unknown in some districts, while they are abundant in others ; different classes of Methodism, Unitarianism, or Moravianism, have their favourite districts, in which their teachers and followers more abound. And as the Anglican Church occupies all the space subdivided among them all, we justly conclude that they all went forth from it, and not it from them. In like manner, observes this learned Father, we see one heresy infest one country, and another, another; each sect has its own territory -for where it has sprung up, there, being of its nature unprolific, it lies till it withers up. But the Catholic Church occupies the whole world, taking in the very countries in which the respective sects exist, surrounding and compenetrating them, and, therefore, by parity of argument, this is proved to be the true Church, from which all they are separatists and schismatics.¹ This argument is at once simple and conclusive. It supposes, what is of great importance in our controversy with the Oxford divines, the possibility—nay, the necessity of the Church having members in countries

¹ "Contra universitatem vero Ecclesiæ, quia te inania repetere libuit, etiam hic tibi respondeo. Sicut in Africa pars Donati vos estis, a quibus apparet partem Maximiani schisma fecisse, quoniam non est per Africam, qua vos estis, vos autem et in regionibus in quibus illa est non deestis, nam et alia schismata facta sunt ex vobis, sicut Rogatenses in Mauritania Cæsariensi, Urbanenses in quadam Numidiæ particula, et alia nonnulla, sed ubi præcisa sunt ibi remanserunt. Et hinc enim apparet eos a vobis exiisse, non vos ab ipsis, quia vos etiam in his terris ubi ipsi sunt, illi autem quaquaversus vos estis non nisi forte peregrinantes inveniuntur. Sic Ecclesia Catholica, quæ, sicut ait Cyprianus, 'ramos suos per universam terram copia ubertatis extendit,' ubique sustinet scandala eorum qui ab illa, vitio maximæ superbiæ præciduntur, aliorum hic, ali-orum alibi atque alibi.... Ubi enim cadunt, ibi remanent, et ubi separantur ibi arescunt, unde ipsa de qua præcidentur etiam in eas terras extenditur, ubi jacent illa in sua quæque regione fragmenta; in illa vero, singula, quacumque distenditur, non sunt, quamvis aliquando vix rarissima folia ex eorum ariditate ventus elationis in peregrina dispergat." Cont. Crescon. lib. iv. cap. 60.

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under a schismatical hierarchy, who communicate with the rest of the Catholic world; a point on which we shall have later to speak: "Ipsa (Ecclesia) de qua præciduntur, etiam in eas terras extenditur ubi jacent illa quæque in sua regione fragmenta."

Let us, then, apply the argument to our times. We see the Lutherans occupying the northern parts of the European continent, the Calvinists Switzerland, the Presbyterians Scotland, the Anglicans England. Not one of these has a Church, properly so called, I in any other country; none in Spain, or Italy, or France, or Southern Germany, or South America, or Syria, or China. "Ubi cadunt ibi remanent." But we that is, the Church wherewith we are in communion-extend over the whole of the world, occupying extensively several of these countries, and having large bodies of Christians in others. And even where those Protestant sects prevail, congregations and numerous flocks are found communicating with the one Church spread over the world. And what we have said of Protestant countries, we may ex-

^r The small number of Protestants in France or Piedmont are not in communion with any other "fragment," but form independent sects. tend, as St. Augustine does, beyond the Donatists, to other heresies, as the Nestorians and Eutychians in the East. For almost wherever these are, Catholics exist; but they are not to be found, except as strangers, *nisi forte peregrinantes*, in countries entirely Catholic. We see, then, how simple and yet how efficacious is the test proposed by St. Augustine, for deciding whether the English Church be a seceder or not from Catholic unity.

At the same time we cannot forbear quoting another criterion proposed by the other Father-whom we have already copiously cited-St. Jerome. His words are strikingly applicable to our present case. We will give them in the original : "Poteram diem istiusmodi eloquio ducere, et omnes propositionum rivulos uno Ecclesiæ sole siccare. Verum quia jam multum sermocinati sumus . . . brevem tibi apertamque animi mei sententiam proferam, in illa esse Ecclesia permanendum, quæ ab Apostolis fundata usque ad diem hanc durat. Sic ubi audieris eos qui dicuntur Christi non a Domino Jesu Christo sed a quoquam alio nuncupari, ut puta Marcionitas, Valentinianos, Montenses, seu Campitas; 1 scito non Ec-

¹ These were the names by which the Donatists of Rome were distinguished.

clesiam Christi, sed Antichristi esse synagogam. Ex hoc enim ipso quod postea instituti sunt, eos se esse indicant quos futuros Apostolus prænunciavit. Nec sibi blandiantur, si de Scripturarum capitulis videntur sibi affirmare quod dicunt, cum et diabolus de Scriptura aliqua sit locutus et Scripturæ non in legendo consistant sed in intelligendo."¹ Now, though this criterion will, in most special wise, apply to those sects which bear the names of men, as Lutherans, Calvinists, and Wesleyans ; yet will it befound applicable no less to any, whose

^{*} "I could occupy the entire day with this subject, and dry up all the dribblets of [schismatical] propositions by the sun of the Church alone. But since our discourse has been long ... I will briefly and clearly lay you down my opinion, that we must remain in that Church which, founded by the Apostles, endures unto this day. Wherever you hear those who are called Christians receive their name not from the Lord Christ Jesus, but from some one else; as, for instance, the Marcionites, Valentinians, Montenses, or Campites, know that they are not the Church of Christ, but the synagogue of Antichrist. For, from the very fact of their being of later institution, they show themselves to be those whom the Apostle foretold. Neither let them flatter themselves if they appear to prove what they say by texts of Scripture; seeing that the devil cited passages from Scripture, and Scripture consists not in the reading, but in the understanding of it." Ubi sup. *in finc*. designation indicates a state of separation from the rest of the Church. For the new Oxford school will not easily persuade men that their Anglican Church forms no part of the great *Protestant* defection, a title which at once expresses separation from and opposition to that greater aggregation of Churches dispersed over the whole world, on which no efforts have succeeded in fixing any different title beyond that of the *Catholic*.

4. But the Donatists endeavoured to escape from the application of this test by another sophistry. You, they said, are no more universal or Catholic than we. A great part of the world is still heathen,¹ and much is occupied by sects which you do not admit into the pale of the Church.² Or rather sometimes the Donatists affected to believe that Catholics readily admitted the latter into communion with them, in order to enlarge their grounds to claim that title. To this St. Augustine replies, that heathen nations

¹ "Omitto gentium barbararum proprias regiones, Persarum ritus, sidera, Chaldeorum, Egyptiorum superstitiones." Crescon. ap. Aug. cont. eumd. lib. iv. cap. 61.

² "Non ergo nobis communicant sicut tu dicis, Novatiani, Ariani, Patripassiani, Valentiniani," &c. Ibid. will gradually be converted, and that, to the end of the world, room will be left for the dilatation of religion, and the fulfilment of God's promises regarding the propagation of the faith. With regard to the other objection, he observes that we do not admit any who differ from us in faith into religious community; but that these, like the Donatists, are in different countries unprolific, and confined within certain limits, beyond which they have no power to spread, so as to put in a title to be considered the Church Catholic.¹

We see here two important points decided; first, how the Catholicity of our Church is not hemmed in by the many unconverted nations yet remaining, inasmuch as they are rather a field on which the Catholic prerogative of propa-

^r "I. Unde necesse est, non solum fœcunditate nascentis Ecclesiæ, verum etiam permixta multitudine inimicorum ejus, per quos pietas ejus exerceri et probari posset, usque in finem judiciariæ separationis totus orbis impleatur. . . 2. Verumtamen ubicumque sunt isti (hæretici) illic Catholica, sicut in Africa, ita et vos : non autem ubicumque Catholica est, aut vos estis aut hæresis quælibet illarum. Unde apparet quæ sit arbor ramos suos per universam terram extendens, et qui sint rami fracti non habentes vitam radicis, atque in suis cuique jacentes et arescentes locis." Ibid. gation and fecundity is to be exercised till the end of time; and, secondly, how the Catholic Church, then, as now, sternly excluded from its communion all sects that differed from it, instead of making the Catholic Church consist, as the tractwriters would desire, of the heterogeneous amalgamation of various Churches differing in doctrine, as the Greeks, Syrians, and Anglicans, with the many harmoniously united in communion with Rome.¹ On another occasion, we find St. Augustine answering the other form of the second of the rehearsed objections; namely, that the number of sects not in communion with those that call themselves the Catholic Church, excluded this from that title ; "Quomodo," asked Cresconius, "totus orbis communione vestra plenus est, ubi tam multæ sunt hæreses, quarum vobis nulla communicat ?"2 To this the saint replies as on the other occasion, tacitly acknowledging the fact

¹ See for example, Tract viii. p. 4, where the Churches of Rome, Holland, Scotland, Greece, and the acknowledgedly heretical Churches of Asia, are enumerated as forming so many parts of the Church Catholic.

² "How is all the world full of your communion, while there are so many heresies, not one of which communicates with you?" Cont, Cresc. lib. iii, cap. 66, of non-communion with heretics, but still maintaining the universality of the Catholic Church.

5. Only another subterfuge remains : it is, that to belong to the universal Church, it is not necessary to be in active intercourse and communion with the different parts that compose it; so that the Anglican Church may be a portion of Christ's Church Catholic, although it has no actual badges to show of amity and harmony with other portions of the same Church in Europe, or the East. Cresconius, the Donatist, made use of precisely this principle, which is necessary to the establishment of the system maintained on this subject by the Oxford divines : "Non communicat Oriens Africæ, nec Africa Orienti."^T To this St. Augustine replies, that "with the chaff, that is out of the Lord's barn-floor, the East does not indeed communicate, but with the Catholic wheat, and with the straw that is within, the East does communicate with Africa. and Africa with the East." 2

¹ "The East does not communicate with Africa, nor does Africa with the East." Ibid. cap. 67. ² "Non sane sed in paleis hæreticis ab area

² "Non sane sed in paleis hæreticis ab area Domini separatis : in frumentis autem catholicis et interioribus paleis omnino communicat Africæ, et Africa Orienti." Ibid.

The Donatists seem to have wished to maintain the independence of the African Church, as requiring no direct connection with the Churches of Asia. Hence, on another occasion, when St. Augustine had a friendly conference with Fortunius, a Donatist bishop, the question, almost at its outset, turned upon this point. The learned Father asked him, which was the Church in which one must live well-" whether that which, according to the predictions of Holy Writ, was to be diffused over the entire world, or that which a small part of Africa, or the Africans, contained? At first, he tried to assert that his communion was over the whole world. I asked him whether he could give letters of communion, which we called formata, whithersoever I wished; and I affirmed what was clear to all, that by this test the entire question could be brought to a close." ¹ But the Donatist soon ran off his ground, and turned to other matters.

* "Deinde quærere cæpimus, quænam illa esset ecclesia ubi vivere sic oporteret, utrum illa quæ, sicut Sancta ante Scriptura prædixerat, se terrarum orbe diffunderet, an illa quam pars exigua vel Afrorum, vel Africæ contineret. Hic primo asserere conatus est, ubique terrarum esse communionem suam: Quærebam utrum epistolas communicatorias quas formatas dicimus, posset

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Now, if the courteous reader will take the trouble to turn over to the third volume of the [Dublin] Review (July, 1837), he will find us challenging the Anglicans to the same proof of the assertion, which they make in common with the Donatists, that they are a part, or a branch, of the Church Catholic, dispersed over the world. We took Barrow's criterions of religious unity, and showed how no prelate of the Anglican Church could safely attempt to apply them in practice to his Church.¹ If he sent letters of communication to any foreign bishop (except perhaps in North America), they might be answered through courtesy, but the pledge of amity would not be accepted. We can challenge them, therefore, to the very same proof as Augustine challenged Fortunius to; and the very fact of their not being able to submit to it would decide the question, as it did then, that they are in a state of schism. The twenty-third canon of the African code prescribes, that if any bishop

quo vellam dare ; et affirmabam, quod manifestum erat omnibus, hoc modo facillime illam terminari posse quæstionem." Epist. ad Eleus. Glor. et Fel. tom. ii., Ep. xliv. ol. clxiii. cap. 2.

¹ Pp. 69, *sqq*. The criterions proposed by Dr. Barrow are all *acts* of communion, not one of which would in practice be applicable to the English Church. travel beyond the sea, he provides himself with literæ formatæ, or letters of communion from his primate. This proves that an active communion was required between Churches separated by the sea, so that any bishop bearing such letters would be readily admitted into participation in all religious and ecclesiastical rites with the bishops of the country in which he might travel. Would such letters from the English primate be heeded even in Europe? How much less in China, in India, or Syria ! Yet, not only the letter of a Catholic primate, but that wherewith every bishop or vicar-apostolic usually furnishes any of his clergy who have occasion to go abroad, is received with respect by every foreign bishop, and secures to its bearer all the rights of communion in belief and practice, and opens to him at once the gates of the sanctuary and the hearts of his fellowlabourers in Christ.

St. Augustine is careful to remove the impression that when he wrote to any Donatist leaders he thereby entered into communion of faith; and thus proves to us the difference between civility and charitable intercourse, and communion in religion. "Unde factum est," he writes, "ut etiam ad nonnullos Donatistarum primarios scriberemus, non communicatorias literas, quas jam olim, propter suam perversitatem, ab unitate Catholica, quæ toto orbe diffusa est, non accipiunt, sed tales privatas qualibus nobis uti etiam ad paganos licet."¹

If the case, therefore, of the Anglican Church had to be decided by the principles and the voice of antiquity, we do not see how any verdict but that of schism could be pronounced against it. It is in a state of separation from the aggregate of Churches dispersed over the world. It cannot make an excuse, it cannot raise a point either of fact or of right, in bar of judgement, which has not been already met by the judicious sagacity of the great supporter of the unity of the Church, when combating the cavils of the Donatists. But we have yet a second and most important test provided for us by antiquity, whereby we must farther prove our point before we proceed to investigate the awful consequences, in regard to apostolical succession and claims to

¹ "Whence it came that we wrote to some of the chief men among the Donatists, not letters of communion, which they do not receive for a long time from the Catholic unity disposed over all the world on account of their perversity, but such private letters as it is lawful for us to send even to pagans." Ep. xliii. ol. clxii. cap. I. authority, that result from this state of separation.

II. The second criterion of the true Church is closely allied to the first, though simpler in its application. According to the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, it is easy at once to ascertain who are the Church Catholic, and who are in a state of schism, by simply discovering who are in communion with the See of Rome and who are not. This test, as we just remarked, is nearly connected with the foregoing : inasmuch as, the Chair of Peter being the centre of the Catholic unity, all that communicated with it knew at once that they were in communion with the rest of the Church dispersed over the world. To have kept up an active communication with all the sees, even with all the metropolitans of the world, would have been, for each bishop, a difficult, not to say an impossible, undertaking. Nor could the faithful have easily discovered whether their own bishop preserved Catholic unity in this way. Let us then at once show the various ways in which this connection with the Apostolic See was applied to the preservation of unity and the immediate detection of schism.

I. We have seen that communion was

actively kept up by means of the *epi-stolæ formatæ*. No doubt on particular occasions, such as that mentioned by St. Augustine, any bishop writing to other sees would have received in reply letters of communion. But ordinarily this regular interchange of religious communion all centred in the Apostolic See. We will not here inquire whether the formata which it sent even to patriarchs were not of a much higher character, and contained a confirmation of their election, without which it was not admitted. We think decidedly that such was the case.¹ But as we have throughout this discussion desired and endeavoured to deal generously with our opponents, and have not insisted upon any point which we could waive in our argument, we are willing to act consistently in this matter too : and shall therefore suppose that the formata of the Holy See went no farther than to acknowledge religious communion with the bishops to whom they were addressed.

^{*} Pope Boniface I informs us that Theodosius, fearing lest the election of Nectarius to the Constantinopolitan patriarchate would be null, "habere non existimans firmitatem," because he (the Pope) had not known of it, sent a deputation of courtiers and bishops, and "formatam huic a Sede Romana dirigi depoposcit, quae ejus sacerdotium roboraret." Ap. Constant. Epp. Rom. Pont. ol. 1043. Still, this intercourse was considered essential to the maintenance of religious unity, and its absence was a clear indication of a state of schismatical separation. We have a remarkable proof of this communication carried on by distant Churches through the medium of the Holy See, in an argument employed by St. Augustine. The Donatists, to prove that the rest of the Church had kept communion with them, asserted that the Council of Sardica had written a letter to Donatus of Carthage. To this the holy Father replies that, supposing the synod to have been orthodox, it does not follow that the Donatus mentioned was the Bishop of Carthage, as the names of the sees are not cited in the letter. He then adds, "quod hinc maxime credibile est, quod ad Carthaginis episcopum, Romano prætermisso, nunquam orientalis Catholica scriberet." 1

But St. Optatus is the writer who uses this argument in the clearest manner, and

" "Which is the more credible because the oriental Catholic Church never wrote to the Bishop of Carthage, passing over the Bishop of Rome." Cont. Crescon. lib. iii. cap. 34. [As a matter of fact, the letter was found in the archives, but it was from the heretical Council of Philippopolis, which claimed to be the Council of Sardica, L.R.]

proves the schism of the Donatists by the simple fact of their not communicating with the rest of the world through him who sat in the Chair of Peter. After tracing the succession of pastors from St. Peter to Siricius, he adds, "who is in fellowship with us, with whom the entire world is joined in the society of one communion, through the intercourse of formatæ." ¹

2. But this was by no means the highest ground on which communion with the See of Rome was required of all who wished to be considered within the pale of the Catholic Church. It was not for the convenience of mutual intercourse, but for the necessity of ecclesiastical unity that the Chair of Peter and his successors had been made the centre, and received the headship, of the Church. St. Ambrose, writing to the Emperors, calls the Holy City, "totius orbis Romani caput Romanam ecclesiam . . . inde enim in omnes venerandæ communionis jura dimanant."² St. Optatus, however, lays

¹ See the text quoted below.

² "The Roman Church head of the entire Roman Empire . . . for thence flow to all the rights of venerable communion." Ep. ii. ad Grat. et Valent.

the greatest stress upon this point. Again and again he presses the charge of schism upon the Donatists, because they are separated from the Chair of Peter. Having proved that the Catholic or true Church must be diffused over the entire world, he proceeds to point out more particular marks and ornaments whereby it may be more easily distinguished. The first of these is the *Cathedra* or episcopal chair. By this it is evident that he did not mean episcopacy in general, nor the succession of bishops validly ordained, as he allows the Donatists to have possessed these. He goes on, therefore, to explain his meaning and apply it. "We must see," he writes, "who sat first upon the chair, and where. If you are ignorant, learn ; if you know it, blush; you cannot be charged with ignorance, therefore you must know it. . . . Therefore you cannot deny that you know, that in the city of Rome, the you know, that in the city of Kome, the episcopal chair was bestowed on Peter first, on which sat Peter, the head of all the apostles, whence he was called Cephas; in which ONE CHAIR unity was to be preserved by all, lest the rest of the apostles should stand up each one for a separate Church; so THAT HE SHOULD BE A SCHISMATIC AND A SINNER

WHO SHOULD SET UP AGAINST THE ONE CHAIR another." ^I

Before proceeding to the next words of the Father, we will indulge in one or two remarks. It is repugnant to the obvious purport of his argument to imagine, with Chillingworth or Mr. Poole, that he here speaks only of schism within the Roman Church, strictly so called, by the setting up of a Donatist bishop in the city of Rome, in opposition to the one in direct succession from St. Peter. For St. Optatus speaks of the Roman See as one and singular, in reference not to any rival pretensions that might be set up with it, but in reference to the sees erected by the other apostles.

^{*} "Videndum est quis, et ubi prior cathedram sederit. Si ignoras, disce ; si nosti, erubesce ; ignorantia tibi adscribi non potest, restat ergo ut noveris. . . Igitur negare non potes scire te in Urbe Roma, Petro primo Cathedram episcopalem esse collatam, in qua sederit omnium apostolorum caput Petrus, unde et Cephas appellatus est, in qua una cathedra unitas ab omnibus servaretur ; ne ceteri apostoli singulas sibi quisque defenderent : ut jam schismaticus et peccator esset, qui contra singularem cathedram, alteram collocaret." De Schism. Donat. lib. ii. cap. 2, p. 31. The learned author to whom we allude on page 64, reads *libi* for *sibi* in the last sentence. *St. Cyprian Vindicated*, p. 20. We follow Dupin's edition, which gives no various reading here. Of course the sense is precisely the same.

Unity was to be preserved in this chair, in such way as that no other apostolic chair was to be set up against it, without incurring the guilt of schism. What could be the motive for introducing here the mention of other apostolic sees, if the object was only to lay the basis for an argument that he was a schismatic who erected a rival throne in the same see ?--- a proposition so evident, that it certainly required no appeal to the respective positions of Peter and the other apostles. But St. Optatus well knew that there was a twofold form of schism, one by separation from the im-mediate bishop, who forms the first link with each one in the chair of unity, and the other, consequent on it, by separation from the centre at which the various chains are joined together. For otherwise, what can be the meaning of his thus addressing Parmenianus : " Nec Cæcilianus recessit a Cathedra Petri vel Cypriani, sed Majorinus cujus tu cathedram sedes." What, we ask, is the meaning of these words, unless a schism in Africa, at Carthage, was considered a separation not only from the See of

¹ "Nor did Cæcilianus separate himself from the chair of Peter or Cyprian, but Majorinus did, whose see you occupy." Lib. i. cap. 10, p. 10,

that city, in which Cyprian had sat, but also from that of Rome? We therefore conclude that St. Optatus, in declaring every one a sinful schismatic who sets up a rival chair to that of Peter, spoke not of those in Rome itself, but of any who, in distant countries, established the independence of their sees.

The learned Father having thus laid the foundation of his argument, proceeds to apply it to the Donatist controversy, in the following terms : "Therefore, the one chair, which is the first of the properties [of the Church], Peter filled the first, to whom succeeded Linus ; to Linus succeeded Clement. . . [Here the saint enumerates all the pontiffs down to his time ; then concludes] to Damasus, Siricius, who is now in fellowship with us, with whom the entire world is joined with us in the society of one communion, through the intercourse of *formale*. Give then an account of the origin of your chair, you who wish to claim to be the holy Church." It may be deemed

" "Ergo cathedram unicam, quæ est prima de dotibus sedit prior Petrus, cui successit Linus, Lino successit Clemens. . . Damaso Siricius, hodie qui noster est socius, cum quo nobiscum totus orbis, commercio, formatarum in una communionis societate concordat. Vestræ Cathedræ vos originem

necessary for us to reply to the cavils of the two above-named divines upon this, as we have done on the preceding part of St. Optatus's text. We are, indeed, dispensed from the task, by the able manner in which we find it has been done by the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, who, by his answer to Mr. Poole, has added another to the many claims he already possessed to the respect and gratitude of British Catholics, and has gained a new title to the character he so justly bears of a sound divine, a ready polemic, and a zealous ecclesiastic.¹ We will content ourselves, therefore, with a very few remarks.

In laying down the point which he intended to prove, that is, which Church had the marks or properties of the Catholic, St. Optatus never once intimates that he had removed the question from Africa to Rome, for it is evident that he wrote his work for the conviction of the African Donatists, and naturally selected arguments applicable to them; so his marks of the Church are such as would

reddite qui vobis vultis sanctam ecclesiam vindicare." Lib. ii. cap. 4, p. 32.

¹ St. Cyprian Vindicated against certain Misrepresentations of his Doctrine in a Work by the Rev. G. A. Posle, p. 64. Norwich, 1839, apply in any country. Now, after he has given the argument we have just seen from the Chair of Peter, he introduces, simply as an objection to the argu-ment, the Donatists' assertion that they too had a Church and a chair at Rome. "But you say," he writes, "that you also have some part in the city of Rome."¹ Surely this is not the way in which the main argument is likely to be introduced ! It is evidently nothing more than an objec-tion which the writer thinks might be thrown in by an adversary, and which he thinks it right to remove before proceeding with the argument. Accordingly, the Father shows how little right the Donatists have to consider their African bishop resident in Rome the true representative of the Apostolic See, and then con-cluding that Peter, "the Prince of the Catholics" (nostrum Principem), had alone the keys given him, he proceeds with the argument on general grounds, by no means applicable to Rome alone. Yet throughout he continues to argue against the Donatist schism in general, as sepa-rated from the Chair of Peter, and thereby at once condemned : "Unde est

¹ "Sed et habere vos in urbe Romæ partem liquam dicitis." Cap. iv.

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ergo quod claves regni cœlorum vobis usurpare contenditis, qui contra cathedram Petri . . . sacrilegio militatis ? "¹ Nay, he even goes farther than this. He had proposed five marks of the true Church, whereby it could be distinguished from all schismatical congregations. The first is the one we have seen, the Chair, and he concludes that this is proved to be exclusively his side's, through the Chair of Peter. "Igitur de dotibus supradictis cathedra est, ut diximus, prima, quam probavimus per Petrum nostram esse."2 This surely could not be said if, as Mr. Poole supposes,³ the argument was only of use against Macrobius and his miserable handful of lurking sectarians in Rome.

Then, what is still more important, St. Optatus hardly touches upon several of these marks, but contents himself with asserting that he has proved his Church to possess them, through the Chair of Peter: "et per cathedram Petri quæ

^t "How is it that you should attempt to usurp the keys of the kingdom of heaven, who are engaged in sacrilegious war against the Chair of Peter?" Cap. v.

² "Therefore of the above-rehearsed properties, the Chair is the first, which we have proved to be ours through Peter." Cap. vi.

³ Ap. Husenbeth ubi sup.

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nostra est, per ipsam et ceteras dotes apud nos esse."¹ By proving, therefore, this one point, he considered the argument as satisfactory, as if he had fully demonstrated each of the other marks to belong exclusively to his Church.

Farther, we will observe that these characteristics of the true Church were not originally proposed by St. Optatus, but by his Donatist adversary.² Now it is not probable that he should by "cathedra" have meant the see of Rome, which they could not, without consummate impudence, pretend to claim; particularly, as we shall see that it was part of their tactics to keep the question on African ground, and decline all reference to the state of foreign Churches. In fine, we find St. Augustine employs the same argument from the succession in the Roman see, where certainly there can be no room for Chillingworth's exceptions. For this Father composed a rude poem, or psalm, which might be sung by the

¹ "And by the Chair of Peter which is ours, by it the other properties are with us." Cap. ix, p. 38.

² "Videndum ubi sunt quinque dotes quas tu sex esse dixisti." Lib. ii. cap. ii. St. Optatus afterwards tells us which he excluded to reduce them to five ; which, consequently, he admitted. Cap. viii. common people of Africa (for he always speaks of other Churches under the title of transmarine) and in this he gives, as the principal evidence against the Donatists, the succession of bishops in the Chair of Peter. These are his words :

"Venite fratres, si vultis ut inseramini in vite. Dolor est cum vos videmus præcisos ita jacere. Numerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri sede, Et in ordine illo Patrum quis cui successit videte.

Ipsa est petra, quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portæ."

"Come, brethren, if you wish to be engrafted in the vine,

It grieves us to see you thus lie cut off.

Number the priests in the very Chair of Peter, And see in that order of fathers who succeeded the other.

This is the rock which the proud gates of hell overcome not."

Contra partem Donati Psalmus versus fin.

3. It will not, therefore, be surprising to see how, in practice, this simple rule was adopted for at once ascertaining who were the Catholics and who the schismatics. St. Ambrose informs us that his brother Satyrus, not yet partaker of the Sacred Mysteries, being in imminent danger of shipwreck, tied the Blessed Eucharist round his neck in an *orarium* or scarf, and fearlessly committed himself to the waves. Arrived on shore, and having experienced the efficacy of this great sacrament when thus externally applied, he concluded how much more excellent its virtue must be when actually received into the breast, and therefore ardently desired to be partaker of it. But the schism of Lucifer prevailed in that country; and therefore he resolved to be cautious how he communicated with the clergy. "He sent for the bishop, nor did he think there was any true grace save that of true faith. He asked of him whether he agreed with the Catholic bishops, that is, with the Roman Church." 1 Such was the simple test which one, not yet initiated in the mysteries of Christianity, had learnt; he did not inquire into the succession of that particular Church or see, nor whether it taught all that is declared in the creeds, nor whether it was "an independent branch of the Church Catholic"; but simply whether the bishop who came to him kept, or not, communion with the Roman Church. Had Satyrus thus been cast in our days

¹ "Advocavit ad se episcopum, nec ullam veram putavit, nisi veræ fidei gratiam : percontatusque ex eo est, utrumnam cum Episcopis Catholicis, hoc est cum Romana Ecclesia conveniret."—De Obitu Satyri Fratris. upon the shores of England or Ireland, he certainly would have rejected the ministry of the Establishment-bishops, who claim their rights upon the pretended grounds just rehearsed, and would have admitted the bishop, or vicar, or priest, who could alone have answered affirmatively to his one simple question.

Another instance of the application of this easy test we have in the life of St. Fulgentius, written by his disciple. As he was proceeding to the deserts of Thebais, to study virtue from its celebrated anchorites, the Bishop Eulalius thus addressed him : "You do right thus to aim at perfection; but you know that without faith it is impossible to please God. The countries which you desire to visit, a perfidious dissension has separated from the communion of the B. Peter; all those monks, whose wonderful abstinence is celebrated, have not the sacrament of the altar in communion with you. . . . Return, my son, lest, for the sake of perfection of life, you incur danger of right faith."¹ Thus we see how, even in Egypt,

¹ "Recta facis cupiens meliora sectari ; sed scis quoniam Deo sine fide impossibile est placere. Terras ad quas pergere concupiscis a communione B. Petri perfida dissentio separavit ; omnes illi monachi quorum prædicatur admirabilis absticommunion with the See of Rome was at once a sufficient test of orthodoxy and participation in the communion of the Catholic Church. It is hardly necessary for us to cite the well-known words of St. Jerome, who by the same process, resolves the complications of a manifold schism, and decides who is right. "Hinc in tres partes divisa Ecclesia ad se rapere me festinat. . . . Ego interim clamito : si quis Cathedræ Petri jungitur meus est ; Meletius, Vitalis, et Paulinus tibi [the pope], hærere se dicunt ; possem credere si hoc unus asseret : nunc autem duo mentiuntur aut omnes." I Nay, so well understood was this rule, that Eusebius gives an instance of its application by a heathen emperor. For when Paul of Samosata had refused to obey the decree of deposition pronounced against him by

nentia, non habent tecum altaris sacramenta communia. . . Revertere, fili, ne vitæ melioris intuitu periculum rectæ fidei patiaris."—Apud Bolland. I Jan. cap. 12.

" "Hence the Church, divided into three parts, strives to drag me, each to itself. . . . In the meantime, I cry out, if any one is joined to the Chair of Peter, he is mine. Meletius, Vitalis, and Paulinus say that they cleave to you. I might believe it, if one said it; but now two of them, or all three, speak untruly." Epist. tom. iv. 13. ed. Maur. the Council of Antioch, or yield his see to Domnus, the case being referred to Aurelian, he decided that he should be held the true bishop, who had letters (of communion) from the bishop of Rome.¹

4. This principle, however, was not merely adopted for convenience of application as affording a rule, which rude and unenlightened minds could supply, but it was followed by the highest dignitaries of the Church on the most solemn occasions. The Council of Constantinople, under the patriarch Mennas, lays down this rule : "We follow and obey the Apostolic See; and those who are in communion with it, we hold in communion; those whom it condemns we likewise condemn."² We have another remarkable declaration of John, patriarch of Constantinople, who, writing to Pope Hormisdas, protests that he follows in all things the Apostolic See, and preaches all that it has decreed, and therefore hopes to be in one communion with that see, "in which is the entire and perfect solidity of the Christian

¹ Ap. Euseb. H.E. lib. vii. cap. 30.

² Ημείς γώρ . . . τῶ ἀποστολικιῶ Ͽρόνω ἐξακολουθοῦμεν τε, καὶ πειθόμεθα, καὶ τοὺς κοινωνικοὺς αἰτὸῦ κοινωνικοὺς ἔχομεν, καὶ τοὺσὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατακριθέντας καὶ ἡμεῖς κατακρίνοηιεν. Labbe Conc. tom. v. ol, 92. religion." Should any one assert that this is said only under the circumstance of the Pope's being at that time acknowledged orthodox by the rest of the Church, and does not contain the maintenance of a principle applicable to all possible cases, we beg him to attend to the words which immediately follow: "Promising for the future, that whoever are separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is who consent not in all things with the Apostolic See, their names shall not be recited in the sacred mysteries," the ordinary mark of communion.¹ This at once excludes all idea of the possibility of the See of Rome, or those in unity with it, being considered heretics or schismatics, as the Tracts for the Times, professing to deliver the doctrines of antiquity, would pretend is now the case. As we are treating of this great Pope, we cannot help turning the reader's attention to another letter, from the bishop of Nicopolis to him, in which he holds even stronger language. But as it refers more

^r "In qua est integra Christianæ religionis, et perfecta soliditas. . . Promittentes in sequenti tempore, sequestratos a communione Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, id est in omnibus non consentientes Sedi Apostolicæ, eorum nomina inter sacra non esse recitanda mysteria." Ibid. tom. iv. ol. 1487.

to the jurisdiction of the pontiffs over the entire world, and to their infallible authority in teaching than to the necessity of union with them, we will only refer to it in general terms.¹ St. Gregory the Great has preserved the formulary signed by bishops reclaimed from schism, "I a bishop . . . willingly and spontaneously have, by the Divine grace, returned to the unity of the Apostolic See; and ... I pledge myself, under pain of forfeiture of my order, and under the penalty of anathema I promise to thee, and through thee to St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and to his vicar, the blessed Gregory, or his successors, never to return to the schism . . . but always to remain in the unity of the holy Catholic Church, and the communion of the Roman Pontiff." 2

We have thus seen the two grounds on which the ancient Church mainly

¹ Ibid. ol. 1438.

² "Ego episcopus . . . prona et spontanea voluntate ad unitatem Sedis Apostolicæ, divina gratia duce, reversus sum . . . Et sub mei ordinis casu spondeo, et anathematis obligatione, atque promitto tibi, et per te S. Petri Apostolorum Principi, atque ejus Vicario Beatissimo Gregorio, vel successoribus ipsius, ad schisma . . nunquam reversurum, sed semper me in unitate S. Ecclesiæ Catholicæ et communione Romani Pontificis permansurum." S. Gregorii M. Opera, tom. ii. p. 1300, ed. Maur.

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supported an accusation of schism; the two rules which it gave to the faithful for deciding when they were to continue in communion with a body of Christians, however great and however national, who claimed their obedience or their communion. They had not to perplex themselves with doctrinal points, or controversial subtleties-they had simply to ascertain, first, whether or no these were held in communion by the rest of the Church, that is by the aggregate of Churches dispersed over the world; and secondly, whether they adhered to the Apostolic Roman See. Wherever they found these two conditions verified, there they were to join themselves : wherever they existed not, there was schism, and they were to have no part with those that formed it.¹ Now let us apply these two tests to the Anglican Church. In our first article above referred to, we proved that it can show no communion with the rest of the Christian episcopal world, even taking those criterions of

¹ There is an interesting passage in St. Augustine, too long to quote (cont. Lit. Petil. lib. ii. cap. 125), in which he unites the two criterions of the Roman and the universal Church's communion, observing that the Church founded upon a rock is not by reason of this foundation confined to one place, but is spread all over the world.

that communion which its own approved divines have laid down. And as to the second condition, that of communion with the Roman See, we think there can be no hesitation what to decide, inasmuch as, by a formal act, the English Church, in 1534, disavowed all dependence upon it, and from that moment ceased to communicate with it. Certain it is, that de facto that Church has, since that time (excepting the reign of Mary), held no unity or communication with either Rome or the rest of the Catholic world. And this has nothing to do with the question of doctrine, or any inquiry as to whether the body of the Catholic Church deviated from true faith at Trent, and rendered it imperative then to separate from it; an idea, however, incompatible with what we have already seen above, and much that we could add. For the separation from unity took place before this, and had no reference to doctrine, farther than the exclusion of the supremacy on Scriptural grounds.¹

¹ See Dublin Review, vol. v. p. 298, note. "No event in the history of England is marked by circumstances so peculiar as those which attended the separation of the national Church from the Romish communion." (British Critic, No. xliv., Oct., 1837, p. 300.)

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The Anglican Church, therefore, spontaneously constituted itself in a state of schism.

At the outset of this article, we assumed, as a point on which our principal adversaries would agree with us, that a Church, or portion of a Church, thus constituted in schism, however valid its ordination, could have no part in the apostolical succession. For the satisfaction, however, of such readers as may not be so well versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, we will now say a few words on the subject.

I. Schism is pronounced by the Fathers a dreadful sin, whether in a Church or in individuals who knowingly persevere in it. St. Augustine thus writes of it : "Quod autem vos a totius orbis communione separatos videmus (quod scelus et maximum, et manifestum, et omnium vestrum est) si exaggerare velim, tempus me citius quam verba deficient."¹ On another occasion he calls it "sacrilegium schismatis quod omnia scelera

¹ "That you should be found separated from the communion of the entire world (which is a wickedness most grievous, manifest, and chargeable on you all), if I wished to show its aggravation, time would fail me before words." Cont. Lit, Petil, lib. ii. cap. 8. supergraditur." ¹ St. Fulgentius, in the strongest terms, excludes all schismatics from eternal salvation.²

2. Further, they do not admit a possible case that can justify such separation : as they consider the evil done to the Church by schism sufficient to counterbalance any imaginary good to be gained, and equal to any real or imaginary evil to be thereby avoided. St. Irenæus says that such persons swallow a camel while they strain at a gnat, "for no correction can be made by them equal to the bane of schism." 3 St. Augustine, speaking of converts made by the Donatists from heathenism, employs this severe language: "Itaque illos quos sanant a vulnere idolatriæ, gravius feriunt vulnere schismatis." 4 We refrain from further

¹ "The sacrilege of schism which transcends all crimes." Cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. ii. cap. 4.

² "Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites hæreticos atque schismaticos, qui extra Ecclesiam Catholicam præsentem finiunt vitam, in ignem æternum ituros." De Fide ad Pet. Biblioth. Vet. Par, tom. ix. p. 82, ed. Paris.

³ "Nulla enim ab eis potest fieri tanta correctio, quanta est schismatis pernicies." Lib. iv. cap. 33.

4 "Therefore those whom they cure of the wound of idolatry, they more grievously strike with the wound of schism." De Baptismo cont. Donat, lib. i. cap. 8. quotations, which we could multiply to any extent.

3. Though the valid exercise of the sacramental power was allowed to such schismatics as preserved the lawful forms, yet its legitimate exercise was never acknowledged. St. Augustine makes the distinction respecting baptism : "Item alia duo dicimus, esse apud Donatistas, baptismum, non autem illic reste accipi." And, on another occasion, he says of the same sacrament that, in his opinion, when given under certain circumstances (not then cleared up by a General Council), the sacrament would be valid, but "not profitable to life eternal, so long as they remained separated from the Catholic Church."² Now, the same Father repeatedly compares the sacrament of orders with that of baptism, illustrating the latter from the former: so that the same distinction between validity and lawfulness of exercise must be admitted. For instance, "Nam sicut redeuntes, qui

¹ "Likewise two other things we say are among the Donatists; baptism, but that it is not there rightly received." Ibid. cap. 3. He had just said that in the Catholic Church, "et esse baptismum, et illic tantum recte accipi."

² "Quanquam eis ad vitam æternam non prodesset, si charitate caruissent qua Catholicæ insererentur Ecclesiæ." Ibid, lib, vii. cap. 53.

priusquam recederent baptizati sunt, non rebaptizantur; ita redeuntes, qui priusquam recederent ordinati sunt, non utique rursus ordinantur, sed aut administrant quod administrabant, si hoc Ecclesiæ utilitas postulat, aut si non administrant, Sacramentum ordinationis tamen gerunt . . . Nam neque Sacramentum baptismi, nec Sacramentum dandi Baptismi . . . Felicianus amisit." 1 Ordination, here pronounced a sacrament (contrary to the doctrine of the Anglican Church), is put on the same footing with baptism, in reference to the effects exercised on it by schism, and therefore, however validly, cannot be lawfully or profitably conferred in a Church separated from the unity of faith and religious communion. There is another passage, still more beautiful, that illustrates the doctrine of baptism by that of order and other sacraments, which we cannot forbear quoting, on account of its

¹ "For, as those that return, who before they separated had been baptized, are not rebaptized, so they that return, who before they separated had been ordained, are not again ordained, but either resume the ministry they had before, if the service of the Church require it, or if they minister not, yet bear the sacrament of orders. For neither the sacrament of baptism, nor the sacrament of giving baptism, did Felicianus . . . lose." Ibid. lib. vii, cap. 2. likewise contradicting the Anglican, and confirming the Catholic, doctrine of the sacraments. It is the following: "Si ergo ad hoc valet quod dictum est in Evangelio, 'Deus peccatorem non audit,' ut per peccatorem sacramenta non celebrentur; quomodo exaudit homicidam deprecantem vel super aquam baptismi, vel super oleum, vel super Eucharistiam, vel super capita eorum quibus manus imponitur? Quæ omnia tamen et fiunt et valent etiam per homicidas . . . etiam in ipsa intus Ecclesia. 'Cum nemo dare possit quod non habet,' quomodo dat homicida Spiritum Sanctum ?"¹ The dis-

"" If, therefore, what is said in the Gospel that 'God hears not sinners' have this force, that a sacrament cannot be conferred by a sinner, how does he hear a murderer" [one devoid of charity, as the Father explains it] "praying either over the water of baptism, or over the oil (confirmation) or over the Eucharist, or over the heads of those on whom he lays hands (orders)? All which, however, are done, and are validly done even by murderers . . . even within the Church itself. Since no one can give that which he has not, how can a murderer give the Holy Ghost ?" Ibid. lib. v. cap. 20. From which we draw two conclusions opposed to the doctrines of the Tracts, first, that order, as well as confirmation, is a true sacrament, that gives the Holy Ghost; secondly, that it has a form of words, and does not differ from the true sacrament, by consisting only in the imposition of hands. Cf. Tract No. 1, p. 3, v. 10; and Dr. Pusey's Lett. Tr. vol. iii, p. 11. tinction, therefore, holds good between the valid and the lawful exercise and bestowing of orders; so that the former may exist in a schismatical Church; the latter *never can*.

4. Hence St. Augustine has no hesitation in addressing the following strong language to the Donatist bishops : "If you ask me by what fruits we know you to be rather ravenous wolves, I object to you the crime of schism, which you will deny, but I will instantly prove ; for you do not communicate with other nations, and with the Churches founded by the labour of the Apostles." ¹

5. In fine, upon the return of any Donatist bishop to the unity of faith, the Church sufficiently showed how far it was from admitting any right in him to a place in the apostolical succession. The third Council of Carthage, in 397, decreed as follows : *first*, that what had been decreed in preceding councils be confirmed, "ne quis Donatistarum cum honore suo recipiatur sed in numero laicorum";

^{*} "Si autem a me quæras quibus fructibus vos potius esse lupos rapaces cognoscamus, objicio schismatis, crimen, quod tu negabis, ego autem statim probabo; neque enim communicas omnibus gentibus, et illis ecclesiis apostolico labore fundatis." Cont. Litteras Petil. lib. ii. cap. 16. secondly, that an exception be made in favour of those who had never rebaptized, or who came over to the Catholic Communion with their flocks; *thirdly*, it was deemed advisable that the decree should not be finally confirmed till the judgement of the transmarine or Italian Church had been obtained.¹ This was similar treatment to that of the Meletians and Novatians, mentioned in our former article.²

The voice of antiquity is therefore clear and loud upon the claims to apostolical succession of any Church involved in schism, that is, which is not in communion with other Churches, and especially with that of Rome. Implicated in a crime which no possible circumstances can justify; exercising their functions, even when validly, still without profit to the souls of men; styled wolves rather than

¹ Labbe, tom. iii. ol. 1181. St. Augustine thus speaks of this matter acknowledging the validity of Donatists' orders—not because hands are imposed, which the theory of the Tracts requires. but because a proper *form* of words was used. "Et de episcopis quidem vel clericis recipiendis, alia quaestio est. Quamvis enim, cum apud vos ordinantur, non super eos invocetur nomen Donati sed Dei, tamen ita suscipiuntur ut videtur paci et utilitati Ecclesiae convenire." Cont. Cresconium Grammat. lib. i. cap. 11.

² Vol. v. p. 289.

shepherds; admitted into the Church only as laymen—can bishops so characterized have been considered by the ancient Church descendants and representatives of the apostles?

Our argument ought naturally to close here ; but the lessons furnished us by the Donatist schism are not ended. We will therefore beg our readers' further indulgence for several remarkable points of resemblance, not yet noted, between the former schism and that which unfortunately separates our country from the Universal Church.

1. It is singular that, in process of time, there sprang up among the Donatists a High Church party, the most distinguished of whom seems to have been Ticonius. He saw the absurdity of excluding the numerous Churches dispersed all over the world from the pale of Christ's true Church, one of whose principal attributes he perceived was universality. This Ticonius demonstrated with great learning and acuteness; but remained blind to the natural consequences to be drawn from his views, namely, that his own Church was schismatical, and that it was his individual duty to abandon it, and become a Catholic. His fellow-churchmen, however, saw this ; they were

aware that his principles, pushed to their legitimate consequences, would necessarily lead to the abandoning of Africanism, the embracing of Catholicity. Parmenianus was the champion who undertook to chastise the audacity of this reformer; and not content with writing a letter or pamphlet against him, he had him condemned by a council of his Church. Parmenianus seriously warns him of the danger of maintaining, as he did, that foreign Churches in communion with Rome formed part of the true Church of Christ. The Catholics, however, were not slow to step in between the disputants; and giving due commendation to the learning and good intentions of Ticonius, took proper advantage of the truth he had discovered. St. Augustine placed the shield of his vast genius over him, and defends him against Parmenianus.1

2. The High Church divines in England maintain that the Irish and English Catholics are schismatics, because they "separate themselves from the Anglican Church, and make congregations contrary to their canonical bishops."² The answer

¹ Cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. i. cap. 1.

² British Critic, No. x. 7. p. 435. Dub. Rev., vol. iii. p. 73

to the assertion resolves itself into the inquiry whether one is bound to prefer the communion of the Universal Church out of one's own country to that of bishops in it (all questions of doctrine being left aside) who are not in that communion. This is a case particularly applicable to Portugal at this moment, as it was to England at the time of the Reformation, more than now. St. Augustine seems to have had no doubt on the subject. He observes that Ticonius did not perceive the true consequence of his own principles ;-but we must give the holy Father's own words : "Non vidit quod consequenter videndum fuit, illos videlicet in Africa Christianos pertinere ad Ecclesiam toto orbi diffusam, qui utique non istis ab ejusdem orbis communione atque unitate sejunctis, sed ipsi orbi terrarum per communionem connectererentur. Parmenianus autem cæterique Donatistæ viderunt hoc esse consequens."¹ It is therefore our

¹ "He did not see, what as a consequence he should have seen, that those Christians in Africa belonged to the Church spread over the whole world, who, indeed, were not connected with those who were separated from the communion and unity of that world, but were united by communion with the world itself. Parmenianus and the other Donatists saw this consequence." Ibid.

duty to preserve communion with the general Catholic Church, rather than with the particular Church of our country, when that has separated itself from that communion.

3. The writers in the *Tracts for the Times*, seeing how the argument which they make against English Catholics can be well retorted against French Protestants, are anxious not to introduce into the controversy at home the question of foreign Catholics and separatists from them.¹ We observe a similar solicitude in the Donatists of old. Emeritus, one of their bishops, thus expresses this feeling at the conference of Carthage: "Intelligit præstantia tua nihil nobis de peregrinis, nihil nobis de longe positis præjudicare posse, cum inter Afros hoc negotium ventiletur."²

4. The same Tracts consider the Catholic bishops as intruders, because sent where there were already bishops in quiet and legitimate possession.³ The

^r Tract iv. p. 6. "Neither do we desire to pass any sentence upon persons of other countries."

² "Your Excellency understands that nothing from strangers, nothing from persons living far off, can prejudice us, since this cause is between Africans." Gesta Collat. dies 3. No. 99. ad Calc. op. S. Opt.

³ Tract 35.

same complaint was made by the Donatists, that the Catholics sent bishops into dioceses in their possession; which proved that the Catholics then believed themselves to have the same rights as they have later exercised. Petilianus complains that, in the diocese of Milevis, they had erected three new bishoprics, and that in his own, Delphinus had been appointed in opposition.¹ At the same time, the Catholics severely reproved the Donatists for appointing one of their bishops to a see where there was already one in communion with the rest of the Church beyond the seas.² This will apply to the Protestant hierarchy, as the former principle will to the English. In the canonical code of the African Church, we have a decree of a provincial council that, dating from a certain period, the Catholic bishops had to claim jurisdiction over the dioceses held by the Donatists, whether converted to unity or not.3 This shows in how little esteem was held a bishop's authority, who communicated not with the rest of the Church.

¹ Gesta Collat. Dies 1 ubi sup. p. 258.

² St. Aug. contra Epist. Parmen. lib. 1. cap. 3.

³ Integer Codex Canonum Eccl. Afric. ap. Labbe, t. iii. ol. 1116. 5. We have been struck how the Donatists, while they did not relish this name, had no objection to the national appellation of *Africans* — the *African Church* — which is consequently often applied to their party by the Fathers, without any offensive meaning: at the same time that the latter gloried in bearing no other appellation than that of *Catholic*. In like manner, the denomination Anglican is assumed by our High Churchmen, and we willingly accord it : at the same time, we repudiate every designation save that of *Catholic*.

6. In fine, as from the great Donatist Church we have seen how many dissenting sects sprang up, and have therein traced no small resemblance to the fate of the Anglican, so have we a counterpart to our conduct towards this, in the conduct of the Fathers towards the former. For the great body of the Donatists immediately treated those separatists as schismatics, and severely denounced against them the penalties of schism, precisely as the Tract-writers deal with dissenters from the Anglican Church.^I St. Augustine thus retorts upon the Donatists what they said of their

¹ See Tracts ii. p. 3, iv. p. 5; and xxix.

separatists : "Cui enim unquam schismatico suo pepercerunt, qui sibi ab orbe terrarum, cujus ipsi schismatici sunt, nimis impudenter parci volunt? cum a vera sola ipsa unitate justissime schismata puniantur, si eo modo ista punienda sunt."¹ This is a severe retort, but not more severe than we have a right to make in our days. The Council of Carthage, seeing the advantage which this argument gave the Catholics, decreed that envoys should be sent among the Donatists, expressly to inculcate it; since "by it is demonstrated, if they will but attend to it, that it was as wicked for them to be then cut off from the unity of the Church, as they now cry out that it was wicked in the Maximianists to make a schism from them."² For Maximianists, read Wes-

¹ "For what schismatic from themselves did they ever spare—they who too impudently wish to be spared by the entire world, from which they are schismatics ? whereas, only by the true unity, schisms are most justly punished, if, indeed, they are to be punished in that manner "—that is, by appeal to the civil power, which this Father strongly blames in them. This constant eagerness for the exclusive support of the civil magistrate might have formed another point of contrast between the African and Anglican Churches. Ubi sup. lib. ii. cap. 13.

² "Ubi eis demonstratur, si attendere velint, tam inique tunc illos ab Ecclesiæ unitate præcisos, leyans or Quakers, and you have an exact answer to the complaints in the Tracts.

On another occasion, writing to some Donatists, he bids them contrast the great body of bishops from which they separated with the small number from which their schismatics departed. "Multum quidem interest et incomparabiliter distat vel auctoritate vel numero Africana Ecclesia" (observe the name) "si cum ceteris orbis partibus conferatur ; et longè minor est, eliamsi unitas hic esset, longè omnino minor est comparata ceteris Christianis omnibus gentibus, quam pars Maximiani comparata parti Primiani." 1 Here is an argument well fashioned to our hand to be wielded at pleasure against the arrogant pretensions of the Anglican High Churchmen, when they on the one hand charge others with the mote of schism from a national Church, seeing not the beam of

quam inique nunc clamant a se Maximianistas schisma fecisse." Conc. Carthag. Africæ univ. ad Calc. S. Opt. p. 211.

^t "There is much difference, and an incomparable distance in number or authority, between the African Church and the remaining parts of the world; and it is far smaller—supposing unity to exist in it—it is, indeed, far smaller, compared with all other Christian nations, than the party of Maximianus is, compared to that of Primianus." Epist. xliit. ol. clxii. cap. 9. schism from the Universal Church, which fearfully presses on their own cause. Truly, if we would but fill our quiver from the armoury of the Fathers, we should find no difficulty in piercing any mail of proof in which our adversaries may think proper to encase themselves. There is not an argument, a cavil, which they can use, that will not be found answered by anticipation, in the writings of the venerable lights of the ancient Church.

There is one view of the apostolical succession, taken by the authors of the Tracts, which we most cordially admit, because conformable to the doctrine of antiquity. It is that explained in the fifty-fourth Tract, p. 4, in these words : "How had the right interpretation of Scripture been preserved in each of those places? (Rome, Corinth, &c.). By the succession of bishops, each in turn handing over to the bishop that followed him what he had himself learned of his predecessors." Thus it appears that the apostolical succession, where it exists, is a guarantee to the faithful that the same doctrine is taught which has been taught from the beginning. Now, if we apply this test to the Anglican Church, how certainly it must fail! For it is as clear as noonday that the bishops, after the so-called Reformation, taught the doctrine opposite to that of their immediate predecessors. Cranmer for instance, blasphemed Transubstantiation under Edward, which had been taught in his see till his time. Where, then, is that evidence of such succession, which perseverance in the same doctrine ought to afford ? PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY, LONDON. Price Half-a-Crown each.

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