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THE SEARCH AFTER INFALLIBILITY.

REMARKS

ON

THE TESTIMONY OF THE FATHERS

TO THE

ROMAN DOGMA OF INFALLIBILITY.

BY

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“ Proinde sive de Christo, sive de ejus Ecclesia, sive de quacunq̄ue alia re quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque vestram, non dicam nos, nequaquam comparandi ei qui dixit, *Licet si nos*; sed omnino quod secutus adjecit, *Si angelus de cælo vobis annuntiaverit præter quam quod in Scripturis legalibus et evangelicis accepistis, anathema sit.*”—S. AUGUSTIN, *contra Litt. Petil.* l. iii.

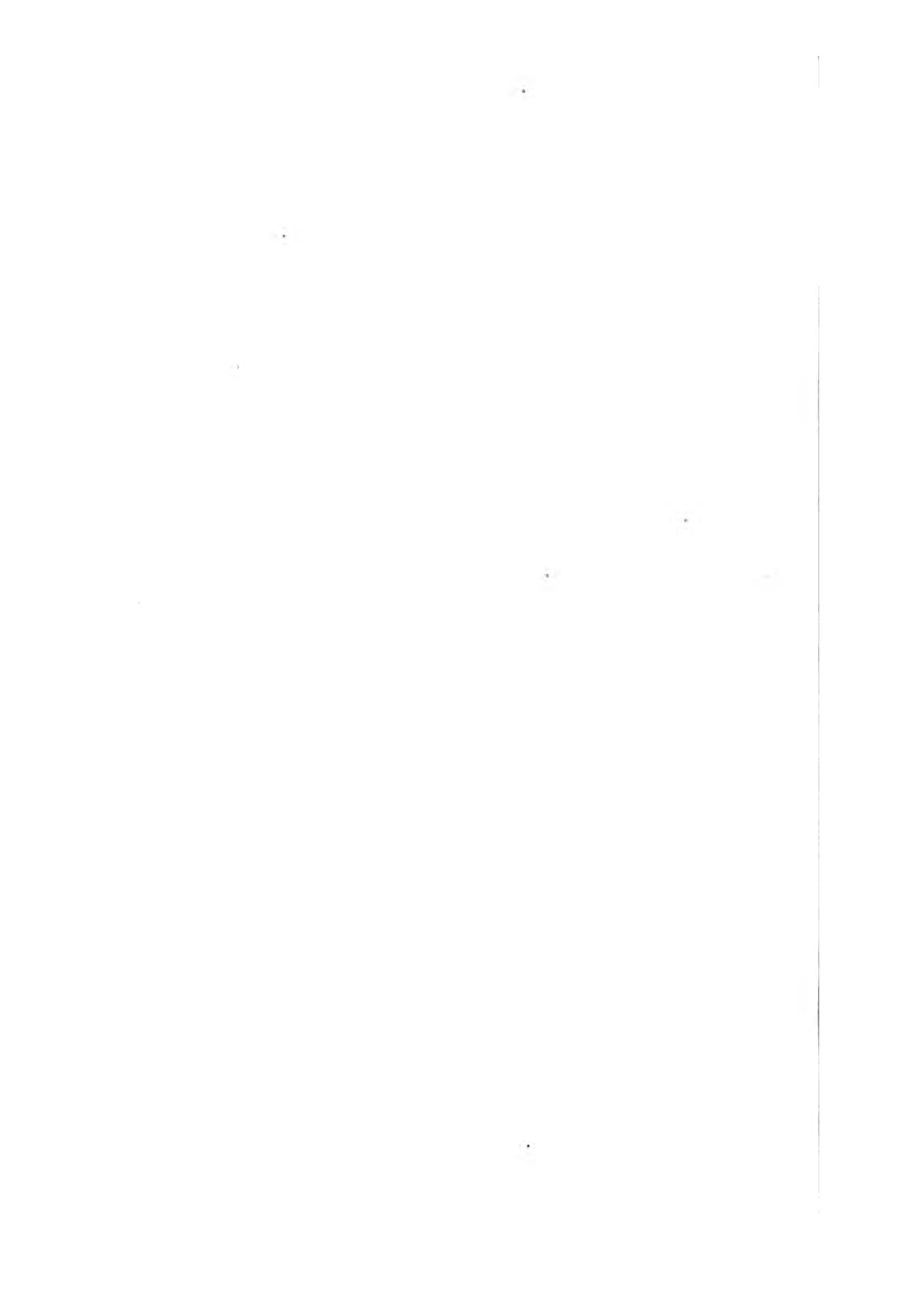
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TO THE READER.

THE Pamphlet to which the following remarks refer, was published in Dublin at the close of the past year; and had been before the public for some time before it became known to the Author of the present work. The strictures now submitted to the reader were begun for the satisfaction of a friend, without any idea of committing them to the press. They were afterwards published, in separate papers, through the kindness of the Editor of the British Magazine, in several successive numbers of that periodical*; and they are now collected and reprinted, in the hope that they may prove useful to some whose minds may be unsettled, or who are disposed to regard the claims of the Roman Church with more favour than they deserve.

It will be seen that the Author has not deemed it his place to make any remarks on the general question at issue, or to notice arguments which have been so often refuted by our Divines. His object has been to expose the unfairness with

* From April to November, 1848, inclusive.

which the writings of the Fathers have been quoted; to explain their real meaning; and to prove that in no one instance has the writer to whose work these remarks refer succeeded in quoting from the Fathers or Councils of the first five centuries a single passage which can be said to contain a distinct statement of the modern Roman dogma of Infallibility, in any of its present forms.

It appeared to the Author that an exposure of the pretensions of the advocates of Romanism, made in a temperate spirit, which he trusts he has been enabled to maintain, might not be altogether without its use at the present moment: especially as there are many whose uninformed zeal has led them to decry in various ways the judgment of antiquity, and so to do serious injury to the cause they desire to support.

That judgment he believes to be altogether coincident with the doctrines of the English Church, as expressed in our devotional and synodical formularies, and taught in the writings of our standard Divines; and he is of opinion that nothing but error and confusion can be the result, if we permit ourselves to lose sight of the truth, that the precious remains of Christian antiquity, although compositions of uninspired and fallible men, are nevertheless essential to the full proof of Catholic doctrine. For, to use the words of Bishop Beveridge,* “*Cum majorem omnibus quam singulis Christianis, et universæ quam particularibus quibuscunque Ecclesiis fidem habendam esse nemo dubitet: cum plurima etiam sint, in quæ universalis Ecclesia*

* *Codex Can. Eccl. primitivæ vindicatus. In Proœmio, sect. iii.*

per multa post Apostolos secula consensit: cum hæc denique universalis Ecclesiæ consensio certissima sit in iis, quibus habeatur, capitibus sacræ Scripturæ interpretatio, hinc clarissime constat, quali quantoque usui sint antiqui Patres, alique omnium Ecclesiæ seculorum scriptores, quamque necessario ab iis consulendi sint, quibus, ecclesiasticas agitantibus controversias, vel sua salus, vel pax Ecclesiæ cordi est. Si nulla enim veteris Ecclesiæ commentaria, nulla conciliorum acta, nulla historiæ ecclesiasticæ monumenta hodie extarent, quantis in tenebris circa ipsam nostram religionem versaremur? Quam facile esset subtili cuivis hæretico, vel sceleratissimo etiam impostori, pietatis speciem præ se ferenti, verba plerisque dare, eosque in perniciosissimos omnium generum errores inducere? Quis Romanam, aliamve quamcunque, licet corruptissimam Ecclesiam, in iis quæ non diserte in sacris Scripturis prohibentur, vitii aut erroris arguere potuisset? Unde enim constaret, annon ea quæ ibi usitantur, ab ipsis Apostolis tradita fuissent, et universalis Ecclesiæ consensu comprobata? Quot denique et quanta cujusque modi incommoda hinc exorirentur? Sed nihil est quod iis enumerandis immoremur, cum inter tot tantasque imperiorum confusiones, Ecclesiarum singularium tumultus, omniumque rerum humanarum perturbationes, sapientissimâ, benignissimâque Dei Opt. Max. providentiâ ita comparatum sit, ut ab ipsis Apostolicis usque ad hæc nostra tempora nulla sit ætas, cujus ecclesiastica nobis monumenta non conservantur. E quibus propterea perfectam universalis Ecclesiæ ideam animo concipere, et pro comperto certoque habere

possumus, quid per omnia secula admissum fuit, et quid rejec-
tum, qui ritus et dogmata obtinuerunt, quæ hæreses et schismata
explosa sunt et condemnata. Ex iis denique iisque solis videre
licet, de quibus doctrinis disciplinisque inter omnes perpetuo
Ecclesias convenit, et de quibus inter eas controversum est;
adeoque quid magis, quidque minus necessarium est creditu, et
observatu. Quicquid enim de aliis dicendum est, ea saltem in
quæ omnes ubique Ecclesiæ consenserunt, non possunt non cer-
tissima esse, et necessario ab omnibus etiamnum retinenda.”

Trinity College, Dublin,

November 1st, 1848.

THE
SEARCH AFTER INFALLIBILITY.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE FATHERS TO THE ROMAN DOGMA
OF INFALLIBILITY.

Introduction.—Remarks on the Study of the Christian Fathers.

A PAMPHLET has recently fallen into my hands, which professes to refute the arguments advanced in a Discourse on the Search after Infallibility,* delivered in August, 1847, by his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, in the Cathedral of Christ's Church, Dublin.

The author of this pamphlet, the Rev. Dr. O'Connell, late Professor of Divinity at St. Mary's, Oscott, is, I believe, a clergyman of respectability in the Roman-catholic communion; and he has also some character for learning. His arguments may therefore be taken as a fair specimen of the sort of reason-

* The full title of this publication is as follows:—"Strictures on the Discourse delivered by his Grace Archbishop Whateley, in the Cathedral of Christ's Church, Dublin, on the Search after Infallibility; with Scriptural Evidences in support of the Catholic Dogma of Church Infallibility. By the Rev. Dr. O'Connell, late Professor of Divinity at St. Mary's, Oscott. Dublin. 1847." The Archbishop's sermon, which has now reached a second edition, was published under the title, "The Search after Infallibility considered, in reference to the danger of religious errors arising within the Church in the primitive as well as in all later ages. Being a Discourse delivered in the Cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, on the occasion of the Ordination held on Sunday, the 22nd Aug. 1847. By Richard Whateley, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin."

ing which satisfies the majority of educated Roman Catholics. In this point of view, Dr. O'Connell's pamphlet is interesting and worthy of notice. But his arguments are certainly to me most unsatisfactory. He evades the real question at issue, and confounds the pretence to infallibility with the promises made to the Church of perpetuity and salvation. He quotes the sixth Article of our Church, as if it were opposed to the Archbishop's views, and argues as if the recognition of Church authority, of a true and authentic tradition, and the proof of the canon of Holy Scripture from the testimony of antiquity, necessarily implied the belief in an infallible, living, and universally accessible judge of controversies.

All this is, as I have said, unsatisfactory, because it has no bearing on the question at issue. We recognise the authority of the Church universal; we receive its testimony to the Canon of Scripture; we refuse not to admit *apostolical* and *authentic* traditions; we believe that the gates of hell will never prevail against the Holy Catholic Church; we do not believe that any one is at liberty, through his own private judgment, to break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church*; but, on the other hand, we do not believe that traditions are in all places one and utterly alike; nor do we believe in the existence of an infallible living guide, who can decide all controversies, and extinguish all errors, by a Divine authority.

The Archbishop's reasoning against the *à priori* argument in favour of the supposed existence of such an infallible tribunal, is not new, nor peculiar to his Grace, although he has restated it in his recent discourse with the clearness and perspicuity which distinguish all his Grace's writings. The same unanswerable argument has been urged by Barrow, by Tillotson, by Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tenison, and others of our best divines.

I do not purpose, therefore, to enter into any defence of his Grace on this head against Dr. O'Connell's "Strictures;" my

* Art. 34.

object in these remarks is to call attention to an entirely different subject, which is connected only indirectly with the search after infallibility.

Dr. O'Connell, after some general observations and objections to the Archbishop's argument, proceeds to establish what he calls "the Catholic Rule of Faith," first from the Scriptures, and then from the Fathers.

By this time, however, we find that the question has wholly changed: instead of the infallible guide, which was the original subject of discussion, we are now come to inquire into the Rule of Faith.

It is not my intention to say anything on the validity of Dr. O'Connell's scriptural arguments; on this head he has only repeated matter which our divines have long ago examined and refuted to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind.

My present object is, to make some observations on the Section of Dr. O'Connell's pamphlet in which he professes to examine the testimony of the Fathers: because I think the manner in which he has appealed to their authority is instructive and important for other reasons, as well as for its bearing on the immediate subject in debate.

Dr. O'Connell begins this portion of his argument by an insinuation, that an examination of the testimony of the Fathers, to the existence of a divinely instituted, and infallible tribunal, "will find but poor acceptance" with the Archbishop of Dublin.

I know not what right this gentleman has to make any such insinuation. The Church of England has at all times appealed to the testimony of Christian antiquity, as her greatest stronghold. Our divines have always studied and quoted the writings of the Fathers with the highest reverence and respect, as containing our surest evidence of the doctrines and discipline of the primitive church: and the works of Cranmer, Jewell, Laud, Taylor, Bull, Bramhall, Stillingfleet, and a host of others, are a sufficient proof that patristic theology holds as high a place in the studies of our divines as it can possibly occupy in the

estimation of Dr. O'Connell himself. He has, therefore, no right to insinuate that the testimony of the Fathers, if fairly and honestly adduced, will necessarily find "a poor acceptance" with any bishop of our church.

But although the authority of the Fathers, as witnesses to the faith and teaching of the Church, can never be undervalued by any well-informed member of the Anglican communion, I hope, before I conclude, to adduce some very cogent reasons to show that the particular use made of the Fathers in Dr. O'Connell's pamphlet ought indeed to meet with a very poor acceptance, not only from the Archbishop of Dublin, but also from every other lover of truth and fair play.

First, however, it will be necessary to make some remarks on another of this gentleman's insinuations.

He tells us that the study of the Fathers must necessarily tend to unite men to the modern Church of Rome: and he refers with triumph to the late secessions from the English Church, as an evidence of this fact. "It was the scrupulous study of the Cyprians and the Augustines," he says, "that awoke misgivings and feelings of an unsettling and disturbing tendency in the minds of the Oxford and Cambridge divines."

It is very natural that Dr. O'Connell should adopt this opinion, and we cannot blame him for parading the fact to which he alludes, with much exultation and triumph. The same conclusion has also been eagerly put forward by the ultra-Protestant party,—they, too, make the same assertion of the Rome-ward tendency of patristic learning, for the very opposite purpose, however, of deterring their disciples from the study of the Fathers. Thus it is that the extremes of error are found to meet; like Samson's foxes, to use the illustration of Pope Gregory IX., in his excommunication of the Piedmontane heresies, "*facies quidem habentes diversas, sed caudas ad invicem colligatas.*"*

Nothing, however, can be more untrue than that the recent

* Decretal. v. tit. 7. c. 15. *Excommunicamus.*

secessions to Rome in England, have been occasioned by the "scrupulous study" of the ancient Fathers.

One of the most singular features of that Romeward movement is, that its converts do not commonly allege any theological or historical evidence whatsoever against the doctrine and discipline of the Church they have abandoned, or in favour of the new faith to which they have committed themselves.

I know of but one amongst them who had any well-founded reputation as a patristic scholar: and that gentleman has fortunately published an elaborate exposition of the views which led him to adopt a course so fatal to his former character for judgment and learning. In that singular work, he tacitly abandons as untenable the claim to antiquity, and accounts for the deviations of the modern creed of Rome from the primitive faith of the Church, by the newly invented theory of development. What favour this theory has found at Rome I know not; but its very statement is equivalent to an admission that the doctrines, which are now, in their *developed* form, made necessary terms of communion, and even of salvation, in the modern Church of Rome, were unknown to the ancient Fathers, and formed no part of that Catholic tradition which was committed by the Apostles to the safe keeping of the Church.

Another remarkable feature in the movement upon which Dr. O'Connell so greatly congratulates his Church, was a revival, not of patristic theology, but of legendary ecclesiastical mythology. The romance of monastic asceticism, the poetry, if I may so say, of the cloister, had an influence where the solid divinity of the Cyprians and Chrysostoms and Augustines would have been tasteless and unpalatable. There was a sort of pride in bidding defiance to the nineteenth century, and laying claim to an intensity of faith sufficient to give credence to all the marvels and miracles of the Golden Legend.

And lastly, there was another class of converts who professed to disregard the historical evidence in favour of the English Church, as a part of the question at issue with which they were not concerned. They had formed to themselves the *Ideal* of a

Christian Church to which the Church of their baptism did not answer ; they had “yearnings” which the Liturgy of the Church did not satisfy ; instinctive longings which our ecclesiastical discipline was calculated not to gratify, but to chill. For these reasons, therefore, they cast themselves into the communion of the Roman Church—there they knew they could find monasteries, and nunneries, and religious orders ;—processions, and scenery, and pontifical decorations ;—and there they fancied they could practise not only without censure, but with applause, any desired extravagance of ascetic mortification. This morbid longing for something which they knew not how to describe, which they could not find at home, and which they hoped to find abroad, was, I fear, the motive which influenced a large body of the recent converts to abandon the English Church.

But amongst them all there was not one that came forward to grapple with the historical argument from the ancient Fathers and Councils of the Church : or to meet the challenge publicly given to the world, three hundred years ago, by bringing forward “one sufficient sentence, out of any old Catholic Doctor or Father ; or out of any old general Council ; or out of the Holy Scriptures of God ; or any one example of the Primitive Church,” in favour of the modern articles added to the faith by the present Church of Rome.

But although I therefore deny that the study of the Fathers, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, had anything to do with the recent Romeward movement in England, yet I do not seek to disguise my conviction that such studies, as they are commonly carried on in the present day, are not unfrequently a source of danger.

A little learning is at all times a dangerous thing, but more especially so in the study of so vast a body of ancient writers, where a little learning commonly passes current for a great deal, and where a sound judgment, knowledge of Church history and ancient customs, and especially of the peculiar language of ecclesiastical writers, are essential to protect the student from the greatest mistakes.

And in particular, when the writings of the Fathers are read, as they now most commonly are read, not for themselves, but as storehouses from whence to draw weapons of controversy, the danger of mistake is very great.

I may instance in the word *Tradition*. There is nothing in which controversialists, who argue for the Romish rule of faith, so entirely triumph, as in the strong language which is to be found so abundantly in ancient ecclesiastical writers in favour of the authority of tradition. On the other hand, there is nothing which so greatly offends the Protestant, and leads him to reject the testimony of the Fathers altogether, and to deprecate the study of their writings as heterodox and unsound.

But both are nevertheless mistaken. For the word *tradition*, in ancient writers, was not used in the sense which it has now acquired in modern controversies. The Fathers recommend and venerate the tradition of the Church, in a sense very different indeed from that in which Romanists and Protestants now alike use the word, as something distinct from and wholly independent of the Bible—something that must be added to the testimony of Holy Scripture in order to make up the integrity of the Catholic faith. On the contrary, the tradition spoken of by the Fathers, which was committed to the safe keeping of the Church by the Apostles, which was possessed by the Church alone, and rejected or perverted by heretics, was nothing more than the aggregate of those fundamental articles of the faith which are summed up in the formularies to which we now give the name of creeds: the essential doctrines, which were received by all churches, about which there was no controversy within the Church, and which were *ὁμολογουμένως*,* confessedly and without controversy, the fundamental truths, without which no man could be a Christian.

For this tradition they appealed to the common consent of all churches, and in the earlier ages, to those churches especially which had been founded by the ministry of an apostle, and whose bishops could trace their succession from that apostle by

* 1 Tim. iii. 15.

a few clear and indubitable steps. It was reasonable to expect that in a Church founded by the actual preaching and teaching of St. Paul, for example, whose first bishop had been a favoured pupil of that apostle, whose second bishop had enjoyed the friendship or had received the daily instructions of the first, and so on; it was natural and reasonable to expect that in such a church the doctrine of St. Paul would be better preserved and more clearly understood, than in a society of Christians that had had no immediate connexion with the apostle, or had owed their Christianity to some inferior missionary. And if it could be proved, as it was proved, that all the apostolic churches at that time spoke the same language; that all had preserved the same fundamental articles of essential faith; the same tradition, that is, or, as we would now speak, the same creed,—this was an irrefragable proof that their teaching was the doctrine of the Apostles, and that the contrary teaching of an Arius, a Macedonius, or a Pelagius, in so far as it was at variance with the common doctrine of the Church, was a departure from the faith once delivered to the saints.

Thus the language of the Fathers in the matter of tradition, gives no support to the modern traditions or *developments* added to the apostolic faith by the modern Church of Rome. But on the contrary, the appeal made by the Fathers to the common doctrine of the whole Church, relates to a state of things so different from that which we now find to obtain in Christendom, that the application of their rule, as a test of sound doctrine, is now become much more difficult; requiring care, and learning, and judgment, to separate the counterfeit from the true. When made, however, in honest soberness, and with competent learning, it will be found to conclude altogether on the side of our Church, in which the true apostolical tradition, in the sense in which the ancient Fathers used the word, has been preserved without the addition of any mediæval corruptions, or scholastic subtleties.

But there is also another danger in the study of the Fathers, when that study is undertaken with a view to controversy.

The controversialist must have pointed weapons—he cannot overload his pages with a dry and tedious context; he looks, therefore, for extracts bearing, or seeming to bear, as directly as possible on the question he is discussing. But as the Fathers in general have written before the modern controversies which they are appealed to to decide, had begun; and as they therefore have often expressed themselves in a manner which no modern divine, with our present controversies before his mind, would venture upon, there are often passages to be found, even in the writings of the same Father, which seem to have an opposite tendency, when viewed from opposite sides of our modern disputes. Thus the controversialist is tempted to suppress, to garble, to abridge, and so to give on the whole an unfair and erroneous colouring to the ancient testimony which he cites.

Add to this, that the circumstances of modern controversy compel the combatants, in most cases, to write as it were against time. The reply must come out before the pamphlet which calls for it, has become stale and is forgotten. The defendant must get his weapons ready on the moment, or his answer will fall still-born from the press. Hence he is driven to second-hand authorities: he consults the controversial writers who have trodden the same path before him; he finds in their pages the very texts and extracts from the Fathers which he wants. He has not time to re-translate, or to examine the original authors; he does not think of context, or of the particular occasion on which the words he quotes were written, and to which alone, perhaps, they can fairly be made to apply. The passage quoted tells well with a reader who is also in a hurry, and who may be depended upon for not taking the trouble to consult originals; and thus the real testimony of the Fathers is wholly mistaken and misrepresented. Errors are perpetuated from one generation of controversialists to another; opposing parties quote the same Father in defence of contradictory propositions; and wise men shake their heads and say, that the study of the Fathers is a profitless and dangerous pursuit.

I am convinced, however, that the danger, which I admit to

be a real one, is much more the consequence of the mode in which this study is commonly pursued, than necessarily inherent in the pursuit itself. On the contrary, I am fully satisfied that the study of the ancient Fathers, and of ecclesiastical history, which is of course an essential aid to the right understanding of their writings, is among the highest and most profitable of human pursuits; and if followed up with honesty of purpose, not for merely controversial purposes, but with a single eye to the discovery of truth, it will be found, as it has been found, to tell altogether in favour of our Church. I regret deeply that patristic theology has not been studied in this spirit, and that in consequence it has necessarily fallen into disrepute, or at least into neglect, amongst us; it is in the hope of calling attention to the subject, and of promoting a study in the prosecution of which I believe the best interests of our Church to be involved, that I have ventured to make these remarks.

The argument which Dr. O'Connell has framed from a series of extracts out of the writings of the Fathers in defence of his peculiar views, affords a favourable specimen of most of the evils of which I have spoken. He has quoted, as I suspect, almost always at second-hand: he has adopted the erroneous and garbled quotations of former controversialists; he has mistaken ancient language, and applied it as identical with the technical terms of modern theology. And he has fallen into other errors, which must be regarded as peculiarly his own.

I proceed to examine his testimonies; premising that he adduces them not to prove that the Fathers knew and recognised a living infallible judge of controversies, although this was the subject which the Archbishop of Dublin had discussed, but to answer the two following questions, which I give in his own words:*

“1. Have the Greek and Latin Fathers reprobated the principle of individual examination of Scripture as a Rule of Faith?”

“2. Have the Greek and Latin Fathers acknowledged the Church to be the sole authoritative expounder of Scripture?”

I do not stop to make any observations on the vagueness of

* Pp. 95, 96.

these queries. Dr. O'Connell has probably his own reasons for talking thus ambiguously of "*individual* examination of Scripture," and for speaking generally of "the Church" as the "authoritative expounder" (not the infallible judge) of holy writ. To speak more definitely would be to decide questions which the boasted infallible tribunal of the Church of Rome has deemed it wise to leave to the uncertainty of unassisted private judgment.

His reply to the foregoing questions will of course be in the affirmative. This we must conclude from the general tenour of his pamphlet and from the known doctrine of his church;—for although he kindly allows his reader "to judge for himself, from the following extracts,"* a condescension in a writer who denies private judgment, for which we cannot be too thankful, yet the extracts themselves would never have led any reader competent to judge for himself, to that conclusion.

PART I.

Evidence adduced by Dr. O'Connell to prove that the Fathers reprobated the individual examination of Holy Scripture, as a Rule of Faith.

Dr. O'Connell apparently intends the passages which follow as proofs of the former of the foregoing propositions. This I infer, not because he has distinctly said so, nor from any peculiar applicability in the extracts selected to establish the first, rather than the second of the propositions in question; but because in a subsequent part of his work (p. 107) he brings forward a new series of extracts, beginning again with St. Irenæus, to which he has prefixed in italics, the second of the foregoing questions. It is to be understood, therefore, I presume, that the first series of quotations from the writings of the Fathers, is intended to prove that the ancient church "reprobated the principle of individual examination of Scripture as a rule of faith."

* P. 96.

I.—ST. IRENÆUS.

Our author begins with the writings of St. Irenæus. He gives his extracts in a very loose English version, without the original text, and in many cases with very inaccurate references to the original. His translations, it is fair to say, do not appear to be his own, for although he does not tell us so, and therefore has made himself responsible for all their blunders, yet so far as we may judge from a tolerably exact verbal coincidence, they are copied in general from the well known work of Messrs. Berington and Kirk, entitled “The Faith of Catholics confirmed by Scripture and attested by the Fathers of the first five centuries.”

1. Dr. O’Connell’s first extract from the writings of St. Irenæus is a compound of two passages taken from different, and in the original wholly unconnected chapters of the work *Contra Hæreses*. Dr. O’Connell, however, gives them as one; and as if they occurred in one and the same chapter, he affixes to them the following reference: “Adver. Hæres. lib. i. c. iii.” This clearly shows that he has made the extract from some second-hand authority, and that he did not take the trouble of consulting the original; for no such passage is to be found in the first book of the work referred to.* It occurs, in fact, in two different chapters of the *fourth* book—the first paragraph, ending at the first mark of omission, (after the word “Apostles,”) will be found in the 32nd chapter, (according to the arrangement of the Benedictine edition;) the remainder, in the 35th chapter, of the fourth book. Our author, however, evidently

* A reference to Berington and Kirk will show how Dr. O’Connell fell into this mistake. For those writers (vol. i. p. 359 of the new edition edited by Mr. Waterworth, London, 1846) have quoted lib. i. c. iii., and immediately after, on the same page, they give the very extract which Dr. O’Connell has here cited from them, to which, in his haste, he affixed the wrong reference. Straws show how winds blow, and therefore it may be worth noting, that although in the Benedictine edition, (which he professes to quote) the great work of Irenæus is styled *Contra Hæreses*, Dr. O’Connell, following Berington and Kirk, always calls it *Adversus Hæreses*.

imagined that these passages were taken from the first book, because he has made them his first quotation, and introduces his next extract thus:—"The same Father adds, in the third book of the same work," &c.

From all this it is plain that Dr. O'Connell quoted at second-hand, from some other controversialist, without looking at the original, or taking any pains to examine whether or not he was giving the true sense of his author.

And that he has adopted a grossly erroneous, and garbled version, in which he has omitted several entire sentences, and missed the sense of the whole, will be evident by placing the original and his translation in juxtaposition:—

Si autem credat quis unum Deum, et qui Verbo omnia fecit, quemadmodum et Moses ait, Dixit Deus fiat lux et facta est lux; et in Evangelio legimus: omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil; et Apostolus Paulus similiter: Unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et Pater qui est super omnes, et in omnes, et in omnibus nobis; hic primo erit tenens caput, ex quo totum corpus compactum et connexum, et per omnem juncturam subministrationis in mensura uniuscujusque partis, incrementum corporis fecit, in ædificationem sui in charitate. Post deinde et omnis sermo ei constabit, si et Scripturas diligenter legerit apud eos qui in ecclesia sunt Presbyteri, apud quos est Apostolica doctrina, quemadmodum demonstravimus.*

To him that believeth that there is one God,

and holds to the head, which is Christ,

to this man all things will be plain, if he read diligently the Scriptures with the aid of those who are the Priests in the Church, and in whose hands, as we have shown, rests the doctrine of the Apostles. . . .

Observe, that Dr. O'Connell, notwithstanding the manner in which he has garbled this passage, quotes it without any mark of omission, and without the slightest intimation to his reader that there was anything omitted at all, until we come to the word "Apostles," where he has put dots, as indications of an omission.

And even if we take his own translation as a complete representation of his author's meaning, what does it avail to the pur-

* *Contra Hæres.* l. iv. c. 32. Edit. Bened. Paris. 1710, p. 269.

pose for which he quotes it? If a man holds the fundamental doctrines of the unity of God, and believes in Christ, to this man all things (says Irenæus) will be plain, if he read the Scripture with the assistance of the clergy.

Therefore I suppose Dr. O'Connell will infer, no man is to read the Scriptures without the clergy, and there is to be no "individual examination" of the Scripture.

But is not this much more than the words will warrant, even on his own translation of them? Irenæus says, all things will be plain to him who diligently reads the Scripture with the assistance of the clergy: because the clergy have the doctrine of the Apostles. Might not the most extravagant of Protestants say the same? It is the very office of the clergy, even among Protestants, to interpret and explain the Scriptures; and to teach and preserve the faith in its integrity.

All this, then, makes nothing for Dr. O'Connell's purpose. But now, what was the real meaning of St. Irenæus? He was speaking of those heretics who denied that God was the author of both Old and New Testament: who maintained that the material world was created, not by the supreme God, but by angels, or some other power, or by some inferior God. He says that this notion leads to endless incongruities and contradictions, irreconcilable alike with probability and truth; and then he contrasts with such a theorist the man who believes in one God, who believes that God made all things by His Word, according to the testimonies, which he quotes, of Moses, of the Gospel, and of St. Paul. Such an one, he says, will possess two advantages: first, he holds the Head, (quoting Eph. iv. 16;) and secondly, *omnis sermo ei constabit*, every discourse, or dissertation on such subjects, or every word will be consistent to him, if he will also diligently read the Scriptures, [which are to be found] *with them* who are presbyters in the Church, who have the apostolic doctrine. For he adds, "all the Apostles taught that there were two Testaments, but one and the same God," &c.

Thus it is plain that this ancient writer never dreamt of asserting that there was to be no "individual examination of

the Scriptures :” on the contrary, he recommends the diligent examination and study of the Scriptures as the best safeguard against error ; and he says, those Scriptures which are with the presbyters of the Church, in opposition to the false and apocryphal Scriptures that were then afloat amongst the heretics, for the apostolical doctrine, he adds, is preserved by the presbyters who are in the Church ; and then he goes on to tell what this apostolical doctrine is—namely, that although there are two Testaments given to two different people, yet there is but one God, the author of both, &c.

It must be remembered that Irenæus wrote before the full establishment of the canon of Scripture, before the very term *Scriptura* had received its present *exclusive* appropriation to the inspired books, and I need not say, also at a time when the cost of the materials of writing rendered it impossible, in the nature of the case, for every one to have a Bible. This is a state of things that we find it very difficult fully to conceive or realize, and the difficulty of realizing it is a perpetual source of mistake to superficial controversialists. The Scriptures were preserved in the churches, under the custody of the clergy, and were there accessible to all. This is what Irenæus alludes to, when he says that the Scriptures were “*apud eos qui in Ecclesia sunt Presbyteri* ;” * that is, the true and authentic Scriptures were there to be found.

Does not this, therefore, rather make against Dr. O’Connell’s theory ? For Irenæus, we see, invites all Christians to the diligent perusal of those Scriptures which were in the custody of the orthodox clergy, as the best and surest safeguard against error. And what is this but the very same advice for substance, which the Archbishop of Dublin has given, in his recent discourse, and which all our divines have repeatedly given ?

But Irenæus says that the priests of the Church had the doctrine of the apostles. Of course they had, or else they would have been but sorry priests. But does this prove that there is

* That this is the true meaning of *apud eos* in this passage is evident from the next words, “*apud quos est apostolica doctrina.*”

to be no individual examination of the Scriptures, and that the Church, that is to say, the priests, [for so on Dr. O'Connell's exposition of this passage, it must signify,] are the sole authoritative expounders of Scripture? And all because the priests had preserved, and were the proper guardians of apostolic doctrine?

Does Irenæus say a single word of *authoritative*, i. e., infallible, expounding of Scripture? All he says is, that the presbyters of the Church were in possession of the authentic Scriptures, and also held the true apostolic doctrine on the subjects in dispute.

And if we could realize to ourselves the actual state of Christianity at that time, we would see that this might be said without any such claim to be the *authoritative* (much less infallible) expounders of Scripture, as that which the Roman-catholic divines now make for some person or persons within their own communion,—whether the clergy at large, or the Pope alone, or a general council, or the Pope and a council, these infallible expounders and guides have never yet been able to determine to their own satisfaction.

I have dwelt at great length on this specimen of Dr. O'Connell's patristic learning, because it affords so good an example in illustration of the remarks already made, on the application of modern ideas to ancient words, and the consequent distortion and perversion of the whole sense of the author quoted.

The reader will also perceive the great difficulty of exposing such perversions: a short passage, by omissions, mistranslation, and garbling, may be made to sound in the ears of a modern superficial reader very much to the point; but it takes a long and tedious explanation to make the real meaning intelligible. All the natural indolence of an ordinary reader is in favour of the perversion; he understands it without trouble, and allows himself to be deceived, rather than be at the pains necessary to comprehend the truth.

2. The next passage will not, I hope, take us so long. Although Dr. O'Connell has printed it as a continuation of the

extract just quoted, with only a few dots between them, as if it were only a superfluous sentence or two that had been omitted, yet there intervene between them seven of the largest folio pages in the Benedictine edition of the works of this Father.

I shall also place the original of this passage in juxtaposition with Dr. O'Connell's translation :—

Tantæ sunt de uno inter eos diversitates, de iisdem Scripturis varias habentes sententias: et uno eodemque sermone lecto, universi obductis superciliis agitantés capita, valde quidem altissime se habere sermonem dicunt, non autem omnes capere magnitudinem intellectus, qui ibidem continentur: et propter hoc, silentium maximam rem esse apud sapientes. Oportere enim eam, quæ sit sursum, Sigen, per id quod est apud eos silentium, deformari. Sic autem abeunt omnes quotquot sunt, tantas de uno gestantes sententias, in abscondito ferentes secum sua acumina. Cum igitur inter eos convenerit de iis quæ in Scripturis sunt prædicta, tunc et a nobis confutabuntur. Non enim bene sentientes, interim tamen semetipsos arguunt, de iisdem verbis non consentientes. Nos autem unum et solum verum Deum doctorem sequentes, et regulam veritatis habentes ejus sermones, de iisdem semper eadem dicimus omnes, unum Deum scientes, factorem hujus universitatis, qui Prophetas misit, qui eduxit populum de terra Ægypti, qui in novissimis temporibus Filium suum manifestavit, uti confunderet incredulos et exquireret justitiæ fructum.*

So many diversities of opinion are there among heretics about one matter, holding various opinions respecting the same Scriptures, and when one and the same discourse has been read, they all, knitting their brows, and shaking their heads, pronounce that the discourse is very sublime indeed, but that all men cannot compass the magnitude of its meaning. . . .

And thus all who were present take their departure, burdened with so many sentiments upon one point.

When therefore they shall have agreed among themselves respecting the things proclaimed in the Scriptures, then also shall they be confuted by us.

But we following the one and alone true God, and having his discourses as the rule of truth, always say the same things respecting the same matters.

* Contr. Hær. l. iv. c. 35. p. 277. That the reader may see how closely Dr. O'Connell has followed Berington and Kirk, I give here the version of this passage as it occurs in their work, vol. i. p. 359. "So many diversities (of opinion) are there amongst them about one matter, holding various opinions respecting the same Scriptures, and when one and the same discourse has been read, they all, knitting their eyebrows, and shaking their heads, pronounce that the discourse is very sublime indeed, but that all men cannot compass the magnitude of the meaning therein contained, and that on this account, silence is a most important thing amongst wise men. . . . And thus all who were present take their departure, burthened with so many sentiments upon one point; carrying away hidden within themselves their acumen. When, therefore, they shall have agreed among them-

It is not necessary to call the reader's attention to such ordinary inaccuracies as omitting words without any mark of omission, stopping short in the middle of a sentence, &c. These are trifles that we shall soon get accustomed to. But the main question is, how does this passage, even in Dr. O'Connell's garbled representation of it, prove anything to his purpose? He has fortunately given us some clue to his own notion upon this point, by printing a few words in italics. In these words, we may therefore presume, lies the testimony of Irenæus against individual examination of the Scriptures, &c. "When, therefore, they shall have agreed among themselves, respecting the things proclaimed (*prædicta*)* in the Scriptures, then, also, they shall be confuted by us." That is to say, when these heretics agree among themselves, we will then undertake to confute them; but (says our author, in the passage which completes his meaning, but which Dr. O'Connell has thought proper to omit) in the meantime, they sufficiently confute themselves by their opposite views of the same subject.

It is not very easy to see how this necessarily implies that Irenæus "reprobated the principle of an individual examination of the Scriptures," or maintained that the Church is "the sole authoritative expounder of the Scripture." I think I might say to Dr. O'Connell, When you agree amongst yourselves as to the exact seat of the infallibility you claim, then we will refute you; in the meantime, your uncertainty and differences of opinion on

selves respecting the things proclaimed in the Scriptures, then also shall they be confuted by us. For not thinking rightly, they, in the meanwhile, convict each other, not agreeing respecting the very same words. But we, following the one and the alone true God, and having his discourses as the (or a) rule of truth, always say the same things respecting the same matters, knowing one God the maker of the universe." The marks of omission after the words "wise men" are as they stand in Berington and Kirk. The omitted passage, it will be seen, is not very easily translated.

* It is very difficult sometimes to translate the barbarous Latinity of the ancient version, which, it will be recollected, is all that now remains to us of this portion of the works of Irenæus: but these words may mean, "respecting the things foretold in the Scriptures," or, as I am more inclined to think, "respecting the things which are aforesaid in the Scriptures." But as it does not much affect our argument, I am content to let Dr. O'Connell's version pass.

such a subject, sufficiently refute yourselves,—I think I might say this, without in any degree committing myself to either of the propositions in defence of which Dr. O'Connell has cited this passage of Irenæus.

And that Irenæus had no such meaning as this gentleman would force upon him, is evident from the words which immediately follow the clause just quoted, in which he has clearly stated the doctrine put forth by the Archbishop of Dublin, and by all our best divines. “We (he says) on the contrary, following the one and only true God as our teacher, and having His words as our rule of truth, always speak the same things concerning those very things,” [on which the heretics so greatly differ,] “knowing one God, the Creator of this world, who sent the prophets, who led forth His people from the land of Egypt, who in these last times hath set forth His Son, to confound the unbelieving and to seek out the fruit of righteousness.”

Is it possible to express more clearly our doctrine? or can any one imagine words more at variance with the Roman hypothesis of an infallible and authoritative judge? We follow (says Irenæus) the one and only true God as our teacher, and His words as our rule of truth.* Is not this exactly the Archbishop's doctrine? Here is no mention of an infallible guide, an authoritative interpreter, a supreme judge of controversies; and yet this was assuredly the very place to notice the existence of such a judge, when he was contrasting the difficulties and discrepancies of heresy with the certainty and unity of the Catholic faith.

The conclusion is inevitable, that the present doctrine of the Anglican Church was the doctrine of St. Irenæus: that the idea of an infallible guide was then unknown, and formed no part of the faith of the Church in the second century; and that the Scriptures only were then the rule of truth.

3. The next extract from the writings of this Father is a still more extraordinary instance of mistranslation and misrepresen-

* *Regula veritatis*, a phrase very common in the writings of Irenæus, as applied to the Scriptures.

tation. And I shall again, for the reader's satisfaction, place the original in parallel columns with Dr. O'Connell's translation.

It is taken from the third book, in which Irenæus is refuting the Valentinian heresy :—

Cum enim ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non recte habeant, neque sint ex auctoritate, et quia varie sint dictæ, et quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas ab his, qui nesciant Traditionem. Non enim per literas traditionem illam, sed per vivam vocem: ob quam causam et Paulum dixisse Sapientiam autem loquimur inter perfectos; sapientiam autem non mundi hujus. Et hanc sapientiam unusquisque eorum esse dicit, quam a semetipso adinvenit, fictionem videlicet, ut digne secundum eos sit veritas, aliquando quidem in Valentino, aliquando autem in Marcione, aliquando in Cerintho: postea deinde in Basilide fuit, aut et in illo qui contra disputat, qui nihil salutare loqui potuit. Unusquisque enim ipsorum omnimodo perversus, semetipsum, regulam veritatis depravans, prædicare non confunditur. Cum autem ad eam iterum Traditionem, quæ est ab apostolis, quæ per successiones Presbyterorum in Ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos; adversantur Traditioni, dicentes se non solum Presbyteris sed etiam Apostolis existentes sapientiores, sinceram invenisse veritatem. Apostolos enim admiscuisse ea quæ sunt legalia Salvatoris verbis: et non solum Apostolos, sed etiam ipsum Dominum, modo quidem a Demiurgo, modo autem a medietate, interdum autem a summitate fecisse sermones: et se vero indubitate, et intaminate, et sincere absconditum scire mysterium: quod quidem impudentissime est blasphemare suum factorem. Evenit itaque, neque Scripturis jam, neque Traditioni consentire eos.

Dr. O'Connell has printed the foregoing English version of

* Lib. iii. c. 2. Dr. O'Connell's version will be found almost verbatim in Bevington and Kirk, vol. i. p. 396.

When these heretics are convicted out of the Scriptures, they turn round and blame the Scriptures themselves, as not being accurate, as not being pure authority, and as being variously expressed, *because the truth cannot be found out of them who are ignorant of tradition; for the truth was handed down, not by letters, but by a living voice.*

And this truth each of them declares, is that which he hath invented of himself,—a mere fiction that is, according to which that deserves the name of truth which belongs one time to Valentinus, another to Marcion, and then to Cerinthus.

But when we challenge them to *that tradition which is from the apostles, which is preserved in the churches* through the succession of presbyters, they are opposed to tradition, saying, that being themselves wiser, not only than presbyters, but even than apostles, they have discovered the genuine truth.

Thus it falls out in the end, they neither assent to the Scriptures nor to tradition.*

this passage without any break or mark of omission, as if it were all one continuous paragraph. He has also, as before, marked some sentences in italics, in which we may therefore presume lies, in his judgment, the peculiar force of the testimony here borne by Irenæus against the Archbishop's views.

In the former of these emphatic passages, however, Dr. O'Connell, or rather the authority on which he relied for his extracts, has made the ridiculous and fatal blunder of putting into the mouth of Irenæus the very sentiment that Irenæus had put into the mouth of the heretics.

The true translation of the passage, as every competent scholar must perceive, is this: "For when they are confuted out of the Scriptures, they turn to accuse the Scriptures themselves, [saying] that they are incorrect, that they are without authority, and that they are variously expressed,* and that the truth cannot be discovered out of them, by those who are ignorant of tradition. For that it [tradition] was not handed down by writing, but *viva voce*: and that for this reason Paul also had said, We speak wisdom among them that are perfect, but not the wisdom of this world."

So far Irenæus states the arguments and views *of the heretics*, not his own. But Dr. O'Connell attributes the sentiments to St. Irenæus himself, and makes him say that the truth cannot be found out of the Scriptures by those who are ignorant of tradition. Thus making the very distinction between tradition and the Scriptures which Irenæus would have regarded as heresy; for the tradition of which he speaks, and which he recommends as divine and apostolical, is nothing else than the scriptural truths, the fundamental doctrines of the faith, which the heretics denied. The heretics, it should be remembered, had a tradition of their own, which they exalted above the Scrip-

* "Quia varie sint dictæ." This is obscure; but as its meaning does not affect the present argument, I am content, although not satisfied with it, to take Dr. O'Connell's version of the words, (which is, of course, the same as in Berington and Kirk.) We want the original of Irenæus in this place, and can only depend upon the old Latin translation.

ture; and when they could escape in no other way from the clear words of Scripture, they turned round and said that Scripture was unintelligible without tradition; that the truth was not handed down by writing, but by an unwritten oral tradition, to which St. Paul alluded when he said, "We speak wisdom among the perfect," &c.

Such was the manner in which these heretics, as Irenæus tells us, dealt with the Scripture, representing their own fictions as a divine tradition possessing an authority above the Scripture. He then hints at the discrepancies of this pretended tradition, as held by Valentinus, Marcion, &c., as a clear proof that it was of no authority or value; and he concludes by the following sentence, which Dr. O'Connell has omitted: "Each one of them, being altogether perverse, is not ashamed to preach himself, corrupting the Rule of Truth," i. e., the Scripture; for so it is frequently called by Irenæus, as we have had occasion already to notice.

Having thus shown how the heretics were wont to deal with the Scriptures, he proceeds next to observe, that when reasoned with from that true and genuine tradition, which is from the apostles, and is preserved in the churches, through the succession of the presbyters, then they are just as much opposed to tradition. Then they set up their own light and wisdom as superior to the inspiration of the apostles; nay, they blaspheme Christ himself; and so it comes to pass, says our author, that neither to the Scriptures nor yet to apostolical tradition will they assent.

This is a brief abstract of the passage already quoted, and it is not easy to see in it any argument in favour of Dr. O'Connell's positions. But he has printed in italics, the words which Irenæus uses to distinguish the tradition of the Church from the tradition of the heretics: and no doubt with superficial readers, who do not know that in the second century the word tradition had a very different meaning from that which it bears in modern controversy, this artifice may have some effect.

The tradition of which Irenæus speaks, which he calls apos-

tological, and which he says was preserved in the churches by the succession of presbyters, is nothing more than the Creed ; the sum of fundamental doctrine, which the apostles and their successors had committed to faithful men, who were able to teach others also.*

From this circumstance it received its name of tradition, and it is evident that in the early ages of the Church the succession of presbyters was the most easy and obvious proof of the authenticity of this tradition. When Irenæus wrote, a century had not elapsed since the death of the last apostle ; he was himself the disciple of an immediate disciple of St. John. Nothing could be more obvious and easy, therefore, at that time, than the argument from succession of presbyters, to establish the apostolic origin of the received doctrine or Creed of the Church. But a twofold error is committed by such controversial writers as Dr. O'Connell, when they seek to apply statements of this kind to modern disputes : they forget that the word tradition has greatly changed its meaning since the second century ; and they forget, also, that the succession of presbyters, which was then the legitimate proof of the apostolic origin of this tradition, is not now exactly what it then was ; for this plain reason, that we are now in the nineteenth century, instead of the second, and that the lapse of so long a period has added many steps to the succession, and so rendered it more difficult of proof than the faith.

The faith of the Church is now established by other and clearer evidences, some of which have grown up with that very lapse of time which has impaired the first. The great increase of our critical knowledge, the accumulation of historical facts and documents, the spread of classical learning, and the invention of printing, have all contributed to this end. Not that the argument from succession is even now to be despised ; but it is not so clear, so easy, or so *popularly* intelligible as at first, when its links were few, and when it was obvious and visible even to the unlearned. The providence of God has preserved

* 2 Tim. i. 2. See also 2 Thess. ii. 15.

the succession of presbyters and bishops, for many important ends—but it does not now follow, as it did in the early ages of Christianity, that the churches which have retained that succession have retained also in its pristine purity the faith once delivered to the saints. On the contrary, it is but too evident that many of them have sadly impaired and lost that pure faith.

The reader will therefore perceive that the foregoing passage of Irenæus has no bearing whatsoever on the subject for which it has been quoted by Dr. O'Connell. It simply tells us that the heretics of the second century, when confuted out of the Scripture, were in the habit of maintaining that they had a tradition superior to the Scripture, which, however, was no other than the fictions of their own minds: and when convicted then by the Creed of the Church, which was received from the Apostles, and was in exact conformity with the Scriptures, they refused to submit to it, setting up their own peculiar doctrines in opposition to the Apostles, and to the express words of our Lord Himself.

What is there in all this to show that the Church of the second century reprobated the individual examination of the Scriptures, and set itself up as an infallible and authoritative expounder of the Scripture? I might say of the present Church of Rome, that her advocates, when confuted out of the Scriptures, take refuge in their tradition; and when challenged to that tradition, which is from the Apostles, and is preserved in the universal consent of the primitive Fathers, and in the creeds of the Church Catholic, they refuse to submit to it, and claim the power of development, and of adding to the faith, by an inherent and perpetual inspiration. And if I were to say this of the present Church of Rome, would any one infer that I had thereby denied the right of any individual to examine the Scriptures for himself, or asserted the existence in our own communion of an authoritative interpreter, or an infallible guide?

The testimony of Irenæus, therefore, makes nothing in favour of Dr. O'Connell's doctrine; but, on the contrary, makes

strongly against it: for Irenæus tells us how the heretics of his day resisted the Scriptures, and also how they refused to submit to the tradition, that is, to the creed and teaching of the Church. If there had been then any recognised infallible or authoritative judge of controversies in the Church, if there had been any one episcopal see, any one line of apostolical succession, which was privileged by the promise of our Lord, to be in a peculiar manner the authoritative expounder of the faith, would not Irenæus have told us also how the heretics were wont to deal with the decisions of this holy see? But he makes no mention of anything of the sort; for this obvious reason, that he knew nothing of any such tribunal; the doctrine of an infallible judge of controversies, an authoritative expounder of the Scripture, was not then developed.

4. The last extract which Dr. O'Connell quotes from this Father is taken from a fragment of the lost letter of Irenæus to Florinus, a few passages of which have been preserved in the ecclesiastical histories of Eusebius and Nicephorus Calistus.

To this Dr. O'Connell gives the reference "Epis. ad Flor. apud Eraym. p. 339," where I suppose the mysterious word "Eraym." must be a mistake of the press for "Fragm.," for the extract, as given by Eusebius, occurs among the "Fragmenta deperditorum operum S. Irenæi," collected by the Benedictine editor, Dom Massuet, and published p. 339 of his edition of the works of Irenæus.

Dr. O'Connell introduces this extract in the following words: "One line more from this learned father. Writing to Florinus on the errors of the day, he says;"—on the *errors of the day?*—no, but writing to correct the errors of Florinus himself, who, as Irenæus tells him, in the very passage Dr. O'Connell mangles, had adopted opinions, exceeding in impiety even the common errors of the day. Florinus, it appears, had been a hearer, if not a disciple, of St. Polycarp, along with Irenæus himself; but at a later period of life he had adopted errors, one of which, as we learn from Eusebius, was the doctrine that God Himself was the author of evil; an impiety, which not even the heretics of

that day had imagined; for to avoid it, they fell into the opposite error of supposing a malevolent and inferior Deity. This will enable us to understand the following passage, which I shall give as before, in juxtaposition with Dr. O'Connell's translation:—

Ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα, Φλωρίνε, ἵνα πεφεισμένως εἶπω, οὐκ ἔστιν ὑγιῶς γνώμης· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἀσύφωνα ἔστι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, εἰς τὴν μεγίστην ἀσέβειαν περιβάλλοντα τοὺς πειθόμενους αὐτοῖς· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οὐδὲ οἱ ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας αἰρετικοὶ ἐτόλμησαν ἀποφῆναι· θὰί ποτε· ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συμφοιτήσαντες, οὐ παρεδωκάν σοι.

These dogmas, Florinus, to speak compassionately, are not of sound doctrine; they are not in accordance with the church.

These dogmas the Presbyters before us, and who shone together with the Apostles, delivered not to you.

Here, as before, our author, although he leaves out a considerable passage, gives us not the smallest intimation of any omission, and perhaps was not himself aware that there was any. But he has neglected to mark any words in italics, and we are therefore left without a guide, to conjecture as best we may, by our unassisted private judgment, in what part of the foregoing extract he supposes Irenæus to assert that the Church was the infallible expounder of the Scripture, or to reprobate the individual examination of Scripture, as a rule of faith.

Irenæus indeed says, that the doctrines adopted by Florinus were "not in accordance with the Church," that Florinus did not receive them from the Presbyters who had been the disciples of the Apostles.*

If this proves anything, it proves only that the Presbyters, *who were the disciples and contemporaries of the Apostles*, were the authoritative expounders of the Scripture. It is upon this circumstance that the force of the *ad hominem* argument employed by Irenæus depends. For in the passage immediately following the foregoing

* I do not dwell on Dr. O'Connell's absurd version of *συμφοιτήσαντες*, "shone together with." Whoever hopes to understand the Fathers, particularly such of them as wrote in Greek, ought to know at least the difference between *φοιτάω* and *φάω*. But this is a minor matter, and it is fair to say, that Dr. O'Connell is responsible only for having copied the blunder from Berington and Kirk, vol. i. p. 396. So also, the translation of *πεφεισμένως*, "compassionately," is theirs.

extract, he reminds Florinus of their early acquaintance, when Florinus was in a high secular office, and when they attended together the teaching of St. Polycarp, who was the disciple of the Apostle John, and was intimate with many of those that had seen the Lord. He speaks in beautiful and touching language, of his own vivid recollections of Polycarp, of the very place where he sat, of his coming in and going out, of his manner of life, his personal appearance, his discourses to the people: he recalls to mind how Polycarp used to repeat the conversations and sayings of the Apostles and others who had seen the Lord; the words they had heard from the lips of Christ himself, the account they gave of His miracles and doctrine; "all which," says Irenæus, "Polycarp had received from them who had themselves seen the Word of Life, and all which things were in strict agreement with the Scriptures,"—*πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς*. "These things," he adds, "I then by the mercy of God diligently heard, and having recorded them, not on paper, but on my heart, I am now, by God's grace, always pondering over them in my mind. And now, I can testify in the presence of God, that that blessed and apostolical presbyter, if he had heard any such things" [as these false doctrines of thine] "would have cried aloud, and stopping his ears, would have said, as he was wont, Good God, unto what times hast thou reserved me, that I should hear this! and then would have fled from the place where, sitting or standing, he had heard such words."*

Now, is it not quite plain that the whole force of this appeal depends on the personal character of St. Polycarp, as one who had conversed with the Apostles, and with men who had seen Christ in the flesh? Can anything be more natural, than that Irenæus should thus remind Florinus of the instructions they had received together in early life, from such a master, and that he should give great weight to the authority of the venerable

* The whole of this most interesting fragment, which bears such striking internal evidences of genuineness, is well worthy of the reader's perusal. It will be found in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 20*.

Polycarp, quoting one of his usual exclamations, and describing so vividly the characteristic manner in which he would have expressed his horror and indignation if he had heard of the heresies in question.

Let it be ever so true, that Irenæus held the doctrine which Dr. O'Connell attributes to him, surely the foregoing fragment of his letter to Florinus is no proof of it. We see there nothing of the authoritative or infallible expounding of Scripture, unless Polycarp be the infallible guide—we see nothing of a reprobation of individual examination of the Scriptures, as a rule of faith; but, on the contrary, the agreement of even Polycarp's teaching with the Scriptures is particularly noted, although he had received the substance of that teaching immediately from the lips of men who had seen the Lord.

Can any example more strikingly illustrate the vague and inconclusive sort of coincidences which are deemed sufficient by modern controversialists to warrant them in asserting that the ancient Fathers taught the peculiar doctrines of the present Church of Rome? A misguided priest puts forward the blasphemous doctrine that God is the author of evil, and because Irenæus tells him that such blasphemy is at variance with the doctrine of the Church, therefore he is to be represented as advocating the modern Roman claim to infallibility. Because he reminds his deluded friend of their early intimacy, and recalls to his recollection the instructions and the authority of a teacher who had himself conversed with the Apostles, therefore Irenæus is to be held up as denying that the Scriptures are a rule of faith, and as "reprobating the principle of an individual examination" of the written Word of God!

One can scarcely altogether repress some feeling of indignation at this mode of dealing with ancient authorities, fraught as it is with such fearful consequences to theological learning and to religion. I should be sorry to say a word that could be construed as in the slightest degree offensive to Dr. O'Connell, but surely if we are to translate the Fathers so carelessly, if we are to take their words in the modern significations, which the same

words have now unfortunately received, but which were wholly unknown in the second or third centuries—and above all, if we are to garble their testimony by the omission of important passages necessary to the right understanding of their meaning—if, I say, we be at liberty to do this, we may easily make the Fathers support any heresy; we may make the Bible itself teach blasphemy; we may extract from the writings of the Archbishop of Dublin testimonies to the infallibility of the Pope, and we may make even Dr. O'Connell himself pronounce panegyrics upon Luther and Calvin.

II.—CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

Our author next takes up the writings of St. Clement of Alexandria, of whom he tells us, in a note, that he was “an Athenian by birth, and priest of Alexandria. He died about the year 220.” Here Dr. O'Connell speaks as positively about the birthplace of Clement, as if all the world were agreed to make him an Athenian. Yet Epiphanius, in the fourth century, tells us that it was *then* doubted whether St. Clement was a native of Alexandria or of Athens, * *ὅν φασί τινες Ἀλεξανδρεα, ἕτεροι δὲ Ἀθηναίων.* And then, as to the year of his death, all we know is, what we learn from St. Jerome, that he flourished in the times of Severus and his son Antoninus, † where by Antoninus he doubtless meant Caracalla. This would give a period from A.D. 193 to A.D. 217, which of course does not define to the exactitude of a year the date of St. Clement's death. But those things which were obscure to Epiphanius in the fourth century, and to Jerome in the fifth, are clear and certain to Dr. O'Connell in the nineteenth.

This, however, does not bear on our immediate subject, except so far as it shows the loose inaccuracy with which writers copy from one another. Dr. O'Connell may have somewhere

* Hæres. 32. Tom. i. p. 213.

† Floruit autem Severi et Antonini filii ejus temporibus. Hieron. de viris illustr. c. 38.

seen it said that Clement was *probably* an Athenian ; but in his haste he omits the qualification, and converts what was but a probable guess into an absolute assertion.

Our author adduces but one extract from the writings of this Father, in proof of his positions. I shall give it, as before, in the original, with his translation in juxtaposition. But as Dr. O'Connell begins in the middle of a sentence, it will be necessary to add a few of the preceding words.

Ψεῦσται τοίνυν τῷ ὄντι, οὐχ οἱ συμπεριφερόμενοι δι' οἰκονομίαν σωτηρίας, οὐδ' οἱ περὶ τινα τῶν ἐν μέρει σφαλλόμενοι. ἀλλ' οἱ εἰς τὰ κυριώτατα παραπίπτοντες, καὶ ἀθετοῦντες μὲν τὸν Κύριον, τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· ἀποστεροῦντες δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἀληθῆ διδασκαλίαν· οἱ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τὰς γραφὰς λεγοῦντες τε καὶ παραδιδούντες· παραθήκη γὰρ ἀποδιδόμενη Θεῷ, ἢ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διδασκαλίαν, διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ, τῆς θεοσεβοῦς παραδόσεως σύνεσις τε καὶ συνάσκησις· Ὁ δὲ ἀκούετε εἰς τὸ οὖς· ἐπικεκερμυμένως δηλονότι καὶ ἐν μυστηρίῳ· τα τοιάυτα γὰρ εἰς τὸ οὖς λέγεσθαι ἀλληγορεῖται· ἐπὶ τῶν δωματίων, φησὶ, κηρύξατε μεγαλοφρόνως τε ἐκδεξάμενοι, καὶ ὑψηλόρως παραδιδόντες, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας κανονα, διασαφοῦντες τὰς γραφὰς· οὔτε γὰρ ἡ προφητεία οὔτε ὁ Σωτὴρ αὐτὸς, ἀπλῶς οὕτως ὡς τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν εἰλωτα εἶναι, τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια ἀπεφθέγγετο ἀλλ' ἐν παραβολαῖς διελέξατο. Λέγουσι γοῦν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ὅτι πάντα ἐν παραβολαῖς ἐλάλησεν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄνευ παραβολῆς ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς· εἰ δὲ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν, καὶ ἡ προφητεία ἄρα καὶ ὁ νόμος δι' αὐτοῦ τε ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐν παραβολαῖς ἐλαλήθησαν δι' αὐτοῦ· πλὴν ἅπαντα ὀρθὰ ἐνώπιον τῶν συνιέντων, φησὶν ἡ γραφή· τουτέστι, τῶν ὅσοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σαφηνισθεῖσαν τῶν γραφῶν ἐξήγησιν κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα ἐκδεχόμενοι διασώζουσι·

They do away with the true doctrine of the Lord, not interpreting and transmitting the Scriptures agreeably to the dignity of God; for the understanding and the cultivation of the pious tradition, agreeably to the teaching of the Lord through his apostles, is a deposit to be rendered to God. That which you hear in the ear, that is in a mystery,

preach ye, saith he, upon the house tops, receiving them with elevation of mind, and transmitting them with boldness of speech, and explaining the Scriptures according to the canon of truth. For neither the Prophets, nor the Saviour himself, announced the divine mysteries so simply as to be easily comprehended by all persons, but spoke in parables.

All things are right to them that understand, saith the Scripture; that is, to those who perfectly preserve his manifested interpretation of the Scriptures, according to the ecclesiastical canon.*

In this quotation Dr. O'Connell, as usual, has left out many

* Strom. lib. vi. (Ed. Potter. Oxon. 1715,) pp. 802, 803.

sentences, without any mark of omission. His translation is therefore rendered obscure in some places: as where he says, "receiving them with elevation of mind, and transmitting them with boldness, &c.," it does not appear to what antecedent the pronoun *them* is intended to refer.

But to pass over these minor matters,* there are evidently two passages in the foregoing extract which Dr. O'Connell supposes to bear particularly on the question at issue, as he has marked them in italics. The first is where it is said, that "the understanding and the cultivation [*συνάσκησις*, rather practice, use, exercitatio] of the pious tradition, agreeably to the teaching of the Lord through his Apostles, is a deposit to be rendered to God," that is to say, we are responsible to God for it, and must give an account to Him for the use we have made of this gift.

It is evident that the whole force of this passage rests on the meaning of the word *tradition*, which Dr. O'Connell of course takes in its modern signification: although it is quite plain that the tradition St. Clement speaks of is identical with the doctrine of the Lord, handed down to us by his Apostles, not a different deposit in the custody of an infallible living judge or tribunal, who is to produce it for the decision of all controversies.

To assume, therefore, that St. Clement, by the godly tradition of which he speaks, means such a tradition as implies a living authoritative expounder of Scripture, and a reprobation of individual examination of Scripture, is to beg the very question in debate: and we shall see by and by, that St. Clement in fact could not have meant anything of the sort.

But the other passage marked in italics in the foregoing extract appears much more to Dr. O'Connell's purpose, and many a reader will perhaps at first sight think it quite conclusive. For there St. Clement says distinctly, that they who understand the Scriptures are they who receive and preserve the exposition or

* I pass over also the manifest inaccuracy of Dr. O'Connell's version. Thus he translates *διδασκαλίαν* in one place *doctrine*, in another *teaching*: *ἐπιτυχοῦσιν*, *all persons*, &c.

interpretation of the Scriptures manifested or made evident (*σαφηνισθεῖσαν*) by God Himself, according to the rule of the Church or the ecclesiastical canon, *κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα*.

Therefore, there is an authoritative exposition of the Scripture manifested by God himself; and this authoritative exposition is to be found in the ecclesiastical canon, that is to say, in the custody of the Church.

Can any words more clearly express Dr. O'Connell's doctrine? Certainly not; if only we suppose that by the ecclesiastical canon St. Clement means exactly what Dr. O'Connell would have him mean—that is to say, a tradition given to the Church, to be added to or *developed*, from age to age, and which is always, notwithstanding such additions, to be regarded as the canon, rule, or criterion of the true interpretation of the Scriptures.

Unfortunately, however, St. Clement has himself explained his meaning in language which renders this supposition untenable. And it is worthy of notice, that Dr. O'Connell has stopped short in the foregoing extract, exactly at the words which would have proved it inapplicable to his purpose. In the words that immediately follow, St. Clement expressly tells us, that by the ecclesiastical rule or canon he means “the harmony and consent of the law and the prophets, with the Testament given unto us by the coming of the Lord;”* in other words, the agreement of the Old with the New Testament.

This is a very striking example of a remark already made, that by taking ancient words in modern significations, and by separating a passage from its context, we may make an author speak any language that we please. The foregoing words, as they are quoted by Dr. O'Connell, seem to express very clearly the doctrine of the present Church of Rome. But if we allow

* There is not so much as a full stop between the word *διασώζουσι*, with which Dr. O'Connell's extract ends, and the first word of the following sentence: *κανὼν δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς, ἡ συνφθία καὶ ἡ συμφωνία νόμου τε καὶ προφητῶν τῆ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίαν παραδιδόμενη διαθήκη*.

St. Clement to explain his own meaning, the delusion is at once dispelled ; it now appears that he intended no more than this : That God has given us the means of understanding the Scriptures, and ascertaining their true interpretation. That this is the Church's rule (or, if we prefer the Greek words, the ecclesiastical canon) of interpretation—namely, to consider the harmony and consent of the whole Bible, comparing the law and the prophets with the New Testament. Any doctrine (such as the heretical doctrine of which he had just before been speaking) which does not stand the test of such a comparison, is to be rejected as false and unsound. And that this rule is to be found in the Church alone is evident. The heathen cannot have it, for they know not the Scriptures. The Jews cannot have it, for they reject the New Testament and misunderstand the Old. The heretics cannot have it, for they founded their doctrine upon some partial interpretation or isolated text of Scripture.

There is nothing in this which is inconsistent with the teaching of the Church of England ; there is nothing here to show that Clement held the doctrine of the modern Church of Rome.

But that Clement did not hold or know of that doctrine is certain from his silence respecting it. Dr. O'Connell, and the controversialists from whose works he has selected his quotations, have been unable, it appears, to discover in the writings of St. Clement anything more to their purpose than the passage we have been examining ; and how little that tends to prove the belief of this Father in an infallible interpreter is now, I trust, sufficiently plain.

For the subject St. Clement was discussing would have necessarily led him to have put forward this doctrine prominently, as a part of his argument, if he had believed in it, or if it had formed any part of the faith of the Church in his time. This will be evident from the following considerations. A very prominent topic in the Sixth Book of the *Stromata* is the description of the character of the true Gnostic—that is to say, of the fully instructed and perfect Christian : for the word

“Gnostic” had not then acquired its exclusive application to the heretical sect since known by the name.

This Gnostic, or Christian philosopher, holds his passions in complete subjection to the higher principles of his nature; loves God above all things, and the creatures for God’s sake; bears adversity with fortitude; never gives place to wrath; and in short, possesses all the moral virtues that heathen philosophy was wont to boast of.

But more than this: the Gnostic possesses virtues and knowledge far exceeding anything that heathenism was capable of teaching. He lives in prayer to God, and derives from on high the mainspring of a holy life. He lives with the Lord, although he still dwells in the body upon earth. But this does not make him indifferent to human sciences,—geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, music, all have their interest for him in the intervals of more important studies. And the source of all these advantages is to be found in the possession of the law and the prophets, and especially of the doctrine of Jesus Christ foretold by the prophets, preached throughout the world, and received, notwithstanding the utmost opposition of kings and emperors.

In this enumeration of the advantages possessed by the Gnostic, or perfect Christian, above the most exalted heathen philosopher, the possession of an infallible tribunal, for the decision of all controversies in religion and the refutation of all errors, could not fail to have been mentioned among the peculiar privileges of the Christian, if St. Clement had known of or believed in the existence of such a tribunal.

But nothing of the sort has been discovered in his writings; and it seems scarcely possible that he could have omitted so great an instance of the superiority of the Christian over the heathen, if he had been aware that the possession of any such privilege was part and parcel of Christianity.

I conclude, therefore, that Clement of Alexandria did not reprobate the individual examination of the Scriptures, and that he did not believe in the existence of an authoritative and infallible interpreter of Scripture in the Church.

III.—TERTULLIAN.

Dr. O'Connell next quotes a passage from the book *De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum* of Tertullian, which he thus introduces to the notice of his readers:—

“His book of prescriptions was composed to demonstrate the impiety of permitting any appeal to the written word, against the received doctrines of tradition. The Scriptures belong to the church, and therefore, she alone preserves their meaning.”

Here we have a singular specimen of our author's mode of perverting the testimony of the Fathers. The Protestants appeal to the written Word against the received doctrines of “tradition.” Tertullian wrote to demonstrate the impiety of permitting any appeal to the written Word against the doctrines of “tradition.” Therefore Tertullian demonstrates the impiety of all Protestants. Was ever Q. E. D. more conclusive?

This is, of course, the argument that was running in our author's head; where it is evident that he again takes the word tradition in its modern sense, as identical with that mass of doctrines of which the written Word says nothing, and which is now called “tradition” by the church of Rome. But this is the very question at issue. We are no deniers of tradition, in the sense in which Tertullian and other ancient Christians used the word. But “we do not believe,” to use the language of Bishop Patrick,* and neither did the ancients believe, “that there is any tradition which contains *another word of God*, which is not in the Scripture, or cannot be proved from thence.” To bring in, under the name of tradition, doctrines which are not in the Scripture, nor capable of being proved thereby, and to impose such doctrines upon the faithful as necessary to salvation, would be to be guilty of *heresy* in the sense in which Tertullian employs the word. For the Greek word *heresy*, he says, denotes “a

* A Discourse about Tradition: showing what is meant by it, and what Tradition is to be received, and what Tradition is to be rejected. Part ii. § 1. (Gibson's Preservative, vol. i. p. 197.)

choice which a man exerciseth either to establish or adopt it." "But for us," he adds, "it is not lawful to bring in any doctrine of our own choice, as neither is it to choose that which any one hath brought in of his own choice. We have for an authority the Apostles of the Lord, who did not even themselves choose anything of their own will to bring in, but faithfully delivered over to the nations the religion which they had received from Christ. Wherefore, *though an angel from heaven should preach any other Gospel* he would be called by us *accursed.*"*

This is the teaching of Tertullian, and this is also the doctrine of the Church of England. We do not appeal to the written Word of God *against* the true tradition of the church; on the contrary, we appeal to the written Word *in favour* of this Catholic tradition, and in refutation of all false or pretended traditions, which are contrary to God's Word, and have no foundation in the teaching of the Apostles; and in this I hope there is no impiety.

But the very title of Tertullian's work sufficiently explains the object with which it was written, and proves the inadequacy of Dr. O'Connell's account of it.

The word *præscription* was borrowed from the civil law, and the *præscriptions of heretics*, in Tertullian's language, were the reasons for refusing to hear their cause; the arguments for rejecting their pretensions as teachers of Christian truth, *à priori*, as it were, and prior to any examination of the particular doctrines they had to teach.

Thus, for example, Tertullian shows (and this is the passage which Dr. O'Connell misrepresents, in the words just quoted) that the heretics of whom he was speaking, were not to be argued with from the Scriptures; for "this heresy," he says, "doth not receive certain of the Scriptures, and whatever it doth receive, by adding to them and diminishing from them, it turneth about according to the plan of its own purpose; and if it receiveth, it

* De Præscr. c. 6. I quote from Dodgson's translation, lately published in the Oxford "Library of the Fathers."

doth not in fact receive them, and if, to a certain extent, it furnisheth them entire, nevertheless, by devising different expositions it perverteth them." Therefore, he argues, we cannot appeal to the Scriptures with heretics of this kind, because the first question is, whether the Scriptures, as received by the heretics, or as received by the church, be the true Scriptures. "For though the debate on the Scriptures should not so turn out," he says, "as to place each party on an equal footing, the order of things would require that this question should be first proposed, which is now the only one to be discussed, to whom belongeth the very faith? whose are the Scriptures? by whom, and through whom, and when, and to whom, was that rule delivered whereby men become Christians? For wherever both the true Christian rule and faith shall be shown to be, there will be the true Scriptures, and the true expositions, and all the true Christian traditions."*

This, however, is only one, and by no means the first or principal *præscription*, which Tertullian brings against the case of the heretics: and it would therefore be a great mistake to represent this as the design and purpose of the book, even though Dr. O'Connell had stated the argument correctly.

But the very reason Tertullian gives for refusing to argue with the heretics out of the Scriptures, clearly shows that he did not hold, with Dr. O'Connell, that there was to be no individual examination of the Scriptures. For otherwise he would have alleged this as the first and primary *præscription* against the heretics. But instead of this he urges that the heretics did not receive the whole Scripture, and corrupted what they did receive, and *therefore*, (not because the argument from the Scriptures was in itself unlawful, but because the first question necessarily was, What is the Scripture?) therefore the Scriptural argument was inapplicable in such a case.

All this is perfectly consistent with the doctrine of the Church of England; it is exactly so that we would now deal with such

* De Præscript. cap. 17, 19.

heretics as Tertullian had to deal with—heretics who denied that the Apostles were acquainted with the whole faith ; who asserted that something was wanting in them ; that a fuller knowledge was afterwards added ; and that even what the Apostles did teach, they did not reveal to all, for that they committed some things openly to all the world, other things secretly to a few.* This knowledge, which was unknown to the Apostles, which had since their times been developed, the heretics pretended that they themselves possessed. From the nature of the case it was not to be found in the Scriptures, and therefore, for this reason also, the argument from the Scriptures was wholly precluded.

Nothing can be more unfair, therefore, or more untrue than the general statement that the Book of Prescriptions was composed “to prove the impiety of any appeal to the written Word against the received doctrines of tradition.”

This will be still more evident if we examine the extract from Tertullian, which Dr. O’Connell adduces to prove that that ancient writer reprobated the principle of individual examination of Scripture as a rule of faith.

He quotes it, as usual, in the translation of Messrs. Berington and Kirk,† but without any acknowledgment of his obligations to those gentlemen. I shall give it in juxtaposition with the original:—

Semel dixerim, nemo quærit, nisi qui aut non habuit, aut perdidit. Perdiderat unam ex decem drachmis anus illa, et ideo quærebat: ubi tamen invenit, quærere desiit. Panem vicinus non habebat, et ideo pulsabat: ubi tamen assertum est ei et accepit, pulsare cessavit. Vidua a iudice petebat audiri, quia non admittebatur: sed ubi audita est, hactenus institit. Adeo finis est et quærendi, et pulsandi, et petendi. Petenti enim dabitur inquit, et pulsanti aperietur, et quærenti inveniatur. Viderit qui quærit semper, quia non invenit, illic enim quærit ubi non inveniatur. Viderit qui semper

Let me say, once for all, no one *seeks*, except he that had never possession, or hath lost it. The old *woman* had *lost* one of ten pieces of silver, and therefore sought it; but when she found it she ceased to seek. The neighbour had no *bread*, and therefore *knocked*; but as soon as it was opened unto him he ceased to knock. The *widow* asked to be heard by the *judge*, because she was not admitted, but as soon as she was heard she persisted no farther. There is, therefore, a limit to *seeking*, and to *knocking*, and to *asking*.

* De Præscript. cap. 23, 24, 25.

† Vol. i. p. 363.

pulsat, quia nunquam aperietur, illic enim pulsat ubi nemo est. Viderit qui semper petit, quia nunquam audietur, ab eo enim petit, qui non audit. Nobis etsi quærendum esset adhuc et semper, ubi tamen quæri oportet? Apud hæreticos? ubi omnia extranea et adversaria nostræ veritati; ad quos vetamur accedere, Quis servus cibaria ab extraneo, ne dicam ab inimico domini sui sperat? Quis miles ab infœderatis, ne dicam ab hostibus regibus, donativum et stipendium captat nisi plane desertor et transfuga et rebellis? Etiam anus illa intra tectum suum drachmam requirebat, etiam pulsator ille vicini januam tunde-
bat, etiam vidua illa, non inimicum, licet durum, judicem interpellabat. Nemo inde instrui potest, unde destruitur, nemo ab eo illuminatur, a quo contenebratur. Quæramus ergo in nostro, et a nostris et de nostro: idque duntaxat quod salva regula fidei potest in quæstionem devenire. Regula autem est fidei, &c.*

But if we ought to seek still, *where* ought we to seek? Among the heretics! Where all is adverse to the truth! whom we are forbidden to approach! What servant looks for food from a stranger, not to say an enemy of his master? What soldier looks for bounty and pay from unallied, not to say hostile kings, unless he be a downright deserter, a runaway, a rebel?

No one, then, can be instructed there, whence distraction comes; no one is enlightened there, whence darkness arises. Let us *seek*, therefore, in our own, and from those who are our own, and that only which, *without touching the rule of faith*, can be brought into question. . . .

Here it will be seen that Dr. O'Connell omits several passages without the smallest intimation of any omission until we come to the word "question," where we find some few dots; and there, it appears, by an examination of the original, that Dr. O'Connell has omitted a long and most important passage, in which Tertullian explains what he meant by the rule of faith. I do not accuse Dr. O'Connell of intentional misrepresentation. There is internal evidence to show that he took his translations at second hand, and never consulted the original. But the deception he has here practised upon his reader is not the less real for his being also deceived himself. He has marked the words "*without touching the rule of faith*" in italics; and therefore the reader is necessarily led to believe that these words have an important bearing on the question at issue, and that the rule of faith, in the language of Tertullian, had the same signification which it now holds in modern controversy. Had Dr.

* De Præscript. c. 11, 12.

O'Connell, or the authority from which he borrowed, not had the caution to stop short exactly where he did, this delusion would have been dispelled.

The whole matter is no more than this. The heretics against whom Tertullian wrote were in the habit of quoting the words "Seek, and ye shall find," in justification of the subtle questions and philosophical speculations which they had added to the Gospel. But Tertullian maintains that to us who have Christ, and to whom the Gospel is revealed, there is no need of such curious questioning. "In that we believe this," he says, i. e., the Gospel, "we desire to believe nothing besides. For this we believe first, that there is nothing which we ought to believe besides."* He then explains the true meaning of our Lord's precept, "Seek, and ye shall find." He shows that it applied primarily to the first beginnings of the Gospel, when our Lord's claim to be the Messiah was the great question, "when as yet not even Peter had declared him to be the Son of God, and when even John had ceased to be assured concerning him." But he admits also,† that the precept has reference to all ages of the church: and then he goes on to explain it, and to point out its reasonable limitations in regard to the matter, the time, and the measure of what we are to seek.‡

He shows that we are not now to seek for what to believe, inasmuch as Christ has already taught us the faith. The precept, therefore, cannot mean that we are ever to be seeking, even after we have found. He instances (in the passage quoted by Dr. O'Connell) the cases of the woman who had lost her piece of silver, the neighbour who knocked at his friend's house for bread, and the importunate widow.§

All this, then, has no bearing on the question of infallibility. But Tertullian goes on to say, "But although" [not "*if*," as in Dr. O'Connell's version] "we ought to be seeking up to this time, and at all times," that is to say, admitting that we have still much to seek for, notwithstanding that we are in possession of

* c. 8. Dodgson's translation.

† c. 9.

‡ c. 10.

§ c. 11.

the Gospel, and that much still remains, and will in all ages of the church remain to be found, the next inquiry is where we ought to seek for it? And he answers, surely not among the heretics, where all is hostile to the faith we have already found, but amongst ourselves, “in our own, and from our own, and concerning our own,” that is to say, in the church.*

But even here, too, there is a limitation; for we are not to seek for everything, but for “that only which can be brought into question without touching the rule of faith.”

And the rule of faith he then briefly describes to be the creed; the fundamental articles of the Christian religion.

Our author’s meaning is therefore simply this, that whatsoever additional knowledge we are to seek for, in obedience to our Lord’s command, “Seek, and ye shall find,” is to be sought, not among heretics, but in the church; and even in the church, we are to seek, not in such a way as to call in question the fundamental doctrines of the creed, (for of them we are already assured, and on them depends our salvation,) but only so far as is consistent with those doctrines, which are, as Tertullian everywhere calls them, the Rule of our Faith.

And the explanation he gives of this rule of faith, although it did not suit Dr. O’Connell’s purpose to quote it, is so important to the right understanding of our author, and therefore so necessary for the object I have in view, that I shall make no apology for inserting it here.

Regula est autem fidei, ut jam hinc quid defendamus profiteamur, illa scilicet qua creditur: Unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi Conditorem: qui universa de nihilo produxerit, per verbum suum primo omnium emissum. Id verbum filium ejus appellatum, in Nomine Dei varie visum a Patriarchis, in Prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex Spiritu Patris Dei et virtute in virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus, et ex ea natum egisse Jesum Christum: exinde predicasse novam

Now the Rule of Faith,—that we may at this point confess what it is that we maintain—is that whereby it is believed that there is in any wise but one God, and no other than the Creator of the world, who by his own Word first of all sent forth, brought all things out of nothing: that this Word is called His Son, who with the name of God, was in divers manners seen by the Patriarchs, ever heard in the Prophets, brought down at last by the Spirit and the Power of God the Father into the Virgin Mary,

* c. 12.

legem, et novam promissionem regni
cælorum: virtutes fecisse: fixum cruci:
tertia die resurrexisse: in cælos ereptum
sedisse ad dexteram Patris: misisse
vicariam vim Spiritus sancti, qui cre-
dentes agat: venturum cum claritate,
ad sumendos sanctos in vitæ æternæ et
promissorum cælestium fructum, et ad
profanos adjudicandos igni perpetuo,
facta utriusque partis resuscitatione cum
carnis restitutione.

Hæc regula a Christo, ut probabitur,
instituta, nullas habet apud nos quæ-
stiones, nisi quas hæreses inferunt, et quæ
hæreticos faciunt.

made flesh in her womb, and being born
of her, appeared under the character
of Jesus Christ; that thenceforth He
preached a new law, and a new promise
of the kingdom of heaven; worked
miracles; was nailed to the cross; rose
again the third day; was taken up
into heaven, and sat down at the right
hand of the Father; sent in His stead
the power of the Holy Spirit, to work
upon believers; and that He shall come
with glory to take the saints to the
enjoyment of eternal life, and of the
heavenly promises, and to condemn the
ungodly to everlasting fire, having caused
the resurrection of both classes to take
place with the restoration of their
bodies.

This rule, taught, as will be proved,
by Christ, hath no questions raised upon
it amongst us, save those which heresies
introduce, and which make men here-
tics.*

This was Tertullian's Rule of Faith, and this the Church of
England accepts and holds in the same sense which he intended
when he gave it that name. The truths it contains are funda-
mental, and not to be called in question, although they were
denied and corrupted by the heretics of his times. So long as
this rule, however, was observed, he sets no bounds to inquiry
and discussion. "So long as its form remaineth," he says, "in
its own proper order, thou mayest *seek* as much as thou listest,
and discuss, and exhaust all thy longing after curious inquiry."†

And here, it may be proper to observe, would have been the
place where we might have expected to find an exception made
against individual examination of the Scriptures, and in favour
of the infallible decisions of the holy see, if Tertullian had held
any such doctrines. He excepts, as we have seen, the rule of
faith, that is to say, the fundamental articles of the creed; he
does not permit of any discussion which would call them in
question, or imply that they were fit topics for debate or ques-

* c. 13, 14. Dodgson's translation.

† c. 14.

tion amongst Christians. But this is the only limit that he has set to the freest and fullest inquiry. If he, or the church of his time, had held the opinions which Dr. O'Connell and his church now put forward, Tertullian could not have failed in such a connexion to have excepted also the decisions of the infallible tribunal, and the "individual examination of the Scriptures."

But the heretics of the second century did profess to examine the Scriptures, and did bring arguments out of the Scriptures in support of their dogmas. The further question, therefore, arose how such arguments were to be met. In reply to this question Tertullian shows the impracticability of discussing the true signification of Scripture with those who differed on first principles, who did not even receive the Scriptures in their integrity, who corrupted them by spurious additions, and who admitted no fixed or rational principles of interpretation.

Here Dr. O'Connell imagines himself to have a complete triumph; and he quotes some garbled passages from this part of the work, as if they completely settled the question at issue between him and the Archbishop. But it is easy to see that the applicability of these extracts to the matter in debate, rests altogether on the extraordinary assumption that what Tertullian denied to Valentinians, Marcionites, and Gnostics, the heretics, of whom he was speaking, he would also deny to those whom Dr. O'Connell and his church now gratuitously call heretics, although they hold and maintain the rule of faith in its integrity, as Tertullian has explained it, and are so far from holding anything of their own choice or invention, (which is Tertullian's proper definition of heresy,) that they do not receive as necessary to salvation anything which is not read in Holy Scripture, or may be proved thereby.

But let us examine the quotations on which Dr. O'Connell relies, which I give, as before, in the original, with his own translation:—

Hunc igitur potissimum gradum obstruimus, non admittendos eos, ad ullam de scripturis disputationem. Si hæ sunt illæ vires eorum, uti eas habere possint,

We therefore interpose the first and foremost position, that heretics are not to be admitted to any discussion whatever touching the Scriptures. If these

dispici debet cui competat possessio Scripturarum, ne is admittatur ad eam, cui nullo modo competit.*

be their weapons of strength, in order that they may possess them, it ought to be seen to whom the possession of the Scriptures belongs, lest he be admitted to it who in no wise has claims to it. . .

Here Dr. O'Connell omits three entire chapters, indicating the omission by three dots, and then proceeds—

Ergo non ad scripturas provocandum est: nec in his constituendum certamen, in quibus aut nulla, aut incerta victoria est, aut par incertæ.† Nam etsi non ita evaderet conlatio scripturarum, ut utramque partem parem sisteret, ordo rerum desiderabat illud prius proponi, quod nunc solum disputandum est; Quibus competat fides ipsa: Cujus sint scripturæ: A quo, et per quos, et quando et quibus sit tradita disciplina quâ fiunt Christiani? ubi enim apparuerit esse veritatem et disciplinæ et fidei Christianæ, illic erit veritas scripturarum, et expositionum, et omnium traditionum Christianarum.

Therefore there must be no appeal to the Scriptures, nor must the contest be constituted in these, in which the victory is either none or doubtful, or too little doubtful. For even though the debate on the Scriptures should not turn out so as to confirm each party, yet the order of debate requires that this first question should be first proposed, which is the only one to be discussed—To whom belongs the very faith? Whose are the Scriptures? By whom, and through whom, and when, and to whom, was that rule (discipline) delivered, whereby men become Christians? For wherever both the one true Christian rule and faith shall be shown to be, there will be true scriptures, the true expositions, and all the true Christian traditions.‡

Upon this Dr. O'Connell makes the following remark:—

“Stern, uncompromising thoughts such as these, find little sympathy with those who place the Scriptures in the hands of all. The primitive church knew nothing of such liberality in matters of holy faith.”

Whatever the primitive church knew or did not know, it is evident to every reader that the foregoing extracts from Tertullian have nothing to say to the question of putting the Scriptures into the hands of all. The most extravagant advocate for

* c. 15.

† The common reading, “parum incerta,” is here evidently followed by Dr. O'Connell's translator; and indeed “par incertæ” is only a conjectural emendation of Rigaltius.

‡ c. 19. It may be observed here, that although the passages cited by Dr. O'Connell occur in chapters 11, 12, 15, and 19, yet the only reference he gives us to them is this: “De Prescrip. Hæret. 1,” a sufficient proof, if any were needed, that he had not consulted the original.

the indiscriminate perusal of the Scriptures might say all that Tertullian has said without the smallest inconsistency. And the fallacy which Dr. O'Connell has fallen into lies in this, that he applies to all what Tertullian has said of one particular class of heretics only. Nor was it at all Tertullian's object to decide, whether the Scriptures should be placed in the hands even of that particular class of heretics; but whether such heretics were to be reasoned with out of the Scriptures on equal terms. And this last question he decides, not at all on the grounds that the Scriptures were not to be put into the hands of all, but on the grounds that these particular heretics did not possess or receive the true Scriptures, that they appealed to corrupt and spurious Scriptures, and that they did not admit or recognise the fundamental articles of the Christian creed, which he denominates the Rule of Faith.

It is true that the primitive church did not hold that it was necessary that the Scriptures should be placed in the hands of all, nor does the Church of England now. Before the invention of printing such a thing was wholly impossible in the nature of things, nor is it very practicable, even now; and we may hope, for the sake of the great majority of mankind, that it is not necessary for their salvation. Writing in the beginning of the third century it is not possible, therefore, that such a question should have presented itself to the mind of Tertullian, or that we should now find in his writings any distinct statements for or against what was not then imagined, much less maintained as an opinion, by any one, and was in point of fact simply impossible.

It is also to be borne in mind, that at that time the canon of Scripture was not finally settled, even within the church; and therefore Tertullian appeals to the churches to which the apostolical epistles were addressed, and which were founded by Apostles, as well as to the apostolical succession of presbyters and bishops, in proof of the authenticity and integrity of the Scriptures. And as this proof, from the very nature of the case, could exist only within the church, and could never be possessed

by the heretics, therefore he denies to the heretics of his day any right or title to the Scriptures. The Scriptures belonged only to the church, and the heretics, if they had them at all, or any portions of them, could only have them from the church. This was therefore another reason for refusing to argue with such heretics out of the Scriptures ; inasmuch as the Scriptures which they possessed and acknowledged were not necessarily the same as the authentic Scriptures which were in the keeping of the church.

What is this but the practical application of our doctrine that the church is the keeper and witness of Holy Writ, and that therefore they who separate from the church deprive themselves of all right to the possession of those Scriptures which are in the church's keeping? And if, in addition to separation, the heretics, as was the case with the heretics of Tertullian's day, have a different canon of Scripture from that received and witnessed to by the church, it becomes plainly impossible to reason with them out of the Scriptures, without admitting their spurious scriptures, and so abandoning the true Word of God.

This is a summary of Tertullian's argument ; and although it relates to a state of things so very different from the present position of the church, yet it clearly contains nothing inconsistent with the doctrine of the Church of England, much less anything to prove that Tertullian reprobated the individual examination of Scripture as a rule of faith. On the contrary, the very fact that he has taken other ground, even with the gross and impious heretics with whom he was contending, clearly shows, as I have already remarked, that he did not hold the opinion Dr. O'Connell would impute to him, and that the primitive church knew nothing of such *il*-liberality in matters of holy faith, as Dr. O'Connell would have us believe.

IV.—ORIGEN AND RUFFINUS.

Of the Fathers of the third century, Dr. O'Connell adduces, in the first place, the testimony of Origen. The passage quoted is from the commentary of that Father on the Gospel of St. Matthew, and from a portion of it which we possess only in a Latin version. I shall give it as before, in juxtaposition with Dr. O'Connell's translation. After noticing one or two interpretations of the words, "Ecce hic Christus," Matt. xxiv. 23, Origen proceeds to give another explanation of the manner in which our Lord's prophecy may be supposed to have been fulfilled. His words are as follow, which Dr. O'Connell introduces by remarking, "In his commentary on the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, Origen has the following observations on the words, 'Behold here is Christ,' &c." :—

Ecce hic Christus, ecce illic, ostendens non Christum, sed aliquem fictum ejusdem nominis: ut puta secundum Marcionis doctrinam, et secundum traditiones Valentini, aut Basilidis longam fabulositatem, aut secundum Apellis adversus Paulum testimonium falsum. Erunt autem et alii plures qui dicturi sunt discipulis ex divinis scripturis, conjungentes eis suum proprium sensum: Ecce hic Christus, ecce illic. Si autem dixerint vobis, Ecce in solitudine, nolite exire: ecce in domibus, nolite credere: Quidam enim secreta proferentes dicunt Ecce in solitudine. Quando enim secretas et non vulgatas scripturas proferunt ad confirmationem mendacii sui, videntur dicere: Ecce in solitudine verbum est veritatis, secretæ enim scripturæ, recte solitudines appellantur, in quibus aut pauci sunt credentes, aut nullus. Quoties autem canonicas proferunt scripturas, in quibus omnis Christianus consentit et credit, videntur dicere: Ecce in domibus verbum est veritatis. Sed nos illis credere non debemus, nec exire a prima et ecclesiastica traditione, nec aliter credere, nisi quemodmodum per

These words are fulfilled by pointing out, not Christ, but some imaginary creature of the same name; as for instance, one after the doctrine of Marcion, or the teachings of Valentinus.

There will be many others, too, who will be ready to say to the Disciples, out of the Scriptures, adding thereunto their own meaning, *Behold here is Christ.*

But as often as they bring forward canonical scriptures, in which every Christian agrees and believes, they seem to say, *Behold in the houses* is the word of truth. But we are not to give them credit, nor to go out or depart from the first and the ecclesiastical traditions, nor

successionem ecclesiæ Dei tradiderunt nobis.*

to believe otherwise than according as the churches of God have by succession transmitted.

The omissions in this passage (of which, as usual, Dr. O'Connell gives no intimation) have the effect of greatly altering its general purport. Instead of quoting it as one of many suggested interpretations, or allegorical applications of our Lord's prophecy, Dr. O'Connell represents it as containing Origen's definitive opinion. He omits also the contrast which the original so prominently puts forward between the false Scriptures of the heretics and the canonical Scriptures of the church; and his translation, moreover, is full of inaccuracies. "Traditiones Valentini" he renders "the *teachings* of Valentine," as if he thought it desirable to conceal from his hearers the fact that the heretics had *traditions*, as well as Scriptures of their own. But be this as it may, we have here a valuable testimony from Dr. O'Connell, that the word *traditio* in the writings of the Fathers, does not always mean *tradition*. Let him only translate it in some other passages as he translates it here, and he will, in all probability, often come much nearer to the truth.

But why does he render "qui dicturi sunt discipulis," "who will be ready to say to *the* Disciples?" Does he mean by "*the* Disciples," the disciples of our Lord? Or, is this a mere typographical error for "*their* disciples," which is evidently the meaning? We can afford to give him the benefit of this latter supposition. But it is not so easy to make the same excuse for his omitting the word *divinis* in the next clause, and rendering "ex divinis Scripturis," "out of the Scriptures." The word is an important one, intended by Origen to distinguish between the *divine* or canonical Scriptures, and the pretended Scriptures of the heretics.

These inaccuracies, however, are beside the main question, which is this, whether Origen in the foregoing extract has given any testimony in favour of Dr. O'Connell's doctrine, or condemned the "individual examination of Scripture?"

* Origen. Opp. tom. iii. p. 864. Edit. Benedict.

The concluding sentence, which our author marks in italics, is probably what he regards as the testimony here given by Origen in his favour. But before we proceed to examine the value and amount of this testimony, let us take a brief view of the whole passage.

It is a mystical, or allegorical interpretation of our Lord's celebrated prophecy, Matt. xxiv. 23—28: and the object of it is to prove that the fulfilment may perhaps be found in the heresies of Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides, and Appelles.

These heretics, it is well known, distinguished between Christ and Jesus; and therefore directed their disciples to a fictitious or imaginary Christ, thus, in effect, saying to them, "Lo, here is Christ, or there." But this notion of Christ was derived by them, not from Scriptures of any kind, but from their own traditions, and speculative philosophy.

Some heretics, however, derived their false Christs from the *divine* Scriptures, to which they gave erroneous interpretations out of their own minds; others from corrupt or spurious Scriptures of their own. These are, therefore, of two sorts. Some tell their disciples, "Behold, he is in the desert;" others, "Behold, he is in the houses." When they adduce secret and unpublished or unknown Scriptures, in defence of their false doctrine, they seem to say, "Behold, he is in the desert," for such secret Scriptures, in which few or none believe, may well be called a desert. But when they appeal to the canonical Scriptures, which every Christian receives and believes in, then they seem to say, "Behold, the word of truth is in the houses." But in neither case must we credit them, or go forth to abandon, on such assurances, the original tradition of the church, or to believe otherwise than as the true churches of God by succession have handed down to us.

This is a brief paraphrase of the passage quoted by Dr. O'Connell, and it is not easy to see in it any "reprobation of an individual examination of Scripture."

If, indeed, there be any one so wild as to assert that everybody is equally well qualified to interpret the Scriptures; that

every fancy or opinion which may, by any ingenuity or imagination, be seemingly deduced from an isolated text, or fragment of a text, of Scripture, is to be taken as the testimony of Holy Writ; or that we are to read the Scripture, each one in the light of his own imagination, without looking for any of the aids which learning, and history, and comparison with other ancient writings supplies;—then no doubt the testimony of Origen is decisive against all such ignorant fanaticism; and if this be what Dr. O'Connell means by “individual” examination of the Scriptures, we agree with him that it is reprobated, and ought to be reprobated, not only by the ancient Fathers, but by every one of common sense.

But this is not the doctrine for which the Archbishop of Dublin, or any other divine of our church, would contend. The Church of England maintains, and has always maintained, as fully as Origen did, that we ought not to go forth at the bidding of any man, no, not of an angel from heaven, to look for any one under the name of Christ, if by so doing we should be compelled to abandon the original apostolical tradition of the church, as it is handed down to us in Holy Scripture, and summed up in the Creed, which is to us the exponent of apostolical tradition. This Creed is contained in the three symbols of our faith, which the true churches of God by succession have handed down to us; and we adopt them therefore as the *prima et ecclesiastica traditio*, the primitive tradition of the church, because they can be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture,* which is the best and surest test of a true apostolical tradition. Dr. O'Connell might easily have found in the writings of our English divines, testimonies in favour of this use of the primitive apostolical tradition, quite as strong as that which he has cited from Origen. And yet no person will accuse the theologians of our church of discouraging the fullest inquiry into and examination of the Scriptures. I shall quote only two or three testimonies from some of our best divines, in illustration of this remark. The first is from the pen of the learned Dr. Hammond:—

* Synod of London, 1562. Art. 8.

“ It is by all confessed, 1. That the whole Christian Faith hath its intire beginning from the *preaching of Christ*, and the teaching of the Holy Ghost, who should lead the Apostles into all necessary truths ; 2. That the Apostles *orally* communicated all such to all churches of their plantations ; 3. That their *writings*, as far as they are perspicuous, and as they set down these Christian doctrines, so far they ought to have force with all Christians, the same that their words would have, if they were orally conveyed to us, there being no such difference imaginable betwixt words written and spoken, and the reading of one and hearing of the other, as that one should found certainty of belief, and the other be incapable of founding it. 4. That if (on supposition) there be anything in their *preachings* which they delivered as *necessary*, but committed not to writing, yet in case we have this their delivering it competently testified by those that heard their preachings, and in case this testification of those hearers be plainly and intelligibly conveyed to us by their own writings, or by the consentient writings of those which received it, thus delivered down to them successively from their preachings in the several churches, we have then no more reason to doubt of the truth of these written testifications, than if they who first wrote had orally delivered to us the same things which they wrote.

“ This, then, thus briefly deduced, is the ground why Tradition being yielded to be the only Rule of Faith, and that nothing is to be imposed as *de Fide*, and necessary, but what is thus delivered by the Apostles of Christ, we think not this Tradition prejudiced or any way weakened, by being committed to writing.”*

Again, Bishop Patrick says, “ It is a calumny to affirm that the Church of England rejects all Tradition ; and I hope, none of her true children are so ignorant, as when they hear that word to imagine that they must rise up and oppose it. No, the Scripture itself is a tradition, and we admit all other traditions

* The Dispatcher Dispatched. Lond. 1659. 4to. Chap. iii. Of Tradition ; sect. 2 n. 9, 10. (Works, vol. ii. pp. 232, 233. Fol. Lond. 1684.)

which are subordinate and agreeable unto that; together with all those things which can be proved to be apostolical by the general testimony of the church in all ages.”*

And so, also, Archbishop Laud: “When the Fathers say, we are to rely upon Scripture *only*, they are never to be understood with exclusion of Tradition, in what causes soever it may be had. Not but that the Scripture is abundantly sufficient in and to itself for all things, but because it is deep, and may be drawn into different senses, and so mistaken, if any man will presume upon his own sense, and go single without the Church.”†

Had Dr. O’Connell accidentally met with any such passages as these in an ancient Father, he could not have failed to parade them as an unanswerable testimony in his favour.

For wherever he finds any mention of the testimony of antiquity or of apostolical tradition, he at once concludes that every such allusion in any ancient writer is equivalent to a reprobation of what he calls the individual examination of the Scriptures.

Thus, in a note appended to the foregoing extract from Origen, he says:—

“Ruffinus expressly tells us, that St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzen, [*sic*] during the thirteen years that they resided at Athens, devoted their combined energies to the teaching of Holy Writ—explaining them, [*sic*] however, not of their own particular views and opinions, but out of the writings and authority of the Fathers, who, it was known, had received the rule of interpretation from Apostolical Tradition.”

Our author has not told us what Ruffinus says this, or where he says it; but, I presume, Ruffinus of Aquileia must be intended; and that the following passage from the additional or eleventh book, usually printed with his Latin version of the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, is what Dr. O’Connell has quoted. After mentioning the friendship of St. Gregory and St. Basil at Athens, and the success of the former in inducing Basil to abandon his secular studies, Ruffinus adds:—“*ibique per annos (ut aiunt) tredecim, omnibus Græcorum secularibus libris*

* A Discourse about Tradition, Part ii. (Gibson’s *Preservat.* tit. iv. c. 3, p. 203.)

† Conference with Fisher, p. 67. Lond. 1673.

remotis, solis divinæ scripturæ voluminibus operam dabant, earumque intelligentiam, non ex propria præsumptione, sed ex majorum scriptis et auctoritate sequebantur: quos et ipsos ex Apostolica successione intelligendi regulam suscepisse constabat.”*

Here we find nothing of their “devoting their combined energies to the *teaching* of Holy Writ,” as Dr. O’Connell represents the historian to have said. On the contrary, Ruffinus praises these eminent Fathers for having cast aside all other books, and employed themselves wholly in the study of the Scriptures; that is to say, for giving themselves up entirely to that very individual examination of the Scriptures which Dr. O’Connell would persuade us was “reprobated” by the primitive church.

But then, perhaps, he will tell us, there was this great difference, that Gregory and Basil did not venture to explain the Scriptures out of their own particular views and opinions—(for so Dr. O’Connell translates *ex propria præsumptione*)—but out of the writings and authority of the Fathers.

As if any one, even of the wildest of Protestant sects, if they were not utter fanatics, ever maintained that we ought to interpret the Scriptures out of our own particular views and opinions.

Moreover, the reader will observe that Ruffinus says nothing of their attempting to *explain* the Scriptures to others, but only of their seeking to understand them themselves,—*earum intelligentiam sequebantur*. Their own *individual* edification and information was their object. And the historian praises them for adopting the best means of attaining this object that were within their reach. They sought to understand the Scriptures, he says, not by their own conjectures as to its meaning, but by the aid afforded them by the writings and authority of such ancient Christians as were believed to have received the true interpretation by succession from the Apostles.†

* Hist. Eccl., l. xi. cap. 9.

† It may seem scarcely worth remarking that Dr. O’Connell renders *ex apostolica successione*, “from apostolical tradition.” But this inaccuracy is nevertheless of im-

And what is this but the very rule for the right understanding of Holy Scripture, which the Church of England lays down and exemplifies by her own practice. The rule is laid down in the canons of 1571, subscribed by all the bishops of England, in the following words:—

“But especially they [Preachers] shall be careful to teach nothing in their sermons, to be religiously held and believed by the people, but what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old or New Testament, and which the Catholic Fathers and ancient bishops have collected out of the said doctrine.”*

And for the exemplification of this rule I may refer, not only to the sermons and other didactic writings of our best divines, but also to the Book of Homilies, prepared by public authority as a substitute for sermons; in which it will be found that the ancient Fathers and catholic bishops are continually appealed to and quoted, not as a co-ordinate authority equal to the Word of God, but as a help to ascertain the right interpretation of Holy Writ; and that, in fact, exactly the same use is made by us of their writings, which Ruffinus describes Gregory and Basil to have made, in their efforts to understand the Scriptures for themselves.

To examine the Scriptures, with a view to ascertain their true meaning, implies the use of every fair and accessible help. The writings of the Fathers are amongst the most obvious sources of information, and the fact that they lived in times removed from the Apostles only by a few successions, renders their testimony of great importance and value. We must remember, also, that this consideration was of still greater weight in the age of Gregory and Basil, than it is now; for the ancient writings,

portance, as indicating a want of skill in the language of Christian antiquity. The rule of interpretation (*intelligendi regulam*) was itself the *tradition* which was received by *succession* from the apostles.

* “*Imprimis vero videbunt, ne quid unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religione teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ veteris aut Novi Testamenti, quodque ex illa ipsa doctrina Catholici patres, et veteres episcopi collegerint.*” *Liber quorundam Canonum. Tit. Concionatores. Ap. Cardwell, Synodalia, i. 126.*

majorum scripta, that were regarded as ancient in the fourth century, must have been the writings of the contemporaries of the Apostles and their immediate successors.

I have dwelt upon this example longer than its importance may seem to warrant, because it is so good an instance of the manner in which the testimony of ancient writers is perverted under the influence of controversy. The words of Ruffinus may indeed prove that the ancient church reprobated the spirit which would rashly impose upon the Scriptures interpretations dictated by private speculations, despising the testimony of Christian antiquity, and neglecting the legitimate means of attaining a sound knowledge of their real signification. But this is a very different thing from prohibiting the study of the Scriptures to individuals as such, or as Dr. O'Connell words it, "reprobating the individual examination of the Scriptures."

And there is also another palpable fallacy in this way of arguing, founded on the assumption that the authority which was given to the writings regarded as ancient in the fourth century, may equally be accorded to all writings regarded as ancient now. Ruffinus expressly states it as the grounds of that authority, that the authors to whose writings Gregory and Basil had recourse, were known to have derived their interpretations of Scripture by succession from the Apostles; and as the steps of that succession were then but few, and many of the writers in question had been themselves the disciples of the Apostles, or of their immediate followers, nothing could be more reasonable than that great weight should be allowed to their testimony on this account. But the same thing cannot be said of all who are now counted ancient writers, and to whom we may now give in a loose way the name of Fathers: for many of these have lived centuries after the Apostles, and have had scarcely any better means of judging of the genuineness of alleged Apostolical traditions than we have now ourselves.

And, moreover, let it be observed that Ruffinus exactly describes the same use of the writings of the Fathers, for which the divines of our church contend—namely, to assist us in in-

terpreting the Scriptures, not to enable us to discover articles of faith or doctrines over and above or besides those contained in the Scriptures.

The corrupt use of the Fathers for which the Roman church and its advocates now contend, was first recommended, at the end of the ninth century, by the fourth Council of Constantinople; there, instead of the ancient Rule of Faith, we find the Fathers spoken of as a co-ordinate authority with the Scriptures, and their writings termed “*secunda eloquia*,” secondary oracles, the Scripture being still allowed to hold the first place; for the council professed to hold as a source and rule of faith, not only the rules which the church had received from the Apostles, but also those which were handed down by general and local councils, or by any eminent father or doctor of the Church.* Such views, as Bishop Patrick well observes, are “the ready way to change the faith of the church; and to turn particular men’s opinions into matter of common belief; though no new article was as yet put into the common creed.”†

Observe, however, how different was the use of the Fathers which Ruffinus attributes to Gregory and Basil. In the first place, their object was to understand the Scriptures, and they had recourse to the writings of the Fathers as helps to the understanding of the Scripture: “*earum intelligentiam ex majorum scriptis et auctoritate sequebantur.*” Secondly, they ascribed this authority to the Fathers, not as if the ancient theologians and doctors of the church were themselves inspired, or commissioned to communicate new doctrines, but because they believed them to have received, by succession from the Apostles, the true meaning and sense of the Scriptures, “*intelligendi regulam.*”

These are exactly the limitations in the use of the Fathers for

* “*Igitur regulas, quæ sanctæ catholicæ ac Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ tam a sanctis famosissimis Apostolis, quam ab orthodoxorum universalibus necnon et localibus conciliis, vel etiam a quolibet Deiloquo patre ac magistro ecclesiæ traditæ sunt, servare ac custodire profiteamur.*”—*Con. Const. iv. A.D. 870. Act. x. c. 1.* (Hardouin, tom. v. 899.)

† *The Pillar and Ground of Truth* (Gibson’s *Preservative*, tit. iv. c. 1. p. 89.)

which the divines of our church contend: and it will be seen that here is no mention of a living infallible interpreter, or of the tradition and developments of the *present* church, as forming any part of the rule of interpretation adopted by Gregory and Basil in their study of the Scriptures.

Thus it is manifest that the passages cited by Dr. O'Connell from Origen and Ruffinus, establish beyond a doubt the antiquity of the rule followed by the church of England in the interpretation of Scripture, and are wholly inconsistent with the rule which the Roman church would now substitute for it.*

V.—ST. CYPRIAN.

Dr. O'Connell introduces St. Cyprian to his readers with the following panegyric:—

“Next to Origen, who better versed in the doctrines of antiquity than St. Cyprian, the glory of the African church?”

Whether this is to be understood as implying that Origen was better versed in the doctrines of antiquity than St. Cyprian I do not know, nor is it worth while to inquire. But seeing that in St. Cyprian's time Christianity was not two centuries old, the antiquarian knowledge ascribed to him was not very extensive. However, there is an ambiguity in the word “antiquity” as here used by Dr. O'Connell. For the principal value of Cyprian's testimony arises from his being versed in the doctrines of his own age, rather than in those of the age that preceded him; and

* Since writing the above, I see that Dr. O'Connell's note respecting Ruffinus is not his own. It is taken almost verbatim, with some alterations which are anything but improvements, from the following note which occurs in “The Faith of Catholics,” by Messrs. Berington and Kirk, vol. i. p. 379.

“Ruffinus relates of St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nazianzum,” [Dr. O'Connell corrects this into Nazianzen,] “during the thirteen years that they spent at Athens, laying aside all profane works, they applied solely to the sacred writings, explaining them not from their own presumption,” [Dr. O'Connell alters this to “their own particular views and opinions,”] “but out of the writings and authority of the Fathers, who it was known had received the rule of interpretation from or through apostolical succession” [Dr. O'Connell reads *Tradition*,] (“Ex apostolica successione intelligendi regulam suscepisse constabat.”)

if this be what Dr. O'Connell means by "the doctrines of antiquity," it would have been well if he had expressed himself more clearly.

He adds, in reference to the quotation which he brings from St. Cyprian, "Hear how he speaks of the rule of faith, such as is sought to be maintained in the Discourse;" i. e., I presume, in the Archbishop of Dublin's Discourse. And then he quotes the following passage, which I shall give, as before, in parallel columns with Dr. O'Connell's version :

Ne se quidam vana interpretatione decipiant, quod dixerit Dominus: Ubi-
cunque fuerint duo aut tres collecti in
nomine meo, Ego cum eis sum. Cor-
ruptores Evangelii atque interpretes
falsi extrema ponunt, et superiora præ-
tereunt; partis memores; et partem sub-
dole comprimunt. Ut ipsi ab Ecclesia
scissi sunt, ita capituli unius sententiam
scindunt. Dominus enim cum discipulis
suis unanimitatem suaderet et pacem:
Dico, inquit, vobis: quoniam si duobus
ex vobis convenerit in terra, de omni re,
quacunque petieritis, continget vobis a
Patre meo qui in cœlis est. Ubi-
cunque enim fuerint duo, aut tres collecti in
nomine meo, Ego cum eis sum: ostendens
non multitudini, sed unanimitati depre-
cantiam plurimum tribuendum. Si duo-
bus, inquit, ex vobis convenerit in terra:
unanimitatem prius posuit; concordiam
pacis ante præmisit; ut conveniat nobis,
fideliter et firmiter docuit. Quo modo
autem potest ei cum aliquo convenire,
cui cum corpore ipsius Ecclesiæ, et cum
universa fraternitate non convenit? Quo-
modo possunt duo aut tres in nomine
Christi colligi, quos constat a Christo et
ab ejus Evangelio separari? non enim
nos ab illis, sed illi a nobis recesserunt.
Et cum hæreses et schismata postmodum
nata sunt dum conventicula sibi diversa
constituunt, veritatis caput atque origi-
nem reliquerunt.*

Neither let certain persons deceive
themselves by a vain interpretation, be-
cause the Lord had said, Wheresoever
two or three are gathered together in
my name, I am with them. Corruptors
of the Gospel, and false interpreters,
they lay down the last words, and omit
what goes before; giving heed to part,
and deceitfully suppress in part.

For the Lord, when preaching
to his disciples unanimity and peace,
said, "I say unto you, that if two of you
shall agree on earth, concerning any-
thing whatsoever ye shall ask, it shall be
done to you by my Father. For where-
soever two or three are gathered together
in my name, I am with them," showing
that most is given, not to the number,
but to the unanimity of the petitioners.

He places agreement first: the concord
of peace is the preliminary condition.
Yet how can he possibly be at agree-
ment with another, who is at variance
with the Body of the Church, and with
the universal brotherhood? How can
two or three be gathered in Christ's
name, who are manifestly separated
from Christ and from his Gospel?
For we did not go out from them, but
they went out from us. And as heresies
arise, men set up separate conventicles,
leaving the head and spring of truth.

This is a singular example of controversial unfairness. Is it

* De Unitat. Eccl., p. 112. Opp. Ed. Fell. Bremæ, 1690.

possible that Dr. O'Connell can seriously believe that the Archbishop of Dublin was advocating, in his recent discourse, any such licentious interpretation of Scripture as St. Cyprian has here censured? Will Dr. O'Connell candidly say that he believes the Archbishop of Dublin to recommend the taking words out of their context, as St. Cyprian describes the heretics to have done, "laying down the last words, and omitting what goes before; giving heed to part, and deceitfully suppressing part?" If Dr. O'Connell thinks that this is what the Archbishop advocates, the censure of St. Cyprian is certainly in point, but if not, how is he to justify himself from the charge of a most unfair and dishonest application of that censure to his Grace?

And yet Dr. O'Connell introduces this extract to his readers, by telling them that St. Cyprian here "speaks of the rule of faith, such as is sought to be maintained in the Archbishop's discourse."

It is difficult to discover what Dr. O'Connell can have meant by this: for St. Cyprian is not speaking of any rule of faith at all. The heretics against whom he wrote, maintained that any two or three who were met together in Christ's name, might look for the promise of His presence. And on the strength of this false application of our Lord's words, they claimed the possession of His presence with every two or three who were met together. This pretence St. Cyprian refutes by showing that it depended altogether on the common artifice of separating the words from their context; and that the promise of our Saviour's presence was made to the unanimity, not to the number, of the petitioners. And then he asks, but how can the heretics possess this, when they have separated themselves from the church? How can they be gathered together in Christ's name, who have separated themselves both from Christ and his Gospel? For the church did not schismatically separate itself from them, but they went out from the church.

This, however, is so far from being a statement inconsistent with the doctrine of the church of England, that it is precisely this very reasoning that our divines have made use of in their defence of our church against the church of Rome.

There is no body of controversialists who are more skilled in the art of separating words from their context, in the manner St. Cyprian has censured, than the controversial writers of the church of Rome. And that Dr. O'Connell is a proficient in this art, has, I think, already been sufficiently manifested by the specimens I have given of his quotations from the Fathers. In every instance, so far as we have yet examined them, we have seen that these quotations would have had no plausibility whatever, as testimonies in Dr. O'Connell's favour, had they not been torn from their context and interpreted according to the language of modern controversy. Have we not, therefore, in point of fact, been applying to Dr. O'Connell, in each case, the very argument, which St. Cyprian, in the above-quoted passage, has urged against the heretics of his own times? And it is thus that all the divines of our church are compelled to deal with those opponents who appeal to Scripture, or to the Fathers, in defence of Roman innovations. We are compelled to say of them, in the language of St. Cyprian, although we say it with pain, "*Corruptores Evangelii atque interpretes falsi, extrema ponunt, et superiora prætereunt; partis memores, et partem subdole comprimentes.*"

And then, as to separation from the church, it is the common sophistry of writers on Dr. O'Connell's side to assume that all who have separated from the church of Rome have separated from the Catholic church. They are peculiarly unfortunate, however, when they quote St. Cyprian in favour of this statement. For it is evident that he did not regard Rome as the church, inasmuch as he separated from the church of Rome himself, at a time when the faith and apostolical traditions were fully preserved by that church. Notwithstanding his strong sense of the necessity of adhering to the unity of the church, he felt himself justified in separating from Rome, on the comparatively weaker grounds of the rebaptizing of heretics;* whereas we separate from Rome, because Rome has corrupted the faith, and added

* For a short and very excellent account of this controversy, and of the breach of communion between St. Cyprian and Stephen, bishop of Rome, see Mosheim, *De Rebus Christianor. ante Constant.*, pp. 540—547.

to the doctrine of Christ and His Apostles by modern developments and traditions of man's devising.

And if St. Cyprian spoke so strongly against the notion of a bishop of bishops, and against the attempt of one bishop to compel others by tyrannical terrors to obedience,* what would he have said, if he could have known the excess to which the temporal claims of the Roman bishops are now carried to a jurisdiction not only over other bishops, but over sovereigns and states, to say nothing of their corruptions of Christian doctrine, and of the Apostolical traditions of the primitive church?

We may therefore very fairly throw back upon Dr. O'Connell the insinuation implied in his quotation from St. Cyprian; we have not separated from the church, unless to adhere to the doctrine of Christ and the Apostles, as it was held in the first and purest ages, be a separation. We are content to receive as a complete exposition of the faith, and a true Apostolical tradition, the Creed as it is delivered in the symbol of the Apostles, and in the first Councils of Nice and Constantinople. We do not accept, nor will we consent to receive, as doctrine of the Apostles, necessary to salvation, anything that is not to be found in the Scripture, or which was unknown to the church of the first five or six centuries. And if this be to separate from the church, we are content to run the risk of *such* separation. But we think the real guilt of schism rests with the modern church of Rome; who, after adding to the faith, and imposing as necessary to salvation, doctrines unknown to the Scriptures and to the best and purest ages, turn round upon the Christians who still adhere to the primitive creeds, and impiously denounce them as heretics. To such, we maintain, the odious names of heretics and schismatics more truly belong—and we therefore say of the church of Rome, in the language of St. Cyprian, “non nos ab illis, sed illi a nobis recesserunt.”

* Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit: quando habeat omnis Episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ, arbitrium proprium, tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse, potest judicare.—*Concil. Carth. Opp.* p. 229.

All this time, however, Dr. O'Connell appears to have entirely forgotten the particular question that he was professedly discussing. For even if we should admit his own statement of the matter, the passage he quotes from St. Cyprian would only condemn the Archbishop's doctrine about the rule of faith: it says nothing of the "individual interpretation" of Scripture. And yet Dr. O'Connell had undertaken to prove that the ancient Fathers, and St. Cyprian of course among the number, universally reprobated the individual examination of Scripture. But as he does not so much as pretend that the foregoing extract from St. Cyprian bears in any way on that question, we may content ourselves with this passing notice of the fact, reminding the reader, that so far as the immediate subject under consideration is in question, we are the less concerned with this particular testimony.

But as the very different question of schism has been introduced, I would answer Dr. O'Connell's insinuations in the words of one of the greatest ornaments of the church of Ireland:—
 "There are two kinds of schismatical churches. The first, those which absolutely forsake the communion of other churches, and deny them to be churches of Christ; as the Donatists did of old, and the Anabaptists do now. Secondly, those which forsake their proper place in the mystical Body of Christ; for this also causeth disturbance, and a schism in the body, as if an inferior member should assume to itself the place of the head. The church of Rome is accused to be guilty of both these kinds of schism; first, for separating herself from the communion of the churches of Grecia, Russia, Armenia, Abyssinia, and all the Protestant churches; secondly, and much more, for refusing to be a fellow member with other churches in the body of the universal church, and challenging to be the head, the root, the fountain of all other churches. So a member will needs usurp the place of the head, the branch usurp the place of the root; the beam, of the sun, the stream, of the fountain.*

* Alluding to St. Cyprian de Unitate Eccl. ed Fell. p. 108. "Ecclesia quoque una est quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur; quomodo solis multi radii, sed lumen unum; et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum tenaci

What marvel if this member decay, if this branch wither, this beam be obscure, this stream dry up? Let the church of Rome be the sister of all churches; let her be the Mother of many churches; but *the lady and mistress* of no church. On the other side, the church of England is guilty of neither of these kinds of schism; neither arrogating to itself a dominion over other churches, nor excluding them from a Christian communion.*

The censure contained in the foregoing extract from St. Cyprian, therefore, is applicable to the church of Rome, not to the church of England, inasmuch as they, not we, have departed from the primitive church, "veritatis CAPUT atque ORIGINEM relinquentes."

VI.—ST. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM.

The Fathers of the fourth century are next brought forward by our author; and he begins with St. Cyril of Jerusalem, whose testimony he introduces by the following profound remark:—

"The system pursued in the church of Jerusalem, and urged in almost every page in the writings of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, was to require assent to the doctrine of the Creed, previous to any scriptural demonstration whatever of that Creed."

This "system," Dr. O'Connell will be glad to learn, is still pursued in the Church of England. Our children are brought to the bishop to be confirmed by him, so soon as they can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue; and are further instructed in the Church Catechism set forth for that purpose. We do not require them to be profoundly versed in Scripture, or to be able to give "scriptural demonstration" of the Creed, previous to a knowledge of the Creed itself. The Catechism set forth for the

radice fundatum; et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copię largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine. A velle radium solis a corpore, divisionem lucis unitas non capit: ab arbore frange ramum, fractus germinare non poterit: a fonte præcide rivum, præcisus arescet."

* Abp. Bramhall; Protestant's Ordination defended. (Works, Part IV. Disc. vii. Oxford Edit. 1845. Vol. v. pp. 206, 207.)

instruction of the youthful members of our church contains no "demonstrations;" but only the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, followed by a brief exposition of the nature and benefits of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Dr. O'Connell proceeds to quote a passage from the writings of St. Cyril, to which he has given no other reference whatsoever than that it is contained in the Catechetical instructions of that Father. It is not very difficult, however, with the help of the indexes of the Benedictine edition of St. Cyril's works, to find the passage in question; and I shall therefore give the original, with Dr. O'Connell's version:—

Πίστιν δὲ ἐν μαθήσει καὶ ἐπαγγελίᾳ, κτῆσαι καὶ τήρησον μόνην, τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας νυνὶ σοὶ παραδιδόμενην, τὴν ἐκ πάσης γραφῆς ὠχυρωμένην. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐ πάντες δύνανται τὰς γραφὰς ἀναγινώσκειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἰδιωτεία, τοὺς δὲ ἀσχολία τις ἐμποδίζει πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν· ὑπὲρ τοῦ, μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξ ἀμαθίας ἀπολέσθαι, ἐν ὀλίγοις τοῖς στίχοις τὸ πᾶν δόγμα τῆς πίστεως περιλαμβάνομεν. ὕπερ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς λέξεως μνημονεύσαι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἀπαγγεῖλαι, οὐκ εἰς χάρτας ἀπογραφομενους, ἀλλ' ἐν καρδίᾳ τῇ μνημη στελογραφοῦντας· φυλαττομένους ἐν τῷ μελετᾶν, μὴ πού τις Κατηχούμενος ἐπακούσῃ τῶν παραδεδομένων· ἔχειν τε ταύτην ἐφόδιον ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ παρὰ ταύτην ἄλλην μηκέτι δέξασθαι· μήτε ἂν ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ μεταθέμενοι, τοῖς νῦν διδασκομένοις ἐναντιολογῶμεν· μήτε ἂν ἄγγελος ἐναντίος, εἰς ἄγγελον φωτὸς μετασχηματισθεὶς, πλανῆσαι σε βούληται. Κἄν γὰρ ἡμεῖς, ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίσηται ὑμᾶς παρ' ὃ νῦν παράλαβετε, ἀναθεμα ὑμῖν ἔστω. Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς λέξεως ἀκούων, μνημόνευσον τῆς πίστεως. ἐκδέχου δὲ κατὰ τὸν δεόντα καιρὸν, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἐγκειμένων σύστασιν.*

Take thou and hold that faith only as a learner and in profession, which is now by the Church delivered to thee, and is defended out of all the Scripture. For since all cannot read the Scriptures, but some, as being unlearned; others, by business, are hindered from knowledge of them; that the soul may not perish from want of instruction, we comprehend the whole doctrine of the faith in a few sentences. Then, I wish you to remember in the very phrase—to rehearse it with all diligence—

to have it as a provision during the whole period of life, and, besides this, never to receive any other; not even if we ourselves, having changed, should contradict what we now teach; nor even if an imposing [*sic*] Angel, transformed into an Angel of Light, should wish to lead you astray. For, though we, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you besides that which ye have now received, let him be to you anathema. And for the present, hearkening to the words spoken, commit to memory the faith, and receive, at the fitting season, the proof, from the Divine writings, of each of the points laid down.

* Catech. v. 12.

There is greater difficulty than usual in understanding how Dr. O'Connell supposes this passage to bear on the question at issue, by proving St. Cyril to reprobate the individual examination of the Scriptures. He asks, "Is not this" [viz., the statement made by St. Cyril in the foregoing extract] "the catholic rule to-day? In no point does it, in the least, vary. But compare it with the canon of faith laid down in the 'discourse.'"

Now the discourse of the Archbishop of Dublin does not, so far as I can see, lay down any "canon of faith" at all; it merely puts forward the difficulties of the Roman hypothesis of an infallible interpreter of Scripture; points out the incredibility of that hypothesis, and its inconsistency with fact, and proves that the non-existence of such a tribunal does in no degree affect the certainty of our faith; that we have sufficient means within our reach for attaining to a right understanding of the Scriptures; and that the errors and difficulties which prevail are such only as were to be found even in the days of the Apostles, and would always be found, even though there did exist an infallible interpreter in the church.

Dr. O'Connell, therefore, entirely mistakes the archbishop's discourse, if he supposes it to have been his Grace's object to lay down any "canon of faith" whatsoever, still less any canon at variance with the catholic rule. St. Cyril's sentiments in the foregoing quotation are in strict accordance, of course, with the catholic rule, although it is scarcely correct to say that his words contain a statement of the catholic rule of faith, which, according to the language of the primitive church, was the Creed. It would be more to Dr. O'Connell's purpose if he could show that the *Roman-catholic* rule, as he has stated it himself, is capable of being reconciled with St. Cyril's views; or that St. Cyril in the foregoing extract has "reprobated the individual examination of the Scriptures."

This is so far from being the case, that St. Cyril recommends the Creed to the cordial acceptance of his hearers on the express ground that it can be proved or established (*ᾠχύρωμένην*)

out of the Scriptures. He apologizes for the practice of the church, of teaching the Creed before the Scripture, by alleging the necessity of the case; for he says, all cannot read the Scripture, some, from want of learning (*ιδιωτεία*); others, from want of leisure (*ἀσχολία*.) But he exhorts all “to commit to memory the faith,” (meaning the Creed) and promises that each member of the church, “at the fitting season,” that is to say, when they are capable of receiving it, shall be instructed in the proof of each article of the Creed from the sacred Scriptures *ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν.**

And no doubt this is the catholic rule of the present day, as followed by the church of England; would that it were the rule followed also by the church of Rome. We teach the Creed, in the first instance, to all those who are brought to the bishop to be confirmed, requiring only that they shall be able to say it by heart, with the Lord’s Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and that they be further instructed in the Church Catechism set forth for that purpose. We do not exclude from the benefits of confirmation those who from want of learning, or want of leisure, or want of intellect, are unable to *prove* the Creed from the Scriptures. But we are ready to put the Bible into the hands of all who are able to read it profitably, and we instruct them, as St. Cyril promised to instruct his hearers, *κατὰ τὸν δέοντα καιρὸν*, whenever they are fit to receive it, in the scriptural proof of each article of the faith.

I ask, therefore, is not St. Cyril’s rule exactly the rule of the Church of England to-day? Does he not plainly say that it was the desire and rule of the church in his time to instruct all, who were not hindered by ignorance, or overwhelming occupations, in the scriptural proof of Christianity? Does he not evidently imply that to those not so hindered the Scriptures were the primary rule, and the Creed a rule only from the

* It may not be unnecessary to remark that Dr. O’Connell renders these words, “from the Divine writings,” although in the place where St. Cyril says, “all cannot read the Scriptures,” the same Greek word, *γραφῆ*, is rendered by the term now consecrated in the English language to denote the Bible.

necessity of the case? And let it be remembered that in the fourth century this necessity was infinitely more pressing and invincible than it is now. For now the helps to a right understanding of the Scriptures are vastly multiplied. Copies of the Scriptures are brought by the printing press within the reach of every one; vernacular translations of the Scriptures are accessible to all; dictionaries, commentaries, grammars, and popular illustrations of Scripture difficulties are multiplied to a degree wholly unknown in St. Cyril's time; and this has changed, not only the language of the church, but even the actual relation of the Creed to the Scriptures from which it is drawn. The office and use of the Creed in the instruction of the young and the unlearned still remains, and must always remain, as it was. But the proportion of those who are excluded *by necessity* from the "individual examination of the Scriptures," is every day diminishing.

For this reason, therefore, the language of our divines, to a superficial or prejudiced reader, as contrasted with the ecclesiastical writers of antiquity, appears changed, when in reality it is not. The Scriptures, in the writings of St. Cyril, occupy exactly the position which they occupy in the theology of the Church of England. St. Cyril recommends the Creed to his disciples, because it is established out of the Scripture. He exhorts them to adhere to it because "at the fitting season" they will be instructed in the proof of it out of the Scripture. What is this but to assert that the Scripture is in fact *the* rule of faith, and that the Creed is a rule, only because it is a faithful summary of the Scripture? What is this but almost the very language of our church that the Creed is to be thoroughly received and believed *because* it can be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture?

Again, St. Cyril says distinctly that the church has drawn out of the Scripture the short summary of Christian doctrine, called the Creed, for the instruction of those who, from ignorance or overwhelming occupations, are unable to read the Scripture. Does not this plainly imply, that but for the existence of this

ignorance and occupation, the church would have given them the Scripture in preference? And how comes it that St. Cyril here makes no mention of any objection on the part of the church to "the individual examination of Scripture"? If he had been of Dr. O'Connell's mind, would he not have told us that the Creed was taught instead of the Bible, because it was the practice of the church "to reprobate the individual examination of Scripture as a rule of faith"?

Of this, however, he makes no mention, and evidently knew nothing of any such principle. He urges only the extreme cases, where, from ignorance or business, the individual examination of the Scriptures was in the nature of things impossible.

But now the whole face of Christendom is altered. An amount of education, sufficient to enable a man to read the Scriptures with profit, is now vastly more general than it could possibly have been in the days of St. Cyril: and an amount of business that in the fourth century would have been wholly incompatible with the studies necessary to understand the Scriptures, is now consistent with a very extensive and valuable knowledge of them.

Can we wonder, therefore, that the practice of the church is in a great degree changed with this change of circumstances?—that although we still teach the Creed in the first instance, as in the days of St. Cyril, to those who, from their tender age, their want of the necessary literary qualifications, or any other cause, are unable to read the Scriptures, yet we gladly and thankfully put the Scriptures into the hands of all who are capable of using them with profit to themselves and others? And is it not quite certain, from the whole tenour of the foregoing extract, that St. Cyril, if he could, would have done the same?

But it is said that the church ought never to change, not even with the change of external circumstances: and it is the boast and pretension of the Roman church, that it continues still unchanged, still "in no point varies" from the church of the fourth century.

In answer to this it might be said, that there is no change of

principle necessarily implied in a change of practice, when circumstances have wholly changed. The removal of external hindrances enables the church to do now what she would gladly have done before if she could. Her practice, therefore, is changed, *because* her principles are unchanged.

But nothing can be more palpably untrue than the boasted pretence of the advocates of Rome to absolute unchangeableness. For the Roman church has changed with the change of times and circumstances, quite as much, to say the least, as other churches.

I do not now speak of the Roman additions to the Creed, corruptions of doctrine, or other departures from the Apostolical traditions of the church, but only of those lawful changes of discipline and practice which change of times requires. And that the church of Rome has changed in this respect with all other churches, may be inferred from the very passage of St. Cyril which Dr. O'Connell has quoted.

The words to which I particularly refer in that passage are those which Dr. O'Connell has omitted; and (as usual) omitted without any intimation to his readers of the omission. Had he quoted them, it would have been evident that there was at least one part of "the system pursued in the church of Jerusalem" in St. Cyril's time, which is not now pursued in the church of Rome, and the triumph with which he asks, "Is not this the Catholic rule to-day?" must have received some considerable modification. Whether this consideration was the cause of Dr. O'Connell's omitting the words in question, I do not pretend to say; but the omitted passage is as follows:—

"Which* [viz., the Creed] I desire you to remember in the very phrase, and to repeat it to yourselves with all diligence, not writing it on paper, but engraving it in memory on your hearts; taking especial care lest any of the Catechumens should by any chance hear the things handed down."

Here is an allusion to a part of the discipline of the ancient church, which neither the Roman nor any other branch of the

* Why Dr. O'Connell translates $\delta\pi\epsilon\rho$ "then," I do not know; it is possibly a misprint.

present church has retained. The *disciplina arcani*, as it was called, is now plainly impracticable, and at all events is not practised : but in the primitive church, it was unlawful to communicate the Creed or the Liturgy to Catechumens, whom the discipline of the church excluded from the knowledge of the mysteries of religion, until their sincerity and constancy was more fully tried. Some have even doubted* whether it was then held lawful, so much as to write the Creed or the Liturgy, lest it should become known to Catechumens, and the above quoted words of St. Cyril seem to give some countenance to this opinion. Be this, however, as it may, it is certain that written copies of the Creed and Liturgy were permitted only to the faithful or to the clergy, and were carefully kept back from all others. And the same discipline was observed with the Scriptures, not from any objection to "the individual examination" of them, but solely from the idea that the unbeliever, or one who had been brought up in heathenism, would in all probability be led to ridicule the sacred mysteries, and so to prejudice others, as well as himself, against the light of truth.† But this did not apply to Christians, who were already admitted to the knowledge of the Gospel; to them the Scriptures were open, with the Creed and Liturgy, except so far as individuals may have been necessarily prevented from the study of them by ignorance, or occupation.

Now, however, the *disciplina arcani* is nowhere enforced; and that, not from any diminished sense of the danger of irreverent

* This opinion is held by Du Pin, Renaudot, Le Brun, and others. But there is nothing in the passages of ancient writers, on which they rely, to prove that written copies of the Creed and the Liturgy were not in the hands of the bishops and priests of the Church, although of course they were not given to Catechumens. See Krazer, *De Antiquis Eccl. Occidentalis Liturgiis*, § ii. c. 1.

† This is the reason given by all the ancients for this discipline: thus St. Cyril, (*Procatech.* c. 12.) "So the sick ask for wine: and if it be unseasonably given them, it occasions delirium, and two evils follow: the sick man dies, and the physician gets an ill name. Thus is it with the Catechumen also if he should hear from the Believer: the Catechumen is made delirious, for not understanding what he has heard, he finds fault with it, and scoffs at it, and the Believer bears the blame of a betrayer." Oxford Transl. (*Library of the Fathers*,) p. 6.

use of the sacred truths, on the part of unbelievers, but simply from the necessity of the case.

If, therefore, the altered state of society and of the world has thus compelled the church to change a discipline, which in St. Cyril's time was so anxiously and earnestly enforced,* why need we wonder that the vast change of circumstances caused by the invention of printing, (to speak of no other peculiarity of modern times,) should have also led to a corresponding change in the language of our divines? The ancients did not and could not speak of the general reading of Scripture, as we now speak of it, simply because it was impossible in the nature of things that the Scriptures could then be read as they can now be read by Christians. But the language they do use very manifestly implies, that but for the impossibility of the thing, they would have recommended the perusal of the Scriptures to all Christian men, as warmly as we do now. In point of fact, too, they did recommend it in language which, when we consider the various external difficulties of the study, the vast cost of manuscripts of the Scripture in ancient times, and the want of all such subsidiary aids as are now within the reach of all, is very remarkable, and proves in the most convincing manner that they were very far indeed from reprobating the individual examination of the Scriptures, as a rule of faith.

It would be easy to adduce numerous authorities from the Fathers in support of this assertion :† but to do so would carry me away from my more immediate object. Our present business is simply with Dr. O'Connell's quotations ; and I think I have

* See, for example, the curious caution prefixed to St. Cyril's Catechetical Lectures, where he addresses his reader thus : " These Catechetical Lectures thou mayest put into the hands of Candidates for Baptism and of baptized believers, but by no means of Catechumens, nor of any others who are not Christians ; as thou shalt answer to the Lord. And if thou takest a copy of them, write this in the beginning, as in the sight of the Lord." *Procatech. ad fin.* (Oxford Translation, p. 9.)

† Many such authorities may be found in the Homily of the Church of England entitled, " A Fruitful Exhortation to the Reading of Holy Scripture." And see also, " The People's Right to read the Holy Scripture asserted : " by Dr. Stratford, Bishop of Chester. Morton's " Catholike Appeal," lib. 2, c. 25, § 11. Ussher's Answer to a Jesuit, &c.

shown that, so far as we have gone, he has not been able to produce one single instance in which the Fathers really reprobate the examination of the Scriptures. In the particular passage of St. Cyril now before us, it is clear that the Scriptures are referred to as the primary rule of faith; the Creed is taught only as subsidiary to the Scriptures; as a concise mode of teaching the essential truths of Scripture, to those who would otherwise be in ignorance of them; and the Creed, St. Cyril expressly tells his hearers, derives its claim to their reverence and acceptance, solely from the fact that it is "established from all Scripture." "For," he says in another place,* "concerning the divine and sacred mysteries of the faith, we ought not to deliver even the most casual remark (*μηδὲ τὸ τυχόν*) without the holy Scriptures: nor be drawn aside by mere probabilities and the artifices of argument. Do not, then, believe me because I tell you these things, unless thou receive from the holy Scriptures the proof of what is set forth: for this salvation, which is of our faith, is not by ingenious reasonings, but by proof from the holy Scriptures."

V.—ST. BASIL AND ORIGEN.

In connexion with the passage from St. Cyril of Jerusalem, which we have just been considering, Dr. O'Connell adduces an extract from the writings of St. Basil, which he introduces to his reader with the following exclamation:—"Indignantly and eloquently does St. Basil denounce the scoffers of Catholic Tradition, asking"—

When we remember that Dr. O'Connell had originally proposed to prove to us that the Fathers were unanimous in reprobating "the individual examination of Scripture," there seems no mode of explaining why he should adduce for this purpose an indignant and eloquent denunciation of such as scoff at Catholic Tradition. To denounce the scoffers at Catholic

* Catech. iv. 17. (Oxford Translation, p. 42.)

Tradition (for this is, I presume, what he means by “the scoffers of Catholic Tradition”) does not seem to be necessarily the same thing as to reprobate the individual examination of Scripture. Be this, however, as it may, the passage quoted from St. Basil is taken from the first book of the treatise against Eunomius,* and is translated by Dr. O’Connell in the following words:—

“What is this that thou sayest? Shall we not assign greater weight to those who have preceded us? Are we not to show respect both to the multitude of those who are now Christians, and of those who have been such from the first promulgation of the Gospel? Are we to make no account of those who have shone conspicuous in every kind of gift?” [Here Dr. O’Connell, without any notice to his reader, omits the words *οἷς ἅπασιν ἐχθρὰν καὶ πολεμίαν τὴν πονηρὰν ὁδὸν ταύτην τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐκαινοτόμησας.*] “Is each of us to close the eyes of the soul, and banish from his thoughts the memory of every one of the saints, with his heart a perfect void, to submit himself to thy guide [guidance?] and sophistry? Marvellous, indeed, would be thy sway, if what the devil, with all his wiles, has never attained to, should fall to thy lot: that is, if at thy bidding we should judge that Tradition, which has prevailed amongst so many holy men throughout the whole of the years that have flown by, deserving of less honour than thy impious fancy!”

I have not thought it necessary to quote the original of this passage, because the foregoing translation, although not altogether accurate,† may be taken as sufficiently representing the

* Opp. Ed. Benedict. i. 210, D. [or, vol. i. p. 277, of the Paris reprint, 1839, the edition which Dr. O’Connell seems to refer to.]

† Thus, instead of “shall we not assign,” &c., “are we not to show respect,” &c. St. Basil’s words would have been more correctly rendered thus: “What sayest thou? Is it that we are to give no weight to those that have preceded us? Is it that we are to show no respect to the majority of Christians, both of them that now live, and of those that have lived since the first preaching of the gospel? Is it that we are to make no account of the peculiar respect (*ἀξίωμα*) due to those who have been distinguished by spiritual gifts of every sort, to all of whom the impious course that thou hast now recently devised would be execrable and hostile? But shutting the eyes of the soul, and each one of us banishing from his thoughts,” &c. I may

sense. St. Basil is replying to a passage which he had just before cited from the "Apology" of Eunomius, in which that writer had exhorted his readers not to regard the opinion of the majority as a criterion of truth, nor to pay any respect to those who are accounted dignities [ἀξιωμασι], nor, finally, out of reverence for the ancients, to shut their ears to the judgment of the moderns.

In answer to this, St. Basil asks, "What meanest thou? Is it that we are to give no weight to the ancients? That we are to show no respect to the majority both of those who are now Christians, and of those who have been so from the beginning? That we are to have no regard to the dignity [τὸ ἀξίωμα] of those who have been honoured by the possession of spiritual gifts, all of whom would have been vehemently opposed to this newly invented doctrine of thine? But shutting the eyes of our minds, and banishing from our hearts the memory of every holy man, must each one of us open his heart to the passive and easy acceptance of thy sophistical instructions?"

This is the whole matter. And what mighty argument against the individual examination of the Scripture is there in this? Because St. Basil "eloquently and indignantly" denounces the disrespect for antiquity, on which Eunomius rested his pretensions, does it necessarily follow that he must also denounce every one who, in dependence on the teaching of Divine grace, and with the honest aid of every subsidiary help, seeks, even though he be an "individual," to examine the Scriptures, which, he is taught by the Apostles themselves, are able "to make wise unto salvation?"

And if we reverence the judgment of the primitive church, if we believe, with the Council of Nice, that the doctrine held by the vast majority of the Christian doctors of the first three

also remark that in the last sentence of the extract, Dr. O'Connell's poetical version, "the whole of the years that have flown by," is an improvement on the eloquence of the original. St. Basil had simply said, τὴν ἐν παντὶ τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ. But Dr. O'Connell is indebted for this, as for all his other extracts and translations, to the labours of Messrs. Berington and Kirk.—Faith of Catholics, vol. i. pp. 378, 9.

centuries, was the doctrine of the Apostles, and the true interpretation of the Scriptures, must we therefore deny or reprobate the individual examination of the Scriptures? Surely not. For we hold that the doctrine taught by the primitive saints and doctors is in strict conformity with the Scriptures, and we have no fears that any one, possessed of sufficient judgment and learning, will by an impartial examination of the Scriptures ever arrive at any other conclusion.

Where, then, is the force of the foregoing extract to establish the statement of Dr. O'Connell, that St. Basil reprobated the individual examination of Scripture? Its applicability to the question at issue must depend on one of two assumptions, which appear to be continually presenting themselves to Dr. O'Connell's mind, and biasing his judgment:—that we refuse to assign any weight whatsoever to the judgment of antiquity and of the primitive church; or that we contend for the right of every individual to draw what conclusions he pleases out of the Scripture, by the aid of his own unassisted imagination, without reference to history, or antiquity, or learning of any kind; and to receive these conclusions as articles of faith.

If we contended for this kind of individual examination of the Scriptures, then, I admit, our doctrine would be reprobated by all antiquity, and the passage cited by Dr. O'Connell from the writings of St. Basil would be exactly in point.

But surely Dr. O'Connell is not so ignorant of English theology as to suppose that the church of England has sanctioned any such licentious doctrine. He cannot but know that the ablest defence of the Nicene Fathers, against the charge brought against them by modern heretics, (and countenanced, too, by a divine of his own communion, the Jesuit Petau or Petavius,) has been made by a prelate of the English church. And the very titles of that learned writer's works, received as they have been for more than a century, as expressing the true doctrine of our church, are in themselves a sufficient refutation of so gross a calumny. I refer, of course, to the "*Defensio fidei Nicænæ ex Scriptis Catholicorum doctorum qui intra tria prima*

Ecclesiæ Christianæ secula floruerunt,” to the “*Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ trium primorum seculorum,*” and to the “*Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio Dogmatis in Ecclesia Catholica recepti de Jesu Christi S. N. Divinitate asserta,*” of the eminently learned Bishop Bull.

It is scarcely worth while to spend another word in refutation of so silly a calumny, which Dr. O’Connell will not perhaps venture openly to defend, although he tacitly assumes it in his argument. I refer to this one author in preference to others, because his writings bear immediately on the particular class of heresy to which Eunomius belonged, and we have, therefore, in them an evident and distinct proof, that in dealing with that heresy, the divines of our church employ the very same argument for which St. Basil contends, and against which Eunomius protested. It would be easy to cite hundreds of others amongst our English theological writers in support of the same argument. In fact, it is notorious that the whole spirit of our theology is opposed to the monstrous supposition that we are Eunomians in disrespect for the judgment of Christian antiquity, or that we would tolerate any arbitrary interpretations of Scripture, fanatically opposed to the Catholic faith.

To pass on, therefore, to the immediate question before us, I would remark, that the very heresy of Eunomius, in the instance against which St. Basil’s “indignant and eloquent” denunciation is directed, affords a remarkable proof that Dr. O’Connell’s doctrine of an infallible interpreter was unknown to the church of the fourth century.

For Eunomius, as we have seen, denounces antiquity, denies the authority of the saints and martyrs who had preceded him, and of the majority of Christian doctors, as witnesses to the faith; and he does so evidently because he felt that their testimony was opposed to his own peculiar views of our Lord’s Deity and Person. But he does not denounce, nor make any mention whatsoever of a living, infallible judge of controversies.*

* The same consideration tells also strongly in favour of Bishop Bull’s argument, and against the theory of the Jesuit Petavius and the Socinians. It is evident that

Neither does St. Basil, in his reply, make any allusion to the existence of such a judge : and yet a very fair opening was given him for such an allusion. For Eunomius had argued, why should we give the victory altogether to the ancients, and refuse so much as to listen to the moderns ?—τῇ τάξει τῶν προλαβόντων τὸ πλεόν νέμοντας, ἀποφράττειν τὰς ἀκοὰς τοῖς ὑστέροις. Why, then, did not St. Basil indignantly and eloquently reply, that the Christian church did always listen to the moderns, inasmuch as we have a living interpreter whose judgment we are bound to follow, and whose decisions were invested by the Almighty himself with an infallible authority ?

One can only account for this phenomenon on one or other of two suppositions. Either that Eunomius believed the decisions of this infallible interpreter to be in his favour, or that he knew nothing of the existence of such a tribunal. There is some difficulty in supposing St. Basil to have acquiesced in the former of these alternatives, and therefore we seem forced to conclude, that his silence at least can only be accounted for on the latter hypothesis. But Dr. O'Connell may take his choice.

Again, let it be observed, that Eunomius does not censure the Catholic Christians for giving an *infallible* authority to the judgment of antiquity, or for making the decisions of the primitive Fathers a rule of faith, in the sense in which we now use that term. He objects only that a *greater* weight should be given to the ancients than to the moderns. Nor does St. Basil set him right on this point ; but, on the contrary, appears to accept his words as a fair statement of the amount of authority given by the church to the testimony of antiquity. For St. Basil's reply is this, why should we not give greater weight to the tradition which has prevailed amongst so many holy men throughout the whole time that has passed, than to thy impious fictions ?—εάν περ πεισθέντες σοί, τὴν ἐν παντὶ τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ

Eunomius, when he denounced the authority of the ancients, had no idea that their testimony was on his side, or that the Fathers who flourished before his time were in fact, as Petavius asserts, of one mind with Arius in the article of our Lord's divine nature and person.

ὕπὸ τοσούτων ἁγίων κεκρατηκυῖαν παράδοσιν ἀτιμωτέραν κρίνωμεν τῆς δυσεβοῦς ὑμῶν ἐπινοίας. But if St. Basil had held the doctrine for which Dr. O'Connell now contends, ought he not to have replied, that to accept the tradition of the church as an infallible rule of faith, and to reprobate "the individual examination of the Scriptures" by moderns, was the great principle on which the faith of the church was built; that Eunomius had therefore understated the facts of the case; and that to draw a comparison, as he had done, between his own theories and the tradition of the ancients, was as impious and as absurd as if he had claimed for his confessedly modern dogmas the same authority as for the teaching of the Apostles?

Dr. O'Connell, after the foregoing extract from St. Basil, proceeds to give us another quotation, as if in continuation of it, and which nine readers out of ten will probably imagine to be another passage from the same author, and closely connected with, if not a part of, the former. For it is given in immediate continuation, without a line of explanation or a word to explain to us whose testimony we are reading. All we have to guide us is a reference in a note at the end, in these words, "De Principiis, p. 164." This led me to suspect that the extract was not from St. Basil but from Origen, and on referring to the Benedictine edition of the works of Origen, I found the passage quoted by Dr. O'Connell, sure enough, at p. 164 of the first volume. It occurs in the fourth book of the *De Principiis*, cap. 8.

From this careless and unscholarlike mode of quoting ancient writers, we are not led to expect any very great exactness in the extract itself. Dr. O'Connell was very probably under the impression that he was still quoting St. Basil,—at all events he is evidently guiltless of having consulted the original; which I shall give here in juxtaposition with the translation, which Dr. O'Connell has taken as usual from Messrs. Berington and Kirk:—

Μετὰ τὸ ὡς ἐν ἐπιδρομῇ εἰρηκέναι περὶ τοῦ θεοπνεύστου εἶναι τὰς θείας, γρα-

Having spoken thus of the inspiration of the divine writings, it is necessary for

φᾶς, ἀναγκαῖον ἐπεξελεθεῖν τῷ τρόπῳ
της ἀναγνώσεως καὶ νοήσεως αὐτῶν·
πλείστων ἀμαρτημάτων γεγενημένων
παρὰ τὸ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ πῶς δεῖ ἐφοδεύειν
τὰ ἅγια ἀναγνώσματα τοῖς πολλοῖς μὴ
εὐρήσθαι· οἱ τε γὰρ σκληροκάριοι καὶ οἱ
ιδιώται ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς, κ. τ. λ.

me to say something as to the manner
of reading and interpreting them; most
errors having arisen from many not
having found the way in which it is
necessary to proceed with the sacred
reading.

Here follows in the original, a long passage entirely omitted by Dr. O'Connell, in which Origen gives instances of the way in which the Scriptures are misinterpreted, from the cause to which he alludes: first, by the Jews, in their perversions of the prophecies; and then by the heretics, in their blasphemous distinction between the supreme God and the Creator of the universe. This whole passage, which occupies a folio page and a half of the Benedictine edition of Origen's works, is passed over by Dr. O'Connell without the slightest hint of the omission; and what follows is printed in continuation of the above, without the smallest break or interval whatsoever; and yet in Berington and Kirk,* where the same quotation, with the same omission, is to be found, the defect is indicated by dots thus . . . It is necessary also to remark, that the following words are introduced by Origen with the remark, that the cause of all false doctrines and impious opinions respecting God seems to be no other than this, that Scripture is understood, not according to the spiritual, but according to the nakedly literal sense:—

Αἰτία δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς προειρημένοις ψευ-
δοδοξίῳ καὶ ἀσεβειῶν ἢ ιδίωτικῶν περὶ
θεοῦ λόγων, οὐκ ἄλλη τις εἶναι δοκεῖ ἢ
ἡ γραφὴ κατὰ τὰ πνευματικὰ μὴ νεμο-
μένη, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸς τὸ ψιλὸν γράμμα
ἐξελημένη. Διόπερ τοῖς πειθομένοις μὴ
ἀνθρώπων εἶναι συγγράμματα τὰς ἱερὰς
βίβλους, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τοῦ ἁγίου
πνεύματος βουλήματι τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν
ὄλων διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ταυτὰς ἐναγγε-
γράφαι, καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐληλυθέναι, τὰς
φαινομένας ὁδοὺς ὑποδεκτέον· ἐχομέ-
νοις τοῦ κανόνος τῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
κατὰ διαδοχὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐρα-
νίου ἐκκλησίας.

To those that are con-
vinced that the sacred books are not the
composition of men, but have been
written by the inspiration of the Holy
Ghost,

and have come down to us, we
must point out the manifest ways of
interpretation to those who hold to the
rule of the heavenly church of Christ,
according to the succession from the
apostles.

* Faith of Catholics, vol. i. p. 345.

It will be seen that another passage is omitted in this extract, without any mark of omission, and for this Dr. O'Connell himself is responsible, for the omission does not occur in his authority, Messrs. Berington and Kirk,* whom he has followed very closely in their translation of the above passage.

We may remark, too, that these gentlemen appear to have misunderstood the meaning of Origen in this place; for he does not say, as their translation makes him say, "I must point out the manifest ways of interpretation of the Scriptures to those who believe in their inspiration and hold the rule of the church,"† but he says, "I must point out to them the way which appears to me ought to be pursued," in order to avoid the evil (of which he was speaking just before) of a too rigid adherence to the naked letter; and so the old interpretation of Rufinus translates this clause—"quæ nobis videntur recta via intelligentiæ," and the modern Benedictine translation, "qua via in eorum [scil. sacrorum librorum] lectione insistendum esse nobis videatur."

Dr. O'Connell adds to the foregoing extract another passage, as if it were a continuation of it, without any interval, paragraph, or mark of separation; and yet this other passage occurs in a very different part of Origen's works—and in the Benedictine edition, at an interval of three folio *volumes* from the former. Notwithstanding this, it is evident that our learned author imagined it to be all one extract, for he appends to this latter passage the reference which properly belongs to the former, "De Principiis, p. 164." For this ridiculous blunder Dr. O'Connell has no excuse; for although the following passage

* Dr. O'Connell, however, makes several slight alterations in the translation given by these gentlemen, all of which seem made at random, and are evidently changes for the worse.

† Messrs. Berington and Kirk print this clause thus: "we must point out the manifest ways (of interpretation) to those who hold to the rule (canon) of the heavenly church of Christ according to the succession from (of) the apostles." From which it appears that the words "of interpretation" were inserted by them as explanatory of Origen's meaning; but Dr. O'Connell omits the parentheses which indicated this.

stands in immediate juxtaposition with the foregoing, in the work of Messrs. Kirk and Berington, from which Dr. O'Connell drew such stores of learning, yet it is clearly distinguished by those gentlemen, being printed as a separate paragraph, and with a very tolerably correct reference to the works of Origen.*

This second extract is as follows ; it occurs in Origen's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, lib. v. tom. iv. Ed. Bened. p. 549, C. I give Dr. O'Connell's version of it in parallel columns, with the old Latin version, for the original Greek of this part of Origen's works is lost.

Verum Basilides et si qui cum ipso hoc sentiunt, in sua impietate relinquuntur. Nos autem apostoli sensum secundum pietatem ecclesiastici dogmatis advertamus.

Let Basilides and whoever agrees with him, be left in their impiety. But for us let us turn to the meaning of the apostle, according to the piety of the ecclesiastical doctrine.

We may remark here, that when Origen says, "Basilides et si qui cum ipso *hoc* sentiunt," he alludes by the word *hoc*, (which Dr. O'Connell does not express in his version,) to the heretical doctrine of transmigration of souls,—(*μετενσωματώσεως* dogma,) having just before told us that Basilides had strangely employed that doctrine to explain St. Paul's words, "I was alive without the law once," as if the apostle had intended to intimate that he had once lived, before he became a man, in a pre-existing state, in which he was not under the law, having been then in the form of some beast or bird—"in ea specie corporis vixi, quæ sub lege non esset, pecudis scilicet, vel avis." Upon which Origen remarks, "But let us leave Basilides, and whoever else may agree with him in this, and let us proceed now to consider the apostle's real meaning as it is interpreted by the doctrines of the church"—the impiety of the one interpretation being contrasted with the piety of the other.

Here is a marvellous and most weighty argument to prove how much Origen reprobated "the individual examination of the Scriptures." And yet there is nothing here said either of

* The only error in the reference as given by Messrs. Kirk and Berington is a typographical one. They have printed p. 349, for 549. *Faith of Catholics*, vol. i. p. 346.

individual examination, or of the Scriptures, or of reprobating anything, except the impious dogma of Basilides. The whole hangs on the single word, "ecclesiastical"—for Dr. O'Connell seems to write as if it were impossible to express acquiescence in the doctrines of the church, or respect for the authority of the church, without at the same time reprobating the Scriptures as a rule of faith.

It would be waste of time to say more on the utter inadequacy of this passage to prove our author's point; let Dr. O'Connell, therefore, and whoever agrees with him, be left to triumph in such arguments, and let us go back to consider the force of the former extracts which he has given us, apparently without being aware of it, from Origen's fourth book *De Principiis*.

And here, again, we are overwhelmed with the irresistible force of his logic. For in the first extract the argument is this:—Origen declares that most errors have arisen from ignorance of the right mode of interpreting the Scriptures. Therefore Origen reprobates the individual examination of Scripture altogether.

O great and most conclusive consequence! but how comes it, then, that Origen does not himself say so? On the contrary, he seems most awkwardly to imply the very reverse; for, after having stated that most errors arise from our not knowing how to interpret Scripture, he does not say, "therefore beware how you read them at all,"—but "therefore let me explain to you how to read and understand them rightly." And this is the testimony which Dr. O'Connell alleges as amounting to a reprobation of the individual examination of the Scriptures!

But there is another passage still remaining; and in it the argument is still more subtle and refined. For there Origen states the particular error of interpretation that so many have fallen into to be this, that they have adhered *πρὸς τὸ ψιλὸν γράμμα*, to the mere letter, not understanding the spiritual sense. And he adds, let us therefore explain what we believe to be the true way of interpretation, not for the benefit of Jews and heretics,

but for them who believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures, which the Jews do not, and who hold the rule of the church, (that is to say, the Creed,) which the heretics deny.

These are the premises of the argument. But now for Dr. O'Connell's conclusion. "Therefore we must reprobate the individual examination of the Scriptures." In other words, "Errors have been committed in the interpretation of Scripture; I will explain to you how to avoid these errors in reading the Scriptures; therefore you are not to examine the Scripture at all." What admirable reasoning. What irresistible conclusiveness.

But here, again, the church is mentioned, and the rule of the church, too; and surely, Dr. O'Connell will say, if there be a rule of the church, what business have we with individual examination of the Scriptures?

Pity that Origen did not perceive this consequence, for then he might have saved himself the trouble of the elaborate instructions he proceeds to give his readers, on the spiritual mode of interpreting Scripture. The whole thing might have been cut short with a single line. You have the rule of the church, and you hold to it; therefore you have no occasion at all to examine or interpret the Scriptures. Such, however, was Origen's blindness, that instead of reasoning thus, as he clearly ought to have done, for Dr. O'Connell's purpose, he perversely argues quite the contrary way, insomuch that it is to those especially who hold the rule of the church by succession from the apostles that he thinks it necessary to address his instructions. He even excludes others, as being less concerned in the matter; and so great is his confusion of thought on the subject, that he seems evidently to have imagined that it was the more necessary to point out to his readers the right way of interpreting the Scripture, *because* they held and were already acquainted with the rule of the church.

All this is very perplexing. Origen is certainly a most unlucky witness to bring forward in reprobation of the individual examination of Scripture; and one would hope that

Dr. O'Connell will not again venture to bring him hooded into court, without being quite sure who he is, and what he is ready to attest.

VIII.—ST. AUGUSTINE.

Dr. O'Connell next quotes the following extract from St. Augustine without any introductory remark whatsoever. I shall give the original with his translation:—

Neque enim natæ sunt hæreses, et quædam dogmata perversitatis illaqueantia animas et in profundum præcipitantia, nisi dum Scripturæ bonæ intelliguntur non bene; et quod in eis non bene intelligitur, etiam temere et audacter assertitur. Itaque, charissimi, valde caute hæc audire debemus, ad quæ capienda parvuli sumus; et corde pio et cum tremore, sicut scriptum est, hanc tenentes regulam sanitatis, ut quod secundum fidem qua imbuti sumus, intelligere valuerimus, tanquam de cibo gaudeamus: quod autem secundum sanam fidei regulam intelligere nondum potuerimus, dubitationem auferamus, intelligentiam differamus; hoc est, ut etiam si quid sit nescimus, bonum tamen et verum esse minime dubitemus. Et ego, fratres, qui suscepi loqui vobis, cogitandus sum a vobis qui susceperim, et quæ susceperim: suscepi enim tractanda divina homo, spiritualia carnalis, æterna mortalis. Etiam a me, charissimi, longe sit vana præsumptio, si volo sanus in domo Dei conversari, quæ est Ecclesia Dei vivi, columna et firmamentum veritatis: pro modulo meo capio quod vobis appono; ubi aperitur, pascor vobiscum; ubi clauditur, pulso vobiscum.

For neither have heresies, and certain perverse doctrines which ensnare souls, sprung up but by mal-interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; and what is badly understood is rashly and boldly asserted. Wherefore, my beloved, in things in which we are but little children in comprehending, let us listen to with great caution and pious heart, and, as the Scriptures say, with trembling, let us adhere to the sound rule—to be glad in whatsoever we are able to understand in *accordance with the faith* wherewith we have been imbued; but as to whatsoever we may not, as yet, be able to understand in accordance with the sound rule of faith, to put aside all doubt whatever but that it is good and true.

Far be it from me, your pastor, all vain presumption, if I would have my conversation as a sacred teacher in the house of God, which is His Church, the pillar and ground of Truth.*

This passage is produced by Dr. O'Connell as a proof that St. Augustine “reprobates the individual examination of holy

* Dr. O'Connell appends to this passage the following reference to the works of St. Augustine: “Trac. T. 3. c. xviii. in Joan Evg.” This ought to be, In Joann. Evang. Tract. xviii. n. 1. (Opp. Ed. Bened. tom. iii. part 2. p. 429.)

Scripture.” The question, therefore, before us is, does it really prove this? St. Augustine is here speaking of the words of the Gospel, in which we are told that the Jews sought to kill our blessed Lord, “because He had not only broken the Sabbath, but also said that God was His Father, making Himself equal with God.” And in reference to our Lord’s reply to this accusation, (John, v. 19,) he remarks, that it was intended to excite their minds, and disturb their preconceived opinions, in order that they might become sensible of their ignorance, or their malice, and be led to seek to the true Physician—“Adversus hanc eorum calumniam, venientem vel de ignorantia, vel de malitia, loquitur Dominus non omnino quod capiant, sed unde agitentur et conturbentur, et fortasse vel conturbati medicum quærant.” The Jews, in fact, as he afterwards intimates, had reasoned from true principles: (for it was clearly a fearful blasphemy for a man to make himself equal with God;) but they did not know that our Lord, although a man, was also very God. St. Augustine therefore says, (what is fearfully true,) that heresies and other perverse doctrines, ensnaring souls and casting them into hell, have their foundation in a bad interpretation of the good Scriptures, and in a bold and daring assertion of what is thus wrongly understood. But what is his conclusion from this? If he had been of Dr. O’Connell’s mind, he ought, one would think, to have inferred, “therefore let us beware of all individual examination of those good Scriptures from which evil interpretations are so easily drawn.” But instead of this he argues, “Therefore let us be cautious, let us suspect ourselves, let us remember that in these things we are but as children, let us adhere to the only safe rule, which is this, to receive as wholesome food, whatsoever we are able to understand in accordance with the faith we have been taught; and to suspend our judgment in whatsoever we are unable to reconcile with that faith, believing, however, that whether we can understand it or no, the Scripture nevertheless is good and true.”

This is a brief paraphrase of the passage quoted by Dr. O’Connell, which contains assuredly no *reprobation* of individual

examination of the Scriptures: it is part of a short sermon on the text, "The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do,"—words which at first sight, and in the hands of a rash or presumptuous interpreter, might seem inconsistent with our faith in the Deity of our Lord; and therefore St. Augustine exhorts his hearers, in reference to such mysterious sayings of the Scripture, to remember that in these things we are but as children; and to believe that even though we should be unable to reconcile them, the Scripture is always capable of being reconciled with the faith, and the faith with the Scripture.

The only thing reprobated here is the spirit of rash and daring dogmatism, which would presumptuously draw hasty inferences from a mysterious or difficult passage of Scripture, not waiting to compare it with other passages, or with the fundamental principles of the Christian faith. But Dr. O'Connell, as usual, assumes, that there can be no individual examination of Scripture, without this kind of gross abuse which no person contends for or defends, least of all the church of England. The rule of soundness (*regula sanitatis*) of St. Augustine is our rule also—we earnestly impress it upon all who are engaged in the study of the Scriptures, and we exemplify it in the soundness and moderation of our formularies and doctrines; nay, we hold that not even the church itself, much less individuals, "may so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another."* Nor are we insensible to the danger of those who, in carnal pride and self-conceit, undertake to interpret the Scriptures for themselves: "The unlearned and unstable, (saith St. Peter,)" to use the language of one of our Homilies, "pervert the holy Scripture to their owne destruction. Jesus Christ, (as St. Paul saith) is to the Jewes an offence, to the Gentiles foolishnes: But to God's children, aswell of the Jewes as of the Gentiles He is the power and wisdom of God. The holy man Simeon saith, that He is set forth for the fall and rising againe of many in Israel. As Christ Jesus is a fall to the reprobate, which yet

* Art. 20.

perish through their owne default: so is His Word, yea the whole Booke of God a cause of damnation unto them through their incredulity. And as He is a rising up to none other than those which are God's children by adoption, so is His Word, yea the whole Scripture, the power of God to salvation to them only that doe believe it. Christ himselfe, the Prophets before Him, the Apostles after Him, all the true ministers of God's holy word, yea every word in God's Booke, is unto the reprobate, the savour of death unto death."*

If Dr. O'Connell had found such a passage as this in St. Augustine, it would doubtless have been paraded as an indubitable proof that individual examination of the Scriptures was a very bad thing, and utterly reprobated by the ancient Fathers. But if we are to understand by a reprobation of individual examination of the Scriptures, that the discipline of the primitive church prohibited the perusal of the Scriptures to the laity, the passage quoted by Dr. O'Connell from St. Augustine, when fairly considered, proves beyond a question that this was not the case. For if so, the caution given by St. Augustine to his hearers would have been unnecessary. Instead of giving them a rule, to enable them, in reading the Scriptures, to escape the dangers of a false interpretation, he ought rather to have congratulated them on not being in any way exposed to such a danger, inasmuch as the Scriptures were wisely withheld from them altogether by the discipline of the church. But instead of this, the rule he lays down presupposes that they had a full and free access to the Scriptures: for he tells them that the sound rule of interpretation is, to remember always that in such matters we are but children, and therefore to rejoyce whenever we are able to understand any difficult passage so as to reconcile it with the fundamental articles of the faith; and whenever we are not able to do this, to put aside all doubt, and to believe that even though we cannot understand it, the Word of God is always consistent with goodness and truth.

* An information for them which take offence at certaine places of the holy Scripture; Part II.

The testimony of St. Augustine, therefore, clearly makes nothing in favour of Dr. O'Connell's doctrine, but proves beyond a question that the study of the Scriptures, notwithstanding the admitted danger of erroneous interpretations, was by no means interdicted to the church of that time.

IX.—ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA.

In the testimony which Dr. O'Connell produces from the writings of St. Cyril of Alexandria, we have a curious and very instructive instance of the manner in which he has manufactured his authorities at second hand.

Messrs. Berington and Kirk* have quoted the following passage from the writings of this father :—

“ He (John of Antioch) grieves all the bishops, both in the east and in the west, (saying) that the word concerning Christ is not orthodox, but perverted. But it suffices for a demonstration and refutation of these things, that they have never been said by one in the churches, as they are set down in the expositions of this man.—*Ad Clerum C. P.* col. 333, t. iii. *Labb. Concil.*”

And in a note on this passage, the same authors tell us,

“ St. Cyril of Alexandria speaks frequently of the difficulty and obscurity of the Scripture: ‘ How profound is the word, and obscure the sentence of the law! Because it is enigmatical, and a scarcely visible shadowing forth, as it were, of subtile and fine-drawn (thin) thoughts.’—T. i. *De Ador. in Sp. et Ver.*, p. 616. ‘ The language of the holy prophets is always obscure, and replete with hidden sentiments, and labours with the prediction of the Divine mysteries.’—T. ii. *Comm. in Esai.*, p. i.”

From these materials Dr. O'Connell has made up the following article :—

“ ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA.

“ This most learned Father makes frequent allusions to the absurdity of men following their own views, in the reading of

* Faith of Catholics, vol. i. p. 384.

the Sacred Text," [as if this was the question at issue, or as if anybody, who was not a mere fanatic, ever maintained that we ought to follow our own views in reading the sacred text.] " 'How profound,' he writes, 'is the word, and obscure the sentence of the law! Because it is enigmatical, and a scarcely visible shadowing forth, as it were, of subtile and fine-drawn thoughts. The language of the prophets is always obscure, replete with hidden mystery, and labours with the prediction of the Divine mysteries.' "

Here the reader will observe that Dr. O'Connell puts together as one continuous passage, the two quotations taken from two different works, and from two different volumes of the works of St. Cyril, which he had found quoted in the foregoing note of Messrs. Berington and Kirk. And yet the references marking them as distinct and unconnected passages are given plainly enough by those gentlemen.

But further, Messrs. Berington and Kirk had quoted these passages as instances of the frequent mention "of the difficulty and obscurity of the Scripture" in St. Cyril's writings. This has some show at least of reason, for St. Cyril does certainly here speak of the obscurity and difficulty of some parts of Scripture, the Law, namely, and the Prophets. But there is not the smallest reason for Dr. O'Connell's statement that these passages contain an allusion to "the absurdity of men following their own views in the reading of the Sacred Text." However frequently St. Cyril may allude to that absurdity, there is certainly no allusion to it here.

Nor is it very fair to say with Messrs. Berington and Kirk, that St. Cyril here speaks of the difficulty and obscurity of the *whole* Scripture. Everybody admits that *portions* of holy Scripture are difficult and obscure; and this is all that St. Cyril, in the passages before us, has asserted.

The first of them is taken from the Dialogue, *De Adoratione in Spiritu et Veritate*; and Messrs. Berington and Kirk, who are followed of course by Dr. O'Connell, have, in quoting it, mixed up the words spoken by Palladius, (the interlocutor in the Dia-

logue) with St. Cyril's answer, as if they were all one, and spoken by the same person. The original with the Latin version of John Aubert's edition of the works of this Father* is as follows:—

ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙΟΣ. Ὅς βαθυς ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἀμυδρὸν τοῦ νόμου τὸ χρῆμα;

PALLADIUS. Quam recondita sunt Scripturæ verba, et obscura Legis sententia!

To which Cyril answers:—

ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΣ. Αἴνιγμα γὰρ, ὦ Παλλάδιε, καὶ οἰονεὶ λεπτῶν τε καὶ διεσμυλευμένων ἐννοιῶν, ἀσυμφανές ἀποσκίασμα.

CYRILLUS. Ænigma nempe est, Palladi, ac veluti obscura subtilium tenuissimarumque sententiarum adumbratio.

And now let the reader judge of the fairness of this quotation, even as it stands in Dr. O'Connell's authority. St. Cyril had just before been explaining to Palladius the typical signification of the Mosaical sacrifices. The lambs, he says, appointed for sacrifices are types of the flock, τῆς ἀγέλης. Calves are a type of strength; rams, of full and perfect strength. Therefore rams denote the faithful in Christ, who have attained to spiritual strength and perfection; and the law appoints two to be offered because spiritual perfection must be twofold, in *word* and in *deed*. Wine is poured out,† to show that the perfect in Christ are filled with joy and rejoicing, as it is written, Wine maketh glad the heart of man. A he-goat is slain, with two lambs and bread for a sacrifice of salvation, (εἰς θυσίαν σωτηρίου,)‡ to signify that Emmanuel died for our sins, who is typified by the he-goat; and the lambs must die with Him and the bread be consumed, to show that Christians, the lambs of His flock, must also be buried with Christ, as St. Paul speaks, by mortifying their members which are upon the earth, not living for this world, but for Christ. And therefore this is called a sacrifice of salvation because Christ communicates salvation to all who are so buried with Him, and so die with Him.

Upon receiving this explanation of the typical import of the Levitical sacrifices, Palladius very naturally exclaims, "How

* Opp. S. Cyrilli Alex. ed. Joan Auberto. Paris, 1638, tom. i. p. 616. B.

† Num. xxviii. 7.

‡ See Lev. ix. 4, in the Septuagint.

deep the expression, and how dark the signification* of the law!" And Cyril answers, "Because it is an enigma, Palladius, and resembles the dim shadowing forth of subtile and finely-polished thoughts."

Can anything be more unfair than to represent such a passage as this as an assertion of the obscurity and difficulty of the *whole* Scripture, in such a sense as to render it necessary to reprobate the individual examination of Holy Writ? St. Cyril is here speaking only of the Law of Moses, and does not even assert the difficulty and obscurity of that part of Holy Scripture generally, or in its literal and primary signification, but only the difficulty of discovering in it that typical meaning, and those obscure allusions to the deeper mysteries of Christianity, of which he had been speaking just before. It is difficult to repress some feeling of indignation at so gross a specimen of literary misrepresentation.

And the same unfairness is also manifest in the quotation of the second passage which occurs at the beginning of St. Cyril's commentary on Isaiah. There also he had in view the mystical interpretations and far-fetched allegorical expositions of Holy Scripture, which in that age were so common, and which have done so much to give plausibility to the opinion that the Scriptures are dark, difficult, and unintelligible. His words are as follows†:—

Ἄσυμφανης μὲν αἰεὶ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν ὁ λόγος, μεμίστωται δὲ τῶν κεκρυμμένων ἐννοιῶν, καὶ μυστηρίων ἡμῶν τῶν θεῶν ὠδίνει προαγόρευσιν. τέλος γὰρ νόμον καὶ προφητῶν ὁ Χριστὸς, καθὼς γέγραπται.

The meaning of the holy prophets, always obscure, is mingled with hidden thoughts, and travaileth with the prediction unto us of the Divine mysteries; for, as it is written, Christ is the end of the law and of the prophets.

How this proves St. Cyril to have reprobated the individual examination of the Scriptures is difficult to explain; and no

* Messrs. Berington and Kirk render this "the *sentence* of the law," following the Latin version "*quam obscura legis sententia.*" But "*sententia*" (χρημα) here evidently should be rendered, meaning, signification. A little before, when St. Cyril asks, "What does this signify?" the Greek is, τι τὸ χρημα πάλιν. In the foregoing clause, the word λόγος, if I mistake not, ought also to be rendered "meaning," "sense," "rationale"; not "*Scripturæ verba,*" as in Aubert's version.

† Opp. tom. ii. p. *.

less difficult is it to discover here any allusion to “the absurdity of men following their own views in the reading of the sacred text.” Similar complaints of the obscurity and difficulty of the prophetic Scriptures may be found in almost every writer who has undertaken to interpret them; but this is so far from proving the individual examination of the Scriptures to be prohibited, that many divines have supposed the obscurity of prophecy to have been intended by its Divine Author as an incentive to the study of it.

But we have not yet done with the arguments which Dr. O’Connell has derived from the writings of St. Cyril of Alexandria, as he found them quoted by Messrs. Berington and Kirk. He proceeds:—

“When John of Antioch had departed from the teaching of the church, by a perverse interpretation of the written Word, St. Cyril observes, by way of the most effectual refutation of his errors, ‘that he stood alone in his views, and was in opposition with the received doctrine of the church.’ Speaking of this heretic, he observes—

“‘He grieves all the bishops, both in the East and in the West, asserting that the word concerning Christ is not orthodox, but perverted. But it suffices for *demonstration and refutation of these things*, that they have never been said by any one within the churches as they are set down in the exposition of this man.’”

Where St. Cyril has said of John of Antioch that he “stood alone in his views, and was in opposition with the received doctrine of the church,” Dr. O’Connell does not inform us, and I think it would puzzle him to tell. Messrs. Berington and Kirk do not quote any such words; and, therefore, if they are St. Cyril’s words at all, Dr. O’Connell must have found them in some other authority. I am inclined to think, however, that, although he gives them with marks of quotation, he did not intend them to be regarded strictly as such, but only as a brief summary of the testimony to be found in the passage he was about to cite.

Assuredly a little learning is a dangerous thing. From the name of John of Antioch, inserted in a parenthesis by Messrs. Berington and Kirk, Dr. O'Connell has taken occasion to favour the world with the information that that patriarch was a heretic, who had departed from the teaching of the church "by a perverse interpretation of the written Word," and who "stood alone in his views."

It is true that John of Antioch resisted vehemently the proceedings of St. Cyril at the Council of Ephesus; it is true also that he was the personal friend of Nestorius, whom he defended with great warmth, by interposing delays to retard the meeting of the Council, and by other means, which are not perhaps to be justified. But it is equally certain that his advocacy of Nestorius was altogether personal, and that he did not in any degree defend or maintain the errors attributed to that patriarch. The fact that St. Cyril, the personal enemy of Nestorius, was the president of the council where his character for orthodoxy was to be decided, was enough, one would think, to justify some degree of opposition to the competency of such a tribunal. This question, however, is now settled, not only by the acquiescence of the church in the sentence of the Council, but by the ultimate submission of John of Antioch himself, and his reconciliation with St. Cyril; and one would have thought that this fact, so well known to everybody else, might have saved Dr. O'Connell from the absurd mistake of calling John of Antioch a heretic.*

To this Dr. O'Connell may, perhaps, reply, "But has not St. Cyril called him so in the very passage I have quoted? Does he not there expressly say, that John of Antioch grieved all the bishops, both of the East and West? that his doctrine was

* If Dr. O'Connell wishes to be assured of this, let him read Pagius, ad Annal. Baron. A.D. 432, n. 15. Ceillier, (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccl. tom. xiii. p. 228*) says, speaking of John of Antioch, "Instruct dès son enfance dans les saintes lettres, il avoit acquis une grande connoissance de la doctrine et des canons de l'Eglise. C'étoit un esprit hardi et capable de tout entreprendre; sa foi étoit pure, et l'exposition qu'il en avoit fait au nom des Evêques d'orient, fut louée dans le concile de Calcedoine. Saint Euloge d'Alexandrie lui donne le titre de Saint."

heterodox, and refuted by the common consent of all Christendom?"

I answer, that St. Cyril does say this of Nestorius, but not of John of Antioch. For the passage quoted by Dr. O'Connell, which Messrs. Berington and Kirk represent as spoken of John, was in reality spoken of Nestorius, as any one may see by turning to the original, as it is given by Labbe and Cossart among the documents they have collected in illustration of the Council of Ephesus.* And all Dr. O'Connell has said about John of Antioch is a mistake, founded upon the blunder of Messrs. Berington and Kirk, who have applied to John what was really spoken of Nestorius. A remarkable proof, if any were needed, that Dr. O'Connell's patristic learning consists of borrowed plumes, which, as in this instance, he has occasionally put on somewhat awkwardly.

The passage in question occurs in a letter addressed by St. Cyril to certain of the clergy of Constantinople; and it is evident that when he speaks to them of "your bishop," he must mean Nestorius, and not John of Antioch, with whom they had no connexion. The original, with a translation which, I hope, will be found to express its correct meaning, is as follows. I give as much of the context as will enable the reader to understand the real bearing of the passage quoted by Dr. O'Connell:—

Συντυχόντες τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνα λέγετε· ὅτι ποιεῖτε μὲν κακῶς, εἰσβαλλόντες τινὰς καταφλυαρεῖν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν, καὶ τούτους θάλποντες καὶ συγκροτοῦντες, καὶ ὄργανα τῆς ἑαυτῶν μοχθηρίας ποιούμενοι. πλὴν οὐχ αὕτη τῆς λύπης ἐστὶν ἡ πρόφασις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὄλως ἐχθρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐνταῦθα· λυπεῖ δὲ πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσιν ἐπισκόπους τὸ μὴ γίνεσθαι ὀρθῶς τὸν περὶ Χριστοῦ λόγον, ἀλλὰ διεστραμμένως· ἀρκεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν καὶ ἔλεγχον αὐτῶν, τὸ μηδεπώποτε ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ταῦτα παρὰ τινος εἰρησθαι, ὅλον δὲ τὸ κειμένον ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐξηγήσειν.

When you meet them therefore say, Ye do wrong in suborning some to calumniate your bishop, encouraging and patronising them, and making them the instruments of your own malice; this, however, is not the cause of grief, nor is your bishop at all an enemy here; but it grieves all the bishops, both of the east and west, that the doctrine concerning Christ should not be taught soundly, but corruptly. And in proof and refutation of these things it is enough that such opinions as we find in his expositions are never expressed by any one in the churches.

* Concil. tom. iii. p. 333. C.

It is evident, therefore, to every one who is capable of forming an opinion on the subject, that Messrs. Berington and Kirk were mistaken in supposing these words to have been spoken against John of Antioch. And the additional mistakes which Dr. O'Connell has built upon this error, may serve him as a warning of the danger of following blindly in the track of others, without any "individual examination" of the passages they have quoted from the Fathers. In this case, although the original blunder is not his own, yet Dr. O'Connell has made himself thoroughly responsible for it: inasmuch as he gives this and all his other quotations with the air of one who had them from his own stores of learning, immediately from the original writers: nor does he so much as once mention Messrs. Berington and Kirk (notwithstanding his deep obligations to their labours) from one end of his pamphlet to the other.

But whether the words in question relate to John of Antioch or to Nestorius (Dr. O'Connell may, perhaps, say) is a minor matter, having no bearing on the argument, for the sake of which the passage is quoted. The testimony of St. Cyril against the individual examination of the Scripture is the same, whichever of these patriarchs be the object of his censure.

It is not easy, however, to understand what this testimony is, notwithstanding that Dr. O'Connell has printed in italics the words, "*demonstration and refutation of these things.*" There does not seem to be in the passage any reference to the Scriptures at all, much less any condemnation of "individual examination" of them. St. Cyril does not say, that the errors of Nestorius originated in "the individual examination of the Scriptures," or that they were in any way derived, or pretended to be derived, from the Scriptures: but simply that it was sufficient for their refutation that they were wholly new, and unknown to the church.

And that this may be said without any condemnation of the individual examination of the Scripture is evident from this, that it is the very same argument which we ourselves employ in refutation of Romanism, Socinianism, and other errors. It

grieves us that the truth in Christ should be corrupted, by the addition of scholastic subtleties, and mediæval superstitions; and we think it enough for the refutation of such additions that they are not to be found in the faith or practice of the primitive church in its best and purest ages.

But Dr. O'Connell seems to use the term "individual examination of the Scriptures" in a sense peculiar to himself, and for which nobody contends. He appears to think that there can be no individual examination of the Scriptures, unless "the individual" is assumed to be thoroughly ignorant, guiding himself solely by his own whims and conceits, and systematically despising all helps, either from human learning or from the judgment of Christian antiquity. He takes for granted always that the individual who undertakes to examine the Scriptures for himself must necessarily set at nought the faith, together with the authority of the church, and of every other guide or teacher, and form his conclusions as to the true signification of holy Scripture entirely from the accidental bent or inclination of his own mind.

But who is there who advocates or recommends such an examination of Scripture as this? Certainly not the church of England.

X.—ST. JEROME.

The remark just made will be still more evident from the next quotation, which Dr. O'Connell takes from St. Jerome, and introduces to us without any more exact reference to the writings of that Father than the following:—

"Speaking of his Commentaries on the Scriptures, he observes."

The extract which follows occurs in the well known Epistle of St. Jerome, addressed to Paulinus, which is prefixed to all editions of the Latin Vulgate Bible, and begins with the words "*Frater Ambrosius.*"*

* It is Epist. 50 in the Bened. edition of St. Jerome's works, and in the edition of Vallarsius, Ep. 53, tom. i. p. 270.

Dr. O'Connell has sadly garbled the words of his author ; but I shall lay before the reader his translation, if translation it may be called, in juxtaposition with the original.

Hæc a me perstricta sunt breviter (neque enim Epistolaris angustia evagari longius patiebatur) ut intelligeres te in Scripturis sanctis, sine prævio et monstrante semitam non posse ingredi. Taceo de Grammaticis, Rhetoribus, Philosophis, Geometris, Dialecticis, Musicis, Astronomis, Astrologis, Medicis, quorum scientia mortalibus vel utilissima est, et in tres partes scinditur, τὸ δόγμα, τὴν μέθοδον, τὴν ἐμπειρίαν. Ad minores artes veniam, et quæ non tam λόγῳ, quam manu administrantur. Agricola, cæmentarii, fabri, metallorum, lignorumve cæsores, lanarii quoque et fullones, et cæteri qui variam supellectilem et vilia opuscula fabricantur, absque doctore non possunt esse quod cupiunt.

Quod medicorum est
Promittunt medici, tractant fabrilia
fabri.

Sola Scripturarum ars est, quam sibi
omnes passim vindicant,

Scribimus indocti, doctique, poemata
passim.

Hæc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus, hanc universi præsumunt, lacerant, docent, antequam discant. Alii adducto supercilio, grandia verba trutinantes, inter mulierculas de sacris literis philosophantur. Alii discant, proh pudor, a feminis, quod viros doceant: et ne parum hoc sit, quadam facilitate verborum, immo audacia edisserunt aliis, quod ipsi non intelligunt. Taceo de mei similibus, qui si forte ad Scripturas sanctas post sæculares literas venerint, et sermone composito aurem populi mulserint, quidquid dixerint, hoc legem Dei putant: nec scire dignantur, quid Prophetæ, quid Apostoli senserint; sed ad sensum suum incongrua aptant testimonia; quasi grande sit, et non vitiosissimum docendi

These things have I lightly touched upon

that you may understand that you cannot make your way into the Scriptures without having a guide before you to show you the road. I say nothing of Grammarians, Geometricians, Rhetoricians, Logicians, . . . whose knowledge is of great utility to the world.

But I will come to the inferior arts, such as are exercised not so much by reason as by the hand.

Even these artisans cannot become what they desire without the aid of a teacher.

Quod medicorum est
Permittunt [*sic*] medici, tractant fabrilia
fabri.

The science of the Scriptures is the only one which all persons claim indiscriminately as theirs,

Scribimus indocti, doctique, poemata
passim.

This the babbling old woman, this the doting old man, that the wordy sophist take upon themselves—tear to shreds—teaching before they themselves have learned. Some weighing out long periods with uplifted eyes, talk philosophy to a crowd of young females, concerning or out of the Scriptures, philosophantur de Scriptura

As if it was something great, instead of being

genus, depravare sententias, et ad voluntatem suam Scripturam trahere repugnantem.

most censurable, to distort sentences, and force the reluctant Scripture to their own conceits.*

Here, it will be seen, St. Jerome inveighs with his usual eloquence, not against "individual examination of the Scriptures," but against ignorance, against presumption, against abuses in the interpreting of the Scriptures, which no sane person has ever attempted to defend. This, however, is the sophistry from which Dr. O'Connell is unable to disentangle himself; and because he finds in the writings of the Fathers, eloquent denunciations of such abuses, he at once concludes that this is equivalent to a reprobation of "individual examination of the Scriptures."

But St. Jerome was so far from reprobating the individual examination of the Scripture, that the very letter from which the above quotation is taken, was written to recommend to Paulinus, who, I presume, was an individual, the examination and study of the Scriptures. And so little did St. Jerome dream of the possibility of any contrary conclusion being drawn from his eloquent denunciation of those who attempt to expound the Scripture before they have learned it themselves, that he concludes with the following earnest exhortation to the individual examination of it: "Oro te frater carissime, inter hæc vivere, ista meditari, nihil aliud nosse, nihil quærere, nonne tibi videtur jam hic in terris regni cœlestis habitaculum?"

And does it not seem also very remarkable that St. Jerome should describe, as the evils of his own day, the very abuses

* I am unwilling to divert the reader from the main question at issue by stopping to point out minor inaccuracies. However, it may perhaps be worth noting that St. Jerome was not speaking of his own Commentaries on the Scripture in connexion with the foregoing extract; as Dr. O'Connell appears to have thought. The reader will also observe that the omissions very much impair the sense in many places. Thus the words which follow the first omission, "whose knowledge is of the greatest utility to the world," have reference, not to grammarians, geometricians, rhetoricians, or logicians, but to *physicians*, of whom Dr. O'Connell takes no notice; and they ought to be rendered, "whose science is of the greatest use to *mortals*." These, however, are trifles of no importance, except so far as they may lead us to doubt whether Dr. O'Connell was ever guilty of an individual examination of *the Fathers*; and therefore we may fairly question his competency to instruct the Church of England in patristic theology.

which writers of Dr. O'Connell's class are so fond of declaiming against, as if they were the peculiar fruit and offspring of the Reformation? The Scriptures, he says, are the only branch of knowledge in which everybody imagines himself to be a master. Nobody sets up to be a rhetorician, an astronomer, a physician, without having regularly learned those sciences. Nobody attempts to exercise even the meaner manual arts or trades without having been brought up to them; but everybody thinks himself qualified to give an opinion upon the Scriptures, although in opposition to the judgment of those who have made theology the study of their lives.

This is exactly what we find to be the case at the present day; but when we go on to read what Jerome adds about the garrulous old lady and the doting old man, the verbose sophist and the eloquent philosopher lecturing young ladies, to say nothing of those who, he says, were in the habit of learning their theology from the ladies, would we not almost think that he was describing the evils that are prevalent amongst ourselves, and that he had lived in the nineteenth instead of in the fifth century?

And what is the natural conclusion from this? Is it not that the Scriptures were then, as now, accessible to all? That the church of the fifth century did not prohibit the individual examination of the Scriptures, although by no means insensible to the dangerous use which might occasionally be made of the Scriptures, by ignorance and presumption? And that the evils which controversial writers of Dr. O'Connell's school are so fond of attributing to the Reformation are in truth the necessary result of human infirmity, and have been found to exist at all times, yea, even in the best and purest ages of the church?

A state of things such as St. Jerome has described could not have existed if the discipline of the church had rigidly prohibited all access to the Scriptures to the laity or the unlearned. And it is remarkable that St. Jerome makes no allusion to any such prohibition, nor even to the advantages of the infallible interpreter, whose guidance would have effectually prevented all such abuses as he has so graphically described. On the con-

tray, he speaks of those abuses, exactly as we would ourselves now speak of them ; by holding them up to ridicule, and to the condemnation of common sense.

Whenever Dr. O'Connell can convict us of maintaining that in the study of the Scriptures neither learning, nor information, nor judgment is necessary :—whenever he hears us recommend as teachers of Divine truth the babbling old women and raving dotards of whom St. Jerome speaks—when he discovers that the church of England recommends every one to consider his own crude interpretations of Scripture as the law of God, or permits each individual to distort sentences and force the reluctant Scriptures to their own conceits, then he may with reason adduce passages like the foregoing as an irrefragable argument against us. But until then, we must be permitted to maintain, that in all the quotations with which he has hitherto favoured us from the writings of the Fathers, we can detect much that is inconsistent with the modern doctrine of his own school of divines, but nothing that does not in the strongest manner establish the doctrine of our church—proving, as the foregoing passage from St. Jerome most clearly does, that the same liberty of access to the Holy Scriptures which the church of England now allows to her faithful children, was also allowed to the faithful by the primitive church. And whilst we cease not to warn all against ignorance, and arrogance, and presumption ; whilst we avail ourselves of all the aids of human learning, and above all, whilst we give the highest place to the judgment of the Fathers and of the primitive church, not as though their judgment were infallible, but because they were nearer to the fountain head of truth, and had access to many sources of knowledge and of light that since have perished—whilst we are fully alive to the peculiar dangers of an age like the present, when solid learning is almost quenched in the conceited admiration with which we regard ourselves—nevertheless the church of England exhorts all men to examine the Scriptures for themselves, conscious that the honest inquirer will there find nothing but truth and salvation : and that whatever may be the evils which human sin and human infirmity may draw from the fountain, nothing but evil

can be the consequence of withholding from the perishing sinner the waters of life—and we therefore say, in the language of St. Jerome, “Petenti datur, pulsanti aperietur: quærens invenit. Discamus in terris, quorum nobis scientia perseveret in cœlo;”* and again, “Nobis curæ est, non quid unusquisque possit, aut velit; sed quid Scripturæ præcipiant, dicere.”†

PART II.

Testimony of the Fathers adduced by Dr. O'Connell to prove that the Church is to be regarded as the Infallible Expounder of the Scripture.

I have now gone through *all* the extracts from the Fathers which Dr. O'Connell has adduced in proof of his first position, that the “individual examination of the Scriptures” was “reprobated” by the Primitive Church.

We have seen that these quotations are in every instance made at second-hand, in very loose and inaccurate versions, frequently garbled and unfairly separated from their context in such a manner as to misrepresent their real meaning, and that in no one case has Dr. O'Connell succeeded in proving that the individual examination of the Scriptures was reprobated, or in any way prohibited in the early church.

We have seen, also, that the sophistry which has imposed on his own mind, and led him to imagine the extracts he has quoted to be in point, is briefly this: he assumes that “individual examination of the Scriptures as a rule of faith” necessarily implies a bold, ignorant, and licentious interpretation of the Scriptures; a systematic wresting of the sacred text to the support of crude or whimsical “individual” opinions; and the deliberate rejection of all those aids which are derived from learning, the rules of sober criticism, and the tradition, or faith of the church.

Thus it has happened that whenever Dr. O'Connell, in his search through the pages of Messrs. Berington and Kirk,

* Ad Paulinum, Epist. 53, n. 9. Edit. Vallars. i. 281.

† Ad Pammachium, Epist. 48. n. 15; Ibid. 228.

chanced to discover a passage from an ancient father, reprobating such ignorant or fanatical abuse of the Scriptures, or pointing out the necessity of paying due regard to apostolical tradition, he at once concluded that this was a condemnation of the individual examination of the Scriptures. Forgetting that his opponents of the Church of England condemn all such licentious misinterpretations as fully as any of the ancients; that we are as anxious to guard our people against the danger of "wresting the Scriptures to their own damnation," as Dr. O'Connell himself can be; and that we uniformly appeal to the faith and teaching of the Primitive Church, in our controversies both with Romanism and Socinianism, believing the apostolical tradition which has been handed down to us in the Creed, to be the best and surest aid to the true interpretation of the Scripture.

The passages, therefore, which Dr. O'Connell has quoted from the Fathers, when rightly interpreted, and taken as they stand in their context, are so far from making against us, that they are in strict accordance with the teaching of the Church of England; and we have seen, also, that not a few of them distinctly imply the non-existence of the supposed infallible interpreter, for which Dr. O'Connell and his party contend.

This will be still more clearly evident from an examination of the next series of quotations adduced by our author as a reply to his second position, which he proposes in the form of the following question:—

"Have the Greek and Latin Fathers acknowledged the church to be the sole authoritative expounder of Scripture?"

This question is proposed in such a manner as to keep out of sight the real point at issue. In one sense it is admitted by every one that the church must be the sole authoritative expounder of Scripture. No person contends or supposes that the heathen, the infidel, or the heretic, is any authority on the signification of the Scriptures: it is therefore quite manifest that in the Christian church alone is to be found its true interpretation and meaning; and it is easy to find passages of ancient authors in which some such statement as this is made.

But is the church in such a sense the authoritative expounder

of Scripture, that no room remains for the exercise of individual or private judgment? Has the church, in point of fact, made known to its members any such authoritative exposition on all questions that can arise out of the Scripture ; and is this authoritative exposition so intelligible and so universally accessible, that no place remains for doubt or error, in those that follow it?

This is the real question : and this we must be permitted, on the evidence of facts, to answer most decidedly in the negative. It is true that the church has authority in controversies of faith ; and in virtue of that authority she has decided the great fundamental questions of our Lord's essential deity and incarnation, the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and the resurrection from the dead. These essentials of the Christian faith she has embodied in the creeds, which we do most cordially receive and believe, because they can be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture. So far, then, we admit that the church is the sole authoritative expounder of the Scripture, but we do not think that this authoritative exposition reaches to all things whatsoever, so as to exclude all exercise of private judgment. We do not think that this authority has in fact decided, or, in the intention of our Lord, was ever given to her for the purpose of deciding all questions whatsoever, so as to preclude the exercise of individual responsibility, and to reduce religious faith to the blind, unreasoning act, of implicitly following a guide. On the contrary, we believe that our Lord, in accordance with the analogy of nature in all other things, has required from us in religion the fair and legitimate use of our reason and judgment. He has not absolutely secured our souls from error, any more than He has secured our bodies from the effects of carelessness or imprudence. On all things necessary to salvation He has provided us with such means of knowledge, and such assistances of divine grace, that whosoever sincerely wishes to do His will, shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God ; and although, in the exercise of His sovereign wisdom, He has been pleased to make danger, difficulty, and temptations, the instruments of our trial and discipline, both moral and intellectual, yet is He so merciful to our infirmities, that with the temptation He gives us always a means

of escape, that we may be able, if we are willing, to flee from the wrath to come.

These few obvious remarks being premised, let us now proceed to examine the quotations which Dr. O'Connell has brought forward from the writings of the Fathers. We shall find, as before, that they are in many cases garbled, mistranslated, and unfairly cited: and that in every case, whenever they bear on the subject at all, they in reality prove our doctrine, and are in fact inconsistent with the dogma of infallibility, as it is now claimed by the modern Church of Rome.

This fact will account for the vague and ambiguous manner in which Dr. O'Connell has proposed his question. He evidently felt a secret consciousness that the Greek and Latin Fathers would not bear out the notion of papal infallibility if it had been proposed plainly; he disguises it therefore under the notion of *authority*, which is ambiguous, because an authoritative decision does not necessarily imply an infallible one. Still, however, we must remember, in considering the weight of the following extracts, that unless it can be shown that by *authority* the Fathers meant *infallibility*, their evidence makes nothing for Dr. O'Connell's purpose—and that his question ought really to have been this, if it had been his object to avoid all ambiguity, "Have the Greek and Latin Fathers acknowledged the church to be the *infallible* expounder of Scripture?"

I.—ST. IRENÆUS.

His first evidence, as before, is taken from St. Irenæus; and I shall follow the same course which has been hitherto adopted, by placing our author's translation in juxtaposition with the original.

Judicabit autem et eos, qui schismata operantur, qui sunt inanes, non habentes Dei dilectionem, suamque utilitatem potius considerantes, quam unitatem Ecclesiæ: et propter modicas et quaslibet causas magnum et gloriosum corpus Christi conscindunt, et dividunt, et

God will judge those who cause divisions in the Church; men destitute of the love of God, who have in view their own interest, but not the oneness of the Church, and who rend and divide, and, as far as in them lies, destroy the glorious Body of Christ; men who have peace on

quantum in ipsis est, interficiunt: pacem loquentes et bellum operantes: vere liquantes culicem, et camelum transglutientes. Nulla enim ab eis tanta potest fieri correctio, quanta est schismatis pernicies. Judicabit autem et omnes eos qui sunt extra veritatem, id est, qui sunt extra ecclesiam: ipse autem a nemine judicabitur. Omnia enim ei constant: et in unum Deum omnipotentem, ex quo omnia, fides integra; et in filium Dei Christum Jesum Dominum nostrum, per quem omnia, et dispositiones ejus, per quas homo factus est filius Dei, sententia firma, quæ est in Spiritu Dei, qui præstat agnitionem veritatis, qui dispositiones Patris et Filii exposuit, secundum quas aderat generi humano, quemadmodum vult Pater.

Agnitio vera est Apostolorum doctrina, et antiquus ecclesiæ status, in universo mundo, et character corporis Christi secundum successiones episcoporum, quibus illi eam quæ in unoquoque loco est ecclesiam tradiderunt: quæ pervenit usque ad nos custoditione sine fictione scripturarum tractatio plenissima, neque additamentum neque ablationem recipiens; et lectio sine falsatione, et secundum scripturas expositio legitima, et diligens, et sine periculo, et sine blasphemia; et præcipuum dilectionis munus, quod est pretiosius quam agnitio, gloriosius autem quam prophetia, omnibus autem reliquis charismatibus supereminens.

So far this passage will be found in the *fourth* book of Irenæus, against heresies, cap. xxxiv., according to the arrangement of the Benedictine editor Dom Massuet. But to the foregoing words Dr. O'Connell adds, in immediate continuation, the following paragraph from the *third* book, cap. xxiv.

—prædicationem vero Ecclesiæ undique constantem, et æqualiter perseverantem, et testimonium habentem a Prophetis et ab apostolis, et ab omnibus discipulis, quemadmodum ostendimus, per initia, et medietates, et finem, et per universam Dei dispositionem, et eam

their lips, but war in their actions.

But God will judge all who are out of the truth, that is, who are out of the Church

This is true knowledge; the teaching of the apostles and the long *established state of the Church throughout the world*, and the marks of Christ's Body, according to the successions of bishops, to whom they (the apostles) delivered that Church, which is in every place; the most perfect treatment of the Scriptures which has come down even to us, without deception in the guardianship, admitting neither addition nor diminution; with the reading unfalsified and the exposition legitimate and careful, without danger and blasphemy

The public teaching of the Church is everywhere uniform, and equally enduring, testified unto by prophets, and by apostles, and by all the disciples, through the first, intermediate, and final period, and through the economy of God, and that established mode relative to

quæ secundum salutem hominis est solitam operationem, quæ est in fide nostra; quam perceptam ab Ecclesia custodimus, et quæ semper a Spiritu Dei quasi in vase bono eximium quoddam depositum juvenescens, et juvenescere faciens ipsum vas in quo est.

man's salvation, which is in our faith, and which, having received from the Church, we guard: yea, which, by the Spirit of God, is ever in youthful freshness, like something excellent deposited in a beautiful vase, making even the very vessel wherein it is seem newly formed and fresh with youth.

To this paragraph Dr. O'Connell has added, in a note, the reference, "Adv. Hæres. B. 4, c. xxxiii.," evidently supposing, or giving his reader to suppose, that this last quotation was part and continuation of the former, and that both occurred in the thirty-third chapter of the fourth book of Irenæus.

But we are now accustomed to this mode of garbling ancient authors, and it no longer excites surprise; let us proceed to inquire whether Irenæus, in the foregoing extracts, has really given any testimony in favour of the present Roman doctrine.

1. It will be observed that Dr. O'Connell, in the former of these passages, supplies the subject; "*God* will judge those who cause divisions;" "*God* will judge all who are out of the truth:" and in this he appears to have followed the authority of Messrs. Berington and Kirk, or rather, perhaps, of the recent editor of their work, (for I have not access at present to the original edition of it.) They, however, do not supply the word "*God*;" although the new edition, by printing the pronoun "*He*" with a capital letter, sufficiently intimates that the editor, if not the authors, so understood the passage.

Nevertheless, there cannot be a greater mistake; and it is a mistake which alters the whole sense of the author, and could not have been committed by any one who had really read the original.

St. Irenæus is here speaking of the enlightened or spiritual Christian, and in allusion to the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. ii. 15, he remarks, that such an one judgeth all men, but he himself is judged of no man. "*Talis discipulus vere spiritualis recipiens Spiritum Dei, qui ab initio in universis dispositionibus Dei adfuit hominibus, et futura annuntiavit, et præsentia ostendit, et præterita enarrat, judicat quidem omnes, ipse autem a nemine judicatur.*"

With these words the 33rd chapter begins ; and the author proceeds then to show particularly, how the spiritual man will judge (*ἀνακρινεῖ*) the Gentiles, the Jews, the Marcionites, the Valentinians and Gnostics, the Ebionites, the Docetæ, and the false prophets ; proving that in each case the knowledge of divine truth and the spiritual discernment, which the Christian possesses, enable him at once to detect the error in all these several classes of false teachers.

Then comes the passage which Dr. O'Connell has quoted: "He will judge also those,"—that is, the spiritual Christian will judge also those "who cause schisms, perceiving them to be destitute of the love of God,* having in view their own interest, more than the unity of the church ; inasmuch as for a trifling or for any cause they are ready to rend and divide, and, so far as in them lies, destroy, the great and glorious body of Christ, with peace in their words, but war in their actions ; truly straining at a gnat, but swallowing a camel. For no correction [of any supposed evil in the church] can be made by them, which could counterbalance the mischief of schism."

In the next clause it is still more evident that the spiritual Christian is the subject, and but for the omissions with which Dr. O'Connell has garbled it, he could not have fallen into the error he has committed. Irenæus there says, "He will judge also those who are out of the truth, that is, out of the church ; but he himself will be judged of no man. For all things are consistent [*συνέστηκεν*] to him ; and his faith is perfect in one God Almighty, of whom are all things ; and he has a firm persuasion [*πεισμονὴ βεβαία*] in the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom are all things, as well as in those His dispensations by which the Son of God was made man ; also in the Spirit of God,† who gives knowledge of the truth, and who hath made known the dispensations of the Father and the Son,

* A portion of the Greek of this passage has been preserved, and from it we may see that the word "inanes" is redundant, being probably a rude attempt of the translator to represent *κενοῦς ὄντας τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀγάπης*, which was afterwards corrected into "non habentes Dei dilectionem."

† For "quæ est in Spiritu Dei," the Greek reads, *καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, which is evidently the meaning.

throughout each generation amongst men,* according to the will of the Father.”

It is quite manifest that God cannot be the subject of the verb “judicabit” in this passage.

And now let us ask, what all this has proved for Dr. O’Connell’s purpose? The spiritual Christian, says Irenæus, is enabled, by divine grace, to discern the truth, and to convict falsehood, in all the various forms of heresy and error, with which he is surrounded, whether within the church or without. The knowledge he possesses of God, and of his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, enables him to see and to understand those mysteries and seeming difficulties in the dispensations of God towards man, which to the philosopher, or the heretic who is ignorant of the truth, are snares and stumbling blocks.

In this there is not so much as an allusion even to the legitimate authority of the church, much less to any supposed infallible interpreter: the individual Christian is himself spoken of in this case, as the judge, the discerner, who is enabled by the power of faith and divine grace to separate truth from error. In other words, the enlightened Christian is here described as exercising his private judgment upon all the various opinions and heresies of the world around him, and by his own spiritual discernment deciding in favour of the church.

And is not this exactly what we contend for? Is not this exactly the language of the Church of England? Let Dr. O’Connell reconcile it with the language of his own church, by any means he can, except mistranslation and garbling.

But perhaps he will say that it is in the next paragraph of this quotation that the peculiar force of this testimony of Irenæus will be found to lie. And he has there marked with italics the words “long established system of the church throughout the world,” as containing, we may presume, the full force of the passage.

* I have also followed the Greek here, where for “secundum quas aderat generi humano” we have *καθ’ ἐκάστην γενεάν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.*

But there is nothing here which is at all inconsistent with our doctrine, or different from the sentiments which may be found in all our best divines. Irenæus having just before (in the words omitted by Dr. O'Connell) made mention of that knowledge of divine truth which is the gift of the Holy Ghost, goes on to remark, in allusion to the pretended science of the Gnostic heretics, that "the true knowledge (*γνώσις ἀληθῆς*) is the doctrine of the apostles (*ἡ τῶν ἀποστόλων διδασχῆ*), and the primitive constitution of the church throughout all the world, and the evidence of Christ's body" (so Irenæus frequently terms the church) "which is to be found in the successions of the bishops to whom the apostles committed that church which is in each place; which true knowledge being identical with the fullest handling of the Scriptures, which has come down to us, by the possession of the true, and not such feigned Scriptures as the heretics appeal to, has received neither addition nor subtraction since the apostles' time;* also [true knowledge consists in] the reading of the Scriptures without falsifying them, and the legitimate exposition of them, with diligence, without danger and without blasphemy. Also [the true knowledge includes] that pre-eminent gift of love, which is more precious than knowledge, more glorious than prophecy, more excellent than all other gifts of grace."

In other words, Irenæus tells us that the spiritual Christian is enabled to judge all men, although he himself is judged of none, in virtue of that true knowledge of God and of Christ, which he possesses by the gift of the Holy Ghost. And that this true knowledge, unlike the pretended knowledge of the Gnostics, is to be found in the doctrine of the Apostles, the primitive constitution of the church, the full possession and reading of the unadulterated Scriptures, and above all, in that

* As the reader has the original of this obscure passage before him, I have ventured to paraphrase it somewhat freely, in order to make what I conceive to be the meaning of it more clear, and I see that I am supported in the view I take of it, by the authority of Dom Massuet, who says in his note, "*Hæc vero ita construenda : Agnitio vera est tractatio plenissima Scripturarum, quæ pervenit ad nos custoditione sine fictione.*"

precious gift of love which, as St. Paul testifies, is the greatest of Christian graces.* All these are the peculiar privilege of the Christian, and cannot belong to any who are not members of the Christian church.

I have already had occasion to remark that the episcopal constitution of the church, and the succession of its presbyters, was in primitive times the strongest proof of the apostolicity of its doctrines, as well as of the integrity of those Scriptures from which its doctrines were derived.† To this evidence, which existed only in the church, Irenæus frequently appeals in his controversies with heretics, and the foregoing passage is an instance of such an appeal. It says nothing of *authoritative*, much less *infallible*, exposition of the Scriptures; but simply states that the Christian in the church, and in virtue of the advantages and blessings he enjoyed, from the possession of the Scriptures, and the evidences of their integrity, and of apostolical doctrine which the church alone could supply, was in possession of the true knowledge, that real and genuine *γνώσις* which the heretics vainly pretended to.

Here, then, is nothing which we of the Church of England could not say, in perfect harmony with our principles, nothing, in fact, but what we do often say, whenever we have occasion to contrast the blessings and advantages of the church, with the uncertainty and danger of schismatical sects. But Irenæus has said nothing of an infallible interpreter; and yet this was exactly the place where he ought to have spoken of such an interpreter, if he had known of his existence. For, he argues, the Christian can judge

* Irenæus evidently alludes to 1 Cor. xiii. in what he says of the "præcipuum dilectionis munus." In the view I have taken of the connexion between the several members of this difficult passage I am also supported by Dom Massuet. He says: "Agnitio vera (inquit) ea est quæ ex Apostolorum doctrina fluit, et ex antiquo ecclesiæ statu, ac caractere corporis Christi, ecclesiæ videlicet, secundum successiones Episcoporum manat, &c., quæque charitatis munere præcipuo, seu Ecclesiæ unitate nititur: seu, quod idem est, *Apostolorum doctrina, antiquus Ecclesiæ status*, &c., ac *charitas*, sunt *agnitio vera*, hæcque proinde de illis (non illa de hac quod Grabium fefellit) seu effectus de causa prædicatur." I agree with Massuet in thinking that Dr. Grabe's proposed mode of meeting the difficulties of construction in this passage is unsatisfactory.

† See above, p. 23, *seq.*

all other men ; he can discern truth from falsehood ; he can detect the error of all forms of heresy, in virtue of his knowledge of Divine truth, of that real *γνώσις*, which belongs to him alone, and which results from the possession of the doctrine of the Apostles, evidenced by the succession of bishops in the churches founded by the Apostles, and by the uncorrupted Scriptures, and which is crowned and perfected by the grace of Christian love, which is more precious than knowledge itself, and more excellent than any other gift. Now, would not this argument have been infinitely enhanced in its force and conclusiveness, if he could have added that the Christian also has the guidance of an infallible tribunal, protected by Divine power from all error, and ready to give not merely an authoritative, but an infallible, decision upon every question that can arise ? That the Christian is therefore not like other men, left to the mere light of his own reason and judgment, or obliged to weigh the evidence for or against any new opinion that may arise : he has simply to submit himself, without any reasoning or judging of his own, to the infallible judgment of this infallible tribunal ; and he is at once delivered, not only from the danger and possibility of going wrong, but also from the trouble and pains of considering how to go right.

But it is quite clear that nothing of this sort was known to Irenæus ; the mere perusal of the foregoing passage is enough to show that it was written without any notion of the existence of an infallible tribunal in the church. And that no trace of a belief in such a tribunal is to be found in his writings, sufficiently appears from the fact that Dr. O'Connell is compelled to catch at such a straw as the mention of " the long established system of the church."

2. It remains now to consider the last paragraph of Dr. O'Connell's quotation, which, as we have seen, has no connexion with the former, and occurs in the *third* book of Irenæus, at an interval, in the Benedictine edition, of *forty-nine* folio pages *before* the passage to which Dr. O'Connell has appended it.

It will be seen, however, that the words of Irenæus, even with

the help of Dr. O'Connell's italics, prove nothing for the question of infallibility : and the reader will perceive that the extract, beginning with an accusative case, is evidently torn from its context, and commences, in fact, in the middle of a sentence. Irenæus was summing up what he had said against the Gnostic heresy : " having refuted those" (he says) " who hold impious doctrines concerning the Creator of the world, besides whom there is none other God, and having overturned their false doctrines concerning the substance of our Lord, and his dispensations towards his creature man, we then proved, also, that the teaching of the church, in opposition to the heretics, was always consistent, uniformly persevering in the same truth, deriving its testimony from the Prophets, and from the Apostles, and from all the disciples,* as we have shown, during the first, intermediate, and last periods, and during the whole dispensation of God,† as well as during that ordinary operation [of God's grace] for the salvation of man, which is in our faith ; which [faith] having received from the church we guard, and which, kept by the Spirit of God, like some excellent thing laid up in a good vessel, is ever in youthful freshness, making even the very vessel in which it is to remain young and fresh."

Dr. O'Connell marks with italics the words *which having received from the church we guard*, as if they were sufficient to prove his point. But it does not necessarily follow that the church must be infallible, because we have received our faith from it : and, moreover, Dr. O'Connell does not appear to have observed that Irenæus is not here speaking particularly of

* Dr. O'Connell's translation (which is of course from Messrs. Berington and Kirk) renders this clause " testified unto by prophets, and by apostles, and by all the disciples;" but this seems rather a hard version of " testimonium habentes a prophetis," &c.

† This obscure sentence is supposed by Dr. Grabe to describe the patriarchal, the prophetic, and the Christian dispensations, together with the ordinary state of the church which succeeded the apostolic age. And Massuet agrees in this opinion: " Recte intelligit Grabius (he says) ea quæ inter ipsa temporum initia in creatione gesta sunt, quæque postea intermediis seculis Prophetarum, in fine denique Christi et Apostolorum ævo contigerunt. Hæc enim animo percurrrens Irenæus, undique argumenta pro fide Ecclesia deprompsit."—*Annot. in loc.*

the Christian church, but of the church in its most general signification “per universam Dei dispositionem,” the Church as it existed in the patriarchal and prophetic dispensations of the Old Testament, as well as under Christ and his Apostles in the New—“per initia et medietates et finem.”

Therefore, if the words of Irenæus prove him to have believed the existence of an infallible tribunal in the Church, he must have believed such a tribunal to have existed, not in the Christian Church only, but also during the patriarchal and prophetic dispensations. A consequence that Dr. O’Connell will perhaps find even more inconvenient than the plain and obvious meaning of the passage, which is no more than this, that while the speculations of the heretics are vague, inconsistent, and variable, the teaching of the Church on the points in dispute has always been the same, under the patriarchal and prophetic, as well as under the Christian dispensations; and that the faith which we have received from the Church, and which we religiously keep as a sacred deposit, is not a thing to be varied, or added to, or developed from age to age, as the heretics maintained, but is kept by the Spirit of God, ever the same, ever young and fresh and perfect, as it was delivered at the beginning to the first Christians by our Lord and His apostles.

The testimony of St. Irenæus, therefore, makes nothing in favour of the Roman dogma of infallibility; but is altogether consistent with the doctrine of the Church of England.

II. — ST. HEGESIPPUS.

The next writer quoted by Dr. O’Connell, is Hegesippus, of whom he gives us (at second-hand from Messrs. Berington and Kirk,* although, as usual, without acknowledgment) the following short account:—

“He was a Jewish convert to the faith in the year 157. Of his works we have nothing remaining save the few fragments

* Faith of Catholics, vol. i. p. 129.

that have been preserved by Eusebius. He died about the year 184."

The great antiquity of such a witness would certainly render his testimony of much importance, especially as Eusebius tells us not only that he lived in the age next to the apostolic times, *ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων γενόμενος διαδοχῆς*,* but that his books contained the pure doctrine of apostolical tradition and true faith, *ὧν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως ἢ τῆς ὑγιοῦς πίστεως ἔγγραφος κατῆλθεν ὀρθοδοξία*.†

Hegesippus, whose true name was probably Joseph, is said to have been the first to compose an ecclesiastical history, or rather perhaps a history of doctrine, for his object appears to have been to prove, against the heretics of the day, that the received doctrine of the church was every where the same in the churches founded by the Apostles. This work, which unfortunately no longer exists, is styled by Eusebius *ὑπομνήματα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πράξεων*, or Commentaries of Ecclesiastical Acts; and he adds, that it furnished the clearest evidence of the soundness of Hegesippus's faith; *τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης πληρεστάτην μνήμην*.

This testimony to the orthodoxy and antiquity of Hegesippus we may gratuitously present to Dr. O'Connell to strengthen his argument; to which he has scarcely done justice, when he contents himself with telling us that Hegesippus was a Jewish convert, and that of his works we have nothing remaining except the few fragments preserved by Eusebius. Neither of these circumstances add any weight to his opinions or authority.‡

It is evident, however, that the testimony of a writer of such antiquity, of an age so near to the Apostles, and who is spoken of with such respect by the high authority of Eusebius, must necessarily be of the utmost value in this controversy.

1. Let us therefore now consider the extract which Dr.

* Hist. Eccl. Lib. ii. c. 23.

† Lib. iv. c. 21.

‡ We may add, too, that the second of the foregoing statements, although nearly, is not strictly true, for Photius has also preserved a short passage from the lost Commentaries of Hegesippus. Cod. 232.

O'Connell has cited from this writer: and to give it its full force, let us take the *whole* passage as Eusebius quotes it, not merely the portion of it with which Dr. O'Connell contents himself:— I shall put the original, as before, in parallel columns with Dr. O'Connell's (or rather Messrs. Berington's and Kirk's) translation:—

Ἐν οἷς [ὑπομνήμασι, scil.] δηλοῖ, ὡς πλείστοις ἐπισκόποις συρμιξειεν, ἀποδημίαν στείλαμενος μέχρι Ῥώμης· καὶ ὡς ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν παρὰ πάντων παρέλιφε διδασκαλίαν. ἀκοῦσαι γέτοι πάρεστι μετὰ τινὰ περι τῆς Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῆς αὐτῷ εἰρημένα ἐπιλέγοντος ταῦτα. καὶ ἐπέμενεν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἢ Κορινθίων ἐν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, μέχρι Πρίμου ἐπισκοπεύοντος ἐν Κορίνθῳ· οἷς συνέμιξα πλέων εἰς Ῥώμην, καὶ συνεδιέτριψα τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἡμέρας ἱκανάς· ἐν αἷς συνανεπάημεν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ· γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, διαδοχὴν ἐποιησάμενος μέχρις Ἀνικλήτου, οὗ διάκονος ἦν Ἐλεύθερος. καὶ παρὰ Ἀνικλήτου διαδέχεται Σωτήρ, μεθ' ὃν Ἐλεύθερος. ἐν ἐκάστῃ δὲ διαδοχῇ, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύττει καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ Κύριος.

“and the Church of Corinth he tells us,” says Eusebius, “continued in the right *teaching* until the episcopacy of Primus; with them I (Hegesippus) lived familiarly, on my way to Rome; and I passed a considerable number of days with the Corinthians, during which we were mutually gladdened by the right *teaching* of the gospel. Having reached Rome, I took up my abode with Anicetus, to whom Eleutherus was deacon. To Anicetus succeeded Soter, and to him Eleutherus.”

This is the first extract which Eusebius quotes from Hegesippus.* Dr. O'Connell adds to it, after the above English words, another quotation in immediate continuation: without any break, separation, or mark of omission whatsoever. Of this we shall speak presently; but first, it may be convenient to make some remarks on the foregoing passage, which the reader has now before him entire, as it is cited by Eusebius from the lost Commentaries of Hegesippus.

“In this work,” says Eusebius, “the author tells us, that he had intercourse with very many bishops, as he was travelling to Rome: and that from them all he received the same doctrine.”

Again, says Eusebius, “after some remarks made by him [i. e., by Hegesippus] on the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, we may hear him speaking thus: The church of the Corinthians also hath remained in the right doctrine (ἐν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ)

* Lib. iv. c. 22.

down to the episcopacy of Primus; with whom [sc. the Corinthians] I had converse as I was sailing to Rome, and I remained with the Corinthians for some days, during which time we were comforted with the right doctrine (τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ). But when I came to Rome I collected the succession as far as Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus; and to Anicetus succeeded Soter, and to him Eleutherus. But in every succession [sc. of bishops], and in every city, it [the faith] remains the same as the law, and the prophets, and the Lord have preached it."

It will be seen that in one important clause of this passage I have differed from Dr. O'Connell's version. Instead of translating διαδοχὴν ἐποίησάμεν μέχρις Ἀνικηίου, "I took up my abode with Anicetus," (a translation which can only be justified by adopting Saville's conjecture of διατριβὴν instead of διαδοχὴν) it seems much more consistent with the context to let the text stand, and translate it "I made, or collected, the succession down to Anicetus." For, as Bishop Pearson has shown, even if we read διατριβὴν, the word μέχρις will scarcely bear to be translated *with* Anicetus. Just before Hegesippus had said that he had stopped at Corinth as he was going μέχρι *as far as* Rome; and that the church of Corinth had preserved the faith μέχρι *down to* the time of Primus: why then should not μέχρις Ἀνικηίου be translated the same way?*

On the whole, then, the meaning of this passage is simply this:—Hegesippus declared that in all the episcopal successions, and in every city which he had visited on his way to Rome, he found the same faith. In Corinth he had remained some days, and therefore could speak from his own knowledge of the Corinthians. In Rome, too, he had actually traced the succession, and found the doctrine the same down to the times of Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherus.

This is the whole matter. And how we are to derive from this an argument in favour of the Roman claim to infallibility, I am at a loss to imagine. To me it seems to speak very

* Pearson, De success. prim. Rom. Episc. c. 5. See also Tillemont. Memoires, tom. iii. p. 610.

clearly the other way. For Rome is evidently put on exactly the same level with the other churches founded by Apostles. Hegesippus simply says, that at Rome, as at Corinth, and at all other places where there was an undoubted apostolical succession, ἐν ἐκάστη διαδοχῇ, he found the same faith which had been preached by the law and the prophets, and by our Lord Himself.

And more than this: is not the very argument employed by Hegesippus a clear proof that he knew nothing of any claim to an infallible tribunal in any one apostolical church? "All the bishops I met with," he says, "taught the same doctrine. At Corinth they held the orthodox faith: at Rome I found it the same: in short, in every episcopal succession, and in every city, I found only the doctrine which is taught in the Scriptures." But why did he take all this trouble? what did it matter what Corinth or other cities believed or taught? If it was a part of the Christian faith to look to an infallible interpreter, and if the infallibility of one see or succession was the recognised means appointed by our Lord for keeping His church from error, why did not Hegesippus at once cut the knot, and tell us that there, in that infallible tribunal, once for all, he had found an unanswerable condemnation of heresy? Yet we see he says nothing of the sort: and moreover, it is remarkable (although Dr. O'Connell omits that part of his testimony) that he particularly notices, not only that the doctrine was everywhere the same, but that it was the same which was taught *in the Scriptures*: he knew nothing of a Catholic tradition which was not in the Scriptures; he knew nothing of *developments*; but, on the contrary, he evidently makes it the test of a true, and apostolical, and orthodox tradition, that it should coincide with the preaching of the law, and the prophets, and the Gospel.

But Dr. O'Connell seems to lay some stress on the word *teaching*, which he twice prints in italics, as if in it were to be found the main argument of the passage. The original in both places is λόγος, word, or doctrine received; not active teaching. But even though it did signify teaching, then Hegesippus is

made to say that he found at Corinth the right *teaching*; that he was gladdened by the Corinthians with the right *teaching*; and we may ask, granting this to be a correct translation, what then? Was the Church of Corinth therefore infallible? and if so, how does this prove the exclusive claim to infallibility of the Church of Rome?

On the whole, it must be admitted that this entire argument, as an argument for infallibility, is exceedingly lame and inconclusive, if not unintelligible. But even as an argument for authoritative teaching, what does it amount to? As a matter of fact, Hegesippus states that he found everywhere the same doctrine, which was taught by the Scriptures. Therefore it was evident, as a matter of fact, that the doctrines or traditions of the heretics were unknown to the church. The various apostolic churches he had visited, the several successions of bishops, knew only the doctrine of Scripture: all had this faith, and no other. Therefore it was clear that the traditions added to that faith by the heretics could not be apostolical or true.

The primitive heretics, it will be remembered, laid claim to a tradition not to be found in the Scriptures, which they pretended was nevertheless handed down to them, although unwritten, from Christ and His Apostles. But, says Hegesippus, if this be so, how comes it that the churches founded by Apostles, possessing an unbroken succession from the Apostles, know nothing of any such tradition? in none of them did I find anything but the orthodox doctrine; in none of them did I find anything more than what the law and the prophets and the Gospel have already preached.

Here there is nothing even of authoritative teaching, but only a plain and very obvious argument from a matter of fact.

2. But Eusebius goes on to quote another passage from the Commentaries of Hegesippus, which he introduces thus: "The same writer describes the beginnings of the heresies of his time, in these words:"—ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν αἰρέσεων τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑποτίθεται διὰ τούτων. Then follow the words of Hegesippus, of

which Dr. O'Connell has given a part, without any break or mark of omission, and in immediate continuation of the former extract:—

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος· ὅν προέθεντο πάντες, ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ Κυρίου δεύτερον· διὰ τοῦτο ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον· ὅτι ἔφθαρτο ἀκοαῖς ματαίαις. ἀρχεται δ' ὁ Θέβουθις διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ὑποφθίρειν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ αἱρέσεων, ὧν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ἀφ' ὧν Σίμων, ὅθεν οἱ Σιμωνιανοί· καὶ Κλεόβιος, ὅθεν Κλεοβιανοί· καὶ Δοσίθεος, ὅθεν Δοσιθιανοί· καὶ Γορθαῖος, ὅθεν Γορθηωνοί, καὶ Μασβωθαῖοι, ὅθεν ἀπὸ τούτων Μενανδριανισταί, καὶ Μαρκιωνισταί, καὶ Καρποκρατιανοί· καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοί, καὶ Βασιλειδιανοί, καὶ Σατορνιλιανοί· ἕκαστος ἰδίως καὶ ἑτέρως ἰδίαν δόξαν παρεισηγαγεν. ἀπὸ τούτων ψευδόχριστοί· ψευδοπροφήται· ψευδαπόστολοι· οἳ τινες ἐμέρισεν τὴν ἑνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φθοριμαίους λόγους κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

“ They called the Church a virgin, for it had not been corrupted by hearkening to folly. Thebutis, because he was not made bishop, began the work of corruption; as did Simon Menanda [*sic*], Marcian, Valentina [*sic*];

each of these introduced of himself, and differing from all the rest, *his own private opinion*. From these sprang false Christs, false prophets, who broke the unity of the Church with unsound, counterfeit, teaching against God and his Christ.”

Here it will be observed, Hegesippus is speaking of the heresies of the apostolic age, and particularly of the Jewish heresies in the Church of Jerusalem, where James the Just was succeeded by Symeon, the son of Cleopas, who was the cousin-german of our Lord. And the historian remarks, that down to the episcopacy of Symeon, they called the church a virgin, because until then no heresies had corrupted her purity. But Dr. O'Connell, by connecting these words immediately with the former passage, leads his readers to suppose, that Hegesippus, when he says, “ They called the church a virgin,” meant to say that Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherus, bishops of Rome, called the church a virgin. Whereas he is speaking not of the Church of Rome, but of the Church of Jerusalem, and the two passages have no connexion with each other whatsoever.

This sort of inaccuracy, however, which is customary with Dr. O'Connell, is to be noticed, as being connected only indi-

rectly with our main subject. The reader has now before him the whole passage, as it is preserved by Eusebius. Let him decide whether there is anything in it to show that Hegesippus held the modern doctrine of papal infallibility. Dr. O'Connell's italics seem to indicate that he supposes the argument to be this: The heretics enumerated introduced each *his own private opinion*: and this was the cause of their error. If they had, on the contrary, taken their opinions from the church, they would not have fallen into error. Therefore, there is an infallible tribunal in the church.

But surely this does not at all follow. I might say "the Brownists, Quakers, Presbyterians, Socinians, and other sects, that have separated from the Church of England, have each introduced their own private opinions; thereby breaking the unity of the church:—if they had adhered to the doctrine of the Church of England, or taken their opinions from the church, they would not have rejected Episcopacy, or denied the Trinity and the Atonement. Pride and conceit of their own private speculations, and a contempt for the authority of the church, have been the cause of their errors." I might reason thus, and I might be right or wrong in so doing: but no person, I think, would imagine that I was thereby setting up a claim for the infallibility of the Church of England.

But even if Dr. O'Connell's argument did fairly imply this, it would prove not the infallibility of Rome, but the infallibility of the Church of Jerusalem. For although Dr. O'Connell, by connecting together two passages which in the original have no connexion, and by omitting, without any notice to his reader, all the intermediate matter, has given this latter passage the appearance of referring to the Church of Rome, yet it is clear that in the original it has no such reference, and that Hegesippus is speaking, not of Rome, but of Jerusalem.

"After James the Just" (he says) "had suffered martyrdom like the Lord, and for the same doctrine, Symeon, son of Cleopas, the Lord's cousin-german, was made bishop; and was chosen by all, because he was the kinsman of the Lord.

Up to this time* they called the church a virgin; for not yet was it corrupted by giving heed to vain doctrines. Thebuthis, because he was not himself made bishop, was the first to introduce corruptions. He was of the seven sects that were among the [Jewish] people,† of whom also was Simon, from whom came the Simonians; and Cleobius, from whom the Cleobians; and Dositheus, from whom the Dositheans; and Gorthæus, from whom the Gorthæans; and [Masbotheus, from whom‡] the Masbothæans. From these also came the Menandrians, and the Marcionists, and the Carpocratians, and the Valentinians, and the Basilidians, and the Saturnilians: each of whom introduced a peculiar and separate doctrine. From these came false Christs, false prophets, false apostles, who broke the unity of the church by corrupt doctrines, contrary to God and to His Christ.”

Each of these heretics, he says, introduced a doctrine peculiar to himself, and differing from the others. They set up false Christs, false prophets, and false apostles, who by the most pernicious doctrines, diametrically opposed to Christianity, broke the unity that, up to that period, had existed in the Virgin Church.

Here there is surely nothing to prove that Hegesippus had the smallest notion of an infallible judge of controversies, as the divinely appointed protector of the Church against all such pernicious errors. Had he known of the existence of such a judge, he could scarcely have failed to have noticed it in such a connexion.

The two facts in the extracts from Hegesippus, to which Dr. O’Connell by his italics has drawn special attention are these:

First, That the Corinthian church had continued in the right *teaching*, or rather doctrine.

* For *διὰ τοῦτο* we ought evidently to read here, *μέχρι τοῦτου*, and so Eusebius himself quotes the passage in another place, lib. iii. c. 32, *μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένος καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία.*

† So Valesius understands this obscure sentence, which is evidently corrupt.

‡ These words are added by Nicephorus, lib. iv. c. 7, and are evidently necessary.

Secondly, That the ancient heretics introduced their errors each from *his own private opinion*.

Would anybody, we may ask, from these two facts, have ever dreamt of concluding that there was in the church an infallible, ever present, and universally accessible judge of controversies? We must be very thoroughly persuaded of the truth of this doctrine, before we could find it in the above cited statements. But this is the natural process of all dogmatic error. The dogma is first assumed and thoroughly adopted; and then both Scriptures and Fathers are ransacked for a proof of it.

On the whole, then, the testimony of Hegesippus has not been of much service to Dr. O'Connell; it proves, I think, most distinctly, that the doctrine of an infallible tribunal was wholly unknown to that ancient writer.

But we may also draw another inference from this examination of our author's extracts from the Fathers. If the advocates of Rome, even with the help of garbled quotations, and suppressions,—even after putting together passages, which are in no way connected, but in the original are widely separated from each other,—if, with all this strange licence which they allow themselves, they can make out no better case for their peculiar doctrines than the above, must we not infer that they have very extraordinary difficulties to encounter in the attempt to find in ancient authors testimonies to the Roman dogma of infallibility.

III.—ORIGEN.

Dr. O'Connell next adduces two passages from the works of Origen. The first he brings into the field abruptly, without any introductory remark whatsoever. It is taken from the work *De Principiis*,* of which we have only a Latin version. I shall place Dr. O'Connell's English translation beside the original, and it will be seen that, as usual, he omits several passages, without any intimation, or mark of any omission:—

* *De Princip. Lib. i. Præf. n. 2.* (Edit. Bened. Opp. tom. i. p. 47.)

Quoniam ergo multi ex his qui Christo credere se profitentur, non solum in parvis et minimis discordant, verum etiam in magnis et maximis, id est, vel de Deo vel de Domino Jesu Christo, vel de Spiritu Sancto; non solum autem de his, sed et de aliis creaturis, id est vel de Dominationibus, vel de virtutibus sanctis, propter hoc necessarium videtur, prius de his singulis certam lineam, manifestamque regulam ponere, tum deinde etiam de cæteris quærere. Sicut enim multis apud Græcos et Barbaros pollicentibus veritatem, desivimus apud omnes eam quærere qui eam falsis opinionibus asserebant, posteaquam credidimus filium Dei esse Christum, et ab ipso nobis hanc discendam esse persuasimus: ita cum multi sint, qui se putant sentire quæ Christi sunt, et nonnulli eorum diversa a prioribus sentiant, servetur vero ecclesiastica prædicatio per successionis ordinem ab apostolis tradita, et usque ad præsens in ecclesiis permanens; illa sola credenda est veritas, quæ in nullo ab ecclesiastica et apostolica discordat traditione.

“Wherefore, since many who profess to believe in Christ, differ not only in small and trifling, but also in great and important things,

it seems necessary to lay down a certain line and a manifest rule, and then to proceed to inquire about other matters. For as, though many of the Greeks and barbarians promise truth, we have ceased to seek for it amongst all those who falsely claim it,

so let there be preserved the ecclesiastical teaching, which, transmitted by the order of the succession of the apostles, remains even to the present day in the churches: that alone is to be believed to be true doctrine, which in nothing differs from the ecclesiastical and apostolic traditions.”

The reader will observe how very inadequately this version has given the sense of the original. In the first clause, Dr. O’Connell makes Origen say, that as professed Christians differ in opinion, therefore it is necessary to lay down a certain rule, and then to proceed to inquire about other matters; that is, (as it would seem,) about matters in which they do not differ. But what sense is there in this? The existing differences among Christians may be a good reason for laying down a rule, but why they should be a reason for inquiring about other matters, in which all are agreed, is not so obvious. The confusion arises from Dr. O’Connell’s having omitted a necessary part of the sentence. What Origen really does say is this, that “whereas many who profess to believe in Christ, differ not only on small and unimportant questions, but also on great and momentous subjects, such as the nature of God, of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Holy Ghost; and not only on these, but

also on questions relating to the nature of creatures—viz., of [angelic] powers, and sacred virtues ; therefore, it seems necessary, first, to lay down a certain line and manifest rule, concerning each of these more important and fundamental questions ; and then we shall be the better able to conduct our inquiries respecting other matters of secondary importance.”

Here we have a clear and intelligible consequence ; and it will be seen that the “ certain line and manifest rule” to which Origen refers, has relation to the fundamental questions, of the nature and attributes of God, the person and offices of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost,—the nature and ministry of angels, and other created beings ; all which questions were, in Origen’s time, matter of dispute between the orthodox, and the various Gnostic or Manichæan heretics, who, notwithstanding their monstrous doctrines, nevertheless all professed to believe in Christ.

In the remainder of the passage, Dr. O’Connell’s version has done still greater violence and injustice to the sense of his author. He makes Origen say, that “ although many of the Greeks and barbarians promise truth, yet we have ceased to seek for it amongst those who falsely claim it,” a consequence that seems anything but logical ; for whether Greeks and barbarians promised truth or not, there is no reason why we should in any case seek for it amongst those who falsely claim it. But this is not all ; for Origen, according to Dr. O’Connell, goes on to reason thus : “ *as* we have ceased to look for truth among those who falsely claim it, *so* let the ecclesiastical teaching be preserved.” Can any one explain the connexion between this *as*, and this *so* ?

But, further, Dr. O’Connell’s Origen says, “ It is necessary to lay down a certain line and rule, *for* we have ceased to look for truth among those who falsely claim it.” That is to say, *because* we have ceased to look for truth where truth cannot be found, therefore it is necessary to lay down a certain rule and line ; because we are no longer in the dark, therefore it is necessary to light a candle.

All this confusion is the necessary result of the mutilations

which the passage has sustained in the hands of Dr. O'Connell's translator. The original says nothing about those who "falsely laid claim to truth," for who ever thought of looking for truth amongst those who *falsely* claim it? What Origen does say is this, "For whereas many, both among Greeks and barbarians, promised to communicate a knowledge of truth, yet as we ceased to look for it amongst those who asserted it, mixed with false opinions, as soon as we had believed Christ to be the Son of God, and were persuaded that from Him alone could we learn truth; so now, since there are many who suppose themselves to think the things which are of Christ, and yet some of them hold sentiments totally differing from the rest, let us adhere to that preaching which is in the church, handed down by succession from the Apostles, and remaining in the churches to the present day. That alone, then, is to be believed as truth, which differs in no respect from ecclesiastical and apostolical tradition."

Here there is clear and conclusive reasoning. We renounced the guidance of heathen philosophy, as soon as we believed in Christ, and recognised Him as our true teacher. By His guidance we separated the truth from the false opinions of paganism in which it was before entangled. Therefore, in like manner now, if we would separate truth from the false opinions of heretics, we have only to adhere to the teaching of the church. That teaching having been handed down by unbroken succession from the Apostles, is evidently the teaching of Christ, and therefore truth. Here, then, we have the certain line and manifest rule which is to guide us in discovering truth, upon all those great and important questions, where the Manichæans, Gnostics, and other heretics differ from each other and from the church. Nothing should be received or believed as truth, upon such fundamental points of faith, which differs in any respect from the apostolical tradition, which is the doctrine of the church. For that tradition can be proved by the order of succession in each church, to have been handed down from the Apostles, and to have been preserved uncorrupted by each church.

This is Origen's reasoning: and nothing can be conceived more irreconcilable with the notion of an infallible tribunal or judge of controversies in the church. The very appeal made to succession, as the evidence of the purity and apostolicity of the church's teaching, is a clear proof that the modern notion of infallibility was unknown to Origen. For this is surely not the ground that a Roman-catholic divine would now take: he would argue, the church cannot err or fail, therefore the teaching of the present church must be received and believed: that alone must be held as truth, which agrees with the teaching of the present church and the decisions of the Holy See.

How different the reasoning of Origen. The teaching of the present church is to be received as truth, because it can be shown by succession to have been handed down from the Apostles: it is true, not because it is the teaching of the church, but because it is identical with the teaching of the Apostles, and therefore the mind of Christ. Can anything be more entirely at variance with the modern Romish doctrine, or more perfectly in harmony with the doctrine of the English church? It is really wonderful to see such a passage quoted triumphantly by a Roman-catholic in proof of his theory of church infallibility. Misled by the modern use of the word tradition, he did not perceive that the whole spirit and meaning of the passage was opposed to the Roman dogma; that Origen's rule gave authority and weight to ecclesiastical tradition, not because the teaching of some one church was miraculously preserved from error, and therefore infallible,—if he had believed this, he would have said so,—but because the tradition of the whole church was identical with the teaching of the Apostles; the proper proof of which, in that early age, lay in the preservation of the successions in the Apostolic churches. The very fact, therefore, that Origen and other ancient writers rest the authority of ecclesiastical tradition on the successions, is an unanswerable proof that they did not believe the infallibility, in the modern Romish sense, of the present church of Rome. And this is a consequence from the language of ancient writers, which Protestants have

been as slow to perceive as Roman-catholics; and their overlooking it has led them to reject the testimony of the Fathers as corrupt and tainted with error,—a mistake which has given great advantage to their adversaries, and has immeasurably prejudiced the cause of truth.

2. The second quotation from the works of Origen, is introduced to us by Dr. O'Connell, with these words:—

“And in his Commentary on Proverbs, he has the following remarkable words:”

Now, as Origen's Commentary on the Proverbs is no longer extant, this sounds somewhat startling. It is true, we have a few fragments of it remaining; but the passage quoted by Dr. O'Connell will not be found amongst them. In fact, it is not a part of Origen's Commentary on Proverbs at all, but it occurs in his Commentary on *Genesis*, xxvi. 12, where he incidentally quotes Prov. v. 15, 18, a circumstance which probably led to Dr. O'Connell's mistake.* I shall quote the whole passage, giving the context, both before and after the portion of it which Dr. O'Connell has cited.

Tentemus facere etiam illud, quod sapientia commonet, dicens: *Bibe aquas de tuis fontibus, et de tuis puteis, et sit tibi fons tuus proprius.* Tenta ergo et tu, ô auditor, habere proprium puteum, et proprium fontem: ut et tu, cum apprehenderis librum scripturarum, incipias etiam ex proprio sensu proferre aliquem intellectum, et secundum ea quæ in ecclesia didicisti, tenta et tu bibere de fonte ingenii tui. Est intra te natura aquæ vivæ, sunt venæ perennes, et irrigua fluentia rationabilis sensus, si modo non sint terra et rudibus oppleta. Sed satis age fodere terram tuam, et purgare sordes, id est, ingenii tui amovere desidia, et torporem cordis excutere. Audi enim quid dicit scriptura, *Punge oculum, et profert lachrymam: punge cor, et profert sensum.* Purga ergo et tu ingenium tuum, ut aliquando etiam de tuis fontibus

“Wherefore, do thou, too, try, O hearer, to have thine own well and thine own spring, that thou, too, when thou shalt open the Scriptures, mayest begin, even from thine own understanding, to discover some meaning; and according to those things which thou hast learned in the Church, do thou, also, try to drink from the spring of thy ability.”

* Dr. O'Connell's reference is “Tome 2, Hom. XII.” The passage occurs in the Benedictine edit. Tom. ii. In Genes. Hom. XII. n. 5, p. 93, col. 3. E.

bibas, et de tuis puteis haurias aquam vivam. Si enim suscepisti in te verbum Dei, si accepisti ab Jesu aquam vivam, et fideliter accepisti, fiet in te fons aquæ salientis in vitam æternam, in ipso Jesu Christo Domino nostro, cui est gloria et imperium in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Dr. O'Connell says that these are "remarkable words;" and it is certainly not only very remarkable, but very surprising to find a Roman-catholic controversialist quoting such words as a proof of Papal infallibility. Had they been quoted by a Protestant to prove the right of private judgment, it would not be so remarkable, or at least, we should not be so much at a loss to understand their applicability to the point in question.

The sentence which Dr. O'Connell has printed in italics, shows that, as usual, he has been misled by the mention of *the church*; and because Origen exhorts his hearers to exercise their own understandings upon the Scriptures, *in accordance with what they had learned in the church*, therefore Dr. O'Connell at once infers the infallibility of the Church of Rome. But we must be very much prepossessed with a conviction of that dogma, and very much prejudiced in its favour, before we shall be able to find it in these words of Origen, who only meant to say, "exercise your own understandings in the interpretation of the Scripture, taking care of course to adopt no interpretation that would be inconsistent with those fundamental articles of the faith, which you have learned from the church." And here there is surely no allusion to infallibility, or anything to imply infallibility, but only a necessary caution, to avoid the danger of seeming to give a sanction to speculations at variance with the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith.

Dr. O'Connell seems to be peculiarly unlucky whenever he meddles with Origen. On the present occasion it is difficult to imagine anything more unlike what a modern Romanist would preach to a popular congregation, than the foregoing extract. Origen there (in allusion to a mystical interpretation of Prov. v. 15, of which he was very fond,)* exhorts each of his hearers

* See it also Hom. XII. in Exodum.

to have a well of his own, and a fountain of his own, "that when thou takest up," he says, "a book of the Scriptures thou mayest begin from thine own proper understanding to draw forth some sense, and endeavour thyself also, in accordance with what thou hast learned in the church, to drink from the fountain of thine own mind. Within thee there is the nature of living water; within thee are perennial springs, and a running stream of reasoning intellect, unless they have been filled up and stopped with clay and rubbish. But arouse thee, and dig thy ground sufficiently, and clear away its filth, that is to say, throw off the slothfulness of thine understanding, and stir up the torpor of thine heart. For hear what saith the Scripture, He that pricketh the eye will make tears to fall; and he that pricketh the heart, maketh it to show her knowledge. Purge, therefore, thou also, thine understanding, that thou too mayest sometimes drink of thine own springs, and draw living water from thine own cisterns. For if thou hast received into thyself the Word of God—if thou hast received from Jesus, and received in faith, the living water, it will become in thee a well of water, springing up unto everlasting life, in the same Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen."

These, indeed, are remarkable words, and eloquent words. But it is not possible to imagine words whose spirit and sense are more entirely inconsistent with the reprobation of individual examination of the Scriptures, and the absolute submission to a supposed infallible guidance for which Dr. O'Connell is contending.

IV.—ST. CYPRIAN.

Our author next introduces an extract from the writings of St. Cyprian, with the following account of its context: "St. Cyprian (he says) commenting on these words of our Redeemer, 'He that heareth you heareth me,' thus writes"—

From this the reader might naturally suppose that the extract which follows would contain, if not a commentary on this text, at least some allusion to it; but in this he will be entirely dis-

appointed. Messrs. Berington and Kirk give a somewhat better, although by no means a correct account of the matter, when they say,* “After citing several passages, both from the Old and New Testament, and amongst the rest, *St. Luke*, x. 16, *He that heareth you, heareth me*, &c., he [Cyprian] continues”—

The passage which follows is cited by Dr. O’Connell in the translation with which these gentlemen, his constant authorities, have supplied him; but he makes one or two curious verbal alterations in that translation, with several omissions, of which, as usual, he gives his reader no notice. These omissions will be apparent from the following comparison of Dr. O’Connell’s version with the original; he has printed it, however, without any break, or mark of omission.

Cum hæc tanta ac talia et multa alia exempla præcedant, quibus sacerdotalis auctoritas et potestas de divina dignatione firmatur; quales putas esse eos, qui sacerdotum hostes et contra ecclesiam catholicam rebelles, nec præmonentis Domini comminatione, nec futuri iudicii ultione terrentur? Neque enim aliunde hæreses abortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus iudex vice Christi cogitatur. Cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum sacerdotum Collegium quidquam moveret; nemo post divinum iudicium, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum, iudicem se jam non episcopi, sed Dei faceret: nemo dissidio unitatis, Christi ecclesiam scinderet; nemo sibi placens ac tumens seorsim foris hæresim novam conderet, nisi si ita est aliquis sacrilegæ temeritatis ac perditæ mentis, ut putet sine Dei iudicio fieri sacerdotem, cum Dominus in Evangelio suo dicat, Nonne duo passeret asse veneunt, et neuter eorum cadit in terram sine Patris voluntate?

There being numerous and weighty examples as precedents, whereby God has condescended to confirm the sacerdotal authority and power,—what kind and manner of men are they, who, enemies of the priesthood, and rebels against the Catholic Church, are neither scared by the Lord’s menaces, nor by the vengeance of a future judgment? For all heresies have sprung up because the priests of God have not been obeyed.

If the brotherhood would, according to the Divine command, obey, no one would stir in opposition to the College of the ordained:

no one would, by a breach of unity, tear in pieces Christ’s Church; no one, pleasing himself and swelling with pride, would found a new doctrine, even apart, and without the Church.†

* Faith of Catholics, vol. i. p. 34.

† To this Dr. O’Connell gives the reference: “Ep. 54, ad Cornelium, p. 177.” It occurs, however, Ep. 55 of the Benedictine ed. Paris, 1726, p. 81, 82, (or Ep. 57

This passage occurs in an epistle written in the year 252, according to Bishop Fell's chronology, and addressed by St. Cyprian to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome. Here, then, if ever, we may expect to find the real judgment of the church of the third century on the question of an infallible judge of controversies; for here we have a letter written by the principal bishop of the church of Africa, to the Bishop of Rome himself, the supposed depositary of the church's infallibility, on the very subject of heresy and schism. Fortunatus, a pretender to the see of Carthage, and the head of a party who had been expelled from that church as heretics, had sent a deputation of his associates to Rome, with the hope of winning over to his side Cornelius, Bishop of Rome. Cornelius, deceived by the misrepresentations of these delegates, and alarmed by their violence and threats, seems to have given them at first some show of encouragement, although he ultimately repudiated them, and continued firm in his adherence to the cause of Cyprian. On this occasion the Roman bishop addressed two letters to St. Cyprian. In the first he announced the arrival of the deputation that had been sent by Fortunatus; and in the second* he gave some indications of having been intimidated by their threats.

To this second letter St. Cyprian replied in the epistle from which Dr. O'Connell has cited the foregoing passage. He remonstrates very strongly with Cornelius, in language which will not be very easily reconciled with the modern pretensions of the Roman see to an absolute supremacy over all other episcopal successions, to say nothing of the claim of infallibility in deciding questions of heresy and schism. "If it be true,

of the Oxford edit. 1682, p. 128.) Messrs. Berington and Kirk give the reference thus: "Ep. 55, ad Cornelium, pp. 177, 178," quoting the Venice reprint of the Bened. edit. 1728.

* "Sed enim lecta alia tua epistola, frater (says St. Cyprian) quam primis literis subjunxisti, satis miratus sum, cum animadvertissem te minis atque terroribus eorum qui venerant aliquantum esse commotum, cum te, secundum quod scripsisti, aggressi essent, cum summa desperatione comminantes, quod si litteras quas attulerant non accepisses, publice eas recitarent, et multa turpia ac probrosa et ore tuo digna proferrent." Ep. 55, p. 80. Ed. Bened. Paris, 1726.

dearest brother,”* (he says,) “that the impudence of the most abandoned has excited your fears, and that the wicked are able to effect by boldness and desperation what they cannot obtain by justice and equity, all is over with the vigour of episcopacy, and with the sublime and divine right of governing the church; nay, we can no longer continue or be Christians, if it be come to this, that we are afraid of the threats and plots of the unprincipled.” He proceeds in a similar strain to prove that a bishop ought to brave calumny, persecution, and death itself, rather than give way to those schismatics, whose object it was to deny the episcopal character, and to withdraw themselves from episcopal jurisdiction. He quotes several passages, both from the Old and New Testament, to prove the pre-eminent authority of the episcopal order, as the representative of Christ in each church—and he shows that St. Paul had respected this Divine commission, even in the high priest, who was a blasphemer and persecutor of Christianity, saying, “I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest, for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.”

He then sums up the whole in the words which Dr. O’Connell garbles—“Seeing, then,” (he says,) “that we have these so great and so express precedents, as well as many other examples that might be quoted, in confirmation of the authority and power granted by Divine grace to the priesthood,” [meaning the bishops, for so the word *sacerdos* was then commonly used,] “what kind of men, thinkest thou, are they who, enemies of the priests,† and rebels against the catholic church, are afraid

* “Quod si ita res est, frater carissime, ut nequissimorum timeatur audacia, et quod mali jure atque æquitate non possunt, temeritate ac desperatione perficiant, actum est de episcopatus vigore et de ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimi ac divina potestate, nec christiani ultra aut durare aut esse jam possumus, si ad hoc ventum est ut perditorum minas atque insidias pertimescamus.”—*Ibid.*

† That is, of their bishops, *sacerdotum*. Dr. O’Connell, following Berington and Kirk, renders “enemies of the priesthood.” But Fortunatus, let it be remembered, claimed to be a bishop himself, and disputed the see of Carthage with Cyprian. Therefore it was not to the priesthood, or episcopacy, that he was opposed, but to the particular bishop, or *sacerdos*, who then held the see to which he aspired. And the same was the case in the question between Cornelius and Novatian, which was exactly similar.

neither of the forewarning threats of the Lord, nor of the vengeance of a future judgment? For heresies have sprung up, and schisms have originated from no other source than this, that obedience is not paid to the priest of God,* nor attention given to this, that there is but one priest [i. e., bishop] at a time in a church, and that he for the time is judge in Christ's stead. To whom, if the whole brotherhood would obey, according to the Divine commands, no one would move anything in opposition to the college of priests,† no one after the Divine sanction, after the suffrage of the people, after the consent of the fellow-bishops, would make himself the judge, not now of a bishop, but of God; no one, by a breach of unity, would tear asunder Christ's church; no one, pleasing himself, and swelling with pride, would found a new heresy apart and outside [of the church]; unless it were some one of such sacrilegious rashness and abandoned mind, as to imagine that a priest can be made without the sanction of God, although the Lord in His Gospel says, *Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And yet not one of them can fall to the ground without your Father.*"

Here it is evident that Cyprian is alluding to his own case, which, as we have seen, had called forth this epistle. Fortunatus

* So Messrs. Berington and Kirk render these words; but Dr. O'Connell, without any very obvious reasons, alters their translation to "For all heresies have sprung up, because the priests" [in the plural number] "of God have not been obeyed." But Cyprian says in the singular, *sacerdoti Dei*, meaning the priest (i. e. bishop) to whom the heretics and schismatics in question owed obedience: and this is manifest from his next words, which Dr. O'Connell omits: *nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, &c.*

† So Messrs. Berington and Kirk render "sacerdotum collegium;" Dr. O'Connell, I know not why, alters their version to "College of the Ordained." But it is clear from the description given by St. Cyprian, in the words that follow of the ordination, election, and confirmation of a bishop, that by *sacerdotes* he intended not all the ordained, but only bishops. Dr. O'Connell has omitted that description, although he had it before him in Berington and Kirk; and it is evident that he did not understand this passage. By *sacerdotum collegium* St. Cyprian obviously means the bishops by whom another bishop is ordained. Their act, he says, ought to be sufficient to suppress all opposition, and ensure obedience to the bishop who is by them legitimately consecrated. For from the principle of one bishop only in a church, the consecration of a second to the same church should be regarded as null. Comp. Ep. 52, p. 65, where he uses this very argument in defence of Cornelius against the pretensions of Novatian.

and his party, most, if not all, of whom had been excommunicated, were the "rebels against the catholic church," the "enemies of their priest," who regarded neither the principle of having but one bishop as the judge in Christ's stead in each church, nor the Divine sanction given to that bishop at his ordination, his election by the people, and his confirmation by his fellow-bishops: all these essentials had been dispensed with in the case of Fortunatus, who acted without regard either to the warnings of the Lord or the terrors of the day of judgment.

But now, how is all this an evidence of St. Cyprian's belief in the infallibility of the see of Rome? Is it not, on the contrary, a most convincing proof that he did not recognise or know of any such doctrine? He writes to Cornelius altogether as an equal. He sharply reproveth him for the slight and temporary encouragement that he had given to the schismatical deputation of Fortunatus. He expounds the whole doctrine of episcopal authority, quoting the evidences of that doctrine from the Scriptures, and urging it upon the conscience of Cornelius, not as one who believed himself to be writing to the supreme head of the church on earth, the infallible judge of all heresies and schisms, the centre of unity, and universal vicar of Christ, but, as Mosheim has well remarked, much more in the style of a master who was writing for the instruction of an uninformed disciple.*

Cyprian tells Cornelius that he ought not to have given any countenance to the pretensions of Fortunatus; that by doing so he was undermining the cause of episcopal authority, and subverting the first principles of the Christian faith. He shows him from the Scriptures that the principle of episcopal jurisdiction is of Divine authority: that all heresies and schisms originated in that very contempt for the bishop, of which Fortunatus and his party were guilty; and he concludes by an eloquent exhortation to Cornelius, not to be influenced by fears or threats

* "At hunc Romanum episcopum Carthaginiensis, non secus ac magister discipulorum suorum minimum, plurimis verbis de potestate ac honore episcoporum erudit, nec obscure ignorantiae in hoc maximi momenti dogmate postulat."—*De Rebus Christ. ante Constant.* p. 596.

of any kind, in lending his countenance or sanction to men who were thus opposed, not to their rightful bishop only, but to God and His church.

Are we, therefore, to conclude from this that Cyprian believed Cornelius to be the centre of unity, the supreme judge of controversies, the infallible arbitrator of all heresies and differences in the church? Or is it not, on the contrary, quite manifest that he treated him in every respect as his equal, and, indeed, not only so, but as a weak brother, who was in danger of committing a great mistake, and needed exhortation and counsel?

But it will be said, if this be so, why did both parties go to Rome for a recognition of their claims? Why did Fortunatus send his friends to Rome to obtain the countenance and communion of Cornelius; and why was Cyprian so very anxious to resist this attempt on the part of his rival, and to set himself right in the eyes of the Roman bishop?

The answer to this may be gathered incidentally from the very passage quoted by Dr. O'Connell, although he has omitted in his translation the particular clause to which I allude. Cyprian has there described the various steps which he considered necessary, according to the practice of the church at that time, to confer a legitimate episcopal authority, and silence all opposition, except from such as had no mind to submit themselves even to the authority of God Himself. There can be but one lawful bishop, he says, in a church; and that bishop is he who has received from the hands of the college of bishops, at his consecration, the divine mission, which is, as it were, the judgment of God; who has been chosen by the suffrages of the people, and confirmed (not by the Pope) but by the consent of his fellow-bishops—*post co-episcoporum consensum*. Whoever rejects the authority of such a bishop, is guilty of rending the unity of the church, and sets himself up in opposition, not merely to his bishop, but to God Himself.

Thus it appears that the formal reception of a newly consecrated bishop into the communion of the other bishops was at that time regarded as of great importance—it was their testi-

mony and consent to the validity of his election and ordination, and the seal of his orthodoxy and authority in the eyes of the laity, and of the whole church. We find, therefore, in fact, that Cornelius, in his controversy with Novatian, was to the full as anxious to have the sanction of Cyprian, as Cyprian, in the matter of Fortunatus, was to have the goodwill of Cornelius. And this will account for the hesitation of the Roman prelate, and his caution in not giving at once an absolute negative to the claims of Fortunatus. It was as necessary for Cornelius to be recognised by the Bishop of Carthage, as it was for the Bishop of Carthage to be recognised by him; he did not choose to commit himself without being in possession of the whole case; he had the statements of one side of the question, from the delegates of Fortunatus at Rome; and he wrote himself to Cyprian, that he might be sure of his ground on the other side, before he ran the risk of attaching himself irrevocably to either of the contending parties.

On the whole, then, I think it will be admitted, that Dr. O'Connell's cause has got but little support from this testimony of St. Cyprian to an infallible judge of controversies at Rome.

V.—TERTULLIAN.

He proceeds next to give us, from Tertullian, a passage, to which he affixes the following reference: "De Proser. n. 20;" this is, no doubt, a mistake of the press for "De Præscr. n. 20;" and the reference is so given correctly by Messrs. Berington and Kirk,* from whom Dr. O'Connell has taken his translation. I place this translation, as usual, in juxtaposition with the original.

Statim igitur Apostoli (quos hæc appellatio Missos interpretatur) assumpto per sortem duodecimo Matthia in locum Judæ, ex auctoritate prophetiæ quæ est in Psalmo David, consecuti promissam vim Spiritus Sancti ad virtutes et eloquium, primo per Judæam contestata

"The Apostles

having obtained the promised power of the Holy Ghost for miracles and utterance, having first

* Faith of Catholics, vol. i. p. 131.

fide in Jesum Christum, et ecclesiis institutis; dehinc in orbem profecti, eandem doctrinam ejusdem fidei nationibus promulgaverunt, et proinde ecclesias apud unamquamque civitatem condiderunt, a quibus traducem fidei et semina doctrinæ, cæteræ exinde ecclesiæ mutuatæ sunt, et quotidie mutuantur ut ecclesiæ fiant. Ac per hoc et ipsæ apostolicæ deputantur, ut soboles Apostolicarum ecclesiarum. Omne genus ad originem suam censeatur necesse est. Itaque tot ac tantæ ecclesiæ, una est illa ab Apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes prima et apostolicæ, dum una omnes probant unitatem: dum est illis communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis, et contesseratio hospitalitatis, quæ jura non alia ratio regit, quam ejusdem sacramenti una traditio.

throughout Judea borne witness to the faith in Christ Jesus, and established churches, next went forth into the world and promulgated the same doctrine of the same faith to the nations, and founded churches in every city, from which the other churches thenceforward borrowed the tradition of the faith, 'Traducem fidei,' and the seeds of doctrine, and are daily borrowing from them, that they may become churches; and for this cause they are themselves also accounted apostolical, as being the offspring of apostolic churches.

Between them all is the communication of peace and the title of brotherhood, and the tokens of hospitality, which right no other principle enforces, but the unity of the tradition of the same doctrine."

The omissions in the foregoing extract are due to Dr. O'Connell, who, as usual, gives his readers no notice of them. In the work of Messrs. Berington and Kirk, the passage is given without mutilation: and in considering its bearing on the question before us, it will of course be necessary to examine the whole passage as it stands in the works of Tertullian.

It is, indeed, surprising to find a Roman-catholic divine referring to such a passage as an argument for the modern doctrine of papal infallibility: for its testimony is distinctly opposed to the present claims and pretensions of the Church of Rome. The theory of church unity which it expounds is the same exactly which has been so often put forward by our English divines in opposition to Romanism, and which Dr. O'Connell will find in innumerable passages in the works of Bull, Fell, Hammond, Sage, Bramhall, Dodwell, and a host of others.

Tertullian there shows that the Apostles, in obedience to our Lord's command, after filling up the place of the traitor Judas, went forth into all the world to preach the gospel, beginning at Jerusalem; that having first borne witness to the faith in Judæa, and established churches, they next went out into the Pagan world, and preached the same faith to the Gentiles. They

founded churches in every city, from which other churches afterwards borrowed the sacred deposit or tradition of the faith, and the seeds, or first principles of Christian doctrine—that this propagation of the faith is still going on—new churches learning it from the first, and in virtue of the knowledge thus obtained, the new societies become themselves churches of Christ. That the churches so formed are, therefore, to be accounted apostolical, because they are the offspring of churches actually founded by apostles. And the whole church, consisting of the original apostolical churches, and the churches subsequently formed, which are their offspring, is therefore to be classed with the original churches—that is to say, the whole church is to be considered apostolical in its origin. These churches, so many and so great, are, therefore, only that one primitive church from the Apostles, from which they all spring. Thus all are primitive, all apostolical, and all nevertheless but one. And the principle of this unity, that which makes them one, and in which their unity consists, is thus described by Tertullian:—“The communication of peace, the title of brotherhood, and the token of hospitality prove this unity; which rights (*jura*) no other principle directeth than the unity of the tradition of the same mystery (*ejusdem sacramenti*),”* that is to say, the possession of a common faith.

In a word, Tertullian here distinctly affirms that each particular church becomes a true church of Christ, by adopting the true faith; and that all these particular churches are united into one catholic and apostolic church, by the unity of that common faith which all alike profess and retain.

And is not this exactly the doctrine of our divines? “The Apostle” (says Hooker) “affirmeth plainly, of all men Christian, that, be they Jews or Gentiles, bond or free, they are all incorporated into one company, they all make but *one body*. The unity of which visible body and church of Christ consisteth in that uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging

* Tertullian, Dodgson's Translation, vol. i. (Library of the Fathers, Oxford: 1842,) p. 453, where see the notes.

have, by reason of that *one Lord* whose servants they all profess themselves, and that *one faith* which they all acknowledge, that *one baptism* wherewith they are all initiated. The visible Church of Jesus Christ is therefore one, in outward profession of those things which supernaturally appertain to the very essence of Christianity, and are necessarily required in every particular Christian man.”*

In no one point does this account of the essence of Christian unity differ from that given by Tertullian: but contrast with it the doctrine now taught by Roman divines: “*Nostra autem sententia est*” (says Bellarmine) “*Ecclesiam unam tantum esse, non duas, et illam unam et veram esse cœtum hominum ejusdem Christianæ fidei professione, et eorundem Sacramentorum communione colligatum, sub regimine legitimorum pastorum, ac præcipue unius Christi in terris Vicarii Romani Pontificis.*”† And he adds that this latter clause excludes from the church, all who are not subject to that one pastor, even though they hold the faith and sacraments.‡

But where will Dr. O’Connell find this in Tertullian? Neither in the foregoing passage, nor in any other of his writings, does he say one word of the Roman pontiff as the one vicar of Christ on earth, or the centre of unity to the church—but everywhere he speaks of the faith and sacraments, as constituting the *sole* grounds of Christian unity and church communion. The reception of this faith—*traducem fidei*, from the original churches planted by the Apostles—is all that he lays down as necessary to constitute any new society a church; and the concurrence of all particular churches in this common faith is all that he knew of as necessary for the unity of the Catholic church.

But, further, we may ask, where is there in this passage a word of an infallible judge? and how does it prove, what Dr. O’Connell has alleged it to prove, that Tertullian believed in

* Eccl. Polity, Book III. i. 3, 4. (Keble’s Edit. vol. i. p. 339.)

† Lib. III. De Ecclesia militante, c. 2.

‡ “*Ratione tertiæ, excluduntur schismatici, qui habent fidem et sacramenta, sed non subduntur legitimo pastori,*” &c.—*Ibid.*

the existence of an authoritative, in the sense of infallible, expounder of Scripture in the church?

Tertullian says only, that to have received the faith from the Apostles constitutes a church apostolical—that all churches who have received that common faith are one; and that their unity consists IN NO OTHER PRINCIPLE than the unity of that one tradition of the same mystery of faith, which all have received and hold. There is nothing here of infallibility: nothing of an authoritative expounder of the Scripture. This is the doctrine of church unity, for which we have been always contending, which excludes from the church of Christ no society of Christians who hold the Head, and love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. But this is the doctrine of church unity which Roman divines most vehemently oppose as inadequate: for with them it is a *principal* and essential part of the very definition of the church, to be subject to the authority and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff—“et PRÆCIPUE,” says Bellarmine, “sub regimine Romani pontificis.”*

VI.—THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS.

Dr. O’Connell has introduced an extract from the Apostolic Constitutions, with the following remark:—

“In making an extract from the Apostolic Constitution [*sic*], it would be superfluous to dwell on the value and importance which attach to these writings. They date from the year 230, if we believe Gallandus, in their present form. The authority of church teaching cannot be expressed in stronger terms than the following:—”

From this the inexperienced reader would no doubt conclude that Dr. O’Connell wrote with Gallandus before him, and penned the foregoing profound remark after a full and careful consider-

* See Launoy, *Epist. Nicolao Gatinæo*, (Epistolarum, lib. viii. Ep. 13.) *Opp.* tom. v. part ii. p. 665, where he has ably refuted Bellarmine’s definition, and shown it to be inconsistent with the sentiments of the ancient Fathers.

ration of that learned author's arguments for the date 230. But we are by this time better acquainted with Dr. O'Connell's sources of information on patristic authorities; and, therefore, we are not surprised to find that the extract which follows is taken (in our author's peculiar way, of mixing up two or three quotations into one) from that invaluable storehouse of controversial ammunition, "the Faith of Catholics," by Messrs. Berington and Kirk.

In this case, however, Dr. O'Connell has not only borrowed from those useful gentlemen the extract itself, or rather its translation, but also the materials of the foregoing scrap of learning, about the importance and value which "attach" to the Apostolic Constitutions, and the opinion of Gallandius as to their date. Messrs. Berington and Kirk* have the following note appended to the extracts they have given from this work.

"Of the value, antiquity, and character of this work it would be useless to say anything, after the volumes that have been written concerning it. Gallandius assigns the year 230 as the date of its first appearance in its present form; but I have thought it right to consider it as evidence of a period somewhat later than the middle of the third century."

There is something ambiguous in the sentence with which this note commences. Mr. Berington, who is, I believe, the author of it, does not tell us why the fact that volumes have been written concerning the Apostolic Constitutions, renders it useless to say anything of their value, character, and antiquity. Unless those volumes were acknowledged to have *proved* to the satisfaction of the world the antiquity and value of the work, it would seem very necessary that something should be said on the subject by a writer, who quoted it in proof of "the faith of Catholics." And so Dr. O'Connell appears to have thought, for he very naturally imagines it to have been Mr. Berington's meaning, that the value and authority of the Constitutions were unquestionable; and he therefore translates the foregoing sentence into "it would be superfluous to dwell on the value and

* Vol. i. p. 39.

importance which attach to these writings;" evidently supposing, in his simplicity, that their value and importance are universally admitted. But what if he had known that the general opinion is, in fact, the other way,—that no one believes in the antiquity of the Apostolic Constitutions, that they are strongly suspected of heresy, and that, although quoted repeatedly by writers on his own side of the controversy, the *importance* which "attaches" to them is very slight. Even his own Bellarmine has said of them:* "In Ecclesia Latina nullum fere nomen habent, et ipsi etiam posteriores Græci in Concilio Trullano, can. 2. improbant has constitutiones, ut ab hæreticis depravatas;" and then he goes on to point out in them several false statements and errors, which Dr. O'Connell will find it difficult to defend. Nay, the accusation of Arianism has been brought against the Apostolic Constitutions by no less an authority than Photius,† who says, not without reason, that the accusation will not be very easily repelled, ὅπερ ἂν τις καὶ βιάως διακρούσαιτο.

All this, we may presume, Dr. O'Connell, in the haste with which he compiled his pamphlet, had forgotten :‡ but Berington was more cautious; he, in fact, pronounces nothing distinctly in favour of the value, antiquity, or character of the work, but thinks himself safe in considering it as "evidence of a period somewhat later than the middle of the third century," even

* De Scriptoribus Eccles. (sub Clem. Romano,) p. 23. Opp. tom. VII. Venet. 1728.

† Biblioth. cod. 113. Conf. Ussher, Dissert. de Ignatii et Polycarpi scriptis, et Canonibus Clementi Romano attributis, cap. xv. (Works by Elrington, vol. vii. p. 214, seq.)

‡ There is also this further excuse for Dr. O'Connell, that the controversial writers on the side he advocates, are in the habit of quoting this and other spurious writings as authorities, notwithstanding the suspicions which "attach" to them. Thus, Bellarmine himself, although in his account of ecclesiastical writers he has expressed the strong opinion we have quoted, of the utter want of authority of this work, yet in his controversies he quotes it freely, just as if it were the genuine production of St. Clement. See on this subject "Roman Forgeries and Falsifications," by the Rev. Richard Gibbings, a divine of whose attainments the University of Dublin may justly pride herself. It is to be regretted that the author has not received sufficient encouragement to publish the second part of this curious and truly learned work.

though the authority of Gallandius had dated it 230. He quotes Gallandius, not as adopting his judgment about the date of the work, but evidently as in some degree dissenting from that judgment, and wishing to bring down the Constitutions to a somewhat later period. And yet Gallandius (whom Dr. O'Connell calls *Gallandus*) although in the margin he gives the date "*circa* ann. Chr. 230," says in his prefatory remarks—"Quisquis demum quæ sive de Constitutionibus, sive de Canonibus Apostolicis hactenus in medium protulimus, probe perpendet, is enimvero integrum ejusmodi opus circa seculi III. medium collocandum, fortasse haud immerito existimabit."*

I am myself, I confess, more disposed to agree with Bishop Pearson and others, who have fixed the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, as the date of the eight books of the Constitutions in their present form; but this is not now the question. It is enough for our present purpose to remark, that a work which is confessedly spurious, full of interpolations of uncertain origin, and of more than suspected orthodoxy, is no authority to be quoted as evidence of what the Christian Fathers really believed or did not believe. For historical and antiquarian learning the Constitutions are full of important and curious information; but it is of very little consequence, as a theological authority, whether the Constitutions, as we now have them, reprobated the individual examination of the Scriptures, and asserted the infallibility of the pope or not. If they did, we should only conclude, that the interpolator was of a later age than any learned man has as yet been disposed to make him: but his evidence would weigh nothing against the testimony of the genuine and undisputed remains of the Fathers of the third century.

However, although we may fairly protest against this spurious work as an authority in the theological questions at issue between us, it may be well, nevertheless, to examine what it says. Let us, therefore, concede to Dr. O'Connell any amount of value or importance that he may find it convenient to "attach"

* Galland. Biblioth. PP. tom. iii. Proleg. p. xi.

to these writings, and let us see what, after all, he can make of them.

I have already said that Dr. O'Connell's extract from the Apostolic Constitutions is a compound of *three* passages, which he found quoted in the pages of Berington and Kirk; and which he puts together as one continuous paragraph, although in the original they are wholly unconnected, and are taken from three different chapters of the second book of the Constitutions. In comparing them with the original, it will be necessary to separate them into different paragraphs, but the reader will bear in mind that Dr. O'Connell gives them as *one*, without any distinction of paragraphs, or any mark to show that they were not all one continuous context—and to the whole he appends the following reference, which properly belongs only to the first: "Const. Apostol. L. 2. c. xi. Gallandus, T. 3."

Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ἐπίσκοπε, σπούδαζε
καθαρὸς εἶναι τοῖς ἔργοις, γνωρίζων
τὸν τόπον σου, καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν, ὡς Θεοῦ
τύπον ἔχων ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τῷ πάντων
ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων, ἱερέων, βασιλέων,
ἀρχόντων, πατέρων, υἱῶν, διδασκάλων,
καὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ὑπηκόων

"Endeavour, O bishop, to be pure in thy actions, understanding thy place and thy dignity; which is that of one sustaining the image of God among men, being set over all men, even priests, kings, rulers, fathers, children, masters."*

This is the first extract; † and although it takes a high view of the dignity of a bishop's office, we do not perceive in it anything about an infallible bishop. If what is here said implies infallibility, then we must clearly infer that, in the judgment of the compiler of the Constitutions, all bishops are infallible; a consequence somewhat inconvenient, and which we can scarcely suppose to have been intended; and, therefore, Dr. O'Connell may take back this testimony, for it is nothing to the purpose.

The next is taken from the twentieth chapter of the same book, and defines the duty of the laity to their bishops, thus:—

Τὸν μέντοι ποιμένα τὸν ἀγαθὸν ὁ λαϊκὸς
τιμάτω, ἀγαπάτω, φοβείσθω, ὡς κύριον,

"Let, then, the layman honour the good Shepherd, love and fear him as his Lord,

* Berington and Kirk add here, "and in general over all those who are subject to thee." But this, although it occurs in the original, Dr. O'Connell omits.

† Apost. Const. lib. ii. c. 11.

ὡς δεσπότην, ὡς ἀρχιερέα Θεοῦ, ὡς διδάσκαλον εὐσεβείας. ὁ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀκούων, Χριστοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸν ἀθετῶν, Χριστὸν ἀθετεῖ, καὶ ὁ τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ δεχόμενος, οὐ δέχεται τὸν αὐτοῦ Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα. Ὁ ὑμῶν γὰρ, φησιν, ἀκούων, ἐμοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ ὑμᾶς ἀθετῶν, ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ, καὶ ὁ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστειλαντά με.

his Master, as the High Priest of God, and the teacher of piety. He who hears him, hears Christ, and he who despises him despises Christ; and he who receives not Christ receives not his God and Father. For he has declared, 'he that heareth you, heareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me.'*"

Here, again, we may ask, what is there in this passage to prove the existence of an infallible interpreter in the church? Does Dr. O'Connell imagine that there is anything in the foregoing words which is at variance with the doctrine of the Church of England? Is he ignorant that the writings of our divines are full of exhortations, enforcing the duty of obedience to our spiritual rulers, every whit as strong as the above? It would be idle to waste another word on the subject. This extract, therefore, whatever value or importance Dr. O'Connell may attach to it, helps him to an infallible guide no better than the former. Let us go on, then, to the third and last, which is taken from the twenty-sixth chapter of the second book of the Constitutions, and treats of the dignity of the episcopal office:—

Ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος, οὗτος λόγου διάκονος, γνώσεως φύλαξ, μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν λατρείαις· οὗτος διδάσκαλος εὐσεβείας· οὗτος μετὰ Θεὸν πατὴρ ὑμῶν, δεῖ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἀναγεννήσας ὑμᾶς εἰς νιοθεσίαν· οὗτος ἀρχὼν καὶ ἡγούμενος ὑμῶν· οὗτος ὑμῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ δυνάστης· οὗτος ὑμῶν ἐπίγειος Θεὸς μετὰ Θεὸν, ὃς ὀφείλει τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν τιμῆς ἀπολαύειν· περὶ γὰρ τούτου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῶν ὁ Θεὸς ἔλεγεν· Ἐγὼ εἶπα, θεοὶ ἴστε καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου πάντες. Καὶ Θεοὺς οὐ κακολογήσεις. Ὁ γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος προκαθεζέσθω ὑμῶν, ὡς Θεοῦ ἀξία τετιμημένος, ᾧ κρατεῖ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἄρχει·

"For the Bishop is the guardian of the Word, the keeper of the knowledge, the mediator between God and you in those things which pertain to his worship.

Let, then, the Bishop rule over you as one honoured with the dignity of God, with which he rules the clergy, and governs all the people."

Here Dr. O'Connell has made some alterations in Berington's version, which we must stop to notice. In the first place, in

* Here again Dr. O'Connell omits the conclusion of the passage, I know not why, although it is given by Berington and Kirk.

order to add this passage on to the foregoing, as if it had formed part of it, he inserts the word "For"—and says, "For the bishop is the guardian of the word," instead of the correct translation of Mr. Berington, "The bishop, he is the minister of the word." The reader will also observe the change of "minister" into "*guardian*:" although the former is surely a much more correct translation of the Greek *διάκονος*. Was Dr. O'Connell afraid to let the author of the Constitutions call a bishop a "minister?" And by what process of critical reasoning can he prove that *διάκονος* signifies a *guardian*? Again he says, "Keeper of the knowledge," instead of "Keeper of knowledge," a change which does not appear to have any very great meaning, and is certainly not justified by the original. But why did he leave out the long passage in which the bishop is called our king and potentate; our earthly God, next after God; of whom the Scripture says, "Ye are gods, and all of you are sons of the Most High," and "Ye shall not speak evil of the gods?" This passage Messrs. Berington and Kirk have boldly given at length; but Dr. O'Connell evidently deemed it somewhat too strong for his purpose, and prudently suppresses it.

On the whole, then, what does this extract prove, except that the compiler of the Constitutions knew nothing of the papal supremacy or infallibility? for he uses this strong language of all bishops alike; all bishops, he says, are to be regarded as kings and potentates; all are earthly gods, next only in dignity to God Himself;—here it is clear that no place is left for the pope: he can only come in for his share of this high dignity as any other bishop, for evidently the author of this passage (after making all due allowance for high-flown language) knew nothing of any difference between the spiritual office of one bishop and another. He puts them all on a par, they have no superior on earth; they are next to God; *μετὰ Θεόν*. Now, if he believed one particular bishop to be the sole vicar of Christ on earth; to be the infallible interpreter and expounder of Scripture; the supreme Head of the Church; he must have made some room for him in his description of the episcopal dignity. He might

have said of that one bishop, that he was ἐπίγειος θεός, μετὰ Θεόν, but he could scarcely have given this lofty title as he does to all bishops indiscriminately, without putting between them and God, that one exalted prelate, who was the depositary of the church's infallibility, to whom all other bishops, archbishops, or metropolitans owed subjection: "Pontifex summus ecclesiæ totius."

Evidently, then, this last passage utterly overthrows Dr. O'Connell's positions, and proves that, if we consider the Constitutions as evidence of the belief of the church in the year 230, the doctrine of papal infallibility, the opinion that the Roman bishop alone was the vicar of Christ, Θεοῦ τύπον ἔχων ἐν ἀνθρώποις, and all other bishops his delegates only, deriving from him their authority and jurisdiction—it is evident, I say, that this notion was wholly unknown at the period when the Constitutions received their present shape. For there, even in the very passage which Dr. O'Connell quotes, the very highest dignity, as the representatives of God on earth, in language beyond which it is impossible to go, has been ascribed to the episcopal office itself, and to every bishop alike, without qualification or exception.

VII.—ST. DAMASUS.

The next testimony cited by our author is that of St. Damasus, of whom he tells us, at second hand, of course, from Berington and Kirk,* that he was "a native of Spain, the friend of St. Jerome, and that he succeeded Liberius in the pontifical chair of Rome, where he died in 384."

Here Dr. O'Connell tells us as positively that Damasus was a Spaniard, as if all the world was agreed to make him so; whereas the opinion of the best authorities is, that he was born at Rome.† The matter is of no consequence to our present

* Faith of Catholics, vol. i. p. 54, note 3.

† So Tillemont, Mem. tom. viii. p. 400. Cellier, Hist. des Auteurs Eccl. tom. vi. p. 454. Dr. O'Connell might have learned this from Alban Butler.

purpose, except as an additional proof of the careless haste, and inadequate learning with which Dr. O'Connell has compiled his pamphlet.

The extract which follows is taken from a letter written by a synod held at Rome, in the year 372, at which Damasus is supposed to have presided. Of this letter we have two copies: one in Greek, preserved by Theodoret and Sozomen;* the other in Latin, which was first published in the *Collectio Romana Bipartita* of Luke Holstein.† The Greek copy is addressed to the bishops of Illyricum; the Latin, to the Catholic bishops of the East—"Episcopis Catholicis per orientem constitutis."‡

From this Latin copy, which is the worst, and the least authentic of the two, Dr. O'Connell, following Berington and Kirk, has taken his quotation; which I shall place, as before, in juxtaposition with the original.

Confidimus quidem, sanctitatem vestram Apostolorum instructione fundatam, eam tenere fidem, eamque plebibus intimare, quæ a majorum institutis nulla ratione dissentiat. Neque enim aliter Dei sentire convenit sacerdotes, quorum pars est cæteros erudire. Sed Gallorum atque Venetensium fratrum relatione comperimus, nonnullos non hæresis studio, neque enim hoc tantum mali cadere in Dei antistites potest; sed insectia vel ex simplicitate quadam scævius interpretationibus æstuantibus, non satis dispicere quæ magis patrum nostrorum sit tenenda sententia, cum diversa consilia eorum auribus ingerantur. Denique Auxentium Mediolanensem hac præcipue causa damnatum esse perscribunt. Par est igitur universos magistros legis per orbem Romanum paria de lege

"We have," writes the learned pontiff, "confidence that your holiness, grounded on the instruction given by the Apostles, holds fast, and teaches to the people, that faith, which in nothing differs from the traditions of our forefathers. It becomes not the Priest of God to hold any other sentiments. Yet we have learned from some of our brethren in Gaul—there are some, who not from heretical intention—for so great an evil cannot befall God's appointed rulers—but from ignorance, or a kind of simplicity, agitated by sinister interpretations, do not discover which is the sentiment of our forefathers that is to be held when divers opinions are forced on their attention.

* Theod. lib. ii. c. 17. Sozom. lib. vi. c. 23.

† Page 165. Romæ: 1662. The letter is entitled, "*Exemplum synodæ habitæ Romæ episcoporum xciii. ex rescripto imperiali.*" So that at that time the Bishop of Rome could not hold a synod, even in his own city, without the emperor's authority. See Coustant's note on this fact, *Epist. Romanor. Pontiff.* p. 487.

‡ This is perhaps what Messrs. Berington and Kirk allude to when they give the reference to their quotation from this epistle thus: "*Ep. i. Synod. Orientalibus, Galland. t. vi. p. 321.*" This reference Dr. O'Connell abridges thus: "*Ep. i. Synod. Oriental. Gallandus, t. vi. p. 321.*"

sentire, nec diversis magisteriis fidem dominicam violare. Nam cum dudum hæreticorum virus, ut nunc iterum cœpit obrepere, ac præcipue Arianorum blasphemia, pullulare cœpisset; majores nostri CCCXVIII episcopi, atque ex urbe sanctissimi episcopi urbis Romæ directi apud Nicæam confecto concilio hunc murum adversus arma diabolica statuerunt, atque hoc antidoto mortalia pocula propulsarunt, ut patrem, filium, spiritumque sanctum, unius virtutis, unius figuræ, unius credere oporteret substantiæ, contra sentientem alienum a nostro consortio judicantes." [Then follow some further remarks on the Councils of Nice and Ariminum; after which the synod adds,] "Unde advertit sinceritas vestra hanc solam fidem quæ apud Nicæam apostolorum auctoritate fundata est, perpetua firmitate esse retinendam; hac nobiscum orientales, qui se catholicos recognoscunt, occidentalesque gloriari."

When, in olden times, the poison of heresy began to spread itself, as it does now once more, and when the Arian blasphemy shot up, our forefathers, the three hundred and eighteen bishops assembled at Nicæa, raised up this wall against the weapon of the devil, and by this antidote repelled the cup of death.

You perceive, therefore, that that faith alone, which was settled at Nicæa, is to be held with unswerving firmness."

What all this has to say to an infallible expounder of Scripture is difficult to understand. The Synod of London, in which our English bishops drew up the Confession now known by the name of the Thirty-nine Articles, have expressed themselves very much to the same effect respecting "the faith which was settled at Nicæa," when they say that the creeds which contain that faith "ought thoroughly to be received and believed:" but I have never heard that any one has inferred from this, that they maintained the existence of an infallible judge of controversies in the church. Yet the letter of Pope Damasus, which Dr. O'Connell cites, says no more than that, when the Arian heresy sprang up, it was condemned by the Nicene Council, and that the faith or creed there settled is to be adhered to with unswerving firmness.

All this we cordially grant; and there is nothing in the foregoing extract that is in any degree contrary to our doctrine. We might, therefore, pass on at once to the next, were it not that Dr. O'Connell's translation seems to call for some observations. Although it is taken from Berington and Kirk, yet he has made

several alterations in their version, besides the omissions, without notice, which we are now accustomed to expect in all our author's quotations. Berington and Kirk have translated, correctly enough, "We have, indeed, confidence, that your holiness, grounded on the instruction given by the Apostles, holds fast, and teaches to the people that faith which in nothing differs from the institutes of our forefathers," *majorum institutis*. Why does Dr. O'Connell change *institutis* to *traditions*? Does he regard that as a more literal or a more correct translation? Or was he ignorant that by *majorum institutis* the writers of the letter meant, not *traditions*, in the modern sense of the word, but the decisions of the Nicene fathers on the Arian controversy? Again, in the next sentence, why does he render *sacerdotes* in the singular number, when he had before his eyes the correct translation by Berington and Kirk: "It does not beseem *priests* of God, whose part it is to instruct others, to hold any other sentiments?" Here I cannot help suspecting that Dr. O'Connell was misled by the phrase "your holiness," with which his extract begins; forgetting that the word *your* is plural, and supposing from this, that the letter was addressed to some one individual, he probably thought he was correcting an error of Berington, when he changed "priests" to "the priest." And again, was it "ignorance or a kind of simplicity," that induced him to alter "in time past," which was Berington's translation of *dudum*, to "in olden times?" He evidently did not recollect that this letter was written in the year 372, and that the word *dudum* referred to the times of the Council of Nice held in 325, just forty-seven years before. It is not very usual to speak of an event which is but forty-seven years old, as having happened in the *olden times*, although we may very fairly speak of it as "in time past." From these examples, Dr. O'Connell will perceive how perilous it is to meddle with translations, when we do not thoroughly understand the original. In the present instance, we must in charity con-

* This is evident from the Greek: *ἦτις ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρισθέντων παρὰ τῶν πατέρων οὐδενὶ λόγῳ διαφωνεῖ.*

clude that, in making such alterations, he did not consult the original at all.

Of other inaccuracies it is scarcely worth stopping to speak. In translating "*Gallorum atque Venetensium fratrum relatione*," Messrs. Berington and Kirk omit the mention of the "*Venetenses*," probably because their knowledge of ecclesiastical geography did not enable them to translate it satisfactorily, and they knew enough to know that they were on dangerous ground. But they had translated *Gallorum fratrum relatione* "from the relation of some of our brethren from Gaul," which Dr. O'Connell alters to "from some of our brethren *in* Gaul," apparently without any reason.

I have said that the foregoing extract is taken from the worst and least authentic copy of the letter of Pope Damasus. This is admitted by all: the Latin copy is evidently not an original, but a translation, very carelessly made from the Greek: "*e græco conversum*," says Coustant,* "*et quidem ab interprete vel imperito, vel qui vitioso admodum exemplari usus sit.*" If Dr. O'Connell, therefore, had been anxious to lay before us the real sentiments of Pope Damasus, he ought not to have quoted from this corrupted copy. An instance of the translator's ignorance may be seen in the very extract before us; we read there the strange assertion that heretical intention is too great an evil to befall "God's appointed rulers," for so Messrs. Berington and Kirk render "*Dei antistites.*" In other words, we are not to suppose that a bishop could be suffered to fall into heresy. Now is it possible to imagine that such a sentiment could really have proceeded from the pen of Damasus, in the year 372, who had himself, in 368, only four years before, assisted at the condemnation of Auxentius, Bishop of Milan, for Arianism?—a fact which the letter actually alludes to in the very next sentence. The truth is, that this is a blundering version of the Greek, which speaks only of the report that "some were tending to heresy," and then adds, "which evil the

* Rom. Pontiff. Epist. p. 487, note g.

bishops ought not only to guard against, but also to resist, seeing that it is occasioned either by the ignorance or simplicity of some, who are influenced by deceptive interpretations.”*

Again, the Latin letter says, in a passage which Dr. O’Connell omits, (but the reader has the original of it above) that the antidote provided by the Nicene Council against the poison of Arianism, was this, “that we should believe the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to be of one Godhead, of one power, of one form, and of one substance.” This is inaccurate, and savours of a later age than that of Damasus; for it is well known that the Nicene Council did not decree anything respecting the consubstantiality or hypostasis of the Holy Ghost. The Greek is much more correct, but the manner in which it introduces the Holy Ghost, although exactly conformable to the wording of the Nicene Creed, might easily be misunderstood by an unskilful translator.†

On the whole, then, I think it will be admitted that the foregoing quotation from Pope Damasus has not added much, either to the theological strength of Dr. O’Connell’s cause, or to his own reputation for accuracy and learning.

VIII.—ST. EPIPHANIUS.

Our author’s next quotation is from Epiphanius.‡ “Defending the Creed,” says Dr. O’Connell, “which was laid down at Nicæa, this holy father observes,”— In fact, Epiphanius is speaking, not of the creed “laid down” by the Council of Nice,

* The words are: ‘*Ἀλλὰ δι’ ἀναφορᾶς τῶν ἐν Γαλλίᾳ καὶ Βενετίᾳ ἀδελφῶν ἔγνωμεν τινὰς εἰς αἵρεσιν σπουδάζειν. ὕπερ κακὸν οὐ μόνον παραφυλάττεσθαι ὀφειλουσίν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα ἀπειρία τινῶν ἢ ἀπλότητι τῶν σκαιαῖς κεχημένων ἐρμηνευσίαις γέγονεν, ἀνθίστασθαι.*—Galland. Bibl. P.P. tom. vi. p. 322.

† The Greek says: *τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος ὑπεναντιον τῶν ὀπλῶν τοῦ διαβόλου ὤρισαν, &c., ὥστε τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν μιᾶς οὐσίας, μιᾶς θεότητος, μιᾶς ἀρετῆς, μιᾶς δυνάμεως, καὶ ἐνὸς χαρακτῆρος πιστεῦσθαι χρῆ, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποστάσεως καὶ οὐσίας. καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.* There ought, evidently, to be a stop after *οὐσίας*, as I have here printed it, although the editors have omitted it. The construction is, *καὶ τὸ π. τὸ ἅγ. πιστεῦσθαι χρῆ.* Compare the Nicene Creed.

‡ Cited by Messrs. Berington and Kirk, vol. i. p. 64.

but of the particular errors of Vitalis, and other heretics, who “divided the substance”* of our Lord’s Person, and held that the Godhead was to Him in the stead of a human mind or soul. The words of Epiphanius, with Dr. O’Connell’s version, are as follows:—†

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς περὶ τούτου οὐκ ἐκινήθη λόγος, ἀπλούστατον ἦν. Τί γὰρ τοῦτο τὸν κόσμον ὤνησε τὸ καινοτόμημα, ἢ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ὠφέλησεν; ἢ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἐβλάψε, μῖσος καὶ στασιν ἐργασάμενον; ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ λόγος προεβλήθη, φοβερός γέγονεν. οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὸ κρεῖσσον τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας. ἄρνησις γὰρ ἐστίν, οὐ μόνον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῷ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν βραχυτάτῳ τινί. οὐ χρὴ γὰρ οὐδὲ κἄν ἐν τῷ τυχόντι παρεξίρχεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας. λέξωμεν τοίνυν καὶ κατὰ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως, βουλόμενοι μὴ ἔξω τῆς ἐαυτῶν ζωῆς βαίνειν, μηδὲ τὸν κανόνα καταλιμπάνειν τῆς ἁγίας Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ὁμολογίας. οὐδενὶ γὰρ πώποτε τῶν παλαιῶν τοῦτο εἴρηται, οὔτε προφήτῃ, οὔτε ἀποστόλῳ, οὔτε εὐαγγελιστῇ, οὔ τινι τῶν ἐξηγητῶν, ἕως τούτων τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων. ἐξ οὗ καιροῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου λογιωτάτου ἀνδρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον σοφιστικὸν προῆλθε ῥῆμα.

“Had no controversy been at first mooted on this subject, it was a very simple matter. For in what has the novelty benefited the world, or profited the Church? Rather has it not caused injury, having given birth to hatred and party spirit? But as the doctrine sprang up, it became formidable;

for we ought not, in the slightest way, deviate from the attested truth. Let us, then, argue against this position of theirs, desirous not to abandon our life, nor to desert the rule of the holy Church of God, and of the confession of faith; for never has this opinion of theirs been asserted by any of the ancients, Prophets, Apostles, or Evangelists, or by any of the Expositors, even unto these days—never until this sophistical declaration came from this man of much learning.”

It is evident that Dr. O’Connell did not know to what particular opinion this passage alluded, when he blindly followed Berington and Kirk, in twice gratuitously inserting the words “of theirs”—(“this position of theirs,” “this opinion of theirs,”) which makes nonsense. For Epiphanius was here speaking of the heretical doctrine of one individual—viz., Vitalis, whom he calls in the concluding sentence, ἀνὴρ λογιωτάτος, a man of much learning.

Letting this pass, however, we must ask, as before, how does it appear from this quotation that Epiphanius believed in the existence of an infallible expounder of Scripture in the church? Might not an English churchman say all that Epiphanius has here said, without believing any such thing? Might not an

* Hence called by Epiphanius: Διμοιρῆται.

† Hær. lxxviii. p. 1018, tom. i. ed. Petavii. Colon. 1632.

English churchman say, for example, that before the modern Roman claim to supremacy over the whole church was mooted, the question of the metropolitan jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome was a very simple matter? Might not an English churchman ask, in what has this novelty of an infallible tribunal benefited the world or profited the church? Has it not rather caused injury, by giving birth to hatred and party spirit? And, in fact, never has this doctrine been asserted by any of the ancients, whether prophet, or apostle, or evangelist, or by any of the expounders of Holy Scripture, until comparatively recent times? Might not an Englishman argue thus, without assuming the existence of any infallible expositor, and in fact for the purpose of refuting such a supposition? How, then, can it be shown that Epiphanius, when he uses this very argument against the errors of Vitalis, necessarily implies his belief in the infallibility of the pope?

But, in truth, the words of Epiphanius are totally irreconcilable with a belief in that doctrine. He argues, not as a Romanist would, or ought in consistency to argue, but exactly in the spirit of our English divines. For he asks, has the opinion of Vitalis been asserted by any of the ancients, by a prophet, by an apostle, by an evangelist, or *by any of the expositors*? But why does he speak of expositors in the plural number, if, as Dr. O'Connell would persuade us, he believed in the existence of one supreme and infallible expositor? And why in such a connexion is he silent about that one expóitor? Why does he not say, the heresy in question not only finds no support from the Apostles, prophets, evangelists, and expositors of former days, but it has been expressly condemned by that infallible authority, which God has placed over His church, to be the judge in all such questions, the absolute and authoritative expounder of all difficulties, from whose decision there can be no appeal?

Until Dr. O'Connell can explain this omission, or produce for us from some ancient father an express and unequivocal declaration of this kind, we must continue to disbelieve the

existence of the alleged infallible tribunal, and to ask, in the words of Epiphanius, "In what has this novelty benefited the world, or profited the church?"

IX.—ST. LEO.

The next quotation is from a Roman pontiff of the fifth century, and although it may seem, at first sight, somewhat unfair to bring forward popes as witnesses in their own cause, yet we are very willing to be judged by their testimony if they will all adhere to the doctrine propounded by St. Leo in the following quotation, which I shall give in the original with Dr. O'Connell's translation.

Et cum ab Evangelica Apostolicaque doctrina ne uno quidem verbo liceat dissidere, aut aliter de scripturis divinis sapere, quam beati Apostoli et Patres nostri didicerunt atque docuerunt, nunc demum indisciplina moveantur et impiæ quæstiones, quas olim mox, ut eas per apta sibi corda diabolus excitavit, per discipulos veritatis Spiritus Sanctus extinxit.*

"It is not lawful to differ, even by one word, from the doctrine of Evangelic and Apostolic doctrine, or to think otherwise concerning the Divine Scriptures than as the blessed Apostles and our Fathers learned and taught."

It is curious, and in some respects humiliating, to see a good and amiable man, as I trust Dr. O'Connell is, so blinded by the heat of controversy, as to imagine that this passage is any way inconsistent with the teaching of the Church of England. I do not pretend to understand exactly why he renders *ab Evangelica doctrina* "the doctrine of Evangelic doctrine" (for which there is no authority, either in the original or in Berington and Kirk,) but taking the words as they stand in the Latin, I do not know how I could express more fully or more clearly, the principle for which our divines have always contended. It is precisely for this very reason that we reject the papal supremacy, and all the modern additions made by the Roman church to the Catholic

* Dr. O'Connell gives the reference to this passage: "Ep. 82 ad Marcion.;" Berington (vol. i. p. 113) gives it thus—"Ib. ep. lxxxii. ad Marcion. Aug. p. 10, 44," which I suppose ought to be p. 1044. I have not access to the edition of Pope Leo's works, (Venet. 1753-57,) which Berington has cited: but in the edit., Paris, 1671, the foregoing passage occurs in Epist. lxii. ad Marcianum Augustum, p. 559.

faith : because we hold with St. Leo, “ that IT IS NOT LAWFUL to differ, even by one word, from the doctrine of the Gospel and of the Apostles, or to think otherwise of Holy Scripture, than the blessed Apostles, and the Fathers who lived before the time of St. Leo, have learned and taught.” We are content to be judged by the doctrine and teaching of those whom St. Leo here calls *Patres nostri*, not because we believe them to be infallible, but because their teaching is agreeable to the Scriptures and to apostolical tradition : this is, in fact, the very rule of our church, which I have already cited ; all preachers amongst our clergy are enjoined by our Canons, “ to teach nothing to be religiously held and believed by the people, except what is agreeable to the doctrine of Holy Scripture, and which the Catholic Fathers and ancient bishops have collected out of the said doctrine.”

X.—COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.

We are now come to Dr. O’Connell’s last testimony, which he has headed “ Council of Chalcedon.” But it is, really, an extract from the acts of the council held at Constantinople in the year 448, which acts were read and recited in the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, as a part of the accusation against Dioscorus, of Alexandria. This, it is true, is an error of inferior moment to the argument, but it adds to the innumerable proofs we have had of the danger of second-hand learning ; for this is an error which Dr. O’Connell has copied from Messrs. Berington and Kirk,* from whom he has borrowed this, as well as all the rest of his authorities.

In the Council of Constantinople, above referred to, Eutyches was condemned for asserting that there existed in the Person of Christ but one nature only after His incarnation ; and as Dioscorus, in the false council of Ephesus, had absolved him from this censure, it became necessary to recite the acts of both these councils, at the Council of Chalcedon, where Dioscorus

* Vol. i. p. 357.

was unanimously condemned ; and this was, in fact, the business of its first session.

It is true, then, that so far as the sentiments expressed in the Council of Constantinople are concerned, they may equally be regarded as the sentiments of the Council of Chalcedon ; and Dr. O'Connell's argument is therefore not affected by his error in giving us the words of the former council under the name of the latter.

The extract is taken from the account which the presbyter John gives of his interview with Eutyches, when he was sent to summon him before the council :

"Ετοιμον γὰρ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι ἔφασκε ταῖς ἐκθέσεισι τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, τῶν τε ἐν Νικαίᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ σύνοδον ποιησάμενων, συντίθεσθαι, καὶ ὑπογράφειν ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις αὐτῶν ὡμολόγει· εἰ δὲ πού τυχού τι παρ' αὐτῶν ἐν τισι λέξεσιν ἢ διασφαλθὲν ἢ διαπλανηθὲν, τουτο μὴδὲ διαβάλλειν, μὴδὲ καταδέχεσθαι· μόνως δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἐρευνᾶν, ὡς βεβαιωτέρας οὐσας τῆς τῶν πατέρων ἐκθέσεως.*

"He (Eutyches) declared himself ready to agree to the expositions of the Holy Fathers who constituted the synod at Nicæa and Ephesus : and he professed that he subscribed to their interpretations. But if it anywhere happened that something in certain of their expressions was erroneous or mistaken, this he neither blamed nor received : but that he searched the Scriptures alone, as being purer than the statement of the Fathers?"

Dr. O'Connell adds, that Eutyches "was exhorted to repent, and to give security for the future to the holy synod, that he thinks in accordance with the expositions of our holy Fathers, and will not more teach others nor converse with any one contrary to these expositions."†

Here one cannot help feeling that something like a fraud has been passed upon the unwary reader, who, putting these things together, would be apt to conclude that the error of Eutyches,

* Labbe and Cossart. Concil. tom. iv. col. 194.

† To this second extract Dr. O'Connell gives the reference, "195 in Coll."—this is not very intelligible; but on referring to Berington & Kirk we find two quotations from the Acts of the Council, besides that above given; of these Dr. O'Connell here quotes the second, affixing to it the reference belonging to the first, which ought to be *col.* 195. Berington and Kirk say : "In *col.* 195, he is accordingly condemned as having opinions 'in opposition to the expositions of the fathers.' So again, *col.* 206, he is exhorted to repent 'and to give security for the future to the holy synod that he thinks in accordance with the expositions,' &c." as in Dr. O'Connell's quotation.

which he was required to repent of and to retract, was the doctrine that the Scriptures were purer and safer guides to religious truth than the Fathers; and Dr. O'Connell has evidently been himself taken in by this trick, for otherwise the juxtaposition of these passages would be nothing to his purpose.

But nothing can be more unfair or untrue. The doctrine which Eutyches was required to retract, was not that he searched the Scriptures alone, as being more certain (*βεβαιοτέρως*) than the decrees of the Nicene and Ephesian Fathers, (for let it be noted that he was speaking especially of the fathers who had composed those two synods, and not of "the Fathers" generally, in the modern sense of the word); this, I say, was not the error for which he was censured by the council, but the doctrine condemned was his heretical opinion about the nature of our Lord's Person.

Moreover, it is to be observed that the words last quoted by Dr. O'Connell are not the decree or final decision of the council, but part of a speech made by the Archbishop of Constantinople, in the course of the debate. Eutyches had excused himself from appearing before the council, on the pretence that he was too ill to leave his monastery. To this the archbishop answers, "How can one man answer for another? Let him come here himself; let him come to us as to fathers and brethren; his accuser is here, and he ought also to come and satisfy him; he could come out to accuse Nestorius, why not, therefore, come forward to defend himself? We have all been scandalized; let him not be ashamed to repent, for there is no shame in that; to continue in sin is the only thing disgraceful; let him come, then, and when he confesses and denounces his fault, let us pardon him for what has passed; and for the future, let him give security to me and to the holy synod, that his sentiments are in accordance with the expositions of our holy Fathers, and let him not hereafter, contrary to these expositions, either teach them to any, or dispute with any one;"* and these words were addressed, be it further remembered, not to the

* I have only given here the substance and general tenor of the Archbishop's speech, not a complete translation of it. The passage quoted by Dr. O'Connell is as

council, but, in the hearing of the council, to the presbyter and archimandryte Abraamius, who had undertaken to answer for the absent Eutyches; and it is to him the archbishop speaks when he adds, "Thus let it be, I beseech thee; for before thou knewest him, I knew him, and before he was acquainted with thee, he knew me."

In a word, Eutyches had refused to come to the council, but had declared himself ready to subscribe the expositions of the councils of Nice and Ephesus; and the archbishop therefore proposed that he should come and publicly pledge himself to abide by those expositions, and that the council should then forgive the past. There is not the smallest connexion between this and the former passage, where Eutyches, (or rather the presbyter John in his name) speaks of searching the Scriptures as a surer foundation of truth than the Nicene and Ephesian fathers. The two passages occur at an interval of almost six folio pages from each other, and to unite them, as Dr. O'Connell has done, is a monstrous act of unfairness, to use no harsher term.

But let us suppose for a moment that Dr. O'Connell's inference were correct. Does he really mean to say that it was heretical, in the judgment of the Council of Chalcedon, to assert that the Scriptures are a more certain and a safer source of religious knowledge, than the decisions of the fathers of Nice and Ephesus? Does he really believe that during the discussions and debates of a council, there can be no error broached, no mistakes committed? For, it will be perceived, even from the few pages here quoted, that Eutyches did not dispute the conclusions or final decisions (*ἐκθέσεις*) of the council:—these, on the contrary, he professed himself ready to receive; but he said, if in some of their *expressions* (*λέξεις*) there be any slips or errors, these, as being of no importance, I do not either blame nor adopt. I search the Scriptures alone, as free from all error,

follows:—*ἀλλὰ ἔλθῃ ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ὁμολογοῦντος αὐτοῦ τὸ πταῖσμα, καὶ ἀναθεματίζοντος, διδόμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν προλαβόντων συγνομῶν. καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλιζέται [read ἀσφαλιζήται] καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον, ὅτι περ ὁμοίως φρονεῖ ταῖς ἐκθέσεσι τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ παρὰ ταύτας τοῦ λοιποῦ οὔτε διδάσκει τινας, οὔτε τιμι διαλέγεται.*—Labbé and Cossart. tom. iv. 206.

whether of sense or expression, and therefore surer as a ground of faith than the decisions of the Nicene and Ephesian fathers.

But let Eutyches be ever so wrong in this opinion, it is clear that neither he nor the council knew anything of an infallible tribunal for the decision of all controversies and the authoritative exposition of the Scriptures at Rome.* If he had known of that tribunal, and had rejected its authority, why did he not here say, that he considered the Scriptures a surer ground of faith than the decrees of Rome?—why did he confine himself to the decrees of Nice and Ephesus? And if he did receive and know of the infallible guide of the church, why did he not endeavour to claim its support, as he did claim the support of the Nicene and Ephesian fathers?

Again, I have said that the council took no notice of this particular error of Eutyches—if it be an error to believe the Scriptures a more sure ground of faith than the words of a council. The fathers at Constantinople condemned, indeed, his heresy respecting our Lord's Person, but of this opinion respecting the Scriptures they say nothing, and Eutyches himself, in his appeal to the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, although he recites this very sentiment, in the very words in which John had reported it to the council, yet says nothing of any objection having been made to it; nor does he complain of its having been condemned. We must conclude, therefore, either that the Council was indifferent to it, or else that they did not consider this to be an error. The councils themselves, in fact, appeal to Scripture as the foundation of their decisions; but the Fathers they refer to, only as aids to the right understanding and interpretation of the Scripture. The Scriptures always stand first, as the firmer and surer ground. The orthodox Fathers themselves make the same use of Scripture, always appealing to it as the ultimate source and fountain

* See, on the attempts of Romanists to find an acknowledgment of the Roman supremacy in the Acts of this Council, Comber, on *Roman Forgeries*, part iii. p. 77. Lond. 1689.

head of faith. Nor have the decrees of councils in controversies of faith any validity or obligation, except so far as they can be proved by Scripture. And so says Flavian himself, the Archbishop of Constantinople, who presided at this very council: in his letter to the Emperor Theodosius, written to justify himself and the council against the misrepresentations of Eutyches, he rests his defence primarily on the Scriptures—" Sapimus recte et inculpabiliter semper Scripturas divinas, sequentes expositiones sanctorum patrum qui in Nicæa convenerunt, et centum quinquaginta qui hic congregati sunt, et qui in Epheso sub sanctæ memoriæ Cyrillo, qui fuit Alexandrinorum Episcopus."* And Pope Leo himself, in his letter to Flavian, ascribes the error of Eutyches to this very thing, that he had recourse in his search for knowledge, not to the Scriptures, but to his own inventions: " Sed in hanc insipientiam cadunt, qui cum ad cognoscendam veritatem aliquo impediuntur obscuro, non ad propheticas voces, non ad Apostolicas literas, nec ad Evangelicas auctoritates, sed ad semetipsos recurrunt: et ideo magistri erroris existunt, quia veritatis discipuli non fuere."† In the judgment of St. Leo, therefore, as well as of Flavian, the Scriptures were the first and primary source of truth, and ignorance of them the real source of all religious error. Nay, Dr. O'Connell had but just before cited from the writings of this pope a passage in which he tells the Emperor Marcian, that it is not lawful to differ, *even by one word*, from the doctrine of Holy Scripture.

On the whole, then, it must be clear to every unprejudiced reader, that there is nothing in this testimony of the Fathers who composed the Council of Constantinople which at all favours the peculiar doctrines of modern Romanists respecting the infallibility of the see of Rome. The utmost Dr. O'Connell can make of the foregoing extracts is, that if there be an infallible expounder of Scripture in the Church, that supreme authority must be found in the Fathers who lived before the middle of the fifth century, and particularly the Fathers who composed

* Baronius, ad Ann. 449, p. 77, tom. vi.

† Epist. xxiv. p. 478. S. Leonis Opp. Paris: 1670.

the Nicene and Ephesine Councils. It is of them alone the extracts quoted treat: not a word is said of Rome, or of any infallible expounder of the Scriptures there. And if, from what is said of the necessity of thinking in accordance with the expositions of the Fathers, we are to infer, that there exists an infallible judge of controversies, it must be in those expositions (that is to say, in the decisions of the Councils of Nice and Ephesus) that such a judge will be found, and not elsewhere.

Conclusion.

We have now gone through *all* the authorities cited by Dr. O'Connell in proof of his two positions, that the Greek and Latin Fathers have reprobated the principle of individual examination of the Scriptures; and that they have asserted the existence of an authoritative, that is to say, an infallible expounder of holy Scripture in the Church.

In no one case has Dr. O'Connell succeeded in producing a passage from any Greek or Latin Father, in which either of these positions is directly asserted. He had before him, in the work of Messrs. Berington and Kirk, a vast body of quotations from Fathers and Councils, arranged under heads in the form of a commonplace book, with a view to this very controversy. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that he selected from this storehouse the passages which appeared to him most strikingly in point; and yet he has been able to produce only those which the reader has now before him. How weak and inconclusive they are, even with the aid of garbling, mistranslation, and severing from the context, every unbiassed reader must clearly perceive: and yet Dr. O'Connell is so little conscious of this, that he exclaims, with the utmost complacency, on completing his list of authorities, "Such, my Lord, is the testimony borne in various ways by the Fathers and the Apostolic Canons" [he had not given any extracts from the Apostolic Canons, but perhaps he means by this the Apostolic Constitutions] "to the immemorable admission among Churches of the doctrine of

Church infallibility, which the private judgment of this age considers to be altogether unscriptural.”

All we need say in reply is, that, if such be the testimony to this “immemorable” doctrine, it is wonderfully weak and inconclusive. What precise force Dr. O’Connell intended to attach to the word *immemorable* in this connexion, I do not know; but Johnson explains it, “not worth remembering;” and certainly the admission among Churches of the doctrine of Church infallibility, so far as it can be collected from Dr. O’Connell’s authorities, is so slight and evanescent that it may well be described by such an adjective. Or rather, it is perhaps more true to say, that in no one instance has he quoted any such admission at all; whilst many of his quotations, when rightly interpreted by an examination of the context in which they stand, tell directly the other way.

It remains now to make some general remarks on the whole subject:—

I. And, first, we have had frequent occasion to note that the passages quoted by Dr. O’Connell from the Fathers are, for the most part, garbled, mistranslated, and severed from their context; and we have seen that it is from this circumstance is derived whatever little countenance they seem to give to the present doctrines of the Church of Rome.

On the subject of the misrepresentation of the real sentiments of the Fathers in Dr. O’Connell’s quotations I shall say nothing, except that I should be sorry to attribute this unfairness altogether to dishonesty. It arises much more from an undue zeal for the doctrines which are the subject of dispute, and a determination to find demonstrations of them in the writings of the ancients at all hazards.

But another remark must force itself upon every unbiassed reader. Admitting the interpretation put by Dr. O’Connell upon the passages he has quoted from the Fathers, granting that their true sense is not affected by the omissions he has made in them, and that his translations fully represent the mind of their authors,

still it must be felt that these passages are very far indeed from asserting, with anything like distinctness, the full doctrine of the present Church of Rome. They condemn, it is true, an arbitrary interpretation of holy Scripture, without regard to the authentic tradition of the Church, or the judgment of holy men of God, whose lives were spent in the study of the sacred writings, or who lived in immediate intercourse with the disciples of the Apostles. They condemn also such persons as set up their own ill-digested fancies in opposition to the authority which God has committed to His Church. But this is a very different thing from asserting that there exists in the Church a living guide to decide all controversies, and to interpret all difficulties by a divine authority; that we are to submit to the decisions of this infallible guide without a murmur or a doubt; and that therefore it is our duty, not to read or understand the Scripture for ourselves, but to receive, with unquestioning confidence, from the lips of our infallible instructor, whatever he may think fit to tell us of the contents or signification of the Scriptures. Dr. O'Connell has failed to produce from the writings of any ancient Father the smallest intimation of a belief in any such visible, infallible guide, much less any express or unequivocal statement of the present Roman doctrine.

The passages he has adduced have no weight in the present controversy, except against the extravagant and fanatical opinions which the Church of England repudiates as much as Dr. O'Connell himself; and there is not a single statement amongst all those he has quoted from the Fathers which is in any degree inconsistent with the teaching of our Church on the points in question.

The wonder is, that Dr. O'Connell should imagine them to express, in any degree, the doctrine of the Church of Rome; but this is easily accounted for by the bias of his mind in favour of that doctrine. What the learned Dr. Hales has said of the Scriptures is equally true of the Fathers, or any other authority that men desire to press into a particular service. "It is no hard thing," he says, "for a man that hath wit, and is strongly possessed of an opinion, and resolute to maintain it, to find

some places of Scripture which, by good handling, will be wooed to cast a favourable countenance upon it.”*

How far Dr. O’Connell has succeeded in wooing the Fathers to cast a favourable countenance on his doctrines, the reader will now be able to judge.

II. Of his failure, however, Dr. O’Connell is himself totally unconscious, and, after completing his list of authorities, he addresses the Archbishop of Dublin, with all the triumph of a victory, in the following words:—

“What, then, is to be said? Are there discoverable in the records of antiquity any traces of sudden corruption or declension of primitive Christianity, which your Grace assumes to have actually taken place, or else the Christianity of the Anglican Church is necessarily heterodox, as no traces of similitude can be discovered between its tenets and the doctrines insisted on by the Fathers of the first five centuries?”

1. Here is a very extraordinary statement, which it is to be presumed has been made by Dr. O’Connell, either in ignorance or in the heat of controversy, and without due consideration. The Christianity of the Anglican Church is expressed by the Catholic Creeds—the Creed of the Councils of Nice and Constantinople—the Creed of St. Athanasius—and the Apostles’ Creed. Does Dr. O’Connell really mean to say, that between the tenets of these venerable symbols of Christianity, and the doctrines insisted on by the Fathers, NO TRACES OF SIMILITUDE can be found?

“The *Christianity* of the Anglican Church,” the reader will observe (not the comparatively secondary doctrines in which we differ from the Church of Rome), is the subject of this sweeping condemnation. Let Dr. O’Connell explain it as he may, he has either anathematized as heterodox, in the words just quoted, the Christianity of the first six general councils—for that is the Christianity of the Church of England,—or else he is putting his own peculiar doctrine of papal infallibility, and its consequences, in the place of Christianity.

If he takes the word Christianity in its first and legitimate sig-

* Golden Remains, ed. 1858, p. 4.

nification, let him explain to the Church and to the world what he means by asserting, that between the tenets of the ancient Creeds and the doctrines of the Fathers no traces of similitude are to be found.

If, however, by Christianity he means only those modern additions to the primitive Creed which are rejected by the Church of England, and which are briefly summed up in the famous bull of Pope Pius IV., then we can only say, that our Christianity is of a much more ancient date than his, and that by adopting unreservedly, as the exponent of our Christianity, the Creed of the first six general Councils, we have given the strongest possible pledge to the rest of the Church that the tenets of our faith are identical with the doctrines "so strongly insisted upon by the Fathers of the first five centuries."

Dr. O'Connell's attempt to produce from the writings of those Fathers a proof that his own peculiar views of Christianity were known to the primitive Church has, as we have seen, been a total failure. After assuming the utmost licence in mistranslation, garbling, and arbitrary interpretation, he has been unable to bring forward so much as one express and unequivocal statement of the (to him) essential doctrine of an infallible judge of controversies; whilst, on the contrary, we have shown, in every instance, from the very passages which he has himself selected, that the doctrines of the primitive Fathers are inconsistent with the present Roman doctrine, and in strict accordance with the tenets of the Church of England.

2. But Dr. O'Connell would transfix us on the horns of a dilemma.

We must discover, he says, in the records of antiquity, a *sudden* corruption or declension of primitive antiquity, or else we must admit, that the Christianity of the Anglican Church is necessarily heterodox.

Here, however, there is a twofold fallacy. The Christianity of the Anglican Church is identical with the doctrines of primitive antiquity. We are content to abide by that very Creed which the Roman Church deems inadequate. It is the Church

of Rome, not the Church of England, that has added new articles to the Creed of Nice and Constantinople. Therefore, whether the records of antiquity afford evidence of a sudden corruption of Christianity or not, it does not by any means follow that the Christianity of the Anglican Church is heterodox.

Again, it is by no means necessary that the declension or corruption of Christianity should be proved to have been *sudden*. If it be clear that the present Church of Rome has in fact adopted a corrupted Christianity, it is of little consequence to the real question at issue, whether the corruption has been sudden or gradual. It will not prove the Roman Church to be pure in the faith, even though we should be unable to point out the precise year or century in which her declension took place; nor is she the less corrupt, although her corruptions were gradually introduced by successive, and at first insensible, deviations from the true Catholic traditions and Apostolic doctrines. The real question is not whether the declension of the Church of Rome was sudden, or whether we can define its precise date, but whether it exists.

To instance in the main and fundamental doctrine of modern Romanism, the papal claim to a monarchical supremacy over the Church—nothing can be more evident than that this is a wide deviation from the primitive Church government; and yet it was introduced, not suddenly, but age after age, by successive encroachments, and gradual usurpations. Nay, the doctrine has not to this day reached its full development: for all, even of those who are still within the Roman communion, are not yet agreed whether the Pope is above a Council, or a General Council above a Pope; and the cognate dogma of the infallibility of the Pope is, perhaps, still farther from being fully received, although the subversion of regal authority, and of the independence of national churches in so many parts of Europe, has done much to pave the way for its ultimate triumph.

When Pope Gregory the first, at the close of the sixth century, reprobated, in the strong language that he employs, the title of Universal Bishop, it is plain that the pretensions of the

Roman see had not then reached their present height. Let any fair mind peruse his letter to John, Bishop of Constantinople, and then say whether the sentiments it contains are capable of being reconciled with the present claims of the see of Rome. He there compares the pride of John to the arrogance of Satan :* —“ Whose example,” (he says,) “ in assuming this perverse title, is before thee for imitation, but that of him who, despising the legions of angels who were of the same company with himself, must needs attempt to rise to a point of singular eminence, where he might be subject to none, and preside alone over all; who said, *I will ascend unto heaven; I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation* [or, of the Testament, *Vulg.*] *in the sides of the north; I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High?* For what are all thy brother bishops of the universal Church but

* “ Quis rogo in hoc tam perverso vocabulo, nisi ille ad imitandum proponitur, qui, despectis angelorum legionibus secum socialiter constituti, ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, ut et nulli subesse, et solus omnibus præesse videretur: qui etiam dixit, *In cælum conscendam; super astra cæli exaltabo solium meum; sedebo in monte testamenti, in lateribus Aquilonis; ascendam super altitudinem nubium; similis ero Altissimo.* Quid enim Fratres tui omnes universalis Ecclesiæ Episcopi, nisi astra cæli sunt? quorum vita simul et lingua inter peccata erroresque hominum quasi inter noctis tenebras lucent. Quibus dum cupis temetipsum vocabulo elato præponere, eorumque nomen tui comparatione calcare, quid aliud dicis nisi, *In cælum conscendam; super astra cæli exaltabo solium meum?* Certe Petrus Apostolorum primus, membrum sanctæ et universalis Ecclesiæ, Paulus, Andreas, Johannes, quid aliud quam singularium sunt plebium capita? et tamen sub uno Capite omnes membra. Atque, ut cuncta brevi cingulo locutionis astringat, sancti ante legem, sancti sub lege, sancti sub gratia, omnes hi perficientes corpus Domini, in membris sunt Ecclesiæ constituti, et nemo se unquam Universalem vocari voluit. Vestra autem Sanctitas agnoscat quantum apud se tumeat, quæ illo nomine vocari appetit, quo vocari nullus præsumsit, qui veraciter sanctus fuit. Numquid non, sicut vestra Fraternitas novit, per venerandum Chalcedonense Concilium hujus Apostolicæ sedis Antistites, cui Deo disponente deservio, Universales oblato honore vocati sunt? Sed tamen nullus unquam tali vocabulo appellari voluit; nullus sibi hoc temerarium nomen sibi arripuit; ne si sibi in Pontificatus gradu gloriam singularitatis arriperet, hanc omnibus fratribus denegasse videretur.”—Regist. lib. v. indict. 13. epist. 18. (Edit. Bened. Opp. tom. ii. 742, 743.) Other and even stronger testimonies to the same effect might be cited in abundance from St. Gregory’s epistles. In one place, for example, he says: “ Sed in hac ejus superbia quid aliud nisi propinqua jam Antichristi esse tempora designatur? Quia illum videlicet imitatur, qui spretis in sociali gaudio angelorum legionibus ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, dicens, *super astra cæli exaltabo solium meum,*” &c. Epist. 21, Ibid. 751.

the stars of heaven: whose lives, as well as their words, shine among the sins and errors of men as stars in the shades of night? And when thou seekest by this proud title to prefer thyself to them, and to trample on their honour in comparison of thine own; what else dost thou say, but, *I will ascend unto heaven; I will exalt my throne above the stars of heaven?*” And then, after some other remarks in the same strain, he adds, “Surely Peter, the first of the Apostles, a member of the holy and universal Church, Paul, Andrew, John,—what else were they but heads of particular people? and yet all were members under one Head. And to sum up all in one short sentence, the saints before the law, the saints under the law, the saints under grace — all, perfecting the body of the Lord, were made members of the Church, and none of them ever called himself *universal*. Let your holiness, therefore, confess how great your pride is, when you seek to be called by that name, which no one who was really holy ever presumed to give to himself. Nay, as you very well know, my brother, did not the venerable Council of Chalcedon give the name of *universal* as a mark of honour to the bishops of this very Apostolic see, in which, by God’s providence, I now serve? And yet none of them would be called by such a title; none of them would assume to himself so presumptuous a name; lest by arrogating to himself, in the order of the episcopate, the glory of singularity, he should seem to deny the same to all his brethren.”

Here it is plain, that the ancient Apostolic doctrine of the equality of all bishops, in point of episcopal order, was still the doctrine of the Church of Rome: but compare this with the language of Boniface VIII. in the year 1302, who thus concludes his famous Bull *unam sanctam*:—“In fine, we declare, assert, determine, and pronounce, that it is absolutely necessary for salvation, that every human being be subject to the Roman Pontiff.” Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omnem humanam creaturam declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronuntiamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.*

* Extravag. de Maj. et obed. c. *Unam sanctam*.

In the interval of seven centuries which elapsed between these two prelates a vast change must evidently have taken place: and if the doctrine of the Church of Rome, as represented by Gregory I., was Catholic and Apostolical, the doctrine of the same Church, as propounded by the eighth Boniface, must evidently be a departure from the primitive tradition. Whether we can tell the exact year and day on which this departure took place, or whether it took place in any one year, or on any one day, or not, is nothing to the present question. The fact that the Church of Rome, as its doctrine now stands, has departed from the doctrine of the Church of Rome under Gregory I., is all that we are concerned with.

This fact is enough to enable us to choose between the horns of Dr. O'Connell's dilemma, even if we did not know from other considerations that the Christianity of the Anglican Church was not heterodox or inconsistent with the doctrines of the primitive Fathers. We see plainly that the Archbishop of Dublin is fully justified in assuming that a declension from primitive Christianity has taken place in the Church of Rome.

Grievous it is, and painful to think, that the glorious Church, planted by Apostles, baptized in the blood of martyrs, whose faith, to use inspired words, was "spoken of throughout the whole world," should have corrupted that faith, and departed from the doctrine they had learned,* after centuries of faithful testimony and noble resistance to various heresies. Yet so it is: but God forbid that we should exult over the fall of such a Church, or wilfully separate ourselves, without necessity, from a communion which has been the nurse and mother of so many saints. Nay, we have particularly guarded ourselves even from the appearance of an uncharitable judgment upon the Churches still in communion with Rome. For in the 30th Canon of our Church it is declared authoritatively, that "so far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such-like Churches, in all things which they held and practised . . . that

* Romans, xvi. 17.

it only departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches which were their first founders.”*

To enter upon the general question by attempting any lengthened proof of the fact here assumed, that the Churches of the Roman obedience have departed from their ancient integrity, would be inconsistent with the limited object of these pages. The subject has been already fully discussed by our Divines: and I shall therefore only say, in the language of Archbishop Bramhall, that “as our separation is from their errors, not from their Churches, so we do it with as much inward charity and moderation of our affections as we can possibly: willingly, indeed, in respect of their errors, and especially their tyrannical exactions and usurpations, but unwillingly, and with reluctance, in respect of their persons; and much more in respect of our common Saviour: as if we were to depart from our father’s or our brother’s house; or rather from some contagious sickness wherewith it was infected: not forgetting to pray God daily to restore them to their former purity, that they and we may once again enjoy the comfort and contentment of one another’s Christian society. We pray for their conversion publicly in our Litany in general, and expressly and solemnly upon Good-Friday; though we know that they do as solemnly curse us the day before. If this be to be schismatics, it were no ill wish for Christendom that there were many more such schismatics.” Again, “we do not arrogate to ourselves either a new Church, or a new religion, or new Holy Orders; for then we must produce new miracles, new revelations, and new cloven tongues,

* “Imo tantum aberat, ut Ecclesia Anglicana ab Italia, Gallia, Hispania, Germania, aliisque similibus Ecclesiis voluerit per omnia recedere, quicquid eas sciret tenere, aut observare, ut (quod Ecclesiae Anglicanae Apologia profitetur) caeremonias illas cum reverentia susciperet, quas citra Ecclesiae incommodum, ac hominum sobriorum offensionem retineri posse senserat; et in iis tantum articulis a praedictis Ecclesiis dissentiret, in quibus eadem ipsae tum a pristina sua integritate prius desciverant, tum etiam ab Ecclesiis apostolicis, a quibus primum sunt proeminatae.”—*Synod. London. 1604. Can. 30.*

for our justification. Our religion is the same it was, our Church the same it was, our Holy Orders the same they were, in substance: differing only from what they were formerly, as a garden weeded from a garden unweeded; or as a body purged, from itself before it was purged. And therefore, as we presume not to make new articles of faith, much less to obtrude such innovations upon others, so we are not willing to receive them from others, or to mingle scholastical opinions with fundamental truths. Which hath given occasion to some to call our religion a negative religion; not considering that our positive articles are those general truths, about which there is no controversy. Our negation is only of human controverted additions.

“Lastly, we are ready, in the preparation of our minds, to believe and practise whatsoever the Catholic Church (even of this present age) doth universally and unanimously believe and practise. *Quod apud multos unum invenitur, non est erratum sed traditum.** And though it be neither lawful nor possible for us to hold actual communion with all sorts of Christians in all things, wherein they vary both from the truth and one from another, yet even in those things we hold a communion with them *in our desires*, longing for their conversion and reunion with us in the truth.”†

* Tertullian.

† Just Vindic. of the Ch. of England, Part i. ch. 6. Works, [Anglo-Catholic Library, Oxford, 1842,] vol. i. pp. 199, 200.



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