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VINDICATION
OF THE
EPISCOPAL OR APOSTOLICAL
SUCCESSION.



BY THE
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P R E F A C E.

THE following treatise originally belonged to a larger work, entitled, "Dissertations vindicating the Church of England with respect to some essential Points of Polity and Doctrine." At the request of various friends, Bishops as well as Presbyters, and under a growing sense of the importance of the subject, the Author is now induced to reprint, as a separate publication, in a form adapted to popular use, his defence of Episcopal Church polity. He is more and more convinced, that the conscientious inquirer into the constitution of the Church will find no resting place for the sole of his foot between the Apostolical succession and the all-denomination scheme. He that rejects the claims of Episcopacy will be driven by degrees from every intermediate position, and forced at last to the conclusion, that the Church of Christ has no canonically-appointed officers at all; that all pretensions to a peculiar right of teaching and administering the sacraments are alike invalid; that whoever will, may take this honour upon himself; and that, in the pointed words of Dr. Samuel Johnson, "Any man may be a minister, who can get himself a congregation."

As the Dissertations were designed chiefly for members of the English Establishment, the Author assumed, in general, the language of an English clergyman, though the sphere of his professional labours has for some time been without the territorial limits of the Anglican Church. He is induced to continue this style of expression, not only as more convenient, but also from the respect which he naturally entertains for the Establishment in Scotland, the reputation of whose ministers for eloquence and talent, as well as piety, reflects honour upon his native country.

The Greek and Latin original of the quotations is for the most part omitted, because the reader, who wishes to ascertain their accuracy, may consult the former edition of the work.

Edinburgh, March, 1839.

FROM THE PREFACE
TO
THE DISSERTATIONS.

IN the first of the following dissertations on the subject of Church polity, the Author has stated as succinctly as that extensive subject would permit, the whole argument for *Episcopacy*, both from Scripture and antiquity. Without referring to individuals, in the present day, who have written against this important Apostolical institution, he has endeavoured to condense their objections, and to offer, (in a manner impossible to be thought personally offensive,) a satisfactory refutation.

Next to Church polity, he considered forms of Divine worship to require discussion. On this topic he has confined himself at present to a general view of *Liturgies*. Another treatise in continuation, (for which he has already collected materials, and which bears a particular reference to the Church of England liturgy,) may, he conceives, be more advantageously laid before the public at some future opportunity, after the doctrines have been vindicated, of which that liturgy must be regarded as an invaluable compendium.

As the chief weapon of assault in the hands of the Romanist is the assumed authority of his Church, the next

subject introduced is *Infallibility*. Under this title the Author has enumerated the various and insuperable difficulties which beset the Romish assailant in his assertion of that lofty claim : opportunity at the same time is taken of bringing forward and exposing other not less dangerous pretensions ; and of pointing out, from the canons of the Church of England, a safe and Scriptural guide for the attainment of religious truth.

The last dissertation here published is on the doctrine of *Mediation*. The greater number of heretical opinions at the present day, and, indeed, at all times throughout Christendom, have arisen from regarding in a partial and confined view the great principle of atonement ; and from limiting attention to one only among the offices of Christ. As the office of Mediator includes them all, a discussion of his Mediatorial character is calculated to repel on either side, the aggressions of our Socinian and Antinomian adversaries. Throughout the whole essay general expressions are systematically employed, and all allusion to those articles of belief respecting which the members of the Church have adopted different explanations, is carefully avoided.

Thus four subjects have been chosen for vindication in this volume. First, the form of Church polity in the English Establishment ; secondly, our received mode of Divine worship ; thirdly, the rules for the attainment of sound doctrine ; and fourthly, the leading doctrines themselves, which the observance of those rules has led the Church to adopt and promulgate.

Edinburgh, 1832.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
ARGUMENT FROM SCRIPTURE	1

CHAPTER II.

ARGUMENT FROM ANTIQUITY	30
-------------------------------	----

CHAPTER III.

REPLY TO OBJECTIONS, AND CONCLUSION.....	68
NOTES.....	103

VINDICATION,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

“The foul practices which have been used for the overthrow of Bishops, may, perhaps, wax bold in process of time, to give the like assault even there, from whence at this present they are most seconded. Nor let it over-dismay them who suffer such things at the hands of this most unkind world, to see that heavenly estate and dignity thus conculcated, in regard whereof so many their predecessors were no less esteemed than if they had not been men, but angels amongst men. With former Bishops it was as with Job, in the days of that prosperity which at large he describeth, saying, ‘Unto me men gave ear; they waited and held their tongue at my counsel; after my words they replied not; I appointed out their way, and did sit as chief: I dwelt as it had been a king in an army.’—At this day the case is otherwise with them; and yet no otherwise than with the self-same Job at what time the alteration of his estate wrested these contrary speeches from him; ‘But now they that are younger than I mock at me; the children of fools, and offspring of slaves, creatures more base than the earth they tread on; such as if they did shew their heads, young and old would shout at them and chase them through the street with a cry, their song I am, I am a theme for them to talk on.’ An injury less grievous, if it were not offered by them whom Satan had through his fraud and subtilty so far beguiled, as to make them imagine herein they do unto God a part of most faithful service. Whereas the Lord in truth, whom they serve herein, is, as St. Cyprian telleth them, like not Christ (for he it is that doth appoint and protect Bishops) but rather Christ’s adversary and enemy of his Church. A thousand five hundred years and upwards the church of Christ hath now continued under the sacred regiment of Bishops. Neither for so long hath Christianity been ever planted in any kingdom throughout the world but with this kind of government alone; which to have been ordained of God, I am for mine own part even as resolutely persuaded, as that any other kind of government in the world whatsoever is of God.”—*Hooker, Eccles. Polity.*

THREE distinct ecclesiastical orders existed at the period of the Reformation, throughout every part of the Christian world, under the name of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

To each of these three orders were allotted separate duties, and different degrees of rank and power. Not only among all the churches subject, in the west, to the Roman Pontiff; and in the east and south, to the Patriarchs of Antioch, Byzantium, and Alexandria; but also among the numerous Christian societies who rejected their doctrine and disowned their authority, were the three orders in question established and maintained. The polity of the Nestorians, Monothelites, and Armenians, on one side of Christendom, as well as of the Albigenses, Waldenses, and Bohemians, on the other, was uniformly episcopal: however widely most of these numerous sectaries were opposed to the rest, and to the great communities from which they separated. The most industrious explorer of Church antiquity, searching from the shores of the Atlantic, to those of the Indian Ocean, from Abyssinia to Scandinavia, has never yet distinctly traced a single Church, in which a hierarchy possessed of diocesan rights and privileges did not, at the period here referred to, prevail¹.

As the Christian hierarchy were in actual and universal possession of these peculiar rights and privileges, so they claimed them also for their ancient and undisputed inheritance; an inheritance transmitted and held, by the venerable title of prescription, during fifteen centuries; and by the still more venerable and sacred tenure of apostolical institution.

Nor is this all. For when the general adherence of the episcopal order to the errors and corruptions of the Romish creed, presented, in some countries, formidable obstacles against the progress of Reformation; those pious Presbyters who had engaged in that great work, and who were thus reduced to the necessity of abandoning their design, or of contriving a new system of Church government and discipline, adopted this latter alternative with reluctance. They deplored as a calamity the necessity for this innovation. They regarded it as defensible mainly on the ground of political expediency. They appear to have been overborne equally by the governors and the governed; by the jealousy and cupidity of rulers, as well as by the prejudices and clamours

¹ See note (A), at the end of the volume. See also in confirmation of this assertion, Hooker and Charles Leslie.

of the multitude, whom the obstinacy and mismanagement of their spiritual superiors had goaded almost to frenzy. In that celebrated symbol of faith, the earliest declaration of doctrine among Protestants, entitled the "Augsburg Confession," these conscientious and reluctant innovators, express openly their sorrow that the canonical form of Church government which they earnestly desired to maintain, should, in some places have been dissolved¹. In another passage of the same important record they thus express themselves:—"Now here again we desire to testify to the world that we would willingly preserve the ecclesiastical and canonical government, if the Bishops would only cease to exercise cruelty upon our churches. This our desire will excuse us before God, before all the world, and unto all posterity; that it may not be justly imputed unto us that the authority of Bishops is impaired amongst us; when men shall hear and read that we, earnestly deprecating the unjust cruelty of the Bishops, could obtain no equal measure at their hands²." The venerable Melancthon, by whom this Confession was drawn up, thus expresses in an Epistle to Luther the congruity of his own private sentiments with those of this public document. "I know not," he says, "with what face we can refuse Bishops, if they will suffer us to have purity of doctrine³." And he elsewhere quotes his illustrious correspondent as maintaining the same opinion. His words are (in allusion to this question), "Luther did always judge as I do⁴."

The sentiments of allegiance to the episcopal system of Church polity, here expressed by the original Protestants in Germany, were promulgated with equal earnestness by other eminent Reformers, who, under the pressure of the same necessity, departed from a system which they revered.—Calvin reports himself to have subscribed willingly and heartily to the confession above quoted⁵. "Bishops,"

¹ *Quam nos magnopere conservare cupiebamus.*—See Bishop Hall's "Episcopacy by Divine Right," p. 11.

² *Ibid.* p. 11.

³ See Brett "on Church Government," p. 121.

⁴ *Ibid.* in l. c.

⁵ The words of Calvin are,—*cui pridem volens ac libens subscripsi.*—Vide Epist. ad Martin Schaling, quoted by Barbon in the Preface to his work on Liturgies.

says he, in another passage of his writings, have invented no other form of governing the Church but such as the Lord hath prescribed by his own word." Again, in another place, after describing the character of a truly Christian Bishop, he subjoins (in that strong language for which he was remarkable), "I should account those men deserving of every the severest anathema, who do not submit themselves reverently and with all obedience to such a hierarchy¹." This great man was by no means adverse to a considerable variety of grades in the Church. Speaking of Metropolitans or Primates, he observes that their appointment was of primitive institution, "to the end that the Bishops might, by reason of this bond of concord, preserve a closer union among themselves²." And lest the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff should be inferred from this concession, he makes the following distinction. "To bear a moderate rule is a very different thing from comprehending under one vast dominion, the whole circuit of the world³." The same favourable view of episcopacy was entertained by other celebrated fathers of the Genevan church. Bucer on all occasions expressed his anxiety, that those churches which enjoyed an episcopal constitution, should not, without sufficient reason, relinquish this advantage; nor obliterate, by excessive change, their resemblance to the Christian communities founded by the Apostles. In his book, *De Regno Christi*, he writes to this effect. "We see by the constant practice of the Church, even from the time of the Apostles, how it hath pleased the Holy Ghost, that among the ministers to whom the government of the Church is especially committed, one individual should have the chief management both of the churches and of the whole ministry, and should, in that management, take precedence of all his brethren. For which reason the title of Bishop is employed to designate a chief spiritual governor."⁴ Beza, the friend likewise of Calvin, and one among the most learned and

¹ *Tractat. de Reform. Eccles.*

² Calvin. *Seren^{m.o} Regi Polon.* p. 190.

³ *Vide Epist. exc.* For some curious information with respect to Calvin's subsequent change of language on the subject of Episcopacy, see note (B) at the end of the volume.

⁴ See also Brett on Church Government. Chap. v. p. 85.

indefatigable commentators upon Scripture, writing to the English Primate in the name of the Genevan Church, warmly eulogizes the church polity of England. He elsewhere refers emphatically to the authority of Bishops and Archbishops in our English establishment, and pronounces what we may consider his benediction, "Let England enjoy, by all means, that special benefit of God, and God grant that it may be perpetual unto her¹." In another passage he describes it as a thing incredible, that the episcopal order should be rejected. "If," says he, "there be any who reject altogether episcopal jurisdiction (a thing I can hardly be persuaded of), God forbid that any one in his senses should give way to the madness of such men²."

Passing from Geneva to the East of Europe, we find the same attachment for the primitive constitution of the Church. In the book of ecclesiastical canons agreed upon by the Reformers of Poland and Hungary, anno 1623, the following oath of canonical obedience was required of every candidate for admission to Deacon's orders.—"I, N. N. swear before the living God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and before his Holy Angels, that I shall yield unto the Bishop and Presbyters (*senioribus*) all due obedience, as unto my superiors. So help me God³." In another canon of the same church and synod, after enumerating the several authorities from Scripture for different ranks in the ministry, the assembled Fathers make a declaration as follows. "We also do acknowledge in our churches the orders and degrees aforementioned, insomuch that we have certain Bishops, as also Presbyters eminently so called, or Seniors, who ought to govern, according to established rules, the other persons termed in Scripture Ministers of God, and Pastors of the Churches⁴."

¹ See Durel's view of the Reformed Churches, 4to. 1662. p. 280.

² Theod. Beza ad tractat. de minist. Ev. gradibus ad Hadr. Sarav. Belgæ editam. A negociation was carried on for some years with the sanction of the King of Prussia at the beginning of the last century, between Dr. Jablouski, his chaplain, and Archbishop Sharpe of York, for the restoration of the apostolical succession in Germany. A full account of this very interesting correspondence will be found in the Archbishop's life by his son. Vol. i. p. 402–449.

³ Canon. Eccl. Synod. Comiathinæ in Hungariâ. Class. iii. Can. 8.

⁴ Ibid. Can. 2.

Among the Reformers of Italy, there was the same respect for Episcopacy as among those already noticed of Germany and Switzerland. Jerome Zanchius, a very learned native of the Venetian territory, in his thesis on the true method of Reforming the Church¹, makes this strong protestation. "I profess before God, that in my conscience, I repute them no other than schismatics who make it a part of Reformation of the Church to have no Bishops, who should preside over their Presbyters, in degree of authority, *where this may be had*. Furthermore, with Mr. Calvin, I deem them worthy of all manner of anathemas, as many as will not be subject to that Hierarchy which submits itself to the Lord Jesus²." In another work he argues the same point at greater length. Speaking of the different orders established in the Church, "I believe," he says, "that such things as have been decreed and received by the holy Fathers, assembled in the name of the Lord with a general consent of all, without any contradiction of holy writ; I say, I believe that such things (although they be not of the same authority with the Holy Scripture) are also of the Holy Ghost. Hence it is, that I neither can, nor dare disapprove, with a good conscience, things of that nature. Now, what is more certain out of histories, councils, and all the writings of the Fathers, than those orders of ministers of which we have said, that they were established and received in the Church by the common consent of the whole Christian commonwealth? And who am I that I should disapprove what the whole Church hath approved³?"

Respecting the Lutheran Churches of the North, throughout Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, we need here observe no more than that they adopted and acted upon the episcopalian principles of the Augsburg confession already quoted.

¹ His Treatise is entitled, "*De verâ Reformandarum Ecclesiarum Ratione.*" He was by some reputed among the most learned of Calvin's contemporaries. He succeeded Peter Martyr at Strasburg, when the latter, in 1549, was called over by King Edward the Sixth to be Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

² Ibid.—And see also his Tract "*de Necessitate Reformandæ Ecclesiæ,*" quoted by Barbon.

³ Zanch. in *Observ. ad suam ipsius confessionem* in cap. 25, ad Aphor. 10 et 11, quoted by Durel, p. 252, and referred to by Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.* book vii. §. 11.

Proceeding to Scotland, we find that even Knox, the uncompromising reformer of that country, had no desire to introduce a needless innovation; but adopting the ecclesiastical axiom of Calvin, that "parity breedeth confusion," was desirous to have maintained a form of Church Polity more agreeable to the primitive model than the prejudices of the Scottish people would allow. Indeed, the superintendents or Bishops (for the latter term is a translation of the former) whom Knox contributed to establish in Scotland, were invested with such ample powers, that many Prelates, in later times, publicly declared their perfect readiness to be satisfied with the same jurisdiction¹. Knox, in his own life, describes himself as having been for some years an officiating minister of the Church of England, both at Berwick and at Newcastle. He is stated by his biographers to have been chaplain to King Edward the Sixth, at a time when, as now, the common prayer-book contained, in the introduction to the ordinal for consecration, the following declaration: "It is evident unto all men diligently reading holy Scriptures and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' times there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." The family of this great Scotch reformer gave hereditary proof of episcopal partiality, by becoming members and ministers of the English establishment².

¹ Among various authorities, we may specify the three following: Archbishop Spottiswood, in his "Refutatio Libelli," A. D. 1620; Lindsay Bishop of Brechin, in his "True Narrative," A. D. 1618; and Maxwell first Bishop of Ross, and afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, in his "Episcopacy not abjured in Scotland."—See Bishop Sage's Vindication, Chapter IV.

Knox refused a bishoprick offered him by Edward VI., and his refusal has been interpreted into an evidence of his aversion to Episcopal government. But he himself assigns a different reason for that act of self-denial. In a private letter to Mrs. Bowes (his mother-in-law), he ascribes his forbearance to "the foresight of trouble to come," alluding to the anticipated persecutions under Mary. He elsewhere complains that Bishops did not oftener come forward as preachers, and that no minister had authority, by the existing laws of England, to prevent the unworthy from participating the Sacrament, which he pronounces to be "a chief part" of the ministerial office.—See Knox's *Historie*. Fol.

² His two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazer, were sent for their education to England. Both of them were matriculated at St. John's College,

To the above testimonies might be added others to an unlimited extent. We have only selected the most prominent out of the different countries of Christian Europe. We must not conclude, however, without some notice of one further eminent individual, and of one other remarkable Synod connected with a distinguished seat of theological learning. Grotius, the celebrated lawyer and statesman, the acute metaphysician and divine, well known to all the Christian world as an able "defender of the Faith," thus sums up the argument between the Episcopalian writers and their adversaries in his time. "So light and foolish is what the latter have put forth in answer to the former, that to have read the one is to have already refuted the other: especially touching the angels of the Churches, concerning whom, that which the disturbers of ecclesiastical order bring, is so absurd and contrary to the sacred text itself, that it deserves not confutation¹." In another work he remarks that "Episcopacy had its beginning in the apostolic times."—"The Bishop is of approved Divine right. For this assertion the Divine Apocalypse affords an irrefragable argument."—"The histories of all times manifest the vast advantages that have accrued to the Church by Episcopacy."—"Those who think Episcopacy repugnant to God's will, must condemn the whole primitive Church of folly and impiety²."

To quote as was proposed, one more authority from the same quarter—namely, Holland—and to end as we began, with the judgment of an Assembly of Divines: the Presbyterian Synod of Dort, called together for the establishment of Calvinism in that country, bear the same testimony with Grotius, who belonged to the Arminian party, their opposers. The Synod, on being urged by the English Church respecting the necessity of Episcopal government on the Apostolic plan, replied, that "they had a great honour for

Cambridge, A. D. 1572, and both became Fellows of that Society: the former remained till his death, A. D. 1580; the latter was instituted to the living of Clacton Magna, and dying A. D. 1591, was buried at St. John's College.

¹ *Discussio de Primatu Papæ.*

² *Grot. de imper. Summ. Potest. circa sacra. Cap. xi. sect. 5;* also Brett on Church Government, and note (B) at the end of the volume.

the Church of England, and heartily wished that they could establish themselves upon this model; lamenting that they had no prospect of such a happiness; and since the civil government had made their desires impracticable, they hoped God would be merciful to them¹."

The reader may perhaps imagine that we have adduced supernumerary evidences for establishing this point; but it is important for the purposes of this essay to ascertain the opinions of the principal reformers, while their minds were as yet neither biassed by party spirit, nor heated in the struggles of controversy.

The veneration for Episcopacy entertained at first by persons whom necessity compelled to the adoption of a different system, could not be expected to continue long. Hostility to the Church of Rome would naturally be increased by opposition and persecution. It would seem desirable, in the tumultuous conflict, not only of words, but frequently of the sword; when strife not only raged in the polemic theatre, but in the field of blood; and when, to a multitude of sufferers by inquisitorial torture, in the dungeon, on the scaffold, or at the stake, were added the victims of open war; to remove as far as possible, both in doctrine and in discipline, from that detested communion. It would also be thought expedient, by persons thus severely tried, to stand on higher ground, with respect to Church polity, than the ground of mere necessity; and to make some show of argument from Scripture, or from primitive antiquity, in behalf of the new constitution which had been devised. Accordingly, many of those very persons whose writings have been quoted, spoke afterwards

¹ Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 718.

The testimonies in the text have reference principally to the subject of Episcopacy, but I cannot forbear subjoining an eulogium from the celebrated M. Daillé, on the entire polity of the Anglican Church. "As to the Church of England, purged from foreign wicked superstitious worships and errors, either impious or dangerous, by the rule of the Divine Scripture; approved of by many and illustrious martyrs: abounding with piety towards God, and charity towards men, and with most frequent examples of good works; flourishing with an increase of most learned and wise men from the beginning of the reformation to this time: I have always had it in true and just esteem, and till I die, I shall continue in the same due veneration of it."—*De Confess. advers. H. Hammond*, c. i. p. 97, 98.

with far less favour of the ancient system for which they originally professed and felt so much esteem. The enmity of their disciples grew more and more decided and unequivocal. The authority of Bishops was represented as a presumptuous encroachment on the rights and privileges conveyed to Presbyters by the apostles. Popery and Prelacy were declared to be so closely in alliance, as even to be virtually synonymous. For the space of above two centuries and a half, up to our present times, a regular system of aggressive warfare has been maintained by the scholars and successors of Calvin, against that very form of Church government, respecting which we have seen their great master declaring, that the man was worthy of all condemnation, who should not reverently and with the utmost deference receive it.

The question then proposed for examination in this essay is, whether the opinions on the subject of Episcopacy entertained by the founders of the anti-episcopalian system, or the opinions entertained by their successors, were more correct: in other words, whether an ecclesiastical constitution prevailing, as we have seen, at the period of the reformation, throughout the whole Christian world; handed down from remote antiquity as an apostolical institution; and nowhere departed from but by necessity: did possess, in reality, the high origin which it claimed, and was actually entitled to the universal reverence which it received.

But before examining the question, there are three particulars necessary to be premised, in reference to the kind and degree of proof in this case to be expected; that the examiner may be properly prepared to enter on the discussion. For though the subject is not necessarily obscure, yet from inattention to the meaning of ancient words and phrases, from the introduction of irrelevant inquiries, and from the frequent demand of evidence which could not possibly be afforded, and which, in corresponding instances, is not required, continual sources of confusion and perplexity have been opened.

1. We may begin by premising, that on the subject of Church polity, we cannot reasonably look in Holy Scripture for any regular discussion, or explicit statements. What has often been remarked with respect to doctrine, and

to morals, is also true with respect to discipline and to government. As the New Testament contains no systematic treatise on Christian doctrine, nor any formal digest of Christian morals, but leaves the teacher or the disciple to construct his moral and theological system by a diligent comparison of text with text, and of precept with precept : so we see also, in the case of discipline and of polity, a similar disregard of scholastic arrangement. The Apostles and Evangelists, not addressing themselves to the learned, but writing more immediately for the use of ordinary persons, all of whom were well acquainted with the existing constitution of the Church, rather make allusion to things with which the persons addressed were familiar, than afford explanation for the satisfaction of others. It is, therefore, not only necessary, but a proper exercise of candour and fairness, to compare, one with another, the various scriptural passages connected with the subject ; to consult the authority of history and the analogies of language ; and to use the various aids to interpretation which, in common cases, are thought desirable, nay, indispensable. And the conclusion would be unwarranted, that because Church polity is not fully and systematically treated of, the question, therefore, must be unimportant, or must remain obscure in spite of all examination.

There is, in this respect, a striking contrast between the Jewish and the Christian revelation. The law of Moses, being written in the wilderness before the Israelites had effected the conquest of the promised land, and before their system of Church polity could be fully brought into operation ; is minutely accurate in prescribing the regulations, ceremonial and civil, which were to be afterwards established. Without some such distinct previous delineation in a regular code, it would have been impossible for the intended scheme of ecclesiastical polity among the Jews to have been put in practice. The Christian dispensation, on the contrary, was already complete ; the great sacrifice for sin offered ; the Holy Ghost sent ; the Church constituted ; and its ministers, in their various grades, appointed and ordained, before the Gospels and Epistles were composed. It seems, therefore, idle to expect in those writings any formally digested rules for Church government. Allusion,

indeed, is often made by those writers to ordinances already existing, and to circumstances which require the exercise of apostolical authority; and from these allusions, a system may be clearly gathered or inferred, although no system be didactically enlarged upon¹.

2. Again, we must not imagine it an infringement of sound protestant principles, to consult, on the question now before us, ecclesiastical as well as scriptural antiquity; to consult the records of the Church as well as the Bible itself. The maxim that "the Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants," has been sometimes supposed to signify that no appeal to the primitive Fathers on any point, whether of doctrine or of discipline, is allowable in a true Protestant; but that all points must be decided by Scripture, and by Scripture alone. How far this rigid and unbending application of Chillingworth's maxim would be approved by that pious author himself², and how far Pro-

¹ "When they farther dispute, that if any such thing" (as Episcopal government) "were needful, Christ would in Scripture have set down particular statutes and laws, appointing that Bishops should be made, and prescribing in what order, even as the law doth, for all kind of officers which were needful in the Jewish regiment; might not a man, that would bend his wit to maintain the fury of the Petrusian heretics, in pulling down oratories, use the selfsame argument with as much countenance of reason? If it were needful that we should assemble ourselves in Churches, would that God, which taught the Jews so exactly the frame of their sumptuous temple, leave us no particular instructions in writing, no, not so much as which way to lay any one stone? Surely such kind of argumentation doth not so strengthen the sinews of their cause, as weaken the credit of their judgments which are led therewith."—Hooker's Eccles. Pol. B. vii. Sec. 13.

Let me add a short quotation to the same effect from Bishop Butler, premising only that, with characteristic caution, he understates his own case. "Let it however be granted for the sake of arguing, that no particular form of Church government is *commanded* in the scripture, yet we cannot thence conclude, that all Christian Churches have equally the support of Divine authority. For the inspired Apostles formed the first Christian Church after a particular model, and if any modern Church has the example of the Apostles on its side, all other things being by the supposition equal, the Episcopal Church has a preponderance of argument in its favour."

² Chillingworth himself published a short treatise on Episcopacy, the main argument of which is drawn from universal tradition. He concludes somewhat singularly in a syllogistic form, as follows:

"Episcopacy

testants ought to support their interpretation of the word of God from the writings of the Fathers during the three first centuries, it is not our purpose here to inquire. The ablest, however, and most learned impugners of Romish errors, we may remark, have always endeavoured to show, that those errors are of comparatively recent origin; that the testimony of the early Fathers is favourable to Protestantism; and that the Protestant views of Scripture truth have the sanction of antiquity. But we are not now concerned to maintain the authority of the Fathers on points of doctrine, however easy might be the task. Without insisting on the importance of their opinion with respect to *doctrine*, we are only here obliged to state, what cannot but be universally admitted, the value of their testimony with regard to *facts*. We only wish to ascertain from them whether, in the apostolic times, Bishops did or did not exist.

The advocate of Presbytery, who would determine all questions of Church polity by Scripture alone; who would allow no voice whatever to antiquity; and who depreciates, for that purpose, the character, both moral and intellectual, of the Christian Fathers: proceeds on very dangerous ground. Is it not on their testimony, that we receive the most important of all facts, the genuineness and authenticity of the sacred canons? Do we not believe the fact, that the Gospels and Epistles were written by the inspired persons

“Episcopacy is acknowledged to have been universally received in the Church *presently after* the Apostles’ times.”

Between the Apostles’ times and this “*presently after*,” there was not time enough for, nor possibility of, so great an alteration.

And, therefore, there was no such alteration as is pretended: and, therefore, Episcopacy being confessed to be so ancient and Catholic, must be granted also to be Apostolic. *Quod erat demonstrandum*. The brief argument of Bishop Stillingfleet to the same effect is extracted from his ordination sermon in note (D) at the end of the volume. That very able sermon was written by the Bishop at an advanced period of life, when his judgment was matured, and may be looked upon as his deliberate and solemn recantation from the theory maintained in his “*Irenicon*,” a comparatively juvenile performance, to which our dissenting brethren continually refer as the stronghold of latitudinarian opinions. John Wesley informs us, that reading the “*Irenicon*” first unsettled his Church principles. How singular that the man, who was the means of seducing so many millions of souls from our apostolical communion, should have allowed his judgment to be warped by subtilities, which Stillingfleet himself had refuted!

whose names they bear, because the Fathers, as credible and competent witnesses, have attested it? Is it not to the weight of their evidence that, in our disputes with unbelievers, we constantly and uniformly appeal? And the fact that Episcopacy was or was not the form of church government established by the Apostles, is a fact to which the Fathers are as competent witnesses as to any other whatsoever. It is, as Bishop Hoadly somewhere tersely expresses it, "a fact plain and simple : perfectly within their knowledge : not dependent on lengthened investigations or subtilty of reasoning, but perfectly level to all capacities : a fact in which they might very easily have been contradicted, had they represented it falsely ; and a fact in respect to which they could not, in the first ages, be biassed by self-interest." When, under such circumstances, the anti-Episcopalian advocate denies the Fathers to be good and sufficient witnesses, does he not invalidate and virtually call in question their testimony in every other instance? Does he not, in his indiscreet and foolish zeal to extol the Scriptures, at the expense of antiquity, go far to demolish altogether that authority which he pretends to uphold?

3.—The other circumstance remaining to be premised is, that the same precision in the use of terms to denote the different offices in the Church, must not be looked for in the Holy Scriptures as may be found in the writings of later ages. When Christianity was originally promulgated, the offices, as well as rites and ceremonies belonging to the newly modelled religion, could not at once possess appropriate designations. For, as Hooker, notices, "Things are ancients than the names whereby they are called¹." To supply a deficiency of this kind, either new terms must be invented to express the new ideas ; or a new appropriation must be made, of terms in previous use. The latter method was the easier and the more natural and seemed to offer less violence to language : the latter method, therefore, was uniformly adopted. Words used before in a general acceptation, were set apart to be employed henceforward in a peculiar and restricted sense. One considerable disadvantage would attend this arrangement. The restricted sense of the word would not for some time

¹ Gen. ii. 19.

be thoroughly established: and confusion might occasionally arise from the employment of a term in the old signification interchangeably with the new. Thus the word *ἐκκλησία*, which had previously meant an *assembly of any kind*, and which came to signify in Scripture language an *assembly of Christians religiously employed*; is yet, without scruple, applied by St. Luke in its previous unrestricted sense, to a concourse of Heathens unlawfully and riotously met together¹. Again, the word *βαπτισμὸς*, or baptism, which denotes the initiatory rite of Christianity, meant originally nothing more than an ordinary *cleansing by water*, and is employed by St. Mark, in its old signification, to express the washing of common furniture and utensils².

In like manner the term *ἐπίσκοπος*, or Bishop, equivalent in the Greek language to *overseer* or *superintendent*, and now restricted to the highest order of Christian ministers, is employed, sometimes to denote an overseer of the laity, and at other times an overseer of the clergy; sometimes a Bishop, properly so called, and at other times the pastor of a congregation. Even the dignity of the apostleship is occasionally termed an Episcopal office³. So also the word *πρεσβύτερος*, appropriated, in a modern sense, to the second order of Church officers, was formerly expressive, in general, of advanced *age*, or of high *dignity*. In the New Testament the word is applied sometimes to the Apostles; and sometimes to the persons whom the Apostles ordained, and over whom they exercised authority. St. John more especially terms himself presbyter or elder⁴. And lastly, the title *διάκονος* or deacon, which is now peculiar to the third order of Church officers, meant originally a servant or

¹ He dismissed the assembly (*ἐκκλησίαν*). Acts xix. 41.

² Mark vii. 4.

³ Acts i. 20. It is remarkably illustrative of our present statement, that in the 25th verse of this chapter, the same office should be termed at the same time a ministry (*διακονία*) and an apostleship (*ἀποστολή*). "And here is nothing in all this, but what has happened in all languages and communities in the world. See the notitiæ of the Greek and Roman empires, and you will scarcely find one name of any state employment that did not vary from its original signification."—Bentley's *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, where this point is argued with his usual ability and erudition, by that great philologist.

⁴ 2 John 1. 3 John 1.

minister; and is used by the sacred writers with so much latitude of signification, that even the apostolic office is expressed by the word diaconate (*διακονία*)¹, and our blessed Lord himself is styled a Deacon².

It is therefore evident, that the Scriptural meaning of these three terms, referring to the three orders in the Christian ministry, can only be ascertained by strict attention to the passage where these terms occur, and to the general tenor of the writer's argument. We must not expect words and phrases to be used with the same precision, on their first appropriation to ecclesiastical things and persons, as we find them in later ages; when their peculiar and restricted meaning was established, and when familiarity with their new interpretation had dissolved ancient associations.

Having thus far cleared the way for a full discussion of this question, I shall proceed to state some arguments in favour of Episcopacy, both drawn from Scripture and from ecclesiastical antiquity. I shall afterwards examine the validity of popular objections alleged against Episcopacy by the advocates of other systems.

The Founder of the Christian Church is Jesus Christ the Son of God, and Saviour of the world. This Divine person ordained twelve Apostles, whom, previously to his ascension into heaven, he authorized to form, in his name, a spiritual society, by virtue of a commission conveyed in the amplest and most authoritative terms. "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained³. All Power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I command you, and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world⁴."

Invested with these high powers, both for themselves and for their successors unto the end of the world; and inspired

¹ Acts i. 25.

² Matt. xx. 28. Mark x. 45. Luke xxii. 27.

³ John xx. 21, 22.

⁴ Matt. xxviii. 18, 19, 20.

with wisdom from above by the descent of the Holy Ghost: the Apostles proceeded to the formation of a religious community, which, under the protecting care of Heaven, should gradually extend itself throughout the earth, and should continue till the consummation of all things. This spiritual society at first consisted of a single company or congregation. The members all resided in the same city. They performed their sacred rites together. They even had their property in common; and their whole affairs, both temporal and spiritual, were managed by their divinely constituted overseers.

In proportion to the increase of members in the Church, by the conversion and baptism of many thousands both in Jerusalem and in adjoining districts; the charge of all ecclesiastical affairs became burdensome and oppressive for so small a number as the apostolic college. A new order, therefore, of Church officers was introduced under the name of *Deacons*, that is, of ministers or servants, to whom the care of the sick and the poor was entrusted; with authority to supply the wants of both, out of the common funds of the Church¹. These Deacons were permitted also (at least in some instances) to baptize, to preach, and to assist at the administration of the Lord's supper.

This arrangement seems to have continued for some time; but afterwards, when the Apostles, by Divine command, beginning from Jerusalem, made converts throughout Judea, Samaria, and the various provinces of the Roman empire, (not only among the Jews in those countries, but also among the Gentiles,) another order of Church officers was appointed. This order was found necessary to govern and direct, in different towns and confined districts, certain small communities placed under their charge; to preside also in their religious meetings; to administer the sacraments; and to superintend the conduct of the Deacons. On this superior rank of ministers was bestowed the name of Presbyters, Elders, Pastors, or sometimes even of Bishops, in the sense of overseers of the people.

At the same time that the Presbyters and Deacons took the charge of single congregations, the Apostles exercised,

¹ Acts vi.

over the whole Church, a general control. They retained in their own hands the exclusive power of ordination: they gave directions to the inferior ministers for the administration of Divine service; they instituted forms of worship; they prescribed rules of discipline; they silenced erroneous teachers; they inflicted censures on notorious offenders; they expelled the contumacious from the society. As, however, congregations in various quarters of the earth continued to increase and multiply, the care of all the Churches became too great a labour for the small number of Apostles originally ordained; which number had, from the first, been diminished by the apostacy and death of Judas, and afterwards by the martyrdom of James. Accordingly St. Matthias, St. Barnabas¹, and St. Paul were added by our Lord himself to the apostolic or episcopal college², and invested with the same powers as the original members.

But even this addition was at last inadequate to the increasing exigencies of the Church: besides that the advancing years of the apostles, and their prospect of removal from the sphere of their earthly labours, made it necessary to provide for the spiritual wants of future generations. They, therefore, under the direction of the Holy Ghost, consecrated other persons, to be invested with powers somewhat similar to their own; but who, deriving those powers not immediately from Divine, but from human election, would in some respect be inferior and subordinate.

Thus St. Paul, in the prospect that he might not be able, in his own person, to visit the Church of Ephesus for some time, and never perhaps again; appointed Timothy to preside over it with apostolical or episcopal authority. In his first epistle to this beloved disciple, whom he calls "his own son in the Faith," he instructs the newly consecrated bishop "how to behave himself in the house of God," and

¹ "Which" (design to offer them sacrifice) "when the *Apostles*, Barnabas and Paul heard of, they rent their clothes." Acts xiv. 14.

² "The first Bishops in the Church of Christ were the blessed Apostles. For the office whereunto Matthias was chosen, the sacred history doth term *ἐπισκοπήν* an episcopal office, which being expressly spoken of *one*, agreeth not less unto *all*, than unto *him*."—Hooker's Ecc. Pol. Book vii. Sec. 4.

expresses his apprehensions of being "constrained to tarry long" away from his Ephesian friends and converts. And in his second epistle, written in the last year of his life, he inculcates diligence on the Ephesian bishop, from the consideration that his own ministry was now about to close. "Preach the word," says the Apostle to his youthful representative and successor; "be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long suffering and doctrine: for I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand¹."

That the powers entrusted to Timothy were the same with those which have been assigned by all churches to bishops ever since, will be abundantly evident from the following instructions:—"I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine, neither give heed to fables and endless genealogies. Let the Presbyters that rule well be counted worthy of double honour; especially they who labour in the word and doctrine. Against a Presbyter receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses. Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may fear. Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins. Keep thyself pure²." In these words we see the power of granting ordination, together with the peculiar rights of jurisdiction and coercion to be exercised not only over the laity, but also over the two subordinate ranks of clergy, conveyed in the amplest form.

Another example of a Church officer elevated to episcopal authority is Titus, whom St. Paul appointed over the Presbyters and Deacons of Crete, investing him with the same powers which he gave to Timothy over those of Ephesus. Titus is directed to "ordain Elders (Presbyters) in every city," after due inquiry into the character and qualifications of each candidate: he is instructed "to set in order things that were wanting," by providing rules of discipline, and formularies of public worship: he is required to "exhort and to convince the gainsayers;" to "stop the mouths of unruly and vain talkers and deceivers:" to "rebuke" the

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 2. 6.

² See 1 Tim. & 2 Tim. passim.

Cretans “sharply, that they might be sound in the faith:” he is empowered and enjoined to “rebuke with all authority;” to “admonish heretics,” and if they continued contumacious “after a first and second admonition,” to “reject” or excommunicate them. More extensive powers than these, or more unequivocally expressive of episcopal pre-eminence could not easily be devised.

It has sometimes been conjectured that Timothy and Titus may have held the government of the Ephesian and Cretan Churches, under the title and character of Evangelists. This office of Evangelist is imagined to have been superior in rank to that of Presbyter, though inferior to the Apostleship: and to have been intended only for occasional purposes and for temporary duration. The original notion of an Evangelist is that of a person bringing glad tidings, (*εὐαγγέλια*,) or to speak more strictly, the glad tidings of salvation through Jesus Christ. Sometimes the term is applied to a person miraculously inspired to write a gospel, (*evangelium*,) in which latter sense two of the Apostles, St. Matthew and St. John, were Evangelists; as well as St. Mark, who, in the capacity of Deacon, accompanied Paul and Barnabas in their apostolic journey¹. St. Luke, the remaining Evangelist, seems to have held the same rank of Deacon. The other sense in which we find the word Evangelist employed is to designate a preacher among unbelievers; or, as we should call him in modern diction, a missionary. Philip the Deacon is on this account termed an Evangelist².

These ancient missionaries, like missionaries of the modern Church, might be of various orders in the ministry. Eusebius informs us, that “whoever planted the Gospel first in any country was entitled an Evangelist³,” and another ancient but somewhat later authority, seems to intimate, that Evangelists generally held the station of Deacons. “Evangelists,” he says, “are Deacons, as was Philip⁴.”

When, therefore, St. Paul gives a charge to Timothy, “Do the work of an Evangelist⁵,” he could not mean that the Ephesian Bishop was to exercise his episcopal functions

¹ Acts xiii. 5.

³ Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 37.

⁴ Ambros. in Ephes. iv. 11.

² Acts xxi. 8.

⁵ 2 Tim. iv. 5.

in the character of a missionary: more especially as the Apostle subjoins immediately afterwards, in the very same verse, "make full proof of thy ministry or deaconship," (*διακονίαν*,) from which expression we might as well infer that Timothy governed the Church of Ephesus, in the capacity of a Deacon: as we might infer from the previous title given him, that he exercised his authority in the character of an Evangelist.

What St. Paul meant by "the work of an Evangelist," may be sufficiently gathered from a preceding verse already quoted from the same chapter: "Preach the word: be instant in season, out of season: reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine¹." These duties cannot surely be pronounced incompatible with the episcopal office.

To prove that Timothy resided constantly at Ephesus, or Titus in Crete, is not necessary to our argument. Both of these distinguished individuals derived, without question, episcopal powers, immediately from the hands of an Apostle: and this fact is all that our case demands. If, therefore, it should be alleged that Timothy and Titus were not constantly resident, each in his own diocese, we are not, on this account, warranted in supposing that they discharged a merely transient or temporary function: or that their occasional departure from Ephesus, or from Crete, dissolved their ecclesiastical connexion with the Presbyters and Deacons over whom they were appointed. For, as the Apostles themselves could not but be generally absent from many churches over which they retained episcopal authority; and which they continued to regulate by means of such visitations and correspondence as circumstances rendered needful: so also when they delegated that authority to Bishops, it would happen that those Bishops, though holding a permanent jurisdiction, might, from time to time, be indispensably called away to other districts, by the exigencies of the infant Church². The probability is, that Timothy

¹ See Bishop Taylor on Episcopacy, sec. xiv. p. 61. Potter on Church Government, c. iii. and note (D) at the end of the volume.

² It has been insinuated that the occasional absence of Timothy and Titus from Ephesus and Crete respectively, would be a *dangerous* precedent for episcopal non-residence. But the difference must be obvious

and Titus did in the end reside permanently, each in his own diocese. They are denominated Bishops of Crete and of Ephesus, respectively, by the unanimous voice of all Christian antiquity; by no less than twenty distinct authorities, which mention the one as holding the Episcopate of Ephesus; and by eighteen equally plain authorities, which allude to the other as enjoying the episcopate of Crete¹. So that we might almost as reasonably call in question the fact, that Epistles were ever written by St. Paul to either of these distinguished overseers of the Church, or deny that they ever were at Ephesus or Crete, as doubt the fact that they were actual Diocesans of those places.

It was before observed, that the Apostles, when they appointed Presbyters, and bestowed on them the honourable privilege of ministering in the congregation, reserved to themselves exclusively the power of granting ordination. This is evident from the circumstance, that, on this subject, there is not a single precept in Holy Scripture, addressed to Elders; nor any passage in which they are represented otherwise than as assistants merely to their Bishop or their Apostle, in the performance of this solemnity. We find their other duties in other parts of the New Testament, clearly and fully pointed out, but not one direction, not one injunction with respect to their laying on of hands. All regulations on this point are addressed to persons of a higher order. This total silence of the word of God, on the subject of non-Episcopal ordination, is calculated to leave the deepest impression and conviction on every candid mind.

As an exception to this rule respecting ordination, the only case which can, with any plausibility be urged, is that of Timothy, alluded to by St. Paul in the following injunction:—"Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery²." From this passage it has been con-

between the case of an infant church and of an ancient establishment: between the absence of a primitive bishop, called from his own peculiar see to other places of laborious exertion; and the absence of a modern prelate from his only sphere of diocesan labour.

¹ See for the list of these authorities Taylor on Episcopacy, sects. xiv. & xv.

² 1 Tim. iv. 14.

tended, that, at the time of Timothy's admission to the priesthood, the right of conferring orders belonged to certain colleges of Presbyters, by whom it was regularly exercised: but there are several decisive reasons why this allusion of St. Paul will not bear out the hypothesis in behalf of which this text is adduced.

1. For first of all the learned Calvin affirms, that the word Presbytery does not, in this passage, refer to any college or assembly of Presbyters as conferring the gift on Timothy; but to the gift itself, namely, the function of a Presbyter, which Timothy received. According to that able interpreter the passage should be thus translated: "*Neglect not the gift (or honour) which by prophecy, with the laying of hands, was conferred upon thee, of priesthood:*" and he alleges that this is the only interpretation compatible with the Apostle's language elsewhere on the same subject¹.

2. Again, supposing that, contrary to the opinion of Calvin, the word translated Presbytery, should mean a College of Presbyters; a question immediately arises as to the rank of those Presbyters in the Church: for, as we have already noticed, and as the adversaries of Episcopacy are continually reminding us, the highest officers of the Church are often spoken of under the denomination of Presbyters; oftener, perhaps, than those of lower degrees². It would consequently be unwarrantable to conclude, because a company of Apostles, in other words an assembly of the highest Church officers, acting in solemn synod, laid their hands on Timothy; that therefore a company of inferior officers, in other words an assembly of Presbyters, properly so called, might have done the same, and might, unsanctioned by the presence and co-operation of their Diocesan, have conferred the same orders.

3. Further, granting all that the anti-Episcopalian advocate can contend for; granting him that the word translated Presbytery meant a college of Presbyters; and granting that those Presbyters were merely Elders or Pastors of con-

¹ 2 Tim. i. 6.

² "I betook myself," says St. Ignatius, "to the Apostles, as to the Presbytery of the Church."—Ignat. Epist. ad Philadelph. Coteler. ed. sect. v.—See also the Apostolic Constitutions, lib. ii. cap. 28. and Chrys. in loc.

gregations; what would these concessions amount to? No more than this, that Presbyters, *in subordination to an Apostle*, possess the power of conferring orders: for to this effect we find St. Paul elsewhere declaring, that he himself was the person by whom Timothy was ordained. "Stir up," says he, "the gift of God which is in thee, by the putting on of *my hands*." In conformity with this high example, ordination by a Bishop, and his assistant Presbyters, is the very form appointed in the Church of England. I may here remark, that the preposition *διὰ* by which St. Paul signifies his own share in Timothy's ordination, denotes the *instrumental* cause, whereas the *concurrent* cause only is expressed by *μερὰ*, which he employs with reference to the laying on of hands by the Presbytery.

Among the examples from Holy Scripture of a church officer fixed by Apostolical appointment in a local Episcopate, none is more important than that of St. James, the brother of our Lord. This Apostle seems to have enjoyed a pre-eminence, and to have exercised an authority in the parent Church at Jerusalem, not otherwise to be accounted for than by admitting, in conformity to the suffrages of all antiquity, that he was constituted Bishop of that city. Proofs are frequent, both in the Book of Acts, and in the Apostolical Epistles, of the peculiar influence possessed by St. James at Jerusalem; as well as of his constant residence in that metropolitan see. Thus the first direction given by St. Peter, when delivered out of prison, was, "Go shew these things unto James, and to the brethren¹." Again St. Paul declares to the Galatians, that on his first arrival at Jerusalem, after his conversion, he saw, besides Peter, "none other of the Apostles save James the Lord's brother²." At a later period, when the same Apostle returned to the holy city, he mentions "James, Peter, (Cephas)," and "John," as the acknowledged "pillars of the Church," assigning the priority to James³. St. Luke, also, recording the journey in which he accompanied St. Paul to Jerusalem, gives this account:—"The brethren received us gladly, and the day following Paul went in with us unto

¹ Acts xii. 17.

² Gal. i. 19.

³ Gal. ii. 9.

James, and all the Elders were present¹." On this passage St. Chrysostom observes, that St. James determined nothing by his sole authority as a Bishop with regard to the important question then in debate; but, in conjunction with his assistant Presbyters, took Paul into counsel with him. The learned Father adds, that the Presbyters conducted themselves, on this occasion, with all "due reverence" towards their ecclesiastical superior².

It is further very remarkable respecting the local Episcopate of St. James, that in the celebrated assembly, entitled the first general council, held by the whole Apostolic college, together with the Elders and Brethren of the Church in Jerusalem, St. James, the resident local Bishop, presided in the conclave. We read that there was much earnest discussion: that St. Peter first addressed the assembly: that Paul and Barnabas next expressed their opinion, contending for the exemption of the Gentiles from the Mosaic law: and that finally, St. James, as president, summed up the arguments and the evidences advanced on all sides, and delivered his sentiments in authoritative terms as follows:—"My sentence is, that we trouble not them, who from among the Gentiles are turned to God³." In this sentence the *whole* council unanimously concurred: and yet it is remarkable that the other members, even those of Apostolic dignity, are passed over in silence; and that when messengers were sent to notify this decree among the Churches, they are reported by St. Paul as having "come from James⁴." On this peculiar expression of the Apostle, St. Augustin has observed that the "coming" of the messengers "from James" denoted their being sent by the Church of Jerusalem, over which James presided.

Another conclusion has been very appositely drawn from Scripture, that because St. James addresses his canonical epistle "to the twelve tribes scattered abroad⁵:" he must have conceived those Hebrew Christians, who came up annually from various quarters and worshipped at Jerusalem, to be under his peculiar charge as Bishop in the city and neighbourhood to which they annually resorted.

¹ Acts xxi. 18.² Chrys. Comm. in Act. xxi.³ Acts xv. 19.⁴ Gal. ii. 12.⁵ James i. 1.

The fact, however, that St. James was Bishop of Jerusalem, must be admitted by every person at all conversant with scriptural or ecclesiastical authorities. It is a fact to which, as Heylyn remarks, "there is almost no ancient writer but bears witness¹." Ignatius, a contemporary of St. James, mentions the proto-martyr Stephen as Deacon under the latter Bishop². Hegesippus, the earliest of uninspired ecclesiastical historians³; Clement of Alexandria⁴, Eusebius of Cæsarea⁵, Theophylact⁶, Epiphanius⁷, Œcumenius⁸, Ambrose, Bishop of Milan⁹, St. Jerome¹⁰, St. Chrysostom¹¹, St. Augustine¹², (to whom we may subjoin the assembled Fathers, to the number of two hundred and eighty-nine, in the sixth general council (A.D. 680) held at Constantinople;) all unite in affirming James, the brother of our Lord, to have been Bishop of Jerusalem. St. Cyril himself, Bishop of that city (A.D. 351,) speaks of James as the first of his predecessors¹³: Epiphanius not only describes him as the earliest of Bishops, but as occupant of "the Lord's own throne by the Lord's own appointment¹⁴:" and lastly, Eusebius even particularizes the chair or seat (*cathedra episcopalis*) on which St. James sat as Bishop, to have been carefully preserved as an interesting memorial, and readily shown to all visitors.

Whether the person whom we have now proved to have filled the Episcopal chair in Jerusalem, and who was certainly our Lord's kinsman, was or was not one of the twelve Apostles, is a fact much disputed. But this fact is not essentially connected with our argument. For, in either case, we have a Church officer placed over Presbyters, and fixed in a local Episcopate. If, however, St. James was not one of the twelve Apostles originally chosen by Christ himself, the circumstance would be still more decisively in

¹ Peter Heylyn's Reformation Justified, part i. c. 2. p. 199.

² Ignat. Epist. ad Trall.

³ Heges. in Hieron. vide etiam apud Euseb. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 21.

⁴ Apud Euseb. lib. ii. cap. 1.

⁵ Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 14.

⁶ Comment. in Gal. ii.

⁷ Advers. Hæres. xxix. n. 3.

⁸ Comm. in Gal. ii.

⁹ In Gal. i.

¹⁰ De Scriptor. eccles.

¹¹ Hom. ult. in Joann.

¹² Advers. Cresconium, lib. ii.

¹³ Catech. iv. cap. de cibis, & catech. xiv.

¹⁴ Epiph. advers. Hæres. 78, n. 7.

our favour. The elevation of a disciple of inferior rank to a station so dignified, that he pronounced sentence as the local, and, therefore, presiding Bishop, in an assembly of Apostles: would not only be remarkable, but would show the weight and importance attached to Episcopacy, locally, fixedly, and regularly established.

There were two of this name in the number of the "twelve." James, the son of Zebedee, and James, the son of Alpheus. The son of Zebedee was martyred soon after our Lord's ascension¹, and could not, therefore, have been the Bishop of Jerusalem. If the son of Alpheus held that office, we must suppose Alpheus to be another name for Cleophas. Cleophas was, we know, the father of that James, who, under the appellation of "the Lord's brother," held the Episcopate of Jerusalem. But, that Cleophas and Alpheus were the same person, there are several good reasons for disputing, drawn both from Scripture and from ancient uninspired writers².

Passing over other less important proofs from Scripture in favour of Episcopacy, we shall terminate this part of our discussion, with an argument arising from the book of Revelations; where we find our blessed Saviour sending messages or epistles by the Apostle John, to the Angels of the Seven Churches of Asia³. Who these Angels were, is a point for careful consideration. That they were, in our popular sense, Angels, that is heavenly spirits, is too absurd to be maintained. A second supposition might be, which

¹ Acts xii. 2. "And he (Herod) killed James the brother of John with the sword."

² See note (E) at the end of the volume, for Bishop Taylor's enumeration of them. We may add to their testimony the concessions of the more modern authorities, Salmasius and Calvin, held in the greatest reverence by our opponents. Salmasius, speaking of James, says: "Certum est, non fuisse unum ex duodecim." *It is certain that James was not one of the twelve*, v. Wal. Messalin. p. 20. Calvin's words are "Non ego alium, (alium scilicet, non Apostolum) fuisse ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ præfectum et quidam ex discipulorum collegio. Nam Apostolos non oportuit certo loco alligari." *I do not deny that some person, and that person not an Apostle, but merely one of the Disciples, presided over the Church at Jerusalem; for no Apostle could be fixed to one definite place.*—Vide Præf. ad comm. in Jacobi Epist.

³ Rev. i. 20.

is equally unreasonable, that the Angels of the Churches were the Churches themselves: for, in the explanation of St. John's vision, at the conclusion of his first chapter, the candlesticks, which represent the seven Churches, are clearly distinguished from the seven stars, which are emblems of the angels. Nor, thirdly, would it be a satisfactory hypothesis to explain the term in question, as meaning a collective body or Presbytery. These Angels are always addressed as individuals and not as colleges. For each of them is always addressed in the singular number. There is no example, under similar circumstances, throughout the sacred volume, of the same mode of expression being used towards a collective body¹.

After ascertaining that the Angels in the Apocalypse were individual persons, our next inquiry is with respect to their rank and jurisdiction in the Church. That they were important persons, and occupied a high official station, appears from our Lord's selection of them, before all others, to receive and communicate his divine messages. Indeed, the word angel is frequently used in the sacred writings as an appellation necessarily implying distinction and authority. Among the Jews the High Priest was often termed angel, from the idea that he was God's messenger²: as also were the Rulers of the synagogue, who were often termed angels of the congregation. And the Angel of the congregation had under him inferior ministers, corresponding to the Presbyters and Deacons of the Christian Church³. In the

¹ A respectable and learned anti-Episcopalian authority, Professor Campbell, considers the supposition (we are here opposing) untenable, and rejects it for the reasons we have stated. "With this interpretation," says he, "I am dissatisfied. Though we have instances, especially in precepts and denunciations, wherein a community is addressed by the singular *thou* and *thee*, I do not recollect such an use of an appellative as the application of the word *angel* here would be on the hypotheses of these interpreters."—Lectures on Ecc. Hist. vol. i. p. 159. For a full account of the first Bishops of the seven Churches of Asia, see Potter on Church Government.

² Vide Diodor. Sicul. apud Photium Bibliothec. cod. 244.

³ See a sermon on Episcopacy, by the Right Rev. Michael Russell, Bishop of Glasgow, with whose views of the subject the author very much coincides, and who, on all questions connected with Jewish antiquity, must be acknowledged of the highest authority.

prophecies of Malachi, our Lord himself is termed the Angel of the covenant¹. And as the titles Angel and Apostle are very nearly synonymous², we find the Apostles actually called Angels in the very book now before us³.

The high prerogatives belonging to these Apocalyptic Angels, or as we should term them, Bishops, of the seven Churches, are remarkably apparent from the language of our Saviour himself, addressed to them in his divine epistles. He makes them responsible for their respective Churches. He ascribes to them the powers of jurisdiction and coercion. He blames some of them, for not exerting these powers with sufficient vigour: he bestows praise on others for their energy and faithfulness. And it was not merely over the laity that this spiritual jurisdiction was exercised; for Presbyters and Deacons undoubtedly existed at that time in the Asiatic Churches. We read of St. Paul, many years before, sending from Miletus to Ephesus, "to call the Presbyters of the Church⁴." To complete this argument, it may be noticed that the very names, in some cases, of these Asiatic Bishops, are still preserved in ancient Church writers⁵. We are, therefore, warranted to affirm, (agreeably to the concurring testimony of all ecclesiastical antiquity,) that the Angels of the seven Churches of Asia were Bishops, appointed by the Apostles, and recognised by our blessed Lord himself, as presiding over Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea.

We have now traced the progress of the Christian Society, from infancy to full maturity; from the period when Christians first assembled regularly for divine worship, to the time when our Saviour addressed messages of consolation or of rebuke through his beloved disciple, the writer of the

¹ Mal. iii. 1.

² Potter, with very curious accuracy, remarks this nice grammatical distinction, that an *Apostle* means a person empowered to deliver a message, and an *Angel* a person who actually delivers it. On Church Government, p. 149.

³ Rev. xxi. 12. 14.

⁴ Acts xx. 17

⁵ For several of their names see Potter on Church Government, chap. iv. p. 151. Tertullian mentions an example: *As the Church of Smyrna relates that Polycarp was installed by St. John*, c. xxxii.—In Thorndike on Religious Assemblies, p. 81.—See also Blondel. Apol. pro sent. Hieron. præf. p. 6.

Revelations, to the Bishops of the Seven Churches of Asia. We have plainly seen the gradual distribution of sacred functions among three distinct orders of Church officers; and we have more especially ascertained the right of conferring ordination to have been vested exclusively in the highest of these orders, and never in any instance to have been imparted to, nor exercised by the inferior Clergy.

CHAPTER II.

ARGUMENT FROM ANTIQUITY.

THE reader has already been prepared to find the preceding arguments from Scripture supported by the authority of antiquity; and, therefore, without repeating what has been already stated, we shall at once bring forward ancient testimonies to the fact, that Episcopacy was the original and apostolical constitution of the Church. To show the great respect for the opinions of the Fathers and for the usages of the primitive Church, entertained by judicious and well-informed Presbyterians, I may be allowed to quote the evidence of Dr. Welsh, professor of Church history in the University of Edinburgh, before the committee of the House of Commons, on Church patronage. It will be found in note (G) at the end of the volume.

As witnesses in every cause are valuable proportionably to their means of information, we shall begin with those venerable writers, who have received the name of Apostolic Fathers, because they not only lived in the days of the Apostles, and enjoyed the benefit of their instructions and conversation; but also were by them ordained to the ministry. Living at that early period, and eminently distinguished for zeal and piety in the purest and most pious age, these holy men can neither be suspected of falsehood, nor of ignorance; neither of deceiving others, nor of being themselves deceived.

The first of these authors to be quoted is St. Clement,

of whom we read in Scripture, that he was a "fellow labourer" with the Apostle Paul, and that his "name was written in the book of life¹." This excellent person was afterwards appointed to the Bishoprick of Rome, and wrote an Epistle in the name of that Church, to the Church at Corinth, with the benevolent view of quieting some dissensions among the Corinthian converts, with respect to their spiritual guides.

Near the opening of his epistle, Clement eulogises the Corinthians for their previous obedience to ecclesiastical authority, before these jealousies and seclusions had arisen among them. "Ye walked," he says, "according to the law of God, being subject to your supreme rulers, and yielding due honour to the Presbyters²." He afterwards subjoins an exhortation: "Let us venerate our supreme rulers, and let us reverence our Presbyters³." The term *ἡγούμενοι*, which we have here translated supreme ruler; in Latin, *præpositus*, was, in later times, among the ordinary designations of a Bishop; just as in our own times we hear every day the words Prelate, Bishop, and Diocesan, used interchangeably in our own language⁴.

This pious Father declares farther in the same epistle, that the constitution of the Church, and the succession of Church officers, were determined and arranged under the express sanction of the Divine Founder himself. "The Apostles," he says, "knowing of the Lord Jesus, that contests would arise concerning the Episcopal name (or order) and for this cause, having a perfect fore-knowledge" (of these things) "ordained those ministers before mentioned; and, moreover, established a rule of succession, that when they should die, other approved persons should succeed to their ministry⁵." The same apostolic writer elsewhere traces a correspondence between the Christian and the Jewish polity. He observes, that "the High Priest had his

¹ Phil. iv. 3.

² Epist. Clem. ad Corinth.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Cyprian applies the word *præpositus* (in Greek *ἡγούμενος*) even to the Apostles. "The Lord himself," he says, "chose the Apostles, that is the Bishops and Rulers of the Church." Quoniam Apostolos, id est, episcopos et præpositos, Dominus elegit. Cyp. lib. iii. ep. 9.

⁵ S. Clement. Epist. ad Corinth. cap. 44, ad init.

proper services to perform : that the Priests had their proper place appointed : that to the Levites appertained their proper ministries : and that the layman was confined to the proper bounds of what was prescribed to laymen¹." The exhortation which St. Clement grounds on this analogy, is expressed immediately afterwards as follows : " Let, therefore, every one of you, my brethren, bless God in his proper station, keeping a good conscience in all honesty, *not exceeding his appointed rule of service*²." He proceeds to dissuade from irregular and schismatical proceedings, by instancing the case of those offenders, who, under the Jewish dispensation, received the punishment of death. " Consider, brethren," he adds, " that the greater our knowledge, the more fearful our responsibility³."

The next in order of the Apostolic Fathers is IGNATIUS, Bishop of Antioch, in Syria. He was appointed to that see within thirty-six years of our Saviour's crucifixion ; presided over the Church of Antioch during a period of forty years ; and at last suffered martyrdom in the cause of truth. He was torn in pieces at Rome by wild beasts, A. D. 110. " He was personally intimate with the Apostles," says St. Chrysostom ; " was perfectly acquainted with their doctrine ; and had their hands laid upon him." Eusebius states of him that he received consecration immediately from St. Peter, whom he here styles " the great." No witness could be imagined less liable to exception than Ignatius, either in point of character, or of information : and happily, his evidence, with respect to the constitution of the Church, is as clear and as explicit, as his authority is important and decisive. He wrote to various churches, after the example of the Apostles, letters much admired by antiquity ; which are quoted by various writers, and which tend peculiarly to interest the reader, from the affecting consideration that the writer of them was a prisoner, on his way to Rome, anticipating a cruel death. His feelings on this subject combine the courage of a hero with the piety of a Christian : " Nothing," says he, " shall move me, that I may attain to Jesus Christ ; let fire and the cross ; let

¹ Cotel. Ed. cap. 40.² Ibid. cap. 41.³ Ibid.

hordes of wild beasts ; let breaking of bones, and tearing of members ; let the scattering in pieces of the whole body, and all the wicked torments of the Devil come upon me,—only let me enjoy Jesus Christ.”

To quote all the passages from this intrepid assertor of divine truth, which have reference to our present argument, is unnecessary, and might even be tedious. We shall confine ourselves to a few statements directly to our purpose out of various epistles. Writing to the Trallian Church, “Let all men,” he says, “reverence the Deacons as Jesus Christ, and the Bishop, as Him who is the Son of God ; the Presbyters as the sanhedrim of God, and college of the Apostles. Without these there is no Church¹.” In the same epistle, having exhorted the Trallians to “continue inseparable from Jesus Christ,” he proceeds, “He that is within the altar is pure : but he who is without, (that is, who does any thing without the Bishop, and the Presbyters, and the Deacons,) is not pure in his conscience².” In his epistle to the Philadelphians, having saluted them in the blood of Jesus Christ, “which,” says he, “is an eternal and enduring joy, especially to all who are at unity with the Bishop and the Presbyters who are with him, and the Deacons ; whom, established by the determination of Jesus Christ, he has firmly settled, according to his own will, by his Holy Spirit³.” To the Church at Smyrna, having exhorted the members of it to unity and concord, he thus describes the only method, in his opinion, of preventing schism. “See that ye follow, all of you, your Bishop, as Jesus Christ follows the Father. Follow your Presbytery as Apostles. Reverence, moreover, your Deacons, as you would the mandate of God. Let nothing be done without the Bishop, in matters pertaining to the Church. Let that eucharist be considered duly constituted, which is either offered by the Bishop, or by him whom the Bishop has authorized. Wherever the Bishop is, there let the people be : as, where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church. It is not lawful without the Bishop’s license, either to baptize, or to celebrate the holy communion : but whatever he shall approve of, is also pleasing to God ; that

¹ Cotel. ed. cap. 3.

² Ibid. cap. 7.

³ Ibid. ed. præf.

thus, whatever is done may be done safely and correctly¹." One passage more may suffice from the writings of this illustrious martyr. In his Epistle to St. Polycarp, who, like himself, was an immediate Disciple of the Apostles, he thus exhorts the people through their spiritual head: "Do all things to the glory of God; hearken unto your Bishop, that God may also hearken unto you: my soul be surety for them that submit to their Bishop, with their Presbyters and Deacons; and let my portion be with them in God²!"

So very clear and decided are the passages now quoted, and so competent is the author, both in point of character and of knowledge, as a witness to the Apostolical institution of Episcopacy; that those opponents who reject this institution have no resource but to impugn the authority of the writings ascribed to Ignatius. There is some plausibility in the arguments by which this attack has been supported: and the controversy has called forth, on both sides, more learning and ability than almost any other disputed fact in ecclesiastical literature. At the same time we are fairly entitled to remark, that Bishop Pearson's powerful vindication of the well known Seven Ignatian Epistles, from some of which we have quoted, appears so far to have settled the question, that no theological disputant of any reputation has ventured to come forward with a regular and systematic reply. That we may, however, afford the general reader some acquaintance with a controversy intimately, (though not altogether essentially) connected with our subject, we shall suppose the anti-episcopalian objector to express his thoughts in something like the following manner:—"You claim authority for an author, whose works, as your own divines acknowledge, are some of them interpolated, and others spurious. I, therefore, discredit the whole. To determine how far forgery has been carried, when once forgery has been proved, is impossible. I cannot enter into all your niceties of criticism; nor fill my eyes with the dust of antiquity to ascertain which of these alleged writings are genuine, and which spurious. All must stand or fall together. Besides, Ignatius was too good a man to make so much parade of his fortitude, as is expressed in these Epis-

¹ Cotel. ed. cap. 8.

² Ibid. cap. 5, 6.

ties. The eagerness for martyrdom with which you inflate him, implies forgetfulness of his Master's precept, 'when persecuted in one city, flee to another.' To this moral ground of dislike I add critical objections. The style is unnatural, and unsuitable to his circumstances. A martyr on his way to the scene of torture would have written with simpler diction. He would not have used the grandiloquent and hyperbolical phraseology you ascribe to him. His compound epithets are interminable. Moreover, I deny the system of Church government for which you make him a voucher, to have existed in his time: Ignatius would have known that the constitution of the Church was not Episcopal but Presbyterian in his day. Again, your testimonies are unsatisfactory and insufficient: and even if you could prove the genuineness and authenticity of any portion of these writings to have been allowed by the Fathers, I attach but little value to that argument. The Fathers were plain, inartificial, simple men; having neither sufficient caution to suspect, nor sufficient sagacity to discover imposition¹."

Such is an outline of the argument by which the assailant of the Ignatian Epistles would overthrow their authority. Let us now try the force of these objections. The introductory assertion that the writings of any author must stand or fall together, and that, when partial forgery has been proved, there is no necessity for laborious inquiry how far it has proceeded: would be fatal to all history, as well as to all literature. Spurious compositions have been attributed to the most approved historians, theologians, philosophers, and poets, both in ancient and modern times. Sacred and profane writers have equally been liable to this objection. Among the latter every scholar is familiar with doubtful or confessedly forged writings ascribed to Hippo-

¹ A recent anti-episcopalian writer dates the Ignatian Epistles no older than the fourth or fifth century; and makes a general appeal to "learned men" as his authorities for this opinion. But he is contradicted by Salmasius and Blondel, the two most learned of the writers on that side, who both unite in placing the Epistles in question two or three centuries earlier. Blondel dates them at the end of the second century; and Salmasius at least fifty years before. Vide Walo. Mesalin. p. 253.

crates, Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, Tacitus, and Quintilian¹. In like manner spurious documents have been imputed to Apostles and Evangelists. St. Paul, in particular, warns the Thessalonians to this effect. "Be not soon shaken in mind," says he, "by letter as from us;" and concludes with alluding to the discrimination that was expedient in ascertaining the identity of his letters: "The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every Epistle. So I write." These are his concluding words. This Apostle, therefore, was far from sanctioning the idea, that the writings ascribed to any author were to be accepted or rejected, without deliberate and judicious scrutiny².

Respecting the works of Ignatius, the case is this. There are eight Epistles, three in Latin and five in Greek ascribed to him, which were unknown to the ancients, and are undoubtedly spurious. Of the remaining seven Epistles, two editions are extant; one comprising what are called the longer, the other, the shorter Epistles. The longer are so denominated from their containing interpolations and paraphrases of the shorter, evidently introduced in later times by some opponent of the Trinity, in support of the Arian heresy. The eight spurious Epistles, are, by the best critics, ascribed to the same hand as the interpolations; and were forged for the same heretical purpose³. It is remarkable, in proof of this Arian tendency, that these interpolated writings have been received as the true Epistles by Arian writers of recent times (and by Whiston in particular), while the shorter and more orthodox edition has been rejected by them as containing doctrines, which, in their

¹ Among these it is curious to notice, that two-thirds of Hippocrates are disallowed by the learned: and that a work (*De Oratoribus*) ascribed by some to Tacitus, by others to Quintilian, gives sufficient reason, on the principle we are now condemning, for the rejection of all the works of both those admirable authors.

² Among inspired writers to whom spurious Gospels have been attributed, we may enumerate St. Peter, St. Thomas, St. Matthias, St. Bartholomew, and St. Philip. There is a Gospel mentioned by St. Jerome, as having been attributed to the *twelve* Apostles. So also were the Apostolic canons and constitutions. In short, the whole authority of Apostolic Scripture would, if this most absurd mode of reasoning were admitted, be set aside.

³ See Dupin *Biblioth. des auteurs ecclésiastiques*, art. Ignatius, and Cotell's *dissert. ad. fen. tom. ii.*

judgment, could not, in the age of Ignatius, have prevailed in the Church.

The inordinate display of courage, and the ambition of martyrdom expressed in the Epistles which we contend for, and alleged as incompatible with the moral character of Ignatius, are unimportant in this question. Granting the language to be as boastful as is pretended, it might, nevertheless, be very genuine. Such language, all historians are agreed, was in perfect accordance with the spirit of the times, when the crown of martyrdom was aspired to with an eagerness which modern apathy may well disbelieve¹.

With respect to criticism on inflation of style, it is enough to say, that there is nothing very high-flown in these writings: and if there were, an oriental style would not be inconsistent with the thoughts and habits of an Asiatic author. The Bishop of Antioch might very naturally express himself in Antiochian Greek. It would even be surprising if he did otherwise. Instead of an objection, this furnishes internal evidence of authenticity.

To affirm that the Church polity described in the Epistles of Ignatius could not have existence in his time, is to beg the question. It is to take for granted the very thing to be proved. Bishop Pearson shows, and we shall ourselves hereafter demonstrate in the progress of our present argument drawn from antiquity, that the language of other writers,

¹ Vide Pearsoni Vind. Ignat. cap. 9.—As many persons, from the zeal with which they have been accustomed to hear the Ignatian Epistles reprobated, may imagine there is something in them morally shocking, it may be useful to state a few out of numerous authorities distinguished for learning, talents, and piety, who have received and admired these much calumniated writings. Not to mention estimable Roman Catholic divines, we may refer the most scrupulous inquirer to Vossius, Casaubon, and Le Clerc, among foreigners; and to our own Pearson, Usher, and Hammond: we are tempted to add a reference, with which some of our readers may be surprised, and others gratified, namely, John Owen, whom Dr. South, in his peculiar language, stigmatizes as the “great Coryphæus of rebellion:” John Owen was, however, respectable for his piety as well as erudition, and though a zealous anti-episcopalian, is thus quoted by Pearson: “In earum (scil. epistolarum) aliquibus *suavem et gratiosum*—ut nostrates loquuntur, *fidei, delectionis, sanctitatis et zeli Dei spiritum spirantem et operantem agnoscit* (Owenuus scil).”—Vide Pearson’s Vind. Ignat. cap. 5.

both in that and the succeeding age; is conformable to the doctrines and principles of this martyr, as expressed in these writings. Even on the supposition, that the high Church sentiments ascribed to him were somewhat higher than those of many others among the Fathers; this would, in no respect, be contrary to the common course of things. Some Churchman in every age may very well be allowed to be a higher Churchman than his neighbours: more zealous on the subject of order and ecclesiastical discipline than the greater number of his brethren, who nevertheless entertain, upon the whole, the same sentiments with himself¹.

Respecting paucity and insufficiency objected to in our testimonies, no assertion can be more misplaced. The authenticity of the Epistles we contend for is supported by a long chain of authorities, extending from the very period when they were written, down to the fifteenth century when they were first impugned. Nowhere is this chain broken, but every century produces separate witnesses, some of whom have transcribed whole passages: others have given catalogues, specifying the very seven Epistles which we now receive, and naming each by its appropriate title. These references are not confined to one language or country. They are introduced by writers of opposite persuasions, Catholic and Heretic, throughout the three continents,—in Greek, in Arabic, and in Latin. No records of the same period are supported by a greater weight of evidence. The most formidable and most learned of what we may be allowed to call the anti-Ignatian school, admit readily that the seven Epistles for which we are contending were received with implicit confidence by the ancient Church.

Nothing now remains for the objector but to call in question the competency of the Fathers to pronounce upon the authenticity of documents before them. It is not true

¹ Many phrases which have been objected to in Ignatius, refer to circumstances not likely now to be generally understood. Thus his expression, "The Bishop sitting in the place of God," which has been impeached as an impiety, seems to mean only, that the place where the Bishop sat in the assembly of his clergy, was the same occupied by our Saviour, God the Son, at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. See further on this subject, Thorndike on Religious Assemblies, p. 73.

however that they were easily imposed upon, or admitted writings of ecclesiastical importance without due examination. They did inquire and digest and scrutinize with the utmost care and accuracy. In fixing the canon of Scripture they were more particularly careful to sift the pretensions of different works claiming apostolical authority; and after diligent investigation, argued themselves into unanimity. And finally, in respect to uninspired monuments, (such as the Epistles now before us,) it is important to add, that no ancient writings have been ever questioned by modern inquirers, which were not either unknown to, or held in doubt by the Fathers. In this important particular the Epistles of Ignatius stand alone ¹.

On a review of the whole preceding argument, there are three reflections which the reader may have in some degree anticipated. The first is, that the Ignatian Epistles, in being received by the Fathers, were received by persons who, from their situation and circumstances as ancients, were peculiarly competent to try and decide the question respecting genuineness and authenticity. Secondly, that there is no foundation whatever on which to build the often repeated allegation, that these Epistles were forged for the purpose of assisting the Episcopalian cause; since that cause called for no such assistance. With the exception of one obscure individual, whom we shall hereafter notice, there was no disputer throughout the primitive ages, who opposed the established Episcopalian views of Church polity. The spurious letters and interpolations we have mentioned, were forged, as we have seen, in a later age, and for a different purpose; namely, to insinuate, on the authority of Ignatius, that the orthodox creed on the subject of the Trinity was un-apostolical², &c. Thirdly, it must be

¹ Vide Pearsoni Vind. Ignat. cap. iii. p. 29. Hammond has observed that Salmasius, who, with characteristic contempt for the Fathers, rejected the Ignatian Epistles, proceeded afterwards, not inconsistently, to reject a part of the sacred canon, supported by the same authority: namely, one of the Epistles of St. Peter.

² It is curious to trace, throughout the forged as well as the interpolated Epistles, the anxiety betrayed by the Arian interpolator in his overwrought imitation of the phraseology and turn of sentiment peculiar to Ignatius. Every Ignatian phrase is studiously and *usque ad nauseam* artificially reiterated; many opinions, those on Church

obvious that the ancient Fathers, by renewing these Epistles as authentic records of apostolic times, decided that the views of Church polity which they contain are conformable to apostolic usage.

Before we leave the subject of Ignatius, it will be right to notice, that a very ancient work, called a "Relation of his Martyrdom," and purporting to be written by eye-witnesses, holds the same language with the martyr himself, in reference to the division of Church officers into three different ranks. On his arrival at Smyrna, in his way to Rome the scene of his sufferings, he is described hastening to visit Polycarp, "Bishop of that city, formerly his fellow Disciple (for both of them had been disciples of St. John)." Ignatius "being brought to him," continues the narrative, "communicating spiritual gifts, and glorying in his bonds, entreated the whole Church, and particularly Polycarp, to pray for him; for the cities and churches of Asia were assembled in honour of this holy man, in the persons of their Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons¹."

We have spoken of ST. POLYCARP as the fellow Disciple of Ignatius, and Bishop of Smyrna. He wrote an Epistle to the Philippians, which commences in these words: "Polycarp, and the Presbyters which are with him, unto the Church of God which is at Philippi." This style corresponds with the usual introductory salutation addressed by St. Paul to the Churches; and must be looked upon as an intimation from the writer, of his own superiority in rank over the persons whom he mentions as being "with him." For, supposing him of equal rank with them, such a form of expression, to say the least, would savour of presumption. And accordingly we find, that in the succeeding historic records which refer to that period, the Presbyters are omitted; and the succession of Church officers is deduced from Polycarp alone.

polity in particular, are injudiciously, nay even absurdly exaggerated: while in the midst of this heightened picture the doctrine of the Trinity is obviously lowered.

¹ Vide Coteler. Patres, in Martyrio sancti Ignat. pp. 159. 166. 176.—There are three manuscripts of this work, one in Latin, and two in Greek; they differ much in other respects, but all of them contain the passage we have quoted.

This distinguished Father, in the Epistle to which we now allude, refers to the writings of his illustrious cotemporary Ignatius, in the following terms of high commendation. "We transmit to you, according to your desire, the Epistle of Ignatius, which he addressed to us, and such others also of his writing, as have come into our possession. They are subjoined to this Epistle, and by them ye may be greatly profited; for they are expressive of faith, of patience, and of all things that pertain to edification in the Lord Jesus¹."

The only two of those Apostolic authors, to whose writings we have not yet adverted are Barnabas and HERMAS. The works of the former contain no allusion to the subject of Church Government; we may, therefore, pass on to the latter. This writer is usually ranked among the Apostolic Fathers, though his works are sometimes referred to a somewhat later age; namely, towards the middle of the second century, or about forty years after the death of the Apostle John. Without determining this question, we may observe, that in either case his testimony is valuable; though certainly still more so, if (as the best authorities, ancient and modern, oblige us to suppose) he be really the Hermas honourably saluted in the concluding chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Hermas wrote a work in the form of an allegory, entitled the Pastor or Shepherd, which was much esteemed by antiquity, and was even read in some churches. In what he terms his third vision, he alludes to the constitution of the Church; and poetically describes himself as beholding a splendid edifice, constructed by angels, and composed of square white stones admirably cemented. In the interpretation of this sacred allegory, he takes occasion to enumerate the different orders in the Christian ministry. "These stones, square and white, exactly fitted at their joinings, these are the Apostles, and the Bishops, and the Doctors, and the Ministers: who by the mercy of God have come in, and have held the Episcopal office, and have taught, and have ministered to the elect of God; in all meekness and

¹ Vide Cotel. Patres, tom. ii. p. 191.

holiness, both to those who have fallen asleep, and to those who still survive¹." Here are three distinct offices, discharged by three distinct classes of Church officers: the Episcopal office, or *superintendency*, confined exclusively to the Apostle, or to the Bishop; that of *teaching*, performed by the Doctor or Presbyter; and that of *ministering*, allotted to the Minister or Deacon².

The divine institution of Episcopacy might seem sufficiently established, by the testimony we have quoted out of those very early writers; who received the title of Apostolic Fathers, from the very circumstance of their consecration by the Apostles, and their perfect acquaintance with the original polity of the Church. But at the hazard of being tedious, we proceed to adduce later evidence from the works of their successors: and we shall begin with such authorities as flourished at the close of the first, or at the commencement of the second century.

Among these we may begin with PIUS, Bishop of Rome, who suffered martyrdom about the year 150: and who, in his Epistle addressed to Justus of Vienna, gives the latter his proper title of Bishop, and enjoins submission to his authority upon the Presbyters and Deacons. *Presbyteri*, says he, *et Diaconi, te observent*³.

Our next authority is HEGESIPPUS, the earliest uninspired historian of the Church. He wrote about 70 years after the death of the Apostle John, or A. D. 170, a work in five books, entitled, "A History of the Preaching of the Apostles." The greater part of it has perished, though some fragments have been preserved by later writers. He is stated by St. Jerome⁴ to have written "in a style plain and simple, like

¹ *Lapides quidem illi quadrati et albi convenientes in commissuris suis, ii sunt Apostoli, et Episcopi, et doctores, et ministri, qui ingressi sunt in clementiâ Dei; et Episcopatum gesserunt, et docuerunt, et ministraverunt sanctè et modestè electis Dei qui dormierunt, quique adhuc sunt.—Vide Hermæ Pastor. cap. 5. Cotel. in loc. I do not recollect to have ever seen this remarkable testimony quoted.*

² For proof that the term Doctor is equivalent to Presbyter, see Pearson's *Vindication*, c. 13, p. 171.

³ Pii epist. 2 ad Just. Vien. quoted by Bingham, in his *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, book 2. chap. 1. p. 53.

⁴ De Scrip. Eccles. Hegesip.

the characters which he described ;” and by Eusebius he is recorded to have been not a little instrumental, through his labours as an author, to the advancement of Christianity. Hegesippus mentions that he made it his business, in the course of a long journey, to visit the Bishops of the Church ; that he “ conversed with a very great number ; that he found them all unanimous in their faith ; and that, in every line of Episcopal succession, and in every city, the same doctrine was received, which was taught by the law, by the prophets, and by our Lord himself¹.” This venerable writer further informs us that, after the martyrdom of James the Just, Simeon (who was also the son of Cleophas, the uncle of our Lord,) was unanimously appointed Bishop of Jerusalem ; which long continued a virgin church, pure from any heresy, till one Thebulis, disappointed that he was not elected Bishop, devised some strange doctrine².

We may next adduce the evidence of IRENÆUS, an important witness in this cause, from the clearness of his testimony ; from the undoubted authenticity of his works ; and from the intimacy of his acquaintance with the distinguished Fathers of the preceding age. He was born in Greece, and derived his instruction in Christianity from Papias and Polycarp, (both of them disciples of St. John,) and is understood to have accompanied St. Polycarp to Rome about the year 157. Anicetus, the Roman Pontiff, prevailed upon him to visit France, and proceed to Marseilles, where numbers of his countrymen the Greeks were at that time settled. In his journey, arriving at Lyons, he was persuaded to settle there by Pothinus, Bishop of that city, under whom he performed the duties, for some time, of a Presbyter ; and on whose martyrdom he succeeded to the Bishopric, a post of no small danger during that period of persecution. To this danger Irenæus, as he probably anticipated, afterwards fell a victim. He was put to the torture, under the Emperør Severus, about the year 202, and afterwards beheaded. His diligence and ability have been generally admired and applauded. Tertullian in particular calls him *omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator* ;

¹ Frag. Comm. Heges. apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 21.

² Ibid.

“ a most diligent searcher into all points of doctrine.” We may express the opportunities of information which Irenæus enjoyed in his own language; “ I have often seen Polycarp,” he says, “ and I very well remember his person and behaviour when discoursing to the multitude; as well as his habits of familiar intercourse with St. John, and with the rest of the Apostles, who had seen our Lord.” This very competent witness distinctly speaks of Bishops as possessed of diocesan authority; and describes Presbyters as a separate order, exercising an inferior office, and invested with inferior powers. His evidence to this point is decisive. Even the adversaries of Episcopacy admit that about the middle of the second century an episcopal order, vested with peculiar powers of ordination and jurisdiction, existed and was fully established. It should however be observed that the testimony of this ancient Father goes still farther; not only proving that Bishops actually existed in his time, but that they unquestionably had existed from the beginning, and were successors to the Apostles. In a work against heretics, “ We can reckon up,” he says, “ those Bishops who have been constituted by the Apostles and their successors all along to our times. And if the Apostles knew hidden mysteries, they would have communicated them especially to those in whose hands they placed even the care of the Churches, and whom they left for their own successors, delivering to them the same office of government which they had occupied themselves.” In another place he says, “ We have a list of the Bishops in succession to whom the Apostolic Church in every place was committed.” And again, “ All these,” he says, (speaking of heretics) “ are much later than the Bishops, to whom the Apostles delivered the Churches ¹.”

Titus Flavius Clemens, commonly called CLEMENT of *Alexandria*, to whom we next refer, flourished towards the close of the second century. He was brought up in the school of Pantænus, an eminent Stoic philosopher, who had been converted to Christianity, and who had taught the principles of the Christian Faith to the Alexandrian Church

¹ Irenæus advers. Hæres. lib. iii. cap. 3. lib. iv. cap. 63. lib. v. cap. 20.

ever since the episcopate of St. Mark, its founder. When his master Pantænus quitted Alexandria on a missionary enterprise to Ethiopia, Clement succeeded him in the catechetical chair, and taught numerous disciples with distinguished success. The work from which we are about to quote he entitled *Stromata*, from the variety of material which it contains. It must have been a kind of commonplace book, composed of miscellaneous articles, to serve him in his old age, as he said, when his memory should fail him.

This ancient Father not only places the Bishop, the Presbyter, and the Deacon, each in a separate class; but describes the removal from one class to another as a promotion or advancement. So that a Presbyter on being made a Bishop was preferred in the same degree as a Deacon would be when made a Presbyter. To give a livelier impression of these gradations in the Church, he deduces them from corresponding preferments in the celestial hierarchy. "For here also in the Church," says he, "the promotions of Bishops, of Presbyters, and of Deacons, are imitations, as I conceive, of the angelic glory¹."

The distinction manifest in these words, is given still more plainly in those which follow. For having declared these preferments analogous to those which good men "walking in the footsteps of the Apostles, and conforming to the perfect rules of righteousness in the Gospel, look for in heaven;" the venerable Father proceeds to give his notion, "that those who, as the Apostle writes, were caught up into the clouds, should first be in the order of Deacons; and then advance to the Presbyterate by an accession of glory—for glory differs from glory—until they increase unto the perfect man²:" meaning by the "perfect man" the Bishop, whom he conceives placed in the highest or most glorious station. We must here understand Clement to distinguish in heaven, three orders or degrees of glory; (for glory, he says, differs from

¹ *Strom.* lib. vi. p. 667. The word *προκοπαί*, or *gradations*, clearly intimates that it was the same advancement for a Presbyter to be made a Bishop, as for a Deacon to be made a Presbyter. For to have described promotion or advancement from one order to the very same order would have been absurd.

² *Ibid.*

glory,) and to consider the three orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons to be on earth an imitation of that celestial economy. The first or lowest he represents as occupying the place of Deacons; the second or intermediate, the place of Presbyters; and the highest or most perfect, the place of Bishops. The conjecture certainly of this pious man with respect to the heavenly regions need not be maintained; but his testimony with respect to different orders in the Church on earth, of which he was eye witness, is unexceptionable¹.

In another passage of his works, he mentions James, the kinsman of our Lord, as being constituted by St. Peter, and the two sons of Zebedee, Bishop of Jerusalem; and observes that Peter, James, and John, who were held in highest estimation with our Redeemer, did not contend among themselves, after his ascension, for the highest place; but rather made choice of James the Just, to occupy the Episcopal chair in the holy city².

To make one further quotation from this author: he elsewhere informs us, that the Apostle John "when he settled at Ephesus, went about the neighbouring regions, ordaining Bishops; and setting apart such persons for the clergy, as were signified to him by the Holy Ghost³."

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, more familiarly styled TERTULLIAN, and generally supposed to be the most ancient of the Latin Fathers now extant, was born at Carthage, the metropolis of Africa, about the middle of the second century. His ability and learning called forth the deserved eulogy from St. Jerome—*vir erat acris et vehementis ingenii*—*Quid Tertulliano eruditius, quid acutius*⁴? He devoted all the powers of his mind to the defence of Christianity against Infidels; and presented to the governors of the Roman empire his most celebrated work, called "An Apology for the Christian Faith," written about the year 200. He also for some time directed his talents to the support of the Church against heretics; but in the latter

¹ See Bishop Beveridge's Codex Canonum Eccles. prim. illustratus, cap. xi. De Episcopis.

² Clem. Alex. apud Euseb. lib. ii. cap. 1.

³ Ibid. Strom. lib. vi. p. 667.

⁴ Hieron. de Scriptor. c. 53.

part of his life, he separated himself from the Catholic communion, and joined the followers of Montanus, to whose ascetic principles the austerity of his own habits had predisposed him. He attained to an advanced age, and died about A. D. 220, but the precise date of his death is unknown.

This learned and eloquent writer affirms distinctly the institution of the Episcopal order by the Apostles. "The order of Bishops," he says, "when traced up to its foundation, had certainly John (the Apostle) for one of its authors¹." He elsewhere gives this challenge to the heretics of his time: "Let them show us the origin of their Churches, let them unroll a catalogue of their Bishops, from the earliest to the latest; by which their first Bishop may appear to have had for his founder and immediate predecessor, either some Apostle, or some Apostolic person, living in the time of the Apostles. For this is the established mode in which the Apostolic Churches count up their pedigree. The Church of Smyrna, for example, counts up to Polycarp, appointed by St. John; the Church of Rome to Clement, ordained by St. Peter: so in like manner the other Churches produce their first Bishops apostolically constituted, that by them the Apostolic succession might be propagated and continued²." In his treatise on baptism our author declares, "The right of baptizing belongs to the chief Priest, who is the Bishop; and after him to Presbyters and Deacons, yet not without the authority of the Bishop. Thus is the dignity of the Church preserved; on the preservation of which depends the preservation of peace³." "Reckon up," he says, in another work, "the Apostolic Churches, where the very chairs of the Apostles yet preside, each in its own place; at Corinth, at Philippi, at Ephesus, at Thessalonica⁴."

Among the writers of the third century, no one is more celebrated than ORIGEN, a native of Egypt, born about the year 185, of whom Vincentius Lirinensis, says, that "he was among the Greeks, what Tertullian was among the

¹ Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iv. cap. 5.

² Ibid. de Præscrip. cap. 32.

³ Ibid. lib. de Baptis. cap. 17.

⁴ Ibid. de Præscrip. c. 36.

Latins, incomparably their best writer¹." He was carefully educated by his father, Leonides, in Christian principles; and when the latter was in prison, expecting to suffer death for his religion, the youth, at that time seventeen, wrote an affecting letter to his parent, exhorting him to steadfastness: "Take heed, my father, that you do not change your mind for our sakes." Leonides was beheaded, and his goods confiscated. In the state of poverty to which Origen was now reduced, he had recourse to the employment of teaching grammar, by which he supported his mother, his six brothers, and himself. He was afterwards appointed catechist or professor of theology, in the celebrated school of Alexandria, his native city. He became remarkable not only for his proficiency in sacred literature, but also for the number of his scholars, whom he so effectually instructed in the faith, that they submitted to the pains of martyrdom. His austere mode of life, his extraordinary eloquence and erudition, together with the number of his works, amounting, as is alleged, to six thousand volumes², procured him the greatest weight and influence in the Church: though his independence of mind, and some opinions of a novel and unscriptural character which he adopted, exposed him afterwards to obloquy and persecution. Being excommunicated by Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, he retired to Antioch, where, already suffering exile as a heretic, he was racked and tortured as a Christian, by the Roman Governor, who caused his feet to be stretched for several days in the stocks beyond their natural dimensions. He died at Tyre, aged 69.

This voluminous authority in no less than ten instances³ mentions the distinction, in point of order and degree, between Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. Notwithstanding his heretical theories on other subjects, with which we have here no concern, the writings of Origen bear unquestionable testimony to the *fact* that Episcopacy was received by himself, and by all the Church as an apostolical institution. Not only does he distinguish three several ranks or orders,

¹ Vincent. Lirinens. Commonit. cap. 24. p. 345.

² It is hardly necessary to remark that a volume in those days contained a small quantity of material, *rolled up*, as the name implies.

³ See Pearson, part i. chap. 11.

but also notices, like St. Clement, the degree of preferment from one order to another. "In the Church of Christ," says he, "there are some men who do not only follow feasts and them that make them; but also love the chiefest places, and labour much first to be made Deacons, not such as the Scripture describeth, but such as under pretence of long prayers devour widows' houses. And having thus been made Deacons, they very greedily aspire to the chairs of those who are called Presbyters; and some, not therewithal content, practise many ways to have the place or name of Bishops, which is as much to say as Rabbi¹."

In his commentaries upon St. Luke, written when he was a layman, he discourses upon second marriages, and observes that they exclude from all ecclesiastical dignities. "For one that is twice married can neither be a Bishop, a Presbyter, a Deacon, nor a Deaconess². In a homily on Ezekiel, speaking of the different penalties incurred by different ranks of offenders for the same offence, "Every one," he says, "shall be punished according to his rank; if the supreme Governor of the Church offends, he shall receive the greater punishment; a Layman will deserve lenity in comparison of a Deacon; a Deacon in comparison of a Presbyter³."

The authority of Bishops over Presbyters is further apparent at this early period, from the following anecdote related by DIONYSIUS, Bishop of Alexandria, called the Great, who was a scholar of Origen; and who in those times of much difficulty, caused by controversies within the Church, and persecutions without, distinguished himself by learning, zeal, moderation, and prudence. An old man at Alexandria, Serapion by name, who from dread of torture or of death, had abjured Christianity, repented on his death bed, and desired his grandson to call a Presbyter, that he might receive absolution, and the sacrament. The boy

¹ Origen. Tract. xxiv. in Matt. cap. 23, quoted by Heylyn in his "Reformation Justified," part ii. chap. 4. p. 293.

² Hom. 17. in Luc.—Origen alludes to the distinction between Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, no less than ten times, as remarked by Bishop Pearson, in whose *Vindiciæ* all the passages may be found.—Vide pars i. cap. 11. p. 320.

³ Hom. v. in Ezek.

hastened with his message, but night had come on, and the Presbyter was disabled by sickness. In this emergency the poor man was likely to have died without the consolations of religion. "But," adds Dionysius, "I had previously given orders, that absolution should be granted to the dying if they desired it; and more especially, if they should humbly require it, in order to their departure from this life in hope and comfort." "The Presbyter," continues the narrative, "delivered to the youth a small portion of the Eucharist, giving him directions, that after dipping it into the water, he should introduce it into the mouth of the aged penitent. No sooner were these orders obeyed, than the old man breathed his last." From this anecdote, it appears that Dionysius, in his capacity of Bishop, had commanded the Presbyters to absolve dying penitents; a circumstance which clearly marks the supreme authority of the Episcopal order ¹.

Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus, known by the title of St. CYPRIAN, was born at Carthage, of heathen parents, at the end of the second century. He was converted to Christianity about A.D. 246, and selected for his instruction in Christian doctrine the writings of Tertullian, to which he was so devotedly partial, that, as St. Jerome tells us, "scarcely a day passed in which Cyprian did not say to his secretary, 'Give me my Master;' meaning Tertullian." Soon after his conversion, this sincere Christian sold his estate, which was considerable, and distributed the proceeds among the poor. Such was the distinction which his piety and learning obtained him, that he was soon ordained a Deacon; afterwards a Presbyter; and finally, in the year 248, was elected Bishop of the Diocese. He so little coveted this elevation, that he concealed himself to avoid compliance with the wishes of the people; and recom-

¹ Dionys. Alex. apud Euseb.—Hist. Eccles. lib. 17. cap. vi. It is chiefly to the authorities already quoted that Sir Edward Dering in his celebrated speech to the Long Parliament, on the Root and Branch Bill, so powerfully appeals:—"Answer not me, but answer Ignatius, answer Clemens, Tertullian, and Irenæus: nay, answer the whole undisputed concurrence of the Asian, the European, and the African churches; all ages, all places, all persons; answer, I say, all these, or do as I do: yield to the sufficient evidence of truth: *Deque fide certâ, sit tibi certa fides.*"

mended that some older Presbyter should be chosen in his place. In little more than a year after his consecration to the Bishopric of Carthage, he was obliged to withdraw from that city; on account of the persecution inflicted by the Emperor Decius, which was peculiarly severe upon the African Churches; and during which the heathen populace (as we read in Pontius, his contemporary biographer, and one of his own Deacons) clamorously demanded in all the theatres, and public streets, that Cyprian should be thrown to the lions. During his exile, the Bishop continued to superintend the affairs of his diocese, by addressing to his flock such letters as their unhappy circumstances required. There was urgent need both for exhorting his people to constancy and patience under their pagan oppressors, and for exerting himself to resist the machinations of some rebellious Presbyters, who took advantage of his absence to encroach on his authority. Within two years he was enabled to return without molestation to Carthage, where new troubles awaited him, from the vehement discord that immediately arose upon the question how the *lapsers* (as they were termed, who had apostatized during the recent persecution,) should be absolved and re-admitted into the Church. Under a new persecution by the Emperor Valerian, A. D. 257, Cyprian was banished; then recalled; then obliged to conceal himself, lest he should be forced to suffer martyrdom in any other place than in sight of his own flock; and finally, he came publicly forward at Carthage as its metropolitan; refused to abjure the faith; made the short reply, "God be praised," to the sentence of decapitation read to him; and was led, amidst crowds of his followers and countrymen, to the place of execution, where he suffered with great constancy and firmness, after being ten years Bishop of Carthage, and twelve years a Christian.

The particulars which call most for our attention, in the history and writings of St. Cyprian, are the vigour with which on all occasions this excellent Father conducted the affairs of his diocese, and the powers which, as a Bishop, he continually claimed and exercised over the Carthaginian Presbyters and Deacons. His own Epistles, private and synodical, happily still extant in great numbers, as well as many letters of his most distinguished contemporaries in

the most widely separated regions, (particularly of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, and of Firmilian, Bishop of Neocæsarea, in Cappadocia,) are replete with testimony to the actual existence and apostolic institution of Episcopal power. Throughout all these numerous records, we read of the Bishop's dignity, honour, and priesthood (*dignitas, honor, sacerdotium*). Bishops are styled, peculiarly and exclusively, successors of the Apostles: Vicars of Christ, and Provosts or Presidents (*præpositi*) of the Churches: Fathers (*papæ*), Leaders (*duces*), Chief Priests (*pontifices*). We find the Roman clergy saying that they cannot determine a disputed question because the see was vacant, and they had not a Bishop who, with authority and counsel, (*auctoritate et consilio*) might take cognizance of the case. We see, in the times of persecution, Cyprian, during his exile, requiring an account from his Presbyters, with regard to the affairs of the diocese; that he might give instructions from a distance the same as if himself were present. We read of his giving mandates, orders, statutes, (*mandatum, forma, lex*); we read of sacerdotal and Episcopal authority (*auctoritas episcoporum, auctoritas sacerdotalis*); of Episcopal superiority, government, providence (*providentia*). We observe Episcopal power (*potestas*) spoken of, and the vigour of Episcopal power; the authority of the Episcopal chair (*vigor et auctoritas cathedræ*); the sublime and divine power of governing the Church (*ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimis et divina potestas*). Whatever might be the number of Presbyters and Deacons in the Church of Carthage, the Carthaginian Bishop is styled in the way of eminence, "*the Pastor.*" We are told of Bishops exercising discipline (*disciplina*): giving injunctions (*monita*): being masters of their own acts (*acta*) or administration. Bishops are described to have a right of putting a negative (*intercedere*) on all proceedings among the inferior clergy, and thereby of making void whatever might be resolved upon without Episcopal sanction. Disobedience on the part of Presbyters to their Bishop is called schism, rebellion, sacrilege: contumacious Presbyters are stigmatized as rebels and schismatics, and their crime is compared in delinquency to that of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. A Bishop is styled a Judge, and is said to exercise over his Presbyters, his judicial and cen-

social prerogatives, with lenity or with severity. And lastly, we read of Bishops having a primacy (*primatus*), an absolute, arbitrary, sovereign jurisdiction (*licentia et arbitrium liberum*), for which they are accountable to none, but to our Lord Jesus Christ, "who singly and solely," says St. Cyprian, "has the power of preferring Bishops to the government of his Church, and of calling them to account for their administration of it¹."

Such was the decisive language of the distinguished writers in the Cyprianic age. It is so strong that very few objectors deny Episcopacy to have been at that period fully established, however anxious that the fact should be otherwise. Their only resource is to maintain that the Bishops of that time were the first Bishops, in the modern sense of the title. They stigmatize St. Cyprian and his contemporaries as innovators, who took advantage of the indolence and compliant humour of the Presbyters and of the Church. But this notion is abundantly contradicted, as we shall see hereafter more at large, by the moral character of those illustrious Prelates and holy martyrs; by their reverence on all occasions for primitive and apostolic custom; by the indignant horror which they express against all change in sacred institutions; by their continual appeals to Divine authority, in opposition to recent practices of human invention; and lastly, by their censure of their Presbyters for not yielding the same dutiful submission to them as had never been refused to their predecessors. "What danger," St. Cyprian indignantly asks, "ought we not to fear from God's displeasure, when certain Presbyters, neither mindful of the Gospel, nor of their own station in the Church, regardless alike of the future judgment of God, and of the Bishop who is set over them, in contempt and neglect of their superior, arrogate everything to themselves; an act of insubordination *never in any instance attempted against our predecessors*²."

In further illustration of the views on the subject of Church polity, universally prevalent in the days of St.

¹ See Cyprian's introductory discourse at the opening of the Council of Carthage, A.D. 256.

² Cyp. Presb. et Diacon. Ep. xvi. p. 36. For further information see note (H) at the end of the volume.

Cyprian, the following narrative may be not uninteresting to the reader. About A. D. 250, when Cornelius was a candidate for the Bishopric of Rome, his election was opposed by a Presbyter, called Novatian. The rigid and austere character of the latter inclined him to regard Cornelius as disposed too favourably and leniently towards those apostates or *lapsers*, who, during the cruel persecution just mentioned, under the Emperor Decius, had renounced Christianity. On the election of Cornelius, his disappointed opposer formed a new sect, called from him Novatians; and drew over to that party a number of the most influential Christians in the imperial city. Some of these, however, deserted him soon afterwards, and returned to the communion of the Church, with the following remarkable profession of their faith. "We acknowledge that Cornelius is chosen Bishop of this most holy Catholic Church by the omnipotent God, and by our Lord Jesus Christ. We confess our errors; we have been imposed upon; we have been abused by treachery and ensnaring loquacity; for we are not ignorant that there is one God, one Lord Jesus Christ, whom we have confessed, and one Holy Ghost, and that there ought to be one Bishop in a Catholic Church¹."

After having referred to so many respectable authorities contemporary with St. Cyprian² in Europe, Asia, and Africa, more particularly to Cornelius of Rome; to Firmilian of Neo-Cæsarea, in Cappadocia; and to Dionysius of Alexandria, we might be expected to proceed immediately to later times. But one more testimony, that of Alexander, Bishop of the parent Church at Jerusalem, is peculiarly interesting, as it illustrates the facility with which reference at that time might almost immediately be made to the oral declarations of the Apostles themselves. For, this Bishop was appointed about A. D. 212, assistant and successor in that see, to

¹ Ep. xlix.

² Among other authorities at this period may be mentioned an African Bishop, Clarus a Musculâ, who gives his sentiments on the subject of Church polity in the following strong terms;—"The determination of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest; for he sent his Apostles, and committed to them alone the power given him by his Father: to them we (Bishops) have succeeded, governing the Church of Christ by the same power." Suff. 79. See Bishop Sage's *Vindication*, chap. 6. sec. 69. p. 297.

Narcissus; who was then one hundred and sixteen years of age, and consequently must have been born before the death of the Apostle John. The appointment of Alexander to his bishopric is stated by Eusebius to have taken place *οικονομία Θεοῦ*, by the direction of God, and Alexander writes to the Church of Antioch his congratulations on the promotion of Asclepiades to their Episcopal chair. He tells them that his own bonds became easy and light to him, when he heard that so excellent and fit a person was made their Bishop by the special favour of God (*κατὰ τὴν θείαν πρόνοιαν*)¹.

We now come to that period, when, in the reign of Constantine, commonly styled the first Christian Emperor, the Church was politically established; and when many important members of it will be familiar to our readers as not only conspicuous in ecclesiastical but in civil History. We shall not find it necessary to bring forward here, any more than in the preceding pages, every possible authority: but shall confine our references to such writers as are most eminent for learning, integrity, and ability; or such as have been most confidently and frequently adduced by the anti-episcopalian advocate as unfavourable to our cause.

In the latter class of writers, we by no means reckon EUSEBIUS, the first distinguished name that occurs in the annals of Constantine. This great historian was born at Cæsarea, in Palestine, about A.D. 270. He took the surname of Pamphilus, in honour of his friend, a Presbyter of that city, who suffered martyrdom, A.D. 309. Elevated, not long after, to the Bishopric of Cæsarea, Eusebius obtained the confidence of the Emperor, and took a leading

¹ Vide Euseb. Hist. Ecc. cap. 111. It is not on any testimony, however early or respectable, taken *singly*, that we rest our cause, but we base it on the general consent of antiquity. That this has not been the practice of our anti-episcopalian brethren may be seen from Blondel, their avowedly greatest champion, who, in a work entitled "Apologia pro sententiâ Hieronymi," has exhausted the resources of his almost unrivalled learning, to illustrate, in 549 closely printed quarto pages of Latin, a solitary passage from one of the Fathers, and that Father of considerably later date than we have yet arrived at. If the diligence and sagacity of Blondel could have discovered any earlier authority clearly apposite to his purpose, he would certainly have selected it for the subject of his treatise.

part in the ecclesiastical transactions of that busy period. He was suspected of Arianism, and perhaps may not have been strictly orthodox on the Arian question; yet at the council of Nice, held in the year 325, at which he assisted, he subscribed to the well known Nicene creed of our Liturgy. The honourable mind of this great person is fully shown in his refusal of the Patriarchal chair of Antioch, because he was of opinion that Eustathius, the preceding Bishop, his enemy and rival, had been unjustly deposed. To Eusebius the Church is beyond comparison indebted, more than to any uninspired writer, for the treasures of Christian antiquity which he has transmitted to later times. He died in the year 339 or 340.

We have already made quotations so frequently from the writings of Eusebius, that one further passage may suffice. "How many of the Apostles' Disciples, and who they were, that faithfully copied the example of the Apostles, and were proved to be shepherds of the Churches which they founded, is not easy to say, besides those whom Paul mentions. He had, indeed, a great number of assistants, and, as he calls them, fellow-soldiers, whose memories are preserved to all posterity in his Epistles. And Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, mentions some of them by name. Of these, Timothy is related to have been Bishop of Ephesus: Titus of the Churches in Crete." Shortly after he proceeds: "Crescens was sent to Gallia" (Galatia), "as St. Paul himself is witness: Linus, whom he mentions in his second Epistle to Timothy, as being at Rome with him, was made Bishop of Rome next after Peter: Clemens, who was the third Bishop of Rome, is owned by St. Paul, as his fellow labourer and fellow wrestler: and Dionysius the Areopagite, whom Luke mentions as Paul's first convert, (after his oration in the Areopagus at Athens,) is related to have been the first Bishop of that Church by another Dionysius, a very ancient writer, and Bishop of Corinth. And in the sequel of this *history, the succession of Bishops from the Apostles shall be set down in their order*¹." So writes this "most diligent investigator of antiquity," as St. Jerome terms him².

¹ Euseb. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 4.

² Hieron. de Scriptor. Eccl. v. i. c. 81.

ATHANASIUS, who while the Christian Church remains, will always be remembered, not only as the great opponent of Arianism, and champion of sound doctrine; but as giving a title to the celebrated creed, which (though not composed by him,) contains a summary of his principles, was born at Alexandria, towards the close of the third century. At the general council of Nice, already adverted to, he distinguished himself, though a very young Deacon, by his ready eloquence and powerful argumentation: insomuch, that his own Diocesan, the aged Bishop of Alexandria, fixed at once upon his youthful secretary as his most eligible successor. The modesty, however, of Athanasius declined the honours intended for him. He even fled to avoid them. But he yielded to the dying wishes of his patron, and was elected Bishop with the unanimous approbation of his countrymen and fellow citizens. The persecutions which he suffered through the jealousy of his Arian rivals, under a succession of Emperors, from Constantine to Valens; his repeated wanderings, perplexities, and escapes, throughout various provinces of the Roman empire; his steadfast adherence to the faith, amidst all difficulties; his condemnation and degradation by the western councils of Arles and Milan, and by the councils of Tyre and Antioch in the East; his final restoration to the Archiepiscopal throne; and his death in peace and tranquillity, and in the midst of his own people, who had all along, during the forty-six years of his Episcopate, been devotedly attached to him: though these are circumstances not necessarily connected with our present subject, yet they are among the most important and most interesting events in the history of those times.

This illustrious theologian regarded the Episcopal order in the light of a divine institution. "If," says he, in an epistle to Dracontius, (who, about A. D. 354, had refused to accept a Bishopric, through dread of Arian persecution,) "If the government of the Churches do not please you, and you think the office of a Bishop has no reward, thereby making yourself a despiser of our Saviour who founded it; I beseech you, surmise not any such things as these, nor countenance such persons as maintain them: this would be unworthy of Dracontius. For whatever things the Lord

appointed by his Apostles, remain both good and sure." He afterwards proceeds: "If all our predecessors had been of the same mind, how could you have become a Christian, since there would have been no Bishops? And if our cotemporaries take up the same resolution, how can the Churches subsist?" Here he plainly declares that the Episcopal order was of our Saviour's own appointment, and essential to the constitution of the Church¹.

The opinion of Athanasius on the Episcopal order may be further ascertained, from a remarkable anecdote recorded in his works. Colluthus, once a Presbyter of Alexandria, having a dispute with his Diocesan, usurped the office of a Bishop, and laid his hands on several persons, who accordingly took upon them the name and office of Presbyters. A council was held at Alexandria, to examine into this violation of ecclesiastical discipline; when a decree was passed, that the pseudo-Presbyters should be reduced to the same station in the Church, which they held previous to their irregular ordination. One of them, named Ischyras, some time afterwards presuming to perform the sacramental office, was thrust aside by one of the officiating ministers. Ischyras complained to the bishop: the synod was assembled, the cause tried a second time, and a decision unanimously adopted, that Ischyras was not a Presbyter; for that he had only been ordained by Colluthus, who had no episcopal authority. In this degraded state, Ischyras received the sacrament as a layman; "A thing so public," says Athanasius, "that no man doubted its occurrence²."

OPTATUS, Bishop of Milevi, in Numidia, is another

¹ Athan. Epist. ad Diacon.

² Vide Athan. in Apol. 2.—It was by reading an account of this decision casually at school, that the author's attention was first drawn to the Church polity. He was led to ask; if the primitive Church did not acknowledge the validity of presbyterian ordination, how can we suppose it to be valid now? For proof that the decree of the Alexandrine council was adopted by the first general council of Constantinople, and by the council of Seville, see note (I) at the end of the volume. I may add that in England when the Church authorities, soon after the Reformation, were solicited to acknowledge and receive as a presbyter, a person not episcopally ordained, they adhered to the ancient and established rule. In answer to the argument that "Ministers lawfully made in one Church of sound profession of faith were acknowledged in every other," Archbishop Whitgift pointedly re-

authority, who, though not conspicuous in political history, and, therefore, not familiar to the general reader, has however, the high commendation of St. Augustine bestowed upon him; that like that "most delightful and learned author, and most blessed martyr Cyprian¹," he came over to Christianity, bringing with him "all the treasures of Egypt²," the treasures namely of eloquence and erudition. This richly gifted individual expresses his concern on the subject of ecclesiastical subordination in these terms. "The Church has her several members, Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and the³ company of the faithful." And again, writing against the Donatists, a sect, who under pretence of peculiar sanctity, refused to acknowledge the clergy of the Church, he says, "You found in the Church Deacons, Presbyters, Bishops; you have made them laymen; acknowledge that you have subverted souls⁴."

Ambrosius, or ST. AMBROSE, may be already known to the reader as the author of that sublime composition, the hymn of praise called the "Te Deum." He was born of a noble Roman family, A.D. 333, in the province of Gaul, of which his father was at that time præfect. His early studies were directed to secular learning, and more especially to jurisprudence, and his legal talents raised him to the governorship of Liguria and Emilia, comprehending the greater part of the north of Italy. In Milan, the metropolis, he resided as governor till the year 374, when we find him suddenly brought forward in a new capacity. On the death of Auxentius, Bishop of Milan, the election of his successor gave rise to such alarming tumults between the Arian and Catholic Bishops, and their respective partisans, that Ambrose, as chief magistrate, hastened to the cathedral for the purpose of restoring order. His presence, his high character, his popularity with all parties, and his judicious conduct on this occasion, had such extraordinary influence, that when some one in the crowd exclaimed, "Let Ambrose

marked, "*Always excepting such Churches as allowed of Presbytery, and practised it.*" See his life by Strype, b. ii. c. 16; b. i. c. 7.

¹ August. de Doctr. Christ. lib. ii. cap. 40. n. 61. t. iii.

² Auro et argento et veste suffarcinatus.—Ibid.

³ Vide Optat. contra Parmenianum, lib. ii.

⁴ Ibid.

be Bishop," the exclamation was repeated universally : the assembled Bishops gave their votes in his favour : and the astonished præfect, who at first took to flight, in order to save himself from this ecclesiastical dignity, at length yielded to the importunities of the people. He held the Bishopric of Milan for twenty-three years, and died A.D. 397, after a course of distinguished public usefulness, not only as an orthodox teacher and defender of religion, but in some instances, as a skilful diplomatist ; particularly in his bold and eloquent expostulation with the tyrant Maximus, which prevented the invasion and probable ruin of the province.

This acute and disinterested authority, in a work on the sacrament, alludes to the Divine distribution of ecclesiastical functions and responsibilities, and the three distinct orders of clergy. "One duty," he says, "is divinely required of Bishops, another of Priests, and another of Deacons¹." He afterwards adds : "In order that we may describe, in all its particulars, the duty and jurisdiction of a Bishop ; we must examine in succession the rules which the Apostle has prescribed for every act of the Episcopal office²." This quotation is immediately followed by a chapter on the subject of ordination. In his work on the sacrament, the same author avers, "Although Presbyters baptize, yet they derive their authority from the Chief Priest," namely from the Bishop³.

Other very ancient writings, attributed to St. Ambrose, and which are generally bound up with his works, contain numerous passages not less explicit than those which we have quoted. In a commentary on the fourth chapter of Ephesians, with respect to St. Paul's declaration, "He" (Christ) "gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists," this author says, "The Apostles are now the Bishops ; the Prophets, expounders of the Scriptures, as was Agabus ; the Evangelists, Deacons, as was Philip : for all these orders centre in the Bishop, because he is the

¹ Ambros. lib. de dignit. sacerdot. sub finem, cap. 4.

² Ibid. cap. 5.

³ Ambros. de Sacrament. lib. iii. cap. 1.

Some further quotations from St. Ambrose will be found in Bishop Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted*, sec. 12.

head priest, that is head of the priests ; and both Prophet and Evangelist, to supply all the offices of the Church, for the ministry of the faithful¹." This writer then maintains that at the foundation of the Church, all Bishops were Apostles : and in consequence of this opinion, he says, (in his commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians,) that St. Paul, to distinguish himself from succeeding and inferior Apostles, calls himself an Apostle not of man, nor sent by man to preach, as those others were, who were chosen and sent by the Apostles to confirm the Churches².

Eusebius Hieronymus, or ST. JEROME, to whom the Church is under lasting obligations for his translation of the Scriptures called the Vulgate, was born at Stridon, near the confines of Dalmatia and Pannonia, towards the middle of the fourth century. An excellent education at Rome, joined to considerable talent and unwearied industry, raised him to equality with the profoundest linguists and theologians of his time. From the love of study and meditation he secluded himself in one of the most frightful deserts of Syria for several years ; deriving his sole support in that monastic retirement from the friendship of Evagrius, a rich citizen of Antioch. Loss of health forced this austere student again into society : and in A.D. 378 he was ordained a Presbyter at Antioch, stipulating with Paulinus the patriarch, that he should have no regular duties as a parochial minister ; but should be permitted to enjoy, unrestricted, his literary inclinations. Availing himself of this liberty, he visited Constantinople ; journeyed to Rome, where he became secretary to Pope Damasus ; proceeded, on the death of that Pontiff, to Cyprus ; and thence returned A.D. 385 to Antioch. This learned and pious traveller next accompanied his Bishop, Paulinus, in the very severe winter of that year, to Jerusalem : where he informs us, that he beheld many marvellous things (*multa miracula*), and satisfied himself with his own eyes of what he only had before heard by report. After this he made a pilgrimage to Egypt ; spent some time both at the Nitrenian monastery and at Alexandria : and finally settled in a rigid life of studious seclusion at Bethlehem, where he was consulted as

¹ Ambros. Com. in Eph. iv. 11.

² Ibid. Com. in Gal. i. 1.

a kind of oracle ; and employed himself till his death, (at the age of ninety-one,) in communicating to a number of distinguished scholars those treasures of various erudition which he had so long and so indefatigably accumulated.

Like many other ancient writers (of which number we have already quoted Clement of Rome,) Jerome traces the different orders of Christian ministers to the Mosaic dispensation. "In order that we may know," says he, "the apostolical economy to be taken from the pattern in the Old Testament; we see that what Aaron and his sons, and the Levites were in the temple, the same are Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons in the Church of Christ ¹."

Again in the same Epistle : "Neither the pomp of riches, nor the lowliness of poverty, makes a Bishop greater or less : all alike are successors of the Apostles ²."

In a work against heretics, he writes, "The safety of the Church depends upon the dignity of the Chief Priest, to whom, unless a kind of absolute and pre-eminent power were given, there would be as many schisms in the Church as there are Priests. Hence it is, that without the command of the Bishop, neither a Presbyter nor a Deacon can baptize.—The Bishop is to impose his hands on those who have been baptized by Presbyters and Deacons, for the invocation of the Holy Spirit ³."

To conclude with one more quotation. In his work against Montanus, Jerome thus expresses himself : "With us the Bishops hold the place of the Apostles ⁴."

The reader will find it useful to bear in mind these quotations : as the sentiments of this Father will be found, in a future stage of this discussion, more important, than might be imagined, considering the late period at which he flourished.

Aurelius Augustinus, St. AUGUSTINE, or *St. Austin*, the great contemporary of the last mentioned writer, was an African, born of Christian parents in A.D. 354, at Tagasta, in Numidia. Notwithstanding the affectionate endeavours of his mother Monica for his instruction, moral and religious,

¹ Hieron. Epist. ad Evag.

² Ibid.

³ Idem, advers. Luciferianos.

⁴ *Apud nos, Apostolorum locum Episcopi tenent.*—Idem, Epist. 54, cont. Montanum.

he was corrupted in early life by the heresy of the Manichæans, who believed the universe to be governed jointly by an evil and a good principle. He abandoned himself to habits of irregularity and irreligion; but was at last converted from his errors and vices, by the eloquence of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, and by the tears of his mother Monica, who had followed her misguided son to that city. He was baptized by Ambrose, and returning to his native country, became so conspicuous at Hippo for his piety and entire reformation, that he was ordained a Presbyter by Valerius, Bishop of that city, at the urgent request of the people. He approved himself so effectually to his Diocesan, that Valerius, contrary to the established usage of the African church, admitted him, though a Presbyter, to take his turn as a preacher even in the Episcopal presence. The friendship of his patron did not end here: Valerius, overtaken by age and infirmities, obtained for Augustine the nomination to be his colleague and successor. No writer or divine, as a controversialist, was ever more warmly, more variously, or more successfully engaged than this extraordinary man. His contests, both in the character of a defender, and of an assailant against the Manichæans, the Donatists, the Circumcellians, Pelagians, Arians, and other heretics, were carried on by writing and preaching uninterruptedly for forty years. During the whole of this laborious career, his genius, his courage, and his industry never failed him: he presided or took a leading part in ten different synods and conferences: and has left to the world, almost a library of divinity in his own works, the remains of which supply the chief materials for eleven valuable folios, on nearly every subject connected with Christian faith and practice. These works, perhaps, might have been still more valuable, if a more perfect knowledge of the Greek language had enabled him to consult, on some points, the earlier Christian Fathers, most of whom wrote in Greek. He was very sensible, however, of his deficiencies in this respect; and at one time requested of St. Jerome, his friend, to translate for him, and for the African Churches, the commentaries of the Grecian Fathers upon the Scripture¹. The invasion of

¹ De Trinit. lib. iii. tom. viii. Epist. 65. ad Hieron. tom. iv. p. 601.

Africa by the Vandals, put a melancholy close to the pious labours of, perhaps, the last Bishop of Hippo. The time was now come, when the tumults of Christian controversy were to cease in that continent. The churchman and the sectary, the catholic and the heretic were about to fill one common grave under the ruins of their church itself, which for ages had been the glory of Christendom, in literature, in piety, and in firmness under persecution. When the barbarian conquerors drew near to Hippo, after having desolated every previous territory through which they passed, the venerable Bishop, (now in his seventy-sixth year,) exhorted his countrymen and people to maintain their ground; and uttered the remarkable prayer, that God would either grant them deliverance, or remove him from life. The result was answerable to his prayer, though fatal to his country. He died of a fever shortly before the capture and destruction of the city.

We now, as we have before done, proceed to quote passages, which illustrate the sentiments of this great writer on the subject of Church Polity. "The determination of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest, who sent his Apostles, and confided to them alone the authority which had been committed to himself by the Father. We, their successors, govern the Church by the same authority¹."

In his commentary on the sixteenth verse of the forty-fifth psalm, "Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children, whom thou mayest make princes in all lands," he asks, "what is the meaning of this expression, Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children? The Apostles were sent as the fathers; instead of the Apostles, sons are born unto thee, namely, those who are appointed Bishops²."

Again, he elsewhere observes, "The King bears the image of God, as the Bishop does of Christ; therefore while he is in that station, he is to be honoured, if not for himself, yet for his order³."

Among numerous other passages, we shall now confine ourselves to a single one: "No man is ignorant that the

¹ Vide Aug. Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. lib. vii. c. 43.

² Aug. Com. in Psalm. xiv. 16. p. 169.

³ August. Quæst. e Vet. Test. 35.

Saviour appointed Bishops in the Churches ; for, before his ascension, laying his hands upon the Apostles, he ordained them Bishops ¹.”

John of Constantinople, surnamed *CHRYSOSTOM*, from the splendour of his eloquence, was born at Antioch, about A.D. 347. He studied under that great master of rhetoric Libanius, but forming, (like St. Jerome,) an attachment to a secluded life, his great rhetorical powers were long dormant. He passed a period of four years in the company of an aged hermit ; and for two years after confined himself entirely to solitude in a cave : until, like St. Jerome, he was compelled by exhaustion and loss of health to revisit the world. He was successively ordained Deacon and Presbyter ; and gained such universal fame by his powers of eloquence, that, on the death of Nectarius, he was summoned by the Emperor Arcadius to occupy the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. His zeal as a reformer of the Church and imperial Court created more hostility than his piety and popular virtues conciliated friendship : and he was at last banished to a miserable desert in Lesser Asia, near the shores of the Euxine ; where, exhausted with labours, anxieties, and sufferings, he died A.D. 407, in the fifty-second year of his age.

Our chief reason for appealing to St. Chrysostom on the subject of Episcopacy, is, that he has been considered the least favourable of the Fathers, with the exception of St. Jerome, to the Episcopalian cause. And yet the intelligent reader will perceive, even from the following extract, (which has been quoted by objectors to the Church of England polity,) that the golden lips of the eloquent Chrysostom were never opened for the purpose alleged ; but that even where his argument leads him to exalt the Presbyter at the expense of the Bishop, he nevertheless is careful to preserve the main distinction between them for which we have contended. “ The reason,” he says, in his eleventh homily on the first Epistle to Timothy, “ the reason why the Apostle, having delivered rules for the behaviour of Bishops, immediately proceeds to the Deacons, without mentioning the intermediate order of Presbyters, was this, that there was

¹ Vide August. Quæ. Vet. et Nov. Test. 97.

not a great difference between them and Bishops : for even Presbyters are entrusted to teach, and to preside in the Church ; so that the same rules which are prescribed for Bishops may also serve for Presbyters : a Bishop can discharge no function, except imposition of hands, which may not be exercised by Presbyters." The importance which Chrysostom attached to imposition of hands, we learn from another passage of his writings, where he calls this episcopal prerogative, the chief and principal of all Ecclesiastical powers, and that which mainly preserves and holds together the Christian Church¹.

In his homily on the sixth chapter of the book of Acts, where the election of Deacons is related, St. Chrysostom makes the remarkable declaration, "There was then no Bishop in the Church, excepting the Apostles,"—clearly implying the succession of Bishops to the Apostolical superintendence of the Church².

We might now conclude these quotations, but that the opinions of THEODORET, (a disciple of St. Chrysostom) are so important and so clearly stated, that we cannot pass them over in silence. Theodoret was born of an opulent Syrian family at Antioch, about A.D. 386 ; and having taken in due time the regular orders, was prevailed upon by the Patriarch of Antioch, to accept the Bishopric of Cyrus, a remote but populous city, of which the inhabitants were barbarous or heretical : he devoted the remainder of his long life to their civilization and instruction, and died about A.D. 457, above seventy years of age. His chief works are commentaries on the Holy Scripture, and a history of the Church. They are much admired for purity of style, accuracy of research, and soundness of theology.

The sentiments of Theodoret conveyed in the following quotations, are peculiarly important to us ; since he explains with great clearness the origin of that confusion of names which prevailed at the first formation of the Church, and which has been so repeatedly insisted on by the opposers of Episcopacy, as favourable to their views. Commenting on the first verse of the Epistle to the Philippians, (" Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in

¹ Hom. xvi. in 1 Tim.

² Hom. xiv. in Act. vi.

Christ Jesus, which are at Philippi, with the Bishops and Deacons,") Theodoret observes, that the word Bishops here means Presbyters; and that Epaphroditus, who was then along with St. Paul, and by whom he sent this Epistle, was, strictly speaking, the Bishop of Philippi. "In the Epistle itself," says he, "he called the blessed Epaphroditus their Apostle. He, therefore, plainly showed that the Episcopal office was entrusted to him, when he gave him the name of Apostle." Again, in reference to chap. ii. ver. 25. the same author remarks; "St. Paul called him their Apostle, as the person to whom the care of them was entrusted—so as to make it evident that those Church officers ministered under him, who, in the beginning, were called Bishops, while they belonged to the order of Presbyters." In his commentary on Timothy, chap. iii. Theodoret explains his sentiments still further; "The name of Presbyter and Bishop was given formerly to one and the same person: while persons now called Bishops were termed Apostles. In process of time, however, the title of the Apostleship was appropriated to persons really Apostles, and that of the Episcopate was applied to those who before were styled Apostles. Thus Epaphroditus was the Apostle of the Philippians, Titus of the Cretans, and Timothy of the Asiatics¹."

The most scrupulous inquirer can scarcely fail to anticipate that the ancient and conspicuous rulers of the Church so profusely quoted in the preceding pages, would, from their character of fearless sincerity and consistent piety, maintain publicly in synods, conferences, and general councils the same principles on Church Polity, which, as we have seen, they promulgate distinctly and confidently in their writings. On this account there is less necessity for transcribing at any length from the various ecclesiastical

¹ Com. in 1 Tim. iii. The statement of Theodoret is corroborated by a number of authorities, shewing that the title of Apostle was occasionally given to Bishops, even down to a late period. Thus St. Mark is called an Apostle by Epiphanius, Timothy by Theophanes and Salvian, Clement of Rome by Clement of Alexandria; Ignatius by St. Chrysostom, and all Bishops are described by Rabanus Maurus, as having governed their respective provinces under the title of Apostles; *apostolorum nomine nuncupati*.

canons established from time to time to regulate the appointment, and specify the duties of the three different orders. The most important reference for this purpose is the book, entitled "Apostolic Canons," which, though not so ancient as the title "Apostolic" would imply, nor as some learned critics have maintained, is nevertheless of great and acknowledged antiquity. That it contains rules of discipline traditionally preserved and gathered from the general practice of the primitive times we are as fully warranted in maintaining, as that the long known declaration of our Faith, called the Apostles' creed, (and which we cannot trace to the Apostles as its authors,) contains a genuine summary of Apostolic doctrine ¹.

CHAPTER III.

THE evidence advanced in the preceding chapters, both from Scripture and from primitive antiquity, to prove the Apostolic institution of Episcopal Church polity, contains a very small proportion only of the testimonies which might have been brought forward, had this discourse been intended to exhaust the whole subject, and to pursue every topic of inquiry through every possible ramification. But it seems extremely probable that the general reader, already weary of our quotations, or perhaps pronouncing them superabundant, will now be less desirous of further arguments than curious to know by what methods those which we have adduced are replied to, or evaded by our anti-episcopal brethren. He will now be prepared to ask, what authorities do they appeal to, as of sufficient weight to counterbalance such a host of witnesses? How can they, without self-condemnation, lift up their voices against the concurrent voice of all antiquity? or how pretend to understand and explain the constitution of the ancient Church of Christ more cor-

¹ For quotations from the Apostolic Canons, as well as from the decrees of various councils, respecting clerical subordination, and the several descriptions of Church officers, see note (J) at the end of the volume.

rectly than the ancients themselves? The expedients which at different times have been resorted to for eluding our deductions from Scripture and from antiquity, are numerous and often plausible, but will not bear the test of careful investigation. We propose examining in succession a few of the most specious and popular.

1. The first of these fallacies to be mentioned respects accidental omissions by the Fathers in their enumeration of Church offices. Whenever any Father has occasion in his writings to name two only among the three offices, an inference is confidently and absurdly made that the office which he omits must be the Episcopal; that Presbyters and Deacons must alone have existed in his time; and that Bishops, consequently, must be an invention of later ages. And this confident inference is not supposed to be at all invalidated by the fact, that the very same Father, (in other passages of the very work which they appeal to,) alludes distinctly to the existence of three orders, and regards Episcopacy in particular as an Apostolical institution. These reasoners appear to value more highly what a writer has not written than what he has written. They place more reliance upon the silence, than upon the speech of a witness. They supply all deficiencies from the stores of their own ingenuity, and attach more importance to his omissions in some one instance than to his direct assertion in many others.

Thus the Bishop of Rome, St. Clement, styled by the Romanists Pope Clement the first, mentions (in his epistle to the Corinthians, already largely quoted from,) that the Apostles, after preaching through various countries, ordained Bishops and Deacons out of the best qualified of their disciples: and he refers to the following prophecy of Isaiah as a warrant for these ordinations—"I will appoint their overseers," (bishops) "in righteousness, and their ministers" (deacons) "in faith." From this quotation, it has been fallaciously argued, that St. Clement considered Presbyters and Deacons as one and the same order: that this Bishop of Rome had no knowledge of Bishops properly so called: and that all ministerial functions, in his time, were divided between Presbyters and Deacons. Such is the argument from the silence of this holy Father. But let us place beside it the

really more important argument from his actual declarations. We have already seen the same venerable writer alluding plainly to the existence of three orders; asserting the pre-eminence of Bishops, and inculcating subordination upon Presbyters. He draws a clear distinction between the chief rulers (*ἡγούμενοι*, or *præpositi*) and the Presbyters; he admonishes the people to venerate the former, and to show due reverence for the latter¹. He draws his reason for confining the inferior Christian ministers to their subordinate functions, from the circumstance that three distinct orders of Church officers existed under the Jewish economy; each order restricted to its own peculiar duties. He exhorts the Corinthians, every one of them to bless God in his proper station, not *exceeding his appointed rule of service*: and he insists that greater care to avoid schism and disorder was required in the Christian Church than in the Jewish, conformably to the equitable maxim, "The greater our knowledge, the more fearful our responsibility."

That St. Clement should not always give a full enumeration of ecclesiastical dignities, when his subject leads him to mention two of them, is not extraordinary; and affords no proof that he recognised two only. We ourselves, in the prayer for the clergy, mention only "Bishops and Curates:" without meaning to deny that a third order is established in the Church, or intending to confound the two orders of Presbyters and Deacons, for each of which we have distinct duties and distinct forms of ordination. As another instance of similar omission, we may refer to the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. In that single chapter there is mention, no less than five times, of "Apostles and Elders," or of "Apostles, Elders, and Brethren" in the Church of Jerusalem, without the slightest notice of Deacons, though Deacons certainly had been before appointed in that Church².

St. Augustin, in like manner, when he conceives the sixteenth verse of the forty-fifth Psalm to be a prophecy concerning the divine appointment of Christian ministers, follows the very method of St. Clement, when the latter, as we have seen, made a similar prophetic application from

¹ See note at the commencement of Chap. II.

² Acts vi.

Isaiah. The prophet, in his text, had only specified two classes of persons: the Psalmist only notices one. One class only therefore, in the latter instance, and two only in the former, could, without interpolation, have been inferred. Neither Clement, however, nor Augustin could be expected to interpolate the Old Testament; with a view of obviating the kind of inference from their silence, which, according to the fallacy we are now exposing, might be deduced. The words of St. Augustin are, "What is the meaning of the declaration, Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children? The Apostles," he continues, "are the fathers. Instead of them, sons are born unto thee: namely, those that are called Bishops." How absurd would be a conclusion from this passage, that St. Augustin acknowledged only one class of ministers to be divinely constituted in the Church—namely, the Episcopal.

But an omission still more apposite to our purpose is made even by St. Clement himself, in the thirty-second chapter of the very Epistle now in question. He speaks of Priests and Levites as the ministers of God's altar, under the Jewish dispensation; but on the subject of the High Priest he is utterly silent—a silence quite as extraordinary and as effectual to prove the non-existence of the High Priesthood; as the silence of the same author in the corresponding passage, (so obtrusively insisted on,) is effectual to prove the non-existence of the Episcopate¹.

But let us see how such a mode of arguing would startle any conscientious reasoner on other subjects of still more serious import. Suppose that any adversary to the doctrine of the Trinity were allowed the same privilege of

¹ It appears a needless concession to allow that St. Clement, when he speaks of "Overseers and Ministers," actually omits the Episcopal order: since perhaps the order really as well as nominally omitted is that of Presbyters. We have only to assert (and our assertion is as good as that of our opponents) that Presbyters are here included under the general name of Ministers, if the word *minister* be taken in the popular and indefinite acceptation, which then, as now, would occasionally prevail. But, after all, may not St. Clement here refer to the period previous to the nomination of Bishops, when Presbyters and Deacons were the only Church officers whom the Apostles had appointed? It may be added that the Apostles retained for a longer period the government of the Churches in Western than in Eastern Christendom.

drawing inferences from omissions: he would quote passages to be found in Scripture where the Father and the Son alone are spoken of, and deny the personality of the Holy Ghost¹. Or again, from other texts which make exclusive mention of the Father and of the Holy Ghost, he would draw conclusions adverse to the divinity of the Son.

But perhaps the most distinct illustration of the absurdity in question may be collected from secular affairs, and from daily circumstances in ordinary life. For instance, let us imagine that any early writer of English history should mention two branches only of our Legislature, the Lords and Commons, would any rational commentator feel entitled to conclude that no third branch existed? that there was then no King in England? and that the royal dignity was an institution of later times? Or suppose the same historian, in another page of his history, to mention the King and Lords: would an inference be warranted that no House of Commons then existed, and that the people did not, till afterwards, enjoy a share of political power? more especially if the very same writer, in other parts of his work, should represent King, Lords, and Commons as all of them essential parts of the English constitution²?

2. Another practice very frequent with anti-episcopalian writers is to put a modern construction upon words and phrases, and to insist that the Fathers of the Church must have used them in the same acceptation with ourselves. Thus, because the Greek term *parœchia* (*παροικία*), from which our English word *parish* is derived, was used commonly in the three first centuries, as synonymous with diocese (*διοίκησις*), to express the territorial limits of a Bishop's jurisdiction, it has been argued that a Bishop, in those times, held only one Church; presided only in a single congregation; and was in fact no higher than a parish priest. No conclusion could be more precipitate nor more unfounded. The word *πάροικοι*, or parishioners, together with various others from the same root, is applied in Scripture to persons

¹ Col. ii. 2.

² Should the reader desire further information on this passage from St. Clement, he will find the subject discussed at large by Bishop Beveridge, in the chapter of his work on the Apostolic Canons, entitled "De Episcopis."

not living in the same neighbourhood, nor belonging to the same parish church; but coming from a distance, (Luke xxiv. 18,) or dwelling as strangers and foreigners in a country. (Eph. ii. 19.) The word *parœchia*, among ancient writers, is constantly employed interchangeably with the word *diocese* to signify many parishes in the modern sense: it often means not only many parishes but large cities, whole provinces, or even an entire kingdom. St. Jerome speaks of all Jerusalem as one *parœchia*¹. St. Augustin mentions two towns with the surrounding districts, forty miles asunder, as belonging to the same *parœchia*². Also the venerable Bede, at a still later period, describes the whole kingdom or province of the South Saxons, as included in the *parœchia* of Winchester³.

The number of souls under the same Episcopal jurisdiction must, in many instances, have been as large in ancient times as at the present day. While James, the kinsman of our Lord, was Bishop of Jerusalem, the Jewish converts alone in that populous city, are estimated in the book of Acts, as amounting to many myriads, or tens of thousands⁴. The Bishoprics of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, equalled in population the largest capitals in modern Europe. That of Rome exceeded a million⁵. And in the days of Tertullian, (A.D. 200,) so large a proportion of this vast number were Christians, that with some rhetorical exaggeration he affirms: "Though we are of yesterday, yet every place is filled with us; your cities, islands, forts, corporations, councils; your very armies, tribes, and companies; nay, the palace, the senate, the forum: we have left you nothing

¹ Vide Hieron. Oper. vol. ii. tom. iii. fol. 71.

² August. Oper. tom. ii. pp. 325 et 261.

³ Provincia Australium Saxonum ad civitatis Ventanæ parœchiam pertinebat.—Bede, Eccles. Hist. lib. v. cap. 19.

⁴ Thou seest, brother, how many thousands (in Greek *μυριάδες* or myriads) of Jews there are which believe.—Acts xxi. 20.

⁵ Hume the historian, in his Essay on the populousness of ancient nations, calculates (p. 415) that Alexandria might be a "city nearly of the same bulk as Paris," and that Rome might be about the size of London. He quotes Herodian affirming that Antioch was nearly of the same dimensions. Gibbon makes a similar calculation. He estimates the population of Rome in the days of Theodosius at 1,200,000.—See Decline and Fall, chap. xxxi. p. 289.

but your temples. Should such a multitude as we are separate ourselves from you, you would certainly stand amazed at your deserted situation: at the desolate stillness around you; at, as it were, the stupor of a world in death¹." In a later age (A. D. 386) Theodoret, whom we have before referred to as Bishop of the obscure diocese of Cyrrus, near the borders of the Euphrates, mentions eight hundred churches, as included under his parochial (or episcopal) jurisdiction². So that the boasted anti-episcopalian argument from the word *parœchia*, amounts to no more than what might be derived from a corresponding abuse of the word *diocese*. Let the word diocese in future times come to signify the small district connected with a single church, so as to bear the same sense among posterity with our present word parish; the theologians of futurity would, by this absurd mode of reasoning, be warranted in concluding that the present Diocesans of England were no other than parochial ministers, presiding over single congregations; that all London for example, together with the counties of Essex and Middlesex, formed but one parish; that the people of London, added to the population of those extensive districts, were fellow parishioners (*πάροικοι*), and that the Bishop of London was nothing higher than a parish priest: though proofs from history could abundantly be produced, that the Bishop in question, (like his brethren in other dioceses,) had numerous presbyters and churches under him, over whom he exercised a superintending or episcopal jurisdiction.

3. Another expedient of our dissenting brethren has been too frequently passed over by the members of our Church, although its fallacy is by no means difficult of detection³. They date the testimony of every Father only from the period of his death; and not from the time when he first arrived at the use of reason, and became capable of reflection or of observation. To this unfair mode of calculating, they add the unreasonable practice of restricting

¹ Tertull. Apol. p. 33. cap. 37.

² Theod. Ep. 113. ad Leon. Blondel mentions Cyrrus as among the largest dioceses of the East.—Blond. Apol. p. 185.

³ This point is not overlooked by Bishop Russell in his learned and able sermon on Episcopacy, p. 38. London, 1830.

our authorities from antiquity to the writers of the first two centuries; while for *themselves* they assume a longer and later period of chronological reference¹. It is probable that the groundlessness and arbitrariness of both these restrictions have escaped the notice of the writers who made them: yet they are not, on that account, less groundless or less arbitrary. Why should the evidence of Ignatius, for example, be dated from the day of his martyrdom, (A.D. 110 or 116,) and not at latest from his ordination by the hands of the Apostles? Surely when he had a competency of Christian knowledge fitting him to be ordained, he was also competent to understand the constitution of the Church, and to know whether that constitution was Independent, Presbyterian, or Episcopal. So also with Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Cyprian—these historical witnesses were as capable of giving evidence on this question at the age of twenty, as of a hundred.

Again—why restrict us in our quotations to writers of the Apostolic age? or to writers of a generation or two after the Apostles? Why exclude authorities from a third or fourth century? Why close our ears against Eusebius, Athanasius, Augustin, Ambrose, or Theodoret? If, indeed, the testimony of these learned and holy men went no further than to state, that Episcopacy in their times did exist; we might not unfairly have been warned against their testimony as irrelevant or unimportant: but when we hear them bearing witness not merely to the actual existence, but to the Apostolical institution of the Episcopal order, is no attention due to their evidence? no weight or value to be attached to their testimony²? Can we suppose it possible that such men should deceive us, or be deceived themselves?—men who lived so very near the Apostolic age, and in the very districts where churches, planted by the Apostles, had continued uninterruptedly to flourish—men who had the records and registers of their respective churches before their eyes; and who enjoyed the privilege of consulting those numerous and valuable works of more

¹ St. Jerome, the supposed champion of anti-episcopalian principles, was born about the middle of the fourth century.

² I have no where found this distinction insisted on: if, indeed, it has before been noticed.

ancient authors, which (to the unutterable loss of the Christian world) were allowed to perish in the dark ages—men who, as we have seen, studied with so much diligence, erudition, and acuteness, all questions connected, even remotely, with the constitution, doctrine, and discipline of the Church: at a period too, when historical inquiries on those subjects were not as now, so voluminous, nor of such difficulty and intricacy as to perplex the judgment and overwhelm the memory; and when the whole range of ecclesiastical history, now embracing eighteen centuries, was comprised in three or four hundred years? We may add, finally, that these were men (and this is not their least recommendation to our confidence) whose pure and virtuous practice was conformable to the purity of their principles; and who, many of them, suffered exile, deprivation, and persecution, even to martyrdom, in the cause of truth.

The deceitfulness of this evasion, by which the anti-episcopal advocate would contract the circle of our authorities from antiquity, may be best exemplified, (like the preceding fallacy,) by familiar illustration. Suppose a question hereafter to arise, at some remote period, and in some distant country, perhaps Australia, two thousand years hence, what was the form of Church Polity established in the kingdom of England at the Reformation? Suppose one party to affirm that it was independent or congregational; another that it was Presbyterian; and a third that it was Episcopalian¹. Suppose, thirdly, that all passages then remaining extant in the works of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; of Jewell, Parker, and Whitgift; of Beveridge, Tillotson, and Taylor, or of any other intermediate writers who might continue to be read and known and quoted at that distance of time, and in that remote situation (however clearly and satisfactorily such quotations might establish Episcopalian church government) did not satisfy the ad-

¹ The supposition in the text will not appear extravagant to any reader who recollects the fact that dissenting writers, even in our own country, and not long after the period in question, have resolutely maintained a Presbyterian church government to have been established in England during the reign of Edward the Sixth.—See Bishop Maddox's Refutation of that hypothesis, contained in note (K) at the end of the volume.

verse parties; but were partially evaded or ingeniously twisted from their proper meaning: would it be incongruous or inadmissible for the supposed Australian supporter of Episcopacy to adduce later additional authorities from writings of our present times? Might he not with great propriety select even out of this our day, (out of this beginning of a fourth century from that great reforming æra,) a host of unimpeachable witnesses? a body of Bishops, stating that they had themselves succeeded to the sees of the first Reformers; producing lists of prelates from Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, down to the date of their own consecration; and affirming that no change whatever had, on this point, occurred in the constitution of the Church? Would the objection be considered fair or warrantable, that a Bishop, in the third or fourth century after the reformation, was liable to be mistaken; that he could only testify to the existence of Episcopacy in these his own days; and that earlier authorities could alone be permitted to give testimony? If the assertors of so absurd a law of evidence would, in the case supposed, be silenced at once and put utterly to shame; let us hope, in the name of common sense and candour, never more to hear insinuations that Athanasius or Augustin, Ambrose, Optatus, or even later writers, are incompetent to attest the Apostolical institution of the Episcopal order.

4. Another method by which it is very plausibly attempted to invalidate the authorities for Episcopacy is, to exaggerate the prerogatives laid claim to by the Episcopal order, and to allege that no church officer on Episcopalian principles is entitled to the name of Bishop, who does not appropriate to himself the whole government of the Church; who does not exercise exclusively the power of granting ordination, and of enforcing discipline; or who does not shut out his Presbyters from every share of authority. This expedient is attended with a twofold advantage. Not only does it afford opportunity for declaiming on the danger of prelatical oppression, prelatical cruelty, and prelatical tyranny; but this expedient also opens a wide door for introducing many arguments from antiquity, which otherwise must be at once abandoned as untenable. The latter circumstance gives some importance to this ingenious mode of

stating the question. For, if all power, according to the Episcopalian system, were necessarily confined to the Bishop; if no ecclesiastical functionary, (however high the prerogatives ascribed to him by ancient writers,) could properly be styled a Bishop in our sense, unless he governed his diocese absolutely and independently, and without advice or assistance of any kind from his Presbyters: there would be the greatest difficulty in proving that any Bishop, according to the acceptation attributed to us, ever had existence. It would follow that every passage in any Father of the Church which attributed a share of power, (however trifling or subordinate,) to the Presbyters, or which mentioned Presbyters as counsellors to the Bishop, would seem adverse to the Episcopalian cause. It would follow that no passage could be quoted in support of that cause, (however clearly the words of it described the Bishop as superior to his Presbyters,) unless it also spoke of him as a self-directed, self-counselled and autocratic ruler.

The difficulty which would beset our argument, should we admit this clever misrepresentation, will become more apparent, if in illustration of it, we adduce, as before, a similar fallacy from ordinary circumstances in secular affairs and in modern life. Let some disputatious person contending against monarchy in England as a modern invention, be allowed to assume for his premises that on the supposition of a British King, as defined by royalists, he must be shown to exercise a power exclusive of every other order in the State: that if he can be proved from history to have an established council, consisting of his nobility, or his commons, associated with him in any department of the State, he ceases to be a King: and that no passages in the records of the constitution will prove his royal dignity, unless they invest him at the same time with despotic and all-absorbing sway.—These premises granted, it must be obvious that the proof of the existence of monarchy would be encumbered by needless and almost insurmountable embarrassments. On these terms it would avail us nothing to demonstrate, from a thousand documents, that nobles, so far from being literally peers (*pares* or *joint monarchs*, if we may be permitted a strange expression to denote a preposterous idea) of the English realm, were from the beginning

created by the reigning monarch himself, and without him could have no existence. It would be equally in vain for us to plead, that (in addition to creation of peers,) the sovereign performed all other acts, whether legislative or executive, which, both in common speech and in legal acceptance, comprise the regal office. It would be to no purpose, even if we enumerated from history the titles, honours, and emoluments, which this great person enjoyed, or the homage which he customarily received.

The reader may have anticipated that such a kind of statement, with a view to subvert the evidence for Episcopacy, would be equally unfounded. No intelligent Episcopalian claims for Bishops more than the superiority of their order, and a pre-eminent though not exclusive jurisdiction. No intelligent Episcopalian maintains that for a council of Presbyters to give advice in the administration of Church affairs, to examine candidates for ordination, and even to lay hands upon them in conjunction with the Bishop, are acts and privileges in any wise inconsistent with presbyterian subordination. On the contrary, every well informed Episcopalian is ready to admit, that Presbyters, from the very first, were admitted to these privileges. He is perfectly aware that Ignatius himself speaks of Presbyters "as counsellors and assistants to the Bishop¹," that even Cyprian describes the Presbyters at Carthage as "sitting with himself in council²:" and that neither Hooker, Bilson, Fields, Chillingworth, Stillingfleet, Thorndike, Hall, Barrow, Sherlock, nor any the most zealous defender of Episcopacy who has obtained celebrity, ever pleaded for a sole and exclusive jurisdiction. They contend for nothing more than that Bishops possess the highest rank, and exercise superior authority; and that Presbyters, without a Bishop, have not the right of conferring ordination. No advantage, therefore, is gained against us by the advocates of other forms of Church polity, when they adduce quotations from the Fathers ascribing some share of power to Presbyters, or representing Presbyters as counsellors to the Bishop: unless those quotations reduce the Bishop to a level with his Pres-

¹ Epist. ad Trall.

² Ego et compresbyteri nostri qui nobis adsidebant.—Cyp. Ep. 27.

byters; invest him with no higher office than that of a powerless moderator, or chairman in a Presbyterian synod; and give explicit sanction to non-episcopal ordination. No such quotations can be found.

5. But our dissenting fellow Protestants have another favourite topic, which savours more of declamation than of argument. The fearful cry of "No Popery" is raised against us. The people are instructed to believe, by the constant working of alliteration on their ears, and of repetition upon their minds, that popery and prelacy are one and the same thing: Bishops are represented as a kind of emissaries and precursors of the Roman Pontiff; and Episcopal jurisdiction, as a kind of fringe from the scarlet robe, that bedecked the mother of abominations¹.

To these flourishes of dissenting rhetoric, we may quietly reply, that nothing would more delight a Romanist, than to find this charge substantiated. He would feel that in his contest with his Protestant antagonist he had the vantage ground at once conceded. For if Episcopacy be a part of Romanism, inseparably connected with the rest of that system; and if, as dissenters themselves admit, Episcopacy was established about the year 140, then Romanism is proved far more ancient than Protestants can safely, or rationally allow. Instead of tracing Romanism at the furthest, as we do, to the fourth and fifth centuries, we must date it back to the middle of the second; to the very times which we account the best and purest ages of the Church. This indeed would be a papal triumph!

But popery and prelacy, (to repeat the favourite alliteration of our dissenting brethren,) so far from being necessarily connected with one another, are diametrically opposed².

¹ The same expedient was formerly employed to bring Presbytery into disrepute.—See Mr. John Spittlehouse's "Emblem of Antichrist in his threefold hierarchies of Papacy, Prelacy, and Presbyterie." Also another work, entitled "Rome Ruinated by Whitehall, or the Papal Crown Demolished; containing 'a confutation of the three degrees of Popery; namely, Papacy, Prelacy, and Presbyterie.'"

² The inveterate and senseless manner in which Popery has been imputed to the Church of England and her best Divines, has excited the indignant astonishment of the most zealous Protestants abroad. The great French Calvinist, M. Daillé, referring in one of his works to the cry of Popery raised against Bishop Cosin, observes with

Where prelacy exists, popery is not; where popery begins to flourish; prelacy must decline. No sooner was the supremacy of the Pope acknowledged than encroachments were made on Episcopal jurisdiction. Various districts and entire corporations of ecclesiastics were withdrawn from diocesan control. More power was given, in many instances, to mere Priests and Deacons, (under the name of Cardinals and Legates,) than to any Bishop but the Roman Pontiff. Inferior church officers, invested with uncanonical authority, were frequently empowered to suspend, and even to deprive their superiors. The Pope, it was affirmed, might grant commissions authorizing the lower ranks of the clergy to confer on others the order or degree held by themselves: so that a Priest was licensed to ordain Priests, and a Deacon to ordain Deacons; on which commissions we may make this passing remark, that they form the earliest and only precedent, before the days of protestantism, for presbyterian or diaconal ordination. In short, those unscrupulous supporters of the Papacy, the schoolmen and canonists of the middle ages, have, for opposite reasons, endeavoured, with unwearied perseverance, to exalt the Presbyter and to depreciate the Bishop. Of these two parties (whom we may denominate the anti-episcopalians of the Church of Rome) the former, that of the schoolmen, with a view of magnifying transubstantiation, extolled to such a height the priestly office by which that great performance was achieved; while the other party the Canonists (with the design of raising the Pope's authority,) depressed so low the Episcopal office, by which his power was chiefly

great warmth: "Those men are brutes, and real fanatics (*bestiæ sunt et quidem fanatici*) who suspect him of Popery, than whom you will scarce find any man less papally inclined."—(See Barbon on Liturgies, p. 170.) We may add that Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, was author of the ablest work ever written against transubstantiation.

Archbishop Whitgift, describes very pointedly the beneficial effects to Popery from the schismatic spirit prevailing in England, under pretence of defective reformation. "I know," says he, "that those sects and heresies gave strength unto Anti-Christ, and at length were one special means of placing him on his throne; even as also I am persuaded, that at this day he worketh as effectually by your stirs and contentions, whereby he hath, and will more prevail against the Church of England, than by any other means whatsoever."—Ibid. p. 159.

limited; that the two offices, although originally differing in rank, made a close approximation to equality. Hence the Papal faction in that celebrated Popish assembly, the council of Trent, regarded Episcopacy with considerable jealousy; and considered its establishment on the ground of apostolical institution or divine right, as among the heaviest blows that could be given to the pretensions of the Roman see¹.

¹ Bishop Saunderson on this subject has these words: "It is very well known to many, what rejoicing that vote of the Long Parliament for pulling down Episcopacy, brought to the Romish party: and how, even in Rome itself, they sang their *Io pæans* upon the tidings thereof, and said triumphantly: *Now the day is ours; now is the fatal blow given to the Protestant religion in England.*"—Preface to Bishop Saunderson's 14 Sermons, sect. 18.

"Besides," says "Joseph Mede, "it is to be taken notice of (because of the prejudicate misprision of many to the contrary) that the measure of truth and falsehood, best and worst, is not the greater or lesser distance from Popery, (forasmuch as Popery also containeth much of Christianity,) nor that which is most destructive of the man of sin, always most warrantable and safe to be embraced. If it were, there be some in the world (whose religion we should be loath to admit of) that would be found more orthodox and better informed Christians than any of us all."—See Works of Joseph Mede, folio. See also Brett on Church Government, and Leslie on the Qualifications for Administering the Sacraments.

Having proved in the text that Episcopacy forms no part of Romish tradition, I may here reply to the very common, but very frivolous allegation, that the Apostolical commission, though it was continued for a time in the line of Bishops, has been rendered invalid, in the course of its transmission to the clergy of our Church, by the corrupt doctrine and vicious practices of the Papal hierarchy.

To this objection we may answer, that a commission is not rendered invalid by the corruption of the commissioner, but by the withdrawal of it on the part of the granter. As regards a divine commission, no merely human agent is in the sight of God perfectly uncorrupt; and it is for God, and not for man, to decide how much corruption he shall tolerate in his officers without cancelling their appointment. The parties over whom they have been placed, are not entitled to disown them on the ground of alleged corruption, unless they can produce some public and authentic act of God, divesting them of their sacred character. This plain rule of common sense was established and applied by our Lord in the case of the Jewish priesthood. They had corrupted Judaism exactly as the Romish clergy have corrupted Christianity, by "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men," and "making the law of God of none effect by their traditions." Yet of these very priests our Saviour declared that they "sat in Moses' seat;"

6. Perhaps, however, the most popular and certainly the least argumentative of the means used to invalidate Episcopacy, is a practice frequent among an inferior class of writers; namely, to enlist under the anti-episcopalian banner, the envy, the covetousness, and baser passions of mankind, by enlarging upon the exorbitant wealth of the Episcopal order; and by contrasting the poverty, the plainness, the humility of an Apostle or of a Bishop, in the first and second centuries, with the lordly grandeur of their successors in the present day, "who are guilty of being nobles of the realm, who have a voice in the legislature, who live in palaces, who sit upon thrones, and whose income is the revenue of provinces:" and from this change of external circumstances it is pretended that the latter can make no pretensions to have inherited the office and prerogatives of the former¹. This topic is well adapted to popular

and though he warned his disciples not to "do after their works," he thus explicitly acknowledged their authority as rulers of the Church, "All things whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do." Their commission remained in force till God publicly recalled it by casting off the Church of Israel, and establishing a new Church with a new succession of ministers, deriving their commission not by natural generation from the tribe of Levi, but by spiritual descent from the Apostles.

Again, if the apostolical commission, through the corruption of those who held it, became invalid in the Church of Rome, where was it preserved inviolate? Among the Waldenses in the West, or among the Greeks in the East? If so,—if either of these Churches has alone retained a true succession, we must send our candidates for the ministry to Piedmont or Constantinople for ordination. If not,—if an apostolic ministry is no where to be found, then must the Church of Christ have come utterly to an end,—exactly as the Jewish Church would have ceased to exist, if the whole tribe of Levi had died out, and no person had remained duly qualified to minister before the Lord.

I may add, that the objection under consideration, if well founded, would be no less fatal to Presbyterianism than to Episcopacy. The corruptions of Popery are quite as incompatible with a Presbyterian as with an Episcopal succession; and we thus find, what I before stated, that there is no intermediate position between Episcopacy and the all denomination scheme, which would turn ordination into a mere form, and reduce the sacraments to mere weak and beggarly elements.

¹ This argument, if argument we ought to call it, is of very ancient date. Barbon in his work before quoted, printed 1663, refers to a contemporary writer, who makes the following eloquent tirade:—

declamation, and obtains over weak and superficial minds a greater influence than more substantial objections. But the whole statement is irrelevant to the present question, and unworthy of a fair or candid disputant. For the question to be determined is, whether Presbyters possess by apostolical appointment an exclusive and independent power of conferring ordination, and of exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction; or whether those powers do not belong principally and essentially to a superior order of church officers: and the answer proposed to be returned is, that those superior church officers are now endowed with large incomes, and lordly titles; and that on this account Presbyters have acquired the right, exclusively and independently, of governing and ordaining. A greater solecism in argument never was committed. Imagine some Jewish Priest, in the days of David or of Solomon, to have pretended that the High Priests of those times, (when the monarchy of Israel was in all its glory,) were incomparably richer and greater persons than the primitive High Priests in days of purity, while the ten tribes were wandering in the desert, or were maintaining a hard conflict with the Canaanites for the possession of the Holy Land; imagine this Levitical objector to affirm that he could not recognize the humility, the simplicity, the poverty of Aaron or of Eleazar, in the magnificent Abiathar or the lordly Zadoc, and, therefore, that he himself, though an inferior minister, was entitled to assume the functions of his superior, and might enter without scruple into the most holy place with the blood of the appointed victim on the day of expiation:—is it likely such a claim would have been tolerated? Would not the most ignorant of the people have perceived at once that the mere accidental circumstance of greater wealth or splendour in the officer, made no difference in the essential character of the office? that the High Priest, was High Priest, whether in penury or in grandeur; in a hovel, or in

“ Bishops, in former times, did not call themselves lords, they were not ordained by Archbishops; they had no stately palaces, they had no such officers under them as Deans; they held no country courts; they did not wear scarlet gowns, mitres, and lawn sleeves,” &c. To each of these grave charges Barbon gives a specific reply—pp. 177—188.

a palace; and that the intrusion of inferior Priests into the office of their superior was equally unwarranted, whatever might be his temporal condition, while his spiritual rights remained the same?

Or to suppose another case more familiar to many readers: let a controversy be raised on the subject of royal power: would the circumstance be regarded for one moment as a valid objection against royalty, that the King of England, in the present day, is beyond comparison a richer and more potent prince than the Alfreds, the Henries, or the Edwards of former times? that his revenues are increased a hundred-fold beyond the revenues of those princes whom he claims to represent; that innumerable islands, provinces and kingdoms, are now subject to his sway; that his very viceroys live in greater splendour than the proudest of his predecessors; that the sun never sets on his dominions; and that therefore, though his ancestors were lawful princes, he himself is an usurper, and his title a mere delusion? Would not the meanest understanding perceive the obvious distinction between the real nature of sovereignty and its accidental properties; and confess that ancient and present royalty are the same in substance, whatever outward dissimilarities may be traced between them?

Or again, to choose another instance which may come home to every impartial Christian: let some infidel allege that the Church of Christ in the present day is not the same Church as in former times: let him argue that a small company of one hundred and twenty obscure persons assembled in "an upper room" at Jerusalem, is a wholly different thing from a society, great, learned, powerful and innumerable, reckoning among its members kings and nobles, statesmen and philosophers, and founding throughout every quarter of the globe churches and missions, and colleges to promote its principles? Could the fallacy of such an argument remain concealed from any man acquainted with the Christian religion?

But if our dissenting brethren, refusing to allow a prelate of this country to be a genuine successor of the Apostles, are prevented only by the wealth and honours with which he is endowed, they must consistently admit a poor, untitled, and unendowed Episcopacy to be truly apostolical.

They must of course allow that Bishops, entirely destitute of temporal aggrandizement, are not unworthy representatives of St. Peter and St. Paul: they must hold such Bishops to be Bishops by divine right, and to possess indefeasibly a spiritual pre-eminence. Now the rulers of the Episcopal Churches in Scotland and in America are exactly Bishops of this kind. They are not peers of the realm; they have no voice in Parliament or Congress; they do not live in palaces; they do not sit on thrones; their incomes are not the revenues of whole provinces; in short, the disqualifying circumstances of rank and fortune are in their case entirely wanting: their poverty and humility of condition are completely Apostolical. Do our dissenting brethren then acknowledge the pretensions of these unennobled pastors? Do they concede that Episcopacy in Scotland and America, though not in England, is by divine right? Do they permit the honours of Episcopacy to a Bishop at Eugubium and refuse them to one at Rome¹? Do they grant the same submission to be rightfully claimed by the Bishop unendowed and unrecognized by the state, which they refuse to the Prelate or Metropolitan? Far from it: their hostility is directed absolutely and altogether against the order under any circumstances whatsoever. They no more recognize the spiritual claims of the poorest Bishop in the north, than of the wealthiest Primate in the south. They equally deny obedience to be due from Presbyters to the simple Doctor as to the mitred noble. Consequently the mere circumstance of Episcopal wealth and power is not the true reason why they cannot see in the Prelates of this country the representatives of the Apostles.

It may here be interesting to remark, that the endowments attached to Churches, and the distinctions bestowed on Church officers, are much more ancient than is generally supposed. The settlement of lands and houses upon ecclesiastical bodies is commonly regarded as of later date than even the political establishment of Christianity in the reign of Constantine: and the Apostolic poverty and purity of the Church, antecedent to that late period, has often been the theme of dissenting panegyric. Yet at the very beginning

¹ Hieron. Epist. ad Evag.

of the third century, we find from public records that landed property, even within the limits of Rome itself, was attached to certain Christian Churches. Before the close of that century not only the Church of Rome, but also those of Milan, Carthage, Antioch, and Alexandria, are described to have been opulently endowed¹. A decree was passed by Constantine in the early part of his career, and while he only shared (with Licinius) the imperial dignity, (A.D. 303.) that the gardens, lands, and other possessions, which had previously belonged to the Church, and which had been confiscated in time of persecution, should be restored. And St. Chrysostom, raised to the Patriarchal see of Constantinople, reproachfully contrasts the poverty of that Church, in his time, with its wealth and prosperous state in preceding ages².

¹ See Gibbon, Decline and Fall.

² The Fathers of the primitive Church, long before St. Chrysostom, are urgent and authoritative in their demands of liberal support from Christian people to their Pastors. Those economists who retain their attachment to religion and Christian institutions, yet conceive the Church to hold, in modern times, more than a fair proportion of the national wealth, will read with surprise the following remarks of Origen. Commenting on the 18th chapter of Numbers, where the Jews are required to offer to God their first fruits, for the use and by the mediation of the Priests, Origen has these words: "No man can lawfully use the fruits of the earth, or of the cattle, till he has offered the first fruits of them all to God, that is, to the Priests. This law, I think, ought now to be observed according to the letter." Afterwards he proceeds thus: "Our Lord said in the Gospel, 'Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, who tithe mint, cummin, and anise, and pass by the weightier matters of the law: ye hypocrites, these ought to have been done, and not to leave the other undone.' Observe diligently, how our Lord prescribes the doing of the weightier things of the law, and also will not allow the literal performance of the other things here mentioned, to be omitted. But if you say, that he spoke this to the Pharisees, and not to his disciples, hear again what he says to his disciples: 'Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.' What therefore he prescribes to be done by the Pharisees, he would have fulfilled by his own disciples *much more abundantly*. How then does my righteousness exceed theirs, if they dare not taste the fruits of the earth, till they have offered the first fruits of them to the Priests, and the tithes to the Levites; and I, doing neither of these, apply the first fruits of the earth to my own use, without acquainting Priest, or Levite, or imparting any share of them to the Altar?" Hence he concludes, "That the precept concerning first fruits stands in force according to the letter."—Homil. xi. in Num.

The appropriation also of peculiar titles to the highest order of Church officers is of very remote antiquity. Without inquiring into the necessity, or even vindicating the propriety, of all the titles actually bestowed (some of which, as being of an oriental and Asiatic character, have been in later times exchanged for the more simple diction of European nations,) it is remarkable how very soon expressions of profound respect, not only for the governors of the Church, but for every circumstance connected with them, were adopted into general usage. The practice so unpopular with dissenters of calling the Bishop's seat in his cathedral a *throne* is of primitive origin. The chair of the Bishop of Jerusalem is stated to have been called his Apostolic throne, because St. James, the kinsman of our Lord, was its first occupant. The seat of the Bishop of Alexandria was, on the same principle, styled the throne of St. Mark, because that Evangelist was the first Bishop of the see. An ornament on the head (*petalum*) corresponding perhaps to the mitre, though now disused by our Church, is mentioned by writers in the fourth century to have been worn by Bishops of preceding ages. And in the second and third centuries, Bishops themselves not only were addressed in forms of respectful salutation, but were dignified with higher titles than the greatest metropolitan in the present day would feel warranted in receiving. They are styled "Heads and princes of the people," (*apices et principes omnium*,) princes of the Clergy, (*principes sacerdotum*,) Chief Priests, (*summi sacerdotes*,) supreme Pontiffs, (*pontifices maximi*,) Vicars of Christ, (*vice Christi*,) Popes, (*Papæ*,) blessed Popes, (*Papæ benedicti*,) and most glorious Popes, (*Papæ gloriosissimi*).¹ The very title most obnoxious to our dissenting brethren—that of lords (or *δεσπόται*) was the ordinary Episcopal appellation in the days of Athanasius and of Augustin².

¹ This last title is given by the Presbyters of Rome, to Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. The title of Pope or "Father" was not then confined to the Bishop of Rome. It was for a long time after the common designation of Bishops.

² Letters of that ancient date are still quoted: as for example, from the Bishops of the second general council to "the most honourable Lords Damasus, Ambrose," &c.: from my Lord Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, to my Lord Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre: and from the Synod

7. The only argument from antiquity, (perhaps the fairest argument which the anti-episcopalian advocate can produce,) is derived from the opinion of the heretic Aerius. This person was the first and only real opponent of Episcopacy in the ancient Church¹. He flourished about the middle of the fourth century. The occasion of his heresy was his envy of Eustathius, who though of equal age, and of the same qualifications, was preferred before him to the Bishopric of Sebastia, in Pontus, for which both were candidates. No concessions on the part of his successful rival, (who regretted the mortification which he had innocently caused,) could appease the resentment of Aerius. The latter proceeded to calumniate Eustathius : to designate the new prelate as proud, overbearing, and avaricious ; to withdraw himself from the communion of the Church ; and to publish a variety of heretical opinions, more especially, the opinion that he himself, though a Presbyter, was of equal honour and dignity with Eustathius, and that by the word of God no difference was recognized between Presbyters and their Bishop. No circumstance gives importance to the opinion of this obscure Presbyter, but that he is the only individual among all the ancients, who really gives support to the anti-episcopalian, or, as it has been called from him, the *Aerian* cause. But after all, on examination, that support seems extremely feeble and insignificant. He is, as already noticed, a very late authority, for he did not publish his novelties till about the middle of the fourth century : his mind was warped by motives of private interest and resentment : he quotes no preceding authority for his errors : besides that he neither claimed nor exercised the power of ordination, which is the principal and peculiar prerogative

of Jerusalem congratulating the Clergy of Egypt and of Lybia, on the restoration of their Lord Bishop Athanasius from exile. Calvin addresses his friend Cranmer by his usual titles—*Reverende domine*, Reverend Lord, &c. Similar letters may be consulted from Peter Martyr, from Gaultier, Beza, and Sadeel, in the name of the Church of Geneva. See Durel, Bingham, and Hicks, (p. 251.) on the Priesthood.

¹ Tertullian mentions certain heretics in his time, who disregarded Bishops, but who disregarded at the same time the essential doctrines of Christianity, and believed, with the Heathens, in a plurality of gods. The opinion of such sectaries is unworthy of attention.—Tertull. de præscrip. Heret. cap. 42.

of Episcopacy; his notions were condemned as strange and heretical by the universal Church, and speedily died away¹.

The use which has been made of this solitary testimony, conveys the insinuation that Aerius, a single Presbyter, was the only individual out of all antiquity who understood the Apostolical constitution of the Church.

8. Another plausible contrivance of the modern followers of Aerius, is their invention of a new character, a Prime Presbyter, whom they allege to have presided in the colleges of Presbyters, and whom they fancy to be alluded to in all passages of the Fathers that relate to the prerogatives of Bishops. This poetic personage, this creature of the dissenting imagination, was created by David Blondel, a very learned and ingenious Frenchman, employed by the assembly of divines at Westminster, to write a book in support of Presbyterianism, when they found themselves hard pressed by the advocates of Episcopacy. Their Gallican auxiliary, however, was less favourable to the views of the assembly than they expected. For though he wrote a heavy, closely printed quarto in Latin, full of curious research upon the whole, in favour of the Aerian cause, he repeatedly expressed his respect and even reverence for Episcopal principles, both in the preface and in the body of the work; and entered this solemn protest to the same effect at the conclusion: "By all that we have said in asserting the rights of the Presbyters, we do not intend to invalidate the ancient and apostolical constitution of Episcopal pre-eminence; but we believe that wheresoever it is established conformably to the ancient canons, it must be reverently preserved; and wheresoever by some heat of contention or otherwise, it has been put down, it ought to be reverently restored²." Blondel was persuaded to cancel

¹ An able and satisfactory reply to Aerius was published by his cotemporary Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, a friend of St. Jerome. We might have added Epiphanius, in our second chapter, to the number of authorities in favour of Episcopacy. The Cyprian Bishop is very severe on Aerius, and calls his notion "a perversion of mind out of the ordinary course of human nature." *Advers. Hæres.* lxxv. p. 906.

² The curious circumstances attending the omission of this protest, are explained in a letter by Dr. Peter du Moulin, Prebendary of Canterbury, published by Dr. Durel, and will be found in note (L) at the end of the volume.

this passage, and the figment of a Prime Presbyter, a thing never before heard of, has ever since been found of great advantage to the propagation of dissenting tenets. The shadowy and indefinite form of this ideal personage, enables the disseminators of schism to assign him whatever attributes, and whatever properties are most convenient to their purpose; and the more they find themselves pressed by the arguments of the defenders of Apostolic discipline within the Church, the more nearly do they mould the resemblance between a Prime Presbyter and a Bishop, till hardly any difference at last can be perceived between them. When the controversy begins, this Prime Presbyter is only an occasional moderator of the Presbytery; as the argument proceeds, he is made to hold the moderatorship for life; then the rights of jurisdiction and coercion are liberally assigned him; and at last the power of ordination cannot be exercised without him. Here then, we can only say, that we attach no value to mere words. If the dissenter will allow his moderator to be invested with Episcopal authority, we are entirely satisfied. "Let us then," to quote the words of Leslie, "have a moderator, like the Bishops, in the writings of the Fathers, namely, a moderator as a standing officer, during life, to whom all the Presbyters are to be obedient, as to Christ, that is to the moderator as representing the person of Christ; that nothing can be done without him: that he be understood as the principle of unity in his Church, so that they who unjustly break off from his communion are thereby in a schism: that he show his succession by regular ordination conveyed down from the Apostles; in short, that he have all that character and authority which we see to have been recognized in the Bishops in the very age of the Apostles, and all the succeeding ages of Christianity: and then call him moderator, superintendent, or bishop: for the contest is not about the name, but the thing¹."

¹ See Leslie's works, folio, vol. ii. p. 754; and for an analysis of Blondel's scheme, together with some observations on that of Salmasius, see note (M) at the end of the volume.

We may here revert to what was said respecting *omissions*, and observe, that if such omissions are adverse to the existence of a Bishop, they are no less adverse to the existence of a Prime Presbyter. We

9. We have already noticed that the only authority really anti-episcopalian which is mentioned in ancient writers, is Aerius. But we may now state that there is another presumed authority, that of the Presbyter St. Jerome, who is mistakenly represented as tracing the origin of Episcopal primacy to a more recent period than the Apostolic age. The circumstances which led this Father to use language capable of this misconstruction may be briefly stated. He was irritated at the presumption of certain Deacons, who happening to enjoy wealthier Church endowments than their ecclesiastical superiors or Presbyters, insisted on peculiar privileges incompatible with subordination; and showed their contempt of the presbyterian order, by refusing to be promoted into it. This irregularity so roused the spirit of St. Jerome, naturally irritable, that he not only took every means possible to raise his own presbyterian order above the diaconal, but used language which seemed to place it, at its original institution, on a level with the Episcopal and even the Apostolic dignity. We find him adverting to this topic in two passages of his works; namely, in his letter to Evagrius, and in a commentary on the first chapter of St. Paul's epistle to Titus. Having observed the titles Bishop and Presbyter to be used in Scripture interchangeably, and that even the Apostles style themselves Presbyters, he appears to imply that no distinction at first existed between these offices, but that Apostle, Bishop, and Presbyter, were only different names for one and the same officer¹. He thus proceeds: "Before the time came when divisions in religion by the instigation of the Devil began, and cries were raised among the people, 'I am of Paul: I am of Apollos: and I of Cephas; the Churches were governed by a joint council of Presbyters. But afterwards, (when each Presbyter considered those disciples whom he had baptized to be his own, and not Christ's,) *it was decreed over all the world*, that one Presbyter chosen from his brethren should be appointed over the rest, on whom

may ask, with Bishop Hoadley, Why does not St. Clement, on the supposition that he gives a full enumeration of ecclesiastical dignitaries, leave out the Prime Presbyter?

¹ Idem est ergo Presbyter qui et Episcopus.

the whole management of the Church should devolve; and by these means the seeds of schism be removed¹."

The inestimable value which is attached by our dissenting brethren to the above quotation would be very difficult to be explained, did we not reflect that authorities are sometimes precious in proportion to the scantiness of their number. Not only are these words of St. Jerome preferred before other contrary expressions in his own writings, and in those of Epiphanius, Ambrose, and Augustin, his friends and contemporaries, but even to the plainest assertions of writers at a period far earlier, with much better means of information: we allude to Cyprian, Origen, Irenæus, and Tertullian, all of them above a century before St. Jerome. From the confidence with which the passage now before us is appealed to as a kind of oracular response that is to silence every further inquiry, a plain person, uninvolved in the controversy, might almost imagine that this golden passage was not a comment merely, but an actual text of Holy Scripture.

The adversaries then of Episcopacy, relying on the *decree over all the world* spoken of by St. Jerome in the manner we have quoted, pretend to trace the rise of the distinction between Presbyters and Bishops to a later period than the Apostolic age. They conjecture the decree in question to have been promulgated, A. D. 140. A later date would bring the anti-episcopal chronologist into perilous collision with that phalanx of witnesses on our side, who, towards the close of the second century, decidedly

¹ Hieron. comm. in Tit. cap. i. St. Jerome afterwards denies episcopacy to be of our Lord's own personal appointment, *Dominicæ dispositionis*, and ascribes it rather to the custom of the Church; *magis consuetudine ecclesiæ*. This statement, however, must not be taken literally, for he elsewhere admits the episcopal office to be a dispensation of Christ, even where he is denying it to be an absolute power: *Deinde etiam illud est inferendum adversum illos qui de episcopatu intumescunt, et putant se non dispensationem Christi, sed imperium consecutos*.—Comm. in Tit. In other places he repeatedly describes the order of Bishops as an "apostolical institution," and an "apostolical tradition." So much importance is attached to the opinion of this Father, that I am induced to add some further reasons, most of which I have not seen urged before, proving that he could not possibly have been an anti-episcopalian.—See note (N) at the end of the volume.

affirm the existence of an Episcopal order, contemporary with themselves, and invested with peculiar rights and prerogatives. An earlier date would, on the other hand, be still more inconvenient and fatal to the anti-episcopalian: it would carry back the ecclesiastical revolution implied by this decree to the very times of the Apostles. Hence, for the epoch of its promulgation, the year 140 has been, not injudiciously, selected.

We are given, therefore, to understand, according to the above hypothesis, that the whole order of Presbyters throughout Christendom (*toto orbe*), sensible of the factious spirit engendered by Presbyterian equality, resolved, for the sake of peace, to surrender up their most important privileges into the hands of a new functionary, on whom from thenceforward the right of granting ordination and of exercising spiritual jurisdiction should especially devolve. We must imagine that those writers, (who lived before this self-denying act, and who mention Bishops as existing in the previous age, and as invested with peculiar powers,) have described to us this form of polity, from fancy rather than experience; since the new constitution was not contrived, till after they were in their graves! We must suppose that all the learned and voluminous writers of the same early period, as well as those of later ages, have passed over this decree in studied silence; and that such of them as were Bishops have boldly claimed predecessors in the newly-devised Episcopate, and even traced those predecessors to the ordination of the Apostles, knowing all the while, that, till the year 140, Episcopacy did not exist; and knowing also that this was known to the *whole world*. We must believe that this extraordinary decretal, this act of unexampled meekness and humility, was silently concurred in by all the Presbyters throughout Europe, Africa, and Asia: although the jealousy, factiousness and ambition of those same Presbyters, were the very evils to be remedied by the decree; and although there was neither general council to enact it, nor prince nor prelate to enforce it! We must conceive that this unwarrantable change in the constitution of the Church was introduced, while individuals were still alive, who possessed extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost; gifts of tongues, of prophecy and of inter-

pretation, and that these gifted individuals not only made no protest against the revolution, but either themselves usurped an undue power, or connived at the usurpation of it by other men. We must persuade ourselves, that in times of fierce and cruel persecution, (when the most distinguished officers in the Church were selected for victims,) persons could every where be found so blindly ambitious as to assume a power and pre-eminence above their brethren, to which they were not entitled, and by which they peculiarly exposed themselves, without the least temptation of secular advantage, to the fury of the common enemy. We must imagine that on this point heretics concurred unanimously with their orthodox opponents, consenting never to reproach them for the unauthorized innovation, and even suffering themselves to be taunted with their want of episcopal succession; though they knew all the while that every claim to that succession was utterly delusive, and that the succession no where had existence! Lastly, we must, on the foregoing hypothesis, take for granted that this important, this fundamental, this very sudden change in the constitution of the church, was effected at a period when Christians throughout the world were sensitively jealous on the subject of ancient usage; when they regarded the least infringement on Apostolic practice as a crime; and when they even excommunicated one another on a question so insignificant as the day appointed by the Apostles for the celebration of Easter!

The historical view of Church polity ascribed to St. Jerome, were the objections fewer than we have stated, would not be credible on his authority. Jerome was not born till the middle of the fourth century. He quotes no previous writer as concurring in his opinion: and he himself elsewhere positively contradicts it, by describing the Apostles as the introducers of the threefold distinction among Christian ministers, in imitation of the Mosaic system; by calling Bishops the sons or successors of the Apostles; by giving catalogues of Bishops superintending various churches, not only to the year 140, but to the Apostolic age itself; and by explicitly denying that Presbyters possessed the right of ordination, which belonged exclusively to the Episcopal order.

But after all, on examining the words of St. Jerome, we find them altogether unsusceptible of the construction which the advocates of Presbyterian primacy would attach to them: we find them quite inapplicable to the supposed universal agreement among Presbyters to institute the Episcopal order, towards the middle of the second century. St. Jerome mentions a *decree*: he refers to no *mutual agreement*: his very word *decree*, presupposes necessarily the interposition of authority; and he dates this decree from the period when “cries were raised among the people: I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos, and I of Cephaz, and when each Presbyter considered those disciples whom he baptized to be his own and not Christ’s.” This period, as St. Paul himself assures us, was in his own lifetime¹, and therefore this decree was an Apostolical institution; a fact to which St. Jerome himself elsewhere testifies, when he declares that St. James, soon after the ascension of our Lord, was appointed by the Apostles Bishop of Jerusalem, Timothy Bishop of Ephesus, Titus Bishop of Crete, and Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna. Nor will it avail to say that St. Jerome here refers to a congregational and not to a diocesan Episcopacy; for Timothy and Titus, as we learn from Scripture, were not merely pastors of congregations, but inspectors and overseers of the clergy. In short, the case which this illustrious Father describes is plainly what we stated at the beginning of this essay, namely, that in the absence of the Apostles, Presbyters originally were the highest local authorities in the Church: but since a form of government so constituted occasioned inconvenience, and gave rise to parties and divisions, the Apostles deputed other superior officers, such as Timothy and Titus, whom they invested with their own authority, to quell the spirit of faction by a more constant exercise of Apostolic power. This celebrated passage therefore only goes to prove, by the unsuspected authority of St. Jerome, that what was done in the case of Ephesus and of Crete, was not a partial measure, limited to those particular churches, but was spread abroad by a general “decree over the whole world.”

¹ “Now this I say, that every one of you saith I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephaz, and I of Christ,” &c. 1 Cor. i. 12—17.

We may now express a hope that we have brought to a satisfactory conclusion our inquiries on this important and comprehensive subject; that we have adduced sufficient arguments in favour of Episcopal Church polity; and have given sufficient answers to such objections as, with any plausibility, have been alleged against it. We have traced the growth of the ecclesiastical constitution planted by the Apostles through three successive appointments of Church officers, Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops; each order invested with distinct functions and privileges. We have seen that Presbyters have no authority from Scripture to ordain, but that all precepts on this subject are addressed to persons of Episcopal rank; and that no authority can be found in the word of God for Presbyterian ordination. We have brought forward Timothy, invested by St. Paul with Apostolic powers over the Presbyters of Ephesus; and Titus over those of Crete. We have remarked St. James, the kinsman of our Lord, fixed, by Apostolical nomination, in the diocese of Jerusalem, and exerting on that account peculiar influence in the affairs of the Church. We have referred to Epistles addressed in the Apocalypse by our Saviour himself, through St. John, to the governors of the Seven Churches of Asia, designating them as Angels; attributing to them powers of coercion and jurisdiction, eminently and peculiarly *Episcopal*; applauding some of them for the vigorous exertion of those powers, and reproving others for supineness or neglect. When, from the works of the Apostles, we proceeded onward to the writings of their immediate successors, we found the Apostolical institution of Episcopacy recognized and affirmed distinctly, fully, universally. We showed the same assertions in later ages concerning the Apostolic origin of Episcopacy, to be uniformly repeated without contradiction or hesitation, by a series of writers in every quarter of the ancient world; and not only to be persevered in by Catholics, but admitted also by Heretics. On the other hand, when we turned to the objections alleged by our own dissenting brethren, we found them resting upon erroneous assumptions, groundless suppositions or inventions, and misapplied quotations: on the unwarranted imposition of a modern sense upon ancient words; on the post-dating of ancient testimonies; on

the excitement of unfounded prejudices and apprehensions ; and what is worst of all, on the establishment of principles which would destroy the credit of all antiquity, and invalidate all ancient and external evidence to the integrity of the sacred canon. Lastly, we have demonstrated that Episcopacy, as an Apostolical institution, continued universally throughout the world to be the form of Church polity during fifteen hundred years : and that those reformers who first established another system, took that measure with reluctance ; urged necessity alone as their excuse for the innovation ; and expressed, in the strongest terms, their profound reverence for the ancient Ecclesiastical constitution.

It is principally on the ground of consonance with the divine will, as collected from Scripture and antiquity, that the religious establishment of this country claims the reverence and attachment of the English nation. As a Christian people, we are bound indispensably to maintain with steadfastness, and to extend to the utmost of our ability, that Christian communion, which alone renounces all the errors of popery, and yet preserves inviolate the original constitution of the Church. The question of expediency is for ever superseded by the fiat of the Almighty. We may rest assured, that, to say the least, no model of ecclesiastical polity devised by mere human wisdom, and grounded on departure from divine institutions, however excellent the individuals by whom it is upheld and administered, can be so agreeable to the mind of Christ, so conducive to edification, so certain a channel for the communication of the spirit, so sure an instrument for the diffusion of sound religious principles throughout the world,—in short, so effectually adapted to promote the glory of God, and the salvation of man, as the Episcopal form, a form which, to repeat the acknowledgment of Calvin, “ God himself hath prescribed in his own word.”

Besides this pre-eminent recommendation of conformity to the divine will, other numerous advantages might be alleged in favour of our Church ; advantages moral, social, and political, both to the members of the Church themselves and to those who have withdrawn from her communion. If no means were left us of ascertaining the original formation of the Christian community ; if that important question

were buried for ever in the impenetrable silence and darkness of distant ages ; if no motives of love and gratitude for the mercies, or of reverence for the authority of Christ, could be urged in favour of Episcopacy, in preference to independency or presbyterianism,—what is the plan of government which every right-minded Christian would desire to see established or retained? Would he not prefer the system under which the great body of Christians in all ages have lived and died, and under which Christianity itself was introduced into our own land?—the system which would best accord with our political institutions ; which would uphold with most enlarged benevolence the principles of toleration ; and which would bring religion most fully into influential contact with all classes?—the system which would best secure stability to the Christian faith, and call forth in its support the ablest defenders against impiety and infidelity on the one hand, and on the other against fanaticism and superstition? And are not all these grounds of preference united in favour of Episcopacy, and in favour of Episcopacy alone? The whole Christian Church throughout the world, during the lapse of fifteen centuries, was constructed on this Divine model ; and by the far greater proportion the same Divine model is still preserved. If we die in the Episcopal communion, we die in communion with all the saints and martyrs of antiquity, and with the wisest and holiest of succeeding Christians. It was from the lamp of Episcopacy that the light of true religion, dawning upon the ancient Britons, first dispelled the heathen darkness of this distant island : and when Saxon barbarism had extinguished that blessed illumination, it was under the same fostering auspices of Episcopacy that the light revived and was rekindled¹. Ages of experience have proved to English-

¹ “ Car soit qu’il se soit porté (le Christianisme) en Angleterre par Joseph d’Arimatee, ou par Simon Canneus, ou par Luc disciple de Philippe, ou par Phaganus et Perusianus, du temps du Roy Lucius, il est constant que ce fut par le ministère des Evêques ; et que c’est à leur charité, à leur zèle, et à leur suffisance, qu’ils sont redevables de la connoissance qu’ils possèdent présentement. Et comment donc s’emporter contre ce gouvernement? Et quelle folie de croire qu’ils pourront utilement secouer un gouvernement qui, l’espace de tant de siècles, a obtenu au milieu de leur église? Faut-il pas être bien brouillon pour se résoudre à ces extrémités, et n’avoir guère d’expé-

men that the Episcopal form of polity is peculiarly adapted to their political institutions; upholding at once the dignity of the crown, the rights of the nobility, and the liberties of the people. Under the Episcopal jurisdiction, properly maintained and applied, the principles of toleration have been earlier introduced, more fully recognized, and more systematically acted upon in this country, than in any other country upon earth. Religion, too, is practically brought home to all classes of society: and while the humbler ranks of ministers, in the remotest corners of the kingdom, instruct the children of obscurity, of poverty, and ignorance, in the doctrines and duties of Christianity, and reconcile them to the inevitable sorrows and privations of their lot in this life, by the glorious prospect of a life to come in the eternal presence of their God:—the highest order of Church officers, (invested with peculiar dignities and privileges, and admitted to familiar intercourse in courts and palaces,) are prepared to communicate a tone of religious feeling to influential members of the community, and have daily opportunities to become examples of true piety and enlightened charity to our nobles and to our princes. Following the banners of Protestant Episcopacy, the soldiers of Christ and champions of the Faith in this favoured land have resisted those assaults which in other countries have proved either death-blows to true religion, or fatal to its welfare: and while the emissaries of Satan have insinuated themselves by secret wiles, or have marched in open triumph over the continent of Europe; the shores of Britain have presented an adamant barrier against the infidel assailant. And to whom are we indebted for maintaining these defences of our faith? What church, what establishment in any other nation of Christendom, has supplied champions of the cross comparable to our own? Have all the Presbyters, of all other Christian communities united, done more for the vindication of sound doctrine than the Bishops of the Church of England? Some teachers at home may have zeal and piety; others abroad may have ability and learning: but in what other body of religious instructors

rience, et ne sçavoir pas que les changemens sont de dangereuse conséquence.”—Letter of M. le Moyne to Dr. Brevint, A.D. 1661, quoted by Dr. Durel in his “View of the Reformed Churches,” p. 133.

shall we find the same zeal, the same piety, the same learning, and ability combined? In the conflict of the True Faith with Scepticism, Socinianism, and Romanism, to whose talents and energies do we owe, under Providence, our victory? On whom do we rely with greater confidence than on Butler, Stillingfleet, Bramhall, Warburton, Sherlock, and Watson: on Bull, Horsley, and Magee: on Ridley, Jewell, Tillotson, and Taylor? And in addition to these ornaments of their Episcopal order, are not Latimer and Hall; Beveridge, Hopkins, and Sanderson; Porteus, Wilson, and Horne, superior to any safeguards that can be named against the licentious invader of moral principle? Can any uninspired compositions be produced, breathing more celestial strains of piety, or warmer sentiments of charity, a purer faith or a better founded hope, than the writings of those holy men, and Apostolic prelates?

But defects, it is alleged, have been discovered in our Ecclesiastical institutions; grievous defects, arising from their connexion with the civil power. Time has engendered corruption. Pluralities exist; non-residence is tolerated; revenues are unequally distributed; canons imperfectly obeyed; and discipline partially enforced. The remedy for these evils has been called for, but has not been applied at all, or not with sufficient vigour.

These are complaints to which the peculiar circumstances of the times tend to give peculiar point and importance. With such as raise these complaints from hostility to the Christian religion, we have here no concern. We can only recommend them to read the evidences of Christianity, and warn them that in assailing the Church from antichristian views, they may be found "haply to fight against God." To such, on the contrary, as put forth these murmurs from no enmity to the Christian faith, but from a sincere desire of removing abuses, and of reviving salutary discipline, we reply,—beware of counteracting, by rashness and impatience, your own views. The objects at which you aim are legitimate, are honourable, and desirable, provided only that they are pursued judiciously, cautiously, safely. In all your plans of reform pay due attention to *justice*; and suffer no dishonest tampering with vested rights. Maintain the interests of *learning* as well as *piety*: while you provide

parochial instruction for the people, provide also against attacks from the infidel, by preserving venerable institutions, which supply (and have supplied for ages) the means and the leisure for that important purpose; and which, if once destroyed, you can never afterwards replace: suffer not the peculiar efficiency of our Church, as the safeguard, throughout the British empire, (or we may even say throughout the world,) of pure and sound religion against neology, scepticism, superstition, and fanatic wildness, to be lessened or impaired. Let some regard be paid to *things established*, merely as establishments; and adopt no change merely for the sake of change: never innovate solely with a view to theoretic beauty and systematical proportion, but only from a clear perception of some actual wrong to be redressed, some positive evil to be remedied, some specific and unquestionable grievance to be removed; and in every act of interference for Church reform, be quite sure that the remedy you propose shall not involve a greater mischief than the disease. Let the *stability* of an Apostolical Church be conscientiously regarded and maintained; and let not the permanent influence of sound religion upon a whole nation, be shaken—either to promote the temporary interests of any one political party, or (through abject fear of a licentious press,) to indulge a fickle, reckless multitude, in any idle fancy of the day. Above all, let an ecclesiastical constitution of primitive and inspired appointments be religiously supported: let no reform be thought of which would remodel without restoring this ancient edifice: let no departure be attempted from the original polity of the Church;—a polity established by Divine authority, and for fifteen centuries continued uninterruptedly throughout Christendom.

NOTES.

NOTE (A).

ATTEMPTS have been made to show that the ancient Monks of North Britain, called "the Culdees," whose chief settlement was at Iona, among the Western Isles, were an exception to the rule in the text. But after the complete refutation in the very able and learned inquiry upon this subject, prefixed by Bishop Russell to his new edition of Keith's catalogue of Scottish Bishops, that notion will not probably again be urged.

Episcopal succession among the Waldenses and Albigenses is fully proved by Dr. Allix, in his elaborate and valuable work, entitled "Some Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont," printed in 1690.

NOTE (B).

Although with foreign reformers we of the Church of England have no immediate concern, it is important to know that, where episcopacy was not retained, the reformers pleaded not principle but necessity. How Calvin stood affected in the said point of Episcopacy, and how gladly he and other heads of the reformed Churches would have received it, is evident enough from his writings and epistles. In his *Book of the Necessity of Reforming the Church*, he hath these words : *Talem si nobis hierarchiam exhibeant, &c.* "Let them give us such an hierarchy, in which Bishops may be so above the rest as they refuse not to be under Christ, and depend upon him as their only head, that they maintain a brotherly society, &c. If there be any that do not behave themselves with all reverence and obedience towards them, there is no anathema, but I confess them worthy of it." But especially his opinion of episcopacy is manifest from a letter he and Bullinger, and others, learned men of that sort, wrote anno 1549, to King Edward VI. offering to make him their defender, and to have Bishops in their Churches for the better unity and concord among them ; as may be seen in Archbishop Cranmer's memorials, and likewise by a writing of Archbishop Abbot, found among the MSS. of

Archbishop Usher, which for the remarkableness of it, and the mention of Archbishop Parker's papers, I shall here set down. "Perusing some papers of our predecessor, Matthew Parker, we find that John Calvin, and others of the Protestant Churches of Germany and elsewhere, would have had episcopacy, if permitted; but could not on several accounts, partly fearing the princes of the Roman Catholic faith would have joined with the Emperor and the rest of the popish Bishops to have depressed the same; partly being newly reformed and not settled, they had not sufficient wealth to support episcopacy, by reason of their daily persecutions. Another and a main cause was, that they would not have any popish hands laid over their clergy. And whereas John Calvin had sent a letter, in King Edward VI.'s time, to have conferred with the clergy of England about some things to this effect, two Bishops, viz. Gardner and Bonner, intercepted the same; whereby Mr. Calvin's overture perished. And he received an answer, as if it had been from the reformed divines of those times, wherein they checked him, and slighted his proposals; from which time John Calvin and the Church of England were at variance on several points, which otherwise, through God's mercy, had been qualified, if those papers of his proposals had been discovered unto the Queen's Majesty during John Calvin's life. But being not discovered until or about the sixth year of her Majesty's reign, her Majesty much lamented they were not found sooner."—*Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker*.

NOTE (C).

From some passages to be met with in the letters of that learned person, Henry Newton, ambassador extraordinary from the Queen of Great Britain to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, it appears plainly that this great man, Hugo Grotius, had the highest opinion of the Church of England. In a letter to John Clerc, there is the following passage, taken from a letter written from Genoa, by Viscount Scudamore, at that time ambassador from England to France, to Archbishop Laud: "The next time I see Ambassador Grotius, I will not fail to perform your commands concerning him. Certainly, my Lord, I am persuaded that he doth unfeignedly and highly love and reverence your person and proceedings. Body and soul, he professeth himself to be for the Church of England; and gives this judgment of it, that it is the likeliest to last of any Church this day in being."—*See Archdeacon Daubeny's Guide to the Church*, vol. ii. p. 282.

NOTE (D).

The universal consent of the Church being proved, "there is as great reason to believe the Apostolical succession to be of *Divine institution*, as the *canon of Scripture*, or the *observation of the Lord's day*. We do not doubt that it is unlawful to add to, or diminish from the canon of Scripture; and yet there is no plain text for it with respect to all the books contained in it; and some of the books were a long

time disputed in some Churches ; but the Churches coming at last to a full agreement in this matter, upon due search and inquiry, hath been thought sufficient to bind all after-ages to make no alterations in it. And as for the Divine institution of the Lord's day, we do not go about to lessen it, but only to show, that some examples in Scripture, being joined with the *universal practice* of the Church in its purest ages, hath been allowed to be sufficient ground not only for following ages to observe it, but to look on it as at least an *Apostolical institution*. Now it cannot but seem unequal, not to allow the same force where there is the same evidence ; and, therefore, our Church hath wisely and truly determined, that since the Apostles' time there have been three orders, of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and that these in a regular well-constituted Church are to continue to the world's end."—*Bishop Stillingfleet's Ordination Sermon.*

NOTE (E).

And that Timothy and Titus had not this power committed to them as Evangelists, which our adversaries pretend, is most certain, because Evangelists, as such, had not that power. For then mere Deacons might have ordained and governed Priests, for such was Philip ¹ the Evangelist. And it is most certain that he pretended not to any such authority ². For when in the prosecuting his office of an Evangelist, (whose duty it was to convert unbelievers,) he had converted a great many at Samaria, and baptized them, he pretended not to confirm them, by the laying on of hands, or to settle any Church offices amongst them, but gave notice of what he had done to the Apostles, and they sent two of their own order for this purpose. Wherefore, though it should be admitted that Timothy and Titus were both Evangelists, which yet cannot be proved, this alone, if they were not Bishops also, as the Evangelists commonly were, could give them no authority to ordain Presbyters, or govern particular churches, as the one did Ephesus, and the other Crete. But they (as the late Right Reverend ³ Bishop of Worcester very well remarks) "who go about to unbishop Timothy and Titus, may as well unscripture the Epistles that were written to them, and make them only some occasional writings, as they make Timothy and Titus to have been some particular and occasional officers. But the Christian Church preserving these Epistles as of constant and perpetual use, did thereby suppose the same kind of office to continue, for the sake whereof these excellent Epistles were written, and we have no greater assurance that these Epistles were written by St. Paul, than we have that there were Bishops to succeed the Apostles in the care and government of Churches."—*See Brett on Church Government, p. 63.*

NOTE (F).

St. James, the brother of our Lord, is called an Apostle, and yet

¹ Compare Acts xxi. 8. with Acts vi. 5.

² Acts viii. 5, &c.

³ Dut. and Rights of Parish Clergy, p. 11.

he was not in the number of the twelve, but he was Bishop of Jerusalem. First : That St. James was called "an Apostle," appears by the testimony of St. Paul : "But other Apostles saw I none, save James, the Lord's brother¹." Secondly : That he was none of the twelve appears also, because among the twelve Apostles there were but two Jameses ; the son of Alpheus, and James, the son of Zebedee, the brother of John. But neither of these was the James, whom St. Paul calls "the Lord's brother." And this St. Paul intimates, in making a distinct enumeration of all the appearances which Christ made after the resurrection² : "First to Cephas, then to the twelve, then to the five hundred brethren, then to James, then to all the Apostles." So that here St. James is reckoned distinctly from the twelve, and they from the whole college of the Apostles ; for there were, it seems, more of that dignity than the twelve. But this will also safely rely upon the concurrent testimony of Hegesippus, Clement, Eusebius, Epiphanius, St. Ambrose, and St. Jerome³.—*Bishop Taylor on Episcopacy.*

NOTE (G).

Do you consider the knowledge of the opinions of the Fathers, and of the practice of the primitive Church, as to the designation to Ecclesiastical offices to be of importance in determining the question where the right of ecclesiastical presentation in Scotland should be placed ? I conceive it to be of very great importance, though the opinions of the Fathers and the Canons of Councils, and the practice of the primitive Church, are not considered as authoritatively binding by the Church of Scotland, except in so far as they are agreeable to Scripture, or can be proved to be of apostolic descent ; they are admitted to be deserving the most respectful attention. Upon this subject there are many who conceive that the practice of the primitive Church evinces what was the practice of the Apostles. Our first reformers and the most eminent of our theological authors, who have written upon the subject of ministerial election, always refer to the primitive model ; so that if we would know the minds of the reformers, or understand the exact nature of the constitution of the Church of Scotland, it is necessary that we should have some acquaintance with the practice of the Church in the first ages of Christianity.

Do you consider that the facts and circumstances connected with the practices in the primitive ages are frequently referred to by many presbyterian writers and authorities in support of their views as to their mode of admitting ministers ? They are frequently referred to. I conceive that the following argument has very considerable weight with many Presbyterians. The fact that in primitive times the election was in the hands of the people in reference to their Bishops, and to their Presbyters at a period when there was no freedom of election in regard to offices in the state, can only be accounted

¹ Gal. i. 19.² 1 Cor. xv.³ Vide Carol. Bovium in Constit. Apost. Schol. Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Jacob. et in Galat. 1.—Epiphanius. Hæres. 78, 79. Tract. 124 in Johan.

for by the fact that this custom had descended from the Apostles ; and it is the opinion of very many Presbyterians, that if you can trace a practice to apostolic times you have divine authority for the practice, and in that view also I conceive a knowledge of the practice of the primitive Church to be of importance.—*Professor Welch's Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on Church Patronage.*

NOTE (H).

“ Thus I have represented the belief of St. Cyprian and his contemporaries, as to the Divine right of Episcopacy. The number of depositions, that this Divine right was then universally believed, is very great. It was the belief of all the Bishops, and by good consequence (all things considered) of all the Christians in Africa. It was the belief of Bishops, Clergy, and the people of Rome ; the best evidence that can be expected of the common faith of the European ; of Dionysius and Origen, two unexceptionable witnesses of the faith of the Egyptian ; and of Alexander and of Firmilian, every way as famous witnesses of the belief of the Eastern or Asiatic Churches. It was, indeed, the belief of all persons, of all orders, degrees, ranks, and qualities,—Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, inferior Ministers, Martyrs, Confessors, persevering Christians, perfidious Lapsers, orthodox Believers, Heretics, Catholics, Schismatics, Clergy, Laics, learned, unlearned, &c. Not so much as one testimony in the monuments of that age to the contrary. No article of the Christian faith more unanimously, more uncontestedly, more universally received. I will be bold to challenge G. R. or any Presbyterian in Scotland, to produce one witness of whatsoever quality, I shall not say formally deposing, but probably insinuating, that Prelacy was an human invention ; an office introduced into the Church after the days or by a lesser authority than that of the Apostles.”

“ Shall I add another consideration of no small weight in this matter ? 'Tis this : No age of the Church, assignable, wherein Christians were closer adherents to Divine authority, or stricter observers of Divine institutions ; or nicer requirers of Divine warrant, for every thing proposed to be received by them. Never age, wherein innovations more carefully guarded against ; or human inventions more zealously rejected ; or recessions from Divine appointments more religiously remonstrated against or repudiated.”

NOTE (I).

“ Maximus was once a familiar friend of Gregory Nazianzen's at such time as he was Bishop of Constantinople¹ ; and by him, having taken a good liking to him, admitted into the clergy of that Church. But Maximus being an ungrateful wretch, complots with others like himself, to be made Bishop of that city : and thereupon negotiates

¹ Greg. Presb. in Vita Nazian.

with Peter, then Patriarch of Alexandria, to ordain him Bishop of the same : which being done accordingly (for Maximus was, by birth, of Egypt, and possibly might have good friends there, besides his money), and the whole city in a great distemper about the business ; the whole cause came at last to be debated in the first general Council of Constantinople ¹. Where, on the full hearing of the matter, it was thus decreed, viz., that Maximus neither was to be taken for a Bishop *μήτε τοῦς παρ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντας*, nor any of those he had ordained to be accounted of the Clergy, or remain in any order or degree thereof. Where note, that howsoever Maximus came unlawfully unto the Bishoprick of Constantinople, by means whereof all the acts done by him as a Bishop were made void and frustrate : yet if as a Presbyter, to which degree he had been lawfully ordained by Nazianzen, he might give the imposition of hands ; the Presbyters by him ordained, would have held good still."

" But the next case comes nearest to the business yet, as it is thus reported in the Council of Seville ² before remembered. A Bishop of the Church of Spain being troubled with sore eyes, and having some presented to him to be ordained Presbyters and Deacons, did only *lay his hands upon them*, suffering a Presbyter that stood by, to read the words of ordination. This coming to be scanned in the aforesaid Council, upon mature deliberation, it is thus determined. First, for the Presbyter which assisted, that for his boldness and presumption, he had been subject to the Council's censure, but that he was before deceased : next for the Presbyter and Deacons, who were so ordained, that they should actually be deposed from all sacred orders, concluding thus, '*Tales enim merito judicati sunt removendi, quia prave inventi sunt constituti,*' that they were worthily adjudged to lose those orders, which they had wrongfully received. So little influence had the Presbyters in the essential parts of ordination, as that their bare reading of the words (though required to it by the Bishop) was adjudged enough, not only to make them liable to the Church's censure, but also for their sakes to make void the action. Nay, so severe and punctual was the Church herein, that whereas certain Bishops of those times, whether consulting their own ease, or willing to decline so great a burthen, had suffered their chorepiscopi, as well those which were simply Presbyters, as such as had Episcopal ordination, (for two there were) to perform this office ; it was forbidden absolutely in the one, limited and restrained in the other sort, as by the canons of the two ancient Synods of Gangra and Antioch ³ doth at full appear."—Heylyn, chap. iv. part i. page 227.

NOTE (J).

" From the testimonies of particular persons, I will proceed to the testimony of whole churches. I will begin with the Apostolical canons,

¹ Conc. Const. i. cap. 4.

² Concil. Hisp. ii. cap. 5.

³ Concil. Gangrens. can. 13. Concil. Antioch. i. can. 10.

which (as Dr. Beveridge has learnedly proved in his Annotations on them) were constitutions made by diverse councils held in the second and third centuries. They tell us that ¹ a Bishop shall be ordained by two or three Bishops ; and a Presbyter and Deacon by one Bishop ². That a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, must not put away his wife under pretence of religion ³. That a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, ought not to involve himself in secular affairs ⁴. That a Priest or Deacon leaving the Diocese to which he belongs, and going into another to dwell there, without the consent of his Bishop, and being required by his Bishop to return, will not, shall be excommunicated. Indeed, almost all these canons, which are eighty-five in number, have something in them showing Bishops and Presbyters to be distinct orders. The Council of Eliberis, A.D. 305, mentions the three orders of the clergy in several canons ⁵. It forbids Bishops, Priests, and Deacons to leave their Churches to exercise merchandise. It declares ⁶, that when any person falls sick, he ought to be received into communion by the Bishop ; but if the sickness be violent, the Priest may grant him communion, and even the Deacon, if the Bishop command him. The Council of Arles, A.D. 314⁷, forbids one Bishop alone to ordain another, and then immediately subjoins that neither Priests nor Deacons should relinquish the churches in which they were fixed by ordination ; that is, the diocese in which they were ordained. The general Council of Nice also, some few years after this of Arles, makes a most apparent distinction between the orders of Bishop and Priest, especially where it expressly ordains ⁸ that neither Priests nor Deacons shall be received into another Church without the consent of their Bishop."

"The Novatians which returned to the communion, in their recantation and confession, said these words : '*We are not ignorant that there is one God and Christ, one Holy Ghost, one Bishop in one Church.*'"

"The Council of Laodicea, A.D. 321, Can. 41. That no clergyman ought to travel without the consent of his Bishop. And Can. 56. That the Presbyter ought not to go into the Church and sit in their seats till the Bishop come, and go in with the Bishop."

"The Council of Gangra, A.D. 326. If any have private meetings out of the Church without their Presbyter be with them, let them be anathematized by the sentence of the Bishop. And Can. 7. If any will take or give of the fruits offered to the Church, without leave of the Bishop, let him be anathema."

"The Council of Antioch, A.D. 341, Can. 3. If any Presbyter or Deacon, leaving his own parish shall go to another, and refuse to return when his own Bishop shall summon him, let him be deposed. And Can. 22. That a Bishop ought not to ordain Presbyters or Deacons in another Bishop's diocese without his leave."

"The second great general Council at Constantinople, A.D. 381, ranks those with heretics who, though they profess the true faith, yet run into schism, and gather Congregations apart from, and in opposition to our canonical Bishops."—*Brett*, chap. 5, page 81.

¹ Can. 2.² Can. 5.³ Can. 6.⁴ Can. 15.⁵ Can. 18.⁶ Can. 32.⁷ Can. 20, 21.⁸ Can. 16.

NOTE (K).

The following are some of Bishop Maddox's observations on that widely circulated dissenting work, Neale's History of the Puritans :—

“Mr. N. is extremely fond of a parity among the Clergy, and has taken too much pains in that cause. It was an excess of zeal to press the pious reformers and King Edward's ordinal into this service. The committee (says he) soon finished their ordinal, which is almost the same with that now in use : they take no notice in their book of the lower orders in the church of Rome, as Subdeacons, Readers, Acolytes, &c. but confine themselves to Bishops, Priests, and Deacons ; and here it is observable that the form of ordaining a Priest and a Bishop is *the same*, there being no express mention in the words of ordination whether it be for the one or the other office. This has been altered of late years, since a distinction of the two orders has been so generally admitted ; but *that was not the received doctrine of these times.*” Thus again : “We may observe (says he) from the history of this reign (King Edward's), that the first reformers believed but two orders of churchmen in Holy Scripture, viz. Bishops and Deacons ; and consequently the Bishops and Priests were but different ranks or degrees of the same order.” In like manner elsewhere : “Our first reformers admitted but two orders of Church officers to be of Divine appointment, viz. Bishops and Deacons ; a Presbyter and Bishop, according to them, being but two names for the same office.” “By this account it is plain Mr. N. would have it believed that Bishop and Priest were, in the opinion of the first reformers, synonymous terms, signifying not only the same order, but the same office too ; being, as he says, but two names of the *same office*. His material proof is the public ordinal ; and, to be sure, if any where the reformers speak distinctly, it is when they are designedly treating upon this subject, and appointing the very forms of ordination and consecration. Here then we join issue, and both appeal to the same ordinal as a decisive proof.”

Mr. N.'s assertion, page 82, is in these words : “The first reformers believed but two orders of Churchmen in Holy Scripture, viz. Bishops and Deacons.” The very same reformers, in the very same ordinal he refers to, make the following express declaration :—

“*It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture, and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.*”

“Without stopping for one reflection, let us go on to his next assertion, which runs thus.”—*Maddox's Vindication*, p. 59, 60.

The Bishop proceeds further to refute Neale's assertion, but the reader will not require the argument to be pursued.

NOTE (L).

A letter of Dr. Peter de Moulin the son, Prebendary of Christ Church, Canterbury, one of His Majesty's chaplains, touching a passage for Episcopacy, written by Mr. David Blondel, in his Apologia

pro Hieronymi Sententiâ, but left out at the entreaty of the Presbyterians.

“MY REVEREND BROTHER,

“To cast my mite into that rich treasury which you are now furnishing, I must inform you of a remarkable passage very pertinent to your purpose. In the year 1651, that great and good man, my Lord Primate Usher, told me that the learned Mr. David Blondel had concluded his *Apologia pro Hieronymo* with the words to this purpose : *By all that we have said to assert the rights of the Presbytery, we do not intend to invalidate the ancient and Apostolical constitution of Episcopal pre-eminence. But we believe that wheresoever it is established conformably to the ancient canons, it must be carefully preserved, and wheresoever by some heat of contention or otherwise it hath been put down or violated, it ought to be reverently restored.* The good Primate told me besides, that whereas the book had been written at the earnest request of the assembly of Westminster, of the Scots especially, who had their agents and leaguers in Paris to strengthen their party by misinforming the Protestants of France, and winning them to their side. When these agents saw this conclusion of Mr. Blondel’s manuscript, they expostulated with him very loud for marring all the good he had done in his book, disappointing the expectation of the assembly, and showing himself an enemy instead of a friend to their holy covenant. This they urged upon him with such vehemency and unwearied importunity, that they prevailed with him to put out that conclusion. Having received that information from a person of so much knowledge and integrity, as that famous Prelate, yet for a further confirmation, I told it to Mr. John Blondel, (David’s brother,) then living in London, who denied that there was any truth in that report, and defended his brother as much wronged by it. ‘If you think’ (said I) ‘that I wrong your brother, complain to him of me in your next letter, and remember my kind service to him.’ Mr. John Blondel did not fail to write to his brother about this ; and three or four weeks after showed me a letter from him, wherein he remembered his love to me, and acknowledged that the relation was true.

“This advice I thought myself obliged to give you, knowing that no man can make a better use of it than yourself, to whose holy labours about this point, the Church is so much indebted, and none more your debtor in the Church, in that regard, than,

“Sir,

“Your most affectionate

“Brother and Servant,

“PETER DU MOULIN.”

NOTE (M).

The followers of Blondel are commonly obliged to make concessions point by point as represented in the text ; but their great master foresaw at once, that unless he gave his prime Presbyters a very close resemblance to Bishops, his system would be beset with difficulties that he might be unprepared for, (*improvisis difficultatibus*, *Præf.* p. 7.) He affirms, therefore, that prime Presbyters existed in

the Church from the very beginning, under the auspices of the Apostles. He allows that they not only had a constant precedence, but exercised *authority* over the Presbyters; declaring that the right of presiding without the right of exercising authority, is an absurdity unworthy of a child to mention: (*pueris ludibrium*, p. 37.) He declares that Bishops were not elected to their office by the Presbyters, but succeeded by seniority, and held the station for life. He calls their jurisdiction a peculiar pre-eminent power (*singularis quædam et exors potestas*;) a power in which they could have no colleagues, but successors only: (*Præf.* p. 35.) He calls his prime Presbyter a prince or captain of his brethren (*fratrum ἑξάρχος*). He admits that our Saviour, in his Epistles to the seven Churches of Asia, addressed the prime Presbyters, and made them responsible for the conduct of the Churches under their primacy or prime Presbyterian jurisdiction. (*Præf.* p. 6.) And finally, he concedes that the prime Presbyter acquired Episcopal prerogatives towards the middle of the second century, at Jerusalem, A.D. 135 or 136, at Alexandria, A.D. 143, and at Rome about A.D. 140. In short, Blondel explicitly declares that he is no *Aerian*: and labours no point more anxiously than to vindicate St. Jerome (whom he follows) from the charge of maintaining the Aerian heresy.—*See especially his Preface*, p. 59.

Salmasius, next to Blondel, the most learned supporter of Presbyterian discipline, and the most frequently appealed to by Anti-episcopal writers, thinks it necessary to admit the still earlier origin of Episcopacy, and repeatedly declares that Bishops existed from the beginning, the Apostolic age itself alone excepted. *Sciunt rem esse antiquissimam, ut duo hi ordines in ecclesiâ fuerint distincti, episcoporum et presbyterorum, si excipiantur apostolica tempora.* (*Walo. Messalin.* p. 7.) Mentioning elsewhere (p. 181,) the change from the Presbyterian to the Episcopal form of polity, he dates it after the death of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, *post Apostolorum Petri et Pauli obitum*; and though he adds, *haud statim*, not immediately, yet we can hardly suppose that he refers to any period later than the death of St. John; though he certainly would not allow that the change took place under the sanction of that Apostle. For further passages to the same effect, see pp. 117. 119. 144. 177. 248. 283. 419.

NOTE (N).

The following are the additional evidences to clear St. Jerome from the charge of holding the Aerian, or anti-episcopal heresy.

1. He recommends that Bishops should take the lawgiver of the Jews for an example of moderation; and that as Moses, though he had a right to govern the Israelites alone, (*quum habeat in potestate solus præesse populo Israel*,) chose seventy elders to judge the people along with him, so every Bishop, in the exercise of Church discipline, should act in conjunction with his Presbyters. The authority here conceded to the Episcopal order is enough to satisfy the most ambitious prelate. For what Bishop would desire more than to have the same pre-eminence by divine right over his consistory, that Moses had over his sanhedrim?

2. St. Jerome applauds Epiphanius for his answer to the Presbyterian, Aerius ; a work quite as remarkable for acrimony and haughtiness as for ability. Could the eulogist of such a work be himself inclined to Aerian principles ?

3. On the other hand, if Epiphanius looked upon St. Jerome as an Aerian, why not reply to *him*, as well as to Aerius ?

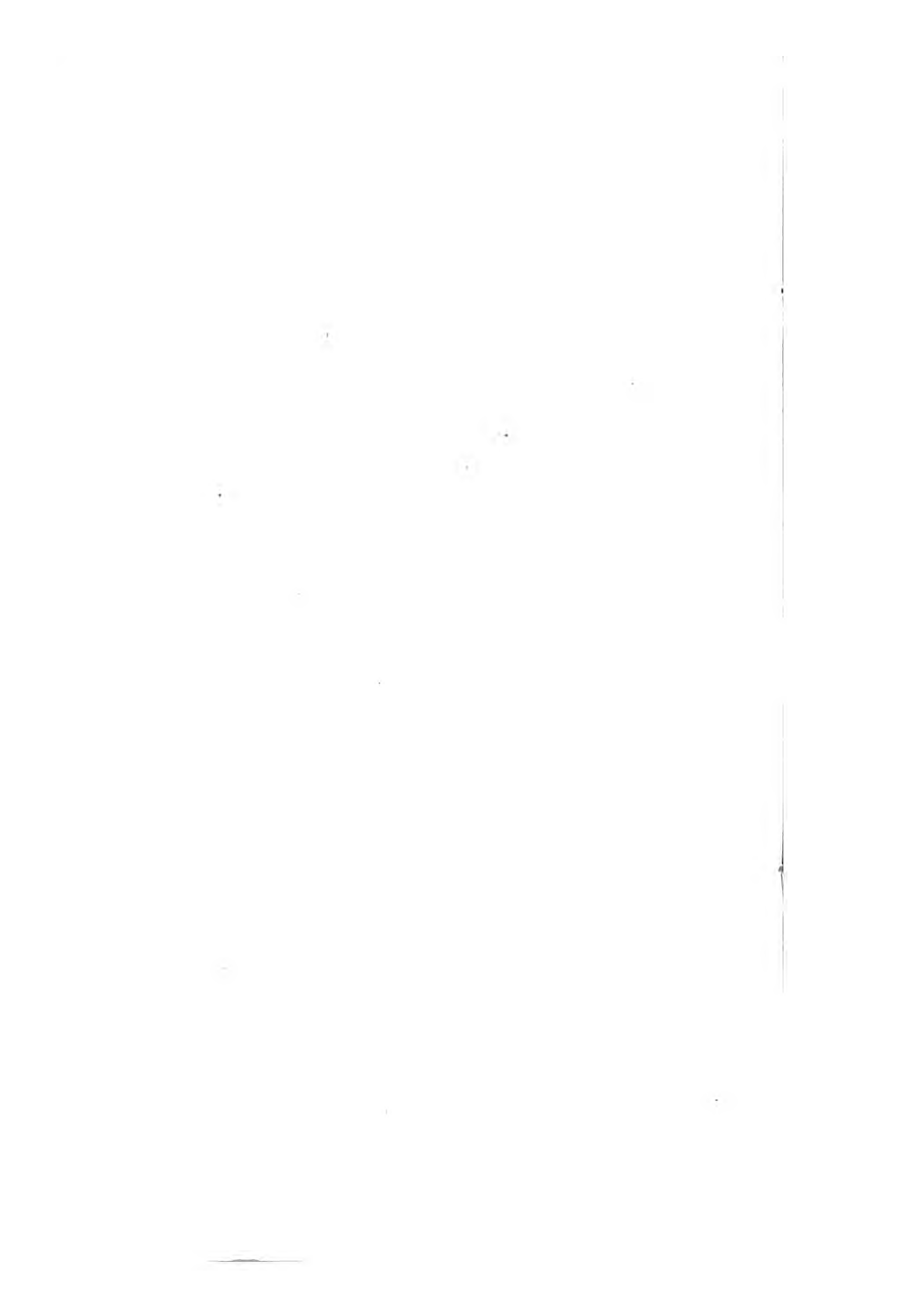
4. So far from countenancing Aerius, St. Jerome ranks him among the worst of heretics, *Num papa Epiphanius accusavit te quod Arianus esses ? Num Eunomii ἀθέου, aut Aerii tibi impegit hæresim ?*

5. When he affirms a Presbyter to be the same with a Bishop, (*idem presbyter qui et episcopus*,) he cannot mean an actual sameness or identity. For, in confirmation of his argument, he adduces two Apostles, St. Peter and St. John, calling themselves Presbyters. In whatever sense, therefore, he maintains a Presbyter to be the same with a Bishop, he might also, according to his own argument, have alleged a Presbyter to be the same with an Apostle. *Idem presbyter qui et Apostolus*, is with him as true a statement as *idem presbyter qui et episcopus*.

6. He speaks of Bishops, in contradistinction to their Presbyters, as successors of the Apostles. *Quod si hoc loco quæris, quare in ecclesiâ baptizatus, nisi per manus episcopi non accipiat Spiritum sanctum, quem nos asserimus in vero baptisate tribui, disce hanc observationem ex eâ auctoritate descendere, quod post ascensum Domini Spiritus sanctus ad apostolos descendit.*—*Adversus Luciferianos*, tom. iv. p. 295.

7. He condemns the Montanists for having established in their sect two orders of Church officers higher than the Episcopal. *Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent, apud eos episcopus tertius est.* But had the episcopal order itself been placed by mere human authority above the presbyteral, how could a Catholic consistently condemn a Montanist for a further exercise of the same human authority ?—*Epist. xxvii. ad Marcellam*, p. 65.

8. Warning Heliodorus of the responsibility attached to the Episcopate, he describes the office as the same with the Apostolical. "It is no easy matter to occupy the place of Paul, to hold the rank of Peter, now reigning with Christ." *Non facile est stare loco Pauli, tenere gradum Petri, jam cum Christo regnantium.*—*Epist. v. ad Heliod.*



I N D E X.

A.			
ALEXANDER of <i>Jerusalem</i> , his testimony to Episcopacy peculiarly interesting, from the facility of reference to the oral declarations of the Apostles.....	54	ninth objection — St. Jerome a presumed anti-Episcopalian	92
AMBROSE , <i>St.</i> , alludes to divine distribution of Ecclesiastical functions	59	Apostles, order of the	16
ANGELS , the seven apocalyptic, were Bishops	27	—— general superintendence by the	17
—— their rank and jurisdiction in the Church	28	Apostolical authority, cessation of immediate, and substitution of Episcopal	18
—— their high prerogatives apparent from the language of our Saviour himself	29	ATHANASIUS regarded the Episcopal order in the light of a divine institution	57
Anti-Episcopal objections, reply to	68	Augsburg confession	3
first objection—omission by the Fathers	69	AUGUSTINE , <i>St.</i> , his sentiments on Church polity	64
second objection—modern sense applied to ancient words and phrases	72	B.	
third objection—testimonies post-dated	74	BEZA warmly eulogises the Church polity of England	4
fourth objection—fanciful exaggeration of Episcopal claims	77	BUCER , his anxiety that Churches Episcopally constituted should maintain that advantage	<i>ib.</i>
fifth objection—no Popery nor Prelacy	80	C.	
sixth objection—wealth and secular power of Bishops	83	CALVIN , subscribed willingly to the Augsburg confession	3
seventh objection— AERIUS an ancient anti-Episcopalian	89	—— his distinction between the Pontificate and the Episcopate.....	4
eighth objection—prime Presbyters	90	CHRYSOSTOM , <i>St.</i> , reasons for appealing to him on the subject of Episcopacy	65
		Church endowments, early origin of	86

	PAGE		PAGE
CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, his Stromata quoted to prove gradations of rank in the Church	44	stitution of the primitive Church	30
CLEMENT, St., fellow-labourer with St. Paul, eulogises the Christians for their obedience to Ecclesiastical authority	30	Fathers, the most important of all facts received on their testimony	13
CYPRIAN, St., ordained Deacon, afterwards Presbyter, and finally Bishop	50	G.	
D.		GROTIUS, his summary of the arguments between Episcopalian writers and their adversaries	8
DEACONS, order of	17	H.	
DIONYSIUS of ALEXANDRIA, the authority of the Episcopal order proved by his commanding Presbyters to absolve dying penitents	49	HEGESIPPUS, his testimony to the unanimity of the early Bishops in the faith	42
E.		HERMAS, his testimony to the constitution of the Church ...	41
EPISCOPACY, on	1	I & J.	
— universal till the time of the reformation	<i>ib.</i>	IGNATIAN Epistles, objections to the	34
— Apostolically instituted	2	the objections removed ...	35
— reluctantly departed from	<i>ib.</i>	Ignatian Controversy, three reflections on the	39
— arrangement of arguments in favour of	16	IGNATIUS, his evidence respecting the constitution of the Church	32
— argument in favour of, from the Revelations	27	— and JUSTIN MARTYR, with respect to set forms of prayer	
— defects not essentially connected with	101	— the seven shorter Epistles of, alone genuine	36
— proper kind of remedy for	<i>ib.</i>	IRENEUS, his evidence decisive as to the authority possessed by Bishops and Presbyters ...	43
— argument for, from antiquity	30	JAMES, St., made Bishop of <i>Jerusalem</i>	24
— summary of arguments in favour of	97	— presided in the conclave at the first general council held at <i>Jerusalem</i>	25
Establishment, English, other recommendations to the people of England, beside that of consonance with the Divine Will	98	— whether he was one of the twelve	26
EUSEBIUS, quotation from, respecting the succession of Bishops	56	JEROME, St., traces the different orders of Christian ministers to the Mosaic dispensation ...	62
F.		K.	
FATHERS, Apostolic, their testimony to the Episcopal con-		KNOX, for some time officiating minister of the Church of England	7

L.	PAGE	R.	PAGE
LUTHER, maintains the same opinion on episcopacy as Melancthon and the Augsburg confession	3	REFORMATION, state of religious opinion at the	3
		Reformers of Poland and Hungary	5
		— of Italy.....	6
		— of Scandinavia	ib.
		— of Scotland	7
		— of Holland and the Low Countries	8
		Revelation, the Jewish and Christian, striking contrast between	11
 M.			
MELANCTHON, congruity of his private sentiments with those of the Augsburg confession ...	3		
		 S.	
		Summary of the arguments for Episcopacy	97
 N.			
NOVATIANS, the remarkable profession of their faith.....	53		
		 T.	
		TERTULLIAN, affirms distinctly the institution of the episcopal order by the Apostles ...	47
		Testimonies to the divine institution of episcopacy by the apostolic fathers	30
		— since the apostolic age	42
		— corroborative, since the time of Constantine	55
		Testimony, restriction of, to the apostolic age	75
		THEODORET, the peculiarity of his sentiments on the subject of episcopacy.....	66
		TIMOTHY, made bishop of Ephesus	19
		—, powers given to.....	ib.
		— ordination by	ib.
		— and TITUS, their appointment not occasional but permanent	20
		— and TITUS, why not always resident.....	21
 O.			
OBJECT of this work defensive	16		
OPTATUS expresses his concern on the subject of ecclesiastical orders.....	58		
Ordination by presbyters only, no scriptural warrant for.....	22		
alleged exception to this rule.....	ib.		
first argument against this exception	23		
another argument.....	ib.		
a third argument	ib.		
ORIGEN mentions, in ten instances, the distinction between Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons	48		
		 Z.	
		ZANCHIUS, his true method of reforming the church, and his strong protestation against schismatics	6
 P.			
POLYCARP, evidence of his superior rank in the Church from the style of his epistle to the Philippians.....	40		
 Q.			
QUESTION, statement of the, proposed for examination respecting Episcopacy	10		

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