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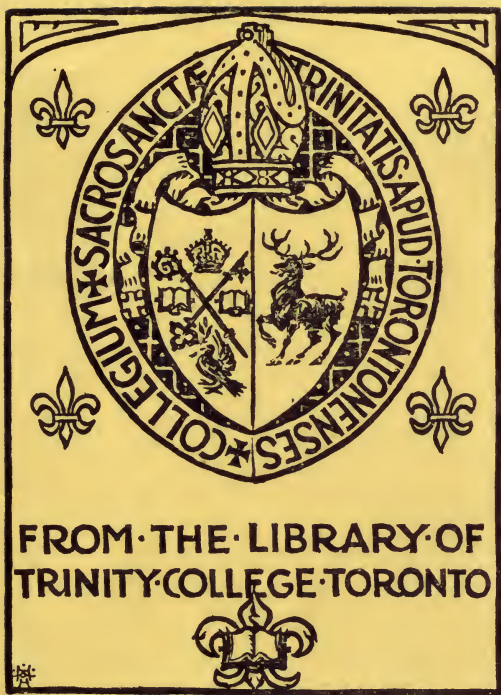


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THE
CLAIMS OF EPISCOPACY
REFUTED.

THE
CLAIMS OF EPISCOPACY

Refuted,

IN A REVIEW OF THE ESSAYS OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND BISHOP HOBART, AND OTHER
ADVOCATES OF DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY.

BY THE LATE

REV. JOHN M. MASON, D.D.

OF NEW YORK.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND APPENDIX,

BY THE

REV. JOHN BLACKBURN,

MINISTER OF CLAREMONT CHAPEL, PENTONVILLE.

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ERRATA.

The following errors escaped notice till the work was printed; the reader is respectfully requested to correct the same.

Page 8, note, for “*ἔβλεβη*” read “*ἔβλαβη*.”

Page 79, line 5, for “*ΠΟΙΜΕΝΑ*” read “*ΠΟΙΜΕΝΙ*.”

Page 79, line 6, for “*βασιληες*” read “*βασιληες*.”

Page 89, line 27, for “*κασκευασματα*” read “*κατασκευασματα*.”

Page 178, note, for “*regulum*” read “*regulam*.”

————— for “*Galliæ, Britanniæ*” read “*Gallia, Britannia*.”

INTRODUCTION.

THE history of the following tract may be told in a few words. It first appeared at the beginning of the present century, as an article of review, in an American periodical published in New York, under the able superintendence of the late Rev. J. M. Mason, D.D.

Few readers familiar with the compositions of that splendid writer could fail, on perusing it in the pages of the Christian Magazine, to attribute it to his learned and able pen; but the question of authorship has since been placed beyond dispute, by its insertion amongst the other productions of that gifted divine, in a uniform edition of his works, published by the members of his own family.

A gentleman of London obtained from the United States a copy of this edition of Dr. Mason's works, and thus became acquainted with the following article in its pages. Having found its arguments upon the great question of Diocesan Episcopacy most satisfactory to his own mind, he became anxious to see it reprinted in a cheap form for circulation in this country, because at the present time the lofty claims of an exclusive apostolical succession are put forth with a dogmatism which deserves to be exposed and condemned.

While the Editor concurs in the opinion of his friend respecting the great excellence of this trac-

tate, yet he is not unconscious that, having retained its original form as a review, its acceptability may probably be thereby lessened with many readers. Its opening pages are necessarily occupied with the details of a local controversy, which may appear uninteresting and tiresome. He therefore wishes to bespeak the patience of the reader while travelling through the narrative of a temporary dispute, which occupies only the first chapter, as he can assure him, that the succeeding pages are filled with eloquent and masterly discussions of those topics which involve the whole subject of Diocesan Episcopacy.

Another circumstance may be supposed to lessen the value of this Essay in the Episcopal controversy of Britain, namely, that Dr. Mason replies to the arguments of American writers—arguments, it may be said, which Anglo-Episcopalians are neither bound to adopt nor defend. It should, however, be remembered, that the Rev. J. H. Hobart, afterwards Bishop of New York, conducted the controversy under review, and associated with him several other gifted members of the Anglo-American church. The reputation and authority which that able divine has obtained amongst his brethren in this country will not be disputed, and it may therefore be very fairly assumed, that he and his allies in the controversy brought forward the best arguments they could collect in support of Episcopacy, from their standard writers in both countries.

Respecting the competency of Dr. Mason to engage in the discussion of that subject, it is scarcely necessary to adduce a proof, for his character has long been familiar to English theologians, and his American opponents have acknowledged, that he was “an ac-

complished scholar, an eloquent preacher, and a learned divine ;” who brought to the controversy “a vigorous mind, a forcible style, and the confidence which a consciousness of genius usually inspires.”*

The late Rev. Robert Hall, who united in his own person the qualities attributed to his friend, in a higher degree than most of his contemporaries, and who enjoyed a long and personal acquaintance with Dr. Mason, has described him “as one of the brightest ornaments of the western hemisphere.”

The reader, therefore, who wishes to examine the claims of Diocesan Episcopacy, will not, it is hoped, permit the somewhat inconvenient form of this tract to deprive him of the assistance which the learned and powerful mind of Dr. Mason cannot fail to afford ; for he brought all his energies to the investigation, long before his fine powers were enfeebled by affliction and decay.

The Editor is aware, that some pious readers will regret the publication of another polemical book, which may contribute to prolong that ecclesiastical agitation, of which, perhaps, they are already weary. It is a source of satisfaction to his own mind, to know that he cherishes a warm regard for good men of every communion, and desires to live in peace with all. But truth must be more valuable than peace, or else the fathers of the Reformation, yea, our Lord and his apostles themselves, were guilty of needlessly exciting the minds of men.

At the present moment there are myriads of our countrymen who attend the ministry of pastors who

* Memoirs of Bishop Hobart, by Dr. Berrian, vol. i. p. 118—121.

have not been episcopally ordained, but whom they regard as the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, administering the ordinances of his church according to his will. This large section of the British community have lately been addressed, through various channels, in the language of awful warning, as those who are cut off from the visible church of Christ, and exposed to the displeasure of God. Now, when men of learning, genius, and moral worth appropriate to themselves and their episcopal brethren the divine and exclusive right of administering the word and sacraments, and assert, with a dogmatism that cannot fail to awe, and with a diligence that must necessarily impress timid and susceptible minds, that they alone constitute the only visible, apostolical church in the realm,* it assuredly is no evidence of a love of controversy, that we defend our own ministry from such attacks, and publish arguments which may reprove this spirit of assumption, and point out some of the consequences which must follow the concession of such claims.

Amongst other startling results of these high-church principles, this is obvious, that they recognize the ministry of the whole Romish priesthood, as valid and efficient, while they reject, as irregular and useless, the services of Protestant ministers through-

* "Why should we talk so much of an *establishment*, and so little of an APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION? Why should we not seriously endeavour to impress our people with this plain truth, that by separating themselves from our communion, they separate themselves not only from a decent, orderly, useful society, but from THE ONLY CHURCH IN THE REALM WHICH HAS A RIGHT TO BE QUITE SURE THAT SHE HAS THE LORD'S BODY TO GIVE TO HIS PEOPLE!!"—*Oxford Tracts*, 1833, 1834.

out the world, who have not been episcopally ordained.*

It cannot be denied, that the Church of Rome justifies some of the most unscriptural practices of her clergy, on the assumption of their priestly office and legitimate succession from the apostles. No one can read the debates of the Council of Trent, or reflect on its canons respecting the priesthood, as they are elaborately explained in "The Catechisms" of that ghostly assembly, without perceiving that this is the foundation-principle upon which the whole super-

† Even the clergy of the established church of Scotland do not escape. The celebrated Dr. Hicks, in the preface to his "Answer to the Rights of the Christian Church," uses the following remarkable expressions concerning that church:—"Such a church I think altogether as unworthy of the name of a church, as a band of rebels in any country, who have overthrown the civil constitution of it, would be of the name of a kingdom, state, or republic. Because such a pretended church is not only a variation from the Catholic apostolic church, but a sworn destructive confederacy against it; even the abomination of desolation in the house or kingdom of God. Of which, their pastors are not ministers, but by principle most malicious enemies; not pastors, but wolves of the flock."—p. 200. A striking proof that the principles of this non-juring divine still live, has recently occurred. The Hon. and Rev. Arthur Percival, rector of East Horsley, Surrey, having discovered that the Rev. J. Cumming, with whom he has had some communication as an officer of the Reformation Society, is a Presbyterian minister of the church of Scotland in London, says, in the *Record* newspaper, that, "in other words, Mr. C. is one of those who, not contented with excluding themselves from episcopal baptism and episcopal confirmation, have made a schism and gathered congregations, in opposition to our canonical bishops; and, as the canon declares persons in his situation to be *heretics*, he is incapable of preferring accusations against ministers of the church." With churchmen of this school, it avails nothing that the Act of Union declares the church of Scotland to profess "the true Protestant religion;" for the name Protestant is disliked, if not already renounced, by many of them.

structure of their ecclesiastical domination and priestly imposture has been built.

The following passage from the chapter "*Of the Institution of the Priesthood of the Law,*" will confirm this remark.

"Sacrifice and Priesthood are so joined by the ordinance of God, that both are found together in every dispensation. Since, therefore, under the New Testament, the Catholic church has received, by Divine institution, the holy and visible sacrifice of the eucharist, it must be acknowledged that she has a new, and visible, and external priesthood in the place of the old. Now the sacred Scriptures show, and the tradition of the Catholic church has always taught, that this Priesthood was instituted by the Lord our Saviour, and that to his apostles and their successors in the Priesthood, the power was given to consecrate, offer, and minister his body and blood, and also to remit and retain sins."

The Catechism says, that the office of the *Priest* is,

"To offer sacrifice to God, and to administer the sacraments of the church. The bishop, and, after him, the priests, who may be present, impose hands on the candidate for the priesthood. He next anoints his hands with sacred oil, reaches him a chalice containing wine, and a patina with bread, saying, '*Receive power to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate mass as well for the living as the dead.*' By these words and ceremonies he is constituted an interpreter and mediator between God and man, the principal function of the priesthood. Finally, placing his hands on the head of the person to be ordained, the bishop says, '*Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven him: and whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained.*' Thus investing him with that divine power of forgiving and retaining sins which was conferred by our Lord on his disciples."

These extracts plainly show, that the Lord's table has been elevated to an altar, and the bread and wine transformed into a vicarious sacrifice, to harmo-

nize with the idea of an authorized priesthood, so that episcopacy and transubstantiation are naturally allied, as parts of the same system.

The forms appointed for the consecration of bishops and the ordination of priests, by the Church of England, like those of Rome, assume the principle of apostolical succession, and the power of bestowing the Holy Ghost by the imposition of episcopal hands.

The archbishops and bishops present are required to lay their hands on the head of the elected bishop, the archbishop saying, "*Receive the Holy Ghost*, for the office and work of a bishop in the church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. And remember that thou stir up *the grace of God*, which is given thee by this imposition of our hands; for God hath not given us his spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness." This is not the mere impartation of office, for it is said that the Holy Ghost is given by the imposition of the hands of the bishops; and lest the matter should remain in uncertainty, it is expressly called the *grace of God*, the spirit of power and love!

A similar form is used at the ordination of priests in the Church of England. The bishop says, "*Receive the Holy Ghost* for the office and work of a priest in the church of God, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands," &c.

Believing that by these formularies, they have been admitted as members of that corporate body, that apostolical college which our Lord established, there are multitudes of the English clergy who, like their

episcopal brethren of Rome, maintain that they possess, and by their benediction impart to the sacramental elements an efficacy, which makes them the vehicles of grace, irrespective altogether of the moral character either of the recipient or the administrator. In their apostolic hands, the water of baptism conveys grace to the heart, and the elements of the sacramental board, when consecrated by the benediction of a rightly authorized priest, convey Christ to the soul. It therefore appears, to the writer, to be the imperative duty of all those who profess their alarm at the progress which many of the Anglican clergy have made towards the opinions of Rome, to consider whether it is not the necessary result of that doctrine which teaches that episcopal clergymen are the only legitimate successors of the apostles of our Lord.

It is only just, however, to say, that these notions were altogether opposed to the opinions of the great instruments of the English Reformation, in the reigns of Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth,* who maintained, and acted upon, that catholic principle which ac-

* It is greatly to be wished that the opinions of the Reformers on this subject were collected into one tract. I avail myself of the laborious researches of the learned and Rev. Joseph Boyce, of Dublin, in the following citations. "*Tyndal, Lambert, and Barnes, who were men of valuable learning, and sealed the reformed religion with their blood, assert that 'there were but now two officers of divine institution in the church, namely, elders, or bishops, to feed the flock, and deacons to minister the charity of the church to the poor and needy,' Testimonies in the Healing Attempt, pp. 6—8. A Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests, which appeared in the reign of Henry VIII. 1537 or 1538, and was subscribed by Thomas Cromwell, the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer,) the archbishop of York (Lee,) eleven bishops, and many other doctors and civilians, thus*

knowledged the presbyterian ordinations of foreign churches, and against which, exception was not made till the days of Archbishop Laud.

Another evil which results from this assumption of apostolical succession is, that its advocates regard those ministers who have not been episcopally ordained as "unauthorized teachers," who have intruded themselves into the sacred office, although they have been ordained by "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." It might be supposed that the character of the Christian ministry at the present

closes, "Albeit the holy fathers of the church of Christ did institute certain other inferior orders and degrees, &c., and deputed to every one of them certain offices to execute in the church; yet, *the truth is, that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops.* Nor is there any word of any other *ceremonies* used in conferring this sacrament, but prayer and imposition of hands." Vide *Addenda* in Burnet's History of the Reformation, part i. page 321.

The Erudition of a Christian Man, composed by the ecclesiastical committees appointed by Henry VIII., and published by his authority in 1540, affirms, "that of these two orders only, *priests* and *deacons*, the Scripture makes express mention; and how they were conferred by the apostles, by prayer and imposition of hands;" and the following remarkable passage is added:—"Whereas we have summarily declared what is the *office* and *ministration* which in holy Scriptures is committed to *bishops* and *priests*, and in what things it consists; *we think it expedient and necessary, that all men should be advertised and taught, that all such lawful authority and power of one bishop over another were and be given them by consent, ordinance, and positive laws of MEN ONLY, and not by any ordinance of God in Holy Scripture.*"

Passing from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of Edward VI., it appears, on the authority of Dr. Stillingfleet, in his *Irenicum*, (part ii. chap. viii. p. 386,) that by the king's special order, there was a select assembly of divines held at Windsor Castle, where met Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, Edward, archbishop of York, Edmund, bishop of London, Robert, bishop of Carlisle, the bishop of Rochester, Drs. G. Day, Thomas Robertson, J. Redmaine, Edward Leighton, Symon

time throughout the world would be enough to shake their confidence in this dogma.

Without dwelling upon the non-episcopal ordination of the Protestant ministers of France, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and of the other reformed churches of the continent of Europe, North America, with her ten thousand preachers, and a noble band of missionaries, all of whom have received their ordination from co-presbyters only, presents, one would think, a fact

Matthew, William Tresham, Richard Cozen, Owen Oglethorp, and some others. Various questions were proposed, to which they severally gave their answers. The tenth question was, "Whether bishops or priests were first? And if the priests were first, then the priest made the bishop?" To this question, archbishop Cranmer's answer was in these words: "The bishops and priests were at one time, and were not two things, but one office, in the beginning of Christ's religion." Dr. Stillingfleet adds, "thus we see by the testimony chiefly of him who was instrumental in our reformation, that he owned not Episcopacy, as a distinct order from Presbytery, of divine right, but only as a prudent constitution of the civil magistrate, for the better governing of the church." *Irenicum*, part ii. chap. viii. p. 393.

The divines of Elizabeth's reign supply us with many such honest concessions. Bishop Jewell's *Apology for the Church of England* has ever been regarded as affording a just exposition of the doctrine of the English church at the time he wrote. In his defence of that work against Harding, his Popish antagonist, he says, (part ii. ch. 3, div. 5,) "In St. Jerome's time there were metropolitans, archbishops, archdeacons, and others; but Christ appointed not these distinctions of orders from the beginning. These names are not found in all the Scriptures. This is the thing which we defend. St. Jerome saith, *Sciunt Episcopi*, &c. Let bishops know, that they are in authority over priests more by custom than by order of God's truth. Erasmus, speaking of the times of St. Jerome, saith, that *Id temporis idem erat Episcopus, Sacerdos Presbyter*. These three—bishop, priest, and presbyter—were at that time all one." And, to the testimony of Jerome, Bishop Jewell adds that of St. Austin:—"That the office of a bishop is above the office of a priest, not by authority of Scripture, but after the names of honour which the custom of the church has now obtained."—Joseph Boyse's Works, fol. vol. ii. p. 149—152.

sufficient to make them doubt the soundness of their favourite position. But the love of hypothesis greatly abates the love of evidence, and theory triumphs over facts. It avails nothing that the churches of that land can boast of an Edwards or a Tennant, of Dwight or a Payson—that their missionaries have gone forth to the heathen of the eastern and the western hemispheres, and by the preaching of the gospel have made glad the once idolatrous but now converted islanders of the Pacific and the Indian oceans—it avails nothing that their humble Presbyters are raising from the dust again the extinguished and prostrate lamps of the Syrian and Asiatic churches, which have been so long tarnished and dishonoured, though under episcopal care—it avails nothing that at home they have diffused around them more of Christian sentiment and usefulness than is to be found in any other community on earth—the men who have planted these churches and achieved these triumphs belong not to “the apostolical ministry,” they are “pretenders to holy orders,” and are left, as the reformed churches of Europe were, more than a century ago, by Mr. Dodwell, “to the uncovenanted mercy of God.”

Those ministers at home who have not received the laying on of episcopal hands, although they may be the advocates of church establishments, and friendly to the Episcopal communion, must be content to be placed in the same catalogue with the most uncompromising Dissenters. Our Wesleyan brethren may tell of the varied learning of Adam Clarke, and of the theological acumen of Richard Watson—they may bring their converted colliers from Kingswood, and

their civilized miners from Cornwall—they may declare their attachment to “the venerable establishment,” but this will avail them nothing. The Presbyterians of Ireland and of Scotland* may send forth their respective champions to fight the battle of establishments with Whigs and Voluntaries, but it will avail them nothing, for they belong to that church which has rejected bishops! So that it comes to this—that no learning, however profound—no zeal, however pure—no piety, however elevated—no usefulness, however extensive, can justify the man who assumes the office of a Christian minister without episcopal ordination.

* The recent visit of Dr. Chalmers to London will supply an appropriate illustration. The lectures of that gentleman at the Hanover Rooms, on “The Establishment and Extension of National Churches,” were preceded by a collect, which was read by a clergyman of the Church of England. Many other clergymen were also present, and several members of the episcopal bench. They thought the good Doctor was worth hearing as a lecturer, yet none of them could ask him as a preacher to occupy their pulpits; and, though he joined in the use of a formulary which would have startled many of his stern predecessors in the theological chair of Edinburgh, yet, upon the high-church principles combated in this volume, his episcopal admirers must have regarded him only as “an intruder” into the ministry, after all. What will the Rev. W. Dodsworth, who is so often descanting on the wickedness of going to hear [dissenting ministers preach, say to this? Let the ministers and members of the Church of England who have attended these lectures, ponder that reverend gentleman’s words: “Before any one entrusts himself to the *teaching* of another, it is at least incumbent upon him solemnly and prayerfully to inquire whether *that teacher* possesses the *credentials of an apostolical ministry*; whether, indeed, he has received his commission from the Lord; whether he is one authorized and *sent* by HIM, to convey HIS message, and to administer HIS sacraments to the people. (*Duty of Members of the Church of England*, p. 17.) But it may be, that, in this instance, Mr. D. is prepared to add another popish notion, to the many he has already propounded, that “the *end* justifies the means.”

It is true, that when the apostleship of Paul was questioned by the members of the church at Corinth, he did not show them how he received the office, but appealed to themselves as the spiritual fruit of his official labours, which Christ himself had blessed. "If I be not an apostle to others, yet doubtless I am to you: for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord." "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought amongst you in all patience, in signs and wonders, and mighty deeds." This might be reasoning conclusive enough in Paul, and evidence sufficient to silence the factious people of Corinth; but analogous reasoning is to go for nothing in support of Presbyterian ordination.

Oberlin and Neff may make the alpine wilderness to bloom, and the inhabitants of rocks to sing; Swartz and Rhenius may lead thousands of Hindoos to the obedience of Christ; Morrison, Carey, and Marshman may open the sacred Scriptures to the millions of China and the East; Nott and Williams may turn the Polynesian idolaters to the worship of the true God; yea, the church on earth may be enlarged, and the church in heaven increased, by myriads of happy converts brought to Christ by their self-denying, love-constrained efforts; but it all avails nothing—they are not "apostolical ministers," for they are not episcopally ordained!

On the other hand, while the advocates of this theory thus disown, as christian ministers, myriads of holy and truly gifted preachers of the truth, they receive (it must be owned, with perfect consistency,) as apostolic ministers, men on account of their episcopal ordination alone, who are notoriously deficient

in those endowments of the head and heart which qualify them "to teach others." Our blessed Lord told his apostles that he would give them "a *mouth and wisdom*, which all [their] adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist;"* and, in dependence on his gracious promise, he told them to "go, and *preach* his gospel to every creature." The apostles were unquestionably preachers, and were anxious that their *successors* in the ministry of the gospel should be preachers also. The apostle Paul, when writing to Timothy and Titus, charged them "to commit those things which they had heard to faithful men, who shall be *able to teach* others also"—men "*apt to teach*," "able to exhort and to convince the gainsayers." But now it is discovered, that should a bishop lay

"————— careless hands

On skulls that cannot teach, and will not learn,"

yet, by that act, they are constituted apostolical ministers, through whose services the people may be quite sure that "the minister of the true tabernacle" will instruct and comfort them.

Fearing lest some of my readers should suspect that I have exaggerated this opinion, I beg to quote the following passage from a discourse of an eloquent *evangelical* clergyman, which plainly asserts it;—only adding, that the italics are my own.

"We speak of Christ in the first place as minister of the church on earth.

"Now it is of first-rate importance, that we consider Christ as withdrawn only from the eye of sense, and, therefore, present as truly, after a spiritual manner, with his

church, as when in the day of humiliation he moved visibly upon earth. The lapse of time has brought no interruption of his parting promise to the apostles, 'Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.' *He has provided, by keeping up a succession of men, who derive authority in unbroken series from the first teachers of the faith, for the continued preaching of his word, and administration of his sacraments.* And thus he hath been all along the great minister of his church; delegating indeed power to inferior ministers, who 'have the treasure only in earthen vessels,' but superintending their appointment as the universal Bishop, and evangelising, so to speak, his vast diocese, through their instrumentality. We contend that you have no true idea of a church, unless you thus recognise in its ordinances, not merely the institution of Christ, but his actual and energizing presence. You have no right, when you sit down in the sanctuary, to regard the individual who addresses you as a mere public speaker delivering an harangue, *which has precisely so much worth as it may draw from its logic and its language.* He is an ambassador from the great Head of the church, and derives an authority from this Head, which is quite independent of his own worthiness. If Christ remain always the minister of his church, Christ is to be looked at through his ministering servant, whoever shall visibly officiate. And though there be *a great deal preached in which you cannot recognise the voice of the Saviour;* and though the sacraments be administered *by hands which seem impure enough to sully their sanctity;* yet shall we venture to assert, that no man who keeps Christ steadfastly in view, as the 'minister of the true tabernacle,' will ever fail to derive profit from a sermon, or strength from a communion. The grand evil is, that men ordinarily lose the chief minister in the inferior, and determine beforehand, that they cannot be advantaged, unless the inferior is modelled exactly to their own pattern. They regard the speaker simply as a man, and not at all as a messenger. Yet the ordained preacher is a messenger, a messenger from the God of the whole earth. *His mental capacity may be weak—that is nothing. His speech may be contemptible—that*

is nothing. His knowledge may be circumscribed—we say not, that is nothing, *but we say, that whatever the man's qualifications*, he should rest upon his office. And we hold it the business of a congregation, if they hope to find profit in the public duties of the Sabbath, to cast away those personal considerations, which may have to do with the officiating individual, and to fix steadfastly their thoughts on the office itself. *Whoever preaches*, a congregation would be benefited, if they sat down in the temper of Cornelius and his friends, ‘now, therefore, are we all here present before God, to hear all things that are commanded thee of God.’

“*But if a sermon differ from what a gospel sermon should be*, men will determine that Christ will have nothing to do with its delivery. Now this, we assert, is nothing less than the deposing Christ from the ministry assigned him by our text. We are far enough from declaring that the chief minister puts the false words into the mouth of the inferior. But we are certain, as upon a truth, which to deny, is to assault the foundation of Christianity, that the chief minister is so mindful of his office, that every man who listens in faith, expecting a message from above, shall be addressed through the mouth, ay, *even through the mistakes and errors of the inferior*. And in upholding this truth, a truth attested by the experience of numbers, we simply contend for the accuracy of that description of Christ which is under review. *If wheresoever the minister is himself deficient and untaught, so that his sermons exhibit a wrong system of doctrine*, you will not allow that Christ's church may be profited by the ordinance of preaching; you clearly argue that the Redeemer has given up his office, and that he can no longer be styled the ‘minister of the true tabernacle.’ There is no middle course between denying that Christ is the minister, and allowing that whatever the faulty statements of his ordained servant, no soul, which is hearkening in faith for a word of counsel or comfort, shall find the ordinance worthless, and be sent away empty.

“And from this we obtain our first illustration of the text. We behold the true followers of Christ enabled to find food in pastures which seem barren, and water where the foun-

tains are dry. They obtain, indeed, the most copious supplies — though, perhaps, even this will not always hold good — when the sermons breathe nothing but truth, and the sacraments are administered by men of tried piety and faith. *But when every thing seems against them, so that, on a carnal calculation, you would suppose the services of the church stripped of all efficacy, then by acting faith on the Head of the ministry, they are instructed and nourished; though in the main the given lesson be falsehood, and the proffered sustenance little better than poison.* And if Christ be thus always sending messages to those who listen for his voice; if he so take upon himself the office of preacher, as to *constrain even the tongue of error* to speak instruction to his people; and if over and above this conveyance of lessons by the most unpromising vehicle, he be dispensing abundantly by his faithful ambassadors, the rich nutriment of sound and heavenly doctrine; every sermon which speaks truth to the heart, being virtually a homily of Christ delivered by himself; why, a fidelity most extraordinary must be allowed to distinguish the description of our text, and Christ, though removed from visible demonstration, has yet so close a concernment with all the business of the sanctuary, uttering the word, sprinkling the water, and breaking the bread, to all the members of his mystical body, that he must emphatically be styled “a minister of holy things, of the true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man?”*

Thus it appears, that not only are the defective utterance and intellectual feebleness of “those who derive authority in unbroken series from the first teachers of the faith,” thought to be of little moment, but their erroneous doctrines and unholy conduct, it is held, will not interfere with their ministerial usefulness, if episcopally ordained!

Most persons, I imagine, would wish that something like evidence should be produced, to sustain

* Sermons by Henry Melville, A.M., pp. 44—48. Rivington.

this lofty assumption of "authority," derived "in unbroken series" from the apostles.

In the words of an able writer on this controversy,* it may be truly remarked that,

"Even the limited faculties of *man* can discover the wisdom of many parts of the Divine plan of redemption. Why, then, does not high-church instruct us clearly and fully in the causes and grounds of that superiority in point of excellence, which renders a hierarchy preferable to every other form of ecclesiastical government? The superior excellence of any scheme of church polity must, I presume, result from its superior efficacy in promoting the great end of the christian religion, the sanctification of the souls of men; or, at least, from its manifestly unrivalled tendency to promote that important end. But, in what respects, and for what reasons, Episcopacy is peculiarly suited to make Christians *zealous of good works*, its advocates have not, as yet, distinctly informed us. What particular *clerical gift* is conveyed to a presbyter by the laying on of the hands of a bishop, which the laying on of the hands of a presbytery cannot convey? Is the episcopal gift different from the other in kind? or is it only superior in degree? Does it take possession of the man's head, and guide him, without the labour of much study, into all necessary truth, and inspire a divine eloquence in preaching Christ crucified? Does the person ordained by a bishop find himself endowed with more of the graces of the Spirit, with more profound knowledge of the Christian doctrine, or with greater talents for communicating that knowledge, than the same person would do if he were ordained by a presbytery? Or does the whole virtue of the gift, conferred by the laying on of the hands of a bishop, consist in the efficacy which it gives to the ministrations of the person who receives it? How, then, does it *operate* to the sanctification of the word and ordinances to the people among whom he ministers? Do we observe a manifest superiority in the effects produced by the ministrations of those who were episcopally ordained?

* Vide Dr. Mitchell's "Presbyterian Letters, addressed to Bishop Skinner, of Aberdeen."

Do we learn from experience, that, when the sacraments are administered, and the word preached, by those who have not received the episcopal gift, God withholdeth the increase? There are some passages in the New Testament, which would lead a person of ordinary understanding, who wishes for all possible security in the choice of his religious teacher, to consider the effects produced by the teaching as the principal, if not the sole, criterion of the value of the gift, of which the teacher pretends to be possessed. "By their fruits ye shall know them," says our Lord, concerning religious teachers. But this is a test which is too easily understood and applied; and for that reason, probably, it is overlooked by the advocates of "the sacred hierarchy." Yet, if they would condescend to give us *any* reasons at all for the superiority, in point of excellence, which they ascribe to their own ecclesiastical polity; I mean, reasons that we can, in any measure, comprehend; it would be some satisfaction to us.—But perhaps there may be some mystery here, bearing this inscription, "Odi *profanum* vulgus et arceo." I have heard that when the pope officiates at high mass in St. Peter's, the efficacy of that magnificent act of devotion depends much on the changing of his holiness's slippers at certain parts of the service; and we all know how essential it once was to the salvation of Christians, both in the West and in the East, that the clergy should submit to the canonical tonsure, which represents the crown of thorns. But the *rationale*, in both cases, is kept, to this day, a profound secret by the initiated;—and so also is that of the unrivalled efficacy of the word and sacraments, under the ministry of a bishop or priest of high church. If the advocates of the hierarchy would only be pleased to demonstrate, that the divine model of an episcopal church, and the *χαρισμα* which is transmitted to its clergy from the apostles, render the sanctification of the souls of men unnecessary, by saving them without sanctification, we should then cease to interrogate them concerning the causes of the unparalleled efficacy of those *means of grace*, and, acknowledging that they are *mechanical instruments* of salvation, of supreme excellence, like Noah's ark, or a modern life-boat, we should say no more about the matter."

Besides this, there is another difficulty; How are the parties interested to be assured that this priestly authority has been indeed derived in "*unbroken series* from the first teachers?" Can Mr. Melville, or any other advocate of this opinion, assure himself before God, that all the predecessors of that bishop who ordained him, even from the apostolic age, were truly canonical? Can he, or any other clergyman, be assured that no heretical opinion, that no simoniacal act, has tainted any one of the lengthened line of bishops, which unites him to the apostles? One nullity will break the chain. Surely some uncomfortable doubts must occasionally trouble the minds of those who rest their authority, as the ministers of Christ, on no firmer basis than this.

Then again, the hearers of these ministers may sometimes feel the same difficulty. Suppose the case as put by Mr. Melville. An individual sits down in the sanctuary to hear an episcopal clergyman. He observes that there is little eloquence, and less logic, in the discourse; that the mental capacity of the preacher is weak, and his speech contemptible, and, that which is far worse, he cannot recognise the voice of the Saviour; that, in fact, his lesson is falsehood, little better than poison dropping from the tongue of error. The simple hearer is startled, but he recollects that he is not to regard the minister as "a mere public speaker, delivering an harangue, which has precisely so much worth as it may draw from its logic and language." Oh! no, his faith is to recognise, in this feeble, erroneous, and, it may be, unholy preacher, "an ambassador from the great Head of the church;" one "who derives an

authority from this Head, which is quite independent of his own worthiness." True; but faith rests upon adequate evidence; and this individual may indulge in "a carnal calculation" upon the subject, and ask, How do I really know that this poor creature indeed has derived authority from the Head of the church? Ambassadors usually bring their credentials, and prove their adaptation for the important negotiations committed to them. But here is no adaptation: and where are the credentials?

The dangerous tendencies of these extreme opinions must be apparent to every unbiassed reader. Not only do they confound all the distinctions between truth and error, virtue and vice, gifts and incompetency, in the ministerial service, but they tend to degrade the preaching of the gospel, that great institution of Christ for the conversion of the world. The apostle Paul was sent "not to baptize, but to preach the gospel;" and that man who cannot preach at all, or does not preach the truth, is no successor of Paul, let his ordination be what it may. A general and a just alarm has arisen amongst all classes of serious Christians in this land, respecting the irreligion and immorality of our countrymen. Is their case to be met by clergymen no better qualified than the individual described in the extract on which I have felt it my duty to animadvert? Have not the great majority of the pulpits of the episcopal church in this land, been occupied during succeeding centuries with teachers of this class? and are not the religious desolations over which so many unite to mourn, greatly to be attributed to that popish confidence which is placed in the orders of the clergy,

rather than in their adaptation to attract and impress the multitudes who long since have forsaken such bald and scanty pasturage?

These are some of the reasons why I have consented to put forth another polemical volume. I believe, that the dogma of apostolical succession, by rejecting the ministry of those who are not episcopally ordained, perpetuates the lamented divisions that exist in the church of Christ; that its advocates are led to symbolize with some of the worst principles of popery, and are encouraged to neglect one of the chief gifts and most eminent means of usefulness in the church—the preaching of the gospel; and, therefore, I invite thoughtful and candid minds to read how much can be said against its monstrous assumptions. Beyond this, I am not conscious of being influenced by party feeling, but can readily adopt the language of Dr. Thomas Goodwin, one of the fathers of our Congregational churches: “And for my part, this I say, and I say it with much integrity, I never yet took up religion by parties in a lump: I have found *holiness* where you would little think it, and so likewise *truth*: and I have learned this principle, which I hope I shall never lay down till I am swallowed up of immortality, which is, to acknowledge every good thing, and hold communion with it, in men, in churches, or wheresoever else.”

JOHN BLACKBURN.

ISLINGTON,
July 20th, 1838.

DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY EXAMINED,

8c.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY AND IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESENT
CONTROVERSY.

A Collection of Essays on the subject of Episcopacy, which originally appeared in the "Albany Centinel," and which are principally ascribed to the Rev. Dr. Linn, the Rev. Mr. Beasley, and Thomas Y. How, Esq. With additional notes and remarks. 8vo. pp. 210, New-York, T. and J. Swords, 1806.

EARLY in the summer of 1804, the Rev. John Henry Hobart, an assistant minister of Trinity Church, New-York, published a work entitled, "A Companion for the Altar: consisting of a short Explanation of the Lord's Supper; and Meditations and Prayers, proper to be used before and during the receiving of the Holy Communion, according to the form prescribed by the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States of America." This was followed, in the fall of the same year, by another compilation from the pen of the same gentleman, entitled, "A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

These volumes, especially the former, appeared, at the time of their publication, not only to the non-episcopal reader, but, if we are correctly informed, to discreet Episcopalians themselves, to advance claims which it is extremely difficult to substantiate.

Of the nature of these claims, the following extract from the *Companion for the Altar* will give a general idea.

“The Judge of the whole earth indeed will do right. The grace of God quickens and animates all the degenerate children of Adam. The mercy of the Saviour is co-extensive with the ruin into which sin has plunged mankind. And ‘in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him.’ But where the Gospel is proclaimed, communion with the church by the participation of its ordinances, at the hands of the duly authorized priesthood, is the indispensable condition of salvation. Separation from the prescribed government and regular priesthood of the church, when it proceeds from *involuntary and unavoidable ignorance or error*, we have reason to trust, will not intercept from the humble, the penitent, and obedient, the blessings of God’s favour. But when we humbly submit to that priesthood which Christ and his apostles constituted—when, in the lively exercise of penitence and faith, we partake of the ordinances administered by them, we maintain our communion with that church which the Redeemer purifies by his blood, which he quickens by his Spirit, and whose faithful members he will finally crown with the most exalted glories of his heavenly kingdom. The important truth which the universal church has uniformly maintained, that, to experience the full and exalted efficacy of the sacraments, we must receive them from a valid authority, is not inconsistent with that charity which extends mercy to all who labour

under *involuntary* error. But great is the guilt, and imminent the danger, of those who, possessing the means of arriving at the knowledge of the truth, *negligently* or *wilfully* continue in a state of separation from the authorized ministry of the church, and participate of ordinances administered by an irregular and invalid authority. Wilfully rending the peace and unity of the church, by separating from the ministrations of its authorized priesthood; obstinately contemning the means which God in his sovereign pleasure hath prescribed for their salvation, they are guilty of rebellion against their Almighty Lawgiver and Judge; they expose themselves to the awful displeasure of that Almighty Jehovah, who will not permit his institutions to be contemned, or his authority violated, with impunity." This passage is from the "Meditation for Saturday Evening," p. 202—204.

As we have quoted it, rather in order to connect the circumstances which gave rise to the "collection" immediately under review, than to subject it to rigid criticism, we forbear commenting on several assertions, in maintaining which the reverend writer, if a little pressed, might perhaps find that he has no ingenuity to spare. We now consider it in reference to the subject of the "Essays."

Extravagant as such pretensions must seem to those whose convictions are of a different sort, and offensive as they were to individuals whose predilections are certainly not anti-episcopal, no notice, so far as we know, was taken of Mr. Hobart's productions, nor any thing published on the other side, till the summer of 1805. Then a writer, generally supposed to be the Rev. Dr. Linn, introduced into the "Albany Centinel," under the head of "Miscellanies, No. ix.," some free strictures on the Episcopal claims. He immediately met with an antagonist of no mean powers, under the signature of a *Lay-*

man of the *Episcopal Church*, who is understood to be Thomas Y. How, Esq. To the aid of the latter came the Rev. Frederick Beasley, rector of St. Peter's church, Albany, with the venerable name of *Cyprian. Clemens*, or Dr. L. himself, shortly appeared in favour of the *Miscellanist*: as the battle waxed sore, the band of the hierarchy was joined by two right reverend prelates, the one from this state, as *Cornelius*; the other from Pennsylvania, as an *Episcopalian*; together with Mr. (now Dr.) Hobart himself, in the twofold form of *Detector and Vindex*; while the *Miscellanist* re-appeared in the characters of *Umpire* and an *Inquirer*. By the forces thus marshalled, five against one, the warfare was protracted till the public grew weary, and the printer interposed to effect an armistice. However, that the record and the fruits of so memorable a campaign might not be lost, the Rev. Mr. Hobart did not think it a misapplication of his time, nor a disservice to his church, to gather the pieces of both parties, and republish them in a separate volume, with a preface, annotations, and comments of his own. We accordingly take up the "collection" as it came from his hands.

We have heard a suggestion of unfairness in this transaction. We do not see how the charge can be supported, unless the writers on the Episcopal side have been permitted to alter and amend their essays without extending the same privilege to their opponents. The modification of a single paragraph may cover with ridicule the most forcible argument which was directed against it *before* the modification, and would insult the reader by imposing upon him something which was not the subject of remark. Of so degrading an artifice, no reputable man ought to be lightly suspected. As we have no such suspicion, and as this alone could justify a charge of unfairness, we do not see that Mr. Hobart is at all reprehensible for republishing

a set of essays which had been thrown upon the world without any pecuniary restriction, and accompanying them with such criticism as he deemed just.

Mr. Hobart observes in his preface, that "the friends of the church and of Episcopacy, however reluctant to discuss an important religious topic in a public paper, were compelled to resort to the same mode for defence, which the author of *Miscellanies* had chosen for his attack." We lament, as sincerely as themselves, that a *newspaper* was selected for such a discussion. We lamented it from the first. We never flattered ourselves that it would operate with a favourable influence either on the cause of truth, or on the social feeling of the community.

But when Mr. H. and the *Layman* and *Cyprian*, all complain of being assaulted in the peaceful exercise of a common right, and thus endeavour to throw the odium of aggression upon the author of "*Miscellanies*," it is rather over-acting. To exclude all non-Episcopalians from "the church which the Redeemer purifies by his blood, and quickens by his Spirit,"—to pronounce all their ministrations "irregular and invalid,"—to charge them with "great guilt," and threaten them with "imminent danger," for "negligently or wilfully continuing in a state of separation" from the Episcopal church; to represent them as "wilfully rending the peace and unity of the church;" as "obstinately contemning the means which God hath appointed for their salvation;" as "guilty of rebellion against their Almighty Lawgiver and Judge;" to publish all this to the world, and then most gravely to tell these same non-Episcopalians that there is no attack upon them, but only a little wholesome admonition for the edification of devout Episcopalians on the evening before the Holy Communion! and, moreover, to put on a lofty air, and break out into angry rebuke, toward those who are not satisfied with their explanation, is

really an improvement in polemical finesse. But hold ! let us look again at these pretty figures of rhetoric, by which thunderbolts, hurled at the heads of opponents, are converted into the gentle dews of instruction and consolation to friends,—schismatics, usurpers, renders of the church's unity, rebels against their Almighty Lawgiver ! Verily, if this is no attack upon non-Episcopalians, it is so like one, that we need a shrewd interpreter at our elbow, to prevent our mistaking it.

If Mr. Hobart had intended an attack upon the anti-Episcopal denominations, in what manner *could* he have made it ? Not by assailing them individually in the street ; not by entering their houses, and reading them a lecture on schism ; not even by preaching against them in his own place of worship ; for this would be “ instructing his own people ;” and if any others should happen to stroll in, he could not help that, more than he could hinder their buying and reading his books, which, according to his own account, he neither desired nor expected. It is the dictate of common sense, that if an author print and publish severe reflections upon any body of men, he not only attacks them, but does it in the most open manner possible. If one of our citizens should write and advertise in the gazettes, a pamphlet, calling all the members of the community, but those of his own sect, traitors and rebels to the government, would Mr. H. or any body else comprehended in the charge, be satisfied with such an apology as this : “ You have no right, sir, to be offended with any part of my pamphlet. It is true, I have called you a rebel and a traitor, but you should not construe these epithets into an attack upon you ; for the least candour will enable you to perceive that I published my pamphlet for the exclusive use of my own connexions !” Would this, we ask, convince Mr. H. or any one else, and send him home perfectly satisfied to be denounced as a rebel

and a traitor, so often as a zealous partisan might judge it conducive to the edification of his own particular friends? We believe not. Neither will the non-Episcopalians be satisfied with Mr. Hobart's apology for himself. They will probably view it as a stratagem, and not a very deep one, to avoid the unpopularity of appearing as the aggressor. Some of them, too, may consider Mr. H.'s books as the continuance of a system of attack which commenced several years ago, when a certain preacher declared to the faces of some of the most venerable ministers in this city, that all clergymen not Episcopally ordained are impostors, their commissions forgeries, and their sacraments blasphemy.*

These aspersions raised a great clamour at the time; and the repetition of them by Mr. H. and others, though in more decent language, has been loudly censured, as

* The preacher was Mr. Wright; the place, St. Paul's church; the occasion, a deacon's ordination; and the text, (of which, to use his own words, he "took leave," in order to give the poor non-Episcopalians a *hit*,) that injunction of our Lord, "*Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.*" That the orator was right in taking this "leave" will hardly be questioned, as he immediately broke through the second precept of his text; and the consequences proved that he had but little skill in the first. The effusion had more of everything in the serpent than his wisdom, and more of everything in the dove than her innocence.

A circumstance which rendered the attack an outrage, was the care of the Episcopal clergy to circulate notice of the ordination, and their solicitude for the attendance of their non-Episcopal brethren! One of the latter, who was present, remarked at the close of the service, with the pith and point of indignant feeling, "that Mr. W. possessed a large stock of confidence, to tell his bishop to his face that he was an unregenerated man, and no member of the Christian church!" It being well known that the Right Reverend Father in God, Samuel, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York, had been baptized by the Rev. Mr. Dubois, one of the ministers of the Reformed Dutch Church. Therefore, &c. Alas! Alas!

a violation of all the rules of prudence and charity. Of their *prudence* we say nothing. And the offence against charity is not the point of difficulty with us. Nor do we think that the author of "Miscellanies," in declaiming against Episcopal "bigotry and superstition," has taken the question by the proper handle. These are, at best, ungracious compliments, which, though they may vent the ire of the writer, contribute little to the emolument of the reader; and are generally repaid with good will, and with large interest. Truth can admit of no compromise with error, nor does charity require it. They are the truly charitable who point out the way of life, and warn their fellow-men of dangerous mistake. Therefore we shall neither dispute the right of an Episcopalian to publish his peculiar sentiments, nor, when they happen to bear hard upon others, shall we cry out against their uncharitableness. Our concern is with their truth or falsehood. And, as we are far from impeaching the sincerity of Mr. H. and his coadjutors, whatever we may think of their descretion, so our criticisms are intended to apply to them solely as *authors*. For their personal characters we entertain unfeigned respect. Nor can we be justly charged with violating that respect, though we examine their claim with as little ceremony as they have brought it forward. If the error be ours, let them overwhelm our darkness with the effulgence of their light; if the error be theirs, God forbid that any human regards should prevail with us to pass it gently by. With the imperial Stoic, we "aim at *truth*, by which no man was ever injured."*

They tell us, then, that their "priesthood" is the only "authorized ministry,"—that the church in which it offi-

* Ζητῶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑφ' ἧς οὐδὲς πώποτε ἐβλεβη. — Mar. Anton. Lib. I. c. 21. p. 50. ed. Gatakeri.

ciates is the only one in covenant with God,—that where the gospel is proclaimed, communion with this church, by the participation of its ordinances at the hands of the duly authorized priesthood, is the indispensable condition of salvation,—that whatever mercy may be extended to those who labour under *involuntary* error, such as *negligently* or *wilfully* continue in a state of separation from the authorized ministry of the church, and participate of ordinances administered by an irregular and invalid authority, are guilty not only of schism, but of contempt of God's institutions; of rebellion against his government, and of exposing themselves to his awful displeasure. In fewer words, their doctrine is, that non-Episcopalians are no part of the Christian church; but are “children of wrath,” and without a single hope founded on covenanted mercy. No “repentance toward God,” no “faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ,” no conformity to his image, no zeal for his glory, can be of any avail. The simple fact of their separation from the “authorized,” that is to say, from the Episcopal “priesthood,” mars their religion, and renders it stark naught!

This sweeping sentence of proscription is softened by representing it as “not inconsistent with that charity which extends mercy to all who labour under *involuntary* error.” But the relief is not worth accepting. For in the *first* place, so much is necessary to constitute “*involuntary*,” or, as it elsewhere called, “*unavoidable*,” error, that the instances in which the plea should be substantiated would be rare indeed. Access to means of instruction precludes it effectually. And as there are few districts where this question can be agitated, without Episcopalians, or their priests, or their writings, the error must almost always be wilful; in which case the retreat is cut off,—and *secondly*, we have no ground to expect even this very precarious mercy, but the *charity* of Mr. Hobart

and his brethren! Warrant from the word of God they have produced none, and have none to produce. If communion with the authorized or Episcopal priesthood be to those among whom the Gospel is proclaimed, an indispensable condition of salvation, what possible escape can be left for those who reject it? The very idea of such an escape, however to be effected, is repugnant to that of an *indispensable* condition. No; if the condition be *indispensable*, they who reject it must perish. And if they who reject it may still be saved, it is not *indispensable*: otherwise, the definition might run thus, *an indispensable condition is that which may be dispensed with!* The alternative then is EPISCOPACY or PERDITION!! Prove this, and there is but one way for us; rush into the arms of the Episcopal church, and the sooner the better! Prove this, and for our part, little as we are inclined to such a transition at present, we will take refuge immediately in her communion! He is a fool who would put his soul in jeopardy for a single moment, by rejecting an "indispensable condition of salvation," and risk the loss of heaven upon the credit of the *charity* of Mr. Hobart and Bishop Horsley! We are sure that the drift, and have little doubt that the design, of a number of Episcopal publications is to force plain people into such a conclusion.

But before the authors can be justified in uttering a syllable which only looks toward such a conclusion, they ought to be perfectly certain of their premises. To un-church, with the dash of a pen, all the non-Episcopal denominations under heaven, and cast their members, indiscriminately, into a condition worse than that of the very heathen, is, to say the least of it, a most dreadful excommunication; and, if not clearly enjoined by the authority of God, as criminal as it is dreadful. That all those glorious churches which have flourished in Geneva,

Holland, France, Scotland, England, Ireland, &c. since the Reformation; and all which have spread, and are spreading, through this vast continent; that those heroes of the truth, who, though they bowed not to the mitre, rescued millions from the man of sin, lighted up the lamp of genuine religion, and left it burning with a pure and steady flame to the generation following; that all those faithful ministers, and all those private Christians, who, though not of the hierarchy, adorned the doctrine of God their Saviour, living in faith, dying in faith; scores, hundreds, thousands of them going away to their Father's house under the strong consolations of the Holy Ghost, with anticipated heaven in their hearts, and its hallelujahs on their lips; that all, all were without the pale of the visible church, were destitute of covenanted grace, and left the world without any chance for eternal life, but that unpledged, unpromised mercy which their accusers *charitably* hope may be extended to such as labour under involuntary or unavoidable error, and this merely because they renounced Episcopacy; are positions of such deep-toned horror as may well make our hair stand up "like quills upon the fretful porcupine," and freeze the warm blood at its fountain. We say this sentence has been pronounced upon millions of the dead and of the living, merely because they were not, or are not, Episcopal. For Mr. Hobart and his friends have declared in substance, what their famous Dodwell has declared in form, that, "*the alone want of communion with the bishop makes persons aliens from God and Christ, and strangers from the covenants of promise, and the commonwealth of Israel!*"*

* That Mr. H. treads closely after Dodwell, see "Companion for the Festivals and Fasts," p. 59. And that the author of "Memorial of the late Bishop Hobart," if a judgment may be drawn from his remarks upon these Essays, treads equally close. See "Memorial."

We shall hardly be accused of transgressing the bounds of moderation, when we demand for such assertions proof which demolishes cavil, and shuts the mouth of reply. And if their authors cannot produce it, if they be not ready with demonstration, such as shall make "assurance doubly sure," they must abide the consequences of their temerity.

What the nature of their proof is, and how it will bear them out, we shall enable the reader to judge, before we finish this review. We pause to make two observations.

1. The writers with whom we have to do, lay upon the form of church government a stress which is not laid upon it in the word of God. We are far from insinuating that the question is of small moment; we are persuaded, on the contrary, that it is of great moment; and that Christians are chargeable with much sin for the indifference which prevails among them concerning it. We can never grant that the appointments of our Lord Jesus Christ may be innocently neglected; nor that any one is excusable for not endeavouring to satisfy himself what these appointments are. But we are very sure that particular views of external church order are not the hingeing point of salvation. Whether a man shall go to heaven or to hell, will be decided by another inquiry than whether he was an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, or an Independent. The scriptures have fixed that inquiry to this point, whether he was a believer in the Lord Jesus Christ, or not? *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; and he that believeth not shall be damned.* Again, *Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.* The reverse is, *He that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed on the name of the only begotten Son of God.* According to these passages, faith in the Lord Jesus, as he is

exhibited in the gospel is "the indispensable condition of salvation." According to Mr Hobart and his compeers, participation of Christian ordinances at the hands of the Episcopal priesthood, is the indispensable condition of salvation. We are not ignorant that in other sections of his book, Mr. H. dwells with interest and force on the necessity of a living and productive faith. We are glad to see so many things in a strain much more evangelical than pervades most of the ministrations in his church. But this inspires us with the deeper regret, on account of the "dead flies" among the precious "ointment." Nor can we suppress our conviction, that in representing an adherence to Episcopacy as "the indispensable condition of salvation," himself, and Daubeny, and a legion more, have done much toward misleading men's minds as to the foundation of eternal hope. That which wounds the bosom of tender piety, and of which we utterly deny the correctness, is their placing the external order of the church upon a level with the merits of our Lord Jesus, in the article of acceptance before God. We are positively told that soundness in the former is "the indispensable condition of salvation;" and faith in the latter cannot possibly be any more. Nay, with respect to non-Episcopalians, Episcopacy is of *primary*, and faith in the Redeemer of *secondary* importance: for we are told again, that "whoever is in *communion* with the *bishop*, the supreme governor of the church upon earth, is in *communion* with *Christ*, the head of it; and whoever is not in communion with the bishop, is thereby cut off from communion with Christ:" and this is said to be a "general conclusion," "established" by "the *uniform* testimony of ALL the apostolic and primitive writers."*

* "Companion for the Festivals and Fasts," p. 59. from Daubeny. —Quere. How many bow-shots are such writers off from the territory of "our Sovereign Lord the Pope?"

After perusing the paragraph, we were held in suspense between the gaze of astonishment and the swell of indignation. *Why*, he who is acquainted with facts well knows; these gentlemen *ought* to know; and, in due season, others whom it concerns *shall* know. The meaning is not obscure. There is no access to communion with Christ, but through communion with the bishop. Yet, Mr. Hobart himself being judge, true faith vitally unites its possessor to the Redeemer;* and in this "vital union" originates all communion with him. If, therefore, faith in Christ produces communion with him, and this communion is inaccessible but 'through the medium of the bishop, it follows, that faith in Christ is impossible where there is no communion with the bishop; and that all non-Episcopalians are, of necessity, infidels. And thus our position is proved, that Episcopacy is held up as of primary, and faith in Christ as of secondary importance. For as both are "indispensable conditions of salvation," that one upon which the existence of the other depends must be the more important of the two. And this is not an example of that sort of priority which obtains in the relation of *means* to *ends*; the use of the former preceding the attainment of the latter; so that the end, which is the greater, presupposes and follows the means, which are the less. The case before us, we say, is not of this sort; because we have access to the testimony of God, which must be believed in order to salvation, without going through the gate of Episcopacy. It may be urged, that faith in Christ includes the principle of obedience to his institutions; and therefore to resist them, is to shew the want of that obedience which flows from faith. Doubtless the faith of Christ does include such a principle. But this no

* "Companion for the Altar;" meditation for Thursday

more proves particular views of church order, than it proves particular views of any thing else which is regulated by Christ's authority, to be the "indispensable condition of salvation." Habitual disobedience to any of his known commands will exclude from his kingdom. Yet there are sins both of ignorance and infirmity which consist with a gracious state. And why an error about church-government is not to be classed among these, the Bible has assigned no reason. And if the high-churchmen will push their own doctrine, it will compel them to excommunicate each other in their turn. For it is no secret that there have been material differences among them on their favourite theme: and nothing can exceed their confusion and mutual contradiction, when they attempt to found their hierarchy on the scriptures.

At times, we acknowledge, they concede the possibility of "penitence" and a "true faith" out of their church, for it is upon this concession that they rest their *charity* for the non-Episcopalian. But as their concession is in diametrical repugnance to their argument, it only lets us see that they flinch from the consequences of their own doctrine.

Upon the whole, we have the best evidence that they lay an unwarrantable stress upon the form of ecclesiastical order, by erecting communion with their priesthood into an "indispensable condition of salvation." The alarm which they have sounded on this subject, is *vox et præterea nihil*, mere noise; and need give no disquiet to the most timid conscience.

2. Our next observation is, that as Mr. Hobart and his fellows have denied all communion with Christ to non-Episcopalians, they are bound to shew, that there is at least, *more* of the truth and efficacy of the gospel in the Episcopal church than in all other connexions. This is not drawing invidious comparisons between Christian

denominations, but, on their own principles, a perfectly fair comparison between the church of Christ and a set of associations which do not belong to it. We shall account it no hard task to prove as much of the church of Christ according to our views; nor ought they. For assuredly, if there is not within his church much more of "power and love, and of a sound mind;" much more of the fear of God; of "receiving Christ Jesus the Lord" and "walking in him;" of *reverential* attendance upon his worship; of domestic and personal godliness; in one word, much more of the spiritual life, and of that "holiness without which no man shall see the Lord;" if much more of these things be not found *within* his church than *without* it, "what doth it profit?" Will Mr. Hobart meet the ordeal? Will he accompany us from temple to temple, from pulpit to pulpit, from house to house, from closet to closet, and agree, that in proportion as there is little or much of "pure and undefiled religion" in them, their grade in the scale of Christian churches shall be low or high? Is it, then, a fact, that in the church which boasts of the only valid ministrations, and the exclusive prerogative of being in covenant with God, there is more evangelical preaching; more of Christ crucified; more plain, close, decisive dealing with the consciences of men, upon the things which belong to their peace, than in many of the churches which she affects to despise? Is it a fact, that her "authorized priesthood" are more scrupulous about the preservation of pure communion; that they object more strongly to the admission of mere men of the world; and are more active in excluding from their fellowship the openly irreligious, than are others? Is it a fact, that they adopt more prompt and vigorous measures to expel from their pulpits doctrine which flies in the face of their avowed principles, and is acknowledged by them-

selves to be subversive of the Christian system? Is it a fact, that in this "primitive Apostolic" church, the sheep of Christ and his lambs are more plentifully fed with "the bread of God which came down from heaven!" Or that she has less to attract the thoughtless gay, and more to allure those who become seriously concerned about their eternal salvation, than is to be found in hundreds of churches which she virtually "delivers unto Satan?" Are these facts? We appeal to them who have eyes to see, and ears to hear; especially to them who "have tasted that the Lord is gracious." The interrogatories and the appeal are extremely painful; but we are driven to them by the champions of the hierarchy, who appropriate communion with Christ to their own connexions. We, therefore, put them upon their trial before the bar of scripture, of conscience, and of public criticism. We demand the *evidence* of their exclusive fellowship with the Redeemer; we demand it for our own sakes; we insist upon their showing, according to his word, the superiority of their practical religion both in quantity and quality. If they cannot or will not answer, no rational man will be at a loss for the reason.

An Episcopal church we do know, in which there are hundreds of ministers, and thousands of their people, who are "valiant for the truth;" who exemplify in their own persons the loveliness of the Christian character, and who, with respect to themselves, will never shrink from the strictest investigation. Would to God we could say as much for all non-Episcopalians! But these members of that church who give, in "the fruits of righteousness," unequivocal proof that the "Spirit of Christ is in them," are not the persons who advance or defend such claims as are set up by Messrs. DAUBENY and HOBART. On the contrary, they most cordially

welcome to their bosoms, as heirs with themselves of the grace of life, all those "who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity:" and they are hated, reviled, persecuted, by those very same high-churchmen, who, like Mr. Hobart and his friends, are for confining the covenant of salvation to their own precincts.

We have reached only the threshold of the work which we proposed to enter and examine. But if we have detained the reader with preliminary matter, it is because we could not do justice to the subject without it. He is now in possession of facts and reasonings to show that the actual discussions relative to Episcopacy are not to be classed with those wrangles of party which amuse ignorant zealots, and disgrace sober inquiry. Nothing less is agitated than the question whether as non-Episcopalians, we are to walk in the "faith of the gospel," in "joy of the Holy Ghost," and with a "hope that maketh not ashamed;" or be shut up under condemnation, reprobated by God and man? As we did not begin the controversy, nor engage in it till after long forbearance under multiplied provocation; and not even then, till we felt ourselves called upon, by an imperious sense of duty, to vindicate the perverted truth, and the abused ordinances, of our Master in heaven; so, having begun, we shall not desist until we shall have exposed those arrogant pretensions and fallacious reasonings, which are calculated to distress and deceive the hearts of the simple.

CHAPTER II.

DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY NOT SUSTAINED BY THE OFFICIAL
NAMES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Mr. Hobart, in his preface to this collection of Essays, assures the reader that,

“The author of Miscellanies has, with great industry, collected together all the arguments against Episcopacy.”
p. iv.

We apprehend that Mr. H's zeal, in this paragraph, has outstripped his caution. A man professes to have a very extensive and accurate acquaintance with a subject, when he pledges himself to the public, that “*all* the arguments” on either side of a question relating to it, are contained in a work which he has written or edited. And if the work be defective, especially in material points, he subjects himself to comments most mortifying to his own feelings, most painful to his friends, and not desirable even to his opponents. We, therefore, think, and others may think with us before we shall have done, that Mr. H. ought not to have committed his reputation to the consequences of such an assertion. His reserve ought to have been the greater, as he has taken some pains to invite an examination of his scholarship. This *en passant*. To the book itself.

“The question of Episcopacy,” says the Layman in his 9th number, “is a question of fact, to be determined by a sound interpretation of the sacred volume.”

We join issue with him; and not only consent, but insist, that the question shall be decided by the scripture alone. We detract not from the respect due to the primitive fathers, nor decline to meet their testimony, as we shall show in proper season. But in fixing the sense of the scripture, their authority is of no more weight with us than the authority of other uninspired men; that is, we regard not their opinion any further than as it is supported by the strength of their reasonings. The written word is the perfect and exclusive rule of our faith. It would be so, had not a shred of Christian antiquity survived the ravages of time. And if all the fathers from Barnabas to Bernard, had agreed in reckoning among the institutions of Christ, any thing which is not to be found in the statute-book of his own kingdom, it should be no article of our creed; and should have no more sway in our conscience than an assertion of the Layman himself, or of his clerical friends. This being understood, let us see how the lines of evidence run.

The author of "Miscellanies" had, in No. X., argued the identity of presbyters and bishops from the indiscriminate use which the scripture makes of these official terms. His antagonists flout at this argument, with all imaginable contempt, through every part of the discussion. It is "literally," say they, "good for nothing:" "too feeble to merit a serious reply." It is "wretched sophistry"—"the old and miserable sophistry of names." But wherein does the sophistry consist? Why, Paul is called an "elder;" therefore the Presbyterian argument would prove that Paul was no more than a presbyter. Christ himself is called (*διακονος*) *diaconos*, which is translated a "minister," a "deacon;" therefore the Presbyterian argument would prove, that Christ was no higher than a deacon.

“Presbuteros” (πρεσβυτερος) “signifies an *elder man*; whence comes the term *Alderman*. By this new species of logic,” (*which, by the way, is at least more than 1400 years old,*) “it might be proved,” saith the *Layman*, “that the apostles were, to all intents and purposes, Aldermen, in the civil acceptation of the term; and that every Alderman is really and truly an Apostle,” p. 52, 53.

If this argument is correct, the Presbyterians show very small, no doubt. And the Layman is not to blame for stigmatizing it as “wretched sophistry,” “the miserable sophistry of names.” Yet the reader may be induced to pause, when he is told that men of singular acuteness, learning, candour, penetration, and force of mind, have considered this selfsame argument, when fairly stated, as altogether unanswerable. There may, perhaps, be some policy in trying to run it down with hard words; for the Layman acknowledges, that the “Episcopalians would *give up their cause at once*, if reduced to the necessity of placing it on such a basis.” p. 56. Here the secret is disclosed; if the argument from the scriptural use of official titles is valid, down goes the hierarchy! *Hinc illæ lacrymæ!* No wonder that the attempts are so incessant to scowl, and scoff, and laugh it out of countenance. It will not, however, be parted with so easily; and in listening to a good word for it, the reader may begin to think it possible for a little sophistry to trill from *other* than Presbyterian pens.

In examining the records of the New Testament, we find that the conversion of a number of individuals to the Christian faith, was followed by their organization into a public society under their proper officers, who, *without a single exception*, are distributed into the two general classes of *presbyters* or *bishops*, and *deacons*: the former presiding over the spiritual, and the latter over the tem-

poral, interests of their respective charges. This distinction is marked in the strongest manner, and is never confounded. Thus, *to the saints in Christ Jesus, which are at Philippi, with the BISHOPS and DEACONS — a BISHOP must be blameless—likewise must the DEACONS be grave, &c.*

And that the terms *bishop* and *presbyter*, in their application to the first class of officers, are perfectly convertible, the one pointing out the very same class of rulers with the other, is as evident as the sun “shining in his strength.” Timothy was instructed by the apostle Paul in the qualities which were to be required in those who *desired the office of a BISHOP*.* Paul and Barnabas *ordained PRESBYTERS in every church*† which they had founded. Titus is directed to *ordain in every city PRESBYTERS* (πρεσβυτερος,) who are to be *blameless, the husband of one wife*. And the reason of so strict a scrutiny into character is thus rendered, in the very next sentence, *for a BISHOP* (ἐπίσκοπον) *must be blameless*.‡ If this does not identify the *bishop* with the *presbyter*,—in the name of common sense, what can do it? Suppose a law pointing out the qualifications of a sheriff, were to say, a *sheriff* must be a man of pure character, of great activity, and resolute spirit; for it is highly necessary that a *governor* be of unspotted reputation, &c.; the bench and bar would be rather puzzled for a construction, and would be compelled to conclude, either that something had been left out in transcribing the law; or that *governor* and *sheriff* mean the same sort of officer; or that their honours of the legislature had taken leave of their wits. The case is not a wit stronger than the case of *presbyter* and *bishop* in the Epistle to Titus. Again: Paul, when on his last journey to Jerusalem, sends for the *PRESBYTERS* of Ephesus to meet him at Miletus; and there enjoins these

* 1 Tim. iii. 1.

† Acts xiv. 23.

‡ Tit. i. 5—7.

PRESBYTERS (πρεσβυτερος) to feed the church of God, over which the Holy Ghost had made them (ἐπίσκοπος) BISHOPS.* It appears, then, that the *bishops* to whom Paul refers in his instructions to Timothy, were neither more nor less than plain *presbyters*. To a man who has no turn to serve; no interest in perverting the obvious meaning of words; one would think that a mathematical demonstration could not carry more satisfactory evidence. But conclusive as it would be in every other case, it is in this case, the advocate of the hierarchy tells us, "good for nothing," because Paul is called an "elder," and Christ a "deacon" as well as a "bishop," and, therefore, if the argument proves any thing, it proves that neither the apostles nor their Lord were any higher in authority than our elders and deacons.

May we ask whether "bishop," "presbyter," "deacon," signify *any thing at all* as terms of office, or not? If they do not, then the scripture has used a parcel of words and names relative to church government, which are absolutely without meaning. This will not be said. Something, therefore, and something *official* too, they must mean. We ask again, whether or not they designate precisely any particular officers, as *mayor*, *alderman*, *recorder*, do in the commonwealth? Or whether, like the term *magistrate*, they merely express authority in general; so that no judgment can be formed from them as to the grade or functions of the offices to which they are annexed? If the former, the assailant of the hierarchy, its own friends being judges, is invincible, and their citadel is laid in the dust. Of course, they prefer the latter; and insist that the official title occurring in the New Testament, can afford no aid in ascertaining what offices Christ hath instituted in his church. If

* Acts xx. 17. 28.

this is their hope, we much fear that it is a forlorn hope indeed.

If our question be not troublesome, we would ask, what is the use of *names*? Is it not to distinguish objects from each other? To prevent the confusion which must pervade conversation about *nameless* things? And to facilitate the intercourse of speech, by compressing into a single term, ideas which, without that expedient, would be protracted through descriptions of intolerable length? Now, if there are not in the New Testament *appropriate* titles of office which distinguish the several officers from each other, there could have been no such titles in use at the time when that book was written? For it would surpass the credulity of infidels themselves, to imagine that the writers, by purposely omitting the *particular*, and employing only the *general*, terms of office, would throw both their history and their readers into utter confusion. There can be no possible reason for omitting terms characteristic of the several offices, but the fact that no such terms existed. A marvellous phenomenon this! That an immense society, as the Christian church is, should be organized under its proper officers; should ramify itself through all the nations of the earth; should have every one of its branches regularly officered; and yet be destitute of names by which the officers might be correctly known; so that when an official term was mentioned, no ingenuity could guess whether an officer inspired or uninspired, ordinary or extraordinary, highest or lowest in the church, was intended! Did any thing like this ever happen in the affairs of men, from father Adam down to this present year? Is such a fact consistent with the nature and use of human language? Is it consistent with the operations or the being of any society whatever? If the state of the primitive church with respect to terms of

office, were such as the Episcopal argument represents it, she would indeed, have been

Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui LUMEN ademptum ;

a perfectly unnatural and monstrous production; dark and confused as "Chaos and Old Night."

This demonstration that the representation on the part of the hierarchy cannot be true, accords precisely with scriptural facts. From these, therefore, we shall prove that it is not true. A controversy of moment was referred, by the church at Antioch, to the apostles and elders of Jerusalem. Now, if *apostle* and *elder* are not specific terms of office, where is the propriety of the distinction? And to whom was the reference made? Would the description have answered as well if the assembly had been composed *entirely* of apostles; *entirely* of elders; or *entirely* of deacons? Paul and Barnabas ordained elders (*presbyters*) in every city. Cannot an Episcopalian tell, even from the *name*, whether they ordained bishops, priests, or deacons? Titus was commissioned by Paul to ordain *elders* in every city: and Timothy received his instructions pointing out the qualifications of men who were to be made *bishops* and *deacons*. Pray, if the *officer* was not precisely designated by the *name*, what sense was there in giving particular instructions relative to each? How were Titus and Timothy to find out what sort of officers the apostle meant? Would any Episcopalian affirm, that under cover of the indefinite terms *elder*, *bishop*, and *deacon*, the good evangelists might have settled down a dozen *diocesans* in every city? or created a score of new *apostles*? Why not? if *apostle*, *bishop*, *presbyter*, *deacon*, are only *general* terms of office, but are not appropriated to any particular orders of officers. Nay, if the Episcopal assertion on this subject is correct, a broad line of absurdity runs through

the apostolic writings, and through the whole transactions of the apostolic church.

The simple truth is, that all these terms, *apostle*, *bishop*, *presbyter*, and *deacon*, were as distinctive, and were annexed to certain officers with as much regularity and exactness, as any official terms can be at this hour. The first was given by our Lord Jesus Christ, to officers commissioned immediately by himself, for the purpose of carrying his name and establishing his church among the nations. The last, viz. *deacon*, was given to officers ordained by the apostles to look after the poor. The other, viz. *elder*, or *presbyter*, had long been in use as a specific term of office. It signified a ruler; but a ruler whose power was well defined, and was perfectly familiar to the Jews. *Presbyters* were to be found in every synagogue; and every man in the nation was acquainted with their functions. If ever there was a term which conveyed precise ideas of a particular office, and was too notorious to be mistaken, *presbyter* was that term. By transferring it to rulers in the Christian church, the greatest caution was taken both to prevent misconception of their authority, and to facilitate the organization of Christian societies. As there were Jews every where, and converts every where gathered from among them, there were every where a number prepared to fall, without difficulty, into a regular church connexion, and to train the Gentile believers, to whom the whole system was perfectly new. But they would have talked of *elders* to the day of their death, without the most distant notion of such a ruler as a *diocesan bishop*. These Christian *presbyters* were also *bishops* (*επισκοποι*.) The former word denoting their authority; the latter, the functions growing out of it. They were, according to the form in which the Master had distributed their duties, to execute the office of *presbyters*, by taking

the *episcopate* or *oversight* of the flock. So charges Paul the *presbyters* of Ephesus: *Feed the flock of God, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you BISHOPS, i. e. overseers, or inspectors.* So charges Peter the *presbyters* of the dispersion: *Feed the flock of God—taking the OVERSIGHT thereof:* the word is *επισκοπουντες*, which signifies, “*exercising the Episcopal office.*”

If, then, the term *presbyter* or *elder*, had been so long settled; if it denoted an officer as unlike a modern bishop as can well be conceived; and if it was admitted universally into the Christian church, as thus understood, (for there is no intimation of its sense having been changed,) then the allegation of the hierarchy, that it is an indefinite term, signifying merely a ruler, without reference to his station, is altogether false, and the objection founded upon this allegation is altogether frivolous. On the other hand, the argument founded upon it for the identity of the scriptural bishops and presbyters as rulers in the church, to the exclusion of prelates, is solid and strong; the flings of “good for nothing,” and “miserable sophistry,” to the contrary notwithstanding.

We have derived some amusement from remarking, that while our Episcopal friends pertinaciously deny that any official name in the New Testament is so appropriated to a particular office as to designate the *kind* of officer, they cannot render their own reasoning intelligible without the aid of the very principle which they reject.

“The apostles,” says the Layman, “are called presbyters. This proves conclusively that no argument can be drawn, by the advocate of parity, from the promiscuous use of the terms presbyter, bishop, in the sacred writings. If it proves that there is now but one order in the ministry, it proves equally that Paul was upon a perfect level with the elders of Ephesus.”* Again,

* No. I. *Collec.* p. 8.

“Christ is called *diaconos*, which is translated deacon, or minister. Therefore Christ was on a level with the deacons of Jerusalem.”

Does not every reader perceive, at the first glance, that the whole force of this objection, which is to put down the advocates of ministerial parity, depends upon the supposition, that presbyter and deacon *are* titles appropriated to particular grades of office? For if they are not, if they denote only office in general, what will the objection say? To try it fairly—substitute *officers* in the room of *elders*, and the proposition will stand thus; the apostles are called *elders*; therefore, the apostles are on a level with *officers* in the church. This is not likely to fill the “advocates of parity” with any great alarm. Again,

“The apostle addresses Timothy, and him alone, as the supreme governor of the church, [of Ephesus] calling upon him to see that his presbyters preach no strange doctrine.”*

Here the Layman uses *presbyter* as a precise term for a particular grade of officers; and so does the apostle in the epistle referred to, or else the Layman’s argument, to quote his own words, “is literally good for nothing.” Nay, he even concedes that the term *presbuteros*, elder, is “ordinarily appropriated in the New Testament to the second grade of ministers,” although it is capable of being applied to all the grades.”† But how we are to discover when it is applied in one way, and when in the other; that is, when it has a particular, and when a general signification, neither this gentleman nor his reverend associates have been pleased to tell us. If we are to judge from facts, which they recommend as an excellent

* Layman, No. v. *Collec.* p. 55.

† No. 1. *Collec.* p. 7.

way of judging, and if we collect facts from their own conduct in the debate, the rule is this, *Presbyter is always a DEFINITE term of office when it makes FOR the prelates, and always an INDEFINITE one when it makes AGAINST them.* For example: when Timothy is to be proved a bishop, in the genuine prelatical sense of the word, presbyter infallibly signifies the second grade of ministers. This is sober solid logic, which no man who can put a syllogism together must venture to dispute. On the other side, when Paul, addressing these same presbyters, seems to identify them with bishops, then presbyter is nothing more than a general term of office; and the argument drawn from its being convertible with *episcopos*, or bishop, is “literally good for nothing,” “the old and miserable sophistry of names!”

All this, to be sure, is vastly ingenious, and infinitely removed from sophistry and quibble! But as imagination is apt now and then to be unruly, we fancied that it is not unlike the Socinian method of defending the inspiration of the scriptures. Let those great luminaries of wisdom, Dr. Priestley and his compeers, patch up the “lame accounts” of Moses, refute the “inconclusive” reasonings of Paul, and otherwise alter and amend the Bible, as their philosophy shall dictate; and then the sacred writings will be *inspired* to some purpose! Let the abettors of prelacy interpret terms now one way, and then the contrary way, as it shall suit their convenience, and they will, no doubt, convert the New Testament into a forge for the hierarchy, and swear in an apostle to superintend the manufacture.

But still, how are we to repel the consequence with which they press us? If presbyter and deacon are definite terms of office, and the apostles are called presbyters, and their Lord a deacon, (*διακονος*) we certainly, by our argument, confound all distinctions; and

put the apostles, and their Master too, on a level with the ordinary and even lowest officers in the church.

No such thing. The conclusion is vain, because the premises are false. The objection overlooks a distinction which its authors themselves are compelled to observe every hour of their lives; and that is, the distinction between the absolute and relative use of terms. By the *absolute* use of terms, we mean their being applied to certain subjects in such a manner as to sink their general sense in a particular one. By their *relative* use, we mean their being coupled with other terms which permit them to be understood in their general sense only. To the former class belong all *names* which, however general in their primary ideas, have become appropriated to particular objects. To the latter belong the innumerable applications which may be made of the very same terms, when not thus appropriated. Examples will best illustrate the distinction. *Congress, judge, assembly,* are terms of great latitude, and their applications may be varied without end. When we say a *congress* of bodies, of waters, of people,—a *judge* of music, of sculpture, of painting,—an *assembly* of citizens, of clergy, of delegates; all the world perceives that these terms are used in their general sense, and can be used in no other. But when we speak of the United States, and say, *the congress, the judges*; or of the state of New-York, and say, *the judges, the assembly*, all the world perceives that the terms are used in a particular sense, and designate precisely certain public officers, to whom, and to whom alone, every man, woman, and child in the country will refer them. Now, supposing that certain individuals should remit a litigated point to one of the *judges*, and we should insist that this may mean the *lieut.-governor*, because the term judge *may* be applied to him when he sits in the court of errors; and suppose an opponent to urge

that "judge" is an official term appropriated to known officers; and further suppose us to reply, Your argument is "literally good for nothing," "the miserable sophistry of names;" the word judge is a generic term, and by this same mode of reasoning you might prove that every justice of the peace is on a level with the chief justice of the United States, or with God himself, because "judge" is a name given to them all;—would not this pass for most sage ratiocination, and persuade the public that whoever should not bow to it must be either a "miserable" sophist, or an incorrigible dunce? And wherein it would yield the praise of acuteness, closeness, or strength to the Episcopal objection to the argument drawn by the advocates of parity from the use of *official* terms in the New Testament, we are unable to discern. The mistake in both cases is the same, namely, the confounding the absolute and relative, or, as we have explained it, the official and unofficial use of the same term. Make this plain distinction, and the reply of the hierarchy is ruined. The Lord Jesus is emphatically the *SENT* of God, and therefore he is called the *apostle* OF OUR PROFESSION.* He is also called *the minister* (*diaconos*) OF THE CIRCUMCISION;† but never, absolutely, "an apostle," "a deacon." Paul and his fellow-apostles are often called *diaconoi*, ministers; in such form as this, *ministers of God*, *ministers of THE NEW TESTAMENT*;‡ but never, absolutely, "deacons." They are also called *elders*, or *presbyters*; and for this very good reason, that, possessing ordinary as well as extraordinary powers, they frequently participated in the councils, and exercised only the authority of presbyters.§

Reverse the order: begin with the lowest and go up to the highest officer in the church, and you will not find

* Heb. iii. 1.

† Rom. xv. 8.

‡ 2 Cor. vi. 4.

§ This matter shall be more fully explained hereafter.

an instance in which the official name of the superior is applied to the inferior. Deacons are nowhere called presbyters, nor presbyters apostles. *Cyprian* does indeed assert, that "the apostolic authority was manifestly communicated to Epaphroditus." Where is the proof?

"St. Paul," says he, "in his epistle to the Philippians, ii. 25, calls him the apostle to the Philippians." "But I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and companion in labour, and fellow-soldier, but your apostle," (in our version your *messenger*.) Accordingly St. Jerome observes, "By degrees, in process of time, others were ordained apostles by those whom our Lord had chosen," as that passage to the Philippians shows. "I supposed it necessary to send unto you "Epaphroditus, your apostle." And Theodoret, upon this place, gives this reason why Epaphroditus is called the apostle to the Philippians. "He was entrusted with the Episcopal government, as being their bishop." But these are parts of scripture on which the advocates of Episcopacy place the least reliance."*

In this paragraph, as in many others, the assertions of *Cyprian*, applauded and adopted by Mr. Hobart, display more haste than inquiry, and more ardour than discretion. To force a testimony in favour of Episcopacy, he has contrived, by a false translation of two words, to put into the mouth of the apostle Paul a speech which he never uttered. "St. Paul," says he, "calls Epaphroditus *the* apostle to the Philippians." Paul does no such thing; he would not have spoken truth if he had. No person, as shall be proved in its place, could be vested with apostolic authority, but by the immediate appointment of Christ himself. Such an appointment Epaphroditus had not; and therefore Paul did not, could not, call him

* *Cyprian*, No. iii. *Collec.* p, 72.

“an apostle,” in the official sense of that term; much less “the apostle to the Philippians;” because a permanent connexion with any particular church, like that which subsists between a presbyter and his congregation, or between a prelate and his diocese, was essentially incompatible with the apostolic character. We wonder that Cyprian, while his hand was in, did not fix down Paul himself as the diocesan of Corinth and its dependencies. For his own words to the Christians of that city are, *If I be not an apostle unto others, yet doubtless I am to you; for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord.** Here occurs, in a fair and honest translation, the very phrase of “an apostle to a people,” which Cyprian fabricated by a gross mis-rendering of a passage in the Epistle to the Philippians. And considering the anxiety with which the New Testament has been searched for prelates, there can be no doubt that if stubborn, most stubborn facts did not stand in the way, Paul would have been made up into a diocesan long ago, and introduced to our acquaintance, with the mitre on his brow, as the bishop of Corinth. But if the declaration, “I am an apostle unto you,” is no proof whatever that Paul filled an Episcopal see among the Corinthians, how can the expression, “an apostle to you,” even admitting it to be correct, prove that Epaphroditus was bishop of Philippi? But the words mangled by Cyprian into an “apostle to you,”† signify just what our common version represents them to signify, “your messenger.” The Philippians had sent him with a contribution to the relief of the apostle’s wants; as he himself tells us in the fourth chapter, *I have all, and abound: I am full; having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you,*—v. 18. This is the reason why he is called their messenger. The coupling of the term *apostolos*

* 1 Cor. ix. 2.

† ἑμῶν ἀποστολος.

with “your,” takes it out of the predicament of official names, and requires that it be understood in its general sense, which is, “a messenger.” It has nothing to do with Episcopal relations, or clerical functions of any sort; say Theodoret what he pleases. It was hardly just to found the title of a bishop in the murder of a text. But whatever sentence be pronounced on Theodoret, we entirely acquit Cyprian from the charge of sinning against knowledge,

Cyprian seems also to labour under the inconvenience of a bad memory. For after agreeing with his friend the Layman to reprobate all reasoning from words to things; he lays the whole stress of an argument for the prelatical dignity of Epaphroditus upon a single word. And so mighty is the force of this word in his eyes, that on the strength thereof, he says that the “apostolic authority was *manifestly* communicated to Epaphroditus;” when the fact turns out to be, that even the word which is to *manifest* this “communication,” has nothing to do with the subject! And then, to finish neatly, he informs us in the close of the paragraph, that “these are parts of scripture on which the advocates of Episcopacy place the *least reliance*.” They are wise to let the thistle alone after feeling its prickles.—But it is rather incongruous to place only “the *least reliance*” upon “parts of scripture” which “*manifestly*” prove the very point they would be at. And no less so, to build their “manifest” proof upon an argument which they themselves have pronounced to be “miserable sophistry,” and “literally good for nothing!”*

* These gentlemen are hardly civil to their favourite Theodoret, from whom, through Whitby and Potter, they borrowed this “manifest” communication of the apostolic authority—to hold him up with one hand as a venerable defender of their cause; and with the other to lash him as a miserable sophist.

Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum :

the right to be drowsy, in protracted toil, has become prescriptive. Homer occasionally nodded; and we shall not refuse to Cyprian and his colleagues the indulgence of a nap.

The sum is, that the terms *apostle, bishop, presbyter, deacon*, designate, with precision, officers known and established in the apostolic church,—that no two of these terms are used interchangeably, excepting “presbyter” and “bishop.” We mean, that apostle and bishop, apostle and presbyter, apostle and deacon, bishop and deacon, presbyter and deacon, are never put promiscuously the one for the other: and the reason is, that they *do not signify the same thing*. But that “bishop” and “presbyter” are used interchangeably; so that you may put the one for the other at pleasure, without destroying or obscuring the sense of the sacred writers: and the reason is, and must be, that they *do signify the same thing*; that is, they mark one and the same grade of ecclesiastical rulers. This last proposition, Theodoret, fierce as he was for prelacy, has himself advanced. He probably did not observe how fatal it is to the hierarchy, as the discussions on that subject were not, in his day, very deep nor general. But so sensible was Dr. Hammond, the most learned, perhaps, of all the Episcopal champions, that the argument drawn by Presbyterians from the identity of the scriptural bishop and presbyter, is conclusive against prelacy, that he boldly denied the existence of such officers as are now called presbyters, till about or after the death of the apostles.*

* “Although this title of *Πρεσβυτέροι*, *Elders*, have been extended, to a second order in the church, and is now only in use for them, under the names of *Presbyters*, yet in the scripture-times it belonged principally, if not alone, to bishops, there being no evidence that any of that second order were then instituted, though soon after, before

In supporting this paradoxical opinion, he metamorphoses every presbyter of the apostolic church into a diocesan bishop! The meaning of language shall be inverted; the testimony of the scripture shall be dislocated; the presbyters of the city of Ephesus shall be an assemblage of diocesan bishops collected from all Asia! Truth, probability, and common sense, shall be set at naught—

the writing of *Ignatius' epistles*, there were such instituted in all the churches.”—HAMMOND, *on Acts xi.* 30. p. 380.

“How irreconcilably all this is at war with the assertions and reasonings of other learned advocates of the hierarchy, from whom the unlearned ones necessarily copy, we may amuse ourselves with shewing in a more convenient place. One or two remarks we cannot suppress. Dr. Hammond does not tell us how these presbyters came into the church, but is pretty sure that they were introduced *after* “the scripture times,” that is, after the canon of the scripture was completed, and “*before* the writing of *Ignatius' epistles*.” The Dr. then confesses that the order of presbyters as inferior to the bishop, is not of divine right; there being no evidence that any of that second order were instituted in scripture times: consequently, that as Christ had regulated his church, bishops or presbyters, and deacons, had no intermediate officer between them. This is exactly what the presbyterians maintain, and they are much his debtor. But as he saw that their argument would ruin him, as he was utterly unable to controvert its principle, viz. the identity of the bishop and presbyter; and as he was determined not to give up the hierarchy, he had recourse to the extravagant fiction of transforming all the presbyters into Diocesans. But as Diocesans, with only deacons, would constitute rather a bald hierarchy, it was requisite, to give eclat to their dignity, to foist in another order for which there is no scriptural warrant. And thus at one stroke he has levelled with the ground the whole fabric which the other Episcopal workmen have been rearing. For if Timothy and Titus were not diocesan bishops, as the latter affirm and the Dr. denies; and if they were not metropolitans, as the Dr. affirms, the others deny, and no man living can prove; then one of their famous three orders has vanished away. Of the Dr's supposition that the presbyters were instituted *before* the writings of *Ignatius' epistles*, the reason is, that they must be found *prior to that date*, or else poor *Ignatius* must be hung up for forgery.—A notable manœuvre this, to save the credit of the principal witness for the hierarchy.

but the object is worth the price; the sacrifice is amply compensated, provided presbyters be banished from the New Testament, and no ruler be seen there unless in the shape of a diocesan bishop! Had only the Layman and Cyprian, and their friends, been troubled, there had been less cause of surprise. But that an argument "good for nothing;" a bit of "miserable sophistry," should put Dr. Hammond, the ὄπανν, the very Goliath of "the church," into such a fright as nearly to turn his brain, is strange indeed!

But should the Episcopalian be worsted in the contest about scriptural *titles*, what will be to us the advantage of victory, or to him the injury of defeat, if he shall, nevertheless, establish his claim by scriptural *facts*? So very little, that the choice between victory and defeat, on the first ground, would not be worth a straw to either. Abstractly considered, there is no inconsistency between our own doctrine of the identity of bishops and presbyters, and the episcopal doctrine of a superior grade. For certainly it does not follow, from the nature of the thing, that because bishop and presbyter mean the same officer, therefore there is no other officer above him. But *as the facts stand*, the case is widely different; and the value of the argument from the scriptural titles lies here, that this superior order must be found among the bishops and presbyters, or not at all; because, with the exception of deacons, these were the only ordinary officers in the apostolic church. If, then, "bishop" is the same with "presbyter," the superior or prelatical order is absolutely unknown to the official language of the New Testament. Presbyters and deacons we meet with in abundance, but not the shadow of a prelate ever crosses our path. Now, that official titles should be conferred upon every grade of officers in the church except the highest; that this officer should have no place

in the official catalogue; that he should wander up and down among the churches without so much as a name; that while his subalterns are mentioned particularly and repeatedly, his own existence and dignity should be a matter of mere inference from his *acts*, so far surpasses all the powers of belief, that the proof of his existence is almost, if not altogether, impossible. This leads to a very short refutation of a plea on which no small "reliance" has been placed by episcopal writers, from Theodoret down to the Layman; which is, that names of office, like other words, change their signification; and become, in process of time, signs of ideas quite different from those which they originally expressed.

"In Roman history," says the Layman, "we find the term *Imperator* at one period applied to designate a general of an army; at another, a magistrate clothed with unlimited civil and military authority. Suppose we should be told that every general of an army was Emperor of Rome; and that the Emperor of Rome was merely general of an army; what would be the reply? That the term *Imperator* had changed its signification. And how would this be proved? By the Roman history, which shews us that the emperors had generals under them, over whom they exercised authority. Apply this reasoning to the case under consideration. The terms bishop and presbyter are used promiscuously in the New Testament. *Therefore*, say the advocates of parity, *they designated the same office in the ages subsequent to the apostles*. Is this a logical conclusion? Surely not. Names change their signification. Ecclesiastical history tells us, and the most learned advocates of parity have admitted the fact, that the order of bishops existed in the church as distinct from, and superior to, the order of presbyters, within forty or fifty years after the last of the apostles. The bishops then had presbyters under them, over whom they exercised authority. The offices were distinct from the beginning, bishops being the successors, not of those who are promiscuously called *bishops, presbyters, elders*, in the New Testament, but of the apostles themselves. Theo-

doret tells us expressly, "that in the process of time those who succeeded to the apostolic office left the name of apostle to the apostles, strictly so called, and gave the name of bishop to those who succeeded to the apostolic office." No argument, then, can be founded on the promiscuous use of names."*

We hardly expected to find the Layman advancing and retracting a doctrine in the compass of a single page. Yet, assuredly, if bishops are not the successors of those who are promiscuously called bishops and presbyters, then these names do designate a precise order of officers, which was the very thing the Layman had denied in the preceding paragraph. That names change their signification is no new discovery. But can this either help the hierarchy, or hurt the advocates of parity? Things are before names; and the changes in things are before changes in names. If, therefore, a change has passed upon the signification of official names in the church, since the days of the apostles, that alone proves to a demonstration, that a change has also passed upon the offices themselves; which consequently are not *as the apostles left them*. This is exactly what the Presbyterians maintain; and so the Episcopal plea returns with all its force upon its authors, and fastens upon their hierarchy the charge of having departed from, and corrupted, the order which Christ appointed for his church, and which the death of his apostles sealed up for permanency. We are not ignorant that the prelatical writers attribute this change of names to a very different cause. The celebrated Dr. Bentley, who, in critical learning, in spirit, and fire, surpasses the most of them, and falls short of none, thinks it was the *modesty* of the prelate† which induced them to relinquish the name of apostle, and to assume that of bishop. It is hard to estimate

* LAYMAN, No. 1. *Collec.* p. 8, 9.

† *Phileleuth. Lips.* p. 186.

the degree of modesty which pervaded an immensely numerous body of prelates* at a period of which we have scarcely any records. The epistles of their tutelar saint, Ignatius, do not abound with that lovely virtue; and all the world is witness, that in matters relating to their titles and power, the order has been entirely innocent of such an imputation for fourteen centuries at least. The apostles themselves decorated the prelates, we are told, with their own name and ordinary dignity; they exercised the authority and wore the name, during the life, and in the presence, of the apostles; and after their death retained the *dignity*, but renounced the *appellation* out of pure *modesty*! Dr. Hammond has more regard to consistency. He first creates, after the death of the apostles, an inferior order of clergy; and as they could not well do without a name, he very ingeniously splits up the designation of the pre-existing order, giving one half to the prelates, and the other to his new race of officers!

We repeat, that change of *names* presupposes change of *things*. This is the natural and necessary course of language. The contrary would reverse the operations of the human mind. *When* the change was introduced, is perfectly immaterial to the argument. *When* the last of the apostles breathed out his spirit, the authority of the living God “bound up the testimony, and sealed the law among his disciples.” No additions nor diminutions now. And whether the alteration in the government of the church, which produced a corresponding alteration in the names of her officers, took place “forty years,” or forty score of years, or forty hours after the decease of the apostles, is not, with regard to the rule of conscience, worth the trouble of a question. The advo-

* Dr. HAMMOND says there were *twenty-four*, besides the metropolitan, in Judea alone. *Annot. on Rev. iv. 4.*

cates of parity do not, as the Layman affirms, infer from the promiscuous use of the terms bishop and presbyter in the New Testament, "that they designated the same office in the ages subsequent to the apostles." It is of no importance to them, what these terms signified in after ages. They prove that these terms signify, in the New Testament, one and the same order of rulers; and therefore insist, that, as the rule of faith and the sense of the scripture are immutable, the same terms must mean, at this hour, the very same thing which they meant as they dropped from the pen of an apostle. This is enough for them, as they entertain no fear of being unable to demonstrate that the scriptural presbyters are not diocesan bishops, and are the only ordinary rulers which the New Testament, the statute-book of Christ's kingdom, recognizes as of his institution. The *subsequent* change of sense in the scriptural titles, as we have more than once observed, proves decisively a change in the original order of the church; for upon no other principle can the other change be explained. The Layman has been peculiarly unhappy, in forcing it upon the notice of his readers. He has only turned "king's evidence" against his party, and, in attempting to parry a presbyterian thrust, has unwittingly smitten his own bishop under the fifth rib.

The advocates for the hierarchy, labour hard to shew that any argument from official names to the offices designated in the New Testament, is inconclusive. They even pronounce it "good for nothing." Their hope is to render the scripture thus far neutral—that if it bear no testimony *for* them, it shall bear none *against* them. Whether they have succeeded in this attempt or not, we leave to the dispassionate judgment of the reader, who, with a desire of perceiving and embracing the truth, has deliberately considered what we have already written.

CHAPTER III.

DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY NOT SUSTAINED BY THE ORDERS OF
THE JEWISH PRIESTHOOD.

WE now follow the Essayists to their argument from the scriptural *facts* upon which they avowedly rest the weight of their cause.

The *first* of these facts is the triple order of the priesthood among the Jews.

“ We find,” says the Layman, “ three orders of officers in the Jewish church; and, in the Christian, there have always been three orders answering to these. What Aaron, his sons, and the Levites were in the temple, that bishops, priests, and deacons are in the Church. Such is the concurring testimony of the primitive fathers. Take that of St. Jerome, whom the advocates of parity are fond of quoting, and to whom, therefore, it is presumed, they will not object: ‘ *That we may know the apostolical economy to be taken from the pattern of the Old Testament,—the same that Aaron, and his sons, and the Levites, were in the temple, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, are in the church of Christ.*’ It is too absurd to attempt to turn this parallel into ridicule. By the very same mode of proceeding you may destroy the whole Christian dispensation. In all that he has said upon this point, the miscellaneous writer has contributed much more to the support of infidelity than of any other cause.

“ How far, then, do we carry this argument?

“ We say, simply, that the law being figurative of the gospel, in all its important parts, the Jewish priesthood was, of course, typical of the Christian. For this we have the express declaration of the apostle Paul, and the advocates of parity will not pretend to controvert the position.

Well, then, the priest of the law serving as ‘*the example and shadow of heavenly things*,’ the circumstance of there being three orders in the Jewish ministry, furnishes a strong presumption against the doctrine of parity. *We do not rely upon this as proof. We merely state it as presumptive evidence, entitled to real attention.* It gives us, we contend, possession of the ground, and throws the burden of proof upon our opponents.

“ Now, what says the miscellaneous writer in reply to all this? He talks to us of the dress of the Jewish high priests; asking, very sagaciously, where are the *golden ephod*, the *breast-plate*, the *embroidered girdle*, in which Aaron and his successors were clad. I call upon him here to lay his hand upon his heart, and say, whether this is just reasoning. He knows it is not. What, the Jewish priesthood not figurative of the Christian, because of a variety in dress! Is it necessary, in order that one thing be typical of another, that there should be no points of difference between them? No more than it is necessary that we should be able to rise to the perfection of the character of Christ, because we are called upon to propose him as the model for imitation, and to become holy as he is holy.

“ Is the miscellaneous writer aware of the conclusion to which his mode of reasoning conducts? If he has proved that the Jewish priesthood was not typical of the Christian, he has proved, equally, that the law was not a shadow of the gospel; thus destroying, effectually, all connexion between the Old and New Testament. Is there no difference between our Saviour and the paschal lamb by which he was prefigured? Abraham, Moses, Joshua, David, were all types of Christ; but were there no points of distinction between these men and the Saviour of the world? Give to the infidel the weapons of this writer, and how easily will he demolish, with them, the whole fabric of Christianity! If the points of difference which have been mentioned, between the priesthood of the law, and of the gospel, prove that the one was not typical of the other, they equally prove that our Saviour was never prefigured, and that that intimate connexion, between the Jewish and

Christian dispensations, which has been so much relied upon by the defenders of the faith, never existed but in the imagination of men. But I feel as if I were insulting the understanding of the reader, in dwelling on this point. I dismiss it, therefore,' especially as I have not been able to bring myself to believe that the writer had any thing more in view, in it, than a flourish of rhetoric to attract the vulgar gaze.

“The Mosaic dispensation, then, was figurative of the Christian. The priesthood of the law was typical of the priesthood of the gospel. The former consisting of distinct and subordinate orders, a strong presumption thence arises in favour of that distinction and subordination of office which, until the days of Calvin, characterized, without a single exception, the Christian church. This, we contend, as was said before, gives us possession of the ground, and throws the burden of proof upon the advocates of parity.

“So much then for the Jewish priesthood. It was a shadow of the Christian priesthood, according to the express declaration of the apostle Paul. While the miscellaneous writer does not venture' openly to deny this, but rather seems to admit it, in representing the whole Jewish system as typical, he endeavours, nevertheless, in an indirect manner, to destroy all relationship between the priesthood of the law and of the gospel, by dwelling on the variety of dress, with some other subordinate points of distinction. Here he acts with his usual imprudence; tearing up, in his rage against Episcopacy, the very foundation of the Christian faith.”*

The same analogy is thus traced by Cyprian :

“Why should not the orders of the priesthood under the old economy be supposed to typify those orders that were to be established under the new? Besides, the fact is, that the Christian dispensation was not so much the abolition, as it was the fulfilment of the Jewish. Christ came, not to *destroy*, but to *fulfil* the law and the prophets.

* No. VIII. *Collec.* p. 110, 111.

“ It is true, indeed, we possess not the Jewish form of church government. We possess one, however, which is the consummation of the Jewish—a government of which the Jewish was an imperfect image. We possess a priesthood more glorious than the Levitical, inasmuch as it ministers under a more glorious dispensation—inasmuch as it performs purer and more exalted offices — inasmuch as, in its nature and offices, it is the glorious substance which was only faintly shadowed out under the law.

“ We think, therefore, that we stand on substantial ground, when we maintain that we derive *a strong argument in demonstration of the divine origin of our form of church government*, by shewing that on this point the new dispensation is made to correspond with the old; is made the true substance of which the old was the shadow. What the high priests, the priests, and the Levites, were in the temple, such are the bishops, the presbyters, and deacons, in the church of Christ. This is the uniform language of the fathers. This is the conclusion to which the *data afforded us by the apostles inevitably lead*.

“ Such was the model of church government instituted by God himself, and intended to be transmitted through all ages, with modifications that should vary, no doubt, according to the varying circumstances of mankind; provided these modifications affected not its great and cardinal principles. We say that the Jewish priesthood was the image of the Christian. We say that it is sound reasoning to deduce the probable form of the substance from the lineaments of it that may be traced in its image.”*

It is somewhat curious to observe the rapid *growth* of this argument from the Jewish to the Episcopal priesthood. With the Layman it is not *proof*; it is merely “ *presumptive evidence*, entitled to real attention.” By the time it has travelled to Cyprian, it is a “ *strong argument in demonstration of the divine origin of their form of church government* ;” and it places them, as well it

* No. VIII. *Collec.* p. 119, 120.

may, "on substantial ground." But while we are looking through Cyprian's magnifier, at this Jewish image of the "Christian priesthood," he suddenly shifts his glass, and the giant DEMONSTRATION dwindles down again into the dwarf PROBABILITY. "We say," adds he, in the next paragraph, "that it is sound reasoning to deduce the *probable* form of the substance from the lineaments of it that may be traced in its image." One hardly knows what to do with writers who drive their argument backwards and forwards between "proof" and "presumption;" between "probability" and "demonstration;" as if a rational debate were a game at shuttlecock! But they are not without excuse; for to one who can see the tendency of this argument of theirs, it is pretty clear that they did not know what to do with it, themselves. For if, as they assure us, the Jewish was a *type* of the Christian priesthood—if the former was "a shadow," and a "faint shadow," of which the latter is the true and "glorious substance," then there *must* be a coincidence between the essential parts of the type, and the essential parts of the thing typified. But according to the divine institution, the three orders of the high priest, the priests, and Levites, were essential to the legal priesthood; and if this was typical of the evangelical "*priesthood*," there must of necessity be three orders in that also. If it were not so, the type would not tally with the antitype, the image would not represent its object, and the end of the typical system would be defeated. A body with a head would as soon cast a shadow without one, as a type of three orders represent a reality of two, five, or seven. This reasoning supposes, that the *number* of orders enters into the *nature* of the type; and on the same supposition rests the Episcopal argument. For if the number of orders in the Jewish priesthood constituted no part of the type, it is extreme

weakness to mistake it for a "demonstration," or even a "presumption," that there ought to be three orders in the thing typified. It is producing your type to prove that the thing typified possesses a property which the type does not exhibit. The fallacy is too obvious to impose upon a child.

On the other hand, if the *number* of orders in the Jewish priesthood makes a part of the type, and the Christian ministry is the thing typified, the conclusion is inevitable, that there *must* be three orders in the Christian ministry. If *such* a typical relation really exists between the ministry of the old and of the new economy, we will lay down our pen. Our cause is desperate; the hierarchy has triumphed,—but not a Protestant hierarchy. For according to all the laws of typical analogy, it is not more necessary that there be three orders in the "Christian priesthood," than that the highest order be confined to a single person. In this point the Jewish and the Episcopal priesthood differ *essentially*. There is no likeness between the type and the antitype. Who that intended to institute a set of *resemblances*, would ever dream of appointing a numerous body of Levites to represent a numerous body of deacons; a numerous body of priests, to represent another numerous body of priests; and then finish by putting at the head of his system a *single high priest*, to represent an order of ten thousand bishops? Nay, if the Episcopal argument here is sound, it concludes much more forcibly in favour of the papal than of the protestant hierarchy. The former preserves in her single pontiff an essential feature of the type, which the latter, by her order of bishops, has perfectly obliterated. Thus, then, the case stands; if the typical character of the Jewish priesthood does not include its orders, the Episcopal inference from them in behalf of the bishops, priests, and deacons, is palpably false: if it

does, while the Presbyterian perishes, the church of Rome gains much more than the church of England.

But this notion of the typical property of the grades of priesthood in the Jewish church is an Episcopal fiction. It has no real existence. The decisive proof is, that the Levitical priesthood typified our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom there could be no place for different orders. Its several grades, as such, had nothing to do with its typical character and functions. These lay in another direction altogether.

We therefore advance a step higher, and deny the whole doctrine of the hierarchy, in so far as it makes the Jewish priesthood a type of the Christian ministry. The Layman has asserted, that "the law being figurative of the gospel in all its important parts, *the Jewish priesthood was, of course, typical of the Christian.*"* To the same purpose Cyprian, "*We say that the Jewish priesthood was the image of the Christian.*"† These are the assertions; now for the proof. Cyprian tells us, that it "is the uniform language of the fathers—the conclusion to which the data afforded us by the *apostles inevitably lead.*" The Layman, that "for this," namely, that the "Jewish priesthood was typical of the Christian, we have *the express declaration of the apostle Paul,*" and that "the advocates of parity will not pretend to controvert the position." But they certainly do, sir, confident as you are of the negative. They not only venture to controvert, but engage to refute your position. They maintain that the apostles have not afforded any data which can lead to such a conclusion. Cyprian has mentioned none; and the only passage which the other has quoted in his own justification, he has misunderstood and misapplied. The considerations which make against them are numerous and weighty.

* No. VIII. *Collec.* p. 310.

† No. IV. *Collec.* p. 320.

1. The scriptures nowhere draw a parallel or comparison between the rank and functions of the ministry of the Old Testament and that of the New. And if the former was designed to be the model of the latter, the omission is altogether unaccountable. They neither say nor insinuate that the priests under the law were a type and image of which the truth and substance are to be sought in the ministers of the new dispensation. The nature and use of the legal institutions are explained with minute accuracy by the apostle Paul in his epistle to the Hebrews. He treats them as types of "Jesus Christ, and all the effects of his mediation in grace and glory;" but of their typical relation to the Christian ministry, not a single syllable.

Here the Layman interrupts us with "the express declaration of the apostle Paul." Let us have it. "The priests of the law serving as *the 'example and shadow of heavenly things,'* the circumstance of there being three orders in the Jewish ministry furnishes a strong presumption against the doctrine of parity."* The "express declaration" of the apostle, it seems, is, that "*the priests of the law serve as the example and shadow of heavenly things;*"† representing his meaning to be, that the priests of the law are that example and shadow. We have a small objection to this assertion of the Layman; and that is, that, like Cyprian's story of bishop Epaphroditus, it puts into the mouth of the apostle a speech which he never uttered. There is neither in the passage quoted, nor in any other passage of the epistle to the Hebrews, nor in the whole New Testament, such a declaration as the Layman ascribes to Paul. He has either quoted from memory, which we suspect to be the fact, and so has forgotten what the apostle said; or else is as unlucky in his criticism as his poor friend Cyprian. The apostle

* No. VIII. *Collec.* p. 110.

† P. 111.

says, “*the priests who offer gifts according to the law, serve,*” not *AS*, but “*UNTO the example and shadow of heavenly things.*” It was not the *priests*, but the *things to which they ministered*, that constituted the “*example and shadow.*” This is obvious upon the first inspection of the text.* The apostle is discoursing of the tabernacle, its furniture and service. These were the “*example and shadow.*” The substance, the “*heavenly things,*” was Christ Jesus, his sacrifice and intercession, with all their blessed effects in the salvation of men. This is the apostle’s own interpretation. For these same priests, whom he here describes as “*serving unto the example and shadow of heavenly things,*” he elsewhere describes as “*serving the tabernacle.*”† The tabernacle, therefore, not the priests, were the “*example and shadow of the heavenly things.*” And that this is the apostle’s meaning, is “*yet far more evident.*” For in the 9th chapter, after detailing the construction, the furniture, and the service of the tabernacle,‡ he says that this tabernacle, thus framed, equipped, and attended, was *a figure for the time then present.*§ “*But Christ being come,*” proceeds the apostle, “*an high priest of good things to come, by (through) a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building: neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.*”

This “*greater and more perfect tabernacle,*” is the human nature of the Son of God, in virtue of the once offering up of which as a sacrifice for sin, he entered

* Οἵτινες ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιά λατρεύουσι τῶν ἐπουρανίων
Heb. §viii. 5.

† Οἱ τῆ σκηνῆ λατρεύοντες. Heb. xiii. 10.

‡ Heb. ix. 2—7.

§ v. 9.

into heaven itself for us. It is this blood of his, typified by the "blood of goats and calves," which "purges our conscience from dead works to serve the living God." These are the "good things to come;" these "the heavenly things," of which the first tabernacle was the "example and shadow." The "Christian priesthood," as it is improperly and offensively termed, does not even appear in the comparison. If the Layman has discovered it among the "heavenly things," his penetration is acute indeed. Instead, therefore, of producing an "express declaration" of the apostle to support his doctrine, he has only put a text to needless torture; for his witness, like Cyprian's in the affair of Epaphroditus, knows nothing of the matter.

It is further worthy of notice, that the New Testament *never* applies to the Christian ministry those terms which express the office of a priest, and which were invariably applied to the priesthood of the law. Jesus Christ is called a priest, an high priest, a great high priest; but not his ministers. On the principle that he is the true priest whom the priests of the law prefigured, this is perfectly natural. But is it not inconceivable, that the appropriate title of the priesthood should be given to the typical priests; to the form—to the shadow—and uniformly withheld from the priests, who are the substance represented by them? Why this change of language? If the priestly character, office, and work have been fulfilled in our Lord Jesus Christ, and if he, as the sole priest of the church, is now appearing in heaven for us, the reason of the change is as clear as noon-day. There are no more official priests, there is no more "priesthood" in the church upon earth; and therefore the name is laid aside. But if there are such priests and priesthood, and if these are the very substance of which the old

priests were but a shadow, it will baffle all the ingenuity of the hierarchy to the end of time to assign even a tolerable reason why the Spirit of wisdom has refused them their official designation, and has altered the whole official style of the church! The ministry under the new dispensation is represented as the ascension gift of our glorified Master.* Ordinary and extraordinary officers are enumerated, but not a word of the Jewish orders being a type of the Christian ministry. Not a word of priests or priesthood, of altars, of sacrifices, or any of the sacrificial language to which the hierarchy is so devoted. She has thought fit, and she shall answer for it, to bring back and affix to her clergy and their functions, to her sacramental table and its elements, a set of denominations which the Holy Ghost not only never annexed to the ministry and ordinances of his own creation, but which he had, with pointed care, excluded from the New Testament!

Our assertion, therefore, stands firm, that the apostolic writings furnish no data which can lead us to the "conclusion" of Cyprian, or the "position" of the Layman. Whence, we again ask, whence this silence? Why is so important a property of the typical priesthood overlooked? Is not the "glorious substance," of which it was only a "faint shadow," so much as worthy of notice? and that too in a set treatise of the legal shadows and their corresponding substances? It is indisputable, their own words evince it, that if the Layman and Cyprian, and their several coadjutors, had prepared such a treatise, whatever place they might have allotted to the "apostle and high-priest of our profession," the dignity of the Episcopal priesthood would have filled up one of their most animated chapters. Having found so much of their

* Ephesians iv. 11

own image where Paul found so little, it is but right to supply his deficiencies, and to administer a delicate rebuke for his negligent exposition !

2. A comparison of the Levitical with the Episcopal priesthood will demonstrate that the former was not, and could not be, a type of the latter. The grades are ranged thus :—

<i>Type, or Shadow.</i>	<i>Antitype, or Substance.</i>
HIGH-PRIEST,	BISHOP,
PRIEST,	PRIEST,
LEVITE,	DEACON.

Now, in what do they resemble each other ?

Did the high-priest *ordain* the priests ? No. Did he *confirm* the people ? No. Had he the exclusive right of government ? No. On the other hand ; Do the bishops discharge any duty analogous to the offering up of the yearly sacrifice on the great day of expiation ? No. Have they the peculiar privilege of entering into the immediate presence of God ? No. Is the oracle of God attached to their persons ? or have they any special right of declaring the divine will ? No. He who has sagacity enough to detect in the appropriate functions of the high-priest any thing that deserves to be called a type of the functions appropriated to a Christian bishop, can never be at a loss for type and antitype, so long as any two objects remain within the Bible or without it. Their prerogatives and offices are so absolutely dissimilar, that to make the one an image of the other, is to pour overwhelming ridicule upon the whole system of typical ordinances. The success will not be much better, if we go down to the second and third grades of the priesthood. If the reader has an hour which he cannot employ more profitably, he may throw it away in hunting for likenesses between the priests of the law and of the gospel ; between

the Levite and the Episcopal deacon. We have enough of it. Our argument is this, that as typical officers must have typical functions, if the functions of the legal priesthood did not typify those of the Christian, then was not the one priesthood a type of the other. To insist upon a typical meaning in the number of orders, and to discard as mere circumstances the respective functions of those orders, is a distinction which reason laughs at, and a sound head will hardly adopt.

3. As typical officers and typical functions are correlate ideas, the former necessarily implying the latter, we remark, that if [the Jewish priesthood prefigured the Christian ministry, as a type its antitype, then it follows, that we have in the functions of the priesthood now, the substance of that which in the functions of the Levitical priesthood was only a type. That is, the priests now offer up the true sacrifice for sin, and are our mediators and intercessors with God, upon the footing of their sacrifice. It cannot be doubted that the *priestly* office of old was typical, and its sacrifices typical. Whoever, then, is the real priest, offers the real sacrifice. But he is the real priest of whom the priests of the law were a type. And the priests of the law were a type, says the hierarchy, of our priesthood; therefore the priesthood of the hierarchy offer up the true sacrifice for sin! There is no getting rid of the conclusion. The apostle Paul reasons in the same manner, from the typical relation of the old priests and their sacrifices to Jesus Christ and his sacrifice. He insists, that because they were shadows and Christ the substance, therefore Christ, the true priest, has put away sin by the offering up of himself as the true sacrifice. We see that the doctrine of the hierarchy is irreconcilable with that of the apostle. He teaches that the Levitical priesthood and their offerings were typical of Jesus Christ and his offering. The

hierarchy teaches that the Levitical priesthood typified the evangelical ministry. Both cannot be true. The same type cannot signify a single high priest who offered up a true and proper sacrifice for sin, and an order of priests who offer up no such sacrifice. If Christ is the substance of the legal priesthood, the Episcopal hierarchy is not. If that hierarchy is the substance, Jesus Christ is not. The reader has his choice, whether he will side with the hierarchy at the expense of the apostle, or with the apostle at the expense of the hierarchy! Whether he will look for the substance of the Levitical priesthood in the Son of God and his mediatorial work, or in the administration of the Episcopal clergy. Whether—But we check ourselves. A more strange instance of infatuated zeal has rarely occurred. The genius of the Old Testament types shall be perverted; their beautiful correspondence with their objects shall be marred; the principle of a whole book of the New Testament, (the Epistle to the Hebrews,) shall be set aside; but an argument, though merely a presumptive one, for the hierarchy, shall not be given up!

The only escape from this dilemma appears to be through a distinction between the particular character of the Old Testament priests as such, and their general character as ministers of religion. It may be yielded, that in the former they were types of Christ, and maintained that in the latter they were types of the Christian ministry. The distinction is of no avail; and its best effect is to protract the death of the Episcopal plea for a minute longer. If both their particular character as priests, and their general character as ministers of religion, were typical, they were nothing but types. The worship which they offered up was typical worship; their prayers were typical prayers; their instructions to the people, typical instructions. The church in which they ministered

was a typical church. All was type. There was no reality. But this is absurd. God had as real a church, and dispensed as real blessings, by real ministers, before as since the evangelical dispensation. Whatever typical *ordinances* might be set up, the church itself never was a type. It is a *whole*, and one part of a whole cannot be a type of another part. And as there were real ministers in a real church under the law, if you will have them to be types in their general character, you make the ministry of the church at one period and in one form, the type of her ministry at another period under another form. This is a contradiction. For the same persons could not be, at the same time, and in the exercise of the same functions, under the same relations, both shadow and substance. It destroys also the nature of the church of God; giving us all type before the new dispensation, and all substance after it. So that, in fact, according to the scheme we are considering, there was no such thing as a church at all under the law, but only the *shadow* of a church. We have one step further in this typical climax. The sinners under the law were only typical sinners; the saints only typical saints; the salvation of the soul only a typical salvation; and, for ought we can see, the God of salvation only a typical God!

View it in any light you choose: the doctrine of the Layman, Cyprian, &c. concerning the Old Testament types, is inconsistent with itself, with the doctrine of the apostle Paul, and with all the known relations of type and antitype. Yet while they are spreading this confusion, while they are displaying the most absolute want of acquaintance with both the Old Testament and the New, they have the assurance to tell us, that if we "have proved that the Jewish priesthood was not typical of the Christian, we have proved equally that the law was not a shadow of the gospel; thus destroying effectually all

connexion between the Old Testament and the New.”* It seems, then, that although we have Christ the true priest and true sacrifice, and the effects of his mediation in pardoning sin, in purging the conscience, and in presenting an efficacious intercession before God in the highest heavens, we have nothing to the purpose; we are “destroying the whole Christian dispensation;” we are doing “much more to the support of infidelity, than of any other cause;”† we are “tearing up the very foundations of the Christian faith.” Why? Because we will not admit the Episcopal clergy to be the substance of which the Levitical priesthood was only the shadow! It is amazing, it is humiliating, that men who have need that *one teach them which be the first principles of the oracles of God*, should talk so confidently. Nay, in the very act of sanctioning all this misconception, misconstruction, and wresting of the scriptures, Mr. Hobart has permitted himself to ask Dr. Linn, whether he is “really ignorant of the nature of the types of scripture,” or whether he is “guilty of wilful *misrepresentation*?”‡ Such questions as these ought not to have been put by Mr. Hobart.

So much for the first fact to which the disputants for the hierarchy have appealed.

* Layman, No. VIII. p. 110.

† P. 110.

‡ Note to *Collec.* p. 37.

CHAPTER IV.

DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY NOT SUSTAINED BY THE ARRANGEMENTS OF OUR LORD DURING HIS PERSONAL MINISTRY.

THE *second* fact, of Mr. Hobart and his brethren, is the triple order of the "priesthood" during our Lord's personal converse with men.

"Whilst our Saviour remained on earth," (says Cyprian,) "he, of course, held supreme authority in his church. The twelve were appointed by him as his subordinate officers. The seventy disciples constituted a still lower order. There existed then in the church of Christ, at this time, *three distinct grades* of ministers. When our Lord ascended into heaven, when he breathed upon the twelve, and said, 'As my Father hath sent me, so send I you,' he transmitted to them the same authority which he himself had retained during his continuance amongst them: the twelve commissioned their presbyters and deacons to aid them in the administration of ecclesiastical government. Before their death they constituted an order of ministers, to whom they conveyed that supreme authority in the church which was lodged in their hands during their lives."*

Thus also the Layman :

"Jesus Christ commissioned twelve, and the seventy; but he gave them no authority to commission others. The high power of ordination was exercised by himself alone. Here, then, were three orders; our *Saviour*, the great head of the church, the twelve *apostles*, and the seventy *disciples*."†

* Cyprian, No. II. *Collec.* p. 62.

† Layman, No. IX. *Collec.* p. 153.

We should be much entertained, and possibly edified, by the history of the three orders and their succession, as compiled by the Layman and his learned colleague, were we not disturbed by some difficulties which we cannot well remove.

Our *first* difficulty, as to this second stage of the triple order, relates to John the Baptist. He was certainly the Redeemer's messenger, and exercised a contemporary ministry. Why is he left out of the list? His extraordinary functions cannot be the reason, for those of his Master were more extraordinary than his own. But he was neither the Christ, nor one of the twelve, nor one of the seventy. If you take him into the catalogue, you have *four* orders; if you leave him out, you must leave out his Master likewise; and then you will have but *two*. In either way the history of the hierarchy sticks.

Our *next* difficulty relates to the co-existence of the Jewish and Christian priesthoods. The church of God was either organized under the Christian form during our Lord's continuance upon earth, or not. If not, there was no Christian priesthood, and consequently no orders of priesthood. If she was, then did she actually subsist under two forms at the same time. For it is certain that the legal form remained till the offering up of the "Word made flesh" in sacrifice for sin. Moreover, our Lord Jesus Christ was indubitably the head of the church under her Jewish form. She was, with her whole system of worship, his property: *He came unto his own.** He was in the temple, the lord of the temple, and acted as such. Now, if his personal presence as the head of the church made him 'an order in her evangelical ministry,' that same presence in the Jewish church made him one of the orders of the Jewish priesthood. Admit this, and we are troubled with an additional order in that priest-

* Εἰς τὰ ἰδία ἦλθε. John i. 11

hood; deny it, and we have lost one of the Christian orders. The former compels us to take *four*, the latter allows us but *two*. Scylla and Charybdis over again, for the history of the *three* orders!

Our *third* difficulty relates to the principle upon which, in the present case, the triple order is founded. The Layman and Cyprian, as a shoal of other writers had done before them, work up the apostles and seventy disciples into two orders of priesthood; and that their canonical number might not be wanting, they complete it by adding the Redeemer himself!

Now, we had always thought, with the apostle Paul, that Christ was *faithful as a son over his own house*: that the church itself is the house; and that all the ministers of the church are his *servants*. It was really a stroke worthy of "giants in theology," to make the Lord himself one of the orders among his own servants! And seeing that his ascent into heaven never stript him of any relation to his church, and that he actually exercises the priestly office at this moment before the throne of God, the consequence is, either that there are now *four* orders of the priesthood, or that there were but *two* in the days of his flesh. The same perplexity stares the hierarchy once more in the face; and if she will have three orders, neither more nor less, she must depose her Master in order to make way for her bishops!

Our *fourth* difficulty relates to the *nature* of the succession.

Christ transmitted to the twelve, says Cyprian, "the *same authority* which he himself had retained during his continuance among them; and the twelve commissioned their presbyters and deacons to aid them in the administration of ecclesiastical government," and "before their death, constituted an order of ministers to whom they conveyed" their own "*supreme authority*."

Somehow or other, we have lost the seventy disciples in this arrangement. Probably they were promoted to bishoprics. However that may be, the descent of "power" is very distinctly stated. Christ conveyed the *same* authority which he himself exercised, to the apostles; and the apostles conveyed the *same* authority which they exercised, to the order which they constituted before their death; that is, the order of bishops. So, then, the order of bishops have now the *very same* authority which Christ himself had when he was upon earth! But Christ was the "lord and master" of the church; so are the bishops; and for that reason are very properly styled, in some places, *lords bishops!* Christ was the *proprietor* of the church: so are the bishops, no doubt! Christ had authority to appoint sacraments, and to mould the government of his church according to his pleasure: so have the bishops, beyond controversy! It seems, then, that they are the successors not so much of the apostles, as of the Lord Jesus Christ himself; that he is gone away to heaven, and has deputed to them *in solidum*, by the lump, the whole authority which he himself possessed! A fair inheritance, we own; and very goodly heirs! Having established this point, we wonder that they put themselves to any further trouble in making out their title to "the pre-eminence?" There is a short cut to the solution of every difficulty about the affairs of the church, and every thing else—Go to the bishops! Christ had unlimited authority over the conscience, and they have succeeded him. Ecclesiastical history is not barren of instances wherein they have acted up to the spirit of their trust. England can witness, that, in one day, they threw upon the mercy of the persecutor, and the comforts of famine, *two thousand* of the best men and the most glorious ministers of the gospel, that ever blessed a nation or adorned a church: and a great proportion of

them for not submitting to impositions upon conscience, for which the warrant of the divine word was not so much as pretended. But the Episcopal warrant was perfectly clear: and the Puritans were righteously deprived for not bowing to the successors of Jesus Christ! "Come set us the five-mile act to music."* Let us compensate the fast of the 30th January for the martyrdom of Charles,† with the festival of St. Bartholomew‡ for the judgment of the Presbyterians!

They who can persuade themselves that the Episcopal prelates enjoy the same power which was vested in our Lord Jesus Christ, are welcome to their consolation. We are, as yet, a great way off from the line of converts.

Our *fifth* difficulty relates to the question, whether the twelve were really a superior order to the seventy?

* An act of 17th Charles II. by which non-conformist ministers were prohibited, unless in crossing the road, to come or be, on any pretence whatever, after March 24th, 1665, within *five miles* of any city, town corporate, or borough that sent burgesses to parliament; or within five miles of any parish, town, or place, wherein they had, since the act of oblivion, been parson, vicar, or lecturer, &c.; or where they had preached in any conventicle.

† Charles I. of tyrannical memory, was beheaded on the 30th of January, 1649. He called himself, and was called by some others, *a martyr*. The anniversary of his martyrdom has afforded the High-church clergy many fine opportunities for displaying their zeal for "the church," and mourning over her calamities.

‡ The famous "*Act for the uniformity of public prayers and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, &c., in the church of England;*" which received the royal assent on the 19th May, 1662, and took effect on the 24th of August following, being *St. Bartholomew's day*. Assent and consent to its provisions were to be declared by that day, on pain of deprivation of their livings, if the offenders were in the ministry; and if schoolmasters or tutors, three months' imprisonment and a fine of five pounds sterling. About *two thousand* ministers could not, with a good conscience, comply; and they were deprived accordingly.

We cannot perceive in the New Testament any characters of such superiority. On comparing the history of their appointment, we find their commission was the same both in form and in substance; that they had the same powers, the same instructions, the same cautions, the same support; in short, that their whole mission was the same. Let any man of common candour read the account of it in Matthew and Luke; and let him discover, if he can, any thing that bears the semblance of a superior and inferior order. To facilitate his inquiry we subjoin the passages alluded to:—

*The TWELVE :**Matthew ix. 37—x. 16.*

“Then saith he unto his disciples, The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few. Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest. And when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out; and to heal all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease. Now the names of the twelve apostles are these: the first, Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas, and Matthew the publican; James the son of Alphaeus, and Lebbeus, whose surname was

*The SEVENTY :**Luke x. 1—16.*

“After these things the Lord appointed other seventy also, and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place whither he himself would come. Therefore said he unto them, The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few: pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest. Go your ways: behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves. Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes: and salute no man by the way. And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace, be to this house. And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it: if not, it shall turn to you again. And in the

The TWELVE.

Thaddeus. Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him. These twelve Jesus sent forth, and commanded them, saying, Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And, as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils; freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, in your purses; nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves; for the workman is worthy of his meat. And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, inquire who in it is worthy; and there abide till ye go thence. And when ye come into an house, salute it. And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it: but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you. And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet. Verily I

The SEVENTY.

same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give: for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house. And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you; and heal the sick that are therein; and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you. But into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you not, go your ways out into the streets of the same, and say, Even the very dust of your city, which cleaveth on us, we do wipe off against you: notwithstanding, be ye sure of this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you. But I say unto you, That it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom than for that city. Wo unto thee, Chorazin! wo unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon, which have been done in you, they had a great while ago repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes. But it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the judgment than for you. And thou, Capernaum, which art exalt-

The TWELVE.

say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah, in the day of judgment, than for that city. Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me."

The SEVENTY.

ed to heaven, shalt be thrust down to hell. He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me."

If, after all, the twelve were an order superior to the seventy, the evidence, whether in these or other parts of the evangelical narrative, is too subtle for our clumsy senses. The Layman, however, whose perceptions are not so dull, has been more fortunate. Let us betake ourselves to his aid.

"The twelve," says he, "were superior to the seventy, both in *dignity* and *power*."

They were superior in "*dignity*."

How is this proved? Thus—

1. "The apostles are every where spoken of, as the constant attendants of our Lord." Therefore, they were of a higher rank than the seventy! The Layman is as active as he is sharp-sighted; but the ditch between his premises and his conclusion being rather too wide for us to leap, we cannot conveniently follow him.

But the Layman has forgotten that there were others, beside the apostles, who are mentioned as the constant attendants of our Lord,* and who received from that circumstance no pre-eminence of authority whatever. The Layman's first argument, then, is "good for nothing."

* Acts i. 21.

2. "The commission of the apostles was much more general" than that of the seventy. The latter "were sent before our Lord into the cities *whither he himself would come.*" The former were directed "to preach the gospel to all the Jews." A minister, therefore, who should be instructed to make a preaching tour through the United States, would be of a higher grade than one whose labours should be confined to the state of New York. If this argument of the Layman is not very satisfactory, it is at least ingenious. There is something vastly pleasant in regulating the grandeur of the priesthood by the length of a journey; and determining its grades with a pair of geographical compasses!

3. "The inauguration of the twelve was much more solemn than that of the seventy." Therefore, they must be of a superior order. Because all the world knows that it is impossible to appoint, though on different occasions, officers of the same rank without the very same degree of solemnity. This is demonstration! Is it not, good reader? But in what was the inauguration of the twelve more solemn than that of the seventy?

"In relation to the first," replies the Layman, "we find our Saviour directing his disciples to pray to God to send labourers into the harvest. We find him continuing himself a whole night in prayer. In the inauguration of the seventy there was nothing of all this solemnity." p. 154.

Nothing! if we read our bible correctly, there is the same direction about prayer to the Lord of the harvest, for labourers in his harvest, coupled with the mission of the seventy, and of the twelve. With respect to his continuing in prayer the whole night previous to the choice of his apostles, is the Layman sure that their appointment was the special cause of our Lord's being

thus employed? that he never prayed in this manner upon any other occasion? and particularly, before the election of the seventy? And supposing him to be sure of all this; how does it affect relative dignity? Christ prayed all night before appointing the twelve, and not before appointing the seventy, *therefore* the twelve were a superior order of ministers! It seems, then, that it was not preaching the gospel, nor performing mighty works in his name, which lay so near the Saviour's heart when he was about to send forth his messengers, as to engage him all night in prayer; but it was the desire to set off a superior order of them with suitable eclat!—When the *twelve* are to be commissioned, he prays all night. When the *seventy* are to be commissioned, he is not at the same trouble; and this merely to shew that they are not of such high dignity as the *others*! Poor disciples! to have the same duties and the same trials with your twelve superiors, and much less interest in your Master's affections and prayers! It was no small matter, we see, to be a bishop, or something like one, in the days of his flesh: and if the Layman will undertake to prove that the successor bishops have still the same enviable privilege, we shall not refuse him the praise of courage! However, if they act up to the *principle* of his argument, there is one inference which we think may be drawn from it with rather clearer evidence than his own for the pre-eminence of the apostles above the seventy; and that is, that when the hierarchy is about ordaining bishops, she prays most fervently; and when presbyters are to be ordained, she does not think it worth while to pray at all!

The Layman proceeds:

“The apostles were likewise superior,” viz. to the seventy, “in *power*.”—p. 154.

How is this proved? Thus:

“They alone received the commission to offer the eucharistic sacrifice of bread and wine.”

We stay not to comment on the popish style of this passage. “Eucharistic *sacrifice!*” The scripture knows neither the name nor the thing, in reference to the *commemoration* of our Lord’s death in the sacrament of the supper. The Layman’s argument for the superiority of the twelve is, that they alone were authorized to administer this sacrament. Indeed! How, then, came it to be administered by the Episcopal priests, who are not the successors of the apostles? Either this power does not prove superiority of rank, or else the hierarchy has transferred to an inferior order one of the peculiar functions of the superior, and thus corrupted the institutions of Christ. The Layman has his option. It will not be possible to evade the alternative, because the Lord’s supper is an ordinance of perpetual obligation, and could not be administered by the apostles till after his death; nor is there a shadow of proof that it was ever administered by them till after his ascension, and the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. Prove what it will, it cannot prove the superiority of the twelve above the seventy during his abode upon earth. And, what is more, there is nothing in the institution of the supper to express the conveyance of authority to administer it. There is nothing but the appointment of it for the observation of the church. *This do in remembrance of me; for as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord’s death till he come.* But all communicants “do this in remembrance of him,” they all “show forth his death” in the holy supper, as much as did the apostles. The commission to administer the sacraments, and govern the church, was not given till the very moment of his departure from earth.

In the next place :

“To the twelve,” says the Layman, “were twelve thrones appointed, whereon they should sit, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.”—p. 154.

As this language is altogether symbolical, he should have fixed its meaning before he quoted it as a proof. This he has not done, and it is not our business to do it for him. But Cyprian has conceded that Christ held in his own hands the supreme authority while he was on earth: the Layman himself has told us, that the twelve during this period had not the power of ordination; and men who had power, neither to govern nor to ordain, are not very fitly depicted by the symbols of men “sitting upon thrones, and judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” The Layman has again mistaken and misrepresented the passage, *part* of which he has cited. It stands thus in Matt. xix. 28, “Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me in the regeneration, *when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of his glory*, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.” It appears from Luke, chap. xxii. that this promise was addressed to the twelve just before our Lord’s passion. Whatever then is meant by the “twelve thrones,” and the “judgment of the twelve tribes of Israel,” it was not, and could not be possessed by the apostles, till after their Master’s *exaltation*; till he should sit in the *throne of his glory*. He was to bestow it upon them after he should have “ascended up far above all heavens,” and not before. This is the text on which the Layman relies for proof of the pre-eminence of the twelve during our Lord’s *humiliation*, when *he* did *not* sit in the throne of *his* glory, and consequently *they* did *not* sit on *their* thrones.

But “on them,” viz. the twelve, “was to rest the fabric of the church. *The wall of the city having twelve foundations,*

and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb."—Rev. xxi. 14.

Another blunder, as usual. A symbolical representation of a state of the church which has not yet happened, is to prove that the twelve were superior to the seventy in the days of their Master's flesh, and before they had received any commission whatever to *govern*!

There is one argument more.

"Upon the happening of a vacancy, by the apostacy of Judas, Matthias was raised to his bishopric, being numbered with the eleven apostles, and taking part of their ministry. Acts i. Matthias had been one of the seventy. For this we have the testimony of Eusebius, of Jerome, of Epiphanius. Mark, Luke, Sosthenes, with other evangelists, as also the seven deacons, were of the seventy, if the primitive fathers of the church be at all to be relied upon as witnesses of facts. And these persons, even after their promotion, were still inferior to the twelve, being under their government."—p. 154.

The elevation of Matthias to the apostleship took place *after* the eleven had received their commission from the risen Saviour, and after he had ascended to heaven: and this is to prove that they were superior to the seventy *before* his passion. Truly the Layman has a right to make himself merry with the logic of his opponents! But did the seventy retain, after Christ's resurrection, the commission which they had before his death, or did they not? If they did not, the Layman's argument goes to the wall at once. If they did, then it is strange that their official character is never so much as mentioned, after the resurrection, in any part of the New Testament. And it is no less strange that the Layman should represent any of them as being *promoted* to the office of *deacons*. Lower they could not be, to be in the "priesthood" at all. And if they were *next* the apostles, as they were

put in a preceding part of the discussion, their being made *deacons* was a promotion *downwards*. They must have been, as belonging to the priesthood, either of the order of deacons, or of a superior order: if deacons, their ordination to that office by the apostles was a farce; if of a superior order, it degraded them. The Layman has again his choice. But whether they were *then* degraded, or promoted, or neither, what has this to do with their own office or that of the apostles, during our Lord's abode upon earth?

So much for the Layman's proofs that the twelve were superior to the seventy. He has not proved, nor can he, with the whole phalanx of the hierarchy to help him, prove, either from their commission or from their acts, that the twelve exercised or possessed an atom of power over the seventy.

But our difficulties are not yet ended. We encounter a formidable one in the fact, that the Christian church *was not organized at all during our Lord's residence on earth*. The ministry of the Baptist, his own ministry, and that of the apostles and the seventy, were all *preparative*. The church could not be organized under the new dispensation, till the Jewish form ceased; and that could not cease till the Messiah had "finished transgression, made an end of sin, and made reconciliation for iniquity," by the sacrifice of himself. Accordingly, he gave his apostles their high commission after his resurrection; and they did not so much as attempt to act upon it, till, as he had promised, they were "endued with power from on high," by the descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost. *Then* they were able to speak in the name of a Master who was "set on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens." Then, and not till then, did the church put on her New Testament form. It is, therefore, perfectly idle to infer what this

form should be, from her appearance in her unformed state.

Once more. Had the Episcopal writers even made good their assertions concerning the state of the church in the period we have been reviewing, it would avail them nothing; because our Lord has settled the platform of his church, the leading principles of her order, by positive statute; and this precludes, to the whole extent of the statute, all reasoning from analogy. We have nothing to do but to ascertain what he has enacted.

Thus have the proofs drawn in favour of the hierarchy from the Jewish priesthood, and from the state of the church during our Lord's personal ministry, vanished successively at the touch. Grosser abuse of the divine word than we have had occasion to expose, cannot easily be found. The Layman hardly approaches a text without disfiguring it. He is young, very young, in the study of his Bible. This is *some* excuse; and, in his being a *layman*, he has an apology which cannot be extended to Cyprian, Vindex, or Cornelius. If reading the scriptures like correct interpreters were to be the test, we much fear that, in the issue of the present trial, neither himself nor his reverend associates would be entitled to plead *the benefit of clergy*.

CHAPTER V.

DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY NOT SUSTAINED BY A REFERENCE
TO NEW TESTAMENT FACTS.

FACTS to justify the Episcopal claim have been sought, without effect, in the constitution of the Jewish priesthood, and in that peculiar state of the church which existed during our Lord's personal ministry. These refuges have failed. The hierarchy has been dislodged from all her intrenchments in succession, and left without a resting-place for the sole of her foot, in any part of the religious territory which was occupied by the church from the days of Abraham till the day of Pentecost. We acknowledge, however, that she will suffer little detriment from her defeat, if she can establish herself firmly upon New Testament ground. The strength of her positions here is next to be tried. If, as she glories, the *facts* of the New Testament are on her side, we own ourselves vanquished, and have nothing to do but to hand her our swords. But we shall not take her word for it. Let the facts be produced. According to the writers whom we are reviewing, they are found in the pre-eminence of James at Jerusalem, of Timothy at Ephesus, of Titus in Crete, and of the seven angels in the Asiatic churches. Epaphroditus, too, has been occasionally added to the number. The ability and *learning* of Cyprian had done him up into a bishop, and had dispatched him from Philippi, in Episcopal majesty, on a visit to Paul at Rome. Unfortunately the good man

lost his mitre by the way, so that when he arrived, the apostle could not distinguish him from a simple messenger, who came on an errand from his Philippian friends, and sent him back again *in statu quo*, without a single mark of prelatical dignity. So we leave him, to go in quest of the others. Before investigating the validity of their individual titles, we ask the reader's attention to some *general presumptions* against the existence of prelates in the apostolic church, presumptions, in our view, so strong as almost to supersede the necessity of further examination.

The first is this, that *no such order is mentioned, nor even alluded to, either in the salutations of Paul's epistles to the churches, or in his directions for the performance of relative duties.* Had prelacy been of apostolic origin, had Paul himself been distinguished for his zeal in establishing it, would there not have been *something*, in his epistles to the churches, appropriated to their chief officer? He gives very exact instructions to every other class of Christians; points out, minutely, their duties to each other; carefully distinguishes between presbyters and deacons; draws their respective characters, and assigns their functions; salutes individual ministers and private Christians, both men and women, by name; but no where says one syllable to the superior grade of ministers! How is this fact to be explained? That Paul, who observed the most scrupulous propriety in all his addresses—who left no part of religious society any excuse for neglect of duty—who overlooked nothing which might tend to counsel, conciliate, or console—who carefully avoided every thing contemptuous or irritating—who was even solicitous, as we are told, to assert the dignity of prelates above that of presbyters—that this very Paul should take no manner of notice of them in his letters to their dioceses, should enjoin respect and

obedience to their subalterns before their faces; and not so much as *hint* at the obedience which these subalterns owed to them, is past all belief! It would bespeak not a man of discretion; much less a wise man; less still, a great man; least of all, an inspired apostle—but a downright idiot. He could not have fallen upon a more effectual method to disgrace them with their people; to encourage insubordination among their presbyters; and, by wantonly sporting with their feelings, to convert them into personal enemies. How then, we ask again, shall this omission be accounted for? It will not do to reply, that as the names of bishop and presbyter were promiscuously used, he joins them in common directions, salutation, and honour. This answer relieves not the difficulty; for it cannot extend to the deacons, whom he expressly distinguishes from the presbyters. Well, then, he singles out the *lowest* order of clergy, pays them marked attention, and, by this very act, *insults* the prelates whom his silence had sufficiently mortified. Further, if one set of particular instructions suits different sets of officers, how can their *functions* be different? If the prerogative of the prelate consist in the power of ordination and government, how can his duties be comprised in a draught of instructions for officers who have no such power? It would be as rational to insist that the very same instructions would suit the governor of a province and the constable of a town. And did not every rule of decorum require, on the part of the apostle, a primary attention to that order which was emphatically to succeed him? that order, without which, we are taught the Christian church can have neither form nor government, nor ministry, nor sacraments, nor lawful assemblies; no, nor even existence? That *this* order should first be instituted by the apostle, and then passed over in absolute neglect when he is

writing to their churches ; or be lumped with their inferiors, while the grades of these inferiors are addressed in a manner which it is impossible to mistake,—puts all credulity at defiance. The question, therefore, returns ; how shall we solve this enigma in the conduct of Paul ? The simple solution is, he takes no separate notice of bishops as superior to presbyters, because no such bishops existed. Other solution there is none. For it is very certain that *after* their introduction they figured gloriously. Whoever was left in the back ground, the bishop came conspicuously forward—whoever was thrown into the shade, the bishop was irradiated—whoever was treated with neglect, due homage to the bishop was never forgotten. Not such was the fact in the days of St. Paul ; therefore, not such was the order which he had instituted.

2. Another presumption, if, indeed, it deserve not a higher name, against the episcopal construction of the New Testament facts, is, that one at least, of the two powers said to be vested exclusively in prelates, is clearly attributed to presbyters. We mean the power of *government*.

There are three terms employed in the New Testament to express the authority which is to be exercised in the Christian church, and they are *all* applied to presbyters. These terms are,

1. ἡγεομαι—To take the lead.
2. προισημι—To stand before ; to preside.
3. ποιμαινω—To act the part, to fulfil the duties, of a shepherd.

Every power which Christ hath deputed to his officers is conveyed by one or other of these terms.

For the greater precision, we shall shew, *first*, that they do express the power of government ; and *then*, that each of them is applied to presbyters.

1. ΗΓΕΟΜΑΙ. To take the lead—signifies to “rule.” Matt. ii. 6. *Thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the PRINCES (ἡγεμοσιν) of Juda; for out of thee shall come a GOVERNOR (ἡγουμενος) that shall RULE my people Israel.* The force of the term, then, cannot be questioned. It is applied to presbyters.

Heb. xii. 7. *Remember them which HAVE THE RULE OVER you, (των ἡγουμενων ὑμων your rulers.)* The apostle is speaking of their deceased pastors; for he immediately adds, *who have spoken unto you the word of God; whose faith follow, considering the END, the issue or termination, of their conversation.* Again,

Ver. 17. *Obey them that have the rule over you, (τοις ἡγουμενοις ὑμων) for they watch for your souls as they that must give account.*

That these “rulers” were presbyters, is evident from a single consideration; the apostle attributes the power of “ruling,” to those deceased pastors who had preached the gospel to the Hebrew converts; and those living ones who “watched for their souls;” which are undeniably the functions of presbyters; therefore Paul recognizes in presbyters, all the power of government expressed by the first term—rulers.

2. ΠΡΟΙΣΤΗΜΙ, or ΠΡΟΙΣΤΑΜΑΙ. To stand or place before—to preside—to rule. 1 Tim. iii. 4. *A bishop must be one that RULETH WELL (καλως προισταμενον) his own house.* The same in ver. 5. 12.*

The power expressed by this term also, is applied to presbyters.

1 Thess. v. 12. *We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and ARE OVER YOU (προισταμενους) in the Lord.*

* For other references, see *Raphelii Annot. Phil. in N. T. ad locum, & Schleusneri Novum Lexicon in N. T.*

It is a description of ordinary faithful pastors; not of *prelates*, for there were *several* at Thessalonica; and diocesan Episcopacy admits of but *one* in a city. The whole description, taken together, supposes the exercise of functions, and an intimacy of intercourse, among the people, which a prelate cannot possibly observe in his diocese; but which is exactly characteristic of the *presbyter*. However, to put the matter out of all doubt, Paul charges Timothy, 1 Tim. v. 17. *Let the elders that RULE WELL, (οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες) be accounted worthy of double honour, &c.*

Presbyters they are, Episcopacy herself being judge: for this is one of the passages which she quotes to prove their inferiority, in the church of Ephesus, to bishop Timothy. The apostle, then, here formally attributes to presbyters the power of "ruling," which we humbly conceive to be much the same with the power of "government."

3. ΠΟΙΜΑΙΝΩ. To exercise the office of a shepherd; hence, to provide for the safety and comfort of any one—to direct, to control, to govern.

This term being more comprehensive than either of the former two, we crave the reader's indulgence to a more minute proof of the last mentioned acceptance, viz. to "govern."

As early as the days of Homer, this word and its relatives were in familiar use, to designate not only authority, but the *highest* authority in the commonwealth. Thence that frequent Homeric phrase, "the shepherd of the people," for their "king." No one who is in the least conversant with that pre-eminent poet will ask for examples; but lest we should be contradicted by such as are not, and yet wish to pass for "Greek scholars," we subjoin a few, though at the hazard of being again reproved by Mr. Hobart for our "ostentation:"—

—————Δρυαντα τε ΠΟΙΜΕΝΑ λαων. II. A. 263.

“Dryas, the SHEPHERD of the people”—which the scholiast interprets by Βασιλεα οχλων; “the KING of multitudes.”

—————πειθοντο τε ΠΟΙΜΕΝΑ λαων

Σκηπτουχοι βασιληες. II. B. 85.

“The sceptered kings yielded to the SHEPHERD of the people.”—Where the scholiast again explains “shepherd” by “king,” βασιλει.

In the same poet, “shepherd” is used interchangeably with other terms descriptive of the military chiefs of Greece.

Αιαν διογενες, Τελαμωνιε, ΚΟΙΠΑΝΕ λαων. II. I. 640.

Οιτινες ΗΓΕΜΟΝΕΣ Δαναων και ΚΟΙΠΑΝΟΙ ησαν. II. B. 487.

Those who are elsewhere called “shepherds,” are here named “leaders” and princes:” the former being interpreted “kings” by the scholiast, as he had already interpreted “shepherds.” In the same way does he translate the latter, in his annotation upon ver. 204, of the book last cited. So that by the great master of Grecian language and literature, the three terms Ποιμην, Ηγεμων, Κοιρανος, i. e. “shepherd,” “leader,” “prince,” are interchangeably used of the same rank, and are all explained by the Greek commentator, Βασιλευς, i. e. “king.” Instances might easily be multiplied, but we forbear. We have the rather appealed to Homer, because he depicts that same state of society in which a great portion of the scriptures was written; and alludes to those same objects from which they have borrowed much of their imagery, and many of their terms.

Proceed we now to the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, which was completed between two and three centuries before Christ. 2 Kings v. 2, in our version 2 Sam. v. 2. *The Lord said unto thee, viz. David,*

thou shalt FEED (ποιμανεῖς, shalt act as a shepherd to) my people Israel, and thou shalt be a CAPTAIN (ηγουµενον) over Israel.

Precisely the same sort of example is to be found in Chron. vii. 7; 1 Chron. ii. 2; xvii. 6; also Psa. xlviii. 14. *Death shall FEED upon (ποιµανει, shall have the rule over) them.*

The New Testament is equally decisive. Matt. ii. 6. *Thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda; for out of thee shall come a GOVERNOR (ηγουµενος) that shall RULE (ποιµανει, feed, superintend as a shepherd,) my people Israel.* The prophet speaks of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the "good shepherd," and the "chief shepherd;" and who had, and has, "the government upon his shoulder." Isa. ix. 6.

This term, likewise, is applied to presbyters.

Acts xx. 17, 28. *From Miletus, Paul sent to Ephesus, and called the PRESBYTERS of the church, and said unto them, Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you BISHOPS, to FEED (ποιµαινειν, like good shepherds, to provide for, watch over, and govern,) the church of God, &c.*

1 Pet. v. 2, 3. *The PRESBYTERS who are among you I exhort, who am also a PRESBYTER. FEED (ποιµανετε) the flock of God which is among you, taking the OVERSIGHT, (επισκοπουντες, discharging the duty of BISHOPS) thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind: neither as being LORDS over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.*

It is obvious, upon the very face of the texts, that these presbyters of Ephesus, and of the dispersion, are considered as vested with the pastoral care in all its extent; and they are commanded to be faithful to the trust reposed in them, by providing for the protection,

nurture, and comfort of the flock of God. This "feeding" the flock, this discharge of the pastoral duty, is directly opposed by Peter to being "lords over God's heritage," i. e. to rigorous and oppressive government; or, as we commonly say, to "lording it" over them. The contrast could have had no place, had not these presbyters been church governors; for it is idle to warn men against abusing a power which they do not possess. By instructing them *how* they were to govern the church, the apostle has decided that the power of government was committed to them. No higher authority than he has recognized in them can belong to the order of prelates. For the very same term by which he marks the power of the presbyters, is employed in scripture to mark the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ himself.*

The reader cannot for a moment suppose that we put any power left in the church on a level with that of her divine Master. Far from us be the thought of such blasphemy. But we contend for these two things—

1st. That the term which both Paul and Peter apply to the office of presbyters, undoubtedly expresses the power of *government*; seeing it is the term which expresses the office of Christ, as the *governor* of his people Israel.

2d. That as this term, applied to the office of Christ, expresses the highest power of government in him as the chief shepherd, so, when applied to the office of the under shepherds, it expresses the highest power of government which he has delegated to be exercised in his name for the welfare of his church. But this power is vested, Paul and Peter being judges, in *presbyters*; therefore presbyters, by the appointment of Jesus Christ,

* Math. ii. 6—*ἡγουμενος οστις ΠΟΙΜΑΝΕΙ τον λαον μου, &c.* : "the governor that shall *rule* (margin A. V. *feed*) my people," &c.

are invested with the highest power of government known in his church.

We go further: the authority conveyed by the charge to "*feed* the flock of God," comprehends the ordering of *all things* necessary to her well-being; and therefore the power of *ordination* likewise. An essential part of the Redeemer's *pastoral* office was, and is, to provide under-pastors for his sheep. This at first he did in person, by immediate vocation; but having "ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things," he performs the same office through the medium of the pastors whom he has left in the church. The question is, to *what* pastors has he committed the trust of ordaining *other* pastors, and thus preserving the pastoral succession? We answer, to *presbyters*; for he has affixed to their office that very term which designates his own right and care to furnish his church with pastors or lawful ministers. Let our Episcopal brethren shew as much for their prelates, if they can.

To sum up what has been said on this article: no expressions more clear and decisive than those we have considered are used in the scripture to denote either the communication, or the possession, or the exercise, of the ordinary powers given by Christ for the well-ordering of his church. And we have shewn that the New Testament has, in the most direct and ample manner, confided them *all* to presbyters.

Unless, therefore, we adopt the insane paradox of Hammond, namely, that the presbyters of the New Testament were all diocesan bishops, the passages quoted must bear one of two senses:—either they point out, under the denomination of presbyters, those officers who are strictly so called, in contradistinction from prelates and deacons; or they use the name with sufficient latitude to include

the prelates too. If the former, our position is established: if the latter, then prelates and presbyters are *joined together* in the power of government, which the hierarchy maintains is confined to prelates alone. In either way, the argument is conclusive against her.

3d. At a very early period of the Christian church, presbyters did *actually exercise* the power of government; exercised it in conjunction with the apostles themselves; and that upon the principle of parity.

The important question concerning the obligation upon Christians to be circumcised and keep the law of Moses, in order to salvation, was referred by the church at Antioch to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem. The historian does not mean apostles and elders who had a fixed and permanent charge at Jerusalem, which was essentially incompatible with their apostolic vocation. But as that city had been the cradle of the Christian church, and was the centre of religious communication from all parts of the world, the apostles returned thither from their excursions in preaching the gospel, accompanied with elders or presbyters from the churches which they had planted, and met together in ecclesiastical council to consult about their common interest. Herein they have set us the example, and left us the warrant of a *delegated body*, as the ultimate resort in all ecclesiastical affairs; for such a body, to all intents and purposes, was the assemblage of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem. Of this most venerable primitive synod we treat no further at present, than to ascertain what share the *presbyters* had in its proceeding. The following things appear indisputable.

1st. The apostles and presbyters met in common; that is, they formed but *one* assembly. Of a "house of bishops," and a "house of clerical and lay delegates," they had no idea. This improvement in church govern-

ment was reserved for discovery by those who had been trained in the school of the "judicious"* Hooker.

2d. The *right* of the presbyters to sit in judgment with the apostles upon all ecclesiastical concerns, which were not to be decided by special revelation, was well understood in the churches.

The proof of this proposition lies in the *very terms* of the reference from Antioch. For it is inconceivable how the church there should think of submitting a question, so weighty in itself, and so extensive in its consequences, to the "elders," conjointly with the "apostles," if they had not been taught that presbyters were the ordinary church governors, and were to continue such after the decease of the others. This explains why they went up with the apostles to Jerusalem. It was not only to give them opportunities of information, but also, if not chiefly, to learn the proper mode of despatching the public business. Before this council or synod, composed of apostles and elders, was the interesting reference from Antioch laid; by them was it discussed, and by them decided.

3d. The apostles on this occasion acted simply as members of the synod; they did nothing in virtue of their extraordinary, which was their apostolical character, nor introduced into the deliberations of the assembly any influence but that of *facts*, of the *written scripture*, and

* This appellation was bestowed upon Hooker by James VI., who was delighted, beyond measure, with his famous work on *ecclesiastical polity*: and delighted with it for the same reason which, no doubt, ravished the heart of Cardinal Allen and Pope Clement VIII.,* viz. that the *principle* of Hooker's book, and the scope of his argument, are to prove the right of the church to model her government as she shall judge for edification. We shall touch this subject again. Does not the reader suppose that this must be a truly *Protestant* work, which excited the admiration and rapture of the pope and his cardinals!

* Hooker's Life, p. 78, 79. Works, Vol. i. 8vo.

of *reasoning* founded on the comparison of both. All this is evident from the narrative in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, and resulted from the nature of the case. Had the question been to be determined by *special revelation* or *apostolic* authority, *one* inspired man, or *one* apostle, would have answered as well as a dozen. The dispute might have been settled on the spot, and by Paul himself. Had there arisen any doubt of his power, or distrust of his integrity, a hundred miracles, if necessary, would instantly have removed the obstacle. In every view, the embassy to Jerusalem would have been an useless parade.

The truth is, that the apostles acted in a *double* capacity. They had that authority which was designed to be ordinary and perpetual, such as preaching the word, administering the sacraments, and governing the church. But, superadded to this, they had also the authority of special messengers for extraordinary and temporary purposes. If a new church was to be founded among the nations—if any part of the rule of faith was to be revealed—if a particular emergency required a particular interposition; in these and similar cases, their extraordinary character found its proper objects; they “spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost:” their judgment was infallible, and their authority paramount. But, for the *ordinary* government of the church, or any part of it, they do not appear to have enjoyed these extraordinary communications of the divine Spirit; nor to have exerted their extraordinary powers; nor to have claimed a particle of authority above the presbyters. Without such a distinction as we have now stated, their history is a tissue of inconsistencies, and their conduct in the synod of Jerusalem must be given up as a riddle that baffles solution.

CHAPTER VI.

DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY NOT SUSTAINED BY THE OFFICIAL
CHARACTER OF THE APOSTLE JAMES.

SEEING, therefore, that in the apostolic epistles and salutations to the churches there is no mention of prelates, although there is frequent mention of presbyters and deacons,—that presbyters are formally addressed as possessing the power of government,—and that they actually did exercise it in matters of the highest moment, the advocate for diocesan episcopacy must adduce *scriptural facts* to support him under the depressing weight of all these considerations. As he maintains that prelates are at least of apostolic origin, and that they *alone* succeeded the apostles in the powers of ordination and government, his *facts* must not only be *plausible* when detached from their place and bearings in the Christian history, and when decorated with appendages of his own imagination; but they must accord with the *language* of the New Testament, and with its *narrative*; they must be so *decisive* as to annihilate the foregoing difficulties; and must not admit of a fair and rational explanation upon presbyterian principles. With such facts, he tells us, he is ready to confront us. Our curiosity is awake: let us look at them without further delay.

He refers us, for one fact, to that same synod of Jerusalem which we have just left. We must go back again.

“If from Crete,” says Cyprian, “we pass to Jerusalem, we shall there discover equally striking evidence* that St. James, the brother of our Lord, possessed in that place the pre-eminence of a bishop in the church. In the first council that was held there, in order to determine the controversy which had arisen in regard to the circumcision of Gentile converts, we find him pronouncing an authoritative sentence. His sentence, we remark also, determined the controversy: ‘Wherefore my sentence is,’ says he, ‘that we trouble not those who from among the Gentiles are turned unto God.’ In Acts xxi. 17 and 18, we are told, ‘that when St. Paul and his company were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received him gladly; and that the next day following, Paul went in with them unto James, and all the elders or presbyters were present.’ Acts xii. 17, it is said, that ‘Peter, after he had declared to the Christians to whom he went, his miraculous deliverance, bade them go and show these things to James and to the brethren.’ In Galatians ii. 12, St. Paul says, ‘that certain came from James,’ that is, from the church of Jerusalem to the church of Antioch. Surely these passages strongly indicate that James held the highest dignity in the church of Jerusalem. The brethren carry Paul and his company to him as to a supreme officer. He has presbyters and deacons in subordination to him. When messengers are sent from Jerusalem to other churches, it is not done in the name of the presbyters and deacons, or of the church of this place; it is done in the name of James. Do not these considerations prove James was the supreme ruler of that church?”

* What this “striking evidence” is, remains to be seen hereafter. We shall reduce the out-works of the hierarchy before we close in upon her citadel. This is the episcopal character of Timothy and Titus, as her chieftains confess,—as their anxiety to defend it sufficiently indicates, even without their confession. In the mean time, we believe Cyprian to be pretty correct in making the evidence for the episcopate of James at Jerusalem, to be “*equally striking*” with that of Titus’s at Crete; for we hope to prove that in both cases it amounts to just nothing at all!

The first argument of Cyprian for the Episcopal pre-eminence of James is, that he pronounced in the synod of Jerusalem “an *authoritative sentence* ;” and that “*his sentence determined the controversy.*” The proof is, that expression in his speech to the council, “Wherefore *my sentence* is, that we trouble not those who from among the Gentiles are turned unto God.”—Acts xv. 19.

We are under the necessity of objecting, for the *third* time, to these writers, that they put into the mouth of the person whom they quote, declarations which he never uttered. They will make James deliver an authoritative sentence as the bishop of Jerusalem. They perhaps could not help themselves, as they have only followed their file-leaders. Potter had said the same thing; and they took it as they found it. But the editor of Lycophron, and author of the “*Antiquities of Greece,*” was “a scholar, and a ripe and good one.” He knew that he was standing on slippery ground, and so, to save his own reputation, he slyly fathers his construction of James’s words upon old Hesychius.*

But, in opposition to Cyprian, and the Layman, and Archbishop Potter, and Hesychius too, we shall shew,

1. That there is nothing in the language of James from which it can be inferred that he, as the superior officer, pronounced an *authoritative sentence* ; and,
2. That it was *impossible* for him to pronounce such a sentence.

* *Discourse on Church Government*, p. 91. In a note, the learned prelate cites Hesychius as thus distinguishing:—“Peter addresses the council, but James enacts the law.” Πετρος δημηγορει, αλλ’ Ιακωβος νομοθετει. Potter’s precaution passed unobserved. The reason probably is, that it was locked up in the quotation from Hesychius, “*Græcum est; et non potest legi!*” said the Trojans of Oxford, whenever a line of Greek came in their way.

The *first* point is to be settled by a critical examination of his phraseology. His words are Διο εγω ΚΡΙΝΩ, which our translators have rendered, “*Wherefore MY SENTENCE is.*”

The primitive meaning of the word is to *discriminate*, to *separate*, to *select*, to *arrange*. Thus Homer,

— Δημητηρ

ΚΡΙΝΕΙ, ΕΠΕΙΓΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΑΝΕΜΩΝ ΚΑΡΙΠΙΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΧΝΑΣ.
 II. E. 501.

“*Separates, by the winds, the chaff from the wheat.*”

———— ΚΡΙΝΑΣ τ’ανα δημον αριστους.
 Od. Δ. 666.

“*Selecting the most valiant throughout the people.*”

ΚΡΙΝ’ ανδρας κατα φυλα.
 II. B. 362.

“*Arrange the men according to their nations.*”

From this primitive notion, the word, by a very natural transition, came to signify the formation of an opinion, or judgment, and the expression of it when formed, because no opinion or judgment can exist without a previous process by which the mind *discriminates* between its own perceptions. And thus the word is familiarly used by writers both profane and sacred.

———— μισει δε πλεον η δικη ΚΡΙΝΑΝΤΕΣ.

“*Forming their opinion rather from hatred than justice,*” says Thucydides of the Platæans, with respect to their *judgment* of the Thebans.*

την διακοσμησιν και ταξιν ΚΡΙΝΕΙΝ ου τυχης, ειναι κασκευασματα.

“*To think that the beautiful order of the universe is not the production of fortune.*”†

* *Thucid.* III. 67. p. 209. *ed. Dukeri.*

† *Diod. Sic.* Lib. xii. 84. Tom. I. p. 491. *ed. Wessel.*

— τῷ τούτῳ ΚΡΙΝΕΙΣ.

“Why dost thou *think* so? upon what ground art thou of *this opinion*?”*

In the speech of Hermocrates to the Syracusans, as recorded by Thucydides, there is a perfect parallel to the expression of James.

“We shall consult,” says he, “if we be in our right minds, not only our own immediate interests, but whether we shall be able still to preserve all Sicily, against which, *in my judgment*, the Athenians are plotting.”†

The same use of the word is so common in the New Testament, that examples are almost superfluous. We shall, however, subjoin a few, because they will bring our criticism more directly within the reach of the unlearned reader.

Luke vii. 43. *Simon said—I suppose that he to whom he forgave most.* And he said unto him, Thou hast *rightly judged*, (ορθῶς ΕΚΡΙΝΑΣ.) Simon’s judgment was surely not an *official* one. It was simply his *opinion*, or *conclusion*, from the case proposed to him.

John vii. 24. JUDGE *not* (Μὴ ΚΡΙΝΕΤΕ) *according to the appearance, but* JUDGE *righteous* JUDGMENT, (ΚΡΙΣΙΝ ΚΡΙΝΑΤΕ.) No “authoritative sentence” is contemplated here.

Acts xiii. 46. *Seeing ye* JUDGE *yourselves* (ΚΡΙΝΕΤΕ) *unworthy, &c.*

2 Cor. v. 14, 15. *The love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus* JUDGE (ΚΡΙΝΑΝΤΑΣ τούτο,) &c. “Concerning the love of Christ,” saith Paul, this is

* *Aristoph. Plut. v. 48. p. 9. ed. Kusteri.*

† — ου περι των ιδιων μονον, ει σωφρονωμεν, η συνοδος εσται· αλλ’ ει επιβουλενομενην την πασαν Σικελιαν, ΩΣ ΕΓΩ ΚΡΙΝΩ, υπ’ Αθηναιων, δυνησομεθα ετι διασωσαι. *Thucyd. iv. 60. p. 272. ed. Dukeri.*

our *sentiment*, our *mode of reasoning*, that if one died for all, &c.

In every one of the preceding quotations, the very same word is used which occurs in the speech of James, and in the very same sense. It is the plainest Greek imaginable to express the *result of one's reflections*. This is all that the words of James imply. He spoke among the last; he availed himself of the discussion which had already taken place: and when his opinion was matured, he submitted it to the council in the form of a temperate and conciliatory proposition. We ask any man of plain sense to look over the chapter, and say whether this is not a natural and satisfactory account of the whole affair. Little did the guileless disciple suspect that his familiar and innocent expression would be converted, in these latter days, into a certificate of his being a diocesan bishop! And had not the "proofs" of the hierarchy been, like lords' wits, rather "thinly sown," she would never have attempted to cull one from a form of speech which might have been adopted by the obscurest member of the council with as much propriety as by James himself.

We have neither interest nor disposition to conceal what is well known to even smatterers in Greek, that the term which we have shown to be familiarly used to signify the expression of *opinion generally*, is also used, and with equal familiarity, in a more *restricted* sense, of a *judicial* opinion; or, if you prefer it, an "authoritative sentence." But then it always *presupposes the judicial or authoritative character* of the person to whom it is applied. Thus the senses of the word rank:

1. To discriminate—to select—to arrange. Thence,
2. To form a judgment—to express an opinion. And thence,
3. To pronounce an official judgment, or an "authoritative sentence."

But who does not see that you must first know under *what circumstances* a person is represented as speaking or acting, before you can determine whether the writer intends, by the word we are considering, a mere *selection* of one thing from a number of others? or an *opinion* as expressed in conversation or debate? or a *solemn judicial sentence*? Had the prelatic dignity of James been *first established*, and had the synod at Jerusalem been a *convocation of his clergy*, there would have been a propriety in attributing to him an "authoritative" decision, and interpreting his words accordingly. But to argue from his "my sentence is," that he *was* a prelate, is completely begging the question. The argument *assumes* that he was the bishop of Jerusalem; for this is indispensable to that "authority" which Cyprian ascribes to his words; and it is exactly taking for granted the thing to be proved.

Another unfortunate circumstance for the Episcopal construction of James's speech is, that it contradicts the sacred historian. In the very next chapter he tells us, that Paul and Silas delivered to the cities through which they passed, "the decrees for to keep, that were *ordained* (KEKPIMENA) of the *apostles and elders*." Acts xvi. 4. Cyprian says that *James* pronounced the "authoritative sentence." The inspired historian says that it was pronounced by the *apostles and elders*. Both cannot be true; and we are inclined to think that the rector of the Episcopal church in Albany cannot stand in the judgment, even with Potter and Hesychius to back him. The affront put upon the narrative of Luke is the more conspicuous, as the term which in the mouth of James is tortured into an "authoritative sentence," *here* occurs in that sense most unequivocally; because the reference from Antioch was brought before the *tribunal* of the apostles and elders. They were recognized as *judges having cognizance of the question*; and theirs was, of

course, an authoritative sentence. James was, indeed, *one* of the judges; he acted in his judicial character, but that character was common to him with every other member of the council; and, like theirs, his only influence was that of his wisdom and his vote. The scripture, then, being judge, it is incontestable that he did NOT pronounce an "authoritative sentence."

Our *second* position is, that it was *impossible* for James to exercise such a power as the advocates of Episcopacy attribute to him. Our proofs are these :

1. The cause was not referred to him; and accordingly it was not tried in the court of "St. James," but in the court of the "apostles and elders," as the representatives of the Christian church.

2. It could not be referred to him; nor could he, as bishop of Jerusalem, have any cognizance of it; Antioch being entirely without his jurisdiction.

3. The decision of the council was received and obeyed with alacrity through the churches of Asia. But had it been pronounced by an authority so limited and local as that of the bishop of Jerusalem, the effect must have been very different. Unless we should suppose that all the Asiatic cities, through which Paul and Silas passed, were subject to the see of Jerusalem; and, then, we shall not only spoil the Episcopal argument from the seven angels of Asia, but shall overturn the whole system of the hierarchy, as it is pretended to have been established by apostolic ordination: because we shall admit, that, instead of fixing bishops at proper distances for governing the church within convenient dioceses, the apostles put the immense regions of Asia under a spiritual head in the land of Judea. Indeed, we have always thought it hard, upon the Episcopal plan, that, considering the importance and the wealth of Antioch, not a bishop could be mustered for that distinguished

city; but she must go for direction all the way to the prelate of Jerusalem!

4. The assembly in which James delivered his speech, was not composed of clergy belonging to his diocese; and, therefore, he could not, even upon Episcopal principles, pronounce an "authoritative sentence." The reason is obvious: he could not exercise authority over those who were not under his control. There were present at the council, not only "presbyters," but "apostles." Peter was there, Paul was there, and how many others we do not know. Had James then pronounced an "authoritative sentence," he had been above not only all the presbyters of his own diocese, but above all the deputies from Antioch; above all the members of the council, from whatever part of the world; above the apostles themselves! Look, then, at this *fact* of the hierarchy. It turns the very apostles into mere make-weights of bishop James! It sets up an authority more like that of a visible head of the Church Catholic, than the papists have ever been able to produce for their "St. Peter!" If this is *not* a "bold stroke" for a bishop, pray, gentlemen, what *is*? And if any of our readers can digest such a dish of absurdity, we wish him much comfort of his meal!

We shall not trespass long upon the patience of either our friends or our foes, in disposing of the "remains" of Cyprian's proofs. "When St. Paul and his company were come to Jerusalem, the brethren received him gladly, and the next day following, Paul went in with them unto James, and all the elders or presbyters were present." It was rather rustic in Paul not to pay his court to the bishop *first*. We have learnt, at the expense of some mortification, that in New York any communication with the clergy, on ecclesiastical matters, except through the medium of the bishop, is an invasion of

Episcopal order. But Paul must be pardoned for committing an oversight, especially as Cyprian, to be even with him, has done so too. He has stopped at that part of the narrative, which, in his eyes, holds James forth in something of bishop-like majesty, and forgot to tell the rest of the story. The reader, no doubt, would expect to hear of a very pointed conference between James and the apostle, all the presbyters listening with due humility to their superiors; but if he turn to the history, (Acts xxi. 19—25,) he will find these same presbyters most uncivilly advising the apostle; and, what is still worse, telling him that *they* had decided the reference from Antioch. Cyprian asserts that *James* made the decision. They, on the contrary, have the assurance to tell the apostle Paul, in the presence of James himself, that the *presbyters* had decided it. And all this while not a word of bishop James! In the following ages the presbyters were taught better manners.

But, then, it seems, that after Peter's "miraculous deliverance, he bade the Christians go and shew these things to James, and to the brethren."—Also, that "certain came from *James*, that is, from the church of Jerusalem, to the church of Antioch." *Therefore*, James was bishop of Jerusalem! Very sagely and conclusively reasoned! As if such things did not happen every day in places where there are ministers of the gospel distinguished by their talent or standing. The writer of this review stepped the other evening into the house of that venerable Christian veteran, the Rev. Dr. Rodgers, and found there "certain brethren" who had just come from one of their judicatories. It is quite common for people to talk of Dr. Rodgers sending ministers to preach; and even to designate his denomination as Dr. Rodgers' church! Therefore Dr. Rodgers is bishop of New York, and primate of the Presbyterian church in North America!!

CHAPTER VII.

DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY NOT SUSTAINED BY THE EPISTLES
TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA.

HAVING disposed of the see of Jerusalem, which had been gratuitously conferred on James, we proceed to the argument in favour of Diocesan Episcopacy, from the epistles addressed, in the book of the Revelation, to the seven churches of Asia. We give it in the words of Cyprian. And as it may possibly amuse the reader, while it convinces him that we were correct in saying that Archbishop Potter is one of the *real* authors under the signature of *Cyprian*, &c., we shall put his Grace of Canterbury side by side with our Albany friend.

POTTER.

“ St. John, in the three first chapters of his Revelation, has given us a lively description of seven *bishops* who presided in the seven principal cities of the pro-consular Asia. Our Lord is there introduced, sending seven epistles to the seven churches of these cities,

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“ In the three first chapters of the Revelations of St. John, we find absolute demonstration of the existence of the Episcopal dignity and authority, at the time in which this work was written. In these chapters, St. John gives us a description of the seven bishops who superintended the interests of the church in the seven principal cities in the pro - consular Asia. Our Lord is represented as sending seven epistles to the seven churches of these cities,

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directed to the *seven angels* of the churches, whom he calls *the seven stars in his right hand*. Now, if it appears that the *seven angels* were so many single persons invested with supreme authority in the seven churches, there can be no reason to doubt, whether they were the *bishops* of these churches; a *bishop* being nothing else but *one* who has chief authority in the church.

“Let us examine in the *first* place, whether the *seven angels* were so many single persons? And, first of all, it is manifest they were not the whole church or collective body of Christians in their several cities; because the churches are represented by *seven candlesticks*, which are all along distinguished from the *seven stars*, which are emblems of the *angels*. Neither were they any select number or body of men: for they are constantly mentioned as single persons; *the angel of the church of Ephesus*, *the angel of the church of Smyrna*, and so of the rest.”

“Accordingly, both he and all the rest are constantly addressed to in the singular

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directed to the seven angels of the churches, whom he calls the “seven stars in his right hand.” From all the circumstances that are mentioned, it undeniably appears that these seven angels were so *many single persons*, invested with supreme authority in the churches; that is to say, they were the bishops of those churches.

“I say, it manifestly appears that these seven angels of the churches, whom the Lord calls the “seven stars” in his right hand, were single persons. They were not the whole church or collective body of Christians. This is proved incontestably from these considerations. The whole churches, or collective body of Christians, are represented by “seven candlesticks,” which are distinguished from the “seven stars,” that are emblems of the angels,—the bishops. They are constantly mentioned in the *singular number*. ‘The angel of the church of Ephesus’—‘the angel of the church of Symrna,’ and so of the rest.

“And in the epistle to Thyatira it is said, ‘I know thy works.’ ‘I have a few

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number; *I know thy works, I have a few things against thee, remember how thou hast heard, thou hast kept the word of my patience*; and so in the rest, where our Lord speaks to them in particular. But when what he writes equally concerns the people, he changes his style, and speaks in the plural: *The devil shall cast some of you into prison. Thou hast not denied my faith when Antipas my faithful martyr was slain among you. I will reward every one of you according to your works. That which ye have, hold fast till I come.* Which variation of the number, is a plain argument that some parts of these Epistles relate to the whole churches, and others only to the persons of the *angels*."

"But there is one thing yet behind, which will put this matter beyond dispute; namely, that the titles of *angels* and *stars* are constantly applied in this book of Revelation to single men: our Lord is called the *morning star*, and the *sun*, and the apostles are called *twelve stars*, and *twelve angels*; but there is not one example where these titles are given to any *society* or *number* of

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things against thee.' 'Remember how thou hast heard.' 'Thou hast kept the word of my patience.' This is the style which is used when the angel, or bishop, of the church is addressed.—

"But when what is said relates to the *people*, the style is altered, the *plural number* is then used. 'The devil shall cast some of *you* into prison.'

"I will reward every one of *you* according to your works. That which *ye* have, hold fast till I come." And this variation in the number, proves that *some parts of these Epistles relate to the whole church, and others only to the angels*."

But what places this subject beyond all reasonable doubt is this circumstance; the titles of *angels* and *stars* are *constantly applied* in the book of Revelation to single men, and *never* to a society or number of men. Our Lord is called the "morning star, and the sun," and the twelve apostles are called "twelve stars," and "twelve angels."

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men. So that if we will allow the divine Author of this *book* to speak in this place, as he does in all others, the *angels* of the seven churches can be none but single persons.

“The *next* thing to be made out is, that these single persons were men of chief authority in their several churches. And we might safely conclude they were so, though we had no other proof of it, because our Lord has directed to them the Epistles which he designed for the use of their churches. But there are several other arguments, which prove that the *angels* were men of eminent station and authority: for whereas the churches are only called *candlesticks*, the *angels* are resembled to *stars*, which give light to the *candlesticks*.”

“They are praised for all the good, and blamed for all the evil, which happened in their churches. The *angel* of Ephesus is commended, because he *could not bear them that were evil*, and had *tried those who called themselves apostles, and were not so*: which seems to imply, that he had

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It is evident, therefore, that the seven stars or angels in the book of Revelation, are single persons.

That these persons possessed supreme authority in the churches is also demonstrated from these considerations.

These Epistles are addressed to them alone.

The churches are called *candlesticks*, and they the *stars* which give *light* to the *candlesticks*.

The seven angels are praised for all the good which they had done, and blamed for all the evil which happened in the churches. The angel of Ephesus is commended, because “he could not bear them that were evil, and had tried those who called themselves

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judicially convicted them to be impostors. And the *angel* of Pergamos is reprov'd for *having them who hold the doctrine of Balaam*; that is, the Nicolaitans, who allowed themselves to *commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols*; and he is severely threatened, unless he *repented*; which shows he had authority to correct these disorders, otherwise he could not justly have been punished for them. The same may be said of the *angel* of Thyatira, who is blamed for *suffering Jezebel, who called herself a prophetess, to teach and seduce the people*. And the *angel* of Sardis is commanded to be *watchful, and to strengthen those who are ready to die*; otherwise our Lord threatens to *come on him as a thief, at an hour which he should not know*."

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Apostles, and were not so," which seems to imply that he had convicted them of imposture. The angel of Pergamos is reprov'd for having them "who hold the doctrine of Balaam, and he is severely threatened unless he repented." This shows that he possessed authority to correct these disorders, or he could not justly be menaced with punishment for permitting them. The angel of Thyatira also is blamed for suffering "Jezebel," who called herself a prophetess, to teach and seduce the people. And the angel of Sardis is commanded "to be watchful, and to strengthen those who are ready to die;" otherwise our Lord threatens to come on him "as a thief, at an hour which he should not know."

The writers under review, having a great contempt for all reasoning from *names*, promised to intrench themselves within scriptural *facts*. One of their facts they find in the history of the "stars" or "angels" of the seven churches. Yet if the reader shall attentively inspect their argument, which we have placed before him in its full strength, he will perceive that it rests entirely upon their interpretation of two *names*. These are "angel" and "star;" which, in the symbolical language of the

scripture, are as really names of office, as bishop, presbyter, deacon, are in its alphabetical or common language. The aspect of the fact changes with the construction of these two symbols. You must fix their sense before you can tell what the fact is. Unless you can prove that "star" and "angel" necessarily denote individuals, and such individuals as diocesan bishops, the fact, instead of being *for* the hierarchy, will be *against* her. And thus her advocates, under the pretext of "absolute demonstration," put us off with what they themselves have again and again declared to be "miserable sophistry"—"the old and wretched sophistry of names."

Let us, however, examine this, their "absolute demonstration" of diocesan Episcopacy. It turns, as we just now said, upon the interpretation of the symbolical titles, "angel" and "star." These, our prelatical friends maintain, "are *constantly applied* in the book of Revelation to *single men*, and *never* to a society or *number of men*." Such is the assertion—now for the proof.

"The whole churches, or collective bodies of Christians, are represented by "seven candlesticks," which are distinguished from the "seven stars," that are emblems of the angels, the bishops."

The distinction is admitted; but is equally marked upon the presbyterian plan. For the collective body of the ministry is quite as distinguishable from their churches, as the bishops alone can be. Nothing is gained here. We go on.

"They," the angels, "are constantly mentioned in the *singular* number."

What then? Does this prove that the singular term "angel" has never a *collective* sense?

What next? Nothing at all. Let our readers examine, again, the whole of what Cyprian has said upon this point, and if they can detect, in the multitude of his words, and his show of illustration, any thing more than his mere assertion, we shall be disappointed.

“The stars and angels,” says he, “are distinguished from the churches.” True—but they may be so without being diocesan bishops—

“They are constantly mentioned in the singular number”—which is not true. And if it were, the question still is, whether the symbolical term in the singular number must necessarily signify only a single person—O yes, says Cyprian, most undoubtedly. “What places this subject beyond all reasonable doubt, is this circumstance,—the titles of angels and stars are constantly applied, in the book of Revelation, to single men, and never to a society or number of men!” Now this is exactly the thing to be proved.

Amphora caput

Institui: currente rota cur urceus exit?

Cyprian sets out with a threat of “absolute demonstration,” and leaves off with begging the question.*

* Archbishop Potter, in his zeal to make out the prelatie character of these angels, presses into his service a *various reading*. “If,” says he, “in the epistle to Thyatira, instead of (την γυναικα Ιεζεβηλ,) the woman Jezebel, we read, (την γυναικα σου Ιεζεβηλ,) thy wife Jezebel, as it is in St. Cyprian, the Syriac version, the Alexandrian, and several other manuscript copies, then the Angel of Thyatira was a married man, and consequently but one person.” *Discourse of Church Government*, p. 145, 3d edit.

Learning, when not well directed, falls into absurdities which plain sense avoids. It is hard for a man to suspect himself of blundering when he is displaying his erudition. But on this occasion, the eyes of the Archbishop seem to have been blinded by the dust of his manuscripts. If we adopt his reading, and make “Jezebel” a literal woman, by making her the wife of the prelate of Thyatira, the symbolical or figurative sense of the text is gone. And in order to be consistent,

That the assertions which Cyprian has borrowed from Archbishop Potter, are not accompanied with *quite* an "absolute demonstration," may be gathered from the light in which they are considered by Episcopal writers no way inferior to the Archbishop himself.

"Methinks," says Dr. Henry More, "it is extremely harsh to conceit that these seven stars are merely the seven bishops of any particular churches of *Asia*, as if the rest were not supported nor guided by the hand of Christ; or as if there were but seven in his *right hand*, but all the rest in his *left*. Such high representations cannot be appropriated to ANY SEVEN PARTICULAR CHURCHES WHATSOEVER." Again, "By *angels*, according to the *apocalyptic* style, all the agents under their presidency are represented or insinuated—and it is so frequent and obvious in the Apocalypse, that none that is versed therein can any ways doubt of it."*

The great, and justly celebrated Joseph Mede observes, that "angels, by a mode of speaking not uncommon in this book, are put for the *nations* over which they were thought to preside. Which appears hence, that they who, by the injunction of the oracle, are *loosed*, are *armies of cavalry* sent forth to slaughter men."†

the crimes charged upon her must also be literal. Thus we shall not only have my lady of Thyatira an open adulteress; but the diocese a huge brothel under her inspection; where by example and by precept, she initiates her husband's flock in the mysteries of lewdness and idolatry. A goodly occupation for the spouse of a diocesan! Bad times, one would think, for an angel-bishop; and not the most flattering compliment to episcopal discipline.

* Exposition of the seven churches, Works, p. 724.

† Angeli ponuntur pro gentibus quibus præesse credebantur, non inusitatâ in hoc libro metonymiâ. Id ex eo apparet, quòd qui continuò ex oraculi præscripto solvuntur, Exercitus Equestres sunt, hominibus occidendis emissi. *In Apocap. B. III. Tub. VI. Works, p. 471.*

Just after he adds, “the *four angels*, (Rev. ix. 14,) “signify so many *sultanies* or kingdoms.”*

Dr. Fulk, in his answer to the Rhemish Testament, remarks, that “St. John, by the angels of the churches, meaneth not *all that should wear on their heads mitres*, and hold crosier-staves in their hands, like dead idols, but them that are faithful messengers of God’s word, and utter and declare the same. They are called the *angels of the churches* because they are *God’s messengers*.”†

The famous Stillingfleet, in his *Irenicum*, asks, concerning these angels, “If, in the prophetic style, any unity may be set down by way of representation of a multitude; what evidence can be brought from the *name*, that by it some one particular person must be understood?”—And a little further he says, “If many things in the Epistles be directed to the angels, but yet so as to concern the whole body, then of necessity the angel must be taken as a *representative* of the whole body, and then, why may not the word *angel* be taken by way of representation of the body itself; either of the whole church, or, which is far more probable, of the *consensus*, or order of presbyters in that church? We see what miserable, unaccountable arguments those are, which are brought for any kind of government, from metaphorical or ambiguous expressions or names promiscuously used.”‡

* Angeli quatuor totidem sultanias seu regna significant. *Ibid.*

† This and the following quotation are from the Appendix to Ayton’s Original Constitution of the Christian Church.

‡ It is the fashion with the jure-divino prelatists to decry this work of Stillingfleet as the production of his juvenile days; and as being recanted by him in maturer life. The true reason of their dislike to it is, that it has sorely gravelled them from the date of its publication till the present hour, and is likely to gravel them in all time hereafter. We cannot, however, see what the age or the recan-

We quote these passages, not to make them our own, but to show that Episcopal writers of the highest reputation, entertain opinions very different from those of Archbishop Potter and Cyprian, as to the evidence which the apocalyptic angels give in favour of their hierarchy :

“ It is absolute demonstration,” says Cyprian. “ It is a harsh conceit,” says Dr. H. More.

“ The titles of angels and stars are *never* applied,” says Cyprian after Potter, “ to a society or number of men.” They signify “ them that are the faithful messengers of God’s word ;” answers Dr. Fulk.—They “ are put for the *nations* over which they were thought to preside,” adds the venerable Mede.—More follows again, with a declaration, “ That no man versed in the apocalyptic style can any wise doubt that by “ angels”

tation of the author, (if he did recant,) has to do with the question, any further than as it may be influenced by his private opinion. “ Old men are not always wise ;” nor do green years detract from the force of argument. Facts and reasonings having no dependence upon a writer’s name, stand or fall in their own strength. It is one thing to recant, and quite another to refute. The learned, but unhappy Whitby, who, in his Commentary on the New Testament, had zealously defended the divinity and atonement of our Lord and Saviour, left a work behind him entitled *Ἵστέραι φροντιδεις*, or *After Thoughts* in which he denied both. Yet his proofs of his previous belief remain unanswered by himself, and unanswerable by any other man. We see that it is very possible for great and learned men to change for the worse. Therefore, although Stillingfleet, whether of his own accord, or by yielding to the teasings and menaces of others, did retract the doctrines of his Irenicum, it does not follow that all his facts and reasonings are false, or that he himself drew nearer to the truth. He renounced the Irenicum ; the prelatists cry—Good. Did he answer it? we ask. Howbeit, since Dr. Hobart has represented himself and his brother writers as young men, and even “ striplings ;” who knows, but, upon their arriving at maturity, when they shall have sown their intellectual “ wild oats,” their opinion may change in a direction contrary to that of the Bishop of Worcester, and that they may yet ripen into excellent Presbyterians ?

all the agents under their presidency are represented." And Stillingfleet, their own Stillingfleet, calls the argument of the hierarchists from these symbolical titles, a "miserable" one; thus avenging the presbyterian upon them, by dealing out to them in their own way, "measure for measure."—

To which side the scale inclines, it is not difficult to discern.

That the epistles in question are addressed to the persons designated by "stars" and "angels," in such a manner as to imply that these persons were invested with authority over the churches, is freely conceded. It is also conceded that "angel" and "star" are titles of office which belong exclusively to the ministry. Unless we greatly mistake, "stars," in the symbolical language, signify, throughout the whole Bible, "ministers of religion."

But we contend that they signify ministers of religion with regard to their *general office*, and not with regard to their *relative dignity*. Jesus Christ is a "star" the twelve apostles are "stars"—and so are the apostate clergy figured by the "third part of the stars" which the dragon cast down with his tail to the earth. Who does not see, that the only point in which the symbol agrees to the subject in all these cases, is the common character of the *religious ministry*; distinction of rank being utterly disregarded? On this principle, the "stars" must mean the ministers of the churches without discrimination, every one being a "star." It is, therefore, impossible to discover under this emblem any order of ministers to the exclusion of any other.

In this general reasoning the hierarchy might, perhaps, concur without much prejudice to her cause. She might insist that a symbol, common in its own nature to all ministers of religion, is restricted by the conditions of

the text to a single individual, who, from the functions ascribed to him, must be a superior officer, and not one of a college, concessus, or presbytery, having equal authority.

There is internal evidence in the passage itself, that this construction, though ingenious and acute, cannot be true. For as the "candlesticks" are emblematical of the churches, and as there is but *one* star to give light to each candlestick, it would follow that there was but a single minister in each of the churches; and thus the Episcopalian would overthrow himself: for without inferior, there can be no superior clergy. Surely he will not say that the bishop *alone* did *all* the preaching, gave *all* the instruction, and set *all* the example: i. e. emitted *all* the light on account of which ministers are called "stars." The other clergy had *some* share in these useful functions. They too "preached the word;" they too taught "from house to house;" they too "let their light shine before others." Now one "star" being appropriated to one "church," as one candle is to one "candlestick," it follows, from the nature of the comparison, that as one candle is the *full complement* of light for one candlestick, so one star is the full complement of light for one church. But the light which shone in these churches did not emanate from any individual; it emanated from a number of individuals; from the *collective body* of the ministers of religion. Therefore the "star" which expresses the whole light in one of these churches is a symbol, not of a *single* minister, but of her ministry *collectively*. It would be a darksome diocese, indeed, which should enjoy no rays of light but those which proceed from the bishop.

Let us now advert to the other symbol, viz. "Angel." This too the hierarchists, whom we oppose, say, is "*constantly* applied in the book of Revelation to a *single* man, and *never* to a society or number of men."

It looks somewhat uncivil to contradict so positive an assertion; but we must contradict it, for it is not true. And if, in proving it to be false, we prove its authors either to be ignorant of the scriptures, or wilfully to misrepresent them, we cannot help it. One passage, from the book of Revelation itself, overturns the very foundation upon which Cyprian and his associates have reared their "absolute demonstration."

I saw, says the prophet, another ANGEL fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to EVERY NATION, and KINDRED, and TONGUE, and PEOPLE.— Rev. xiv. 6.

"Heaven," in this book, is the ascertained symbol of the Christian church, from which issue forth the "ministers of grace" to the nations. As this gospel is preached only by *men*, this "angel," who has it to preach to "every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people," must be the symbol of a human ministry. And as it is perfectly evident that no single man can thus preach it, but that there must be a *great company* of preachers to carry it to "every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people," the angel mentioned in the text is, and of necessity must be, the symbol of that *great company*. We might produce other examples; but this is decisive. It shows the proposition of Potter, Cyprian, &c. to be one of the most rash and unfounded assertions into which the ardour of party ever betrayed a disputant.

Assuming it now as proved, that the term "angel" is applied in this book to a *collective body*, or a number of men joined in a common commission, we demand the reason of its being restricted to an individual in the epistles to the churches of Asia. Signifying "a messenger," it is in itself as applicable to *any* preacher of the gospel as to a diocesan bishop. If he was of old

what most of the diocesans are now, he was, of all the clergy in his diocese, the one who had the *least* claim to the title. To “preach the word,” to “declare the whole counsel of God,” to instruct the people, we are told plainly enough, are not the peculiar attributes of the bishop. By what rule of propriety should *he* be characterised by symbols which are foreign from his appropriate functions? by symbols which describe exactly the functions of those ministers whom, we are taught, they do *not* represent?*

The advocates of the hierarchy must have summoned up the most desperate resolution, when they ventured upon the declaration which we have exposed. To do them justice, they seem not to have been forsaken of those “compunctious visitings,” which occasionally trouble such as suspect the righteousness of their cause. We infer this from their growing dogmatical and rather unruly in their asseverations, nearly in proportion as they find themselves beset with difficulty. Not unlike men who are accustomed to tell “a tough story,” and when they perceive the credulity of their audience to be too hard pressed, back their veracity with a file of oaths. Any plain reader will observe, on a slight inspection of these epistles, that they address the angel of a particular church in the singular or plural number indifferently.

* “Angel of the church,” is a phrase borrowed from the synagogue. “It answers to the Hebrew שליח צבור, the *legate*, or *delegate of the church*; a name which was given in the synagogue to experienced and learned men, especially the *doctors* (or teachers) who were usually *delegated* to pray for the public assembly, whether in ordinary or extraordinary cases: so that by *angels of the churches* must be here understood those *rulers of the Christian church* whose office it was to offer up public prayers in the church, to manage sacred concerns, and discourse to the people.” *Vitringæ anacrisis apocalypseos*, p. 25. To the same purpose speaks the profoundly learned Lightfoot, *Works*, Vol. I. p. 341. fol.

Thus, to the angel of the church in *Smyrna* the Redeemer says, *I know THY works, and tribulation, and poverty, but THOU art rich—Fear none of those things which THOU shalt SUFFER. Behold, the devil shall cast some of YOU into prison, that YE may be tried; and YE shall have tribulation ten days: be THOU faithful unto the death; and I will give THEE a crown of life.**

We ask any dispassionate man whether all this is not addressed to the *angel* in *Smyrna*? *Thou*, says the text; “*Thou*,” the angel, “*shalt suffer*.” How? What? “*Thus*,” saith the text, “the devil shall cast into prison *some of you*,”—you who are signified by the angel. However, “be *thou* faithful unto the death;” i. e. although thou shouldst die for being faithful; “and I will give *thee*,” whom? certainly the persecuted, “I will give thee a crown of life.” This is so obvious, that, in order to evade its force, the Episcopal writers represent the epistles as addressed partly to the bishop and partly to the people.

“When what is said relates to the *people*, the style is altered; the plural number is then used.” See Cyprian and Potter, as above.

This gloss is contrary,

1. To the plain and natural construction of the prophet’s words, which, using sometimes the singular and sometimes the plural number, when speaking of the *angel*, leads us to a simple and easy solution, by supposing that he employs that term in a *collective* sense, of the *whole ministry* of the church.

2. To their own principles, which the Episcopal writers have laid down as containing an “absolute demonstration” of the prelatial dignity of these angels, viz. “That the titles of angels and stars are *constantly* applied in the book of Revelation to *single* men, and *never* to a

* Rev. ii. 8—10.

society or number of men." The epistle is written to the *angel* in Smyrna. "Angel," say they, *always* signifies a *single* person, and *never* a number of men; and yet they say, that of this very epistle to the angel, part is addressed directly to the *people*, who *are* "a society or number of men."

3. To their own distinction between the emblems which point out the ministry and the churches respectively.

"The stars and angels," say they, "were not the whole church or collective body of Christians. This is proved incontestably from these considerations. The whole churches or collective body of Christians are represented by 'seven candlesticks,' which are distinguished from the 'seven stars,' that are emblems of the angels, the bishops," &c. See above.

The distinction is just; but it is completely overthrown in their subsequent interpretations. For, in the first place, they tell us very truly, that the collective body of Christians is signified by the symbol of a "candlestick;" and in the next, that they are directly addressed in the letter sent to the angel, who is, say they, a single person; that is, they are *explicitly and formally addressed* under an appellation which is *never applied to them*.

4. To the known use of those scriptural emblems, "star" and "angel." These titles in the context are perfectly synonymous; whatever is meant by "star," is acknowledged to be meant by "angel." Now both these symbols depict *official* character; and consequently, when applied to the Christian church, cannot mean the people as distinguished from their ministers. Therefore under the term "angel," the ministry and the people cannot be distinctly addressed.

5. To the tenor of the exhortations and promise in the text. If the "angel" is the collective body of the

ministry upon whom the persecution was to fall, then the exhortations, *Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer, Be thou faithful unto the death*; and the promise, *I will give thee a crown of life*, are in harmony with the premonition, that the *devil should cast some of them into prison*. The anticipation of evil is softened by the assurance of support. But, according to the Episcopal construction, the sorrow goes one way and the consolation the other: the bishop is exhorted not to fear; to be faithful unto the death. But, it seems that the people only are to bear the calamity. The bishop has a glorious promise of a crown of life; but not a word to cheer his oppressed flock. Cold comfort this, to the poor prisoners cooped up by the devil in a dungeon! One would think that the "cup of salvation" might have been put to the lips which were drinking deeply of the cup of sorrow. But the matter is more dexterously managed; the bishop suffers, and the people are consoled,—by proxy. A mode of suffering, we presume, to which the bishops of the present day, and many others beside them, would submit with great magnanimity. How they would relish the consolation thus administered, is another affair.

Lastly, to the authority delegated by Christ to presbyters: we have formerly proved that every ordinary power left in the church is, in the most direct and unequivocal manner, devolved on presbyters.* And as one part of scripture cannot be repugnant to another, it is impossible that any term or expression here, in this book of the Revelation, can be rightly interpreted, which is said to lodge the whole power of government and discipline in a bishop, to the exclusion of presbyters.

We do not feel conscious of any arrogance in supposing, that, after the reader, who is solicitous to know

* See pages 76—85.

the truth, shall carefully have examined and compared the reasonings now submitted to him, and allowed them their due force on his mind, he will coincide with us in opinion, that the "angels" and "stars" in the context before us, do NOT *signify single persons*, but a *number of men*; that is, are emblems of a *collective ministry*, and not of *diocesan bishops*.

CHAPTER VIII.

DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY NOT SUSTAINED BY THE OFFICIAL CHARACTER OF TIMOTHY AND TITUS.

WE now come to the *third* and great fact of the hierarchy, the prelatical character of Timothy and Titus. The inquiry consists of two parts; the first, concerning their *ordination*, and the second, their *powers*.

Although the Episcopal writers argue less confidently from the first of these topics than from the second; yet it is not unimportant to their cause. For if they can prove that ordination to the ministry in the days of the apostles was Episcopal, in their sense of the term; that is, that an officer, whom they call the bishop, had the *sole power* of ordination, presbyters being permitted merely to express their *consent*—if they can prove this, it will be hard to escape from the conclusion, that the whole government of the church was prelatical. If they decline much reliance upon it, as Dr. Hobart and the Layman say they do,* their shyness must be imputed to some other cause than its insignificance; for they are not in the habit of declining very humble aid; and our former remarks will show that, though well supplied with *assertions*, they have no *evidence* to spare.

The following texts have been quoted under the present head.

For TIMOTHY.

Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, WITH THE LAYING ON OF THE HANDS OF THE PRESBYTERY. 1 Tim. iv. 14.

* Collec. p. 59, note. LAYMAN, No. V. p. 51.

Wherefore I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee BY THE PUTTING ON OF MY HANDS. 2 *Tim.* i. 6.

For TITUS.

For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting; and ordain elders in every city, AS I HAD APPOINTED THEE. *Titus* i. 5.

From these texts one thing is clear, viz. that both Paul and the presbytery imposed hands on Timothy. But several questions have been started about the rest. Who constituted the presbytery? Why were hands imposed on Timothy? Was this his consecration to the evangelical ministry? If so, what share had the apostle in the transaction, and what the presbytery? The high-church construction is, that "*St. Paul ordained Timothy with the concurrence of the presbytery.*" By the presbytery may be understood a number of apostles who laid their hands on Timothy, since the apostles, though certainly superior to presbyters, style themselves "elders," or presbyters. The Greek expositors understood the passage in this sense, as well as the Greek church both ancient and modern—since, in the ordinations of this church, the presbyters do not lay on their hands with the bishop. Nor was it the custom in the Western church until the fourth century. But allowing that by the presbytery is meant a number of presbyters, it is evident, from a comparison of the two texts, that the presbyters imposed hands, not to convey authority, but merely to express approbation. "*By the putting on of my hands,*" "*with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.*" In the church of England, the presbyters

lay on their hands with the bishops in ordination, to denote their *consent*.”*

As our business, at present, is not with ecclesiastical history, but with the interpretation of scripture, we pass over the allusion to the Greek and Western churches. “The evidence” that “the presbyters imposed hands not to *convey authority*, but merely to *express approbation*,” is extorted from the two prepositions “*by*” and “*with*.” *By* my hands,” says Paul: therefore he alone *ordained* Timothy. “*With* the laying on of the hands of the presbytery,” says he again: therefore, the presbytery merely “expressed their *approbation*.”

In support of this “evident” difference between the agency of Paul and that of the presbytery in the ordination, the Layman has entertained us with some rare criticism, which we shall not be so unjust as to withhold from our readers.

“It is known to every Greek scholar, that *dia* signifies, emphatically, the cause of a thing; while *meta* denotes,

* HOBART’S *Festivals and Fasts*, p. 25. The Greek expositors to whom he refers in the margin, are Chrysostom and Theophylact. Theophylact has copied Chrysostom, whose words are, *ου περι πρεσβυτερων φησιν ενταυθα’ αλλα περι επισκοπων, ου γαρ δη πρεσβυτεροι τον επισκοπον χειροτονουν. Chrys ad loc.* “He, the apostle, is not speaking here of PRESBYTERS, but of BISHOPS: for presbyters did not ordain a bishop.” The eloquent patriarch flounders sadly. He takes for granted, that Timothy was a bishop: to allow that a bishop could be ordained by presbyters, would demolish the whole fabric of the hierarchy. Paul had used an ugly word for their spiritual mightinesses; and so, to make short work with him, the golden-mouthed preacher flatly contradicts him. It was a “presbytery,” said the apostle. It was a council of bishops, replies Chrysostom. Yet, after all, neither he nor Theophylact has interpreted the term of apostles. When a writer quotes authorities without consulting them, he should be wary, and be extremely cautious in mentioning names. Dr. H. was probably in haste. Had he stuck closer to Archbishop Potter, he would have been less inaccurate.

emphatically, nearness of situation, relation, connexion, agreement. It need not be observed, that words are used sometimes more loosely, and sometimes more strictly. A term is often introduced in a sense different from its original and primary meaning. The two words *dia* and *meta* are opposed in the Epistles of Timothy. Well, then, the two words being opposed, and the first, as every Greek scholar knows, denoting, emphatically, the cause of a thing; the latter conveying, particularly, the idea of relation, connexion, agreement, it follows, obviously, that they are to be taken in these their appropriate senses. Our author will not venture to say that the Greek word *meta* is as appropriate an one as *dia*, to express the cause of a thing. He will not so far hazard his reputation as a scholar. I assert, then, that *dia* signifies, particularly, the cause of a thing, and that *meta* is the preposition of concurrence. Nor is this invalidated by the circumstance of *meta* being sometimes used as *dia* with the genitive case. The emphatical distinction between the two words lies in the first denoting a *cause*, the other *concurrence*. Why does St. Paul carefully use the word *dia* in the one case, and *meta* in the other? Why does he not use *meta* in both cases? It is to be recollected, too, that the passages are, in his Epistles to Timothy, relating to the same subject; and of course, the terms must be regarded as contrasted with one another. Surely the words *dia* and *meta*, as opposed, signify, the first, the cause of a thing; the last, nearness, concurrence, agreement. This is familiar to every Greek scholar, and I assert it on the authority of the best lexicons of the language. The circumstance, then, of the apostle using a word in relation to himself which denotes the instrumental cause, and, with respect to the presbytery, a word which, particularly as distinguished from *dia*, expresses agreement, shews, clearly, that the authoritative power was vested in him, and that the act, on the part of the presbytery, was an act of mere concurrence.”*

That presbytery may be left without a shadow of support, these two unhappy prepositions, ($\delta\iota\alpha$ and $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$.)

* Layman, No. V. Coll. p. 53, 54.

(*dia* and *meta*) *by* and *with*, are doomed to the same rack on which Cyprian had formerly tortured a noun, and the Layman himself both a noun and a verb, into witnesses for the hierarchy.* It being presumed that the imposition of hands relates to Timothy's ordination, the "presbytery," whose act it was, whether composed of mere presbyters, or of prelates, or of apostles, had nothing to do in the affair, but barely to express their *consent*; and if this appear dubious, it shall be substantiated by the deposition of *dia* and *meta*.

"It is known," says the Layman, "to every Greek scholar, that *dia*" (*by*) "signifies, emphatically, the cause of a thing; while *meta*" (*with*) "denotes, emphatically, nearness of situation, relation, connexion, agreement."

We do not wish to be uncharitable, but, if we must judge from the instances of words, which, in this collection, have been unfortunate enough to undergo his critical process, it is very hard for the Layman to tell what a *Greek scholar* knows. Scholars, like other classes of men, have their appropriate habits of speaking and acting: and when one who has had only a dining-room acquaintance with them, affects to be of their number, his awkward imitation betrays him in the same manner as the dialect of a foreigner distinguishes him from a native, as a prime minister would lose the reputation of a statesman by relying on annual registers, on reviews, or the gazettes, for his great political facts. No scholar would have made the Layman's indefinite appeal to "the best lexicons in the language," for settling the meaning of a disputed word. He would have produced *examples* from the only legitimate authorities, the *original writers*.

How the Layman would fare in such hands, we shall not conjecture: but we are sure that a very little

* See Chapter II.

acquaintance with Greek is sufficient to pluck away the feathers with which poor *dia* and *meta* have been made to adorn his plume.

“ *Dia* signifies, emphatically, the cause of a thing.”

For example :

It is easier for a camel to go THROUGH (dia) the eye a needle, than, &c. Matt. xix. 24.

Jesus went—THROUGH (dia) the corn-fields. Mark ii. 23.

And again he entered into Capernaum, AFTER (dia) some days. Mark ii. 1.

Now what “ cause ” does the preposition *dia* express here. Does it “ emphatically,” as the Layman speaks, “ signify the *cause* ” of the needle’s eye ? of the corn-fields ? or of the days ? or the “ *cause* ” of the camel’s going through the first ? of our Lord’s going through the second ? or of his spending the third before he went into Capernaum ? When the Layman shall have found his emphatical signification of *dia* in these instances, he may call upon us for a hundred more.

The fact is, that this preposition *never* signifies the cause of a thing, whatever the “ Lexicons ” say. It expresses the idea of *transition* or *transmission*, and has no English word to correspond with it so well as the preposition “ *through.* ” Whether it is accompanied with the notion of a *cause* or not, must be determined by the phrase where it occurs.

But in spoiling the Layman’s criticism, we acknowledge that we have not overthrown his argument. For *if* the imposition of Paul’s hands was the medium *through* which, to the exclusion of the presbytery, he *alone* conveyed the ministerial commission to Timothy—and *if* this act of his formed a precedent for all subsequent ordinations—the Layman has won, and we own Timothy

to have been episcopally ordained: whether a *bishop* or not, would still remain a question. These *ifs*, however, seem to be rather anti-episcopal.

From the words of Paul, we should conclude, that whoever or whatever else might have been concerned in this august transaction, a material part of it belonged to the presbytery. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, WITH THE LAYING ON OF THE HANDS OF THE PRESBYTERY.* A plain reader would certainly say, that Timothy was *presbyterially* ordained; as he could not well imagine that a presbyterian himself would have chosen to word the account differently. But this would be the error of one who had never heard what marvels can be effected by a little critical legerdemain operating upon Greek prepositions. Oh, no! this is the very text which proves that his ordination was *not* presbyterial! Astonishing! I see Timothy bowing before the presbytery. I see them imposing hands upon his head: I am told by the apostle Paul that the gift which was in him was given him with the laying on of their hands; and yet they did not *ordain* him! "No!" Had no *share* in his ordination! "No!" Gave him no *gift* at all! "No!" Verily this Layman is unceremonious in his behaviour to *words*; for he will either allow them no meaning at all; or else, as it may suit him, they shall mean in the mouth of an apostle the contrary to what they ever have meant, or ever shall mean, in the mouth of any other man! *No* ordination! *No* communication by the presbytery! Why, that old Jesuit who has foisted the Virgin Mary into every chapter of the book of Proverbs,* could not himself be more fantastical! How, in the name of common sense, is presbytery disposed of? Softly, zealous friend, softly thou shalt see. Here comes the magician; his wand

* Vide F. Q. De Salazar, *Expositio in Proverbia.*

shall touch the little four-lettered vocabule "WITH," and, lo, the whole presbytery will evanish, and leave only a single ordaining hand !

"The circumstance of the apostle using a word in relation to himself, which denotes the instrumental cause," viz. *dia*; "and with respect to the presbytery, a word which, particularly as distinguished from *dia*, expresses agreement," viz. *meta*, "*shews clearly that the authoritative power was vested in him; and that the act, on the part of the presbytery, was an act of mere concurrence.*"

So they wrap it up ! Let us try to unwrap it a little, and see whether the bundle will bear examination. So far as we can perceive, there is nothing here but a play upon words; and the argument consists in the jingle. The interpretation of the word used by the apostle is bent and twisted in such a manner as to induce the unlettered reader to suppose that it expresses the *assent* of one person to the act of another. We do not object to the Layman's translating *meta* by "concurrency;" for, according to our great English lexicographer, "concurrency" signifies "union, association, conjunction;" "agreement, act of joining in any design or measure;" "combination of many agents or circumstances," &c.; but popular and colloquial usage often employs it when nothing more is intended than an *approbation* of an opinion or a measure. It is in this sense that the Layman uses it; and it is here that his criticism puts a fraud upon his reader. We do not say that the fraud is intentional; before we can prove this, we must prove that he understands Greek—which we humbly beg leave to decline. But we shall freely give him the "eight or ten years" which his friend has craved,* in order to support his construction of *meta* by the proper authorities;

* HOBART'S *Apology*, p. 250.

and he shall have “the best lexicons of the language” into the bargain.

But as we do not ask for credence to our bare assertion, we shall subject the Layman’s distinction between *dia* and *meta* to the test of fact.

“It is to be recollected,” says he, “that the passages are in his (Paul’s) epistles to Timothy, relating to the same subject; and *of course* the terms (*viz. dia* and *meta*) must be regarded as contrasted with one another.”

Be it so. I open my New Testament, and read, that “*many signs and wonders were done BY (dia) the apostles.*”^{*} Proceeding in the narrative, I read afterwards that Paul and Barnabas *rehearsed all things that God had done WITH (meta) them.*† Now, the Layman being judge, as “the passages relate to the same subject,” *viz.* the miraculous works which God enabled his servants to perform, and the success with which he crowned their ministry, “the terms” *dia* and *meta* “must be regarded as contrasted with one another. The circumstance, then, of the historian using a word in relation to the apostles in general, which denotes the instrumental cause, and with respect to Paul and Barnabas, a word which, particularly as distinguished from *dia*, expresses agreement, shews clearly that the authoritative power was vested in the former, and that the act, on the part of the latter, was an act of mere concurrence.” In fewer words, when Peter, James, &c. wrought miracles, they did it in virtue of an authoritative power; and when Paul and Barnabas wrought miracles, they had no authoritative or instrumental agency, but merely expressed their *approbation* of what God did *without* them, although the historian has positively asserted that he did it *with*

* Acts ii. 43. πολλὰ τε τεράτα κια σημεια ΔΙΑ των αποστολων εγινετο.

† ὅσα ὁ θεος εποιησε ΜΕΤ’ αυτων. Acts xv. 4.

them. All this from the difference between *dia* and *meta*!

Should the Layman by any means escape from this difficulty, it will be to fall into another still greater. Before he ventured upon the criticism now under review, he ought to have read, in the original, the verse which he has undertaken to criticise. There he would have found his *dia* and *meta* in the same proposition, and separated only by a single word. *The gift*, says Paul to Timothy, *which was given thee BY (dia) prophecy, WITH (meta) the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.** That the terms relate to the same subject, is indisputable; and of course, says the Layman, they are “contrasted with one another. The circumstance, then,” proceeds he, of the apostle using a word in relation to prophecy, which denotes the instrumental cause, and with respect to the presbytery, a word which, particularly as distinguished from *dia*, expresses agreement, shews clearly that the authoritative power was vested in the *prophecy*; and that the act, on the part of the presbytery, was an act of mere concurrence.”

The result of the Layman’s criticism is, that Timothy had *two* ordinations, by *two* authoritative powers, viz. the prophecy, and the apostle Paul; and *two* concurrences of the presbytery, viz. one with prophecy, and one with the apostle. We cannot deny that he was *well* ordained!

From words let us go to things, and see what the Episcopal argument will gain by the exchange. The imposition of hands on the part of the presbytery was an act, it is said, of “mere concurrence,” designed to express approbation, and not at all to convey the ministerial office.†

* 1 Tim. iv. 14.

† HOBART and the LAYMAN, as above.

This assertion is not only without proof, but is directly in the face of all the proof which the nature of the case admits.

1. By what rule of reasoning is the *very same act*, viz. imposition of hands, performed at the *same time*, in relation to the *same subject*, considered as expressing the communication of *authority* by *one* of the persons engaged, and only as expressing *approbation* by all the *rest*? When certain distinctions have taken place, it is easy to invent other distinctions to justify them. But is it creditable? does it belong to the nature of significant rites, that a rite signifying the conferring of power should be employed by a number of persons in a *concurrent act*, and yet, with regard to all but *one* of them, not signify the conferring power at all?

2. The advocates of prelacy are challenged to produce from the scriptures, or other authentic records of the apostolic and preceding ages, proof that imposition of hands was used to signify mere assent or approbation. To say that it *might* so signify, is nothing to the purpose. The point to be determined is, not what it *might*, but what it *did* signify. If, in every other case, imposition of hands expressed authoritative communication, it must have done so in the ordination of Timothy; and to maintain that it did not, is to beg the question. The Episcopal construction violates the plainest meaning both of words and of actions. The Presbyterian construction is in perfect coincidence with both. Paul says that the gift in Timothy was given to him *by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery*. It is agreed that prophecy, or prophecies which went before on Timothy, designated him as a fit person for the ministry; but did not invest him with office—did not give him the gift. Had there been nothing else but the prophecy, he would have had no commission. It was necessary that

the imposition of the hands of the presbytery should *concur* with the prophetic designation, or Timothy had remained a layman. The presbyters did thus concur; they did lay their hands on Timothy, and he received his office. Now, as the prophecy made no part of his ordination, it follows that he was ordained by the presbytery. If the gift which was in him by the imposition of Paul's hands was his ministerial commission, that apostle had no share in it which was not common to every member of the presbytery; or else his declaration, that Timothy was ordained by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, would not be true. Nor is there any thing in his expression which might not be used by every one of his colleagues, and with peculiar propriety by himself, if, as it is not improbable, he presided at Timothy's ordination.

To exhibit this subject in another light, we propose a few questions, which some of the advocates for prelacy would do no disservice to their cause by answering in such a manner as to remove the scruples they must naturally occasion.

1. Did Paul *alone* ordain Timothy? or was his ordination the joint act of the presbytery? If the latter, we have a complete scriptural example of presbyterial ordination. If the former, so that the presbytery, by the imposition of their hands, merely testified their *assent*, then,

2. Were the persons who thus imposed hands on Timothy simple presbyters, or were they apostles or prelates? If the latter, then,

3. How came Paul to appropriate to himself a power which belonged to every one of them in as full right as it could possibly belong to him? How came they to surrender this their power into the hands of an individual? And how could the imposition of Paul's hands

bestow the ministerial gift, while others, possessing the same *authority*, did, by the very same *act*, at the very same *time*, merely declare their *assent*?

If the former, that is, if those who concurred with Paul in the imposition of hands were simple presbyters, then,

4. What ordination did Timothy receive? Was he ordained a *presbyter* or a *prelate*? If the former, his episcopal character, in so far as it depends upon his ordination, is swept away; and we have not a single instance of the consecration of a prelate in all the New Testament. If the latter, then,

5. How came simple presbyters to impose hands upon the head of a bishop at his consecration! Or supposing these presbyters to have been prelates, where was Timothy's commission? By the terms of the argument, he was ordained by Paul alone; but according to the episcopal order, which we are assured is the apostolical order, *two or three bishops* are necessary to ordain a bishop.* And so poor Timothy was not ordained a bishop at all. If, in order to give him his mitre, we make the presbytery to consist of apostles, or men of apostolic rank, we not only prostrate the Layman's famous criticism about *dia* and *meta*, but are left without the vestige of an ordination by a prelate alone, in so far as that point is to be made out by the ordination of Timothy.† There

* *Επισκοπος ὑπο επισκοπων χειροτονεισθω ΔΥΟ η ΤΡΙΩΝ.*—*Can. Apos. I. Apud P P. App. tom. I. p. 442. ed. Clerici.* On this canon, Bishop Beveridge thus comments—"This rite, therefore, used by the apostles themselves, and prescribed, by apostolical men, our church," meaning the church of England, "most religiously observes; and, as far as possible, it ought, beyond all doubt, to be observed every where. But when necessity, that most unrelenting mistress, shall require it, the rigour of the canon may be so far relaxed, as that a bishop may be ordained by *two*." *Ibid. p. 457.*

† Ordination performed by Titus shall hereafter be considered.

remains nothing but an example of ordination by a presbytery, which is all that the presbyterians desire.

We cannot dismiss this point without remarking how our prelatical friends shift their ground.

Two things are to be proved: that Timothy was a bishop; and, that a bishop alone ordains. For the *first*, according to our Episcopal brethren, the presbytery, who joined with Paul in laying hands on Timothy, were bona fide prelates, who, jointly with the apostle, imparted the Episcopal dignity; and so Timothy is a bishop without any more ado. But for the *second*, the presbytery were *not* prelates; or, if they were, they did *not* ordain jointly with the apostle; they merely expressed their approbation.

“The legs of the lame are not equal.” If we adopt the first, we lose the proof of ordination by a bishop alone. If the second, we lose the ordination of bishop Timothy. The *latter* makes *dia* show “clearly, that the authoritative power was vested in Paul,” and *meta*, that “the act on the part of the presbytery was an act of mere concurrence.” The *former* shows, with equal clearness, that the authoritative power was *not* vested in Paul alone; that the act on the part of the presbytery, was *not* an act of mere concurrence; and that there is nothing in *dia* and *meta* to establish the contrary. When a circle and a square coincide, then shall these two arguments for prelacy be consistent with each other.

So much for *Timothy's* ordination. Now for that of *Titus*. Him, too, the Layman has ordained Episcopally.

To Titus the apostle says, *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.* Here let it be observed, in passing along, that Titus is spoken of as having been ordained by the apostle: *As I had appointed*

thee. Nothing is said of the presbytery in this case. Paul appointed Titus to his office. And this is a conclusive circumstance for believing that the case was the same in relation to Timothy, as it is not reasonable to suppose that they were commissioned in different ways.”*

We agree that the office of Timothy and Titus was the same, and that they were commissioned in the same manner. But the Layman has overshot his mark. For, as we have already stated, the advocates for the divine right of Episcopacy maintain that the ordination of a bishop by *two or three* others, is an apostolical institution: and that even in cases of the *hardest necessity*, *two* bishops are essential to the ordination of a *third*. One of two consequences is inevitable; either that Paul exercised, on this occasion, his extraordinary power, and so has set no precedent; or, if he set a precedent for ordination by a single prelate, Titus was no more than a presbyter, and could not by himself ordain other presbyters. All this rests upon the assumption that the expression, *as I had appointed thee*, refers to the ordination of Titus. Another blunder. There is not a syllable about his ordination in the text. It presupposes his authority, and relates solely to the *directions* which the apostle had given him for the application of it. The word rendered “*appointed*” frequently occurs in the New Testament, but always, with the construction before us, in the sense of prescribing, enjoining, commanding; and never in the sense of setting apart to an office—Thus,

He COMMANDED (διατάξαμενος) *a centurion to keep Paul*, Acts xxiv. 23. Surely Felix did not then give the centurion his military commission.

As God hath distributed to every man, as the Lord hath called every one, so let him walk: and so ORDAIN I,

* Layman, No. V. Collec. p. 56.

(διατασσομαι) direct, enjoin I, *in all churches.* 1 Cor. vii. 17.

In the very same manner does Paul speak to Titus. i. 5.

As I had APPOINTED (διεταξαμην) instructed, enjoined, *thee.*

The word which expresses investiture with office is quite different, as this very verse shows; and the author of *Miscellanies** had remarked: but this circumstance, Dr. Hobart, though not sparing of his notes, passes over in profound silence.

We come, at length, to the decisive argument for diocesan Episcopacy—the *powers* exercised by Timothy and Titus. This is to silence the last battery of the presbyterians, and reduce them to the humiliating necessity of surrendering at discretion! Really one would imagine, that the powers of Timothy and Titus are a new discovery; and that the epistles written to them by Paul, had been in the custody of the prelates alone as containing the precious charter of their rights. But the world may believe us, upon our word of verity, that we have actually read those epistles long ago; and that the demonstration, said to be therein contained, of the apostolical institution of the “sacred regiment of bishops,” has been questioned (yea, and, in our judgment, confuted) some handful of years before our grandfathers were born. However, *Ecce iterum Crispinus!* Here it is again. We shall give it unto thee, reader, as Cyprian and the Layman have given it unto us. But we entreat thy patience to some preliminary matter.

We think that when the Episcopal writers appeal, with so much confidence, to the powers exercised by Timothy, they ought also to have agreed to the *office* and *rank* of that eminent man. Yet it is a disputed point

* Clemens, No. I. Collec. p. 77.

among them, at this hour, whether he was simply bishop of Ephesus, having jurisdiction over his presbyters; or an archbishop, having bishops under him; or the lord primate of Asia, above them all. If you ask the advocates of these several opinions, what was precisely his authority? some cry one thing, and some another: for the assembly is confused; and their voices unite only in this, Great is Timothy of the Ephesians! We cannot refrain from transcribing a few remarks of the powerful and eloquent JEAN DAILLE.

“Here”—we translate his own words—“here the hierarchs, having their imagination full of their grand prelatures, of their bishoprics, their arch-bishoprics, and their primacies, do not fail to dream of one in these words of the apostle: That *he besought Timothy to abide still at Ephesus*, signifies, if you believe them, that he made Timothy bishop of the church of Ephesus; and not only that, but even metropolitan, or archbishop, of the province; and even primate of all Asia. You see how ingenious is the passion for the crosier and the mitre; being able, in so few and simple words, to detect such great mysteries! For where is the man, who, in the use of his natural understanding, without being heated by a previous attachment, could ever have found so many *mitres*—that of a bishop, that of an archbishop, and that of a primate, in these two words, *Paul besought Timothy to abide still at Ephesus*? Who, without the help of some extraordinary passion, could ever have made so charming and so rare a discovery?* and imagine that to beseech a man to stay in a city, means, to establish him bishop of that city, archbishop of the province, and primate of all the country? In very deed, the cause of these gentlemen of the hierarchy must be

* Deviner une chose si belle & si rare?—

reduced to an evil plight,* since they are constrained to resort to such pitiful proofs.”†

Our readers will hardly blame *Daillé* for applying the epithet “pitiful,” to the argument of the hierarchy for Timothy’s Episcopate, when they see that her ablest and most resolute champions are at irreconcilable variance with each other on this very point: some maintaining it as perfectly conclusive; others rejecting it as weak and frivolous. The mere fact of this variance is a strong presumption against the former, and in favour of the latter. For although vigorous, cultivated, and candid minds may be so far warped by their wishes as to lay more stress upon an argument *for* them than it deserves; yet it is hardly to be supposed that such minds will attribute to an argument which, if sound, secures them the victory, much *less* importance than it possesses. If, then, there are to be found among the advocates of Episcopacy, men second to none of them in learning, force, and sagacity, who fairly give up the plea from Timothy and Titus, the conclusion is, that their concession is extorted against their prejudices and interest.

As a specimen of the collision which takes place, on this subject, between the most zealous supporters of prelacy, we transcribe a part of the *seventh* section of the Appendix to *AYTON’S Original Constitution of the*

* A de mauvais termes.’

† *Daillé Exposition de la premiere epitre de l’Apotre Saint Paul à Timothée; en 48 sermons prononcés à Charenton. Sermon I. p. 22, 23, a Geneve 1661. 12mo.*

This is that identical Monsieur *Daillé* whom Mr. Bingham, and, from him, Dr. Hobart, have represented as friendly to Episcopacy. Hobart’s *Apology*, p. 94, compared with p. 99. Bingham’s *Christian Antiquities*. Vol. II. p. 799. This is that Jean *Daillé*! The prelatical commentators have played tricks with the French preacher; which, if we feel in a humour for it, we may one of these days expose.

Christian Church. It has not been in our power to compare all his quotations with the authors, but we have examined a number, and they are correct.

“The chief plea and argument of the Episcopalians is taken from Timothy and Titus. But however much this is boasted of by some, as a conclusive proof for a diocesan form of church government, and superior power of bishops to that of presbyters; yet there is nothing adduced by them that is more violently opposed by others of them, and in which they are more egregiously divided. For some of them pretend that the apostle, in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus, uses the terms bishop and presbyter promiscuously, only to express such officers as are now called presbyters. Of this opinion I take Bishop Hoadley to be: Dr. Whitby, Mr. Dodwell, and many others, might be named.

“But how contradictory to this is the judgment of Bishop Pearson, *Vindicia*, lib. 2, cap. 13. Bishop Taylor, *Episc. Assert*, p. 85. Bishop Burnet, in his *History of the Right of Princes*, *preface*, p. 15, and p. 4, 5, of the book: and Dr. Hammond, in a variety of places. I say, how contradictory are these sentiments of those prelates to this above named? seeing they hold that all those whom they were to ordain were proper bishops; nay, Dr. Hammond’s opinion is, that Timothy and Titus were archbishops, and had their suffragans under them; and with him Bishop Bull seems to agree, when he calls Timothy archbishop, *Serm.* on 2 Tim. iv. 13. And to these I could add others of the same mind. But then, as Dr. Hammond reckoned that the apostles ordained no mere presbyters at the first, but only bishops, *Annot.* on Acts xi. 6, 14, so Dodwell, *Parænes*, p. 54, p. 13, and p. 102, p. 33, must certainly contradict him in this, when he maintains, that the apostles at the first ordained no *bishops*, but simple *presbyters* only; and that there is no mention of Episcopal government in the New Testament, and that it was not established till anno 106. But then, according to both these doctors, there is one office in the church without scripture warrant—*presbyters*, according to

Dr. Hammond; and *Bishops*, according to Mr. Dodwell. But how will they answer to what is advanced by Bishop Burnet, which equally contradicts them both, *Vindic. of the Church of Scotland*, p. 355. *That without Scripture warrants no new office may be instituted?* Besides, Dr. Hammond's conceit against presbyters not being instituted in the New Testament, is opposed with all freedom by Mr. Maurice, *Defens.* p. 27, and by Bishop Hoadley, *Brief Defence*, p. 113. Is it possible to behold such wrangling, without being affected with a mixture both of indignation and compassion? Is it not matter of indignation, that men of judgment and learning should have such a fondness to maintain a cause that is so precarious, as to drive them into so many schemes to defend it, and every one of them contradictory to one another? And can it miss to beget compassion in the breast of every sincere Christian, that men of abilities should bestow so much time to perplex themselves and others, when their labours, rightly employed, might prove much more beneficial to the Protestant world?

“But that we may give the world a view how inconclusive all these schemes and models are, which are taken from Timothy and Titus, I shall give some account of the minds of the Episcopalians at some length, who, when adduced, will leave no room for the Presbyterians to be in any perplexity in the defence of their establishment. The first I shall bring on the stage is the famous Willet, *Synops. Papism.* p. 236. ‘It is most like Timothy had the place and calling of an evangelist; and the calling of evangelists and bishops, which were pastors, was divers.’ To him let us join the learned Stillingfleet, who says, *Irenic.* p. 340. ‘Such were the evangelists, who were sent sometimes into this country to put the church in order there, sometimes into another; but wherever they were, they acted as evangelists, and not as fixed officers. And such were Timothy and Titus, notwithstanding all the opposition made against it, as will appear to any who will take an impartial survey of the arguments on both sides,’ &c. Nay, the Jesuit Salmeron is ashamed of this argument, for he says, *Disput. 1.* on 1 Tim. ‘It is doubtful if Timothy was bishop of Ephesus:

for though he preached and ordained some to the ministry there, it follows not that he was the bishop of that place; for Paul preached also there above two years, and absolved the penitents, and yet was not bishop. Add, that now and then the apostle called him away unto himself, and sent him from Rome to the Hebrews with his epistle; and in the second epistle he commands him to come to him shortly. Timothy was also an evangelist of that order, Eph. 4. So that Dorotheus says in his *Synopsis*, That Timothy preached through all Greece; but he stayed at Ephesus, not to be bishop, but that, in the constitute church of Ephesus, he might oppose the false apostles. It appears, therefore, that he was more than a bishop, although for a time he preached in that city as a pastor, and ordained some to the ministry. Hence it is, some call him bishop in Ephesus.'

"Having elsewhere given the judgment of the learned Dr. Whitby at some length, all that I shall transcribe from him at this time is a few lines of what he says in his preface to the Epistle to Titus: 'First, I assert, that if by saying Timothy and Titus were bishops, the one of Ephesus, the other of Crete, we understand they look upon these churches or dioceses as their fixed and peculiar charge, in which they were to preside for term of life, I believe that Timothy and Titus were not thus bishops.' See Chap. 1 and 4.

"To fortify those who have given their assault, let me bring in Mr. Le Clerc, in his *Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Annotations on the Epistle to Titus*, p. 530, who says, 'The testimonies of the ancients about this matter, who judge rashly of the times of the apostles by their own, and speak of them in the language of their own age, are of little moment. And so do no more prove that Titus was the bishop of the island of Crete, than what Dr. Hammond says proves him to have been distinguished with the title of archbishop.' To the same purpose the fore-cited Dr. Whitby says, 'The great controversy concerning this and the epistle to Timothy is, whether Timothy and Titus were indeed made bishops; the one in Ephesus, and the pro-consular Asia, the other of Crete, and having authority to make, and

jurisdiction over, so many bishops as were in those precincts? Now, of this matter, I confess I can find nothing in any writer of the first three centuries, and not any intimation that they bore that name.'

“The judgment of the learned Whittaker is supporting on this occasion, as well as in the most of the former, who says, *Controv.* 4. Q. 4. C. 2. p. 374. ‘In the apostle’s times there were many things extraordinary. There was another form of government in the church in the days of the apostles, and another now, is acknowledged by Stapleton: for it was then governed by the apostles, evangelists, and prophets, but now only by pastors and doctors; the rest are all removed. From this it may justly be inferred, that Timothy and Titus were not ordinary officers, but they, being both evangelists, are not succeeded to by bishops. And here I cannot but subjoin the judgment of Chrysostom, whom our adversaries, I hope, will not reject as an adversary. His words, as translated by Smectymnuus, are these, *Paul would not commit the whole island to one man, but would have every man appointed to his charge and cure. For so he knew his labour would be the lighter, and the people that were under him would be governed with the greater diligence. For the teacher should not be troubled with the government of many churches, but only intend one, and study for to adorn that.* The remark of Smectymnuus is just; therefore this was Titus his work, not to be bishop of Crete himself, but to ordain elders in every city, which was an office above that of a bishop.

“But this fortification is not able to stand; for the remarkable Mr. Dodwell, *Parænes.* sect. 10. p. 404. attacks it most handsomely, when he says, ‘But truly, that the office of [Timothy] was not fixed, but itinerary, many arguments do evince. It was required of him to abide at Ephesus, is testified by the apostle, 1 *Tim.* i. 3. He was therefore, when thus demanded, an itinerary. The work of an evangelist, 2 *Tim.* iv. 5. so many journeyings with St. Paul, and his name being joined in common with the apostle, in the inscription of the epistles to the Thessalonians, are all of them arguments for this. Moreover, the apostle commands Titus only to ordain, in Crete, presbyters in every

city, *Titus* i. 5. He says, he was left there, that he might set in order things that were wanting. And he was a companion of the apostle when he was left. And, truly, other places make it appear that he was a companion of St. Paul, and therefore was no more restricted to any particular place than the apostle himself.' Thus the famous Dodwell. And from what has been said from so many learned Episcopalian doctors, one may consider how far Bishop Hall had lost his senses, when he saith with such a masterly air, *Episcop. Divine Right*, sect. 4. p. 2. *That if Episcopal power of ordination, and power of ruling and censuring presbyters, be not clear in the apostle's charge to these two bishops, the one of Crete, and the other of Ephesus, I shall yield the cause, and confess to want my senses.*

“But now, to dismiss this conceit of Timothy's being bishop of Ephesus, &c. I shall give the judgment of the learned Willet, *Synops. Papism. Contr.* 5. Q. 3. ‘Neither can it be granted by the words of the apostle, *Lay hands suddenly on no man*, &c. that Timothy had this sole power in himself; for, the apostle would not give that to him, which he did not take to himself, who associated to him the rest of the presbyters in ordaining of Timothy. — It is questioned, says he, if the apostle had then constituted Timothy bishop there [Ephesus:] For, he saith, *That thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine*,’ &c. I conclude with the judgment of the accurate Dr. Barrow, *Pope's suprem.* p. 82. whose words must certainly contradict this notion concerning Timothy's episcopate; for he says, “Episcopacy is an ordinary standing charge, affixed to one standing place, and requiring a special attendance there; bishops being pastors, who, as St. Chrysostom says, do sit, and are employed in one place. Now, he that hath such a general charge, can hardly discharge such a particular office; and he who is fixed to a particular attendance, can hardly look after so general charge.’ Though this is spoken with respect to the apostles; yet it will equally hold with respect to Timothy and Titus. I think, by this time, this strong bulwark has almost lost its beautiful shapes and formidable figures, and is not capable of doing much execution. The

itinerary life of the apostles, according to Barrow. is inconsistent with that of a bishop, and must be so likewise with that of Timothy and Titus, seeing they were not fixed residents in any particular place, as is well observed by Mr. Dodwell: and it must conclude against them with equal force, if Dr. Brett's notion be true, that they were both of the apostolic order."

No equitable judge would censure us for leaving these sons of the hierarchy to dash their heads against each other, and declining to give ourselves any further trouble. We are not obliged to inquire into the claim which they set up for Timothy or Titus, until they shall themselves ascertain what the claim is; nor to answer their plea, until they shall cease to quarrel about its correctness. But, instead of taking so mortifying an advantage, we shall meet the question as it is stated by Cyprian and the Layman, referring to our readers for an opinion whether or not we are afraid to have the cause tried either at Ephesus or in Crete, and under any form which our Episcopal friends shall prefer.

"In Titus i. 5." says Cyprian, "it is said by the apostle Paul, "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest ordain elders in every city." Let us contemplate the circumstances that attended this transaction, and see what inferences we can draw from it. St. Paul had planted the gospel in the island of Crete. He had made proselytes in every city, who stood in need of the ministration of presbyters. He speaks not to Titus as if he had left him in Crete to convert the cities to the faith. He speaks as if this work was already accomplished, as if the way was paved for the establishment of the church. These being the circumstances of the case, it appears to me that this transaction carries on its face a proof of superiority on the part of Titus to the presbyters or elders. Will it be imagined by any reasonable man, that St. Paul had converted so many cities on this island, without having ordained any elders among

them? What! When it was his uniform and invariable practice to ordain elders in every country in which he made proselytes, What! Could he have neglected to ordain those amongst them who were absolutely necessary to transact the affairs of the church during his absence? Would we have left the work he had begun only half performed!

“These considerations are sufficient to convince every unprejudiced mind that there were elders or presbyters in the church of Crete at the time St. Paul left Titus on that island. And if there were presbyters, and those presbyters had the power of ordination, why was it necessary to leave Titus amongst them in order to perform a task that might as well have been accomplished without him? If the presbyters possessed an authority equal to that of Titus, would not St. Paul, by leaving him amongst them, have taken the surest way to interrupt the peace of the church, to engender jealousy, and strifes, and contentions? Again. Let us view this transaction in another point of light. St. Paul had made converts, as I have said, in every city of Crete. Titus had attended him on his last visit to that Island. If presbyters were at this time considered as competent to the task of ordaining others, why did he not ordain one at any rate during his stay amongst them, and commission him, instead of detaining Titus, to ordain elders in every city? The efforts of Titus were as much wanted as his own, to carry the light of the gospel to other nations who had not received it. Why was it necessary that Titus should ordain elders in every city? After the ordination of a few, would not *his* exertions have become useless, if *they* were able to complete the work which he had begun?

“In short, Titus seems to be intrusted with all the authority of a supreme ruler of the church. He is directed to ordain presbyters—to rebuke with all authority—to admonish hereticks, and, in case of obstinacy, to reject them from the communion of the church. These circumstances infallibly designate the presence of a bishop. Accordingly we find that the united voice of ancient writers declares him to have been the first bishop of Crete. Eusebius informs us

‘that he received Episcopal authority over the church of Crete.’ So also says Theodoret, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose. If these considerations united do not show that Titus possessed in Crete powers superior to those which were held by the presbyters of those churches, I know not what considerations would.”*

And again :

“The case of Timothy alone, had we no other evidence from Scripture, would, when taken into connexion with the testimony of ancient writers, be perfectly satisfactory to me. This alone demonstrates all that we can desire. He was placed by St. Paul to superintend the church of Ephesus. This case was even stronger than was that of Titus in Crete. It cannot be denied that there had long been presbyters in the church of Ephesus. Listen then to the language which St. Paul speaks in his Epistles to him, and see if it is possible that he possessed no superiority over the presbyters of that church: ‘I besought thee,’ says he to Timothy, ‘to abide still at Ephesus when I went in Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine.’ Could Timothy have been commissioned to charge the presbyters to teach no other doctrine, had he possessed no superiority over them? Would they not have had a right to resist any attempts at a control of this kind as an encroachment on their privileges? Again, Timothy is directed to try and examine the deacons, whether they be blameless or not. If they prove themselves worthy, he is to admit them into the office of a deacon ; and upon a faithful discharge of that office, they are to be elevated to a higher station. ‘Likewise,’ says he, ‘must the deacons be grave, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre, holding the mystery of faith in a pure conscience.’ ‘Let these also be first proved, and then let them use the office of a deacon, being found blameless.’ Here we find no mention made of the presbyters of Ephesus, in the ordination of deacons. They are not associated with him at all in the work. Does not this indicate, does it not demonstrate, a

* CYPRIAN, No. II. *Collec.* p. 64. 65.

superiority of power on the part of Timothy? Timothy is also exhorted to 'lay hands suddenly on no man.' There is no such thing as a recognition even of the co-operation of presbyters with him. He seems to be the *supreme* and the *only* agent in the transaction of these affairs.

"Now, I appeal to the common sense of mankind, had the presbyters of Ephesus possessed an authority equal to that of Timothy—had they, like him, possessed the power of ordination—would not St. Paul have recognized their agency in connexion with his? Would it not have been to treat them with improper neglect, not to mention them? But what consummates our evidence on this point, and places the subject beyond all doubt, is the charge which St. Paul gives to Timothy in relation to the penal discipline he was to exercise over his presbyters. Timothy is required to 'receive an accusation against an elder or presbyter, only before two or three witnesses.' 'Them, (that is, those amongst the presbyters,) that sin, rebuke before all, that others also may fear.' Can any one imagine that Timothy would have been commissioned to *listen to accusations made against Presbyters*, openly to *rebuke them*, had not his authority transcended theirs? Does not this single circumstance unquestionably establish the point of his superiority? 'The man,' says a learned and ingenious writer of our country, who shall not find a bishop in Ephesus, will be puzzled to find one in England.'*

"I cannot conceive of a case that could be more clear and unequivocal, that could speak more loudly to the common sense of mankind, than the case of Timothy in Ephesus. He is obviously intrusted with apostolic authority. Every thing which the apostle could do in his own person, he commissions Timothy to perform during his absence. He is to *adjust the affairs of the church*; he is to prove and examine deacons; he alone is to *ordain them*; he alone is recognized in the performance of the task of *ordaining elders or presbyters*; he possesses *perfect control* over these presbyters. If they are guilty of any offences or misdemeanours, he is to *inflict punishment* upon them. I cannot conceive of a case

* Dr. Bowden, in his answer to Dr. Stiles.

more satisfactory in proof of the apostolic original of the Episcopal form of church government. Had Timothy been of the same order with the presbyters of Ephesus, can it be imagined that the apostle would, by elevating him to such high privileges amongst them, have endangered the peace of the church, have taken a step so well calculated to excite discontent and dissatisfaction amongst the remaining presbyters or elders? This cannot be imagined. Timothy was then undeniably intrusted with Episcopal authority in the church of Ephesus; he was the bishop of that place. This is proved by the concurring voice of ancient writers. Eusebius tells us 'that he was the first bishop of the province or diocese of Ephesus.' The anonymous author of his life in Phocius says, 'that he was the first that acted as bishop in Ephesus, and that he was ordained bishop of the metropolis of Ephesus by the great St. Paul.' In the council of Chalcedon, twenty-seven bishops are said to have succeeded in that chair from Timothy. To prove the same point goes the testimony of St. Chrysostom and Theodoret; and in the Apostolical Constitutions we are expressly told, that he was ordained bishop of Ephesus by St. Paul."*

The Layman speaks to the same purpose.

"In whom was the power of ordination vested in the churches of Ephesus and Crete? Clearly in Timothy and Titus alone. Them alone the apostle addresses, and them alone he speaks of as ordaining elders, or as committing the things they had received from him to faithful men, capable of teaching others. Is this not utterly inconsistent with the presbyterian system? What individual among them could with propriety be addressed as the apostle addresses Timothy and Titus? Not one. The power among them is in a numerous body of *equals*, lest their should be '*lords over God's heritage*.' The power, in Ephesus and Crete, was in Timothy and Titus, to whom the presbyters were subject, liable to be tried and punished for misconduct. It is on this plain statement of facts, relative to Ephesus and Crete, as well as to other churches, taken in connexion with the uniform and

* CYPRIAN, No. III. *Collec.* p. 74, 75.

uninterrupted testimony of the church universal for fifteen hundred years, that Episcopalians rest their cause. They have never endeavoured to derive arguments from the names made use of. This has been the practice, exclusively, of the advocates of parity. Driven from the ground of fact, not able to deny that Timothy and Titus were supreme governors in the churches of Ephesus and Crete, possessing alone the power of ordination, they say that Timothy is called a presbyter, and was therefore upon a level with those very elders whom he ruled, whom he could control as to the doctrines they preached, whom he had power to try and to punish!"*

"It is very easy," says he, "to see why the advocates of parity would exclude from view the situation of Timothy in the church of Ephesus, since it carries absolute death to their cause. Is it an immaterial circumstance that Timothy ruled the whole church of Ephesus, both clergy and laity, the elders or presbyters being subject to his spiritual jurisdiction? Is it an immaterial circumstance that Timothy alone exercised the power of ordaining ministers, and thus of conveying the sacerdotal authority? What then becomes of the doctrine of parity? Destroyed, utterly destroyed. The church of Ephesus, planted by St. Paul, and placed, by that apostle, under the government of Timothy, was constructed upon a totally different principle. It had, in Timothy, a bishop, possessing jurisdiction over the other clergy, and exercising all the powers which are claimed for the bishops of the church now. Is it of no consequence that the ancients, who speak on the subject, unanimously represent Timothy as the first bishop of Ephesus? What says Eusebius? 'He was the first bishop of the province or diocese of Ephesus.' *Eccl. Hist. Bib. iii. chap. 4.* What says Chrysostom? 'It is manifest Timothy was intrusted with a whole nation, viz. Asia.' *Hom. 15th in 1 Tim. v. 19.* Theodoret calls him the apostle of the Asiatics. The Apostolical Constitutions expressly tell us that he was ordained bishop of Ephesus by St. Paul; and in the council of

* LAYMAN, No. V. *Collec.* p. 56.

Chalcedon, twenty-seven bishops are said to have succeeded him in the government of that Church.

“We are perfectly safe, then, so far as relates to Timothy, in resting our cause upon the situation which he occupied at Ephesus, and on the powers which he exercised there. The constitution of the Church of Ephesus was undeniably Episcopal. This part of the subject the advocates of parity do not choose to meddle with, running off constantly to the term *presbytery*, that poor word being the chief basis of their cause.”*

And thus the Episcopal arm has “carried death to our cause!” And thus “the doctrine of parity” is “destroyed, utterly destroyed!”

Not so fast, good Mr. Layman. We have an objection or two to such a settlement of our affairs, and shall take the liberty of stating them.

The reader will remember that we confine ourselves, at present, to the *scriptural* argument, and therefore shall not notice any quotations from the fathers. One thing at a time, and every thing in its place.

This is the argument which the Layman tells us “the advocates of parity do not choose to meddle with.” If it be so, the terror is needless. But the assertion is only a polemical flourish, such as the Layman is accustomed to make for the entertainment of his friends; the fact, as usual, being quite the other way. For if he will be at the trouble (for the first time, as we presume, in his life) to inspect the writings of the advocates of parity at any period from the Reformation to this day, he will find that they have not only “meddled” with his argument, but so mauled and maimed it, so battered and crushed it, that even skilful diocesan doctors have given it up for dead, and wondered at that delirious fondness which, instead of decently interring it, insisted upon keeping

* *Postscript to the LAYMAN*, No. VIII, *Collec.* p. 81.

it above ground. Its ghost, however, seems disquieted, and walks in company with the Layman and Cyprian, to frighten the presbyterian women and children—We must lay it.

Merriment apart—What do these long extracts, with their glowing interrogations, prove? Why, that Timothy and Titus were superior to presbyters! Who denies it? “What! do you allow that they had, severally, the power of ordaining to the ministry by their sole authority?” Yes, we do! “That they had authority to inquire into the doctrines taught by presbyters? Yes. To coerce the unruly? Yes. “To expel the heretical?” Yes—we never thought of disputing it. “Then, certainly, they were diocesan bishops!” *C'est une autre affaire, Monsieur.* That is another point. We admit the premises here stated, but deny the conclusion. Timothy and Titus could do all these things without being diocesan bishops. An apostle could do them in virtue of his apostolic office: an evangelist (as Timothy, and consequently Titus, undoubtedly was,*) could do them in virtue of his office *as an evangelist*, and yet be very unlike a diocesan bishop. And to infer that Timothy and Titus were bishops in the prelatical sense of the term, because they enjoyed a pre-eminence and an authority which they might enjoy *without being such bishops at all*, is to abuse the understanding of the reader. Our opponent ought to prove not only that they exercised the powers enumerated, but that they did so as *ordinary officers in whom a precedent was set for the future government of the church*. He must prove that their powers were not an appendage of their *special and extraordinary character*, like the powers peculiar to the apostolic character. This he neither has done, nor is able to do: and thus the boasted demonstration of Episcopacy from

* 2 Tim. iv. 5. “Do the work of an EVANGELIST.”

the history of Timothy and Titus is a mere begging of the question—taking for granted the very thing in dispute.

Let us apply this all-conquering argument to other cases which appear to be perfectly parallel.

Episcopal argument.

Titus ordained elders in every city—*Therefore* Titus was bishop of Crete.

Parallelism.

Paul and Barnabas ordained elders in every church, to wit, in Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, at least,*—*Therefore* Paul and Barnabas were joint bishops of Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch.

Episcopal argument.

Timothy instructed and charged the Ephesian elders—*Therefore* he was bishop of Ephesus!

Parallelism.

Paul instructed and charged the Ephesian elders,†—*Therefore* Paul was bishop of Ephesus.

Episcopal argument.

Timothy had power to inflict censure on Presbyters, and even to excommunicate heretics—*Therefore* Timothy was bishop of Ephesus.

Parallelism.

Paul had power to excommunicate offenders in the Corinthian church,‡—*Therefore* Paul was bishop of Corinth.

The parallel might be run farther, but the foregoing will evince, that the very same mode of reasoning which proves Timothy to have been bishop of Ephesus, and Titus of Crete, will also prove every one of the apostles

* Acts xiv. 20—23.

† Acts xx. 17, &c.

‡ 1 Cor. v. 5.

to have been bishop of every place where he exercised any of those functions which the Episcopal church has restrained to her prelates. This her advocates know to be absurd; and so does all the world beside. And yet let them show, if they can, that our argument for the diocesan *ubiquity* of the apostles is not fully as fair and as conclusive as their own for the bishoprics of Timothy and Titus, and is not founded on the very same principles.

There is nothing else in the Layman or Cyprian which has even the shadow of an argument, unless it be such suggestions as these :

“Will it be imagined by any reasonable man that St. Paul had converted so many cities on this island (Crete) without having ordained any elders amongst them? What! when it was his uniform and invariable practice to ordain elders in every country in which he made proselytes? What! could he have neglected to ordain those amongst them who were absolutely necessary to transact the affairs of the church in his absence? Would he have left the work he had begun only half performed?”*

Cyprian sets himself down in his study at Albany, and, knowing infinitely more than any author sacred or profane has told him, first determines what the apostle *ought to have done* seventeen hundred and fifty years ago in Crete; next, very wisely concludes that Paul, being also a wise man, *actually did* as he, Cyprian, has laid down and determined; then furnishes the churches of Crete with Presbyters; and, wanting still more, manufactures Titus into a bishop to supply the deficiency. Excellent! But where did Cyprian get his facts? Where did he learn so positively what was Paul’s “uniform and invariable practice,” in the article of ordination? H^a

* CYPRIAN, as above.

ought to have been cautious of affronting his old guide, whose account of Paul's "practice" is entirely different from his own.

"One qualification for a bishop was, that he should not be (*Νεοφύτος*) a novice, that is, one newly converted; time being required to prove men, before they could be entrusted with the care of the church. And therefore the apostles *used not to ordain ministers in any place before the SECOND time of their coming thither*: sometimes, when they had no prospect of returning, they gave others a commission to ordain ministers. For which reason Titus was left in Crete by St. Paul to *ordain ministers in all cities*. But there will scarce be found *any instance* of their ordaining ministers at the *first time* of their coming to any place."*

It was rather bold in Cyprian to chastise the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom on other occasions he so implicitly follows, for being ignorant of Paul's "uniform and invariable practice:" but there is something bolder behind: for, if we mistake not, the rector's rod has reached the back of the apostle himself. He broadly insinuates, that Paul could not, without culpable negligence, have omitted to create officers who were necessary to transact the affairs of the church in his absence; and that, had he done so, he would have left his work only half performed. Now it so happens that Paul, according to his own testimony, *did not* furnish the churches in Crete with the requisite officers, or else he left Titus to ordain such as were not absolutely necessary—he did actually leave the work he had begun unfinished; whether only "half performed," or one third, or two thirds, he does not say; but so much was undone as to demand the stay of Titus to complete it. The express terms of his commission are, "That thou shouldst

* POTTER. *Discourse on Church Government*, p. 101, 102.

set in order the *things that are wanting*," or, as the margin of our English version has it, the things that are "*left undone*,"* and one of these things, as the very next words indicate, was the ordination of presbyters—"and ordain elders in every city." Cyprian's assumption, therefore, that Paul ordained presbyters in Crete, is without a particle of evidence. There is not a syllable in the whole narrative, from which we can infer that there was a single presbyter in the island at his departure. The contrary inference is much the more natural. If Titus was instructed to ordain presbyters in every city, the presumption is, that none had been ordained hitherto. For, to turn the edge of Cyprian's weapon against himself, it is very improbable that the apostle, in organizing the several churches, would *begin* to ordain presbyters; would stop in the middle of his business; betake himself in haste to another place; do the same sort of half work there; and so from city to city; and then send Titus upon a travelling tour to compensate for the deficiencies occasioned by his haste, his negligence, or his whim. But so it is. Titus *shall* be bishop of Crete. The proof of his title will fail, if there be no presbyters there.—Well then, there *shall be* presbyters there, or else Paul shall be convicted of neglecting his duty:—but Paul did not neglect his duty; therefore there *were* presbyters in Crete when he left it; therefore Titus was a bishop. Excellently well reasoned, Mr. Rector! And so—"Fair play," interrupts an Episcopal voice, "it does not follow from the representation of Cyprian, that Paul ordained *some* elders in every city; and left Titus to ordain the rest. His words will bear another meaning: viz. that the full complement of presbyters were ordained in some cities, but none at all in others: and that Titus was directed to ordain in these, which would not have been

* τα λειποντα, Titus i. 5.

necessary, had presbyters possessed the power of ordination: seeing that those of one district might have ordained for another, as is done at this day by the Presbyterians. And so, Mr. Reviewer, you are still in the wrong, and Titus is a bishop."

Not *yet*, if you please, dear sir. Allowing your premises, your conclusion is not good. The presbyters newly ordained had abundance of occupation, with very little experience. A proper choice of officers in the first instance was all-important to the infant churches. Titus had superior qualifications for making a wise selection; he could also resolve many difficulties which might have been too hard for others. He was deputed by the apostle to set every thing in order through the island, that when he should be gone, the stated officers might have less trouble. In ordaining presbyters, he was doing the work of an evangelist. The churches were organized in the best manner, and with the greatest expedition; while the presbyters were permitted to superintend, without distraction, the flocks just committed to their care. There is no example of the apostle's calling away presbyters from their charges immediately after their erection, and sending them round the country to ordain others. This was the *appropriate employment of the apostles themselves, and their assistants, the evangelists*. They established the evangelical order, and consigned it to the ordinary ministry. Presbyters, therefore, might have been ordained in some cities, (although this is a mere supposition;) Titus might, notwithstanding, ordain others in the remaining cities, and yet not be bishop of Crete. And certainly if *his* ordaining some elders proves *him* to have been bishop of that island; *Paul's* ordaining some proves *him also* to have been her bishop.

Having exposed the weakness and vanity of the argu-

ment drawn for diocesan Episcopacy, from the examples of Timothy and Titus, we might rest the cause here: but we advance a step further, and offer, what no laws of discussion exact from us, to establish the negative: that is, the proof, as we have manifested, that they *were* such bishops, having miserably failed, we shall assign reasons for our conviction that they were *not*.

1. The very terms of their commission favour us.

What does Paul say? That he gave Ephesus to Timothy, and Crete to Titus, as their regular and permanent charges? No: nothing like it. The former staid, at the apostle's request, to resist the inroads of false doctrine, which had begun to infect some of the public teachers. The latter, to finish the organization of the churches begun by the apostle himself. Each, then, had a specific charge, relating not to the government of *settled* churches, but to their *preparation* for it; or to the correction of abuses for restoring and preserving their purity. In both cases the charge was temporary. Paul seized these occasions, to furnish his substitutes with written directions containing a manual of general instruction to them, and through them to the future ministry; and, with such an object in view, it was perfectly natural for him to compress into his instructions so great a compass of matter.

2. Paul's mode of addressing Timothy implies that Ephesus was not his peculiar charge. I BESOUGHT *thee*, says he, to *abide still at Ephesus*. A strange formula of appointment to a man's proper station! it carries a strong and evident implication, that Timothy remained there not because it was his diocese, but to gratify the apostle by attending to the exigencies of the public service. It bespeaks reluctance in Timothy to stay behind; Paul had to *entreat* him. All which, again, is entirely natural upon the supposition of his being the

apostle's *companion and assistant in planting churches*: but offensive and monstrous upon the supposition of his being bishop of Ephesus.

“For why,” says DAILLE', “*beseech* a bishop to remain in his diocese? Is it not to beseech a man to stay in a place to which he is bound? I should not think it strange to beseech him to leave it, if his service were needed elsewhere. But to beseech him to abide in a place where his charge obliges him to be, and which he cannot forsake without offending God and neglecting his duty, is, to say the truth, not a very civil entreaty; as it plainly presupposes that he has not his duty much at heart, seeing one is under the necessity of *beseeching* him to do it.”*

This is the language of good sense—no squeezing; no twisting; no forcing; all which the hierarchy must do, when she puts into the mouth of Paul such an awkward, bungling speech as, *I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus*;—for, “I constituted thee bishop of Ephesus.” We shall, however, suggest an improvement, for which we look for the benedictions of some gentlemen in lawn; viz. that Timothy being bishop of Ephesus, and relishing confinement to his charge so little as to lay the apostle under a necessity of *beseeching* him to stay in it, affords the best possible precedent and plea for priests and bishops, who had rather be detected any where than in their parishes and dioceses—except at tithing-time.

3. “If Timothy was bishop of Ephesus, it must be when the first epistle was written: for it is in that epistle in which he is said to receive his pretended charge of exercising his Episcopal power in ordination and jurisdiction. But now this first epistle was written when Paul was at Macedonia, as the learned, both new

* Daillé, *ci-dessus*, p. 23.

and old, Papists and Protestants, agree. And it was after this when Paul came to Miletum accompanied with Timothy, and sends for the elders of the church of Ephesus unto him, and commends the government of the church unto these elders, whom he calls bishops. Now, surely, if Timothy had been constituted their bishop, (in the sense of our adversaries,) the apostle would not have called the elders bishops before their bishop's face; and instead of giving a charge to the elders to feed the flock of Christ, he would have given that charge to Timothy, and not to them: and no doubt he would have given some directions to the elders how to carry themselves towards their bishop. And because none of these things were done, it is a clear demonstration to us, that Timothy was not at that time bishop of Ephesus.

“ To avoid the force of this argument, there are some that say, that Timothy was not made bishop of Ephesus till after Paul's first being a prisoner at Rome, which was after his being at Miletum. But these men, while they seek to avoid the *Scylla* of one inconvenience, fall into the *Charibdis* of another as great. For if Timothy was not made bishop till Paul's first being at Rome, then he was not bishop when the first epistle was written to him, (which all agree to be written before that time.) And then it will also follow, that all that charge that was laid upon him, both of ordination and jurisdiction, and that entreating of him to abide at Ephesus, was given to him, not as to the bishop of Ephesus, (which he was not,) but as to an extraordinary officer, sent thither upon special occasion, with a purpose of returning when his work imposed was finished. From both these considerations we may safely conclude,

“ That if Timothy were neither constituted bishop of Ephesus before Paul's first being prisoner at Rome, nor after; then he was not constituted bishop at all. But

he was neither constituted bishop before nor after, &c. *ergo*, not at all.”*

By this time we trust the reader is satisfied that Timothy was not bishop of Ephesus; and, as it is agreed that his functions and those of Titus were alike, the conclusion is, that the latter was not bishop of Crete. What were they then? We answer, They were *extraordinary officers, known in the apostolic church by the name of EVANGELISTS; and employed as travelling companions and assistants of the apostles, in propagating the gospel.*

For this purpose their powers, like those of the apostles, were extraordinary; their office too was temporary; and therefore their superiority over presbyters is no precedent nor warrant for retaining such superiority in the permanent order of the church. That such was the nature of the office of an evangelist, we have testimony which our Episcopal brethren will not dispute—the testimony of bishop Eusebius.

This celebrated historian tells us, that even in the second century there were disciples of the apostles, “who every where built upon the foundations which the apostles had laid: preaching the gospel, and scattering the salutary seeds of the kingdom of heaven over the face of the earth. And, moreover, very many of the disciples of that day travelled abroad, and performed *the work of EVANGELISTS; ardently ambitious of preaching Christ to those who were yet wholly unacquainted with the doctrine of faith, and to deliver to them the scripture of the divine Gospels. These, having merely laid the foundations of the faith, and ORDAINED OTHER PASTORS, committed to them the cultivation of the churches newly planted; while they themselves, supported by the grace and co-operation of God, proceeded to OTHER COUNTRIES*

* *Jus divinum ministerii Anglicani*, p. 65, 66, 4to. 1654.

AND NATIONS. For *even then*, many astonishing miracles of the divine Spirit were wrought by them.”*

Eusebius has used the very expression of Paul to Timothy, viz. *the work of an evangelist*; and if the reader compare his description of that work with the epistles to Timothy and Titus, and with their history as it may be gathered from the New Testament, he will perceive the most exact accordance. That is, he will perceive the work of an evangelist, like the work of an apostle, to have been altogether extraordinary and temporary.

Paul took up Timothy at Lystra,† according to the chronology of our bibles, in the year of Christ, 52. He accompanied the apostle in his travels; for at the close of the next year, 53, he was with him at Berea, and staid there when Paul was sent away by the brethren.‡ By the persons who conducted Paul, he received a message to come to him at Athens; but did not join him, as appears, till he was at Corinth,§ the year after, 54. The next two years he made a part of the apostle’s retinue; was with him when he wrote both his epistles to the Thessalonians;|| and, at the close of that period, was sent, with Erastus, into Macedonia, anno 56.¶ Three years after he was despatched to Corinth:** and the next, anno 60, had returned, and was with Paul when he wrote his second epistle to the church in that city.†† He was one of the seven distinguished personages who composed the apostle’s train that same year, when he left Greece and went into Asia.

It was in this very journey that Paul sent for the

* Eusebii, *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. III. c. 37. *ed. Reading*, T. I. p. 133.

† Acts xvi. 1—4.

‡ Acts xvii. 14.

§ Acts xviii. 5.

|| 1 Thess. i. 1.; 2 Thess. i. 1.

¶ Acts xix. 1. 10. 22.

** 1 Cor. iv. 17.

†† 2 Cor. i. 1.

elders of Ephesus to Miletum, and laid upon them that solemn charge to feed the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers.* Timothy was there,† and, if bishop of Ephesus at all, must have been appointed either then or before. For as Paul never saw the Ephesian brethren afterwards,‡ he never had afterwards an opportunity of ordaining a bishop over them. If Timothy were their diocesan already, he had been very little with them, as the narrative evinces. And is it not strange that the whole of the apostle's charge should be addressed to the presbyters, and not a syllable to their bishop, nor to them on their duty to him? On the other hand, if he was *then* ordained to his see, is not the silence of Paul on the subject of their mutual duties equally mysterious? That he should address them as having the *oversight* of the flock, when the fact was that it belonged not to them but to Timothy, and should do this to their bishop's face without recognizing his pre-eminence in the most distant manner?

They who can swallow all this, when they are boasting of the scriptural evidence that Timothy was bishop of Ephesus, have a most happy knack at self-persuasion! We own that our credulity does not contain a passage for so large a camel!

But let us see what becomes of Timothy. Whether he constantly attached himself afterwards to the person of Paul, we know not; but we do know that he was with him when a prisoner at Rome, anno 64, and shared in his bonds.§

Let any sober man look at this itinerant life of Timothy, and ask whether his occupations resembled those of a diocesan bishop? whether there is even the shadow of a presumption that he had a fixed charge? and whether

* Acts xx. 28.

† Acts xx. 25. °°

‡ Acts xx. 5. 13.

° °°h. xiii. 23.

there is not just as good evidence of his being bishop of Berea, of Corinth, or of Thessalonica, as of Ephesus?

Titus is in the same situation. In the first chapter of Paul's epistle to him, the object of his stay at Crete is specified. The last chapter declares it to have been temporary; for Paul mentions his design of sending another to take his place; directs him to come without delay to him at Nicopolis; and to bring with him Zenas and Apollos.* Whence, by the way, it is clear that Titus had coadjutors in Crete. For Apollos was an eloquent preacher of the gospel; and in estimation near the apostles themselves.†

On this point, the INQUIRER, in the collection under review, p. 132, had asked,

“ Since Paul sent for Titus, after he had ‘ set in order the things that were wanting,’ to come to Nicopolis, took him along with him to Rome, and then sent him into Dalmatia, may not Titus be properly called an *Evangelist*; or a *travelling* rather than a *diocesan* bishop?”

A very reasonable and modest question, one would think. But Dr. Hobart, in his note, calls upon Bishop Hoadley to shut the mouth of the Inquirer.

“ Let Bishop Hoadley answer this inquiry, and silence the only objection which the anti-Episcopalians can bring against the evident superiority of Timothy and Titus over the other orders at Ephesus and Crete,—that they were *extraordinary* officers, evangelists, travelling bishops. ‘ It is of small importance whether Timothy and Titus were *fixed* bishops, properly so called, or not. Perhaps at the first plantation of churches there was no such necessity of *fixed* bishops as was found afterwards; or perhaps at first the superintendency of such persons as Timothy and Titus was thought requisite in many different churches, as their several needs required. If so, their office certainly was the

* Tit. iii. 12, 13.

† 1 Cor. i. 12.; iii. 4—6.

same in all churches to which they went; and *ordination*, a work reserved to such as they were, persons superior to the settled presbyters. But as to Ephesus and Crete, it is manifest that Timothy and Titus were to stay with the churches there, as long as their presence was not more wanted at other places: and, besides, if they did leave these churches, there was as good reason that they should return to them to perform the same office of ordination when there was again occasion, as there was at first, why they should be sent by St. Paul to that purpose. Nor is there the least footstep in all antiquity, as far as it hath yet appeared, of any attempt in the presbyters of Ephesus or Crete, to take to themselves the *offices* appropriated in the forementioned epistles, to a superior order of men.—*Hoadley's Def. of Episc.* ch. i.—*Ed.*”

The anti-Episcopalians do not, so far as we understand them, deny the “superiority of Timothy and Titus over the other orders at Ephesus and Crete.” But they deny the *inferences* which the *jure divino* prelatists draw from that superiority, — 1. *therefore*, Timothy was bishop of Ephesus, and Titus of Crete; and 2. *therefore*, Diocesan Episcopacy is of apostolic institution. These things they deny. They contend that a ministry extraordinary and temporary cannot be a rule for a ministry which is ordinary and permanent—that functions which, like those of the apostles and evangelists, admitted of no fixed charges, cannot be a model for a system of fixed charges, as diocesan Episcopacy undoubtedly is—that the method pursued in *founding* churches is no precedent for *governing* them when *founded*. It would be, in their estimation, quite as fair and as reasonable to infer the form of government prescribed for a conquered country, from the measures adopted by the invaders for effecting and completing the conquest. Or to deduce the powers and jurisdiction of the different departments in a civil constitution, from the powers of those who set it up-

This would be most fallacious reasoning; and the whole world would agree in rejecting it as not only false, but extremely dangerous. Yet it is precisely the fallacy of the Episcopal reasoning from the powers of Timothy and Titus to those of ordinary rulers in the church. No. When we inquire who are the fixed officers, and what is the fixed order of the church; we must inquire, not what apostles and evangelists did in executing their peculiar trust—but what officers and order *they fixed in the churches planted by their care*. This, and this alone, can be our pattern. In the history of their proceedings we have the most incontestable evidence of their ordaining presbyters in fixed charges. But we challenge all the advocates for Episcopacy to produce a *single example* of their assigning a fixed charge to any officer above a presbyter; or of their exercising, without immediate inspiration, in any settled church, a *single act of power which they refused to presbyters*. When Hoadley tells us that fixed charges might not be so necessary in those days as afterwards, he confesses his inability to prove either that Timothy and Titus were diocesan bishops; or that diocesan Episcopacy has an apostolic sanction. For if it were not, as a system of fixed charges, necessary *then*, the apostles did not then establish it. If they did not *then* establish it, they *never* established it at all; for it cannot be pretended that they left instructions for its introduction afterwards. And if it was not *then* instituted, we reject its claim; if not *then* necessary, we must have better authority than the prelates themselves to satisfy us that it had been necessary at any period since. Hoadley, therefore, with his *ifs* and *perhaps*, instead of silencing our objection, has confirmed it. We *drove* the nail, and my lord of Winchester has most obligingly *clenched* it. Dr. Hobart has our permission to draw it at his leisure.

We finish this scriptural view with observing, that whatever may be the difficulty of Dr. Bowden, *we* can see prelates in England without going to Ephesus or Crete for spectacles: and that if no more of prelacy had prevailed in the one, than the scriptures show to have existed in the other, it had been infinitely better, at this day, for the most precious interests of Old England.

CHAPTER IX.

DIOCESAN EPISCOPACY NOT SUSTAINED BY THE TESTIMONY OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

IN an early stage of this review, we joined issue with our Episcopal brethren upon a proposition of the Layman, viz. "The question of Episcopacy is a question of fact, to be determined by a sound interpretation of the sacred volume." We not only consented, but insisted, that the question should be decided by the scripture alone.* We closed the scriptural argument in our last chapter, and therefore have closed the argument upon the merits of the case. God's own word *must* contain the law of his own house. The idea cannot be admitted for a single moment, that those master-principles, without which there could be no Christian order, nor any system of instituted worship, are left unsettled in the rule of faith. Whatever is to govern our consciences must have its foundation here, and a foundation deep and strong. We think we have demonstrated that the Episcopal claim has no such foundation. *Who* set up the hierarchy, is a question not worth the expense of a thought, seeing God has not appointed it in his word. When we follow its advocates to the ground of ecclesiastical history, we yield them a courtesy which they have no right to expect. The instant we cross the line of inspiration, we are out of the territory where the only rightful tribunal is erected, and where alone we shall permit ourselves to be tried.

* See pages 19, 20.

However, as the argument which prelacy derives from the testimony of the Fathers, is in truth her best argument; let us pay it the compliment of an examination. Thus she states it from the mouth of a bishop :

“Is it not reasonable to suppose that the primitive Fathers of the church must have been well acquainted with the mode of ecclesiastical government established by Christ and his apostles? Now, *their* testimony is *universally* in our favour. What course, then, have the enemies of Episcopacy for the most part pursued? Why, they have endeavoured by every art of misrepresentation to invalidate this testimony of the Fathers. Ignatius was born before the death of St. John. Seven of his Epistles have been proved by Bishop Pearson to be genuine, to the satisfaction of the whole learned world. In these Epistles he repeatedly mentions the three orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, and speaks of the order of bishops as necessary in the constitution of every Christian church. All this has been done; and still, the presbyterian teachers mislead the people, by artfully insinuating that none of the writings are genuine which go under the name of Ignatius. Another artful method pursued by our opponents is to collect all the errors into which the Fathers have fallen, with respect to particular points of doctrine; to paint these errors in the blackest colours; and when they have thus prejudiced the minds of the people against them, boldly to go on to the preposterous conclusion, that the testimony of these Fathers is not to be regarded when they stand forth as witnesses to a matter of fact. But is this fair dealing? May not a man of sincerity and truth be liable to errors, as to matters of opinion; and still be a true witness, as to things which he has seen and heard?

“Pursuing the usual mode of *artful misrepresentation*, our Miscellanist has endeavoured to represent Jerome as favouring the presbyterian scheme of church government; and with the same spirit he abuses the church of England as too nearly bordering on popery. After seeing what has been published on these subjects, if your opponent has any spark

of modesty remaining in his bosom, he will never produce the testimony of Jerome in support of his cause.”*

Thus, from the mouth of a priest:—

“Here let me appeal to the common sense of every unprejudiced reader, to bear witness to the truth of the following proposition.

“If we had only obscure hints given us in scripture of the institution of this form of government by the Apostles, and if at a very early period—as soon as any distinct mention is at all made of the subject—this appears to be the only form of government existing in the church, have we not the strongest possible presumption, have we not absolute demonstration, that it was of apostolic original? Who were so likely to be acquainted with the intentions, with the practices, with the institutions of the apostles, as their *immediate successors*? If, then, we should admit for a moment, (and really it is almost too great an outrage against sound reasoning, to be admitted even for a moment;) I say, if we should admit, for the sake of argument, that ‘the Classical or Presbyterial form of church government was instituted by Christ and his Apostles,’ at what period was the *Episcopal* introduced? When did this monstrous innovation upon primitive order find its way into the church of Christ? At what period did the bishops make the bold and successful attempt of exalting themselves into “lords in God’s heritage.” These are questions which the advocates of parity have never yet been able to answer, which they never will be able to answer. They tell us, indeed, of a change that must have taken place at an early period, that *Episcopacy* is a corrupt innovation; but they can produce no proof on which to ground these bold assertions. They are countenanced, in these assertions, by none of the records of these times that have been transmitted to us. It is a mere conjecture, a creature of the imagination. It is conjectured that this change took place immediately after the apostolic age. It must be that this change took place, or presbyterian principles cannot be maintained. Thus a mere *conjecture* on their part is to overbalance the most solid

* CORNELIUS, *Collec.* p. 135.

and substantial *proofs* on ours. In order to follow these aerial adventurers in their excursions, we are to desert the broad and solid bottom of facts, and launch into the regions of hypothesis and uncertainty.

“We say, then, and I hope it will be well remembered, that from the *earliest* information which is given us concerning the institutions and usages of the Christian church, it undeniably appears, that there existed in it the three distinct orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. We say, that this circumstance amounts to demonstrative evidence, that these three orders were of Divine institution—were of Apostolic appointment.”—“But we do not stop here. We maintain, that to suppose the form of government in the church of Christ to have been so fundamentally altered at this time, is the wildest imagination that ever entered into the head of man. Let us contemplate the circumstances of this case.

“It is *supposed* that Christ and his Apostles instituted originally but one order of ministers in his church, equal in dignity and authority. It is *imagined*, that immediately after their death, a number of aspiring individuals abolished this primitive arrangement, elevated themselves to supreme authority in the church of Christ. Concerning the *time* at which this innovation was effected, the advocates of Presbyterianism are by no means agreed. The most learned among them, however, admit that it must have taken place before the middle of the second century, about *forty or fifty years after the times of the apostles*. BLONDEL allows that Episcopacy was the established government of the church within forty years after the apostolic age. BOCHART assigns as the period of its origin, the age that immediately succeeded the apostles. He says it arose, *paulo post apostolos*. SALMASIUS even allows that this government prevailed in the church before the death of the last of the apostles. And, in fact, this is the only period at which it can be supposed to have originated with any degree of plausibility. It shall be my task to show that it is altogether *improbable*, that it is almost *impossible*, that any innovation upon primitive order and discipline could have been effectuated at this early period.

“ Within forty years after the time of the apostles, we are told, that the bishops, by a bold and successful effort, trampled upon the rights and privileges of the clergy, and elevated themselves to the chair of supreme authority! What! those who were the immediate successors of the apostles—those who had received from these miraculous men the words of eternal truth, the institutions of God’s own appointment—so soon forget the reverence and duty which they owed them—so soon, with a rash and impious hand, strike away the foundation of those venerable structures which they had erected! Would they not permit the apostles to be cold in their graves before they began to undermine and demolish their sacred establishments? Would such iniquitous proceedings have been possible with men who exhibited, on all occasions, the warmest attachment to their Saviour, and to all his institutions? Will it be imagined that the good Ignatius, the venerable bishop of Antioch, he who triumphantly avowed that he disregarded the pains of martyrdom, so that he could but attain to the presence of Jesus Christ—will it be imagined that he entered into a conspiracy to overthrow that government which his Saviour had established in his church? Would the illustrious Polycarp, the pride and ornament of the churches of Asia, have engaged in the execution of so foul an enterprise—he who, when commanded to blaspheme Christ, exclaimed, “ Fourscore and six years have I served him, and he never did me any harm; how, then, shall I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?” In short, can all the pious fathers that succeeded these be supposed to have co-operated in perfecting the atrocious work which they had begun? These things will not be credited.

“ But even supposing that these pious men, whose meek and unassuming temper renders it altogether incredible that they made any such sacrilegious attempt, were inclined to obtain this pre-eminence in the church; can it be imagined that the remaining *presbyters* would have *witnessed* these daring *usurpations* with *indifference*? Would they have made no effort to save themselves and their brethren from the control of so undue and illegitimate an authority? Could none

be found amongst them possessed of so much zeal in the service of their divine Master, so ardently attached to his holy institutions, as to induce them to resist such a bold and impious attempt? In short, would not such an attempt by a few presbyters, according to the uniform course of things, necessarily have agitated and convulsed the church? Would not the period of such an innovation have become a marked and peculiar era in her existence? Can the advocates of parity shew any thing in the history of man analagous to their supposed change in ecclesiastical government at this time? Could ever such a radical and important alteration have been produced in any government, civil or ecclesiastical, without being accompanied by violence and convulsion? We find that the congregations at this time were extremely jealous of the authority that was exercised over them. This jealousy made its appearance even during the times of the apostles. Some took it upon themselves to call in question the authority of St. Paul, others that of St. John. From the Epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians, it would seem as if some disorders had arisen amongst them from a similar source. Is it to be supposed that any number of presbyters would have dared, would have proved successful had they dared, to endeavour to accumulate in their hands such undue authority as that which was claimed by bishops? And even if we should allow that a few presbyters might in some places have had the talents and address to elevate themselves to this superiority over their brethren, is it probable, is it possible, that this took place at the *same time* over the universal church? Can such a singular coincidence of circumstances be reasonably imagined? The church had, at this time, widely extended herself over the Roman empire. Did, then, the churches of Africa, of Asia, of Europe, by a miraculous unanimity of opinion, enter at the *same moment* into the determination to change their form of government from the Presbyterial to the Episcopal? I will not do so much discredit to the understanding of any reader, as to imagine that he does not at once perceive the inadmissibility and the absurdity of such a supposition.

“ Let us, however, suppose the most that our adversaries

can desire. Let us suppose that the primitive rulers of the church were destitute of principle. Let us suppose them devoid of attachment to the institutions of Christ. Let us suppose that they waited every opportunity to promote their own aggrandizement. Let us suppose the difficulties removed that opposed them in their ascent towards the chair of episcopal authority. What was there, at this period, in the office of bishop to excite their desires, or to invite their exertions to obtain it? The veneration attached to it, as yet, extended no farther than to the family of the faithful. The church was on all hands encountered by the bitterest enemies. By elevating themselves, therefore, to the pre-eminence of bishops, they only raised themselves to pre-eminence in difficulties, in dangers, in deaths. Their blood was always the first that was drunk by the sword of persecution. Their station only exposed them to more certain and more horrid deaths. Was an office of this kind an object of cupidity? Is it to be supposed that great exertions would be made—many difficulties encountered, to obtain it? But I need say no more on this part of the subject.

“The idea that an alteration took place at this time in the form of government originally established in the church of Christ, is altogether unsupported by any proof.

“It is proved to be unfounded by unnumbered considerations.”*

After hearing the bishop and the priest, let us hear also the Layman :

“Calvin found the whole Christian world in possession of the episcopal form of government. The most learned supporters of the opposite doctrine scruple not to admit that bishops existed, universally, in the church, as distinct from, and superior to, presbyters, within forty or fifty years after the last of the apostles. Such is the concession of Blondel, of Salmasius, of Bochartus, of Baxter, of Doddridge. Some of them, indeed, carry it up to a much earlier period; Salmasius going so far as to admit that episcopacy

* CYPRIAN, No. V. *Collec.* p. 144—147.

prevailed shortly after the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, and long before the death of St. John.

“It is surely incumbent on those who advocate a form of government admitted to be thus *new*, and thus opposed to the *early, universal, and uninterrupted* practice of the church, to give us the most convincing and unequivocal proof of the divinity of their system. More especially when it is recollected that they can produce no record of a change, but are obliged to *imagine* one, in opposition to the uniform testimony of the primitive fathers of the church. The age in which they suppose a change to have taken place was a learned age, abounding in authors of the first eminence. The most minute events are recorded, and yet not a word is said of the revolution which some men talk of, so fundamental in its nature, and so interesting in its consequences. The change, too, which they imagine, must have been both *instantaneous* and *universal*; and this at a time when there were no Christian princes to promote it; when no general council had met, or could meet, to establish it; and when the fury of persecution cut off all intercourse between distant churches, leaving their clergy, also, something else to attend to than projects of usurpation. Such are the strange and almost incredible absurdities into which men will run, rather than give up a system to which they have become wedded by education and by habit.*

The sum of the foregoing argument is this :

“Immediately after the death of the apostles, the *whole Christian world* was Episcopal, and remained so, without interruption or question, for fifteen hundred years,—that no cause short of apostolic institution can, with any show of reason, be assigned for such an effect,—that it is absurd to suppose a sudden, universal, and successful conspiracy to change the primitive order of the church,—and therefore that Episcopacy is, at least, of apostolic origin.”

* LAYMAN, No. VII. *Collec.* p. 99.

Contracted into a more regular form, the argument stands thus :

That order which the church universal possessed at the death of the apostles, or shortly after, is the order which they established and left.

But the order of the church universal at the death of the apostles, or shortly after, was Episcopal.

Therefore Episcopacy is the order established by the apostles.

This reasoning appears, at first sight, to be conclusive. It certainly ought to be so, considering the interests which depend upon it, and the triumph with which it is brought forward. Nevertheless, we more than suspect a fallacy in the reasoning itself, and an error in the assumption upon which it confessedly relies.

Supposing the fact to have been as our Episcopal friends say it was, viz. that the accounts of the state of the Christian church after the death of the apostles, represent her, without an exception, as under Episcopal organization, we should still impeach the conclusion that Episcopacy was established by the apostles. We acknowledge that, upon our principles, the phenomenon would be extraordinary, and the difficulty great; so great, that, did there exist no other records of the first constitution of the church than the testimony of the primitive fathers, and did this testimony declare her to have been Episcopal, as that term is now understood, there could be, in our apprehension, no dispute about the matter. Common sense would instruct us to decide according to the best evidence we could get: that evidence would be altogether in favour of the Episcopal claim, which, therefore, no man in his senses would think of disputing. We say, such would be the result *were the testimony of the fathers correctly stated by the hierarchy, and had we no other documents or records to*

consult. But we have other and better testimony than that of the fathers. We have the testimony of the apostles themselves; we have their own authentic records; we have the very instrument in which the ascended Head of the church has written her *whole charter* with the finger of his unerring Spirit: we have the New Testament. This charter we have examined. We have minutely discussed the parts upon which our opponents rely: we have compared them with other parts of the same instrument, and we have proved that Episcopacy is *not there*. Admitting, then, what however we do not admit, that the testimony of the fathers to Episcopacy is precise and full, it would be nothing to us. They must testify one of two things; either that the plan of the hierarchy is laid down in the New Testament, or simply that it existed in their days. The former would refer us to the written word, which we can understand as well as themselves, if not much better; so that we should not take their assertion for our interpretation. The latter could only furnish us with a subject worthy of investigation; but could not be a solid foundation for so splendid and ponderous a superstructure as the Episcopal hierarchy. Were the language of the New Testament ambiguous throughout; did it contain no internal principles of satisfactory exposition; were it, (which would render it a miraculous equivoque,)—were it *equally* adapted to an Episcopal or an anti-Episcopal order; in this event, too, the testimony of the fathers would turn the balance. But as neither its language nor its facts can be made, without negligence or violence, to accord with the institutions of the hierarchy, she is not at liberty to set off the testimony of the fathers against that of the scripture; and to *infer* that she is of apostolical extraction, merely because she was found in being after her pretended spiritual progenitors were dead. It never can be tolerated

as sound reasoning to determine the meaning of a law from certain observances which are to be tried by the law itself; and, by *inference from extraneous facts*, to establish as law a point which the law does not acknowledge. A question is at issue, whether Episcopacy is of apostolic authority or not. The law of God's house, penned by the apostles themselves, is produced; and the verdict, upon trial, is for the negative. The Episcopal counsel appeals to the fathers; they depose, he says, that Episcopacy was in actual existence throughout the Christian community a little while after the death of the apostles; and he insists that this fact shall regulate the construction of the Christian law.

“By no means,” replies the counsel on the other side. “We accuse Episcopacy of *corrupting* the Christian institutions; and her counsel pleads the *early existence* of her alleged crime as a proof of her having conformed to the will of the lawgiver; and that the fact of her having committed it from nearly the time of promulgating the law, is a demonstration that the law not only allows but enjoins the deed!!”

The United States are a republic, with a single executive periodically chosen. Suppose that three hundred years hence they should be under the reign of an hereditary monarch, and the question should then be started, whether this was the original order or not? Those who favour the negative go back to the written constitution, framed in 1787, and show that an hereditary monarchy was never contemplated in that instrument. Others contend that “the expressions of the constitution are indefinite; there are some things, indeed, which look a little republican-like, and might be accommodated to the infant state of the nation; but whoever shall consider the *purposes* of the order therein prescribed, and the nature of the *powers* therein granted will clearly perceive that

the one cannot be attained, nor the other exercised, but in an hereditary monarchy." Well, the constitution is produced; it is examined again and again; but no hereditary monarchy is recognized there; it breathes republicanism throughout: what, now, would be thought of a man who should gravely answer, "The concurrent testimony of all the historians of those times is, that at, or very shortly after, the death of the members of the convention of 1787, monarchy prevailed throughout the United States; and this is proof positive that it was established by the convention."

"Nay," would the first rejoin, "your facts are of no avail. The question is, not what prevailed *after* the constitution was adopted, but what is the constitution itself? There it is; let it argue its own cause."

"But," says the other, "how could so great a change, as that from a republic to a monarchy, happen in so short a time? and that without resistance, or, what is still more astonishing, without notice?"

"You may settle that," retorts the first, "at your leisure. That there has been a material change, I see as clearly as the light: *how* that change was effected is none of my concern. It is enough for me that the constitution, fairly interpreted, knows nothing of the existing monarchy."

Every child can perceive who would have the best of this argument; and it is just such an argument as we are managing with the Episcopalians. Granting them all they ask concerning the testimony of the fathers, their conclusion is "good for nothing," because it concludes, as we have abundantly shown, against the New Testament itself. It is vain to declaim upon the improbability and impossibility of so sudden and universal a transition from Presbytery to Episcopacy, as they maintain must have taken place upon our plan. The revolu-

tion would have been very extraordinary, we confess. But many very extraordinary things are very true. All that the hierarchy gains by the testimony of the fathers, even when we allow her to state it in her own way, is an extraordinary fact which she cannot explain for herself; and therefore insists that we shall explain it, or else bow the knee. We excuse ourselves. We are not compelled to the latter, and we are under no obligation to the former. The controversy must perpetually return to a simple issue, viz. Whether Episcopacy and the New Testament agree or not? We have proved, as we think, that they are irreconcilable. This is enough. Here is the New Testament on one side, and the hierarchy on the other. Conceding that she had very early possession of the church, what follows? Nothing but that the order of the church was very early corrupted! Whether we can or cannot trace the steps and fix the date of this corruption, does not alter the case. Corruption is corruption still. If we can tell nothing about the rise of the hierarchy, our ignorance does not destroy its contrariety to the scripture. If we could ascertain the very hour of its rise, the discovery would not increase that contrariety. Our ignorance and our knowledge on this subject leave the original question exactly where they found it. A thousand volumes may be written; and, after all, the final appeal must be "to the law and to the testimony."

It is clear, therefore, that should we even acquiesce in the account which our Episcopal brethren give of the primitive testimony, we are justified in denying their conclusion; seeing that all *inferences* against the decision of the New Testament itself are necessarily invalid and false, be the facts from which they are deduced ever so many, ever so strong, or ever so indisputable.

But although, in our own opinion, the ground on

which the prelatists have chosen to make their principal stand affords them so little advantage as not to repay the trouble of dislodging them, we shall, for the sake of their further satisfaction, proceed to do them this service also.

They have heaped assertion upon assertion, that the testimony of the primitive church is *universally* in their favour; so explicitly and decisively in their favour, that if Episcopacy had not been instituted by apostolic authority, the whole Christian church must *suddenly* have changed her government from one end of the world to the other, without any adequate cause, and without any opportunity of previous concert.*

When our opponents talk of the early and general prevalence of Episcopacy, they must mean Episcopacy *as embraced by themselves*, i. e. as *restricting the power of ordination and government to the superior order of clergy called bishops*; or else they are fighting for a shadow.

We deny their representation, and shall prove it to be false.†

* See the foregoing extracts.

† We cannot forbear remarking, by the way, a striking coincidence between the popish and the episcopal method of defence. When they begin to feel themselves pressed, they betake themselves to the Scriptures; but finding themselves hard pushed here, they retreat to the fathers. There is scarcely a peculiarity of popery for which some papal polemics do not pretend to have their sanction. Take a sample.

“They of your (the protestant) side, that have read the fathers of that unspotted church, can well testify (and if any deny it, it shall be presently shewn) that the doctors, pastors, and fathers of that church do allow of traditions; that they acknowledge the real presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; that they exhorted the people to confess their sins unto their ghostly fathers; that they affirmed that priests have power to forgive sins; that they taught that there is a purgatory; that prayer for the dead is both commendable and godly; that there is *Limbus Patrum*; and that our Saviour descended into

More than *fourteen hundred years ago*, the superiority of the prelates to presbyters was attacked, in the most direct and open manner, as having no authority from our Lord Jesus Christ. The banner of opposition was raised not by a mean and obscure declaimer, but by a most consummate theologian; by one who, in the judgment of Erasmus, was, without controversy, by far the most

hell, to deliver the ancient fathers of the Old Testament; because before his passion none ever entered into heaven; that prayer to saints and use of holy images was of great account amongst them; that man had free will, and that for his meritorious works he receiveth, through the assistance of God's grace, the bliss of everlasting happiness.

“Now would I fain know whether of both have the true religion, they that hold all these above-said points, with the primitive church, or they that do most vehemently contradict and gainsay them? they that do not disagree with that holy church in any point of religion, or they that agree with it but in very few, and disagree in almost all?”

“Will you say that these fathers maintained these opinions, contrary to the word of God? Why, you know that they were the pillars of Christianity, the champions of Christ, his church, and of the true Catholic religion, which they most learnedly defended against diverse heresies, and therefore spent all their time in a most serious study of the holy Scripture. Or will you say, that although they knew the scriptures to repugn, yet they brought in the aforesaid opinions by malice and corrupt intentions? Why, yourselves cannot deny, but that they lived most holy and virtuous lives, free from all malicious corrupting or perverting of God's holy word, and by their holy lives are now made worthy to reign with God in his glory; insomuch as their admirable learning may sufficiently cross out all suspicion of ignorant error, and their innocent sanctity freeth us from all mistrust of malicious corruption.”—*Challenge of a Jesuit to Bishop Usher.*

In the course of his full and elaborate answer to this challenge, Usher quotes Cardinal Bellarmine as one “who would face us down that *all the ancients, both Greek and Latin, from the very time of the apostles, did constantly teach that there was a purgatory.* Whereas,” replies Usher, “his own partners could tell him in his ear, that *in the ancient writers there is almost no mention of purgatory, especially in the Greek writers.*” *Usher's Answer, &c.* p. 170, 4to. 1625.

For “purgatory,” put “episcopacy,” and you will see pretty nearly how the account stands between eminent episcopalians themselves.

learned and most eloquent of all the Christians, and the prince of Christian divines,"* — by the illustrious Jerome.†

Thus he lays down both *doctrine* and *fact* relative to the government of the church, in his commentary on Titus i. 5.

That thou shouldest ordain presbyters in every city, as I had appointed thee. † “What sort of presbyters ought to be ordained, he shows afterwards: *If any be blameless, the husband of one wife, &c.*, and then adds, *for a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God, &c.* A *presbyter*, therefore, is the same as a *bishop*: and before there were, *by the instigation of the devil*, parties in religion, and it was said among different people,

* We quote the words of one who was assuredly no friend to our cause, vide Cave, *Hist. Litt. Script. Eccles.* p. 171. ed. 1720. fol.

† Prosper, who was nearly his contemporary, calls him *magister mundi*, that is, the teacher of the world. Ibid.

‡ “*Qui qualis presbyter debeat ordinari, in consequentibus disserens hoc ait: Si qui est sine crimine, unius uxoris vir,*” et cætera: postea intulit, ‘*Oportet. n. Episcopum sine crimine esse, tanquam Dei dispensatorem.*’ Idem est ergo Presbyter, qui et Episcopus, et antequam *diaboli instinctu*, studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis: ‘*Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ: communi Presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur.* Postquam vero unusquisque eos, quos baptizaverat, suos putabat esse, non Christi: *in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de Presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret*, et schismatum semina tollerentur. Putet aliquis non scripturarum, sed nostram, esse sententiam Episcopum et Presbyterum unum esse; et aliud ætatis, aliud esse nomen officii: relegat Apostoli ad Philippenses verba dicentis: Paulus et Timotheus servi Jesu Christi, omnibus sanctis in Christo Jesu, qui sunt Philippis, cum Episcopis et Diaconis, gratia vobis et pax, et reliqua. Philippi una est urbs Macedoniæ, et certe in una civitate plures ut nuncupantur, *Episcopi esse non poterant.* Sed quia *eisdem Episcopos illo tempore quos et Presbyteros* appellabant, propterea indifferentur de Episcopis quasi de Presbyteris est locutus. Adhuc hoc alicui videatur ambiguum, nisi altero testimonio comprobetur. In Actibus Aposto-

I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, the churches were governed by *the joint counsel of the presbyters*. But *afterwards*, when every one accounted those whom he baptized as belonging to himself and not to Christ, it was *decreed throughout the whole world* that one, chosen from among the presbyters, should be put over the rest, and that the whole care of the church should be committed to him, and the seeds of schisms taken away.

“Should any one think that this is my private opinion, and not the doctrine of the Scriptures, let him read the words of the apostle in his Epistle to the Philippians; ‘Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons,’ &c. Philippi is a *single city* of Macedonia; and certainly in one city there could not be *several bishops* as they are now styled; but as they at that time called the very same persons bishops whom they called presbyters, the apostle has spoken without distinction of bishops as presbyters.

“Should this matter yet appear doubtful to any one, unless it be proved by an additional testimony, it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when Paul had

lorum scriptum est, quod cum venisset Apostolus Miletum, miserit Ephesum, et vocaverit Presbyteros ecclesiæ ejusdem, quibus postea inter cætera sit locutus: *attendite vobis, et omni gregi in quo vos Spiritus sanctus posuit Episcopos, pascere ecclesiam Domini quam acquisivit per sanguinem suum*. Et hoc diligentius observate, quo modo *unius civitatis* Ephesi Presbyteros vocans, postea eosdem Episcopos dixerit.—Hæc propterea, ut ostenderemus *apud veteres* eosdem fuisse Presbyteros quos et Episcopos. *Paulatim* verò, ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad *unum* omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam.—Sicut ergo Presbyteri *sciunt se ex ecclesiæ consuetudine* ei, qui sibi propositus fuerit, esse subjectos, ita Episcopi noverint se *magis consuetudine quam dispositionis dominicæ veritate*, Presbyteris esse majores, HIERONYMI Com. in Tit. I. 1. Opp. Tom. VI. p. 168, ed. Victorii, Paris, 1623. fol.

come to Miletum, he sent to Ephesus, and called the presbyters of that church, and among other things said to them, 'Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock in which the Holy Spirit hath made you bishops.' Take particular notice, that calling the PRESBYTERS of the single city of Ephesus, he afterwards names the same persons BISHOPS." After further quotations from the Epistle to the Hebrews, and from Peter, he proceeds; "Our intention in these remarks is to show, that, among the ancients, *presbyters and bishops were THE VERY SAME*. But that by LITTLE AND LITTLE, that the plants of dissensions might be plucked up, the whole concern devolved upon an individual. As the presbyters, therefore, KNOW that they are subjected, BY THE CUSTOM OF THE CHURCH, to him who is set over them; so let the bishops know, that they are greater than presbyters MORE BY CUSTOM, than by ANY REAL APPOINTMENT OF CHRIST."

He pursues the same argument, with great point, in his famous Epistle to Evagrius, asserting and proving from the Scriptures, that in the beginning, and during the apostles' days, a bishop and a presbyter were the same thing. He then goes on; "As to the fact, that AFTERWARDS one was ELECTED to preside over the rest, this was done as a remedy against schism; lest every one, drawing his proselytes to himself, should rend the church of Christ. For even at Alexandria, from the evangelist Mark to the bishops Heraclas and Dionysius, the presbyters always chose one of their number, placed him in a superior station, and gave him the title of bishop; in the same manner as if an army should MAKE an emperor, or the deacons should choose from among themselves one whom they knew to be particularly active, and should call him ARCH-DEACON. For, excepting ordination, what is done by a bishop, which may not be done by a pres-

byter? Nor is it to be supposed that the church should be one thing at Rome, and another in all the world besides. Both France, and Britain, and Africa, and Persia, and the East, and India, and all the barbarous nations, worship one Christ, observe one rule of truth. If you demand authority, the globe is greater than a city. Wherever a bishop shall be found, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanis, he has the same pretensions, the same priesthood."*

Here is an account of the origin and progress of Episcopacy, by a father whom the Episcopalians themselves admit to have been the most able and learned man of his age; and how contradictory it is to their own account, the reader will be at no loss to perceive, when he shall have followed us through an analysis of its several parts.

1. JEROME expressly denies the superiority of bishops to presbyters, by *divine right*. To prove his assertion on this head, he goes directly to the Scriptures; and argues, as the advocates of parity do, from the interchangeable titles of Bishop and Presbyter, from the

* Quod autum postea *unus electus* est, qui cæteris præponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est: ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi Ecclesiam rumperet. Nam et Alexandriæ à Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam & Dionysium Episcopos, *presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant*: quomodo si exercitus imperatorem *fuciat*; aut diaconi *elegant de se*, quem industrium noverint, & *archidiaconum vocent*. Quid enim facit, *excepta ordinatione, Episcopos*, quod *presbyter non faciat*? Nec altera Romanæ urbis Ecclesia, altera totius orbis existimanda est. Et Galliæ, & Britanniæ, & Africa, & Persis, & Oriens, & India, & omnes barbaræ nationes unum Christum adorant, unam observant regulum veritatis. Si auctoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe. Ubicumque fuerit Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis; ejusdem meriti, ejusdem & sacerdotii *Hieron. Opp. Tom. II. p. 624.*

directions given to them without the least intimation of difference in their authority, and from the *powers* of presbyters, undisputed in his day. It is very true, that the reasoning from *names* is said, by those whom it troubles, to be "miserable sophistry," and "good for nothing." But as Jerome advances it with the utmost confidence, they might have forborne such a compliment to the "prince of divines" in the fourth century; especially as none of his contemporaries, so far as we recollect, ever attempted to answer it. It is a *little* strange that laymen, and clergymen, deacons, priests, and bishops, should *all* be silenced by a page of "miserable sophistry!"

2. JEROME states it, as a *historical fact*, that, in the original constitution of the church, before the devil had as much influence as he acquired afterwards, *the churches were governed by the joint counsels of the presbyters.*

3. JEROME states it as a *historical fact*, that this government of the churches *by presbyters alone* continued until, for the avoiding of scandalous quarrels and schisms, it was thought expedient to *alter* it. "*Afterwards,*" says he, "when every one accounted those whom he baptized as belonging to himself, and not to Christ, it was *decreed throughout the whole world* that one, chosen from among the presbyters, should be put over the rest, and that the whole care of the church should be committed to him."

4. JEROME states it as a *historical fact*, that this change in the government of the church, this creation of a superior order of ministers, took place not at once, but *by degrees*; "*paulatim,*" says he, "by little and little." The precise date on which this innovation upon primitive order *commenced*, he does not mention; but he says positively that it did not take place till the factious spirit of the Corinthians had spread itself in different countries to an alarming extent. "*In populis,*" is his expression. Assuredly this was not the work of a day.

It had not been accomplished when the apostolic epistles were written, because Jerome appeals to these for proof that the churches were then governed by the joint counsels of presbyters; and it is incredible that such ruinous dissensions, had they existed, should not have been noticed in letters to others beside the Corinthians. The disease, indeed, was of a nature to spread rapidly, but still it must have time to travel. With all the zeal of Satan himself, and of a parcel of wicked or foolish clergymen to help him, it could not march from people to people, and clime to clime, but in a course of years. If Episcopacy was the *apostolic* cure for schism, the contagion must have smitten the nations like a flash of lightning. This would have been quite as extraordinary as an instantaneous change of government; and would have afforded full as much scope for pretty declamation as the dream of such a change, which Cyprian and the Layman insist we *shall* dream, whether we will or not. No; the progress of the mischief was gradual, and so, according to Jerome, was the progress of the *remedy* which the wisdom of the times devised.* We agree

* Our opponents, who contend that nothing can be concluded from the promiscuous use of the scriptural titles of office, are yet compelled to acknowledge that *bishop* and *presbyter* were *afterwards* separated and restricted, the former to the superior, and the latter to the inferior order of ministers. We would ask them *when* and *why* this was done? If it was not necessary to distinguish these officers by specific titles in the apostles' day, what necessity was there for such a distinction afterwards? The church might have gone on as she began to this very hour; and what would have been the harm! Nay, there *was* a necessity for the distinction, and Jerome has blown the secret. When one of the presbyters was set over the heads of the others, there was a *new officer*, and he wanted a *name*. So they appropriated the term *bishop* to him, and thus avoided the *odium* of *inventing* a title unknown to the Scripture. The people, no doubt, were told that there was no material alteration in the scriptural order; and hearing nothing but a name to which they had always been accustomed, they were the less startled. The Trojan horse over again!

with them who think that the experiment introduced more evil than it banished.*

JEROME states as *historical facts*, that the elevation of one presbyter over the others, was a *human contrivance*;—was not *imposed* by authority, but *crept in by custom*;—and that the presbyters of his day *knew* this very well. *As, therefore, says he, the presbyters KNOW that they are subjected to their superior by CUSTOM; so let the bishops know that they are above the presbyters, rather by the CUSTOM OF THE CHURCH, than by the Lord's appointment.*

6. JEROME states it as a *historical fact*, that the first bishops were made by the *presbyters themselves*; and consequently they could neither have, nor communicate, any authority above that of presbyters. “*Afterwards,*” says he, “to prevent schism, one was *elected* to preside over the rest.” Elected and commissioned by whom? By the *presbyters*; for he immediately gives you a broad fact which it is impossible to explain away. “At Alex-

* One thing is obvious. Had there never been, in the persons of the prelates, a sort of spiritual *noblesse*, there never could have been in the person of the pope, a spiritual *monarch*. For the very same reason that a bishop was appointed to preserve unity among the presbyters, it was necessary, in process of time, to appoint an *archbishop* for preserving unity among the bishops; for we never yet heard, that increase of power makes its possessors less aspiring. In the same manner, a *patriarch* became necessary to keep their graces the archbishops in order: and, finally, our sovereign lord the pope to look after the patriarchs! The analogy is perfect; the reasoning one; and the progression regular. What a beautiful pile! How correct its proportions! how elegant its workmanship! how compact and firm its structure!—the Christian *people* at the bottom; rising above them, the *preaching deacons*; next in order, the *presbyters*; above them, the *bishops*; these support the *archbishops*, over whom tower the *patriarchs*; and one *universal bishop* terminates the whole. Thus this glorious Babylonish edifice, having for its base the Christian world, tapers off, by exquisite gradations, into “*his holiness*” at Rome.

andria," he tells you, "from the evangelist Mark to the bishops Heraclas and Dionysius," i. e. till about the middle of the third century, "the presbyters *always chose* one of their number, *placed him in a superior station*, and gave him the title of *bishop*."

We have not forgotten the gloss put upon this passage, by *Detector*, in the collection under review.

"The truth is," says he, that Jerome affords no authority for this assertion. In his Epistle to Evag. he says, 'Nam et Alexandria, a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum *nominabant*, quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat, aut diaconi eligant de se quem industrium noverint, et archidiaconum vocent.' 'At Alexandria, from Mark down to Heraclas and Dionysius the bishops, the presbyters, *always named* one, who being chosen from among themselves, they called their bishop, he being placed in a higher station, in the same manner as if an army should make their general,' &c. Does St. Jerome here declare, as the fictitious 'Clemens' asserts, that 'the presbyters *ordained* their bishop?' No; Jerome merely asserts, that the presbyters *named, chose* one to be their bishop. Does it hence follow, that they *gave him his commission*; that they *ordained* him? Does it *always* follow, that because an army choose their general, he does not receive his commission from the supreme authority of the state?"*

With all deference to this learned critic, we cannot help our opinion, that the appointment, or, if you please, ordination, of the first bishops by presbyters, not only *follows* from the words of Jerome, but is plainly *asserted* by them.

Dr. Hobart, overlooking the Roman idiom, has thrown into his *English*, an ambiguity which does not exist in the *Latin* of Jerome. According to the well-known

* *Detector*, No. I. Collec. p. 84.

genius of that language, especially in writers who condense their thoughts, a verb governing one or more participles, in the construction before us, expresses the same meaning, though with greater elegance, as would be expressed by verbs instead of participles.* It is very possible that the *Detector* might not use this construction; but then the *Detector* does not write Latin like old Jerome. We should display the sentence at length, converting the participles into verbs, were it not for fear of affronting a scholar who insists that he has "sufficient learning to defend the Episcopal church."†

"The truth is," that this "famous" testimony of Jerome, points out, in the process of bishop-making, but *one agency*, and that is the agency of *presbyters*. Dr. H. himself has unwittingly confirmed our interpretation in the very paragraph where he questions it. His words are these: Jerome merely asserts that the presbyters *named, chose* one to be their bishop." Not *merely* this; for the words which Dr. H. renders "being placed in a higher station," are under the very same connection and government with the words which he renders, "being chosen from among themselves;" and if, as he has admitted, the latter declare a bishop to have been *elected* by the presbyters, then, himself being judge, the former must declare him to have been *commissioned* by them. This is an awkward instance of *felo de se*; yet a proof, how properly the reverend critic has assumed the appel-

* Ex. gr. In Cæsar's description of the bridge which he constructed over the Rhine, the first sentence is exactly analogous to the sentence of Jerome: "Tigna bina sesquipedalia, paullum ab imo præacuta, dimensa ad altitudinem fluminis, intervallo pedum duorum inter se jungebat." *De Bello Gallico*. Lib. IV. c. 17. p. 187. ed. Oudenorpii. 4to. 1737.

† Hobart's *Apology*, p. 20.

lation of *Detector*; for he has completely *detected* himself, and no one else!

That we rightly construe Jerome's assertion, is clear, from the scope of his argument, and from his phraseology toward the close of the paragraph.

His position is, that a bishop and a presbyter were, at first, the same officer. And so notorious was the fact, that he appeals to the history of the church in Alexandria, as an instance which lasted a century and a half, that when bishops were made, they were made by presbyters. But had Dr. H.'s construction been right, had prelates alone ordained other prelates, the fact, instead of being *for* Jerome, would have been directly *against* him: and surely he was not so dull as to have overlooked this circumstance; although it seems to have escaped the notice of some of his sagacious commentators.

JEROME says, moreover, that presbyters originally became bishops, much in the same way as if an army should "MAKE an Emperor; or the deacons should elect one of themselves, and call him *Arch-deacon*."

The *Detector* has given the passage a *twist*, in the hope of *twisting* Jerome out, and *twisting* the hierarchy in. "Does it *always* follow," he demands, "that because an army choose their general, he does not receive his commission from the supreme authority of the state?" Certainly not: although he would have gratified some of his readers by producing examples of the armies of those ages choosing their general, and remitting him to a higher authority for his commission. But how came the *Detector* to alter Jerome's phrase from "*making*" to "*choosing*" a general? We always thought, that *making* and *commissioning* an officer, are the same thing. Further, how came the *Detector* to render Jerome's "*imperator*" by "*general*?" Almost all the world, (for

the Detector seems to be an exception,) knows that “*Imperator*,” in Jerome’s day, signified not “general,” but “*Emperor* ;” and was the highest official title of the Roman monarchs. It is further known, that the army had, on more occasions than one, *made* an emperor ; and that this was all the commission he had. “You inquire,” says Jerome, “how the bishops were at first appointed. Suppose the deacons should get together, and elect one of their number to preside over the rest, with the title of *Arch-deacon* ; or suppose the army should elevate a person whom they thought fit, to the Imperial throne ; just so, by their own authority and election, did the presbyters make the first bishops.”—And yet Dr. H. can find, in this very testimony, a salvo for *Episcopal* ordination.—His powers of *detection* are very uncommon ;

For optics sharp he needs, I ween,
Who sees what is not to be seen !

7. JEROME states it, as an *historical fact*, that even in his own day, that is, toward the end of the fourth century, there was no power, excepting ordination, exercised by a bishop, which might not be exercised by a presbyter. “What does a bishop,” he asks, “excepting ordination, which a presbyter *may not* do ?”

Two observations force themselves upon us.

1st. Jerome challenges the whole world to shew in what prerogative a presbyter was, at *that time*, inferior to a bishop, excepting the single power of ordination. A challenge which common sense would have repressed, had public opinion concerning the *rights* of presbyters allowed it to be successfully met.

2d. Although it appears from Jerome himself, that the prelates were not then in the habit of associating the presbyters with themselves in an equal right of *government*, yet, as he told the former, to their faces, that the

right was undeniable, and ought to be respected by them, it presents us with a strong fact in the *progress* of Episcopal domination. Here was a power in presbyters, which, though undisputed, lay, for the most part, dormant. The transition from disuse to denial, and from denial to extinction of powers which the possessors have not vigilance, integrity, or spirit to enforce, is natural, short, and rapid. According to Jerome's declaration, the hierarchy did not pretend to the exclusive right of government. Therefore, there was but *half* a hierarchy, according to the present system. That the bishops had, some time after, the powers of ordination and government both, is clear. How did they acquire the monopoly? By apostolic institution? No. Jerome refutes that opinion from the scriptures and history. By apostolical tradition? No. For in the latter part of the fourth century, their single prerogative over presbyters was the power of ordination. Government was at first exercised by the presbyters in common. When they had, by their own act, placed a superior over their own heads, they rewarded his distinction, his toils, and his perils, with a proportionate reverence; they grew slack about the maintenance of troublesome privilege; till at length, their courtesy, their indolence, their love of peace, or their hope of promotion, permitted their high and venerable trust to glide into the hands of their prelates. We have no doubt that the course of the *ordaining power* was similar, though swifter.

Nothing can be more pointless and pithless than the declamation of Cyprian, the Layman, and their bishop, on the *change* which took place in the original order of the church. They assume a *false fact*, to wit, that the change must have happened, if it happened at all, *instantaneously*; and then they expatiate, with great vehemence, on the *impossibility* of such an event. This

is mere noise. The change was *not* instantaneous, nor sudden. The testimony of Jerome, which declares that it was *gradual*, has sprung a mine under the very foundation of their edifice, and blown it into the air. Were we inclined to take up more of the reader's time on this topic, we might turn their own weapon, such as it is, against themselves. They do not pretend that archbishops, patriarchs, and primates, are of apostolical institution. They will not so insult the understanding and the senses of men, as to maintain that these officers have no more power than simple bishops. Where, then, were all the principles of adherence to apostolic order when these creatures of human policy made their entrance into the church? Among whom were the daring innovators to be found? Where was the learning of the age? Where its spirit of piety, and its zeal of martyrdom? Where were the Presbyters? Where the bishops? What! all, all turned traitors at *once*? All, all conspire to abridge their own rights, and submit their necks to new-made superiors? What! *none* to reclaim or remonstrate? Absurd! Incredible! Impossible! These questions, and a thousand like them, might be asked by an advocate for the divine right of *patriarchs*, with as much propriety and force as they are asked by advocates of the simpler Episcopacy. And so, by vociferating on *abstract principles*, the evidence of men's eyes and ears is to be overturned, and they are to believe that there are not now, and never have been, such things as archbishops, patriarchs, or primates in the Christianized world; seeing that by the *assumption* of the argument they have no divine original; and by its *terms* they could not have been introduced by mere human contrivance.

To return to Jerome. The prelatists being unable to evade his testimony concerning the change which was effected in the original order of the church, would per-

suade us that he means a change brought 'about by the *authority of the apostles themselves*.* But the subterfuge is unavailing. For,

(1.) It alleges a *conjectural tradition* against the authority of the *written scriptures*. For no trace of a change can be seen there.

(2.) It overthrows completely all the proof drawn for the hierarchy from the apostolic records. For if this change was introduced by the apostles *after* their canonical writings were closed, then it is vain to seek for it in those writings. The consequence is, that the hierarchists must either retreat from the New Testament, or abandon Jerome.

(3.) It makes the intelligent father a downright fool—to plead apostolic authority for the original equality of ministers; and in the same breath to produce that same authority for the inequality which he was resisting!

(4.) To crown the whole, it tells us that the apostles having fixed, under the influence of *divine inspiration*, an order for the church, found, upon a few years' trial, that it would *not do*, and were obliged to mend it; only they forgot to apprise the churches of the alteration; and so left the exploded order *in* the rule of faith, and the new order *out* of it, depositing the commission of the prelates with that kind foster-mother of the hierarchy, *tradition!*†

We may now remind our reader of the Layman's declaration, that we "*can produce NO record of a CHANGE; but are obliged to imagine one, in opposition to the UNIFORM testimony of the primitive fathers!*" And of the declaration of Cyprian, that we talk "*of a*

* HOBART'S *Apology*, p. 174, &c.

† If any of our readers wish to have a fuller view of the writings of the hierarchy on Jerome's spear, we advise him to read Dr. Hobart's *Apology*, p. 174—194.

change that must have taken place at an early period; but can produce NO PROOF on which to ground our bold assertions:" that we "*are countenanced by NONE OF THE RECORDS of these times that have been transmitted to us:*" that our opinion is "*mere conjecture, a creature of the imagination!!*" These gentlemen have, indeed, made their excuse; they have honestly told us, what their pages verify, that they are but "*striplings*" in literature. But that a prelate, from whom we have a right to look for digested knowledge and scrupulous accuracy, should deal out the same crude and unqualified language, excites both surprise and regret. He has been pleased to say, that our late brother, the Rev. Dr. Linn, in "*representing Jerome as favouring the Presbyterian scheme of church government,*" has "*pursued the usual mode of ARTFUL MISREPRESENTATION.*" With *whom the misrepresentation* lies, we leave to public opinion. But as we wish to give every one his due, we cannot charge the right reverend prelate with any *art*; nor withhold an advice, that when he is searching on this subject for a "*spark of modesty,*" he would direct his inquiries to a "*bosom*" to which he has much easier access, than to the bosom of any Presbyterian under heaven.

After this exhibition of Jerome's testimony, it would be superfluous to follow with particular answers all the petty exceptions which are founded upon vague allusions and incidental phrases. Jerome, like every other writer upon subjects which require a constant reference to surrounding habits, conforms his speech to his circumstances. He could not be for ever on his guard; and if he had been, no vigilance could have secured him from occasional expressions which might be interpreted as favourable to a system which he solemnly disapproved. This will sufficiently account for those disconnected sentences which the friends of the hierarchy have so eagerly seized

We could show, taking them one by one, that they fall very far short of the mark to which they are directed.* When we want to know a man's matured thoughts on a disputed point, we must go to those parts of his works where he has deliberately, and of set purpose, handled it. All his looser observations must be controlled by these. A contrary procedure inverts every law of criticism; and the inversion is not the more tolerable, or the less reprehensible, because advocates of the hierarchy have chosen to adopt it. But if Jerome's testimony is to be slighted because he was fervid, impetuous, and unceremonious, we much fear that some of the most important facts in ecclesiastical and civil history must be branded as apocryphal. We are very sure that none of Dr. H.'s friends could ask the credence of the world to a single

* The quotation which stands most in the way of our argument, and of Jerome's testimony, is from his "Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers;" where, says Dr. Hobart, "he *records*, as a *matter of fact*, 'James, immediately after our Lord's ascension, having been *ordained bishop of Jerusalem*, undertook the charge of the church at Jerusalem. Timothy was *ordained bishop of the Ephesians* by Paul, Titus of *Crete*. Polycarp was by John *ordained bishop of Smyrna*.' Here, then," the reader perceives the triumph, "here, then, we have *bishops* ordained in the churches by the apostles themselves." Hobart's *Apology*, p. 195.

There is a small circumstance rather unfavourable to this voucher; it is not Jerome's. Of that part which relates to Timothy and Titus, this is expressly asserted by the episcopal historian, Cave, and by Jerome's popish editor. Vide Cave, *Script. Eccles. Hist. Litt.* p. 172, ed. Colon. 1720. Hieron. *Opp. T. I.* p. 265, 268, ed. *Victorii*. The articles James and Polycarp are so precisely in the same style with the others, and so diametrically repugnant to Jerome's own doctrine, that if by "*bishop*" is meant such a bishop as was known in his day, it is inconceivable they should have proceeded from his pen. That they are interpolations, or have been interpolated, we think there is internal evidence. At least, when several articles of the same catalogue, tending to the *same point*, and written in the *same strain*, are confessedly spurious, it is hardly safe to rely upon the remainder as authentic testimony.

assertion in his Apology. And if similar productions were the fashion of the day, we have no reason to wonder at indignant feeling and vehement language in men of a less fiery spirit than father Jerome.

The advocates of Episcopacy assert that the whole current of fact and of opinion for *fifteen hundred years* after Christ is in their favour; that we "can produce *no* record of a *change*" in the government of the church, "but are obliged to *imagine* one in opposition to the *uniform* testimony of the primitive fathers."

We have met them on this ground; and have "produced" the "testimony" of one of the "primitive fathers," directly against the divine original of the hierarchy. This was Jerome, the most learned, able, and distinguished of them all. He tells us, in so many words, not only that the Episcopal pre-eminence is without divine authority; but that this was a fact which could not, with any show of reason, be disputed, as being a fact well ascertained and understood. "The Presbyters," says he, "*know* that they are subjected *by the custom of the church* to him who is set over them."*

To elude the force of Jerome's deposition, it is alleged, among other things, that his opinion is of no weight unsupported by facts; and that his testimony in the fourth century concerning facts in the first and second centuries, that is, two or three hundred years before he was born, is no better than an opinion; and so he is excluded from the number of competent witnesses.

By this rule, some other witnesses who have been summoned by our Episcopal brethren, must be cast without a hearing. Eusebius, Chrysostom, Augustin,

* CYPRIAN, No. VII. Essays, p. 167. HOBART's Apology, p. 171—178.

Theodoret, Epiphanius, must all be silenced. It is even hard to see how a single man could be left, in the whole catalogue of the fathers, as competent to certify any fact of which he was not an eye-witness. To say that they derived their information of times past from credible tradition or authentic records, is indeed to overrule the principle of the objection. But when this door is opened to admit the others, you cannot prevent Jerome from walking in. We will allow that Eusebius had access to "all the necessary records of the churches." But had Jerome no records to consult? Was "the most learned of all the Christians," as Erasmus calls him, with Cave's approbation, in the habit of asserting historical facts without proof? If he was, let our opponents show it. If he was not, as his high reputation for learning is a pledge, then his testimony is to be viewed as a summary of inductive evidence reaching back to the days of the apostles. In his estimation, the facts of the original parity of ministers, and of the subsequent elevation of prelates by the *custom of the church*, were so undeniable, that he did not think it worth his while to name a document. The conduct of this great man was different from that of some very confident writers whom we could mention. He sifted his authorities, and then brought forward his facts without any specific reference, instead of making stiff assertions upon the credit of authors whom he never read nor even consulted.

Jerome, we contend, is not only as good a witness in the case before us, as Eusebius or any other father, but that he is a far better and more unexceptionable witness than either that renowned historian, or any other prelate or friend of prelates. Whatever Eusebius, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Theodoret, &c. testify in *favour* of Episcopacy, must be received with this very important qualification, that they were *themselves bishops*, and were

testifying in favour of their *own* titles, emolument, grandeur, and power. They had a very deep interest at stake. An interest sufficient, if not to shake their credibility on this point, yet greatly to reduce its value. On the contrary, Jerome had nothing to gain, but much to lose. He put his interest and his peace in jeopardy. He had to encounter the hostility of the Episcopal order, and of all who aspired to its honours. He had to resist the growing encroachments of corruption, and that under the formidable protection of a civil establishment. He had, therefore, every possible inducement to be *sure of his facts* before he attacked a set of dignitaries who were not, in his age, the most forbearing of mankind.* The conclusion is, that Jerome, as we said, is a more unexceptionable witness than any prelate. To illustrate—let us suppose a tribunal erected in England to try this question, *Is Episcopacy of divine institution?* that no witnesses can be procured but such as were brought up in the church itself; and that the judges were obliged to depend upon their report of facts. The bishop of Durham is sworn, and deposes that he has examined the records of the church, and finds her to have been Episcopal from the beginning. A Presbyter of the same church, of equal talent, learning, and application, is sworn, and deposes that he too has examined the records, and finds that, at the beginning, these Christian ministers were of equal rank; but that by degrees inequality crept in; and that the bishops have no pre-eminence but what the custom of the church has given them. In general character, for integrity, the witnesses are equal. They flatly contradict each other. Who, now, is the most credible witness? The Presbyter runs the hazard of almost every thing in life by *his* testimony. The testimony of my lord of Durham goes to protect his own

* Mosheim, Vol. I. p. 356.

dignity in the church, his seat in the house of peers, and a revenue of £20,000 sterling per annum. A child can decide who is most worthy of credit. Nearly such is the difference between the witnesses for Episcopacy, and Jerome, the witness for Presbytery.

But we waive our advantage. We shall lay no stress upon Jerome's *opinion*. We shall cut off from his deposition every thing but what came within his personal observation. "The presbyters," says he, "*know* that they are subject to their bishop, by the custom of the church." His testimony embraces a fact in existence and obvious at the time of deposition; viz. the knowledge which the presbyters of *his day* had of their being subject to their bishops, solely by the custom of the church, and not by Christ's appointment. This assertion is correct, or it is not. If it is not, then Jerome appealed to all the world for the truth of what he knew, and every body else knew, was an absurd lie. No brass on the face of impudence, inferior to that of the Duc de Cadore, is brazen enough for this. On the other hand, if the assertion be correct, how is this knowledge "of the presbyters" to be explained? Where did they get it? From one of two sources. Either there must have been such a previous discussion of the subject, as ended in establishing a general conviction in the minds of the Christian clergy, that prelacy is a human invention; or, which is more probable, the remnants and the recollection of the primitive order still subsisted in considerable vigour, notwithstanding the rapid growth of the hierarchy since the accession of Constantine.

It is inconceivable how Jerome should tell the bishops to their faces, that Christ never gave them any superiority over the presbyters; that custom was their only title; and that the presbyters were perfectly aware of this; unless he was supported by facts which they were unable

to contradict. Their silence under his challenges, is more than a presumption that they found it wise to let him alone. It amounts to little short of absolute proof, that there was yet such a mass of information concerning their rise, and so much of unsubdued spirit in the church, as rendered it dangerous to commit their claim to the issue of free inquiry. Jerome, with the register of antiquity in his hand, and the train of presbyters at his back, was too potent an adversary. They could have crushed the man; but they trembled at the truth; and so they sat quietly down, leaving to time and habit, the confirmation of an authority which they did not, as yet, venture to derive from the word of God.

In the next age, when Jerome was dead, the presbyters cowed, and the usurpation of prelates further removed from the reach of a reforming hand; Epiphanius did, it is true, bluster at no ordinary rate against the "heretic" Aetius; for what reason we shall shortly see. But it is very remarkable, that in the fourth century, when the pretensions of the prelates were pretty openly canvassed, they spoke with great caution, and with manifest reluctance, on those parts of Scripture which touch the point of parity. Let any one, for example, look at the commentaries of Chrysostom on the epistles to Timothy and Titus. Copious and fluent on other passages, he is most concise and embarrassed on those which relate to ministerial rank. Something he was obliged to say: but the plain words of the apostle exhibit a picture so unlike the hierarchy, that the eloquent patriarch, under the semblance of interpretation, throws in a word or two to blind the eyes of his readers, and shuffles off to something else; but never so much as attempts to argue the *merits* of the question upon scriptural ground. This is the reverse of Jerome's practice

in his exposition. At this early day we find the advocate for parity boldly appealing to Scripture; examining, comparing, and reasoning upon its decisions; and the prelatical expounder skipping away from it with all possible haste and dexterity. We leave the reader to draw his own inference.

The sentiment that prelates are superior to presbyters, not by any divine appointment, but merely by the prevalence of custom, extended, among the Latins of the fourth century, much further than father Jerome. He himself tells us, that the presbyters of his day not only *thought* so, but *knew* so; and, assuming this as an incontrovertible fact, he grounds upon it an admonition to the bishops to recollect their origin: "Let them know," says he, "that they are above the presbyters more by the custom of the church, than by any institution of Christ." Considering him as an honest witness, which is all we ask, and our Episcopal friends will not deny it, he asserts, without qualification, that the presbyters, i. e. the *mass of Christian clergy*, in his time, were convinced, upon satisfactory proof, that the authority exercised over them by the prelates, limited, as it *then* was, and nothing like what they *now* claim, had no warrant whatever, either in the word of God, or even in apostolical tradition! We repeat it; the great body of the Christian clergy, according to Jerome, were aware of this!! Here, since they call for *facts*, here is a fact more ponderous than all the facts of Episcopacy put together; a fact which there is no frittering away, not even by the force of that vigorous criticism which inverts persons and tenses; transmutes Hebrew verbs into others with which they have no affinity; and changes the very letters of the Hebrew alphabet; so that a י (*zain*,) is charmed into a נ (*nun*,) and, by this happy metamor-

phosis, the throat of an ill-conditioned argument escapes from suffocation !*

The testimony of Jerome is corroborated by a contemporary writer of high renown, an unexceptionable witness in this case, as being himself a prelate ; we mean Augustin, the celebrated bishop of Hippo. In a letter to Jerome, he has these remarkable words :—

“ Although, according to the names of honour ‘ which the *usage of the Church has now acquired*, the office of a bishop is greater than that of a presbyter, yet in many things Augustin is inferior to Jerome.’† The sense of this acknowledgment is thus given by a distinguished prelate of the Church of England, as quoted by Ayton :—“ The office of a bishop is above the office of a priest, not by the authority of the Scripture, but after the names of honour, which, through the custom of the church, have now obtained.”‡

The concession is so clear and ample, that Cardinal Bellarmine, with all his ingenuity, which was not a little, had no other evasion, than to pretend that these words *are not opposed to the ancient time of the church ; but to the time before the Christian church ; so that the sense is, before the times of the Christian church these names, bishop and presbyter, were not titles of honour, but of office and age ; but now they are names of honour and dignity.*§

Quibbles were scarce when a distressed cardinal could muster up nothing more plausible. As if names of

* *Churchman's Magazine* for May and June, 1810, on Exod. xxxiii. 19. p. 178.

† *Quamquam secundum honorum vocabula quæ jam Ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyterio major sit; tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hiernoymo minor est. Ep. 19, ed. Hieron.*

‡ Jewel. *Defence of his Apology*, p. 122, 123.

§ *Jameson's Nazianzeni querela*, p. 177, 178.

office were not names of *dignity*! As if Augustin, in the very act of paying a tribute of profound respect to Jerome, should think of giving him a bit of grammar lesson about the words “bishop” and “presbyter!” Verily, the Jesuit was in sore affliction; and had he uttered all his soul, would have exclaimed, like a certain *Arminian* preacher, when hard pressed by scriptural reasoning — “O argument, argument! The Lord rebuke thee, argument!”

Not much happier than the cardinal, nor much less anxious for such a rebuke to argument than the *Arminian* preacher, will be those critics who shall maintain that Augustin’s words regard only the *names* of office, without any opinion on the powers or rank of the offices themselves.

1. Such a construction makes the bishop assert a direct falsehood: the *terms* were in use from the beginning of the Christian church; and, therefore, could not have been introduced by her customs.

2. If, by saying that he was superior to Jerome, “according to the names of honour which the church had obtained by usage,” Augustin meant that he enjoyed only a *titular* pre-eminence over that presbyter, he either insulted Jerome by flouting at him with a lie in the shape of a compliment, or else the prelates in his day had only a *nominal*, and not a real, power over the presbyters. The second is contrary to fact; and the first is too absurd for even a troubled cardinal.

If, on the other hand, it be alleged that Augustin, in flattery to Jerome, seemed to claim only a *titular* precedence, while he was conscious, at the same time, of enjoying an essential superiority, and that by divine right—the disputant will turn himself out of the frying pan into the fire; for he exhibits the venerable father as acting the knave for the pleasure of proving himself to be

a fool. So paltry a trick was not calculated to blow dust into the eyes of Jerome. The distinction might appear ingenious to some modern champions of the hierarchy, as it is much in their manner; but could never degrade the pen of the bishop of Hippò. He is contrasting his *official* superiority over Jerome, with Jerome's *personal* superiority over himself. The former is the superiority of a bishop over a presbyter, which, he says, has grown out of the custom of the church. The compliment to Jerome consists in this—that while the office which sets him above Jerome was the fruit, not of his own deserts, but of the church's custom, those things which gave Jerome *his* superiority, were personal merits. The compliment is as fine, and its form as delicate, as the spirit which dictated it is magnanimous.

But our concern is with the *fact* which it discloses. Turn Augustin's words into a syllogism, and it will stand thus :

Augustin is greater than Jerome, according to the honours which have been created by the custom of the church.

But Augustin is greater than Jerome, as a bishop is greater than a presbyter.

Therefore, a bishop is greater than a presbyter by the custom of the church.

Here, now, is Augustin himself, a bishop of no common character, disclaiming, unequivocally, the institution of Episcopacy by divine right: for he refers the distinction between bishop and presbyter not only to a merely human original, but to an original the least imperative; to one which, however potent it becomes in the lapse of time, is at first too humble to arrogate authority, too feeble to excite alarm, and too noiseless almost to attract notice. He calls it the creature of *custom*. What shall we say to this testimony of Augustin? He was under

no necessity of revealing his private opinion. He had no temptation to sap the foundation of his own edifice; to diminish the dignity of his own order. All his interests and his prejudices lay in the opposite direction. Yet he speaks of Episcopacy as the child of custom, in the most frank and unreserved manner; without an apology, without a qualification, without a caution. He does this in a letter to Jerome, the very man to whom, upon *modern* Episcopal principles, he should not, would not, and could not have done it—the very man who had openly, and boldly, and repeatedly attacked the whole hierarchy; whose sentiments, reasonings, and proofs were no secret to others, and could be none to him—the very man, whose profound research, whose vigorous talent, and whose imposing name, rendered him the most formidable adversary of the prelature, and threatened to sway more decisively the public opinion, than a thousand inferior writers—the very man, therefore, whom it became his duty to resist. Yet to this man does Augustin, the bishop, write a letter in which he assigns to Episcopacy the very same origin which Jerome himself had ascribed to it—*human custom!*

Was Augustin ignorant? Was he treacherous? Was he cowardly? Was he mad? To write in this manner to Jerome! and to write it with as much composure, and *sang froid*, as he would have alluded to any the most notorious fact in existence! No. He was not ignorant, nor treacherous, nor cowardly, nor mad. But he spoke in the honesty of his heart, what he knew to be true; and what no well-advised man would think of denying. Such a concession, from such a personage, at such a time, under such circumstances, is conclusive. It shows, that in his day, the bishops of the Latin church did not dream of asserting their superiority to presbyters by divine right. They had it from the custom of the church,

and so long as that custom was undisturbed, it was enough for them. Among the Greeks, the blundering, and hair-brained Epiphanius set up the claim of a *jus divinum*; but his contemporaries were discreet enough to let him fight so foolish a battle single-handed.

To Jerome and Augustin we may add Pelagius, once their intimate friend, and afterwards, on account of his heresy, their sworn enemy. "He restricts all church officers to *priest* and *deacon* :* and asserts, that *priests*, without discrimination or restriction, are the *successors of the apostles*,"† He has more to the same purpose; reasoning, as Jerome reasoned, from the scriptures; and coming, as did Sedulius, Primasius, and others, to the same result; viz. the identity of bishop and presbyter.‡

Let not the *heresy* of Pelagius be objected to us. Our Arminians will not surely cast opprobrium upon the name of this, their ancient sire. For our parts, we, with Augustin, hold him in detestation, as an enemy of the grace of God. But his heresy does not vitiate his testimony in the present case. Fiercely as he was attacked by Jerome and Augustin, his opinions on the subject of prelacy made no article of accusation against him as a heretic. Could it have been done with any show of reason, we may be certain it would not have been spared. But the silence of his prelatical antagonists, on that head, is a proof both of the justness of our foregoing comments on Augustin's letter, and also of the general fact, that the bishops were conscious of their inability to meet the question of their order upon the ground of divine right.

There are two considerations which clothe our argument with additional force.

* In Rom. xii.

† In 1 Cor. i.

‡ Not having access to these writers, we quote from *Jameson's Nazianzen*, p. 176, 177.

The *first* is, that all *able* heretics, as Pelagius confessedly was, in their assault upon the church of God, direct their batteries against those points in which they deem her to be the least defensible. Rightly judging, that it is good policy to make a breach, no matter where. Only unsettle the popular mind as to any one object which it has been accustomed to venerate, and the perversion of it, with regard to many others, is much facilitated. If, in this policy, *Pelagius* and his coadjutors attacked the authority of the bishops, they seized upon the defenceless spot; and the bishops were beaten without a struggle. It is easy to perceive what an immense advantage was gained by the heretics in their grand conflict, when their opponents were put fairly in the wrong on an incidental point, but a point which, in itself, touched the very nerves of the public passions.

The *second* consideration is, that persons of such different conditions, and such hostile feelings, could never have united in a common opinion upon a deeply interesting topic, had not the facts upon which their union rested been perfectly indisputable.

Here is a presbyter and prelate: the monk of Palestine, and the African bishop; orthodoxy and heresy; Augustin and Pelagius; all combining in one and the same declaration—that Episcopacy has no better original than the *custom of the church!* Nothing but truth—acknowledged truth—truth which it was vain to doubt, could have brought these jarring materials into such a harmony; these discordant spirits into such a concurrence.—Stronger evidence it is hardly possible to obtain: and it would be the very pertness of incredulity to demand. Yet there are writers who do not blush to look us in the face, and assert that the testimony of the primitive fathers is *universally* in favour of Epis-

copy, as having been established by Christ and his apostles!!*

Does the sun shine? Is the grass green? Are stones hard? Another shove, and we shall be in Dean Berkeley's ideal world!—If every thing sober and solid is to be thus outfaced, there is nothing for it, but to abandon fact and demonstration as chimeras, and to take up what was once the ditty of a fool, but is now the best philosophy,

Παντα κινει, και παντα ΓΕΛΩΣ, και παντα το ΜΗΔΕΝ.

* Essays, p. 135.

APPENDIX.

IT is hoped that the following Extracts from learned authors of different communions, will be acceptable to the reader, as they supply additional arguments and illustrations, connected with the various questions involved in this controversy.

I. THE PREVIOUS QUESTION, CAN THERE BE SUCCESSORS TO THE APOSTLES?

Dr. George Campbell, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, has thus stated the *temporary* nature of the apostolic office.

“The apostles may be considered in a twofold view, either in their general character, as the first pastors of the church, and teachers of the Christian faith, or in what is implied in their special character, of apostles of Jesus Christ. In the first general view, they are, doubtless, the predecessors of all those who, to the end of the world, shall preach the same gospel, and administer the same sacraments, by whatever name we distinguish them,—bishops, priests, or deacons, overseers, elders, or ministers. But the question still recurs, Whether, agreeably to the primitive institution, their successors, in respect of the more common character of teachers and directors of the churches, should be divided into three orders, or only into two? To presume, without evidence, that the first, and not the second, was the fact, is merely what logicians call a *petitio principii*, taking that for granted, which is the very point in

debate. But if it be alleged, that not in the general character of teachers, but in their special function as apostles, the bishops are their proper successors, the presbyters and deacons being only the successors of those who were, in the beginning, ordained by the apostles, this point will require a separate discussion. And for this purpose, your attention is entreated to the following remarks.

“First, the indispensable requisites in an apostle sufficiently demonstrate, that the office could be but temporary. It was necessary that he should be one who had seen Jesus Christ in the flesh, after his resurrection. Accordingly, they were all specially destined to serve as eye-witnesses to the world of this great event, the hinge on which the truth of Christianity depended. The character of apostle is briefly described by Peter, who was himself the first of the apostolical college, as one ordained to be a witness of Christ’s resurrection, Acts i. 22; a circumstance of which he often makes mention in his speeches both to the rulers and to the people. See Acts ii. 32; iii. 15; v. 32; x. 41; xiii. 31. And if so, the office, from its nature and design, could not have an existence after the extinction of that generation.

“Secondly, the apostles were distinguished by prerogatives which did not descend to any after them. Of this kind was, first, their receiving their mission immediately from the Lord Jesus Christ, not mediately through any human ordination or appointment; of this kind also was, secondly, the power of conferring, by imposition of hands, the miraculous gifts of the Spirit on whomsoever they would; and, thirdly, the knowledge they had, by inspiration, of the whole doctrine of Christ. It was for this reason they were commanded to wait the fulfilment of the promise, which their Master had given them, that they should be baptized with the Holy Ghost. What pains does not Paul take to show, that the above-mentioned marks of an apostle belonged to him as well as to any of them? That he had seen Christ after his resurrection, and was consequently qualified, as an eye-witness, to attest that memorable event, he observes, 1 Cor. ix. 1; xv. 8, that his commission came directly from Jesus Christ and God the

Father, without the intervention of any human creature, he acquaints us, Gal. i. 1; ii. 6. To his conferring miraculous powers as the signs of an apostle, he alludes, 2 Cor. xii. 12; and that he received the knowledge of the gospel not from any other apostle, but by immediate inspiration, Gal. i. 11, &c.

“Thirdly, their mission was of quite a different kind from that of any ordinary pastor. It was to propagate the gospel throughout the world, both among Jews and Pagans, and not to take the charge of a particular flock. The terms of their commission are, ‘Go, and teach all nations.’ Again; ‘Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.’ No doubt they may be styled bishops or overseers, but in a sense very different from that in which it is applied to the inspector over the inhabitants of a particular district. They were universal bishops; the whole church, or rather, the whole earth was their charge, and they were all colleagues one of another. Or to give the same sentiment, in the words of Chrysostom, *Εισιν ὑπο θεου χειροτονηθεντες αποστολοι αρχοντες, εκ εθνη και πολεις διαφορας λαμβανοντες, αλλα παντες κοινη την οικουμενην εμπιστευθεντες.* ‘The apostles were constituted of God, rulers, not each over a separate nation or city, but all were entrusted with the world in common.’ If so, to have limited themselves to any thing less, would have been disobedience to the express command they had received from their Master,—to go into all nations, and to preach the gospel to every creature. If, in the latter part of the lives of any of them, they were, through age and infirmities, confined to one place, that place would naturally fall under the immediate inspection of such. And this, if even so much as this, is all that has given rise to the tradition, (for there is nothing like historical evidence in the case) that any of them were bishops or pastors of particular churches. Nay, in some instances, it is plain, that the tradition has originated from this single circumstance, that the first pastors, in such a church, were appointed by such an apostle. Hence it has arisen, that the bishops of different churches have claimed (and, probably, with equal truth) to be the successors of the same apostle.

“ Fourthly, and lastly, as a full proof that the matter was thus universally understood, both in their own age, and in the times immediately succeeding, no one, on the death of an apostle, was ever substituted in his room ; and when that original sacred college was extinct, the title became extinct with it. The election of Matthias by the apostles, in the room of Judas, is no exception, as it was previous to their entering on their charge. They knew it was their Master’s intention, that twelve missionaries, from among those who had attended his ministry on earth, should be employed as ocular witnesses to attest his resurrection, on which the divinity of his religion depended. The words of Peter, on this occasion, are an ample confirmation of all that has been said, both in regard to the end of the office, and the qualifications requisite in the person who fills it, at the same time that they afford a demonstration of the absurdity, as well as arrogance, of modern pretenders. ‘ Wherefore of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection.’ But afterwards, when the apostle James, the brother of John, was put to death by Herod, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, we find no mention made of a successor. Nor did the subsequent admission of Paul and Barnabas to the apostleship, form any exception from what has been advanced ; for they came not as successors to any one, but were specially called by the Holy Spirit as apostles, particularly to the Gentiles ; and in them also were found the qualifications requisite for the testimony which, as apostles, they were to give.”*

The arguments of this presbyterian clergyman are supported by the opinions of an eminent divine of the church of England, Dr. Isaac Barrow, who, in his learned *Treatise of the Pope’s Supremacy*, thus expresses himself on the same question :—

* Campbell’s Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. lect. 5. p. 142—148.

“The apostolical office, as such, was personal and temporary; and therefore, according to its nature and design, not successive or communicable to others in perpetual descent from them.

“It was, as such, in all respects extraordinary, conferred in a special manner, designed for special purposes, discharged by special aids, endowed with special privileges, as was needful for the propagation of Christianity and founding of churches.

“To that office, it was requisite that the person should have an immediate designation and commission from God; such as St. Paul so often doth insist upon for asserting his title to the office—‘Paul an apostle, not from men, or by man:’* ‘Not by men,’ saith St. Chrysostom, ‘this is the property of the apostles.’

“It was requisite that an apostle should be able to attest concerning our Lord’s resurrection or ascension, either immediately, as the twelve, or by evident consequence, as St. Paul. Thus St. Peter implied, at the choice of Matthias, ‘Wherefore of those men which have companied with us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of the resurrection:’ and, ‘Am I not,’ saith St. Paul, ‘an apostle, have I not seen the Lord?’ According to that of Ananias, ‘The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that just one, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth; for thou shalt bear witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard.’†

“It was needful also that an apostle should be endowed with miraculous gifts and graces, enabling him both to assure his authority, and to execute his office; wherefore St. Paul calleth these, ‘the marks of an apostle,’ the which ‘were wrought by him among the Corinthians in all patience (or persevering) in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds.’‡

“It was also, in Chrysostom’s opinion, proper to an apostle, that he should be able, according to his discretion, in a certain and conspicuous manner to impart spiritual

* Gal. i. 1.

† Acts i. 21. 1 Cor. ix. 1. xv. 8. Acts xxii. 14.

‡ 2 Cor. xii. 12. Rom. xv. 18.

gifts; as St. Peter and St. John did at Samaria; which to do, according to that father, was ‘the peculiar gift and privilege of the apostles.’

“It was also a privilege of an apostle, by virtue of his commission from Christ, to instruct all nations in the doctrine and law of Christ; he had right and warrant to exercise his function everywhere, ‘His charge was universal and indefinite—the whole world was his province;’ he was not affixed to any one place, nor could be excluded from any; he was, as St. Cyril calleth him, ‘an ecumenical judge, and an instructor of all the subcelestial world.’

“Apostles also did govern in an absolute manner, according to discretion, as being guided by infallible assistance, to the which they might upon occasion appeal, and affirm, ‘It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us.’* Whence their writings have passed for inspired, and therefore canonical, or certain rules of faith and practice.

“It did belong to them to found churches, to constitute pastors, to settle orders, to correct offences, to perform all such acts of sovereign, spiritual power, in virtue of the same Divine assistance, ‘according to the authority which the Lord had given them for edification, as we see practised by St. Paul.’

“In fine, the apostleship was, as St. Chrysostom telleth us, ‘a business fraught with ten thousand good things, both greater than all privileges of grace, and comprehensive of them.’

“Now such an office, consisting of so many extraordinary privileges and miraculous powers, which were requisite for the foundation of the church, and the diffusion of Christianity, against the manifold difficulties and disadvantages which it then needs must encounter, was not designed to continue by derivation; for it containeth in it divers things, which apparently were not communicated, and which no man without gross imposture and hypocrisy could challenge to himself.

“Neither did the apostles pretend to communicate it; they did indeed appoint standing pastors and teachers in

* Acts xv. 28.

each church; they did assume fellow-labourers and assistants in the work of preaching and governance, but they did not constitute apostles equal to themselves in authority, privileges, or gifts. 'For who knoweth not,' saith St. Austin, 'that principate of apostleship to be preferred before any episcopacy?*' 'And the bishops,' saith Bellarmine, 'have no part of the true apostolical authority.'†

Dr. Barrow's Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy, &c. SUPP. II.

II. DR. HENDERSON ON THE IDENTITY OF THE TERMS PRESBYTER (πρεσβυτερος) AND BISHOP (επισκοπος.)

I am happy to present the reader with the opinion of my learned friend Dr. Henderson, theological tutor of Highbury College, on this question:—

"It is a point on which our ablest commentators and ecclesiastical historians are agreed, that, in the apostolic age, and in conformity with apostolic institutions, there existed only two ordinary public offices in the Christian church—the pastoral and the diaconal: by *pastoral*, meaning that which is confined, in the discharge of its didactic and ruling functions, to a single congregation; and by *diaconal*, that which embraces the temporal or pecuniary concerns of such a community. To those who are accustomed to read or hear the high-sounding pretensions which are advanced to the apostolicity of Episcopacy, the assertion I have just made may appear rash and unfounded. But I speak advisedly. And even those commentators and critics whose judgment has been most warped by prejudice, and who have been most zealous in their attempts to support and defend systems that have no foundation in the word of God, are forced, in one part or another of their writings, to admit the fact, that originally there was no difference between a

* Quis nescit illum apostolatus principatum cuilibet Episcopatu præferendum? Aug. de Bapt. c. Don. ii. 1. Episcopi nullam habent partem vera apostolicæ Auctoritatis.

† The apostles themselves do make the apostulate a distinct office from pastors and teachers, which are the standing officers of the church. Eph. iv. 11. 1 Cor. xii. 18.

bishop and a presbyter. And, indeed, the thing lies obviously on the very face of the apostolic writings: the *bishops* being there called *presbyters*, and the *presbyters*, *bishops*. In the chapter before us, (Acts xx.) the same persons who in the 17th verse are termed ‘elders,’ or *presbyters*, are in the 28th verse called ‘overseers,’ or *bishops*. In his Epistle to Titus, after having declared it to have been his design, in leaving that Evangelist in Crete, that he should ordain ‘elders’ in every city, Paul at once proceeds to enumerate some of the principal qualifications by which they should be distinguished; and in the midst of his enumeration says, ‘For a *bishop* must be blameless,’ &c. Tit. i. 5, 7. And in the preface to his Epistle addressed to the church at Philippi, he makes no use of the term *presbyters* at all, but writes to ‘the *bishops* and deacons.’ Phil. i. 1. Thus, likewise, Peter, when exhorting the *elders* of the different churches of the dispersion, calls upon them to take the oversight, or, as the word (*ἐπισκοποῦντες*) may more properly be rendered, discharge the office of *bishops*. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2.”

Henderson’s Charge on “Pastoral Vigilance.” pp. 4—6.


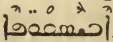

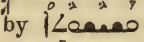

Dr. Henderson supports these assertions by the following valuable notes:—

“It may not be unacceptable to the reader to see the opinion of Dr. Augustus Neander, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Berlin, upon this subject, especially as this gentleman is confessedly more familiar with Christian antiquity than any other living author, and uniformly states, with the utmost frankness and impartiality, the results of his historical investigations. In his valuable work, entitled, “The History of the Planting and Government of the Christian Church by the Apostles,” published at Hamburgh, 1832, he writes as follows:—

“‘The name of Presbyters, by which this office was at first designated, was, as we have already observed, transferred from the Jewish synagogues to the Christian assemblies. But when the churches came to be more widely

planted among the Greeks, there was joined to this name, borrowed from the civil and religious constitution of the Jews, another designation, which was more adapted to express certain social relations among the Greeks, and, consequently, better fitted to denote the official duty which devolved upon the presbyters. By ἐπίσκοποι was meant overseers of the entire church and all its concerns, just as in the Attic government the name was given to those who were sent to organize such states as were dependent upon Athens; and as this designation appears to have been currently in use, in reference to civil affairs generally, to denote any kind of public inspection or superintendence. Now, as the name ἐπίσκοπος was nothing more than a transfer of the official designation, originally employed by the Jews and Hellenists, in adaptation to certain political relations which obtained among the heathen, it hence follows, that both names were originally applied to the same office; on which account, also, they are frequently exchanged for each other. Thus Paul addresses all the presbyters of the Ephesian church, for whom he had sent, as ἐπίσκοπους, (Acts xx. 17, 28.) If we were warranted to adopt the hypothesis, that not only the presidents of the *Ephesian* church are here meant, but also those of the other churches of Asia Minor, it might, indeed, be argued, that by these ἐπίσκοποι we are to understand the presidents of the presbyteries. But the other passages of Paul are opposed to such a distinction; and Luke, who confined this address solely to the presidents of the church at *Ephesus*, clearly regarded the names ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος as perfectly synonymous!

“After adverting to 1 Tim. iii. 1, Phil. i. 1, and Tit. i. 5—7, the author adds; ‘It is certain, therefore, that every church was governed by a union of congregational elders or overseers, chosen from its midst; and we find among them no such distinction as would warrant the conclusion, that one presided as *primus inter pares*—a distinction which was first introduced in the age succeeding that of the apostles, (respecting which we possess so few genuine documents,) when such an individual obtained, by way of eminence, the name of ἐπίσκοπος.’—*Erster Band*. pp. 122, 123.”

“The identity of the office designated by the terms *presbyter* and *bishop*, is further established by the usage of the Syriac version, which if not made in the apostolic age, is generally admitted to have been executed soon afterwards. So perfectly synonymous did the translator regard the two names, that he made no scruple to use the one for the other. Thus, though in Acts xx. 17 and 28, he keeps up the distinction observable in the original, rendering *πρεσβύτεροι* by  elders, and *ἐπίσκοποι* by , which is only the Greek word in Syriac characters, yet he translates *ἐπίσκοποι*, Phil. i. 1, by  elders; *ἐπίσκοπή*, 1 Tim. iii. 1, by  eldership; and *ἐπίσκοπος*, verses 2 and 7, by  elder.”

Notes, pp. 53—55.

III. THE ANCIENT EPISCOPACY, ONLY PAROCHIAL.

The Reverend and learned Joseph Boyse, of Dublin, in whose writings, as Dr. E. Calamy expresses it, “the scholar and the gentleman, the christian and the divine, are conspicuous,” published in 1712, *A clear Account of the Ancient Episcopacy, proving it to have been Parochial, and therefore inconsistent with the present model of Diocesan Episcopacy.*

“Having gone through the testimonies of the most celebrated writers of the three first centuries, I shall make a few reflexions on them, in order to the clearing the true state of the controversy. And here I shall distinctly consider matter of fact, and matter of right.

“As to matter of fact, I think it does sufficiently appear, that no such distinction between bishop and presbyter obtained in the apostles’ time; nor had obtained in the church of Corinth when Clemens wrote his epistle to it, which seems to be the most valuable and uncontested monument of primitive antiquity.

“If the epistles of Ignatius, published by Vossius from the Florentine copy, be genuine, it is certain that some superiority of a bishop above presbyters had then obtained

in the Eastern churches; but then it is as certain, that this episcopacy was only congregational or parochial. The bishop's church, for the two first centuries at least, was no larger than a single congregation, whose members were capable of personal communion, and each episcopal church had but one altar or communion-table belonging to it. Nor does there appear any evidence, that episcopal churches did in the third century generally exceed those bounds. And even in such great cities as Rome and Alexandria, the episcopal church appears not to be larger than one of our overgrown parochial churches, that has several chapels of ease belonging to it, nor perhaps to have more members belonging to it than some large parishes in London. But for the far greatest part of episcopal churches in that age, (even St. Cyprian's church at Carthage not excepted,) they appear to be no larger [than such parochial ones, where all the members of it are capable of joining together at once in all acts of public worship, and in all affairs that related to the government of those churches. And for the truth of this, I appeal to the full evidence that has been laid before the reader.

“ I also freely grant, as to matter of fact, that when the great increase of Christians did, towards the end of the third, and in the fourth and fifth centuries, occasion the setting up of several distinct assemblies or congregations in the greater cities, distinct from the original or mother church, the bishops did keep them still in a dependence on, and subjection to their authority; and as to that, the dispute is not about matter of fact, but matter of right. And though this was the first step towards setting up diocesan or provincial episcopacy, yet while the communion of those Christians, that attended these lesser assemblies in the Lord's-supper, was confined to the bishop's altar or communion-table, those episcopal churches were no more than those very large parochial ones among us, that have a considerable number of chapels of ease belonging to them, while all the parishioners are obliged to be communicants in the parish church. And, therefore, as to matter of fact, I shall freely allow what bishop Stillingfleet saith in his ser-

mon against separation, 'That, though when the churches increased, the occasional meetings were frequent in several places, yet still there was but one church and one altar, and one baptistry, and one bishop, with many presbyters assisting him. Which, saith he, is so plain in antiquity, as to the churches planted by the apostles themselves, that none but a great stranger to the history of the church can call it in question.' I here suppose the bishop means only, that the churches planted by the apostles themselves, had each of them but one altar and one baptistry. For if he intend here to assert, that those churches had in the apostles' time other subordinate congregations, or had then one bishop as a distinct officer from the presbyters, I take the former part of the assertion to be fully confuted, from the account we have of the two first centuries, which mention no churches that exceeded the bounds of single congregations; and the latter part of it to be directly contradictory, both to the apostle and to the judgment of St. Jerome, concerning the practice of the apostolical age. And he adds, 'It is true, after some time, in the greater cities, they had distinct places allotted, and presbyters fixed among them: and such allotments were called *Tituli* at Rome, and *Lauræ* at Alexandria, and parishes in other places. But these were never thought then to be new churches, or to have any independent government in themselves, but were all in subjection to the bishop and his college of presbyters; of which, multitudes of examples might be brought from the most authentic testimonies of antiquity, if a thing so evident needed any proof at all. And yet this distribution, even in cities, was looked on as so uncommon in those elder times, that Epiphanius takes notice of it as an extraordinary thing at Alexandria; and, therefore, it is probably supposed that there was no such thing in all the cities of Crete in his time. I come now to consider matter of right. And here I would observe,

1. That the superiority of these primitive congregational or parochial bishops above their presbyters, does no way appear to be of divine right, from any thing that occurs in the writings of the New Testament. And St. Jerome does

most expressly ascribe it to no higher original than the custom of the church, disclaiming any divine institution for it, and owning, that it came in gradually after the apostolical age by a general agreement, as a remedy against schisms.

2. " Much less is it of Divine right, when a single congregation was planted in any city or town, (consisting of the Christians then living in the city and the villages about it,) and was under the government of a bishop and presbyters, like our parish-rector and his curates, that, upon such an increase of converts as rendered it necessary to erect more congregations, all those new-erected congregations were to have no bishop and presbyters of their own, but were to be perpetually subject to the bishop of the original or mother-church. This is no more of divine right, than it is of divine right, that when a parish comes to have too many inhabitants for one congregation, all the other congregations to be erected in it, must be only chapels of ease or oratories to the first parish church, supplied by mere curates. Whereas a division of one overgrown parish church into two or three more, under their several parish-rectors, would be much more agreeable to the pattern of the apostolical and truly primitive churches, and much more conducive to the edification of the people.

3. " Much less is it of divine right, that the government of all the parochial churches in a whole province or shire, or perhaps several shires, under their parochial bishops, should be put down, and engrossed into the hands of one provincial or diocesan bishop. And that these parochial bishops should only turn curates to such a diocesan; much less is it of Divine right, that these parochial bishops should be divested of all that share in the government of the church, which even the primitive parish-presbyters had. And that all ecclesiastical discipline should be reserved to the diocesan's court; and least of all, that the exercise of it should be delegated to a lay-chancellor, and other officials of that court, that are not so much as vested with any proper ecclesiastical authority.

“ We may, therefore, from the premises relating to anti-quity, infer, in reference to the subject of this controversy,

1. “ That if we may believe St. Jerome, this parochial episcopacy is only of ecclesiastical custom, not of divine appointment.

2. “ That should we grant, that Ignatius, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian, and such other writers in the three first centuries, did not only own such a parochial episcopacy, but believed it to be of divine right, or even to be a laudable constitution. Because, as the parochial bishop was then vested with all the spiritual powers, (such as excommunication and ordination,) that are now appropriated to a diocesan or provincial bishop, so if parochial episcopacy be of divine institution, diocesan episcopacy cannot be so. For some scores or hundreds of such parochial bishops must be divested of these spiritual powers, in order to the setting up one diocesan bishop. And his power is plainly destructive of theirs.

3. “ We may hence see, that there is little or no conformity between the government of the church under the primitive parochial and the present diocesan episcopacy.

“ The charge of a primitive parochial bishop was a single, though often numerous congregation; but the charge of a diocesan one, is no less than all the congregations through one or more large counties. (The diocese of Lincoln is said to have 1,100 of them.) The primitive parochial bishop was chosen by the suffrages of his people or flock, who are supposed personally acquainted with his life and manners, as well as abilities. The nomination of diocesan bishops is usually in the prince; the shadow of an election in the dean and chapter, not one in many hundred of his flock knowing any thing of the matter, and none having any decisive suffrage at all in it. The primitive bishop was ordained by neighbouring parochial bishops; the present diocesan ones are consecrated by such county or province bishops as the primitive ages knew nothing of.

“ The primitive parochial bishop reckoned himself entrusted with the particular souls of all that belonged to his episcopal church or flock, and accountable for them; and

was, therefore, supposed capable of a personal converse with them, and inspection over them. But no diocesan bishop, that makes conscience of what he does, would undertake such a particular care of all the souls in his diocese, when it is not possible he should be able to inspect or know one of a hundred, not to say one of a thousand of them. Nor do I find, that they think themselves obliged thereto.

“The primitive parochial bishop sat with his presbyters in the same congregation, and ordinarily performed the usual offices of religion every Lord’s-day, while they were present, (as preaching, praying, administering the Lord’s-supper,) the presbyters only performing them either in the bishop’s occasional absence, or with his allowance when present. But should all the presbyters of the diocese be every Lord’s-day with the bishop, what would become of their neglected and desolate congregations ?

“The primitive parochial bishop ordinarily exercised no act of ecclesiastical discipline, but in the presence, and with the consent and concurrence of his presbyters, none being excluded. Nay, he passed the highest censures of the church, always in the presence of his flock, and according to their mind and judgment, as well as that of the presbyters. But it is impossible that the whole diocesan church, or any considerable part of it, can be present at such consultations, can hear such causes debated, or give their opinion concerning them ; nor, indeed, could the presbyters of the diocese attend the bishop’s court to join in such censures, (supposing the strictness of the ancient discipline restored,) without neglecting the care of their particular congregations, nor can one bishop hear the causes of all the scandalous church-members in a county or province, if they were brought before him.

“The primitive parochial bishop never delegated his chief, though not sole, power in inflicting church-censures to any other person, much less to a layman. But Dr. Burnet tells us, ‘that our ecclesiastical courts are not in the hands of our bishops and their clergy, but put over to the civilians, where too often fees are more strictly looked after, than the correction of manners. Excommunication is become a kind

of secular sentence, and is hardly now considered as a spiritual censure, being judged and given out by laymen, and often upon grounds which, to speak moderately, do not merit so severe and dreadful a sentence.'—Dr. Burnet's preface to the second volume of the History of the Reformation.

“ By the present diocesan model, all the parish-rectors, the true primitive bishops, are not only deprived of that pastoral authority that the primitive bishops had over their flocks, but reduced to a degree of subjection below that of the primitive presbyters. For they neither concur with the bishop in the passing of the ecclesiastical censures; nor does he so much, ordinarily, as consult or advise with them, concerning them; nay, they are subjected to the jurisdiction and censures of those lay-chancellors, that have the diocesan bishop's authority deputed to them, and who, though they always act in his name, do not always act even with the bishop's leave, as we may see in bishop Bedell's case.

“ Now, when there is so essential a difference in such important instances as these, between the primitive parochial and the present diocesan episcopacy, and between the government of the one and that of the other, to argue from the bare name of bishop and presbyters, and a bare superiority of the former above the latter, for a conformity between the present and the primitive church-government, is but to impose on the unthinking part of mankind, by a weak but fallacious way of arguing. We are unjustly charged with sophistry, under pretence that we argue for the bishop and presbyters being the same, from a mere community of names; whereas, we argue from their qualifications and characters, their work and office being the same as well as their names. But these gentlemen argue for the diocesan bishop and clergy, being the same with the primitive bishop and his presbyters, from a mere community of names, when their charge, their way of government, their offices, are not only very different, but, as I have shown, inconsistent and incompatible.

4. “ We may hence see, that those reformed churches that want the diocesan form of government, do yet retain the true primitive parochial episcopacy.

“ Every one of their churches has its bishop and deacons, and in their numerous churches, the bishop has usually one or more colleagues. It is true, these colleagues that assist the first pastor of the church, are not reckoned of any distinct office from him; nor has he any other superiority over them, than what difference of age or abilities may entitle him to. And in this, they come nearer to the simplicity of the apostolical age, when there was no such inequality among the presbyter-bishops; and when particular churches had no other officers, as St. Clemens tells us, than bishops and deacons. For these subject-presbyters, they do, with St. Jerome, ascribe the rise of them to ecclesiastical custom, not to divine appointment. But all that officiate as pastors in their churches, have all spiritual powers by their ordination conveyed to them, and do accordingly exercise them in their several flocks, according to the model of the primitive parochial churches. And these parochial bishops of theirs, are so far from setting up independency, in any criminal sense of that word, that they are as much for all the regular associations of neighbouring parochial bishops, in order to the preservation of concord and harmony, order and peace, as those primitive bishops were. As we may see in the conformity between the discipline of the reformed churches of France, and that of the ancient church, wrote by the learned Monsieur L’Arroque. I confess many of the reformed churches, have a sort of elders, that are not the same with the presbyters of the primitive church, because the latter were properly ordained to the sacred office of the ministry, and empowered thereby to baptize, preach, and administer the sacraments, when desired by the parochial bishop, whose curates they were. But even these very elders in the reformed churches, do very well answer to the *seniores plebis*, that were distinct from the presbyters, and were of laudable use in the primitive church, as Blondell has fully shown in his book *De jure Plebis in regimine Ecclesiastico*.

“ And I may add, that the ordinations of such pastors in the reformed churches, are truly episcopal ones in the primitive sense of that expression. They are performed by

true parochial bishops, such as the primitive churches had, and usually by a greater number of them than the ancient canons made necessary, and that in the presence and with the consent of the people: whereas, the diocesan ordinations are performed by a sort of bishop that was unknown in the two first ages at least, and I think I may say in the third century too. And though with us some parish-rectors, the primitive bishops, join therein with the diocesan bishop, yet we are told it is merely as approvers of the bishop's act, by which alone he supposes the office conveyed to the person ordained. Now these ordinations are not the episcopal ordinations of the primitive church. The first thing that looks any thing like them was, when the bishop of the metropolis first claimed a chief hand in the ordination of all the parochial bishops within such a province.

5. "We may hence see, that the main controversy lies about the extent of the bishop's charge.

"For the divine right of Diocesan episcopacy, it has been shown, that there is no ground for it from the Holy Scriptures; and I have now shown, that there is as little from the judgment of the primitive church in its first and purest ages. For parochial episcopacy, we do entirely own the divine right of it; only we cannot see that these subject-presbyters are properly of divine institution. But as to that, if the parish-rectors were restored to their true episcopal power, we should easily, for peace sake, allow of these curate-presbyters. But it is the depriving the parish-rectors, the primitive bishops, of their governing power over their flocks, and the engrossing it for so large a district into one hand, (when we think that the most judicious and laborious pastor would find work enough to do in governing his own flock; so that where it is monopolized into one hand, it must in a great measure be left undone;) and it is the deputing the exercise of one of the highest ecclesiastical powers, namely, that of excommunication, to laymen, that appears to us, in the present model of diocesan government, wholly disconformable to the pattern of the primitive church. And this we not only despair of seeing any divine right produced for, but cannot regard it as any

other than a manifest deviation from the simplicity of the primitive church-government, and inconsistent with that primitive episcopacy, that is vainly alleged to countenance and support it. And, indeed, till this account of the primitive episcopacy be disproved, we must beg leave to think, that those are the truest friends of it, and most zealous for its restoration, who are now run down on all occasions as perverse enemies to it; and those that make the greatest noise in crying it up, are the very persons that truly oppose it, and would with the utmost scorn and violence obstruct any attempts for the revival of it. In short, if the primitive episcopacy was only parochial, the cause of diocesan episcopacy must be given up as to any pretension of primitive antiquity, and much more as to any pretension of divine right."

IV. HOW COULD EPISCOPACY HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED, IF IT WERE NOT OF APOSTOLICAL INSTITUTION?

This often-repeated inquiry is thus answered by Dr. Mitchell:—

"I readily admit that the hierarchy is *ancient*. That the pastors who came after our Lord's apostles, ceased, at a very early period, to breathe the lowly unassuming spirit of Jesus and his immediate disciples, 'is most true:' and the advocates of episcopacy are at full liberty to draw all the support to their cause, that *can* be drawn from the antiquity and universality of clerical ambition, and prelatical pride. They affected to think the early introduction of episcopacy into the church, on the supposition that it is not a divine institution, morally impossible. By the very same arguments which they urge on this subject, if those arguments be good for any thing, they may prove that the Italian priest, who has for ages monopolized the title of Pope, never either claimed the spiritual dominion of the whole earth, nor had that modest claim allowed in the churches of the West. Can a fact more improbable be

imagined, than that a *christian* pastor, the successor of one of the fishermen of Galilee, as the Pope claims to be accounted, should have permitted the very thought of an usurpation, so arrogant, so daring, so abhorrent from the spirit of Christianity, to dwell in his breast for a single moment? And what do you say of the stupidity, the supineness, the base pusillanimity, of his *fellows*, which induced them to yield to this monstrous usurpation? This is quite inconceivable, and cannot have been! Yet, if there is any truth in history, nay, if we may trust the evidence of our senses, this unparalleled, improbable, inconceivable fact, this *moral impossibility*, did happen. Nay, the bishop of Rome, having ascended the throne of universal spiritual dominion, set his foot on the necks of temporal princes, and disposed of the kingdoms of the earth at his pleasure; and, in particular, he divided between His Most Catholic Majesty of Spain, and his most Faithful Majesty of Portugal, immense countries in the New World, of which neither he nor they knew so much as the geographical boundaries, the extent, the names, or the inhabitants!

That parochial episcopacy, that is, the superiority of one elder in a particular church to all the rest, gradually and imperceptibly arose from the respect which, in primitive times, was paid to age, to character, to superior endowments, and especially to priority in point of ordination; or that, as Jerome maintains, it was instituted as a remedy of schism, and (when the disciples multiplied in a city, and the adjoining territory, and rendered the erection of *tituli* or chapels in places at a distance from the parish church, absolutely necessary) led to diocesan episcopacy; either of these suppositions is infinitely less improbable, than that diocesan episcopacy paved the way for the papal supremacy, which, all the world knows, is the fact. And here let me remark by the way, that if diocesan episcopacy had not crept in, to the subversion of parochial episcopacy, the papal supremacy had never existed.

THE END.



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